

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- A.Budris (2022). *Russia Wants to Create a Gas Hub in Turkey: Is It Possible?* Diakses pada 29 Agustus 2025 <https://www.forbes.ru/biznes/479709-rossia-hocet-sozdat-gazovyj-hab-v-turcii-vozmozno-li-eto>
- Abdussamad.Z. (2021). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif. Hal 29-31. Diakses 28 April 2023.
- Accenture. (2022). *The war in Ukraina: A moment of reckoning for the oil and gas industry* Diakses pada 5 Desember 2022 melalui <https://www.accenture.com/us-en/insights/energy/ukraine-oil-gas>
- Afanasiev. V. (2023). *Russia grants gas price concessions to Turkey.* <https://www.upstreamonline.com/politics/russia-grants-gas-price-concessions-to-turkey/2-1-1445434>
- Akgül. P. (2024). *Understanding Cooperation in Russian-Turkish Energy Relations* *Comparatives Southeast European Studies*, Vol. 72 (Issue 2) pp. 232-255. <https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2023-0008>
- Aljazeera. (2022). *Nord Stream pipeline leaks: What happened, what's the impact?.* Diakses pada 1 Maret 2025. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/27/qa-what-is-known-so-far-about-the-nord-stream-gas-pipeline-leak>
- Anadolu Agency. (2022). *Russia offers Turkey gas discount and payment deferral.* <https://www.aa.com.tr/en>
- Angelica.Y. (2019). *Motif kerjasama energi Turki dan Rusia dalam Turkish Stream pipeline Project.* Jurnal Demokrasi & Otonomi Daerah, Volume 17, Nomor 1 (diakses pada 11 november 2022). <file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/7385-16080-1-SM.pdf>
- Anokhim.M, Oleg.G, (2013). *Energi Safety: Politics and Diplomacy.* *Przeglad strategiczny.* 157-162: https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10_14746_ps_2013_1_10
- Arbar.T. (2023). *Mengenal Black Sea Grain Initiative, Bom Kiamat Makanan Putin.* <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230621194152-4-448120/mengenal-black-sea-grain-initiative-bom-kiamat-makanan-putin>

- Aurora Energy Research. (2025). *End of an Era: No More Russian Gas via Ukraine – Now What?* <https://auroraer.com/resources/aurora-insights/articles/no-more-russian-gas-via-ukraine>
- Avatkov.V.(2022). *Турецкий многопрофильный хаб расплзается по Средней Азии*.diakses pada 17 Desember 2022. <https://news-front.info/2022/12/16/tureckij-mnogoprofilnyj-hab-raspolzaetsja-po-srednej-azii/>
- Aydin. M. (2025). *Sea, Bridging the Bosphorus: How Europe and Turkey can turn tiffs into tactics in the Black*. <https://ecfr.eu/publication/bridging-the-bosphorus-how-europe-and-turkey-can-turn-tiffs-into-tactics-in-the-black-sea/>
- Bakry, Umar, Suryadi. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Pustaka Pelajar . Diakses 1 Mei 2023.
- Balaban. G. (2023). *The Impacts of The Ukraine Conflict on Turkiye-Russia Economic Relations*. <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/the-impacts-of-the-ukraine-conflict-on-t-rkiye-russia-economic-relations>
- Bilen. S. (2023). *Will Turkey ever become a Russian gas hub?*. Dw. <https://www.dw.com/en/will-turkey-ever-become-a-russian-gas-hub/a-65053534>
- BneIntelliNews. (2022). *Report says Russian gas supplies to Europe via TurkStream now endangered*.diakses 4 november 2022 <https://www.intellinews.com/report-says-russian-gas-supplies-to-europe-via-turkstream-now-endangered-258016/>
- Budris,A.(2022). *Россия хочет создать газовый хаб в Турции: возможно ли это*. diakses pada 16 Desember 2022. <https://www.forbes.ru/biznes/479709-rossia-hocet-sozdat-gazovyj-hab-v-turcii-vozmozno-lieto? x tr sl=ru& x tr tl=id& x tr hl=id& x tr pto=sc>
- Carlsnaes.W. (2013). *Handbook of International Relations 2nd edition*. Pg.592. <http://ndl.ethernet.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/43164/1/47.WalterCarlsnaes%2CThomasRisse%2C.pdf>
- Cavcic.M. (2024). *After ExxonMobil, Shell and TotalEnergies shake hands with BOTAŞ on 10-year LNG deals fueling Türkiye’s regional gas hub aspirations*. <https://www.offshore-energy.biz/after-exxonmobil-shell-and-totalenergies-shake-hands-with-botas-on-10-year-lng-deals-fueling-turkiyes-regional-gas-hub-aspirations/>

- Çelikpala. M. (2019). *Viewing present as History: The State and Future of Turkey-Russia Relations*. Pg. 9. Diakses pada 2 Februari 2025. https://edam.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/MITAT_VIEWING-PRESENT-AS-HISTORY.pdf
- Cevrioglu. S. (2022). *Gazprom officially demands payments in rubles via Russian bank*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/gazprom-officially-demands-payments-in-rubles-via-russian-bank/35014>
- Clark.N. (2025). *Gas Market Report* IEA 2025. <https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/91739d87-1613-4840-927a-79448067f067/GasMarketReport,Q2-2025.pdf>
- Cohen. SB. (2008). *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*.
- Colibasanu.A. (2024). *Turkey's Evolving Geopolitics Strategy in Black Sea*. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2024/12/turkeys-evolving-geopolitical-strategy-in-the-black-sea/>
- Connolly. R. (2025). *Russia's relations with Turkey will face challenges*. <https://www.oxan.com/insights/russias-relations-with-turkey-will-face-challenges/>
- Coşkun.A. (2024). *Understanding Türkiye's Entanglement With Russia*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/10/understanding-turkiyes-entanglement-with-russia?lang=en>
- CREA. (2025). *Financing Putin's war: Fossil fuel imports from Russia during the invasion of Ukraine*. <https://energyandcleanair.org/financing-putins-war/>
- DaDalt. (2020). *Asymmetric interdependence and the politics of energy in Europe: Hirschman's 'influence effect' redux*. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41268-020-00184-x>
- Dai, X., Snidal, D., & Sampson, M. *Teori Kerjasama Internasional dan Institusi Internasional*. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Diakses pada 9 Juni2023, <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-93>
- Darmawan. R. (2019). *The National Interest Concept in a Globalised International System*. *International Journal of International Relations*. <file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/101-Article%20Text-396-1-10-20200316.pdf>

- Deutsche Welle. (2022). *Can Turkey mediate a deal between Russia and Ukraine?* https://www.dw.com/en/can-turkeys-erdogan-mediate-a-deal-between-russia-and-ukraine/a-60639510?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Dugis, V. (2016). *Teori Hubungan Internasional Perspektif-perspektif klasik*. Hal.61-62. diakses pada 7 Juni 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/VinsensioDugis/publication/321709080_Teori_Hubungan_Internasional_Perspektif_Perspektif_Klasik/links/5a7f16a80f7e9be137c71dbb/Teori-Hubungan-Internasional-Perspektif-Perspektif-Klasik.pdf
- Duzgit, S., Evren, B., & Andrew, O. (2020). *Turkey, Russia. And The West: Reassessing Persistent Volatility, Asymmetric Interdependence, and The Syria Conflict*. <https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/Content/Images/Document/reassessing-persistent-volatility-asymmetric-interdependence-and-the-syria-conflict-93d479/reassessing-persistent-volatility-asymmetric-interdependence-and-the-syria-conflict-93d479.pdf>
- EIA. (2023) *Gas Market Report Q4 2023*. Diakses pada 20 Januari 2025 <https://www.iea.org/reports/gas-market-report-q4-2023>
- EIA. (2024). *What are the major factors affecting natural gas prices*. Diakses pada 20 Juni 2025. <https://www.eia.gov/tools/faqs/faq.php?id=43&t=8>
- Elbassoussy, A. (2020). *The Impact of Energy ties on Russian Foreign Policy Toward Turkey*. (diakses 10 maret 2023). https://jocu.journals.ekb.eg/article_181399_632d2727659945efce3df155587e9cbb.pdf
- Energy Institute. (2025). *Statistical Review of World Energy*. Diakses pada 28 Juni 2025. <file:///C:/Users/Santi Verna/Downloads/Statistical Review of World Energy.pdf>
- Energy World. (2025). *Turkey's Russian gas imports have increased significantly, amid rising consumption*. <https://energyworld.ro/2025/03/06/turkeys-russian-gas-imports-have-increased-significantly-amid-rising-consumption/>
- Enerji.gov (2022). *Komşu ülkelerdeki gazın Batı'daki pazarlara ulaştırılmasında kritik roller üstlenebiliriz*. diakses 11 November 2023 <https://enerji.gov.tr/haber-detay?id=21047>
- Erdag, R. (2021). *TurkStream as Russia's Last Step in Diversification: A Win-Win Approach*. Vol.23, pg.205-224.

<https://www.insightturkey.com/file/1335/turkstream-as-russias-last-step-in-diversification-a-win-win-approach>

Erkan. A. (2025). *Asymmetric Dependence and Bargaining Power in Sino-Russian Energy Relations*. <https://janusnet-ojs.autonoma.pt/index.php/janus/article/view/119/471>

Erkoyun.E,(2022). *Turkey starts paying for some Russian gas in Roubles*. Diakses pada 3 Maret 2023 <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/turkey-starts-paying-some-russian-gas-roubles-2022-11-08/>

Esen.M. (2025). *Geopolitical Constraints of Turkey's Energy Hub Ambitions*. <https://www.institute.org/report/geopolitical-constraints-of-turkeys-energy-hub-ambitions>

Euractiv. (2022). *Turkey plays down US sanctions threat over Russia ties*.(Diakses pada tanggal 7 November 2022. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/turkey-plays-down-us-sanctions-threat-over-russia-ties/>

Eurasia (2022).*Энергетическое сотрудничество Турции и России по природному газу*. From: [https://www.eurasian-research.org/publication/turkey-russia-energy-cooperation-on-natural-gas/?lang=ru%20\(diakses%20pad%20%20nov%202022\)](https://www.eurasian-research.org/publication/turkey-russia-energy-cooperation-on-natural-gas/?lang=ru%20(diakses%20pad%20%20nov%202022))

Feoktistov. D. (2025). *Russian Gas Supplies to Europe via TurkStream Hit New All-Time High in January*. <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2025/02/12/russian-gas-supplies-to-europe-via-turkstream-hit-new-all-time-high-in-january-a87962>

Fiantika, Feny & Wasil, Mohammad & Jumiyati, Resty & Nuryami, & Waris, Lukman. (2022). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*.

fitch ratings. (2025). *Russian Gas Unlikely to Return to Europe in Large Volumes*. Diakses pada 3 Juli 2025. <https://www.fitchratings.com/research/corporate-finance/russian-gas-unlikely-to-return-to-europe-in-large-volumes-02-04-2025>

Fraser.S.(2022).*No waiting: Turkey, Russia to act on Putin's gas hub offer*.Apnews.(Diakses pada 4 November 2022. Melalui <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-business-turkey-1c4a85eb7bf73314d703ad48bdb77c0e>

Friedman, R., Kevork.O & Pacheco.P. (2013). *After Liberalisme? The Future of Liberalism in International Relations*.diakses pada 2 Juni 2023.

- Gaber. Y. (2024). *A Sea of Opportunities: Exploring cooperation between Turkey and the West in the Black Sea*. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/A-Sea-of-Opportunities-L_2.pdf
- Gap. (2022). *Russia-Ukraine war's effects on the oil and gas Industry*. Diakses pada 7 Desember 2022 <https://www.gep.com/blog/mind/russia-ukraine-wars-effects-oil-and-gas-industry>
- Geopolitics Unplugged. (2025). *How Turkey Turned Russian Sanctions into an Energy Empire*. <https://geopoliticsunplugged.substack.com/p/how-turkey-turned-russian-sanctions>
- Georg Sørensen. (2006). *Liberalism of Restraint and Liberalism of Imposition: Liberal Values and World Order in the New Millennium*. Vol.20. Sage. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0047117806066702?journalCode=ireb>
- Gereykhanova.A.(2022). *Para pemimpin Rusia dan Turki mencapai kesepakatan penting dalam ekonomi*. Grgu. diakses pada 4 November 2022 <https://rg.ru/2022/08/07/c-udvoennoj-energiej.html>
- Gerring, J. (2017). *Qualitative Methods*. *Annual Review of Political Science*. <https://sci-hub.se/https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-092415-024158> (diakses pada 18 April 2023)
- Gerring. J. (2017). *Qualitative Methods*. <https://sci-hub.se/https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-092415-024158>
- Gide. (2025). EU update: 18th package of sanctions in reaction to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. <https://www.gide.com/en/news-insights/eu-update-18th-package-of-sanctions-in-reaction-to-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/>
- Gultom. O. (2022). *Diplomasi public Indonesia dalam mempromosikan pariwisata di Thailand melalui wonderful Indonesia*. Diakses pada 13 Maret 2025
- Haciyeva.N.(2016). *The Role of Turkey In The European Energy Policy problems and perspectives*. diakses pada 3 Februari 2023 <https://www.grin.com/document/351262>
- Hana.C. (2022). *Hubungan Interdependensi Tiongkok-Taiwan dan kaitannya pada Diversifikasi Ekspor Taiwan pasca kebijakan New Southbound tahun 2016-2020*.

<https://repository.unpar.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/18687/Cover%20-%20Bab1%20-%2006092001031sc-p.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Hancock.K & Juliann.E. (2021). *The Oxford Handbook of Energy Politics*.
https://api.pageplace.de/preview/DT0400.9780190861384_A40774470/preview-9780190861384_A40774470.pdf

Holsti.K.J. (1978). *A New International Politics? Diplomacy in Complex Interdependence*. *International Organization*. diakses pada 12 April 2023
<https://sci-hub.se/https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/internationalorganization/article/abs/new-international-politics-diplomacy-in-complexinterdependence/3AF495FD42759D5BA6AFAAD6B45112BD>

Hudspith.J. (2024). *How Geopolitical Events Affect the Energy Market and Prices*.
<https://www.dbsne.com/post/how-geopolitical-events-affect-the-energy-market-and-prices>

IEA. (2022). *Energy Fact Sheet: Why does Russian oil and gas matter*. IEA, Paris. diakses pada tanggal 2 November 2022 <https://www.iea.org/articles/energy-fact-sheet-why-does-russian-oil-and-gas-matter,%20License:%20CC%20BY%204.0>

IEA. (2023). Gas Market Report Q4 2023. <https://www.iea.org/reports/gas-market-report-q4-2023>

IEA. (2016). Energy Policies of IEA Countries- Turkey. Diakses pada 6 maret 2023 melalui <https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/07870364-750a-4231-a649-7c84c5d4b2f7/EnergyPoliciesofIEACountriesTurkey.pdf>

Ignatov.D. (2024). *Impact of the Current Geopolitical and Geo-Economic Crisis on Energy Cooperation Between Russia and Turkey*.
<https://download.ssrn.com/2024/8/3/4914951.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline&X-Amz-Security-Token=IQoJb3JpZ2luX2VjEOD%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2FwEaCXVzLWVhc3QtMSJIMEYCIQD5VZyTTIhX%2FU398Vtc4gSg2UfGTQVRr88zxw8pocFHziQIhALguhGSYhWfSpjcBjeKV%2FVqqozw>

Isachenko.D. (2021). *Turkey and Russia The Logic of Conflictual Cooperation*.
SWP Research Paper.

Jackson & Sorensen, (2010). Introduction to International Relations Theory and Approaches. diakses pada 2 Juni 2023

- Jaehan. P. (2023). *No Title Rethinking Geopolitics: Geography as an Aid to Statecraft*. https://tnsr.org/2023/09/rethinking-geopolitics-geography-as-an-aid-to-statecraft/#_ftn40
- Jirušek. M. (2025). Energy Supplies as a Factor in International Relations: Policy Approaches and Implications. 14-16 pg. diakses pada 24 Februari 2025. file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/Jirusek_Habilitation_NO_articles_commentary.pdf
- Jom.C, Goldstein. (2017). *International Relations*. Pearson. Seventh edition. diakses pada 2 juni 2023.
- Jordan, A.A., Taylor, W.J., Meese, M.J., & Nielsen. (2009). *American National Security* (6th ed.). Maryland, MD: John Hopkins University Press. diakses pada 24 mei 2025
- K.H. Abudalbouh, W. & Abu Anzeh, M. (2022). *Conceptualizing Russia-Turkey Strategic Political Competition*. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, 49(2), 527–539. Diakses 26 Mei 2023 <https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v49i2.1811>
- Kanapiyanova. Z. (2022). *Turkey-Russia Energy Cooperation on Natural Gas*. *Eurasian Research Institute*. diakses pada 25 Februari 2025. <https://www.eurasian-research.org/publication/turkey-russia-energy-cooperation-on-natural-gas/>
- Karabay. Z. (2022). *Gazprom and Turkiye's BOTAS sign four-year gas deal*. diakses pada 3 Juli 2025. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/energy-projects/gazprom-and-turkiyes-botas-sign-four-year-gas-deal/34370>
- Kardaş, Ş. (2011). *Turkey-Russia energy relations: The limits of forging cooperation through economic interdependence*. *International Journal*, 67(1), diakses pada 13 November 2022 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23265967>
- Katinas.P. (2025). *March 2025 - Monthly analysis of Russian fossil fuel exports and sanctions*. <https://energyandcleanair.org/march-2025-monthly-analysis-of-russian-fossil-fuel-exports-and-sanctions/>
- Kazancı.F (2024). *Türkiye's plans to become gas hub highlights role in global energy: Russian official*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkiye/turkiyes-plans-to-become-gas-hub-highlights-role-in-global-energy-russian-official/3404452>

- Keliauskaitė, U. & Georg, Z. (2024). *The end of Russian gas transit via Ukraine and options for the EU*. <https://www.bruegel.org/analysis/end-russian-gas-transit-ukraine-and-options-eu>
- Kementerian pengembangan digital, telekomunikasi dan media masa Rusia (2021). https://digital.gov.ru/ru/activity/directions/325/?utm_referrer=https%3a%2f%2fwww.google.com%2f
- Keohane, R. (2011). *Power and Interdependence*. Pearson. Pg.7-11. Diakses pada 20 maret 2025. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/internationalorganization/article/abs/reciprocityininternationalrelations/6438E9A27014DC0A2763CFD7D8737D70>
- Keohane, R. (1986). *Reciprocity in international relations*. International Organization, 40, pp Hal 7-9. Diakses pada 5 Februari 2023 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/internationalorganization/article/abs/reciprocityininternationalrelations/6438E9A27014DC0A2763CFD7D8737D70>
- Kostem, S. (2018). *The Political Economy of Turkish-Russian Relations: Dynamics of Asymmetric Interdependence*. Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs, , 10-32. Diakses 24 Mei 2023 <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/39593/468097>
- Koutroumpis, J. (2020). *Russia – Turkey : An Ambiguous Energy Partnership*. Vol. 1, No. 4. Journal of Liberal Arts and Humanities. <https://jlahnet.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/5.pdf>
- Kuhn, S., Mosler, D., Richter, K. (2010). *Energy Cooperation in the Caucasus: Continuity and change in Russian-Turkish Relations*. from diakses pada 13 November 2022. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-22947>
- Kurniawan, A. (2022). *Eropa waspada Turki dijadikan Rusia Tempat menyembunyikan Gas* Sindo News. diakses pada 12 Desember 2022. <https://ekbis.sindonews.com/read/957543/34/eropa-waspadai-turki-dijadikan-rusia-tempat-menyembunyikan-gas-1669903937/>
- Laes, E., Bombaerts, G. (2022). *Energy Communities and the Tensions Between Neoliberalism and Communitarianism*. (diakses 10 Maret 2023) melalui : <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11948-021-00359-w>
- Lake, D. A. (1995). *Cooperation and Governance in International Relations [Review of Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions; Economic Discrimination and Political Exchange: World*

Political Economy in the 1930s and 1980s; Cooperation and Governance in International Trade: The Strategic Organizational Approach, by L. L. Martin, K. A. Oye, B. V. Yarbrough, & R. M. Yarbrough]. *Review of International Political Economy*, 2(2), 343–356.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177149>

Laura Anca P. (2021). *Old and new dimensions of asymmetric interdependence*. *Journal of Contemporary Eastern Asia*. Diakses pada 30 April 2025.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/358863166_Old_and_new_dimensions_of_asymmetric_interdependence

Lawrence. B. (2015). *Levels of Analysis and The Qualitative Study of Qualitative data*.
[https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1016/s1475-9144\(04\)03010-3/full/html?skipTracking=true](https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1016/s1475-9144(04)03010-3/full/html?skipTracking=true)

Le monde. (2024). *Russia could push Turkey into lasting political and military antagonism with the rest of NATO*.
https://www.lemonde.fr/en/opinion/article/2024/04/22/russia-could-push-turkey-into-lasting-political-and-military-antagonism-with-the-rest-of-nato_6669139_23.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com

M.Muttaqin & Salsabila.S. (2023). *Impact of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on Turkey's Economic Stability*. <file:///C:/Users/Santi Verna/Downloads/453-Article Text-4756-2-10-20240301.pdf>

M.Muttaqin & Salsabila.S. (2023). *Impact of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on Turkey's Economic Stability*. <file:///C:/Users/Santi%20Verna/Downloads/453-Article%20Text-4756-2-10-20240301.pdf>

Marbun. L. (2022). *Building International Cooperation to Leverage Global Competitiveness*. Diakses 10 Maret 2025.
<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/581030-building-international-cooperation-to-le-e164b821.pdf>

Mardalis, Drs.(2002). *Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Penerbit Bumi Aksara. diakses pada 2 Juni 2023.

Markezi. H. (2024). *Türkiye's natural gas production increased by 113 percent with the Black Sea discovery*.
<https://www.ekonomim.com/sektorler/enerji/turkiyenin-dogalgaz-uretimi-karadeniz-kesfiyle-yuzde-113-artis-gosterdi-haberi-749494>

Mestika. Z. (2004). *Metode penelitian kepustakaan*. Jakarta.

- Milner. H. (1992). *International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses*. Diakses pada 3 Maret 2025. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2010546>
- Mirzaqon.A. (2023). Studi Keputusan mengenai landasan teori dan praktik konseling expressive writing. diakses pada 2 mei 2023. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/253525-studi-keputusan-mengenai-landasan-teor-c084d5fa.pdf>.
- Moleong.L. (2007). Metodologi Penilitin Kualitatif.diakses pada 2 Mei 2023. https://www.academia.edu/36704757/BUKU_KUALITATIF_PDF_pdf
- Musa. A. (2025). *Rivalry and Cooperation: Russia and Türkiye Navigate Libya's Geopolitical Labyrinth*.<https://mecouncil.org/publication/rivalry-and-cooperation-russia-and-turkiye-navigate-libyas-geopolitical-labyrinth/>
- Mustafa.S. (2024). *Turkey's energy consumption*. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/power-and-energy/turkeys-energy-consumption>
- Nakhle. C. (2025). *Geopolitical Intelligence Services*. Diakses pada 11 juli 2025. <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/russian-gas/>
- Namira. L. (2022). Harga Gas di Eropa Melonjak 30 Persen Setelah Rusia Tutup Kembali Aliran Pipa Nord Stream. Diakses pada 1 Maret 2025 <https://www.tribunnews.com/bisnis/2022/09/05/harga-gas-di-eropa-melonjak-30-persen-setelah-rusia-tutup-kembali-aliran-pipa-nord-stream>
- News. Az. (2024). *Russia top energy supplier to Turkey despite Western sanctions*. <https://news.az/news/russia-top-energy-supplier-to-turkey-despite-western-sanctions>
- Niranjan.A. (2025). *European imports of liquefied natural gas from Russia at 'record levels'*. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2025/jan/09/european-imports-of-liquefied-natural-gas-from-russia-at-record-levels>
- Novikau.A. (2023). *Turkey's quest to become a regional energy hub: Challenges and opportunities*. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2405844023087431>
- Nuechterlein. (1978). *National Interests And Presidential Leadership: The Setting Of Priorities* (1st ed.).

- Nurieva, G. (2017). *Natural Gas Factor in Israel-TurkeyRussia "Energy Triangle"*. Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. Vol.4. 105-106. Diakses 21 Oktober 2022 from: https://www.ormer.sakarya.edu.tr/uploads/files/4_natural_gas_factor_in_israel_turkey_russia_energy_triangle.pdf
- OIES. (2023). *Russia's Energy Pivot to the South*. <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/>
- Ota, E & Chiyere, S. (2022). *Power and National Interest in International Relations*. Diakses pada 20 Maret 2025
- Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. (2020). *The Renewal of Turkey's Long Term Contracts: Natural gas market transition or 'business as usual'?* <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Insight-72-The-Renewal-of-Turkey's-Long-Term-Contracts.pdf>
- Ozdal, dkk. (2013). *Turkey-Russia Relations the Post-Cold War Era : current Dynamis Future Prospect*, International Strategic Research Organization. Diakses 21 Oktober 2022 file:///C:/Users/ASUS/Downloads/Turkish_Russian_Relations_in_The_Post_Co.pdf
- Özdil, E. (2024). *Part 4. Turkey's geopolitical role in the Black Sea and European energy security: From pipelines to liquefied natural gas*. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/part-4-turkeys-geopolitical-role-in-the-black-sea-and-european-energy-security-from-pipelines-to-liquefied-natural-gas/>
- Pannier, A. (2020). *Bilateral Relations*. Diakses pada 11 April 2025. https://www.academia.edu/43696984/Bilateral_Relations
- Perdana, S. Vielle, Marc S, & Maxime. (2022). *European Economic impacts of cutting energy imports from Russia: A computable general equilibrium analysis*. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211467X22002000>
- Perwita, A. A. (2011). *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Publyon. (2025). *The shifting geopolitics of energy: implications for the EU and its businesses*. https://publyon.com/the-shifting-geopolitics-of-energy-implications-for-the-eu-and-its-businesses/?switch_language=en

- Raghunandan.V. (2025). January 2025 - Monthly analysis of Russian fossil fuel exports and sanctions. Diakses pada 30 Juni 2025. <https://energyandcleanair.org/january-2025-monthly-analysis-of-russian-fossil-fuel-exports-and-sanctions/>
- Rebekka Friedman, Kevork Oskanian, R. P. P., Hopf, T., Assembly, G., & Concern, E. D. (2013). *After Liberalism?: The Future of Liberalism in International Relations*. <http://books.google.com/books?id=bdnRAQAAQBAJ&pgis=1%0Ahttps://undocs.org/en/A/74/20>
- Recchia.S, &Michael, D. (2011). *International Encyclopedia of Political science*. Diakses pada 5 Juni 2023. https://www.stefanorecchia.net/1/137/resources/publication_1040_1.pdf
- Reuters. (2022). *Putin courts Erdogan with plan to pump more Russian gas via Turkey*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/putin-puts-gas-hub-plan-turkeys-erdogan-2022-10-13/>
- Reuters. (2023). *Russia agrees to deferred gas payments, Turkish energy minister says*. <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/russia-agrees-deferred-gas-payments-turkish-energy-minister-says-2023-05-03/>
- Rich, Changhua & Bobenrieth, Eugenio & Potter, Brian & Carlisle, Heather & Williams, Paul & Richards, Alan & Ackerman, Richard. (1997). *The Political Economy of International Cooperation*. diakses pada 9 Juni 2021. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/EugenioBobenrieth/publication/46440722_The_Political_Economy_of_International_Environmental_Cooperation/links/55ddb07308ae79830bb531ed/The-Political-Economy-of-International-Environmental-Cooperation.pdf#page=89
- Roberts. J. (2016). *With Pipeline, Russia Sustains Dominance of Turkish Gas Market*. Diakses 1 juli 2025. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/with-pipeline-russia-sustains-dominance-of-turkish-gas-market/>
- Rogerson, K. S. (2000). *Information Interdependence: Keohane and Nye's complex interdependence in the information age*. Diakses pada 21 maret 2025. <https://sci-hub.se/https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13691180051033379>
- Royan. E. (2023). *Turkey as an ally and a mediator in the Russia-Ukraine War. What does it want from it?. Modern diplomacy*. Diakses pada 28 Februari 2025. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/03/10/turkey-as-an-ally-and-a-mediator-in-the-russia-ukraine-war-what-does-it-want-from-it/>

- Rudolf.K. (2021). *Territory, State and Nation: The Geopolitics of Rudolf Kjellén*. Pg 15-16, file:///C:/Users/Santi Verna/Downloads/(Making Sense of History_ 41) Ragnar Björk (editor)_ Thomas Lundén (editor) - Territory, State and Nation_ The Geopolitics of Rudolf Kjellén-Berghahn Books (2021).pdf
- Rüma, İnan and Çelikpala, Mitat, (2019). *Russian and Turkish Foreign Policy Activism in the Syrian Theater*, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol. 16, No. 62, 2019, pp. 65-84, <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/756731>
- S&P Global. (2024). *Turkey granted waiver from US sanctions against Gazprombank: ministry*.<https://www.spglobal.com/commodity-insights/en/news-research/latest-news/natural-gas/122024-turkey-granted-waiver-from-us-sanctions-against-gazprombank-ministry>
- Sağlam, M. (2025). *Turkey–Russia Relations: Not an Alternative to the West but a Balancer*. In: Dinç, P., Hünler, O.S. (eds) *The Republic of Turkey and its Unresolved Issues*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-96-1583-4_20
- Sahin. S. (2019). *Sustainability of The Strategic Partnership Between Turkey and Russia a Game Theoretical Analysis*. Pg 27-95. <https://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/server/api/core/bitstreams/72404724-ff17-4f61-ac24-547e279fb38a/content>
- Sandnes. M. (2023). *The effect of asymmetric interdependence on the outcomes of military cooperation in the Sahel*. *Cooperation and Conflict*. Diakses pada 30 April 2025. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00108367231184717?icid=int.sj-abstract.citing-articles.11>
- Saputri, E. (2021). *Strategi Penelusuran Informasi Melalui Search Engine (Google)*.diakses pada 2 mei 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354957643_Strategi_Penelusuran_Informasi_Melalui_Search_Engine_Google
- Sarwono, J. 2006. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif*. Graha Ilmu. Yogyakarta diakses pada 2 Juni 2023.
- Satyanugra, Y. L., & Suliwtianingsih, H. (2021). *Kerjasama Pemerintah Indonesia dan Malaysia dalam Menangani Permasalahan TKI Ilegal*. *Journal of Internasional Relations Universitas Diponegoro*. diakses pada 11 Juni.
- Schislyaeva.E, Irina Evgrafova, Nadezhda Butakova, Yuri Mishalchenko, (2022). *The EU - Russia - Turkey energy triangle: legal and economic conditions of*

gas transportation via the TurkStream pipeline, *Transportation Research Procedia*, Volume 63, (diakses pada 11 november 2022). <https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S2352146522004756?token=E19F24F62972531D19C226E10FD486D579AE2F11A8131246C9C70820A862014D2C8A324FC8B102507A18123CD50612DB&originRegion=eu-west-1&originCreation=20221111022103>

Sezer. C. (2024). *Turkey, Hungary say US grants waivers for Russian gas payments*. https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/turkey-receives-waiver-gas-payments-russia-gazprombank-sanctions-2024-12-20/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Shaffer.B. (2009). *Energy Politics*. University of Pannsylvania. Pg. 2. file:///C:/Users/Santi Verna/Downloads/energy-politics-0812242009-9780812242003_compress.pdf

Shlykov, P. (2018). *Russian-Turkish Relations in the Wider Black Sea Region: Cooperation and Competition*. *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 93-116 (diakses 22 Mei 2023) <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/39593/468104>

Siccardi. F. (2024). *Understanding the Energy Drivers of Turkey's Foreign Policy*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/02/understanding-the-energy-drivers-of-turkeys-foreign-policy?lang=en>

Siitonen.L.(1990). *Political Theories of Development Cooperation-A Study of Theories of International Cooperation*. diakses 10 maret 2023 <https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/WP86.pdf>

Sorensen, G. (2006). *Liberalism of Restraint and Liberalism of Imposition: Liberal Values and World Order in the New Millennium*. *International Relations*. Pg. 255. diakses pada 7 mei 2023 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0047117806066702?journalCode=ireb>

Star, (2022). *2023 vurgusu: Rusya, Türkiye'yi 'süper gaz merkezi' yapmak istiyor* diakses pada 14 Dsemeber 2022. <https://www.star.com.tr/ekonomi/2023-vurgusu-rusya-turkiyeyi-super-gaz-merkezi-yapmak-istiyor-haber-1744440/>

Statista. (2020). *Natural gas consumption in Turkey 2005-2021*: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/703684/natural-gas-consumption-turkey/>

- Statista. (2024). *Import volume of natural gas from Russia in Turkey from January 2021 to September 2024*.
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1383881/turkey-gas-imports-from-russia-monthly/>
- Statista. (2025). *Natural gas imports from Russia in Europe in 2023, by country*.
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1292984/import-of-natural-gas-by-european-countries-from-russia/>
- Statista. (2025). *Revenue from fossil fuel exports from Russia from February 24, 2022 to June 7, 2025, by type*.
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1350807/russia-fossil-fuel-export-revenue-by-type/>
- Stewart. L. (2025). *Unit of Analysis in Research, Definition, Tips & Examples*.
<https://atlasti.com/research-hub/unit-of-analysis>
- Suci. L. (2022). Analisis Implementasi Kerja sama Indonesia-Korea Selatan dalam kerangka Indonesia-Korea Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IK-CEPA).
https://repository.unhas.ac.id/id/eprint/28529/2/E061181028_skripsi_28-10-20221-2.pdf
- Sun, M, Cao, Xin.Y. Liu, X. (2024). *The Russia-Ukraine conflict, soaring international energy prices, and implications for global economic policies*.
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2405844024107438>
- Suyundikov, Suinbay & Gökbel, Ahmet. (2023). *The Role of Energy in Türkiye-Russia Relations: A View from the Perspective of Mutual Dependence. Insight Turkey*.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376983420_The_Role_of_Energy_in_Turkiye-Russia_Relations_A_View_from_the_Perspective_of_Mutual_Dependence
- Suyundikov.S & Ahmet Gokbel (2023) *The Role of Energy in Türkiye-Russia Relations: A View from the Perspective of Mutual Dependence*. Vol.25. No.4. <https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/the-role-of-energy-in-turkiye-russia-relations-a-view-from-the-perspective-of-mutual-dependence>
- Suzan. L. (2022). *Putin tempts Turkey, suggests making it Europe's new gas hub*.
 Ap news. Diakses pada 29 Desember 2024.
<https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-business-germany-turkey-bf621f99a04c3728ea305cbc8fb5546f>

- Syarifudin. (2022). *AS Tekan Turki tentang hubungan dengan Rusia*. Sindo news. Diakses pada 7 November 2022 <https://international.sindonews.com/read/917665/43/as-tekan-turki-tentang-hubungan-dengan-rusia-1666239049/>
- Szerencsés.L. (2025). *The Turkish Energy Hub and the Hungary Connection: Challenging EU Gas Diversification Efforts*. <https://www.su.se/institute-for-turkish-studies/about-the-institute/the-turkish-energy-hub-and-the-hungary-connection-challenging-eu-gas-diversification-efforts-1.806518>
- Tasnim News. (2022). *Putin'in Erdoğan'a Gaz Teklifnin Sebebi Ne?*. Diakses pada 16 Desember 2022. <https://www.tasnimnews.com/tr/news/2022/10/15/2788370/putin-in-erdo%C4%9Fan-a-gaz-teklifnin-sebebi-ne>
- Tass. (2022). *Erdogan confirms plans to create gas hub in Turkey-statement*. <https://tass.com/economy/1531555>
- Thijs Van de Graaf and Benjamin K. Sovacool. (2020). *Global Energy Politics*. <https://www.thijsvandegraaf.be/books/global-energy-politics/>
- Thijs.G, Benjamin K, Arunabha.G, Florian. K, & Michael.T. (2016). *The Palgrave Handbooj of The International Political Economy of Energy*. Hal 12-28 diakses pada 6 Februari 2023. (Palgrave Handbooks in IPE) [Thijs Van de Graaf, Benjamin K. Sovacool, Arunabha Ghosh, Florian Kern, Michael T. Klare \(eds.\) - The Palgrave Handbook of the International Political Economy of Energy-Pal \(1\).pdf](#)
- Topalidis.G. (2023). *New Developments is Geopolitics:A Reassessment of theory after 2023*. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/13/2/109#B10-socsci-13-00109>
- Treding Economics. (2025). *Türkiye's Natural Gas Imports*. <https://id.tradingeconomics.com/turkey/natural-gas-imports>
- Turkstream. (2020). *Project The TurkStream Pipeline*. Diakses pada 26 Februari 2025. https://turkstreaminfo.translate.goog/project/?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=tc
- Turkstream. (2024). Turkstream Project. <https://turkstream.info/project/>

- Uranykyz.A. (2020). *TurkStream and the Trajectory of Russia-Turkey Relations*. Diakses 12 Juli 2025. <https://researchcentre.trtworld.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Turkstream-InfoPack-Final.pdf>
- Vicken Cheterian (2023): *Friend and Foe: Russia–Turkey relations before and after the war in Ukraine, Small Wars & Insurgencies*,
- Vicken.C.(2023). *Friend and Foe: Russia-Turkey relations before and after the war in Ukraine*.https://www.academia.edu/102059771/Friend_and_Foe_Russia_Turkey_relations_before_and_after_the_war_in_Ukraine
- Vinsensio. D. (2016). *Teori Hubungan Internasional; Perspektif-Perspektif Klasik*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321709080_Teori_Hubungan_Internasional_Perspektif-Perspektif_Klasik
- Vladimirov. M. (2025). *Europe Works to Sever Reliance on Russian Gas*. <https://perconcordiam.com/energy-decoupling-is-in-the-pipeline/>
- Vladimirov. M. (2025). *Turkey's economic alignment with Russia is a dangerous bet*. <https://www.reuters.com/default/turkeys-economic-alignment-with-russia-is-risky-bet-2025-06-18/>
- Wambui. W. (2016). *The Influence of National Interest on Bilateral Relations Between States: The Case of Kenya and Israel*.
- Wang, Q., Ren, F. & Li, R. (2024). *Geopolitics and energy security: a comprehensive exploration of evolution, collaborations, and future directions*. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211467X22002000>
- Weber. C. (2005). *International Relation Theory*. Hal.43. Routledge <https://www.hostnezt.com/cssfiles/internationalrelations/International%20Relations%20Theory%20A%20Critical%20Introduction%20By%20Cynthia%20Weber.pdf>
- Wulandari, EE (2017). *Alasan Indonesia membangun economic cooperation arrangement (ECA) dengan Taiwan*. diakses pada 9 Juni 2023. <http://repository.ums.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/15849/CHAPTER%20I.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y>
- Yemelyanov O., Symak, A., Petrushka, T., Zahoretska, O., Kusi, M., Lesyk, R., & Lesyk, L. (2019). *Changes in Energy Consumption, Economic Growth and Aspirations for Energy Independence: Sectoral Analysis of Uses of*

Natural Gas in Ukrainian Economy. Energies, 12(24), 4724.
<https://www.mdpi.com/1996-1073/12/24/4724>

Yermekbayev, Adilbek (2020). *Relations between Turkey and Russia in the context of energy partnership*. In: International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy . 166-167. http://www.zbw.eu/econis-archiv/bitstream/11159/8405/1/1755428952_0.pdf

Zed. M. (2004). Metode penelitian kepustakaan. Jakarta. diakses pada 2 mei 2023.