

## **BAB V**

### **KESIMPULAN**

Eksistensi militer Azerbaijan yang mengancam Armenia di Syunik harus segera dieliminasi. Pihak pemerintah Armenia telah menyatakan kondisi tersebut sebagai kondisi darurat. Upaya politik dan diplomasi adalah langkah utama yang dipilih pemerintah Armenia untuk mengatasi krisis ini. Walaupun, Armenia juga mempersiapkan kekuatan militernya apabila situasi semakin buruk dan pihak Azerbaijan terus meningkatkan ancamannya. Dasar utama terjadinya ancaman militer di Syunik dikarenakan obsesi Azerbaijan untuk memperjuangkan kekuasaan melalui penaklukan wilayah negara lain. Atas hal ini Armenia berupaya melawan dengan damai melalui diplomasi preventif sebagai upaya mempertahankan kesinambungan bangsanya.

Armenia juga melibatkan CSTO dan memperoleh dukungan negara kawannya. Setiap negara mengecam keras ancaman militer Azerbaijan di Syunik dan meminta dengan tegas agar Azerbaijan menarik mundur pasukannya. Di sisi lain, para aktor ini meminta agar penyelesaian konflik ini dilakukan dengan damai dan diplomatis. Pemerintah Armenia juga menggolongkan dukungan para diaspora khususnya di ANCA. Semua dukungan ini menjadi kekuatan bagi Armenia dalam mengimplementasikan diplomasi preventifnya secara optimal sehingga eskalasi konflik hingga akhir 2021 tidak terjadi dan ancaman terbesar yaitu pan-Turkisme masih sekedar angan-angan belaka.

Di akhir 2021 pula, Armenia dinilai mampu dan berhasil mempertahankan kedaulatannya di Syunik. Akan tetapi Armenia harus senantiasa waspada terhadap ancaman yang dapat terjadi. Armenia juga harus mandiri dalam mengatasi konflik yang terjadi. Penelitian ini juga menghimbau agar perkembangan topik ini dapat dikaji lebih lanjut khususnya di tahun 2022. Penelitian ini juga mendorong adanya kajian lebih mendalam tentang peranan aktor diaspora non-negara yang juga signifikan.

Diplomasi preventif Armenia dapat disimpulkan berhasil diimplementasikan dan masih akan menunjukkan kesinambungannya. Hal ini terlihat dari terbandungnya ancaman militer Azerbaijan. Kedaulatan Armenia sepenuhnya aman dari ancaman dan gempuran militer Azerbaijan sehingga perang besar tidak terjadi dan Syunik berhasil dipertahankan. Kontak senjata beberapa kali memang masih terjadi namun proses perundingan damai juga berlangsung optimal. Di saat bersamaan, Armenia juga melaksanakan berbagai pembangunan strategis melalui dukungan yang diperoleh dari para negara kawan.

Di samping itu, implementasi diplomasi preventif Armenia dalam mempertahankan Provinsi Syunik dari ancaman militer Azerbaijan di masa mendatang perlu adaptasi kontekstual. Obsesi Azerbaijan untuk menyatukan wilayah Nakhchivan dan wilayah utama dan pan-Turkisme Turki akan terus digelorakan hingga terwujudnya imperialisme neo-Ottoman tersebut. Armenia juga harus mewaspadaai dan menerapkan diplomasi preventif bagi negara-negara kawan dan CSTO apabila mereka tidak mampu memenuhi bahkan menolak aspirasi kebutuhan hingga memilih membela Azerbaijan atau Turki.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA;

### BUKU

Albright. Madeleine K, dkk. *Genocide A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers*. Washington, D.C: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2008.

Armenia Human Rights Defender. *Ad Hoc Public Report Urgent Necessity For A Demilitarized Security Zone In The Areas Of Contact With The Azerbaijani Military Forces As A Fundamental Safeguard To Protect The Rights Of Population In Armenia: Evidence-Based Analysis In The Context Of Ongoing Situation In Gegharkunik And Syunik Provinces*. Yerevan: Republic Of Armenia Human Rights Defender. 2021.

Armenia Human Rights Defender. *Ad Hoc Public Report Urgent Necessity For A Demilitarized Security Zone In The Areas Of Contact With The Azerbaijani Military Forces As A Fundamental Safeguard To Protect The Rights Of Population In Armenia: Evidence-Based Analysis In The Context Of Ongoing Situation In Gegharkunik And Syunik Provinces*. Yerevan: Republic Of Armenia Human Rights Defender. 2021.

Armenian National Committee of America - Western Region. *2020-2021 Impact Report*. Glendale: ANCA-WR HQ. 2021.

Aydogan, Fatih. *The Influence of The Armenian Diaspora on The American Foreign Policy*. Florida: University of South Florida. 2018.

Bakry, Umar Suryadi. *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2017.

Djelantik, Sukawarsini. *An introduction to International Relations theories*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu. 2008.

Galstyan. Narek S dan Alexander Markarov. *The Main Dimensions and Issues of Armenia's Foreign Security Policy*. Tbilisi: Publishing House UNIVERSAL. 2016.

- Gregg, Heather S. *Working paper #13 Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the United States*. Cambridge: Inter-University Committee on International Migration. 2002.
- Hadiwinata, Bob Sugeng. *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia. 2017.
- International Peace Institute (IPI). *Taking Stock of Insights: Conflict prevention and preventive diplomacy: what works and what doesn't*. New York: IPI United Nations Plaza www.ipinst.org. 2012.
- ISHR. *Implementation Review Of The 2020 Ceasefire Terms Between Armenia And Azerbaijan December 14, 2021*. SHR Institute for the study of human rights, Columbia Univeristy. 2021.
- Kocharyan, Shavarsh. *Why Is The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Still Not Resolved?*. Yerevan: Crisis Prevention And Peace-Building. 2016
- M.D, Kevin M Cahill. *Preventive Diplomacy Stopping The Wars Before They Start*. New York & London: Routledge. 2000.
- Mallick, Maj Gen P K. *Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh: Geopolitical Implications*. New Delhi: Vivekananda International Foundation. 2021.
- Minassian, Gäïdz. *Armenia, a Russian Outpost in the Caucasus?*. Paris: IFRI Russia/NIS Center, 2008.
- Moniquet, Claude dan William Racimora. *The Armenia-Iran Relationship Strategic Implication For Security In The South Caucasus Region*. Brussels: European Strategic Intelligence Security Center. 2013.
- Nathan, Dr. Laurie, dkk. *Policy Paper and Case Studies Capturing UN Preventive Diplomacy Success: How and Why Does It Work?*. New York: Transaction Publishers. 2003.

- Puzio, Piotr. *A year since the war in Nagorno-Karabakh*. Warsaw: Instytut Nowej Europy  
www.ine.org.pl. 2021.
- Rademaker, Michel dan Han ten Broeke. *Armenia and the future of the South Caucasus*. The  
Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies-HCSS. 2021.
- Song, Changzoo. *Engaging the diaspora in an era of transnationalism South Korea's  
engagement with its diaspora can support the country's development*. Auckland: IZA  
World of Labor. 2014.
- Terzyan, Aram. *The Evolution Of Armenia's Foreign Policy Identity: The Conception Of  
Identity Driven Paths. Friends And Foes In Armenian Foreign Policy Discourse*.  
Burbank: Eurasia Institutes. 2016.
- Tishkov, Valery. *Conflict Prevention in the Caucasus Actors, Response Capacities and  
Planning Processes*. New York: EastWest Institute & Fewer Survey, 2001.
- Waal Thomas de. *The Nagorny Karabakh Conflict In Its Fourth Decade*. Brussels:  
CEPS. 2021.
- Waal, Thomas de. *The Nagorny Karabakh Conflict In Its Fourth Decade*. Brussels: CEPS.  
2016.
- Welt, Cory dan Andrew S. Bowen. *Azerbaijan and Armenia: The Nagorno-Karabakh  
Conflict*. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service- <https://crsreports.congress.gov>. 2021.

## **JURNAL ARTIKEL**

- Newland, Kathleen dan Sonia Plaza. 2013. "What We Know About Diasporas And Economic Development", MPI-Migration Policy Institute. Policy Brief. No. 5, pp 4-6, diakses pada 20/07/2021.
- Zarifian, Julien. 2014. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy", Society, Vol. 51 No. 5, pp 507-508, diakses pada 30/06/2022.
- Zolyan, Mikayel. 2010. "My Friend's Enemy is my Friend: Armenian Foreign Policy between Russia, Iran and the United States", Caucasus Analytical Digest, Vol. 10 No. 13, pp 1-5, diakses pada 20/07/2021.

## **WEBSITE**

- ANCA (Armenian National Committee of America) Washington, DC Headquarters. *U.S.-Armenia Ties | Partnership & Progress*. <https://anca.org/issue/u-s-armenia-ties-partnership-progress/> yang diakses pada tanggal 27 September 2021.
- ANCA News. *USAID has delivered only \$2.5 million in new aid for displaced Armenians from Artsakh* 29 Juni 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/09/30/usaid-has-delivered-only-2-5-million-in-new-aid-for-displaced-armenians-from-artsakh/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Armenia News - NEWS.am. *Zas: CSTO closely monitoring situation at border regions of Armenia's Syunik Province* 19 Mei 2021. <https://news.am/eng/news/644426.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- ArmenPress. Yerevan. *Official text of armistice*. 10 November 2020 <https://armenpress.am/eng/news/1034480.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Avedian, Lillian. *Another Armenian soldier killed along the Armenia-Azerbaijan border*. 14 Juli 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/07/14/another-armenian-soldier-killed-along-the-armenia-azerbaijan-border/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

- Avedian, Lillian. *Border crisis ongoing in Syunik, Gegharkunik*. 19 Mei 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/05/19/border-crisis-ongoing-in-syunik-gegharkunik/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Avedian, Lillian. *Pashinyan and Aliyev meet in Brussels* 15 Desember 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/12/15/pashinyan-and-aliyev-meet-in-brussels/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Avetisyan, Ani. *Aliyev threatens to establish 'corridor' in Armenia by force*. 21 April 2021. <https://oc-media.org/aliyev-threatens-to-establish-corridor-in-armenia-by-force/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Azadian, Edmond Y. *Armenia Is in an Undeclared War* 5 Agustus 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/08/05/armenia-is-in-an-undeclared-war/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Azadian, Edmond Y. *Armenia's Territorial Integrity Is in Jeopardy* 20 Mei 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/05/20/armenias-territorial-integrity-is-in-jeopardy/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Azadian, Edmond Y. *Is Anyone Listening?* 22 Juli 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/22/is-anyone-listening/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Azatutyun.am staff. *Aliyev, Pashinian Meet Again In Brussels* 16 Desember 2021. <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/31612244.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Baibhawi, Riya. *Appreciate Your Principled Position': Armenian Leader Hails Biden's Genocide Recognition*. 25 April 2021. <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/us-news/appreciate-your-principled-position-armenian-leader-hails-bidens-genocide-recognition.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Buniatian, Heghine. *Iran Hopes For Peaceful Resolution Of Armenia-Azerbaijan Border Crisis*. 29 Oktober 2019. <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/31431456.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

- Buniatian, Heghine. *Iran Hopes For Peaceful Resolution Of Armenia-Azerbaijan Border Crisis* 27 Agustus 2021. <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/31431456.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Chouldjian, Elizabeth S. *ANCA CONDEMNS ANTI-ARMENIAN PROTESTS IN TURKEY Calls on U.S. Ambassador Ricciardone to Denounce Government-Sanctioned Rallies Aimed at Inciting Violence.* 26 Februari 2012. <https://anca.org/press-release/anca-condemns-anti-armenian-protests-in-turkey/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Contributor. *ANCA Testimony Stresses Need for Expanded U.S. Aid for Artsakh and Armenia in the Aftermath of Azerbaijan/Turkey Attacks.* 15 Juni 2021. <https://www.newgeopolitics.org/2021/05/26/garagol-incident-and-domestic-dynamics-in-armenia/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Cricchio, Emilio Luciano. *High Level Talks Between Russian and Armenian Officials Attempt to Resolve Syunik Crisis* 15 Mei. <https://www.civilnet.am/en/news/607339/high-level-talks-between-russian-and-armenian-officials-attempt-to-resolve-syunik-crisis/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Eftekhari, Fardin. *Iran-Azerbaijan tensions are all about Israel and geopolitics* 6 Oktober 2021. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/iran-azerbaijan-tensions-about-israel-geopolitics> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Eftekhari, Fardin. *Marking 20 years since France "upheld the truth" and recognised the Armenian Genocide* 18 Januari 2021. <https://www.rfi.fr/en/international/20210118-marking-20-years-since-france-upheld-the-truth-and-recognised-the-armenian-genocide-turkey-history-azerbaijan-nato> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Elliott, Raffi. *Azerbaijani Forces Continue Attacks on Yeraskh* 27 Juli 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/27/azerbaijani-forces-continue-attacks-on-yeraskh/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2021.
- Elliott, Raffi. *On Anniversary of Ceasefire, Apprehension, Resilience, and Defiance along the Armenian Border* 9 November 2021.



[http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat\\_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng](http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng) yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Getzoyan, Pauline. *ANCA-ER, GenEd connect the 2020 Artsakh War and the Armenian Genocide* 17 Maret 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/03/17/anca-er-gened-connect-the-2020-artsakh-war-and-the-armenian-genocide/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Hacopian, Eric. *No aid to Azerbaijan! : US congressmen urge Biden administration to stop military assistance to Aliyev regime* 29 Juli 2021. <https://www.civilnet.am/en/news/627487/u-s-house-approves-amendment-that-cuts-military-aid-to-azerbaijan/?lang=en> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Herszenhorn, David M. *Michel says Azerbaijan, Armenia leaders to meet in Brussels* 1 Juni 2021. <https://www.politico.eu/article/michel-says-azerbaijan-and-armenian-leaders-will-meet-in-brussels/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Kelly, Laura. *State calls for Azerbaijan to pull back forces from Armenia border* 14 Mei 2021. <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/553648-state-calls-for-azerbaijan-to-pull-back-forces-from-armenia-border/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Klimentyev, Mikhail. *Putin Urges Armenia, Azerbaijan to Ease Tensions in Rare Meeting*. 26 November 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/01/russians-to-be-deployed-on-soviet-era-borders/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Klimentyev, Mikhail. *Putin Urges Armenia, Azerbaijan to Ease Tensions in Rare Meeting*. 26 November 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/01/russians-to-be-deployed-on-soviet-era-borders/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Kocharyan, Stepan. *Iran hopes Armenia and Azerbaijan will resolve border crisis peacefully* 27 Agustus 2021. <https://armenpress.am/eng/news/1061782.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

- Kucera, Joshua. *Armenia and Azerbaijan in New Border Crisis*. May 14, 2021. <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2021/05/14/armenia-and-azerbaijan-in-new-border-crisis-a73907> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Kucera, Joshua. *Delegation Led by Alen Simonyan Meets with NA President of France Richard Ferrand in Paris* 1 Juni 2021. <https://eurasianet.org/pashinyan-proposes-russian-border-guards-for-entire-armenia-azerbaijan-border> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- MassisPost staff. *US State Department Describes Azerbaijani Incursion Into Armenia as Provocation* 14 Mei 2021. <https://massispost.com/2021/05/us-state-department-describes-azerbaijani-incursion-into-armenia-as-provocation/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Mejlumyan, Ani. *Armenia Gets Aid Boost from EU* 22 Juli 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/22/armenia-gets-aid-boost-from-eu/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Mghdesyan, Arshaluis. *Border Tensions Signal Fresh Danger for Armenia and Azerbaijan*. 1 June, 2021. <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/border-tensions-signal-fresh-danger-armenia-and-azerbaijan> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Mghdesyan, Arshaluis. *Border Tensions Signal Fresh Danger for Armenia and Azerbaijan. Moscow has offered to act as intermediary in delimitation efforts*. 1 Juni 2021. <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/border-tensions-signal-fresh-danger-armenia-and-azerbaijan> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Armenia. *Bilateral Relations Belgium* 1 Juni 2021. <https://www.mfa.am/en/bilateral-relations/be> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Armenia. *Delegation Led by Alen Simonyan Meets with NA President of France Richard Ferrand in Paris* 1 Juni 2021. [http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat\\_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng](http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng) yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

- National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia-parliament.am. *Delegation Led by Alen Simonyan Meets with NA President of France Richard Ferrand in Paris* 1 Juni 2021. [http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat\\_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng](http://www.parliament.am/news.php?cat_id=2&NewsID=15607&year=2021&month=11&day=22&lang=eng) yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- News Wires. *Russia accuses Azerbaijan of violating Nagorno-Karabakh ceasefire*. 26 Mei 2021. <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20220326-russia-accuses-azerbaijan-of-violating-nagorno-karabakh-ceasefire> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Pamuk, Humeyra. *U.S. Senate passes resolution recognizing Armenian genocide, angering Turkey*. 13 Desember 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/dec/12/senate-armenian-genocide-vote-trump-turkey> yang diakses pada tanggal 27 September 2020.
- Reuters. *Turkey summons US ambassador over resolution on Armenia genocide*. 13 Desember 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-summons-us-ambassador-over-resolution-on-armenia-genocide/a-51660880> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- RFE/RL's Armenian Service. *Armenia Turns To Russian-led CSTO amid Border Standoff with Azerbaijan* 14 Mei 2021. <https://www.rferl.org/a/armenia-azerbaijan-putin-troops-border-withdrawal/31254474.html> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- Rzayev, Ayaz. *Garagol incident and domestic dynamics in Armenia*. 26 Mei 2021. <https://www.newgeopolitics.org/2021/05/26/garagol-incident-and-domestic-dynamics-in-armenia/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- TERT AM, LLC. *No aid to Azerbaijan! : US congressmen urge Biden administration to stop military assistance to Aliyev regime* 25 Mei 2021. <https://www.tert.am/en/news/2021/05/25/congress/3623381> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.
- The Armenian Mirror-Spectator. *Ambassador Says U.S. Rejects Use of Force in Border Delimitation* 29 Juli 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/29/ambassador-says->

u-s-rejects-use-of-force-in-border-delimitation/ yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

The Armenian Mirror-Spectator. *Armenia Reassures Iran As Tehran-Baku Tensions Mount* 7 Oktober 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/10/07/armenia-reassures-iran-as-tehran-baku-tensions-mount/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

The Armenian Mirror-Spectator. *California Assemblymember Holden Builds Ties Through Syunik Sister State Relationship* 11 Februari 2022. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2022/02/11/california-assemblymember-holden-builds-ties-through-syunik-sister-city/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

The Armenian Mirror-Spectator. *Continued Genocidal Threats Posed by Azerbaijan Subject of Hearing in Congress* 5 Agustus 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/08/05/continued-genocidal-threats-posed-by-azerbaijan-subject-of-hearing-in-congress/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

The Armenian Mirror-Spectator. *Russians to Be Deployed 'on Soviet-Era Borders*. 1 Juli 2021. <https://mirrorspectator.com/2021/07/01/russians-to-be-deployed-on-soviet-era-borders/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

The Office to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia. *Statements and messages of the Prime Minister of RA PM Nikol Pashinyan's Message on Armenian Genocide 106th Anniversary*. 24 April 2021. <https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2021/04/24/Nikol-Pashinyan-April-24> /yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.

Weekly Staff News. *Azeri forces advance on Syunik*. 12 Mei 2021. <https://armenianweekly.com/2021/05/12/azeri-forces-advance-on-syunik/> yang diakses pada tanggal 1 Juni 2022.