

- A. Watson, *Diplomacy: The Dialouge Between States*, Routledge, 2005.
- Abdullahi Ahmed An-na'im and Noah Feldman, *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State; Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a*, Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Adriant Katherine Wing and Ozan O. Varol, *Is Secularism Possible in a Majority-Muslim Country?: The Turkish Example?*, Vol42:1, 2006.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, "Is, *Dünyasi Artik Dis, Politikanin Öncülerinden*", (Interview with Ahmet Han), *Turkishtime*, April-May 2004.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", *Speech at the Mayflower Hotel organised by SETA D.C.*, Washington, 8 December 2009.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, "Türkiye Merkez Ülke Olmalı", *Radikal*, 26 February 2004.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, "Türkiye'yi Markalas,tiran 'Ritmik Diplomasi'", (Interview with Baki Günay), *Netpano.com*, 24 January 2005.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, *Taking Sino-Turkish relations forward*, dipublikasikan pada 2010/11/02, diakses di China daily.
- Ahmet Davutoglu, *Turkish Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007*, Insight Turkey, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2008.
- Ahmet T. Kuru, *The Gülen Movement and the AK Party: Protecting Democracy*, diambil dari *Changing Perspectives on Islamism and Secularism in Turkey: The Gulen movement and the AK Party*, 2008.
- Altay Atli, *Turkey's Foreign Policy Towards China Analysis And Recommendations For Improvement*, Global Relations Forum Young Academics Program, Policy Paper Series No.3, June 2016, ISBN: 978-605-62546-9-7.
- Amy Qin, *China Exports High-Speed Rail Technology to Turkey*, released on 28 July 2014, atau akses di China Exports High-Speed Rail Technology to Turkey - NYTimes.com.htm, pada tanggal 15/10/2014, jam 16.04
- Ardan Zentürk, "Demokrasinin Dis, *Politika Boyutu*", *Star*, 1 Kasim 2010.
- Arzu Turgut, *Yang Guang: "Both China and Turkey are Visionary Countries with Long-Term Interests*, Embassy of The People's Republic of China in The Republic of Turkey, dipublis pada 2011/06/12, akses di <http://tr.china-embassy.org/eng/ztgx/t830930.htm>, pada tanggal 12/12/2016, pukul 11.31 WIB.



Bulent Aras, *What is the "strategic depth" doctrine?*, disampaikan pada konferensi internasional "*Turkish Foreign Policy in Changing World*", di Oxford pada tanggal 30 April-2 Mei 2010, dipublikasikan oleh South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), University of Oxford, Februari 2011.

Cemal Karakas, *Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society*, PRIF Reports No. 78, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), 2007.

Daily Sabah, *Economic cooperation a priority in Turkey-China relations*, dipublikasi pada 30 Juli 2015, akses di <http://www.dailysabah.com/economy/2015/07/30/economic-cooperation-a-priority-in-turkey-china-relations>, pada 23 Oktober 2016, pukul 06.24 WIB.

Davutoğlu Ahmed, *Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision*, Insight Turkey, Vol. 10 No. 1 2008

Dis Ekonomik Iliskiler Kurulu, *introductory brochure*, 1988.

Embassy Of The People's Republic Of China In The Republic Of Poland, *Vice President Xi Jinping's Speech at the China-Turkey Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum (Full Text)*, dipublikasikan pada 2012/02/23, diakses pada <http://www.chinaembassy.org.pl/pol/xwtd/t908716.htm>, tanggal 18 Oktober 2016, pukul 08.48 WIB.

Embassy Of The People's Republic Of China In The Republic Of Turkey, *Turkish State Minister Mr. Zafer ÇAĞLAYAN gives interview with People's Daily*, dipublikasikan pada 2010/01/04, diakses di <http://tr.china-embassy.org/eng/ztgx/t649610.htm>, tanggal 1 November 2016, pukul 03.30 WIB.

Fang Yang (Ed), *China, Turkey to establish strategic cooperative relationship*, dipublikasikan pada 2010-10-08, diakses di http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-10/08/c_13547712.htm, tanggal 28 Oktober 2016, pukul 12.07 WIB.

Feng Zhongping, Huang Jing, *China's strategy partnership diplomacy: engaging with a changing world*, working paper n. 8 june 2014, dipublikasikan oleh All Fride, ISSN: 2254-6162.

Forbes, *Turkey*, akses di <http://www.forbes.com/places/turkey/>, pada tanggal 12/12/2016, pukul 12.59 WIB.

Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *Report by British Consulate General Istanbul , Turkey: latest killer facts about the economy*, dipublikasikan pada 29 September 2014, akses di <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/turkey-latest-killer-facts-about-the>

economy/turkey-latest-killer-facts-about-the-economy, pada tanggal 12/12/16, pukul 20.09 WIB.

Fulya Ã, Zerkan, *Turkey, China hail 'strategic cooperation' amid protests*, ANKARA - Hurriyet Daily News | 10/8/2010 12:00:00 AM, akses di <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=china-turkey-target-milestone-50-billion-dollars-of-trade-2010-10-08> pada tanggal 20 Oktober 2016, pukul 05.28 WIB.

Galia Lavi, Gallia Lindenstrauss, *China and Turkey: Closer Relations Mixed With Suspicion*, Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 2, July 2016.

Graham E. Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic : Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008.

Hakan M Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2003, hlm 27.

Haymi Bahar, *"The Real Winner and Losers of Turkey's July 2007 Elections"*.

Henri J. Barkey, *Turkish Foreign Policy and the Middle East*, CERI STRATEGY PAPERS, No. 10 – Rencontre Stratégique du 6 juin 2011.

Investment Support and Promotion Agency of Turkey (ISPAT), *FDI in Turkey*, akses di <http://www.invest.gov.tr/enUS/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx>, pada tanggal 8/12/2016, pukul 13.50 WIB.

Jerome Doyon, *Xinjiang and Sino-Turkish Ties*, China Perspectives, no. 1, 2011.

Jingdong Yuan, *Useful Alignments Or Just Convenient Labels? Dissecting China's Strategic Partnerships Since the End of the Cold War*, dipresentasikan dalam International Studies Association Asia-Pacific Conference, 25-27 June 2016, Hong Kong, China

Joshua W. Walker, *The Interlinking of Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Policy in the AKP's Third Term*, Analysis GMF, 10 Agustus 2011.

Julia Famularo, *Erdogan Visit Xinjiang; Turkish leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan's decision to visit Xinjiang surprised many. But Beijing ties come first*, dipublikasikan pada 14 April 2012, akses di <http://thediplomat.com/2012/04/erdogan-visits-xinjiang/>, tanggal 28 Oktober 2016.

K. Kirisci, *The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: the Rise of the Trading State*, dalam *New Perspective on Turkey*, no. 40, 2009.

Karakas Cemal, *Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society*, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), 2007, PRIF Reports No. 78.

Kasim, Kamer, *Turkey-Taiwan Relations in the Context of Turkey's Asia Pacific Policy*, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Volume 12, No. 45 (Spring 2015).

- LI, Chenyang, *China–Myanmar Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership: A Regional Threat?*, dalam *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* (2012), 31, 1, 53-72, dipublikasikan oleh GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of Asian Studies and Hamburg University Press, ISSN: 1868-4882 (online).
- Liputan6.com, *Turki Resmikan Terowongan Selat Bosphorus Penghubung Asia-Eropa*, release pada 29 Oktober 2013, akses di *Turki Resmikan Terowongan Selat Bosphorus Penghubung Asia-Eropa-Liputan6.com.htm*, pada tanggal 28/9/2014, jam 20.02
- M. Alfian Alfia, *Militer dan Politik di Turki: Pergeseran politik dan terpinggirnnya militer pasca AKP*, Jakarta: PT. Penjuru Ilmu Sejati, 2015.
- M. Hakan Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, *Wen Jiabao Holds Talks with Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan*, dipublikasikan pada 2010/10/08, diakses di http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/wenjiabaozonglifangwenouyasiguo_665782/t759900.shtml, pada tanggal 17 Oktober 2016, pukul 17.58 WIB.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey, *Relations between Turkey and China*, diakses di <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-china.en.mfa>, pada tanggal 30 Oktober 2016, pukul 12.45 WIB.
- Moisés Lopes de Souza, *The Logic Of The China's Strategic Partnerships: Foundations And Motivations*, Paper presented at International Social Sciences and Business Research Conference on 4-5 December 2014, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Murat Yesiltas, Ali Balci, "A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era: A Conceptual Map", published by Center for Strategic Research (SAM), No. 7, May 2013.
- Mustafa Kutlay, *Skating On Thin Ice: The Political Economy Of Turkish Foreign Policy Over The Last Decade*, ISPI, Analysis, 226, December 2013.
- Ömer Taspınar, *Turkey's Middle East Policies Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism*, Carnegie PAPERS No 10, Carnegie Middle East Center, 2008.
- Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury of Republic of Turkey, *Foreign Direct Investment in Turkey 2010*, General Directorate of Foreign Investment, May 2011.
- Qantara German News Agency, *Turkey's Strategic Depth*, 7 Agustus 2009, diakses 20 September 2016, pukul 16:09.



Road Renaissance By 2023, Turkish Policy Quarterly, Volume 2012, Number 2, Summer 2013.

Robert D. Putnam (1998). "*Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two level games*". International Organization.

Selcuk Colakoglu, *Turkey and China: Seeking a Sustainable Partnership*, SETA, Foundation for Political Economic and Social Research, Brief No: 41, January, 2010, www.setav.org.

Selcuk Colakoglu, *Turkey's Evolving Strategic Balance with China, Japan and South Korea*, EastWestCenter.org/APB, Number 235, October 8, 2013.

Selin Girit, *China-Turkey relationship strained over Uighurs*, BBC News, Istanbul, publish pada 9 July 2015, akses di <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-33440998>, tanggal 1 November 2016, pukul 06.44 WIB.

Simon Tisdall, "*Turkey's 'Zero Problems' Policy is a Flop*", *The Guardian*, 21 June 2011.

Suharsono, *Metode Penelitian Sosial*, Yogyakarta, Bentang Budaya, 1996, Hal: 47

The Economist, *Anti-Chinese protests in Turkey; Bashing and wooing China, Pious Sinophobia won't deflect Turkey's strategic dreams*, dipublish pada 11/7/2015 dari edisi print, diakses pada <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21657419-pious-sinophobia-wont-deflect-turkeys-strategic-dreams-bashing-and-wooing-china>, tanggal 17 Oktober 2016, pukul 14.00.

Tim Jacoby, *Social Power and the Turkish State*, London, Frank Cass Publishers, 2004.

Trading Economics, *Turkey GDP*, akses di <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/turkey/gdp>, pada tanggal 9/12/2016, pukul 16.27 WIB.

Vahap Munyar, Gül, *70 Dis Seyahate Çikti, 194 Günlük Tur 20 Milyar Dolarlık Isi Tetikledi*, Hürriyet, August 27, 2010.

Victoria Pistikou, *China's Economic Diplomacy: A Comparative Approach to Sino-Greek and Sino-Turkish Relations*, International Journal of Business and Social Science, Vol.3, No. 10, Special Issue, May 2012.

W. Joshua Walker Insight Turkey, *Learning Strategic Depth: Implications of Turkey's New Foreign Policy Doctrine*, July 2007, diakses dari http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7057/is_3_9/ai_n28498505/, 21 September 2016, Pukul 20:23.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Kesepakatan Antara Pemerintah Turki dan China Dalam Strategic Cooperative Relationship Pada Tahun 2010

FARHATAINI RIZKI, Prof. Dr. Mohammad Mohta Mas'ood, M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2016 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Why is there tension between China and the Uighurs?, dipublikasikan pada 26 September 2014, diakses di <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-26414014>, tanggal 2 November 2016, Pukul 10.29 WIB.

www.BBCIndonesia.co.id, *Anggaran istana baru presiden Turki membengkak*, release pada 6 November 2014, akses pada tanggal 19/11/2014, jam 13.21 Wib

www.kompas.co.id, *Nama Erdogan Dipakai untuk Bandara Baru Istanbul*, release pada tanggal 13 Agustus 2014, akses di Nama Erdogan Dipakai untuk Bandara Baru Istanbul - Kompas.com.htm, 19/11/2014, jam 13.14 Wib.

Yael Navaro-Yasin, *The Identity Market: Merchandise, Islamism, Laicite, Istanbul*, Metis, 2002.

Yücel Bozdaglioglu, *Turkish Foreign Policy And Turkish Identity Constructivist Approach*, Routledge New York & London, 2003.

Zaman, *Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalist Foreign Policy*, 22 September 2008, diakses 15 September 2016, pukul .08:20.

Zhou Yang, *Turkey Values Silk Road Relationship*, China Daily, dipublish pada 2015-7-30, diakses di http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015-07/30/content_21454384.htm, pada tanggal 9/12/2016, pukul 12.10 WIB.