

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Dalam penelitian ini, jawaban terhadap pertanyaan penelitian “Bagaimana pencapaian stabilitas kawasan keamanan Eropa Timur melalui perluasan keanggotaan NATO?” adalah **stabilitas keamanan kawasan belum tercapai secara menyeluruh di Eropa Timur lewat perluasan keanggotaan NATO.** Jawaban tersebut merupakan kesimpulan dari tiga temuan penelitian. **Pertama,** kompleksitas keamanan kawasan (*regional security complex*) yang terjadi di Eropa Timur yang berpola permusuhan (*enmity*) menyebabkan NATO memiliki keterbatasan untuk mewujudkan stabilitas kawasan melalui kebijakan *open door policy*, yakni memperluas keanggotaan NATO. **Kedua,** stabilitas kawasan dalam bentuk kerja sama antar negara baru bisa terjadi diantara negara-negara yang telah menerapkan pemerintahan demokrasi. Negara-negara tersebut meliputi negara anggota NATO dan negara non-NATO di Eropa Timur, yaitu Georgia dan Ukraina. Instabilitas masih terjadi karena pola *enmity* di antara negara yang demokratis dengan negara non-demokratis, salah satu negara non-demokratis tersebut adalah Rusia. **Ketiga,** status Rusia sebagai *great power* di kawasan Eropa Timur menyebabkan proses penerimaan keanggotaan NATO terhambat dan memicu sejumlah konflik di kawasan, baik yang berbentuk intra-negara maupun antar-negara. Tingginya potensi konflik tersebut akhirnya menyebabkan stabilitas kawasan tidak tercipta secara menyeluruh.

Masukan penulis terhadap *open door policy* NATO adalah kerja sama yang dilakukan NATO terhadap negara non-anggota dapat terus dilakukan, juga termasuk pendekatan sinergis terhadap Rusia. Akan tetapi, perluasan keanggotaan NATO lebih baik untuk tidak dilanjutkan karena mempertimbangkan karakteristik kompleksitas keamanan kawasan yang berpola *enmity*. Program kerja sama yang tidak menyinggung perluasan keanggotaan NATO memiliki peluang yang lebih besar untuk menciptakan hubungan kooperatif (*amity*) di kawasan Eropa Timur.

Penelitian ini menghadapi kendala dalam segi rentang waktu yang terlalu panjang, yakni sejak perluasan keanggotaan NATO pada gelombang pertama tahun 1999 hingga yang terakhir pada tahun 2017. Di kemudian hari penelitian ini dapat dikembangkan dengan lebih mempersempit batasan penelitian, baik di dalam rentang waktu maupun negara yang diteliti, sehingga diharapkan akan memperoleh hasil penelitian yang lebih mendalam.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Art, Robert J. 1998. "Creating a Disaster: NATO's Open Door Policy." *The Academy of Political Science*.
- Averre, Derek. 2007. *NATO Expansion and Russian national interests*. London: Routledge.
- Bryman, Alan. 2012. *Social Research Methods 4th Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Guliyev, Farid. 2013. *Oil and Regime Stability in Azerbaijan*. Baku.
- Helgesson, Sven Ove Hansson dan Gert. 2003. *What is Stability?* Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publisher.
- Larrabee, F. Stephen. 1993. *East European Security After The Cold War*. 1st ed. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *MIT Press*.
- Ruchhaus, Robert W. 2013. *Explaining NATO Enlargement*. 1st ed. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Sten Belgrund. 2013. *the Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir. 1998. *Communism and Post-Communism in Romania: Challenges to Democratic Transition*. Massachusetts: University of Maryland.
- Waever, Barry Buzan dan Ole. 2003. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jurnal

- Ayson, Robert. 2007. "Regional Stability in Asia Pacific: Towards a Conceptual Understanding." *Asian Security*.
- Doyle, Michael. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *The American Political Science Review* (The American Political Science Review).
- Gerosa, Guido. 1992. *the North Atlantic Cooperation Council*. European Security.
- Ratti, Luca. 2013. "'Resetting' NATO-Russia Relations." *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 15.
- Ray, Charles S. Gochman dan James Lee. n.d. " "Structural Disparities in Latin America and Latin Europe 1950-1970". " *Sage Journal*.
- Stewart-Ingersoll, Derrick Frazier dan Robert. 2010. "'Regional powers and security: A framework for understanding order within regional security complexes." *European Journal of International Relations*.
- Tuomas Forsberg dan Graeme Herd. 2015. *Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors*. London: Routledge.

Dokumen Resmi

- IMF. 1999. "'The Role of Currency Board in Bulgaria's Stabilization." *International Monetary Fund*. September.
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/1999/09/gulde.htm> .
- NATO. 2016. *Enlargement*. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49212.htm.
- . 1997. *Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation between NATO and the Russian Federation*. Mei 27. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_25470.htm?selectedLocale=en .
- . 2016. *Member countries*.
http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49212.htm.
- . 2016. *NATO Enlargement and Open Door*. NATO.
- . 2014. *NATO enlargement and Russia: myths and realities*.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2014/Russia-Ukraine-Nato-crisis/Nato-enlargement-Russia/EN/index.htm>.

- . 2017. *North Atlantic Cooperation Council (Archived)*. Januari 30. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69344.htm.
- . 2017. *Operations and missions: past and present*.
http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm.
- . 2017. *Relations with Montenegro*. Juni 12. Accessed November 23, 2017.
https://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/topics_49736.htm .
- . n.d. *Signatures of Partnership for Peace Framework Document*.
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_82584.htm .
- . 1998. *Speech by Secretary General: The End of Post-Cold War Era*. Februari 8. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
<https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1998/s980207a.htm>.
- . n.d. *Standardization*. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69269.htm .
- . 2017. "Study on NATO Enlargement." *NATO*. Accessed December 21, 2017.
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_24733.htm?selectedLocale=en.
- NATO. 1999. "The Accession of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland." In *Accession Process*, by NATO. NATO.
- . 2005. "The Enlargement of The Alliance." *NATO*. Accessed Oktober 20, 2017. <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2004/06-istanbul/press-kit/007.pdf>.
- . 1949. *The North Atlantic Treaty*. NATO.
- Parliament, European. 2012. "Experts Written Presentations European Parliament Workshop 20 June 2012: Nagorno-Karabakh Security Situation." *Experts Written Presentations European Parliament Workshop 20 June 2012*. European Parliament. 3.
- State, U.S. Department of. n.d. "“1993 UN Security Council Resolutions on Nagorno Karabakh”." *U.S. Department of State*. Accessed December 21, 2017. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/13508.htm>.
- . 2001. *Minimum Requirements for NATO Membership*. https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/eur/fs_members.html.
- State, US Department of. 1994. *Partnership for Peace: Invitation and Framework Document*. Washington D.C.: Research Library.

UNHCR. 2004. *Basic of Claims and Background Information on Asylum Seekers and Refugees from the Republic of Belarus*. Official Document, Geneva: UNHCR.

Tesis

Nenov, Neyko. 2002. *Bulgaria and the Security in The Balkans*. US Army War College.

Situs Internet

BBC. 2017. *Bulgaria: Country Profile*. November 30. Accessed Desember 10, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17205431>.

Division, UN Statistical. n.d. *Regional Classification*.
<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/> .

Euractiv.com. 2016. *Eastern Europe Gripped with Political Instability*.
<http://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/eastern-europe-gripped-by-political-instability/>.

Freuer, Thomas. 2016. *List of Close Military Encounter Between Russia and the West*. European Leadership Network. Accessed Januari 2, 2018.
<https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/ELN-Russia-West-Full-List-of-In>.

Grigoryan, Armen. 2015. *Armenia's Constitutional Referendum*. Desember 29. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
<https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13317-armenias-constitutional-referendum.html>.

News, BBC. n.d. "*Azerbaijan country profile*". Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17043424>.

—. 2015. "*Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: Azeris dream of return*". Januari 8. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30718551> .

—. 2016. *Nagorno-Karabakh profile*. April 6. Accessed Desember 21, 2017.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18270325> .

- . n.d. *Romania's bloody revolution*. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/574200.stm>.
- Post, Huffington. n.d. *Moldova's Transnistrian Conflict*. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/adst/moldovas-transnistrian-co_b_11180694.html .
- Telegraph, The. 2015. *Russia would 'boost military presence' in response to Georgia NATO membership*. Agustus 28. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/georgia/11831356/Russia-would-boost-military-presence-in-response-to-Georgia-Nato-membership.html> .
- Times, NY. n.d. *Hungarian accuses Rumania of Military Threats*. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/11/world/hungarian-accuses-rumania-of-military-threats.html> .
- . n.d. *SOVIET DISARRAY: Yeltsin Says Russia Seeks to Join NATO*. Accessed Desember 2017, 21. <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/21/world/soviet-disarray-yeltsin-says-russia-seeks-to-join-nato.html>.
- Today, Russia. n.d. *NATO expansion is a direct threat to Russia – Putin*. Accessed Desember 21, 2017. <https://www.rt.com/news/nato-expansion-a-direct-threat-to-russia-putin-2008-04-04-45/>.