UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Daftar Pustaka

Aivazyan, A. & Petrova, I. (2018). "Normative Role of the EU in Armenia: Factors of Perception," *World Economy and International Relations: At Post-Soviet Space, vol. 62* (4). DOI: 10.20542/0131-2227-2018-62-4-91-102

Averre, D. (2007). "Sovereign Democracy" and Russia's Relations with the European Union. *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization vol. 15* (2), pp. 173-190. 10.3200/DEMO.15.2.173-190.

Babayan, N. (2016). *The European Union's Democracy-Building Efforts in Conflict-Affected States in the South Caucasus*. Stockholm, Swedia: International IDEA.

Batashvili, D. (2019). *Nikol Pashinyan's Russian Problem*. Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies. https://www.gfsis.org/publications/view/2684

BBC. (2018, 29 April). "Никол Пашинян: со стороны Армении отношениям с Россией ничего не грозит." *BBC*. https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-43940532

BertelsmannStiftung. (2020). Combatting and Preventing Corruption in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia: How Anti-corruption Measures can Promote Democracy and the Rule of Law." *BertelsmannStiftung.* https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/user_upload/Stoeber_10.2020_Combatting_and_preventing_corruption.pdf

Bruff, I. (2011). "The Case for A Foundational Materialism: Going Beyond Historical Materialist IPE in Order to Strengthen It." *Journal of International Relations and Development vol. 14* (3): 391-399.

Bull, H. (1982). "Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 21* (2). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.1982.tb00866.x

Carr, E. H. (1962). *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919 - 1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (2nd ed)*. London: Macmillan.

Casier, T. (2021). "Russia and The Diffusion of Political Norms: The Perfect Rival? *Democratization, vol. 29* (3). DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2021.1928078

Chaban, N. (2016, 8-10 Oktober). *Crises and the EU: Imagining the EU in the Eyes of Ukrainian Media post-Maidan.* The International conference by the Ukrainian Association of

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Cognitive Linguistics and Poetics (UACLaP) at the Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkasy National University, Cherkasy.

Chucurra, C. (2018). "Human Rights and Democracy at the Heart of EU's Foreign Policy?" dalam Felipe Gomez Isa, Christina Chucurra, & Ian Wouters. *EU Human Rights and Democratization Policies: Achievements and Challenges*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Cooley, A. (2017, 30 Juni). "Whose Rules, Whose Sphere? Russian Governance and Influence in Post-Soviet States." *Carnegie Endowment*. https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/06/30/whose-rules-whose-sphere-russian-governance-and-influence-in-post-soviet-states-pub-71403

Coppieters, B., Emerson, M., Huysseune, M., Kovziridze, T., Noutcheva, G., Tocci, N., & Vahl, M. (2004). *Europeanization and Conflict Resolution: Case Studies from the European Periphery*. Ghent: Academia Press.

Cordis, Komisi Eropa. (2014, 1 Februari). "Exploring the Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus." *Cordis, Komisi Eropa*. https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/613354/results

Del Medico, N. (2014). *A Black Knight in the Eastern Neighborhood? Russia and EU Democracy Promotion in Armenia and Moldova.* EU Diplomacy Paper No. 07/2014. http://aei.pitt.edu/58682/

Delcour, L. & Hoffmann, K. (2018). *The EU's Policy in the South Caucasus*. Centre Nice: International de Formation Européenne, pp. 7-25.

Delcour, L. (2021, 19 Januari). "The Future of Democracy and State Building in Postconflict Armenia." *Carnegie Europe*. https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/01/19/future-of-democracy-and-state-building-in-postconflict-armenia-pub-83650

Demytrie, R. (2018). "Why Armenia 'Velvet Revolution' Won without a Bullet Fired." BBC. May 1, 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43948181

Dewan Eropa. (2009). *Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit*. 8435/09 (Presse 78). https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/31797/2009_eap_declaration.pdf

————. (2020). Single Support Framework for EU Support to Armenia (2017-2020). *Dewan Eropa*. https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/armenia_ssf_2017-2020_final.pdf

Diez T. (2013). "Normative Power as Hegemony." *Cooperation and Conflict vol. 48* (2), pp. 194-210.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Dunne, T. (2008). "Good Citizen Europe." *International Affairs, vol. 84* (1) pp. 13-28.

EEAS. (2016). "Critically Assess and Analyse the Notion That the EU is a Normative Power." *Delegation of the European Union to Jordan.* https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/jordan/15687/node/15687_tg/

——. (2016, 6 September). "Piotr Switalski: "Armenia is Not Just A Neighbour but Part of the European Family"." *EEAS.* https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/10305/node/10305_pl

——. (2021). "The European Union and Armenia." EEAS: Delegation of the EU to Armenia. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/armenia/european-union-and-armenia_en?s=216

EU Neighbours East. (2020). *OPEN Neighbourhood — Communicating for a Stronger Partnership: Connecting with Citizens across the Eastern Neighbourhood.* Annual Survey Report, Armenia - 5th Wave Spring 2020. https://www.euneighbours.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2020-06/EUNEIGHBOURS_east_AS2020report_ARMENIA.pdf

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Freire, M. R. & Simão, L. (2007). *The Armenian Road to Democracy Dimensions of a Tortuous Process.* CEPS Working Document No. 267/May 2007. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/31392/267_The%20Armenian%20road%20to%20democracy.pdf

Galtung, J. (1973). *The European Community: A Superpower in the Making*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Galushko, V. (2009). *The Rise of 'People Power': Role of Civil Society in the "Color Revolutions.* [Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), dissertation, Old Dominion University] ODU Digital Commons Theses & Dissertations.

Giragosian, R. (2019). *Paradox of Power: Russia, Armenia, and Europe After the Velvet Revolution*. European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief/295.

Grigoryan, H. (2013). *Democracy in Armenia. EU's Eastern Partnership as a Supportive Tool Towards Democracy* [PhD Thesis, Comenius University] ACGRC.

Hale, H. E. (2016) "25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong?" *Journal of Democracy Vol. 27* (3), pp. 24-35.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Haukkala, H. (2008). The European Union as A Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Europe-Asia studies Vol. 60*, no. 9, pp. 1601-1622.

Hinkle, K. T. (2017). *Russia's Reactions to the Color Revolutions*. [Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School] Calhoun Thesis and Dissertation Collection.

Hyde-Price, A. (2006). "Normative' Power Europe: A Realist Critique." *Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 13* (2), pp. 218-234.

————————. (2008). "A 'Tragic Actor'? A Realist Perspective on 'Ethical Power Europe'." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 84* (1), pp. 29-44.

Kucera, J. (2019, 6 Agustus). "Pashinyan Calls for Unification between Armenia and Karabakh." *Eurasianet*. https://eurasianet.org/pashinyan-calls-for-unification-between-armenia-and-karabakh

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Lane, D. (2009). "'Coloured Revolution' as a Political Phenomenon." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics Vol. 25* (2), pp. 113-135. 10.1080/13523270902860295.

Levitsky, S. & Way, L. A. (2006). "Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics Vol. 38* (4), pp. 379-400

Liik, K. (2018, 21 Mei). "Winning the Normative War with Russia: An EU-Russia Power Audit." *European Council on Foreign Relations*. https://ecfr.eu/publication/winning_the_normative_war_with_russia_an_eu_russia_power_audit/

Loda, C. (2016). "The European Union as a Normative Power: The Case of Armenia." *East European Politics, vol. 33* (2), 275–290. doi:10.1080/21599165.2016.1230545

Makarov, A., Guliyev, F., Nodia, G., Delcour, L., & Baev, P. K. (2018, 8 Agustus). "No 104, Caucasus Analytical Digest: Armenia´s Velvet Revolution: Challenges to Regional Foreign Policy." *Center for Security Studies (CSS)*. https://css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/af3b99c5-d29e-4ace-a7c7-2e5663fe5932

Manners, I. (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies Vol. 40* (2), pp. 235-258.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Mejlumyan, A. (2019, 16 Oktober). "Amid War, Armenians Closely Watching the Signals from Russia." *Eurasianet*. https://eurasianet.org/amid-war-armenians-closely-watching-the-signals-from-russia

Minkina, M. & Kaszuba, M. (2021). "Color Revolutions as A Threat to Security of the Russian Federation: The Analysis of Russian Perspective." *Torun International Studies Vol. 1* (14), pp. 77–92. DOI 10.12775/TIS.2021.006.

Nilsson, M. & Silander, D. (2016). "Democracy and Security in the EU's Eastern Neighborhood? Assessing the ENP in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine." *Democracy & Security Vol. 12* (1), pp. 44-61.

Norling, N. & Cornell, S. (2016). *The Role of the European Union in Democracy-Building in Central Asia and the South Caucasus*. Swedia: International IDEA.

Noutcheva, G. (2018). "Whose Legitimacy? The EU and Russia in Contest for The Eastern Neighbourhood." *Democratization, vol. 25* (2), pp. 312-330, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2017.1363186

Ohanyan, A. (2021, 3 Maret). "Peace and Reform: Europe's Role in the Post-Karabakh War Caucasus." *Carnegie Moscow Center*. https://carnegie.ru/commentary/83987

Ordhukhanyan, E. (2019). "The Pecularities of Democratization in Post-Soviet Countries: Current Situation and Trends." *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research* Vol. 8 (6).

Osipova, S. (2010). *The Normative Power of the EU in neighbourhood democratization within the framework of the ENP: A Case Study on Armenia*. [Master Thesis, Linköping University]. Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet.

Pace, M. (2008). "The EU as a 'Force for Good' in Border Conflict Cases?" In Diez T., Stetter S., and Albert M. (eds.) *The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Power of Integration and Association*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 203-219.

Parlemen Eropa. (2017). "EU Relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan." *Directorate-General for External Policies, European Parliament*. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/133502/EU%20relations%20with%20Armenia%20and%20Azerbaijan.pdf

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

PM Armenia. (2018a, 17 Agustus). "Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan's Speech at Rally Dedicated to 100 Days in Office." https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2018/08/17/Nikol-Pashinyan-100-day-rally/

————————. (2018b, 7 Juni). "Speech Delivered by Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan while Introducing the Government Program to the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia." https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2018/06/07/Nikol-Pashinyan-Speech-National-Assembly/

————————. (2019, 26 September). "Statement by Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan at UN General Assembly 74th Session." https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2019/09/26/Nikol-Pashinyan-74th-session-of-UN-General-Assembly/

————————. (2020a, 21 Mei). "“The Velvet Revolution should Inevitably Lead to International Recognition of Artsakh's Self-determination” - Prime Minister and Mrs. Anna Hakobyan Attend Arayik Harutyunyan's Inauguration Ceremony." https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2020/05/21/Inauguration/

————————. (2020b, 23 Juli). "The Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Presented the Position of Armenia regarding the Recent Escalation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani Border and the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process." https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2020/07/23/Cabinet-meeting-Speech/

Roth, A. (2018a, 23 April). "Shock as Armenia's prime minister steps down after 11 days of protests." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/23/serzh-sargsyan-resigns-as-armenias-prime-minister-after-protests

————. (2018b, 8 Mei). "'He's Not a Populist, He's Popular': Nikol Pashinyan Becomes Armenian PM." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/08/hes-not-a-populist-hes-popular-nikol-pashinyan-becomes-armenian-pm

Saari, S. (2009). *Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in Russia (1st ed.)*. London: Routledge.

Sasse, G. 2013. “Linkages and the Promotion of Democracy: The EU's Eastern Neighbourhood.” *Democratization, vol. 20* (4): 553–591.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Schumacher, T. (2016). *Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Why the 'Black Garden' Will Not Blossom Any Time Soon*. EGMONT Security Policy Brief No. 71.

Shirinyan, A. (2019, 12 September). "Rebooting Armenia: What can the Eastern Partnership Offer after the Velvet Revolution?" *Heinrich Böll Tbilisi*. https://ge.boell.org/en/2019/09/12/rebooting-armenia-what-can-eastern-partnership-offer-after-velvet-revolution

Silander, Daniel & Nilsson, Martin. (2014). "Protecting and Promoting Europe: The ENP and the Security-Democracy Nexus in Partner States." *Journal of Applied Security Research vol. 9* (4), pp. 460-477. 10.1080/19361610.2014.942824.

Simão, L. (2012). "The Problematic Role of EU Democracy Promotion in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies Vol. 45* (1-2), pp. 193-200.

Simon, R. (1982). *Gramsci 's Political Thought: An Introduction*. London: Lawre.

Stefes, C. H. & Paturyan, Y. J. (2021). "After the Revolution: State, Civil Society, and Democratization in Armenia and Georgia." *Front. Polit. Sci. 3*:719478. doi: 10.3389/fpos.2021.719478

Stefes, C. (2006). *Understanding Post-Soviet Transitions, Corruption, Collusion and Clientelism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stewart, E. (2011). "Mind the Normative Gap? The EU in the South Caucasus," In R. G. Whitman (ed.), *Normative Power Europe: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 65-99.

Świtalski, P. A. (2020). *The Armenian Revolution: An Unfinished Cable*. Warsaw: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych & Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (PISM).

Tavitian, M. (2018, 5 April). "Armenia's Tricky EU-Russia Balancing Act." *Council of Foreign Relations*. https://www.cfr.org/interview/armenias-tricky-eu-russia-balancing-act

Terzyan, A. (2017). "The EU vs. Russia in the Foreign Policy Discourse of Armenia: The Fragility of Normative Power or the Power of Russian Coercion?" *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 8, pp. 185-203.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
Kekuatan Normatif Uni Eropa dalam Demokratisasi di Armenia Pasca-Revolusi Velvet 2018
M ANUGRAH UTAMA, Muhadi Sugiono, MA
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

————————. (2020). “The Aftermath of the "Velvet Revolution": Armenia Between Domestic Change and Foreign Policy Continuity.” *Eastern European Journal of Regional Studies Vol. 5*, no. 2, pp. 24-43.

The Washington Post. (2018). "Opinion: Some Badly Needed Good News for Democracy." *The Washington Post*. 12 May 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/some-badly-needed-good-news-for-democracy/2018/05/12/90ffc292-553f-11e8-abd8-265bd07a9859_story.html

Tocci, N. (2007). *The EU and Conflict Resolution: Promoting Peace in the Backyard*. Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

UE. (2017, 25 September). "Joint Proposal for a COUNCIL DECISION on the Conclusion, on Behalf of the European Union, of the Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the One Part, and the Republic of Armenia, of the Other Part." *EUR-Lex*. https://eurlex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52017JC0037

Zagorski, A. V. (2011). *Eastern Partnership from the Russian Perspective,* Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, no. 3, p. 47.

Zolyan, M. (2019). *The Poverty of Authoritarianism: What Made the Armenian Revolution Possible*. Caucasus Analytical Digest No. 108. DOI: 10.3929/ethz-b-000323671