

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Dengan berpedoman pada teori, konsep, dan data-data yang telah dipaparkan dalam tulisan ini, Penulis menyimpulkan terdapat faktor eksternal dan faktor internal yang mendasari terjadinya perubahan hubungan antara Rusia dan Ukraina hingga akhirnya invasi terjadi. Faktor eksternal yang ada dapat dilihat dari ketidakpastian akan perluasan NATO ke arah Timur dan keinginan Ukraina untuk bergabung dengan NATO. Sementara itu, faktor internal dapat dilihat dari persepsi ancaman, ideologi, dan opini publik yang dimiliki oleh Rusia. Dengan adanya faktor-faktor tersebut terjadi perubahan hubungan antara Rusia dan Ukraina yang berwujud dengan invasi yang terjadi.

Berdasarkan analisis yang dilakukakn terdapat beberapa faktor eksternal yang mendasari invasi Rusia terhadap Ukraina. (1)terdapat faktor ketakutan dan ketidaktahuan akan intensi dari pelebaran dan peningkatan aktivitas militer NATO ke arah Timur. Sebagai aliansi, NATO terus memperluas anggota dan terlibat lebih banyak di Eropa Timur, termasuk negara-negara yang pernah menjadi anggota Uni Soviet, dan menempatkan kekuatan militernya dekat dengan wilayah Rusia. Sangat jelas bahwa ekspansi NATO ke wilayah Eropa Timur menimbulkan ketakutan dan ketidaktahuan bagi Rusia. Garis pertahanan aliansi bergerak ke arah yang lebih dekat

dengan Rusia sebagai akibat dari ekspansi. (2) Terdapat pula Ketakutan dan ketidaktahuan tentang niat sebenarnya dari keinginan Ukraina untuk menyelaraskan diri dan menjadi anggota tetap NATO meningkat. Rusia memiliki ketidaktahuan dan ketakutan apakah Ukraina akan menjadi anggota NATO di masa depan. Kemungkinan bahwa Ukraina bergabung dengan aliansi membawa ancaman terhadap Rusia karena ketidakpastian apakah kekuatan militer aliansi akan ditempatkan di Ukraina setelah bergabung dengan NATO.

Selain faktor eksternal terdapat faktor internal yang mendasari invasi Rusia terhadap Ukraina. Berdasarkan analisis yang dilakukan terdapat tiga faktor internal yang mendasari invasi Rusia terhadap Ukraina (1) Persepsi presiden Putin sebagai pemimpin Rusia terhadap perluasan NATO dan keinginan Ukraina untuk bergabung dalam aliansi yang tercermin dalam pidato, wawancara, dan konferensi persnya, menunjukkan bahwa dia melihat perluasan NATO dan keinginan Ukraina untuk menjadi anggota aliansi sebagai ancaman keamanan Rusia. (2) *Russian World* menjadi sebuah ideologi yang digunakan oleh Putin. Dia menggunakannya berdasarkan hasil dari peristiwa masa lalu, keyakinan politik, dan ideologi yang dianut. Berdasarkan *Russian World* Rusia memiliki bahasa, sejarah, dan keyakinan yang sama dengan Ukraina. Ideologi ini bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai Barat yang dibawa oleh perluasan NATO ke arah Timur, dan keinginan Ukraina untuk bergabung dengan aliansi. (3) Opini atau dukungan publik yang ada terhadap Putin menunjukkan adanya dukungan terhadap dirinya. sebagai seorang pemimpin Putin memiliki

kemampuan untuk menjaga dukungan dengan citra pemimpin tangguh yang dimilikinya.

Dengan adanya faktor eksternal dan faktor internal tersebut kemudian mendasari perubahan hubungan yang ada diantara Rusia dan Ukraina. Sejak masa berdirinya Uni Soviet, keruntuhan Uni Soviet, dan setelah aneksasi Krimea hingga invasi terjadi terdapat perubahan hubungan khususnya setelah runtuhnya Soviet. Dengan adanya ketidak tahuan dan ketakutan akan intensi perluasan NATO dan keinginan Ukraina untuk masuk ke dalam aliansi, serta adanya persepsi ancaman, ideologi, dan opini publik yang ada di dalam negeri Rusia mendasari perubahan hubungan yang ada. Hal ini menandakan adanya transformasi hubungan yang mengarah pada konfrontasi invasi Rusia terhadap Ukraina.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku:

- Abelow, Benjamin. *How the west brought war to Ukraine: Understanding how U.S. and NATO policies led to crisis, war, and the risk of nuclear catastrophe*. Massachusetts: Siland Press, 2022.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Creswell, John W. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 4th ed. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2014.
- Haas, Mark L. *Leaders' Ideology and Great Power Politics*. dalam *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations*, 114. Oxon, Oxon: Routledge, 2023.
- Hadiwinata, Bob S. *Studi Dan Teori hubungan internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif, Dan Reflektivis*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2017.
- Koesel, Karrie J., Valerie Bunce, Jessica Chen Weiss, and Alexander Matovski. "The Logic of Vladimir Putin's Popular Appeal." Essay. In *Citizens and the State in Authoritarian Regimes: Comparing China and Russia*, 217. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Kuzio, Taras. *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2015).
- Lenin, Vladimir I. *National Liberation, socialism, and Imperialism*. New York: International Publishers, 1968.
- Levy, Jack S. *Contending Theories of International Conflict*. dalam *Managing Global Chaos: Source of and Responses to International Conflict*, edited by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, 5. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996.
- Maynard, Leader Jonathan, and Mark L. Haas. *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations*. London: Routledge, 2023.
- Nugrahani, Farida. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Penelitian Bahasa*. Solo: Cakra Books, 2014.

- Nurdin , Ismail, and Sri Hartati. *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial*. Surabaya: Media Sahabat Cendekia, 2019.
- Plokhly, Serhii. *The gates of Europe: A history of Ukraine*. New York (N.Y.): Basic Books, 2021.
- Savic, Ivan, and Zachary C. Shirkey. *Uncertainty, Threat, and International Security: Implication for Southeast Asia*. Oxon: Routledge, 2017.
- Snyder, Timothy. *The road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America*. London: Vintage, 2019.
- Stein, Janice G., *Threat Perception in International Relations*. dalam buku *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. diedit oleh Leony H., David O. S., dan Jack S. L. (Oxford: Oxfor University Press, 2013), 364.
- Szporluk, Roman. *Russia, Ukraine, and the breakup of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2020.
- “The Minsk Agreement Signed by the Heads of State of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine.” 1991.
- Waal, Alex De. *Mass starvation: The history and future of famine*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2019.

Jurnal:

- Armstrong, John A. “The Ethnic Scene in the Soviet Union: The View of the Dictatorship.” *The Soviet Nationality Reader*, 2018, 227–56.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429495830-13>.
- Bernard, Michael Lewis, and Asmeret Bier Naugle. “Examining How Perception of External Threat Influences the Popularity of Government Leaders.” Examining How Perception of External Threat Influences the Popularity of Government Leaders. (Conference) | OSTI.GOV, March 1, 2017.
<https://www.osti.gov/servlets/purl/1426631>.
- Brunk, Ingrid (Wuerth), and Monica Hakimi. “Russia, Ukraine, and the Future World Order.” *American Journal of International Law* 116, no. 4 (2022): 687–97.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/ajil.2022.69>.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. “The Premature Partnership.” *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 2 (1994): 80. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045920>.

- Diesen, Glenn, and Conor Keane. "The Offensive Posture of NATO's Missile Defence System." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51, no. 2 (2018): 91–100. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.postcomstud.2018.03.001>.
- Guthier, Steven L. "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917." *Slavic Review* 38, no. 1 (1979): 30–47. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2497225>.
- Likadja, Jeffry A.Ch. et al. "Krisis Rusia Versus Ukraina Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Ekonomi Internasional." *Journal Of Social Science Research* 3, no. 2 (2023): 9289–9300. <https://doi.org/https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative/article/view/1504/1096>.
- Marten, Kimberly. "Putin's Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy and Intervention in Ukraine." *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 189–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660x.2015.1064717>.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (2014): 77–89. 93, no. 5 (2014): 77–89.
- Meienberger, Alexander. "The Concept of the 'Russkiy Mir': History of the Concept and Ukraine." *Conservatism in Russia* 13, no. 35 (2023): 16. <https://doi.org/10.55337/35.qlpt4607>.
- Mick, Christoph. "The Fight for the Past: Contested Heritage and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 14, no. 2 (April 3, 2023): 135–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17567505.2023.2205703>.
- N., Marthen et al. "NATO and Russia Political Policy on Eastern Europe." *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies* 3, no. 2 (2020): 7. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.7454/jsgs.v3i2.1032>.
- Nilamsari, Natalia. "Memahami Studi Dokumen dalam Penelitian Kualitatif." *Wacana* 13, no. 2 (2014). 177-181.
- Person, Robert, and Michael McFaul. "What Putin Fears Most." *Journal of Democracy* 33, no. 2 (2022): 18–27. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2022.0015>.
- Pifer, Steven. "Squaring U.S. Policy Toward Russia With U.S. Interests in the Larger Post-Soviet Space." *U.S.-Russia Relations: Policy challenges for the congress*

25, no. 1 (2010): 29–35.

https://doi.org/https://www.aspeninstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/files/content/upload/2010_Russia_CR-Madrid.pdf#page=33.

Pifer, Steven. “Ukraine, NATO, and Russia.” *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (2020): 44.

https://doi.org/http://turkishpolicy.com/files/articlepdf/ukraine-nato-and-russia_en_6519.pdf.

Roberts, Geoffrey. “‘Now or Never’: The Immediate Origins of Putin’s Preventative War on Ukraine.” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 22, no. 2 (2022): 16–17. <https://doi.org/https://jmss.org/article/view/76584>.

Rose, Gideon. “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy.” *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (1998): 145. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0043887100007814>.

Salomon, Kim. “What Is the Use of International History?” *Journal of Peace Research* 30, no. 4 (1993): 383. <https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/424482>.

Sozonov, Vladimir. “The Ideology of Putin’s Russia and Its Historical Roots.” *EMA Occasional Papers* 7 (2017): 18–19. <https://doi.org/https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=834843>.

Szporluk, Roman. “Kiev as the Ukraine’s Primate City.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3, no. 4 (1979): 843–49. <https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/41035877>.

Taliaferro, Jeffrey W. “State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State.” *Security Studies* 15, no. 3 (2006): 468. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410601028370>.

Upadhyay, Archana. “Decoding Russia’s 2018 Presidential Elections.” *International Studies* 55, no. 3 (2018): 272. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020881718796986>.

Laporan:

Allan, Duncan. “The Minsk Conundrum: Western Policy and Russia’s War in Eastern Ukraine.” Chatham House. (2020): 7-10.

Smith, Ben, and Daniel Harari. “Ukraine, Crimea and Russia.” (House of Commons Library, 2014). Hal. 1.

<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP14-16/RP14-16.pdf>

Haesebrouck, Tim dan Servaas Taghon. “Russia’s invasion in Ukraine: what happened before?.” *GIES Occasional Paper* 1 (2022): 1-7.

Inusah, A. B. R. "Russia-Ukraine Relations Since The Demise of The Soviet Union (1991-2014)." *Legon: Dissertation University of Ghana*. (2014).

Samir Salimzade. "Internal and External Factors Shaping Russia's Foreign Policy towards the Baltic States." Tesis Master, (Malmö University, 2018).

Website:

Al Jazeera. "'Smells of Genocide': How Putin Justifies Russia's War in Ukraine." Al Jazeera, 9 Maret 2022.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/9/smells-of-genocide-how-putin-justifies-russias-war-in-ukraine>.

Brown, David. "Ukraine Conflict: Where Are Russia's Troops?" BBC News, 23 Februari 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60158694>.

Carleton, Gregory. "Russian History and the Ukrainian Invasion: How Putin Tries to Turn the Past into the Present." Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, 21 April 2022.
<https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2022/04/21/russian-history-and-the-ukrainian-invasion-how-putin-tries-to-turn-the-past-into-the-present%E2%80%9C/>.

Gaiduk, Tetiana. "Does Zelenskyy's Ukraine Still Want to Join NATO?" Atlantic Council, 13 April 2020,
<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/does-zelenskyy-s-ukraine-still-want-to-join-nato/>.

Harris, Shane, and Paul Sonne. "Russia planning massive military offensive against Ukraine involving 175,000 Troops, U.S. Intelligence Warns." The Washington Post, 3 Desember 2021.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/russia-ukraine-invasion/2021/12/03/98a3760e-546b-11ec-8769-2f4ecdf7a2ad_story.html.

Johnson, Sophia R.C. "Consequence for the Orthodox who reject the Ruskii Mir." University of Cambridge Center for Geopolitics, 5 April 2022.
<https://www.cfg.polis.cam.ac.uk/commentary/consequences-ruskii-mir>.

Kocho-Williams, Alastair. "What's NATO, and Why Does Ukraine Want to Join?" The Conversation, 11 April 2023.
<https://theconversation.com/whats-nato-and-why-does-ukraine-want-to-join-175821>.

- Levada Center. indicators, 2023. <https://www.levada.ru/en/ratings/>.
- Lutsevych, Orysia dan Jon Wallace “Ukraine-Russia relations,” *Chatham House - International Affairs Think Tank*, 24 Maret 2022, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/11/ukraine-russia-relations>.
- Mankoff, Jeffrey. “Russia’s War in Ukraine: Identity, History, and Conflict.” Center for Strategic and International Studies, 22 April 2022. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-war-ukraine-identity-history-and-conflict>.
- Masters, Jonathan. “Ukraine: Conflict at the Crossroads of Europe and Russia.” Council on Foreign Relations, 11 Oktober 2022. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/ukraine-conflict-crossroads-europe-and-russia>.
- Masters, Jonathan. “What Is Nato.” Council on Foreign Relations, 25 Januari 2024. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-nato>.
- Nato. “NATO’s Military Presence in the East of the Alliance.” NATO, 28 Juli 2023. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_136388.htm.
- Nato. “Russia Relations: The Facts.” NATO, 20 April 2023. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_111767.htm#c401.
- Nato. “NATO Member Countries.” NATO, January 24, 2024. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52044.htm#:~:text=Bulgaria%2C%20Estonia%2C%20Latvia%2C%20Lithuania,of%20enlargement%20in%20NATO%20history.
- Newlin, Cyrus. “La vie en rose: Why the Kremlin blacklisted Levada Center.” CSIS. 16 Desember 2016. <https://www.csis.org/blogs/post-soviet-post/la-vie-en-rose-why-kremlin-blacklisted-levada-center>.
- Omelicheva, Mariya. “Great Power Image and Enemy-Making: The Role of Ideology in Russia’s War in Ukraine.” *The Strategy Bridge*. 9 Juni 2023. <https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2023/6/9/great-power-image-and-enemy-making-the-role-of-ideology-in-russias-war-in-ukraine>.
- Picheta, Rob, and Henrik Pettersson. “Here’s Where Alliance Forces Are Deployed across Eastern Europe.” CNN, 10 Februari 2022.

<https://www.cnn.com/2022/02/10/europe/nato-troops-eastern-europe-map-intl-cmd/index.html>.

Presiden Rusia. Address by President of the Russian Federation, 18 Maret 2014. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603>. .

Presiden Rusia. “Article by Vladimir Putin ‘On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians.’” Kremlin.ru: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>, 12 Juli 2021. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/copy/66181>.

Presiden Rusia. Expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board, 22 Desember 2017. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/56472>.

Presiden Rusia. Interview to German newspaper Bild. Part 1, 11 Januari 2016. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/51154>,.

Presiden Rusia. Interview to the Italian newspaper Il Corriere della Sera, 6 Juni 2015. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/49629>.

Tiger, Patrick J. “How Joseph Stalin Starved Millions in the Ukrainian Famine.” History.com, 16 April 2019. <https://www.history.com/news/ukrainian-famine-stalin>.

Witte, Melissa De Witte De. “Putin Sees Ukrainian Democracy as Threat That Undermines Russia’s Mission.” Stanford News, 27 April 2022. <https://news.stanford.edu/2022/03/02/putin-sees-ukrainian-democracy-threat-undermines-russias-mission/>.

Yeo, Andrew, Joe Renouard, Daniel S. Hamilton, and Bruce Jones. “Evaluating NATO Enlargement since the End of the Cold War.” Brookings, June 27, 2023. <https://www.brookings.edu/events/evaluating-nato-enlargement-since-the-end-of-the-cold-war/>.