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Indonesia's Identity and Norms in Response to the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict in 2020: A Constructivism View

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Abstract

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict escalated again in 2020, confronting between Azerbaijan and Armenia. As the main actors of the conflict, have claimed approximately 5000 victims in the fighting that took place in the border areas of each of these countries. At that time there were 130 Indonesian citizens in Azerbaijan and 2 Indonesian citizens in Armenia. This situation certainly demands the attitude of Indonesia. Moreover, at that time Indonesia was serving as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. This study seeks to examine the influence of identity and norms in Indonesia's response to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in 2020. The researcher uses a constructivist approach to the significance of the construction and Indonesian identity and norms. Researchers also try to analyze and describe the relationship between national identity and international norms with forms of response and Indonesian foreign policy. By using qualitative methods sourced from interviews with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as literature studies to enrich data analysis. Through this framework, the author concludes that there are several identities that encourage Indonesia to respond to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Namely the identity of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the identity of an Islamic state, the identity of a free and active foreign policy, and an identity with fellow Islamic countries in the OIC. In addition to identity, Indonesia's response is also driven by the norms of Peace and War, both unwritten and institutionalized in the United Nations.

Keywords: Identity, Norm, Foreign Policy, Nagorno-Karabakh, Indonesia

Abstrak

Konflik Nagorno-Karabakh kembali bereskalasi pada tahun 2020 kemarin. Azerbaijan dan Armenia sebagai aktor utama konflik, telah merenggut kurang lebih 5000 korban dalam pertempuran yang terjadi di wilayah perbatasan masing-masing negara tersebut. Saat itu terdapat 130 WNI di Azerbaijan dan 2 WNI di Armenia. Situasi ini tentu menuntut sikap Indonesia. Terlebih saat itu Indonesia tengah menjabat Anggota Tidak Tetap DK PBB.

Penelitian ini berupaya mengkaji pengaruh identitas dan norma Indonesia dalam merespon konflik Nagorno-Karabakh di tahun 2020. Peneliti menggunakan pendekatan konstruktivisme untuk menekankan signifikansi dari konstruksi serta pengaruh identitas dan norma Indonesia. Peneliti juga coba menganalisis dan mendeskripsikan keterkaitan antara identitas nasional dan norma internasional dengan bentuk-bentuk respon dan kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif yang bersumber dari wawancara dengan Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, serta studi pustaka untuk memperkaya Analisa data. Melalui kerangka tersebut, penulis menyimpulkan terdapat beberapa identitas yang mendorong Indonesia merespon konflik Nagorno-Karabakh. Yaitu identitas Preamble UUD 1945, identitas negara Islam, identitas politik luar negeri bebas aktif, dan identitas dengan sesama negara-negara Islam dalam OKI. Selain identitas, respon Indonesia juga didorong oleh norma Perdamaian dan Peperangan, baik secara tidak tertulis maupun yang sudah terlembaga dalam PBB.

Kata Kunci: Identitas, Norma, Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Nagorno-Karabakh, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is a conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. These two countries are both in the South Caucasus. Meanwhile, Nagorno-Karabakh is centered in the Karabakh region which is part of the Republic of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh Republic), and borders the territories of Armenia and Azerbaijan. The majority of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh is Armenian. Although geographically most of the Nagorno-Karabakh region belongs to the territory of Azerbaijan. It is this background that makes Armenia and Azerbaijan mutually claim that Nagorno-Karabakh is their territory.

Historically, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict initiated by economic-political competition between ethnic Azeris and Armenians who were fighting for jobs in the oil, textile, and tobacco industries. This conflict was triggered by the discovery of an oil field in Baku in 1870. Since that year many Armenians from Nagorno-Karabakh, Zangezur and the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire have migrated to Baku in droves (Geukjian, 2012).

Armenia and Azerbaijan are back at war in Nagorno-Karabakh in 2020. Both sides accuse each other of starting the war. The war that took place from September 27 to November 10 was sparked by the shooting incident by the Armenian military against five Azerbaijani soldiers. Azerbaijan then responded with air and ground attacks on Armenia, and claimed the lives of 16 Armenian soldiers. This situation prompted both countries to implement a martial law system.

As of September 28, 2020, the Azerbaijani military attacked Armenian forces in its territory, including in Stepanakert, the capital of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh. The artillery attacks launched on the Nagorno-Karabakh border have claimed the lives of 15 soldiers from both sides and hundreds of civilians. And as of September 29, 2020, the Security Council (DK) of the United Nations (UN) urged the two countries to carry out a ceasefire and conclude a peace agreement. This warning was not heeded so that war broke out again in the cities of Stepanakert and Ganja on October 4, 2020.

Russia then issued a data release of war casualties. According to this data, the number of victims reached 5,000 people in early October 2020 (BBC, 2020). The war was stopped after a peace agreement was signed by Armenia and Azerbaijan as of November 10, 2020 (DW, 2020). The memorandum of understanding was signed by Nikol Pashinyan as Prime Minister

of Armenia, Ilham Aliyev as President of Azerbaijan and Vladimir Putin as President of Russia and representatives of conflict mediators. Azerbaijan will take control of Shusha, the largest city in Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia also agreed to withdraw from the majority of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict area periodically (Thomas, 2022).

Responding to the war, the Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) released a statement of stance: (1) Indonesia is concerned about the escalation of the armed conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Nagorno Karabakh region. (2) Indonesia calls on both parties to exercise restraint, carry out a ceasefire, promote dialogue and resolve conflicts peacefully in accordance with international law and existing UN Security Council resolutions. Indonesia also calls for the two parties to return to the Minsk Process negotiating table facilitated by the OSCE. (3) Calling on Indonesian citizens residing in Azerbaijan and Armenia to always comply with the regulations stipulated by the local government and to always maintain communication with the Indonesian Embassy. And (4) Based on the records of the Indonesian Embassy in Baku, there are 130 Indonesian citizens in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, based on the records of the Indonesian Embassy in Kyiv, there are 2 Indonesian citizens in Armenia. All Indonesian citizens are in a safe condition (Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, 2020).

This study intends to describe how identity and norms encourage the Indonesian government's response to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in 2020 through constructivism theory. The emergence of constructivism in the study of IR was inspired by the theory of symbolic interactionism in Sociology. For this reason, constructivists assess the non-material dimension (ideas and awareness) as a determining factor in influencing the actions of actors. The non-material dimension manifests in the identities, norms and interests of actors. the state or other actors are analogous to rational and conscious individuals. Such beliefs place constructivism in direct opposition to realism and liberalism, which uphold the material dimension (military and economic) as a determining factor (Rosyidin, 2015). Constructivists believe that the material world does not exist nakedly, and the level of objectivity of human knowledge about the material world is strongly influenced by interpretation and language (Carlsnaes, Risse, & Simmons, 2014).

Constructivism epistemology is based on the relationship between agents (actors) and structures (social environment). By contextualizing Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, constructivism understands the relationship between agent and structure is always in a reciprocal process, being (becoming) and forming (constituted). The action of the agent is conditioned by the structure, while the structure is created by the action of the agent. The relationship is understood as a never-ending cycle. Apart from the relationship between agency and structure, another fundamental concept is identity and norms.

In general, identity is defined as a set of social, cultural, psychological, philosophical, biological, and historical characters that represent and validate the essence of one individual with another, one group with another, and vice versa. These characters are manifested in values, beliefs, norms, symbols, attitudes and awareness individually and socially (alsadaty, 2020). Alexander Wendt calls identity "*the inherent attribute of an actor that drives action.*" Identity or attribute can be understood through its two properties. First, identity in social categories. Such traits will help actors to understand themselves and distinguish them from the identities of other actors. In a simple analogy, an individual will only know himself after he interacts and knows other individuals. Second, in the personal category. In contrast to the first, this trait will help actors understand themselves without going through the process of distinguishing themselves from others. Through his attributes, the actor always interprets the situation outside

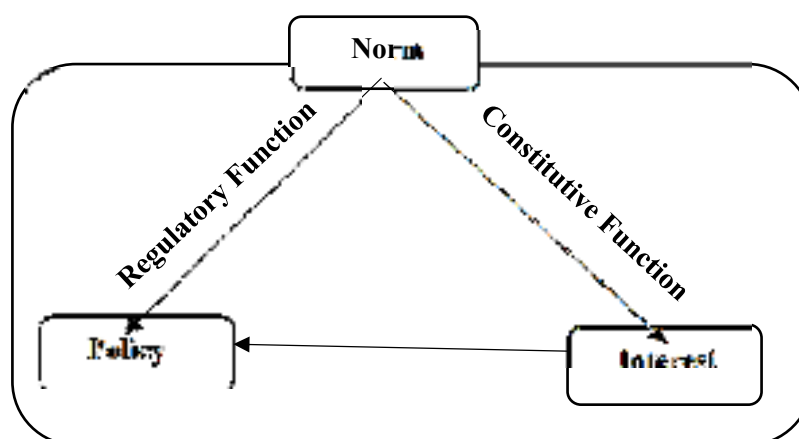
himself. The situation will determine the way actors act towards the environment and other actors. While the action is based on the interests to be achieved by the actor.

Wendt also mentions that identity is not singular and static. According to him, the actor will bear several identities at once. Among them are type identity and role identity. Type identity is an attribute that is intrinsic to the actor. This identity stems from the way and the process of the actor understands himself. This understanding then classifies actors into certain categories. For example, monarchy countries, socialist countries, capitalist countries, Islamic countries and so on. Meanwhile, role identity is an attribute of the role or position carried out by actors in a community. This identity is extrinsic because it requires an understanding of the existence of other actors. After the actor understands his identity, that identity will guide the way the actor acts towards other actors and external situations.

Meanwhile, Martha Finnemore defines norms as "*the shared expectations held by a group of actors regarding appropriate behavior.*" Finnemore's definition implies how constructivism's logic of appropriation is used to define norms. Finnemore is in deal with James Fearon and Alexander Wendt. Both also believe that actors will naturally act according to norms. Because outwardly actors already have the belief that norms are good and mandatory, and will act by considering their identity. And by carrying out the norm, actors will stay away from selfishness, by helping to accommodate the expectations and interests of other actors (Carlsnaes et al., 2014).

Constructivists believe that norms have a regulatory and constitutive function. the regulatory function provides a basis or reference for actors to act. While the constitutive function forms the identity and interests of actors (Rosyidin, 2015). Norms can be in the form of unwritten or written rules. Unwritten norms are not physically tangible. Its existence is in the form of understanding, acceptance and recognition by the international community regarding standards of action that are considered appropriate or not. In international law it can be a source of customary international law. While written norms are physically tangible in international conventions (pacts) that apply to each party involved, general principles of international law, and additional sources such as previous court decisions and the writings of leading experts.

Table 1. Norm's Double Function.



Source: Mohamad Rosyidin/*The Power of Ideas*, 2015

Norms can also be manifested at the international level (structural norms) and national (domestic norms). According to Mohamad Rosyidin, structural norms "*refer to the order of*

values and rules constructed by international actors which then compel these actors to behave in accordance with moral standards". Meanwhile, domestic norms *"refer to the standards of values and behavior adopted by a particular country."* When norms are manifested in an institution, it will automatically influence the identity of actors and determine their actions.

From this description, it can be understood that identity and norms have an important role in constructivist research models. Identity and norms are both independent and dependent variables. Become an independent variable because both are able to describe the motives of the actor's actions. Also a dependent variable because both are also products of social construction (Rosyidin, 2015).

Constructivism views the relationship between identity and norms as follows. In dealing with all situations and conditions, norms will give meaning and guide actors in choosing actions that are in accordance with the rules, principles and rules that have been agreed upon by many people. The actor will then interpret the meaning by considering his identity. These meanings and considerations give birth to the interests of actors which are then manifested in the form of action. Therefore, constructivism believes that social structure is the result of social construction (interpretation and reinterpretation), which is the result of interactions between actors (agents) and the social environment (structure) (Rachmawati, 2016). For this reason, the identities, norms and interests of actors are not static, but dialectical in influencing each other. Also liquid depending on the construction.

In this research, constructivism helps to understand and explain the conception of Indonesia's foreign policy based on considerations of culture, norms and international structures (Ikbar, 2014). By using a constructivist view, Indonesia will be analogous to an individual who has ideas, awareness, rationality, identity, interests and so on (Rosyidin, 2015). And like a good individual, Indonesian actions will always be judged based on habits and rules (logic of appropriation) (Carlsnaes et al., 2014).

This research does not solely focus on Indonesia's foreign policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, through a constructivist approach, the author tries to emphasize the significance of how national identity and international norms are interrelated as Indonesia's considerations in responding to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The author also tries to explain the relationship between national identity and international norms with forms of response and Indonesian foreign policy. To this day, little research has been done on the Indonesian government's foreign policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The main argument of this research is that the statement of Indonesia's attitude through the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is a manifestation of the consideration of national identity and international norms.

Research on the influence of national identity and international norms on Indonesia's foreign policy has been widely carried out. Several researchers suggest the influence of Islamic identity in Indonesia's foreign policy. For example Atep Abdurofiq and Bimo Arfino. Both of them view that Indonesia's foreign policy is very much colored by Islamic identity. Although both also believe that Islamic identity is only a secondary factor. The difference from the two studies, Atep Abdurofiq contextualizes Islamic identity with political alignments with Palestine in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Abdurofiq, 2018). Meanwhile, Bimo Arfino describes the history of the influence of Islamic identity in Indonesia's foreign policy from the post-independence period to the leadership of Joko Widodo (Arfino, 2020).

Many studies that try to contextualize non-Islamic identities in Indonesian foreign policy have also been carried out. Among them by Mohamad Rosyidin regarding the intersubjective structure of Indonesia's friendship with the United States (US) which prompted

the Indonesian government to perceive the US military base in Darwin as not a threat. This intersubjectivity was built by the interaction and cooperation between Indonesia and the US (Rosyidin, 2013). Also Dias Pabyantara who investigated the influence of Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic country and a supporter of world peace which influenced the formation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the Ambalat case (Pabyantara, 2013). Also Hidayat Chusnul Chotimah regarding the influence of international norms related to terrorism as well as national identity in the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila which encourage Indonesia to act towards terrorism issues in the domestic and international realm (Chotimah, 2016). These studies have also enriched the discourse on the study of International Relations (IR). However, it can be said that there has not been much research on the influence of national identity and international norms on Indonesia in responding to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses an explanatory research type. Explanative research is research that aims to explain, test hypotheses from research variables. This study focuses on the analysis of the relationships between variables. In this study, the author wants to explain the relationship between national identity and international norms on the Indonesian government's response to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. To strengthen the explanation the author also uses a constructivism approach.

The data usage technique used by the author is library research. The author uses research sources which are divided into three categories. First, the results of interviews and archived reports from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Second, the results of previous research on the history and dynamics of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the Indonesian government's foreign policy in responding to conflicts in several other countries. Third, scientific articles and news from online media related to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the Indonesian government's response to the conflict. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique used in this research is qualitative data analysis technique. Qualitative data analysis technique is an analysis of data obtained from various sources using various data collection techniques, and is carried out continuously (Sugiyono, 2016).

This qualitative research is explanatory in order to understand and explain the object of the related research. By using a constructivist approach, this explanatory data is expected to be able to produce a comprehensive description of the Indonesian government's response to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The analysis in this study seeks to explain the relationship between data regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and synthesize it with the Indonesian government's response to the conflict, so that it becomes a new formulation of meaning.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The constructivism perspective was born in the United States in the late 1980s (Rosyidin, 2015). While the first use of the term "constructivism" in the study of International Relations (IR) was carried out by Nicholas Onuf, an IR scientist from Florida International University, through his work *World of Our Making: Rule and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (1989).

The emergence of constructivism in the study of IR was inspired by the theory of symbolic interactionism in Sociology. For this reason, constructivists assess the non-material dimension (ideas and awareness) as a determining factor in influencing the actions of actors. The non-material dimension manifests in the identities, norms and interests of actors. the state or other actors are analogous to rational and conscious individuals. Such beliefs place constructivism in direct opposition to realism and liberalism, which uphold the material dimension (military and economic) as a determining factor (Rosyidin, 2015). Constructivists

believe that the material world does not exist nakedly, and the level of objectivity of human knowledge about the material world is strongly influenced by interpretation and language (Carlsnaes et al., 2014).

In the previous section, the theoretical significance of identity in constructivism has been described. Identity is an attribute attached to the actor, which distinguishes him from other actors, as well as which will encourage the actor's meaning and actions to situations outside himself. This framework can be more easily understood through Alexander Wendt's theory of typology of identity. Among these typologies are type identity and role identity.

Through this type of identity, Indonesia can be classified as a democratic state, a unitary state as well as an Islamic state. Being called an Islamic state does not mean that Indonesia adheres to an Islamic government system, but the dynamics of national and state life in Indonesia are very much colored by Islamic values (Zuhri, 2021). Islamic identity is formed from the majority population of the Indonesian Muslim community. Including the founding fathers and mothers of Indonesia. So many national political parties with Islamic orientation have been involved in Indonesia's history (Salim, 2020). Rizal Sukma's research shows how Islamic values influence Indonesia's foreign policy. For example, during the early days of independence, the Indonesian government often used Islamic identity in building diplomatic relations with Islamic countries in the Middle East region (Umar, 2016).

Meanwhile, in role identity, Indonesia portrays itself as a creator or pioneer of peace (peace maker). With this role, Indonesia often actively participates in the resolution of international conflicts. As in 2011 when he became a mediator-integrator between Thailand and Cambodia in the dispute over the Preah Vihear Temple (Antuli, Rezky Ramadhan, Heryadi, Dudi & Rezasyah, 2019). In the South China Sea conflict, Indonesia is also a mediator between China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia and encourages them to agree on the *Code of Conduct in the South China Sea* (Toruan, 2020). Indonesia has also consistently participated in the membership and missions of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces (UNPK) since 1957 (Hutabarat, 2016). In addition, Indonesia has been elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (DK) four times. And in his last period between 2019-2020 Indonesia served as the Presidency (Wangke, 2019).

The role of the peace maker is closely related to the principle of a free and active foreign policy (Mila, Vida, & Adi, 2020). Freedom means that the Indonesian people have the right to act independently in dealing with all kinds of international problems without intervention or taking sides with anyone. And active means that in every foreign policy, Indonesia will always be pro-active "*to participate in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice*" as has been mandated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This identity was first put forward by Sutan Sjahrir in 1947 because he saw the reality a bipolar pattern of international relations dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War. Or in Mohamad Hatta's language, being free and active is the same as "*rowing between two rocks*" (Haryanto, 2016).

The Wendt's typology has helped to decipher Indonesian identity within the framework of constructivism. This identity is integrated in the life of the Indonesian nation into a national identity or identity that is attached and binds all individuals of the Indonesian nation based on physical similarities (culture, religion and language) and non-physical (vision, ideals and goals) (Chotimah, 2016). This identity helps the Indonesian people to understand themselves and their environment. So that the Indonesian government also understands how Indonesia should interact and behave with other countries or actors (Fredy & Raegen, 2022; Harahap & Anisyah, 2021; Mislawaty et al., 2022).

In addition, Indonesia's behavior towards other actors is also influenced by norms. Norms are defined by Martha Finnemore by "*the shared expectations of a group of actors regarding appropriate behavior.*" One example is the norm of war and peace. One of the backgrounds that encourage the creation of norms of peace and war is the international community's awareness of the damage and inequality in various countries as a result of World War (WW) I and II. The international community then realized the dangers of war and the importance of bringing about world peace. Until now, this situation has constructed the international community to condemn acts of aggression and occupation. This construction encouraged the political elites of the alliance of WWII allied countries to spearhead the formation of the United Nations.

The first paragraph of the Preamble of the UN Charter clearly states the determination to save future generations of mankind from the curse of war (Fadillah, Hidayat, Mahrida, Hasan, & Bahrar, 2018). The charter is an illustration of how the norms of war and peace become written norms until they are institutionalized. Institutionalized norms will be considered rational and contain moral strength in a social context. Since the UN Charter was ratified on October 24, 1947, this Norm has constructed, bound and guided the actions of UN member states in acting internationally. Indonesia is no exception.

Indonesia itself joined the United Nations on September 28, 1950. The Indonesian government views the ideals of the United Nations as compatible with Indonesia's domestic norms in upholding "*world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice*" as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Another domestic norm of Indonesia is to be actively involved establish diplomatic relations with Islamic countries. This is inseparable from the type identity of Indonesia as an Islamic country. These domestic norms have guided Indonesia until the current presidency of President Joko Widodo (Arfino, 2020). Several examples can be cited: Indonesia's consistency in being actively involved in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), supporting Palestinian independence in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Satris, 2019), the Saudi-Iran conflict (Agustin, Sari, Nabila, & Adi, 2020), and the Rohingya crisis (Rosyid, 2019).

Indonesia's Response to Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict raged again in 2020. This time, Armenia and Azerbaijan fought a war for six weeks. From 27 September when the Armenian military shot five Azerbaijani military troops, until 10 November when the armistice agreement was signed for the umpteenth time by Armenia and Azerbaijan. Vladimir Putin as President of Russia and representatives of conflict mediators led Nikol Pashinyan as Prime Minister of Armenia and Ilham Aliyev as President of Azerbaijan in signing the peace agreement. Referring to the official release of the Russian government, during the war there were no less than 5000 civilian and military casualties (Thomas, 2022). And in such a situation, the Indonesian government through the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu) officially released a statement of attitude towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: (1) Indonesia is concerned about the escalation of the armed conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Nagorno Karabakh region. (2) Indonesia calls on both parties to exercise restraint, carry out a ceasefire, promote dialogue and resolve conflicts peacefully in accordance with international law and existing UN Security Council resolutions. Indonesia also calls for the two parties to return to the Minsk Process negotiation table facilitated by the OSCE. (3) Calling on Indonesian citizens residing in Azerbaijan and Armenia to always comply with the regulations stipulated by the local government and to always maintain communication with the Indonesian Embassy. (4) Based on the records of the Indonesian Embassy in Baku, currently there are 130 Indonesian citizens in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, based on the records of the Indonesian Embassy in Kyiv, there are

2 Indonesian citizens in Armenia. All Indonesian citizens are in a safe condition (Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, 2020).

Within the framework of constructivism, the Indonesian government's response to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is guided by national identity and international norms. Indonesia's national identity encourages Indonesia to interpret the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Meanwhile, international norms provide rules for Indonesia regarding how it should behave. National identity and international norms will then determine how Indonesia reacts to the conflict (Fredy & Raegen, 2022). The meaning of identity and norms will then create Indonesia's national interest which is manifested in action. Constructivism understands national interest as a product of interpretation of international situations and conditions (Rosyidin, 2015). Just like identity and norms, national interest will always experience interpretation and reinterpretation. Indonesia's national interest in responding to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is reflected in a statement released by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

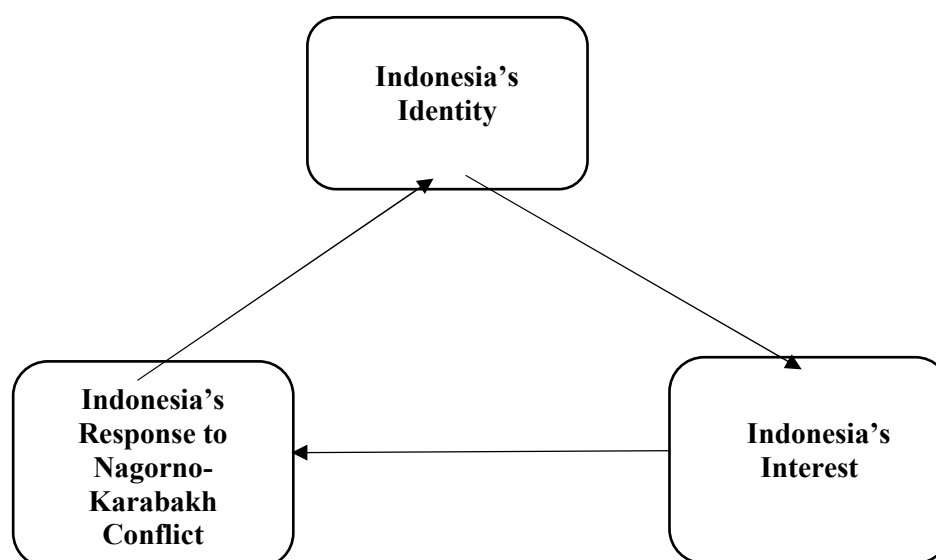
From the previous description of Alexander Wendt's typology of identity, the Islamic state is one of Indonesia's type identities. This populative condition has similarities with Azerbaijan with a Muslim population level of 95% (Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, 2018). The two countries have established diplomatic relations since September 24, 1992. This relationship was strengthened in 2006 after Azerbaijan officially established an embassy in Jakarta, and Indonesia established an embassy in Baku. Meanwhile, similar Islamic organizations participated by the two countries are the OIC, the Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC) and the Trade Preferential System Organization of Islamic Cooperation (TPS OIC) (Alfianto, 2020). Seeing how active Indonesia is in responding to international religious issues and organizations, as well as diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Azerbaijan, the identity of this Islamic state has also prompted Indonesia to issue a statement regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (Sirozi & Yenrizal, 2020).

Meanwhile, Indonesia's role identity is a peace maker which is an implementation of the principle of a free and active foreign policy. This principle is realized by upholding peace and condemning war. But by not taking sides with Armenia or Azerbaijan, and still actively cooperating with both parties. In its statement of position, Indonesia emphasized that it upholds UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884, which includes the Nagorno-Karabakh decision to become part of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, Indonesia still respects Armenia and Azerbaijan by establishing diplomatic relations with them. Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Armenia are symbolized by the continued establishment of the Armenian embassy in Jakarta since 2014 until now. The Indonesian embassy to Armenia in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, which is concurrently for Ukraine and Georgia, is also still standing. Most recently, in 2021, Indonesia and Armenia along with twelve other countries cooperated in the collection program for taxpayers' receivables brought abroad. This collaboration was ratified in the Law on Harmonization of Indonesian Tax Regulations (Akbar, 2020). And in the same year, Indonesia and Azerbaijan cooperated in the development of Oil, Gas and Renewable Energy (Kholisdinuka, 2021).

Through Wendt's typology of identity, it can be concluded that Indonesia's attitude towards Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict was driven by Indonesia's own identity: the Preamble identity of the 1945 Constitution, as an Islamic state, the identity of a free and active foreign policy, as a peace maker and a fellow Islamic countries in the OIC. It can also be seen how the typology forms Indonesia's national interest. Within the framework of constructivism, identities and interests are also shaped by norms. Referring to Finemore's typology of norms, Indonesia's attitude towards Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-

Karabakh conflict was driven by structural norms and domestic norms. One form of structural norms is the norm of peace and war. The statement of Indonesia's stance on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, explains how Indonesia as part of the international community views the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan as inappropriate. Also how should Indonesia as part of the international community behave. In this statement, Indonesia expressed concern regarding the increasingly escalating conflict. It also calls on Armenia and Azerbaijan to exercise restraint, carry out a ceasefire, promote dialogue and resolve conflicts peacefully in accordance with international law and UN Security Council resolutions.

Table 2. Relations between Indonesia's Identity, Interest and Response.



Source: Mohamad Rosyidin/The Power of Ideas, 2015

In addition to the norms of peace and war, Indonesia's attitude is driven by structural norms institutionalized at the United Nations. It was the norms of peace and war that prompted the World War II Allied Alliance to form the United Nations. The United Nations was then established with the objectives of: (1) Maintaining international peace and security. (2) Developing brotherly relations between nations. (3) Cooperate internationally to solve international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. And (4) to be the center for the actions of nations in an effort to achieve common goals.

As previously mentioned, Indonesia joined the United Nations because it felt that there was a match between the aspirations of the United Nations and the domestic norms contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Moreover, Armenia and Azerbaijan are also members of the United Nations. And when the conflict took place, Indonesia was also serving as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. In accordance with what is stated in Chapter VII Article 25 of the UN Charter, Indonesia as a Non-Permanent Member of the UN Security Council, is obliged to be a part of formulating policies in maintaining international peace and security (Krustiyati, 2019). The consideration of this structural norm was justified by Muhammad Iqbal, Chairman of the Bilateral Cooperation Group (GKSB) of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) and the Azerbaijan Parliament, when receiving a visit from the Diplomat of the Azerbaijan Embassy, Mr. Intigam Huseynov (BKSAP, 2021). At another time while attending the 29th anniversary of the Khojaly Genocide, Iqbal added, both countries must comply with UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884.

The resolution, among other things, prohibits Armenia from using armed force, bombing and occupying Azerbaijan. The resolution also stipulates that Nagorno-Karabakh is part of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and cannot be contested and acquired by anyone (Arinawati, Putri, & Islamy, 2021). Iqbal also emphasized that Armenia should withdraw all its troops from Azerbaijani territory and repatriate one million Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia (Sunda, 2021).

Fadli Zon as the Chairperson of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Agency (BKSAP) of the Indonesian House of Representatives agrees. In addition, Armenia and Azerbaijan to comply with the UN General Assembly 62/243 which affirmed and supported Azerbaijan's territorial ownership, he also asked the United Nations, OSCE, and other international groups to look at weapons to end the loss of life (DPR RI, 2020).

CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that national identity and international norms have encouraged Indonesia to respond to the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict in 2020. The identities that pushed Indonesia in responding to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict were: the Preamble identity of the 1945 Constitution, the identity of an Islamic state, the identity of a free and active foreign policy, and an identity with fellow Islamic countries within the OIC. Meanwhile, the norms that guide Indonesia's attitude are the norms of peace and war, both in writing and those that have been institutionalized in the United Nations. Such identities and norms characterize the statement of Indonesia's stance on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict released by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh territorial dispute in 2020, is an act that cannot be justified in terms of structural norms. The norm guides Indonesia in interpreting the situation. As a result, the statement of Indonesia's stance on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is considered a proper attitude as a country that upholds peace and justice, is strong with Islamic values, and does not take sides with Armenia or Azerbaijan. Indonesia calls on the two countries to comply with UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884, and UN General Assembly Resolution 62/243. Although the two resolutions condemned the Armenian aggression and decided Nagorno-Karabakh as the territorial sovereignty of Azerbaijan, and have similarities with Azerbaijan as an Islamic state, Indonesia also maintains diplomatic relations with Armenia. This relationship also proves Indonesia's commitment to a free and active foreign policy.

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