

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abbink, J. (2006). Discomfiture of democracy? The 2005 election crisis in Ethiopia and its aftermath. *African Affairs*, 105(419), 173–199. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adi122>
- Abbink, J. (2021). The Atlantic Community mistake on Ethiopia: counter-productive statements and data-poor policy of the EU and the USA on the Tigray conflict. *ASC Working Paper Series*, April. <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/3158742%25>
- Action, C. F. P. (2023). *Conflict in Ethiopia*. Global Conflict Tracker. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-ethiopia>
- Addis Standard. (2023). *News: AU proposes extension of ceasefire monitoring experts' term limits to expedite peace process in Ethiopia*. <https://addisstandard.com/news-au-proposes-extension-of-ceasefire-monitoring-experts-term-limits-to-expedite-peace-process-in-ethiopia/>
- Africa Union. (2022). “*Agreement for Lasting Peace through a Permanent Cessation of Hostilities between the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Tigray People’s Liberation Front*.” <https://web.archive.org/web/20221111111115/https://addisstandard.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/AU-led-Ethiopia-Peace-Agreement.pdf>
- African Union. (2022). *The African Union Launches the African Union Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission in Mekelle, Tigray Region, Ethiopia*. <https://www.peaceau.org/en/article/the-african-union-launches-the-african-union-monitoring-verification-and-compliance-mission-in-mekelle-tigray-region-ethiopia?>
- Aljazeera. (2021). *TPLF says Ethiopian gov’t claim of Mekelle withdrawal a ‘lie.’* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/30/army-can-re-enter-tigray-within-weeks-if-needed-govt-official?>
- Amnesty International. (2023). *Ethiopia: Eritrean soldiers committed war crimes and possible crimes against humanity after signing of agreement to end hostilities – new report*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/09/eritrean-soldiers-committed-war-crimes-and-possible-crimes-against-humanity-in-the-tigray-region-after-signing-of-agreement-to-end-hostilities/>
- Andemikael, A. G. (2021a). The Conflict in Tigray and its Challenges for Sustainable Peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia. *International Journal of Research and*

Innovation in Social Science, 05(11).
<https://doi.org/10.47772/ijriss.2021.51126>

Andemikael, A. G. (2021b). The Conflict in Tigray and its Challenges for Sustainable Peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 05(11), 449–455.
<https://doi.org/10.47772/ijriss.2021.51126>

Anggito, A. . & S. J. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher).
https://doi.org/https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=59V8DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Metode+penelitian+kualitatif+bertujuan+untuk+menghasilkan+data+deskriptif+berupa+kata-kata+tertulis+atau+lisan+dalam+menganalisis+suatu+fenomena+yang+dalam+i+oleh+subjek+penelitian.+&ots=5IcAnCfwJr&sig=QFW7RQpUzDniyr4V-708sjAvh7w&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Anies, S., Negash, E., Sloover, L. De, & Bempt, T. Vanden. (2021). *Tigray: Atlas of the humanitarian situation*. *Journal of Maps Preprint*, (June), 1–72. September.

Associated Press. (2024). *Eritrean troops are accused of abducting farmers and stealing livestock in Ethiopia's Tigray*. <https://apnews.com/article/ethiopia-tigray-eritrean-troops-abducting-farmers-livestock-bd11f55a42b4705a2da5c01afbd7cc74>

Atrocities Watch Africa. (2024). *Monitor Report - June 2024*.
<https://atrocitieswatch.org/monitor/monitor-june-2024/>

BBC. (2020). *Tigray crisis: Eritrea's role in Ethiopian conflict*. BBC.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55295650>

BBC. (2021). *Ethiopia's Abiy Ahmed: The Nobel Prize winner who went to war*.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43567007>

Blanchard, L. P. (2021). *Ethiopia's Transition and the Tigray Conflict*.
<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46905>

Burke, J. (2022). *Ethiopian civil war: parties agree on end to hostilities*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/02/ethiopian-civil-war-parties-agree-truce-to-end-hostilities?>

Chotimah, H. C. (2016). Identitas Nasional dan Norma Internasional Sebagai Pertimbangan Politik Indonesia Dalam Merespons Aksi dan Jaringan Terorisme Global. *Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 7(2), 189–209.

- Dessie, W. A., Belete, S. B., & Dagnew, A. K. (2024). The conflict between the Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE): Special emphasis on the Pretoria Agreement. *African Security Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2024.2379902>
- Devermont, J. (2020). The Battle of Mekelle and Its Implications for Ethiopia. *Center For Strategic & International Studies*. https://www.csis.org/analysis/battle-mekelle-and-its-implications-ethiopia?utm_source
- Donnelly, J. (2013). *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (3rd ed.). Cornell University. https://api.pageplace.de/preview/DT0400.9780801467493_A29968226/preview-9780801467493_A29968226.pdf
- European Commission. (2023). *Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) for Ethiopia – DG ECHO*. https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/index_en
- Finnemore, M. (2017). National interests in international society. In *National Interests in International Society*. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501707384>
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2017). International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *Theories of International Relations*, 52(4), 139–174. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315236339-14>
- Fisseha, G., Gebrehiwot, T. G., Gebremichael, M. W., Wahdey, S., Meles, G. G., Gezae, K. E., Legesse, A. Y., Asgedom, A. A., Tsadik, M., Woldemichael, A., Gebreyesus, A., Abebe, H. T., Haile, Y. A., Gezahegn, S., Aregawi, M., Berhane, K. T., Godefay, H., & Mulugeta, A. (2023). War-related sexual and gender-based violence in Tigray, Northern Ethiopia: a community-based study. *BMJ Global Health*, 8(7). <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2022-010270>
- Gebrehiwot, M. (2025). *Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe In a Widespread War of All against All , Can Ethiopia Survive the Storm ? POLICY BRIEF In a Widespread War of All against All , Can Ethiopia Survive the Storm ? January*. <https://doi.org/10.7488/ERA/PEACEREP-2025-003>
- Gebbru, A. L. (2024). *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies The Pretoria Agreement : Reflections on its Essence , Implementation Status and the Way-Forward The Pretoria Agreement : Reflections on its Essence , Implementation Status and*. 6(1).
- Geremedhn, M. A., & Gebrihet, H. G. (2024). The Dynamics of Humanitarian Diplomacy During Wartime: Insights from Tigray Crisis in Ethiopia. *Social Sciences*, 13(11), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci13110626>

- Gesesew, H., Berhane, K., Siraj, E. S., Siraj, D., Gebregziabher, M., Gebre, Y. G., Gebreslassie, S. A., Amdes, F., Tesema, A. G., Siraj, A., Aregawi, M., Gezahegn, S., & Tesfay, F. H. (2021). The impact of war on the health system of the Tigray region in Ethiopia: an assessment. *BMJ Global Health*, 6(11). <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2021-007328>
- Getachew, S. (2023). *USAID/WFP food aid freeze leads to suffering and deaths in Tigray*. https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2023/06/22/usaidwfp-food-aid-freeze-leads-suffering-and-deaths-tigray?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Harter, F. (2024). *Rounded up, massacred and posted on social media: can Ethiopia bring justice for atrocities in Tigray?* <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2024/nov/07/ethiopia-justice-tigray-atrocities-crimes-violence?>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). *Ethiopia: Eritrean Forces Massacre Tigray Civilians*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/03/05/ethiopia-eritrean-forces-massacre-tigray-civilians>
- International, A. (2021). *Ethiopia: Troops and militia rape, abduct women and girls in Tigray conflict – new report*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/08/ethiopia-troops-and-militia-rape-abduct-women-and-girls-in-tigray-conflict-new-report/>
- International Crisis Group. (2019). *Managing Ethiopia's Unsettled Transition*. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/269-managing-ethiopias-unsettled-transition>
- International Crisis Group. (2021). *Ethiopia's Tigray War: A Deadly, Dangerous Stalemate*. 171, 1–14. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b171-ethiopia-tigray-war_0.pdf
- Ishiyama, J. (2023). Ethnic Identity and Conflict: The Case of Ethiopia. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 24(1). <https://doi.org/10.1353/gia.2023.a897696>
- Jordan, B. (2023). Diplomasi Kemanusiaan International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Dalam Konflik Ethiopia-Tigray 2020-2022. *Jom Fisip*, 10(2).
- Katriana. (2024). *PBB ungkap ada sebanyak 4,5 juta pengungsi internal di Ethiopia*. Antara. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4183839/pbb-ungkap-ada-sebanyak-45-juta-pengungsi-internal-di-ethiopia?utm_source
- Kenya, N. (2022). *Eritrea's shadow looms over Ethiopian peace process*. Le Monde. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/11/15/eritrea-s-shadow-looms-over-ethiopian-peace-process_6004305_4.html?

- Khairunnisa, A. A. (2018). Penerapan Prinsip-Prinsip Hak Asasi Manusia Dalam Pembentukan Produk Hukum oleh Pemerintah Daerah. *Jurnal Manajemen Pemerintahan*, 5(7), 65–78.
- Lisvia, L., & Aftah, C. (2023). Peran UNHCR Dalam Menangani Masalah Pengungsi Ethiopia di Sudan tahun 2020-2021. *Interdependence Journal of International Studies*, 4(1), 26–36. <https://doi.org/10.54144/ijis.v4i1.60>
- Lumintoarsih, F. R. (2021). Peran Unchr dalam Permasalahan Pengungsi Konflik Ethiopia-Tigray. *Journal of Integrative International Relations*, 6(2), 75–89. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8334824>
- Marks, S., & Walsh, D. (2021). *They Told Us Not to Resist": Sexual Violence Pervades Ethiopia's War*. *Sexual Violence Pervades Ethiopia's War*.
- Mekonen, F. G. (2023). *A year after the Pretoria agreement, hard work remains for Ethiopia*. Institute For Security Studies. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/a-year-after-the-pretoria-agreement-hard-work-remains-for-ethiopia>
- Muhammad, N. F. A., Putri, G. H., Aulia, D. F., & Prakoso, S. G. (2024). Unraveling the Political Motives of Eritrea in the Tigray Conflict. *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)*, 13(1), 19. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.13.1.19-30.2024>
- Nyadera, I. N., & Osedo, C. O. (2023). Civil War between the Ethiopian Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front: A Challenge to Implement the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 23(1), 35–59. <https://doi.org/10.17159/ajcr.v23i1.16771>
- OCHA. (2024). *Ethiopia Humanitarian Needs Overview 2024 (February 2024)*. <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/ethiopia/ethiopia-humanitarian-needs-overview-2024-february-2024>
- OHCHR-EHRC. (2021). Report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC)/Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Joint Investigation into Alleged Violations of International Human Rights, Humanitarian and Refugee Law Committed by all Parties. *United Nation Digital Library*, 1–22. <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/ET/OHCHR-EHRC-Tigray-Report.pdf>
- Plaut, M., & Vaughan, S. (2023). *Understanding Ethiopia 's Tigray War*. M.
- Pragilaksono, B. (2022). Konflik Berkepanjangan Ethiopia: Sebuah Penghampiran Mediasi Ethiopia-Tigray. *Jurnal Sentris*, 3(1).

<https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v3i1.5062.16-26>

- Puspita, N. Y., Fahira, N., & Andhika, R. (2022). Kekerasan Seksual terhadap Perempuan dalam Konflik Bersenjata di Tigray Ethiopia dalam Kajian Hukum Internasional. *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender Dan Anak*. <https://doi.org/10.24090/yinyang.v17i1.6328>
- Rachmawati, I. (2012). Konstruktivisme sebagai Pendekatan Alternatif dalam Hubungan Internasional Iva Rachmawati, M.Si 1. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 16(1), 25–34.
- Redie Bereketeab. (2010). The Complex Roots of the Second Eritrea- Ethiopia War: Re-examining the Causes. *African Journal of International Affairs*, 13(1–2). <https://doi.org/10.57054/ajia.v13i1-2.5232>
- Reid, R. (2020). *Conflict between Tigray and Eritrea – the long standing faultline in Ethiopian politics*. <https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/article/conflict-between-tigray-and-eritrea-the-long-standing-faultline-in-ethiopian-politics?>
- Reid, R. (2022). Eritrea is involved in Tigray to boost its stature. Why the strategy could backfire. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/eritrea-is-involved-in-tigray-to-boost-its-stature-why-the-strategy-could-backfire-175591>
- Reid, R. (2023). Old Problems in New Conflicts: Some Observations on Eritrea and its Relations with Tigray, from Liberation Struggle to Inter-State War. *Africa*, 73(3). <https://doi.org/10.3366/afr.2003.73.3.369>
- Sari, V. Y., Nugrahaningsih, N., & Nuzulian, U. (2022). Implementasi Rezim Internasional dalam Menangani Conflict-Related Sexual Violence di Tigray. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 7(1), 154. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v7n1.8>
- Setiani, I., & Sulaeman, Z. (2021). Kepemimpinan Perdana Menteri Etiopia Abiy Ahmed Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Etiopia Dan Eritrea. *Sriwijaya Journal of International Relations*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.47753/sjir.v1i2.57>
- Setyaningsih, D. (2021). Perbedaan Pendekatan Konstruktivisme Konvensional dengan Konstruktivisme Kritis dalam Teori Hubungan Internasional. *Jurnal PIR : Power in International Relations*, 6(1), 33.
- Shay, S. (2022). Ethiopia – conflicts in three frontlines. *Security Science Journal*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.37458/ssj.3.1.6>
- State, U. S. D. of. (2023). *2023 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Eritrea*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

<https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/eritrea/>?

Temin Jon, B. Y. (2019). Aspirations and Realities in Africa: Ethiopia's Quiet Revolution. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(3), 139–153. <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/aspirations-and-realities-in-africa-ethiopias-quiet-revolution/>

United Nations. (2009). *Resolution 1907 (2009) Adopted by the Security Council at its 6254th meeting, on 23 December 2009. S/Res/1907*(December 23).

Vinck, P. (2023). Ethiopia Peace & Justice Survey 2023. *Nucl. Phys.*, 13(1), 104–116.

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 46(2). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027764>

Wijayanti, D. T., & Aini, S. N. (2023). Uni Afrika: Membangun Jembatan Perdamaian Dalam Konflik Pemerintah Ethiopia Dan Tigray. *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik*, 5.

Yatene, Y. (2023). The Pretoria Agreement for Tigray: One Year After. *Horn Of Africa*. <https://hoa.boell.org/en/2023/11/01/pretoria-agreement-tigray-one-year-after>

Yimenu, B. G. (2022). The Politics of Ethnonational Accommodation Under a Dominant Party Regime: Ethiopia's Three Decades' Experience. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 58(8), 1622–1638. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096221097663>

Zelalem, Z. (2024). *Addis summit raises questions about AU's muted stance on Ethiopia rifts*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/2/14/addis-summit-raises-questions-about-ethiopias-many-conflicts?>