

The Influence of Russian and Nato Rivalry on Ukrainian National Security during Volodymyr Zelensky's Presidential Term

Yulia Rimapradesi

University of Darussalam Gontor

Email: yuliarimapradesi@unida.gontor.ac.id

Naqia Salsabila Taslim

University of Darussalam Gontor

Email: naqia.salsabila@mhs.gontor.ac.id

Riza Putra

University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Email: id.riza.putra.isip22@mail.umy.ac.id

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v7i2.17>

Abstract

Since before the Cold War and until the fall of the Soviet Union, there have been tense relations between Russia and NATO. Russia, which succeeded the Soviet Union as its heir, inherited a few privileges due to its downfall. Russia grew to be the most prominent, prosperous, and richest nation among the CIS nations, having a significant political impact on Eastern and Central Europe. As NATO, a security agreement, increases its influence, Russia feels threatened and does not want to cease to exist. The rivalry between the two actors affects neighboring Russia, including Ukraine. Zelensky's decision to speed up the integration process of the NATO security pact provoked Russian outrage because it was articulated as a challenge, and practically, the actions taken by Zelensky could not accelerate his membership in NATO. Russia launched a military invasion of Ukraine that had implications for the neighboring country's national security crisis. In analyzing this thesis, the authors used the concept of rivalry to analyze the relationship between Russia and NATO and the idea of national security to analyze the status quo of Ukraine due to Russian-NATO influence. The research method was descriptive, using data from books, journals, and several other references. This study found a Ukrainian national security crisis in the Zelensky era due to the influence of Russian and NATO rivalries.

Keywords: National Security, NATO, rivalry, Russia, Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky

Abstrak

Hubungan konfliktual Rusia dan NATO sudah terjadi sejak sebelum terjadinya perang dingin, dari sebelum hingga runtuhnya Uni Soviet. Rusia yang menjadi pewaris tahta Uni Soviet mengemban segelintir keistimewaan yang didapatkannya dari kehancuran Uni Soviet. Rusia menjadi negara terluas dan terkaya diantara negara CIS lainnya, sehingga berdampak pada pengaruh politik yang besar di kawasan Eropa Timur dan Tengah. NATO yang merupakan pakta keamanan justru memperluas kekuasaannya, Rusia merasa terancam dan tidak ingin kehilangan eksistensinya. Rivalitas antar kedua aktor berpengaruh pada negara-negara tetangga Rusia, salah satunya adalah Ukraina. Keputusan Zelensky untuk mempercepat proses integrasi pakta keamanan NATO, hal ini memicu kemarahan Rusia karena diartikulasikan sebagai tantangan, dan secara praktik tindakan yang diambil oleh Zelensky tidak dapat mempercepat keanggotaannya di NATO. Rusia melancarkan invasi militer ke Ukraina yang berimplikasi pada krisis keamanan nasional negara tetangganya tersebut. Dalam melakukan analisa pada skripsi ini penulis menggunakan konsep Rivalitas untuk menganalisa hubungan Rusia dan NATO, serta konsep keamanan nasional untuk menganalisa status quo Ukraina akibat pengaruh Rusia-NATO. Metode penelitian yang digunakan penulis pada penelitian ini adalah

metode penelitian deskriptif menggunakan data dari buku, jurnal, dan beberapa referensi lainnya. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah terjadinya krisis keamanan nasional Ukraina pada era Zelensky akibat pengaruh rivalitas Rusia dan NATO.

Kata Kunci: Keamanan nasional, NATO, rivalitas, Rusia, Ukraina, Volodymyr Zelensky

Introduction

The never-ending political contestation in International Relations creates bad relations among nations. Since the end of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, until the end of bipolar rule and becoming a multipolar power, these two countries have had a bad relationship. Russia, which is a superpower that seeks to hold power amid multipolar, Russia is disturbed by the transatlantic North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) organization driven by another major power, the United States (Permatasari, 2011).

NATO was formed with the main objective of stemming the influence of the Soviet Union, which made it possible to spread communism in the North Atlantic Region. NATO, a defense pact, has military forces assembled from its member states. NATO works as a preventive effort to spread the communism of the Soviet Union and Germany, as well as an attempt to establish peace. The rivalry between Russia and NATO is no stranger; the ups and downs have been quite long and have become natural in the global political scene because these two countries are superpowers that compete to show their existence. The two parties will be more prominent by strengthening the security and military systems (Rockwood, 1995).

Along with expanding power and global development, NATO consists of communist forces and fighting countries considered common enemies. NATO is active in maintaining the security of the North Atlantic, creating world peace, and helping to solve the security problems of NATO members. The Soviet Union, as well as communists in Germany, have been the main targets of NATO. This condition continues to create tensions between the two sides. Even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the remaining tensions after the Cold War between the two countries have not yet subsided (Djaja, 2012).

The rivalries will impact the surrounding small countries because Russia is the largest and richest country among other post-soviet

countries. Ukraine, a small Russian commonwealth country, is one of the countries most affected by the rivalry between Russia and NATO. The breakup of the Soviet Union made Russia and Ukraine into two different countries. More than 90 percent of Russians wanted cooperation both in economic and political terms between Russia and Ukraine (Talbot, 2015). At a time of President Putin's rising popularity, Putin carried out annexations of Crimea, which he considered part of his country. However, it did not attract public criticism because the public believed that Putin's actions were an effort to strengthen his position. Most Russians still think Crimea is part of the Russian state (Arutunyan, 2014).

Volodymyr Zelensky was the President-elect of Ukraine in early 2019. Zelensky was an actor-comedian who could garner many public votes at the time of the Presidential election. Unlike previous leaders, Zelensky did not become as obedient President to Russia as Ukrainian President Yanukovich did. Instead, Zelensky tended to establish close ties with the United States as a reasonably strong country. Zelensky prefers to be in Biden's camp instead of Putin (Jonas Claes, 2019). Zelensky could see a tendency of his citizens to be more partial to close ties with the European Union than with Russia. Ukraine's state of affairs with EU relations is more promising than what will happen when its citizens side with Russia. So Zelensky insists he is not a follower of Russia and seeks to get Ukraine to join as a member of one of the European Union and NATO. It increases Zelensky's appeal to Ukrainian citizens (Setyoko, 2022).

Zelensky's change in security strategy by joining NATO could be both an advantage and a threat to their national security because Zelensky dared to take a different step from the previous leader who sided with Russia. During his reign, Zelensky preferred to join as a member of NATO with some calculations considered capable of guaranteeing his country's national security.

Rivalry relations between Russia and NATO could threaten the national security of surrounding countries. In Islam, peace should be upheld, regardless of ethnicity or ideology. The idea of peace in Islam has been contained in QS. Al-Hujurat verses 9-10. A Mufassir from Indonesia, Buya Hamka, views peace as openness. That is, if there is a conflict and wants to carry out a comprehensive peace, it must return to the root of the conflict. Hamka revealed that peace would not be achieved without both parties' transparency, openness to all truth, and oversight (Hamka, 1990).

In this study, the authors want to determine how the rivalry between Russia and NATO influenced Ukraine's national security in the Zelensky era.

Theoretical Framework and Research Method

To understand the relationship between Russia and NATO, the authors used the concept of rivalry, related to what triggered this and the rivalry between the two actors. Meanwhile, the authors used national security proposed by Barry Buzan to determine the influence of rivalry on the national security of neighboring Ukraine, especially in the Zelensky era.

Rivalries can be caused by regional proximity, interaction, and territorial. According to Vasquez, an expert on rivalry, rivalry begins between neighboring countries (Vasquez, 1995). It generally starts from the political power of a country's foreign policy. So, the implications of military power will increase the intensity of the rivalry between the two sides (Valeriano, 2003). Vasquez defined rivalry as a characteristic relationship with extreme competition, psychologically aggressive, where the level of the problem is based on the attitude given by both parties. While the main factor is disputes or territorial seizures, it is still a dominating issue in rivalry studies (Vasquez, *The War Puzzle*, 1993).

Buzan assumed that some cases of territorial borders negatively influence national security and military, political, economic, social, and environmental security (Buzan, 1998). National Security refers more to situations or circumstances where the main elements that

make up a country, such as sovereignty, territory, population or citizens, economic base, government, constitution, and the values it adheres to, will be guaranteed its existence and can carry out functions under its purpose without interference or threat from any party both domestically and internationally (Tjarsono).

A country must fulfill its national security to achieve the sovereignty of its country. Contemporary International Relations are inseparable from the traditional problems that still shackle in foreign policy matters. The authors used National Security to analyze the security position of Ukraine during Volodymyr Zelensky's presidential term due to the influence of Russian and NATO rivalries. In this study, the authors focused on analysis using national security in the military and political sectors because of the significant losses that impact Ukraine's national security.

This research used qualitative methods to understand, analyze, and describe an issue. According to Bogdan and Biklen, qualitative research can produce descriptive data such as speech, writing, and interaction patterns of something observed or the object of research (Biklen, 1992). Searching, processing, and deciphering data carefully and comprehensively through literature studies must be done by collecting concrete data in the form of reports, writings, or images. This study discusses the influence of Russian and NATO rivalry on Ukraine's national security, especially during the Volodymyr Zelensky era.

The object of research is crucial in a study. The object of this study is the influence of rivalry relations between Russia and NATO on Ukraine's national security, especially during Volodymyr Zelensky's presidential term. Data collection used the literature study method by taking sources from books, journals, and some reading material from internet sites. A literature review is part of data collection techniques (Sulistyo, 2006). According to Strauss and Corbin, literature is a source of theoretical sensitivity for writers. Data analysis will bring up ideas from a different point of view than before. Analyzing data from an earlier review

can hopefully bring up new research (Corbin, 2007).

Results and Explanation

Russia inherited abundant wealth after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. After separating the 14 countries that eventually became independent, Russia still holds the status of the largest country in the world. A very advantageous thing for Russia was the privilege of Russia that replaced the role of the Soviet Union in the UN Security Council (Gustafson, 1994). Russia's abundant natural gas affects the dynamics of its booming economy and its growing political influence in Europe. With its natural gas, Russia can distribute and save the European people. Therefore, Russia was able to develop more rapidly compared to the times of the USSR (Goldman, 2008). The increase in Russian natural gas from year to year is rapidly growing.

Western European countries are already connecting directly or indirectly to the Gazprom pipeline, although Germany remains the country that imports the most natural gas. 40% of the natural gas the Germans use in people's homes, even for manufacturing, is imported from Russia. A more extreme case is that the Baltic and Finland import 100% of their natural gas from Russia. Even though the Russian government owns 50% of Gazprom's shares, Putin wanted to take it personally. However, Gazprom officials stressed that political decisions would not affect the company's calculations (Goldman, 2008).

Russia's geopolitical strategy after the dissolution of the USSR has undergone some changes, coming from past traumas depicting the USSR's destruction and fall. Russia proposes clear indications for formulating the foreign policy of its country. Russian geopolitics emphasizes several things to become a reference for policy strategies: the multipolar world order, Neo-Eurasia, and geopolitical military (Diec, 2019). Some models of bilateral or multilateral relations, of course, are not only based on foreign policy but on underlying things such as the history and cohesiveness of the region so that a distinctive political culture of a country is built.

The 'Russian World' is based on two negative factors in Russian geopolitics. The first factor is the trauma of the past, the destruction of the Soviet Union, which has always been a shadow in the formation of Russia's geopolitical structure. Another factor is several theoretical aspects, such as a new state; in the end, some scientists and observers of Russian geopolitics have said that the geopolitics of Russia is a self-reflection of a new Russia after the USSR's downfall. Russians over-describe their interests and the complexity of their sense of inferiority (R. Ištók, 2013).

Russia maintains relations with the CIS countries to maintain its influence in these countries, especially in the economic and political spheres. Russia, especially during the leadership of President Vladimir Putin, prioritized many CIS countries, not only because of the territory's proximity but also because of the large number of Russian citizens living in these various countries. Some Russian foreign policy refers to CIS member states to maintain relations and achieve their interests.

Russia puts the CIS country as the target of cooperation first, then continues with European countries. Asian countries, especially some Asian countries with great powers such as China and India, continued with Middle Eastern countries, African countries, and South America (Nygren, 2003). The mutual relations that Russia has built have a precise of building and increasing the power that Russia has. For example, Russia's relations with the CIS countries aim to improve the economy and emphasize Russia's political influence in Europe, and how Russia builds relations with Asian countries to save Russia's position in politics and economy.

Ukraine is strategically geographically, ushering Ukraine to certain advantages and challenges. Ukraine is on a strategic international trade route and is the center of Europe. From the West, Ukraine is at the crossroads of the European Union and NATO. From the East, it faces off against countries with political power and economic leaders of China, India, and Russia. Along with its favorable territories, Ukraine is also faced with complex affairs. Ukraine is located in a 'buffer zone'

where the interests of EU and Russian leaders collide. When Ukraine announces its integration with the European Union, it could trigger Russian military aggression against Ukraine, eventually leading to the annexation of Crimea, coupled with some in.

The problems in Ukrainian geopolitics are incomplete state boundaries, demographic crises, pollution problems, cultural heterogeneity, and several other problems. Any change of power will undoubtedly significantly affect the change of foreign policy and political orientation, which impacts negative aspects in the formation of the state. During Ukraine's independence, more or less, the idea of geopolitics was still being determined. Implementing permanent laws is always arbitrary, but it is still different from the reality of performance (Kopachinska, 2021). Implementing geopolitical principles and ideas sustainably and continuously can help develop the economy, politics, culture, and national security.

In this period, Ukraine was faced with a barrage of unpredictable events in previous decades, such as the Maidan protests of 2013-2014, radical changes in government, Russian military aggression, the disengagement of the Crimean region, and the ongoing war in Donbas. Another geopolitical aspect of Ukraine's decentralization is that it supports the continued integration of Ukraine into the political and legal space of the European Union in connection with the Eastern European partnership program that began in 2009, and the Association Agreement was signed in 2014. For example, the latter encourages cross-border regional cooperation, which supposes a well-empowered local and regional authority (Umland, 2019).

NATO and European countries want to fight against terrorism. On the other hand, the United States seems reluctant to accept NATO assistance. Throughout the history of NATO, this organization has followed only instructions and commands from the United States. So, other European countries feel dependent on the strategies and equipment the United States has prepared. This dependence implies that NATO symbolizes European countries' inability to maintain their own countries' security.

At the end of the Cold War, the challenge of rebuilding a new NATO to secure eastern and southern borders appeared on the Western agenda. On the one hand, as if this were not enough, the US Government initiated NATO's eastward expansion in the 1990s because Germany happily accepted Poland and the Czech Republic into the alliance. Nevertheless, there were high tensions towards the end of George Bush's presidency when NATO wanted to expand into Georgia and Ukraine territory (Yilmaz, 2016). Russia is increasingly concerned about NATO's eastward expansion. It abundantly clarifies that including Georgia and Ukraine in the alliance would be considered an intolerable disruption to the region's strategic stability (Lohschelder, n.d.).

NATO expanded further after the Cold War, particularly in Eastern and Central Europe. Amid NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe, NATO is supporting Eastern European countries of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland to join the alliance to ensure mutual security (Rahyuni). What makes NATO's Expansion in Eastern Europe successful is that it promotes a wide variety of shared interests through collective security. NATO spreads excellent political influence in the Eastern European region, which has been a concern and trigger for tense relations between Russia and NATO.

Russia has tremendous political influence and can even impose hegemony over the former USSR's countries. NATO's expansion in Eastern and Central Europe made a wrong impression on Russia because it caused the degradation of Russian power in the region. As a result, there is a tidal relationship between Russia and NATO. Two or more actors certainly carry out the relationship between the two great forces, but its influence can be felt by the surrounding small countries, one of which is Ukraine.

From the realist point of view, the intensity of rivalry will increase along with the practice of political power and foreign policy. The solution is to create a joint alliance to stop the rivalry (Morgenthau, 1948). Vasquez said that what triggered the war was the political power of foreign policy. The most dangerous thing in international competition is the rivalry

between countries. In this case, NATO, which is a defense pact that seeks to offset the Warsaw pact, is out of line, which is the paramount urgency.

Russia has never accepted NATO or EU expansion, but in the first decade of the Cold War, Russia tended to accept it. Over time, NATO's expansion expanded even to successor countries of the USSR, such as Ukraine and Georgia. Russia's initially only negative response turned instantly aggressive (Kelin, 2003). Disputes and wars do not occur alone but are part of an aggressive relationship between the two actors (Goertz, 2000). Neither Russia nor NATO directly regards each other as rivals, but instead, some actions trigger conflictual relations between the two actors. NATO's efforts to integrate countries in Europe while leaving Russia are interpreted to mean that NATO seeks to challenge Russia's influence as a great power in Europe. Moscow considers this an attempt by the West to repeat Cold War history. United States and European officials argued that NATO's expansion in Europe was not to counter Russian power in the end (Karaganov, 2015). Russia has viewed NATO as a rival capable of threatening its existence.

According to Brecher and Wilkenfeld, protracted conflicts imply aggressive interactions over a long period until increased aggressiveness is a part of the international crisis (Wilkenfeld, 2000). In this regard, the increasingly prolonged conflictual relations between Russia and NATO, to the greatest extent, led to a crisis. Due to Russia's perception of NATO as a rival and Ukraine seeking to join the alliance, this made Russia worse. So, Russia launched a military aggression against its neighbor.

A strong and independent country like Ukraine is needed to build the stability of the Euro-Atlantic region. Relations between NATO and Ukraine began in the early 1990s and have since evolved into one of NATO's most important partnerships. Since 2014, after the illegal annexation of Crimea by Russia, cooperation has been intensive between Ukraine and NATO, taking place in critical areas (NATO, n.d.). Russia considers NATO's partnership with Ukraine to be terrible because Ukraine is a

country that should continue the Soviet Union after Russia.

Russia claims that NATO has rights to countries in Eastern Europe. A case in point is Russia seeking to reject and thwart the efforts of Ukraine and Georgia, who want to join NATO. However, it is opposed to NATO that Russia cannot prohibit any Eastern European country, including Ukraine and Georgia, from joining NATO. NATO based its rejection on Article 1 of the Helsinki Final Act drafted by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1975. Here's what the article reads:

"Every country has the right to belong or not to belong to international organizations, to be or not to be a party to bilateral or multilateral treaties including the right to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliance" (NATO, Article 1 Helsinki Final Act, n.d.).

Russia regards NATO as a significant threat, as does NATO, which regards Russia as a direct threat that significantly threatens the stability of Euro-Atlantic Region peace. Due to Russia's rash policies and actions, NATO does not consider Russia a partner. The discussion on this matter was delivered at the NATO summit held in Madrid (NATO, NATO-Russia Setting the Record Straight, n.d.). Russia considers NATO a confrontation, while NATO considers Russia a threat, so the actions and policies by both sides will be regarded as resistance aimed at each actor.

Since the onset of the annexation of Crimea, relations between Russia and NATO have become increasingly steady. As a causality of the response, NATO has given to Russia due to the event. NATO responsively severed cooperation with the military and civilians and deployed defenses in Central Europe, making Russia unable to accept NATO's treatment. The rivalry between Russia and NATO is growing to become a great power in the European region. Conflictual relations based on the contestation to become hegemon are rivals that harm the surrounding small states, including Ukraine.

Ukraine is a country that has a strategic geographical location, which is undoubtedly a manifestation of significant advantages. At the same time, it wreaks unstoppable havoc.

Ukraine, which is on the international trade route, is the center of Europe. In addition, Ukraine is facing Asian Giants like India and China; Ukraine is also at the crossroads of the EU and NATO, making it more challenging to face Russia. Ukraine is in a buffer zone where the interests of all actors collide.

Putin declared the takeover of four Ukrainian territories and signed an agreement with the leaders that Russia installed in the annexation territory after a fake referendum. Putin claimed that the land taken would be intended to rebuild damage in cities and villages, ignoring that such destruction was created by the Russian Invasion (Robertson, n.d.). The Russian Invasion that created a national security crisis for Ukraine is certainly very detrimental to Ukraine, coupled with the fact that Russia is taking the four territories illegally. President Zelensky announced joining the NATO alliance immediately, just after the illegal seizure of territory by Putin's administration. Zelensky thinks it is a necessary thing to do to get Ukraine's military victory because it will one day get crushing support from NATO member states. The response by Zelensky turned out to be an outrage of Russia because it was articulated as a challenge, and practically, the actions taken by Zelensky could not accelerate his membership in NATO.

Security is considered freedom from threats and the ability of the state and society to maintain their independent identity and functional integrity against the forces of change, which they see as resistance. The essence of security is survival, but it also reasonably encompasses various substantial concerns about the conditions of existence. These multiple concerns no longer correspond to the urgency of the label 'security' and become part of the uncertainty in everyday life, creating difficulties in understanding this concept (Buzan, *New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century*, 1991).

National security is also interpreted as maintaining the nation's security as a whole. Its top priority is safeguarding the country and its citizens from external threats by guarding the armed forces and keeping state secrets. Since 9/11, the country's defense from terrorist or

external attacks has been interpreted as national security (Holmes, 2015). In the case of Ukraine, we can see together that what Ukraine has experienced because of Ukrainian aggression has shown that Ukraine's national security has been threatened. The Russian-Ukrainian war became an external threat that disrupted the country's security and endangered the Ukrainian people. NATO strongly supports Russia's brutal and unfounded war of aggression against Ukraine, which is an independent, peaceful, and democratic country; besides that, Ukraine is a close partner of NATO. NATO and the Allies continued to provide Ukraine with an unprecedented level of support in the event of the annexation of Crimea, helping to uphold its fundamental right to self-defense (NATO, NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, n.d.). NATO's response to a Russian-Ukrainian war that continues to provide support could indirectly threaten Ukraine's security.

The attacks launched by Russia against Ukraine since February 20, 2022, have inflicted many losses and threatened Ukraine's national security, as General Valeriy Zalizhny, the commander-in-chief of Ukraine, said that there are many Ukrainian children in need of treatment and that at least nine thousand soldiers have been killed. The UN-verified toll was 972 children killed and injured during the Russian invasion of Ukraine. As calculated by Ukrainian Prime Minister Denys Schmyhal from the economic, infrastructure, and future losses, Ukraine has suffered as much as US\$ 1 Trillion (SINDOnews, n.d.).

Security, which leans more towards realism, states, "Security is the absence of military threat or the protection of the nation from external overthrow or attack." This Russian-Ukrainian war has threatened Ukraine's national security due to external threats that Russia imposed due to Ukraine's proximity to NATO and Zelensky's strong desire to accelerate membership with NATO. Russia ignores that it has declared to steal four Ukrainian territories.

Regarding political security, the attitude of the external environment must be improved to achieve political security (Inoguchi, 2003). Ukraine's national security from the point of view of the country's political security has not

been achieved due to the anarchistic external environment. The ever-increasing rivalry between Russia and NATO has made Ukraine an affected country. Zelensky's decision to speed up the integration process with NATO also became a stimulant for Russia to invade Ukraine. So, Ukraine is at the point of a national security crisis, with the heavy casualties of the Russian-Ukrainian war as well as an unstable political state.

In this conflict, NATO did not take the initiative to help Ukraine. Instead, it stayed away from this conflict because Ukraine wanted to join the alliance but remains closed because Russia's opposition to NATO expansion is still too strong. Russian attacks have hit Ukrainian borders, military bases, and cities using both air and border strikes. However, Ukraine's neighboring countries are beginning to be on standby whether they should take collective action or remain silent (Popli, 2022). Article 5, which underlies NATO's collective security, is a reason to stay away from this conflict, to keep the conflict from expanding and going beyond the borders.

In the concept of national security in a political context, it is also emphasized that the government in office must be able to maintain its territorial integrity from internal and external threats (Darmono, 2010). Zelensky decided not entirely wrong to sign an association agreement with NATO but being under Russian confines made him limited and unstable in his decision-making. Thus, they made enormous losses due to the Russian Invasion, as a result of which Ukraine could not guard its territory due to political instability in the Zelensky era.

Conclusion

The international system reflects the anarchic order; the interests of one actor and another that collide are manifestations of a relationship. The characteristics of relationships depend on how leaders take policies and actions to respond to the international system. The rivalry between Russia and NATO came from a similarity of orientation that led to a clash of interests. NATO, a security pact supposed to replace the Warsaw Pact, is expanding its position in the name of security guarantees. A

Russia that feels rivaled does not want to lose its existence.

Russia considers NATO a confrontation, while NATO considers Russia a threat, so the actions and policies carried out by both sides will be regarded as resistance aimed at each actor. The rivalry between the two sides is increasing due to the historical conditions and the status quo of the two actors. Russia and NATO are two major powers that have substantial influence in the European region, so any actions taken by both actors can influence the small countries around them. Ukraine, a small country besides Russia, is one of the countries that feel the direct influence of the rivalry between Russia and NATO.

During the leadership of Zelensky, Ukraine was in the second phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Putin, who declared to take over four Ukrainian territories illegally, prompted Zelensky to decide to speed up the process of merging with NATO. Zelensky's actions provoked Russian aggressiveness, so Russia sent military forces to war with Ukraine. The national security crisis began to occur in Ukraine; casualties fell from the armed forces, civilians, and children; the political situation in Ukraine was increasingly chaotic due to internal circumstances and external pressures. The rivalry between Russia and NATO significantly influenced Ukraine's national security in the Zelensky era.

Bibliography

Book

- Biklen, R. B. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc.
- Buzan, B. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Buzan, B. (1991). *People, State, and Fear, an agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*. 283.
- Corbin, A. S. (2007). *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Darmono. (2010). *National Security: A Security Concept and System for the*

- Indonesian Nation. Jakarta: Secretariat General of the National Resilience Council.
- Djaja, W. (2012). *History of Europe: From Ancient Europe to Modern Europe*. Yogyakarta: Waves.
- Goertz, P. F. (2000). *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. New York: University of Michigan Press.
- Goldman, M. I. (2008). *Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gustafson, D. Y. (1994). *Russia 2010 And What It Means for the World*. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Hamka. (1990). *Tafsir Al-Azhar*. Singapore: National Library.
- Jonas Claes, A. M. (2019). *Preventing Violence during Ukraine's 2019 Elections*. United States: US Institute of Peace.
- Jubair, S. (2014). *Model Pemikiran dan Penelitian Politik Islam*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Michigan University.
- Nygren, B. (2003). *Russia's immediate security environment under Putin, before and after September 11*. Stockholm: The Swedish National Defence College.
- Permatasari, M. (2011). *Impact of NATO Membership Expansion on NATO–Russia Relations*. Jakarta: Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia.
- Rockwood, I. (1995). *The Role of International Organization*. Dubuque: Brown & Benchmark Publishers.
- Sulistyo, B. &. (2006). *Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra.
- Tjarsono, I. (t.thn.). *Security Strategy In The Realist Paradigm*. Repository University of Riau.
- Valeriano, B. (2003). *The Steps To Rivalry: Power Politics And Rivalry Formation*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University.
- Vasquez, J. A. (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkenfeld, M. B. (2000). *A study of crisis* 2nd Ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Journal

- AL-Liheebi, F. S. (2013). العلاقات الدولية في وقت الحرب في الفكر الإسلامي. مجلة كلية العلوم الإسلامية. المجلد السابع.
- Buzan, B. (1991). *New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century*. *International Affairs*, 432-433.
- Diec, J. (2019). *Major Trends In Russian Geopolitics After 1991*. *Politeja*, 141-160.
- Holmes, K. R. (2015). *What is National Security? US Military Strength*, 17-26.
- Inoguchi, T. (2003). *Political Security: Toward A Broader Conceptualization*. *International Studies*.
- Karaganov, S. (2015). *Europe: Can Defeat Be Avoided? [Europe: Can it avoid defeat?]*. *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*.
- Kelin, A. (2003). *Calmly Negative Reaction to NATO Expansion*. *International Affairs*.
- Kopachinska, G. (2021). *Geopolitical View of Ukraine: History of Development and Specifics of its Current Transformation*. *Quaestiones Geographicae*, 47-62.
- Perman, T. K. (t.thn.). *Etika Bernegara Dalam Perspektif Hasan Al-Banna Dan Abu A'la Maududi*. Skripsi. UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta.
- Rahyuni, S. (t.thn.). *Russia's defense policy and its impact on NATO*. Thesis of HI Department. Universitas Hasanudin, Makasar.
- R. Ištók, D. P. (2013). *Russian Geopolitics and Geopolitics of Russia: Phenomenon of Space*. *European Journal of Geopolitics*, 61.
- Setyoko, H. (2022). *Political Communication Style of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky in his leadership*. ResearchGate.

- Talbot, J. O. (2015). Where in the World is Russia? Geopolitical Perceptions and Preferences of Ordinary Russians. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 35.
- Umland, V. R. (2019). Decentralising Ukraine: Geopolitical Implications. *Survival Global Politics and Strategy*, 99-112.
- Vasquez, J. A. (1995). Why Do Neighbors Fight? Proximity, Interaction, or Territoriality. *Journal of Peace Research*, 32, 277-293.
- Yılmaz, U. Ö. (2016). NATO and Russia's Security Dilemma Within the European Union's Far Neighbors. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 650-665.
- Website**
- Arutunyan, A. (2014). Putin's move on Crimea Bolsters Popularity back Home. Diambil kembali dari <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/03/18/crimea-ukraine-putin-russia/6564263/>
- Lohschelder, S. (t.thn.). How Russia views the West. Dipetik November 2022, dari <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/opinion/how-russia-views-the-west/>
- NATO. (t.thn.). NATO Relations with Ukraine. Dipetik November 2022, dari NATO: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/to_pics_37750.htm
- NATO. (t.thn.). Article 1 Helsinki Final Act. Dipetik November 2022, dari NATO: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/to_pics_111767.htm?#cl402
- NATO. (t.thn.). NATO-Russia Setting the Record Straight. Dipetik November 2022, dari NATO: <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/15204.htm>
- NATO. (t.thn.). NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Dipetik November 2022, dari NATO: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/to_pics_192648.htm
- Popli, N. (2022, February 25). How NATO Is Responding to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine. Diambil kembali dari TIME: <https://time.com/6151115/nato-russia-ukraine-article-4/>
- Robertson, K. (t.thn.). Zelensky wants to speed up Ukraine's bid to join Nato after Putin's land grab. Dipetik November 2022, dari <https://metro.co.uk/2022/09/30/zelensky-wants-to-speed-up-ukraines-bid-to-join-nato-after-putins-land-grab-17481929/>
- SINDOnews. (t.thn.). Kerugian Ukraina Akibat Perang dengan Rusia. Diambil kembali dari <https://international.sindonews.com/read/896965/45/3-kerugian-ukraina-akibat-perang-dengan-rusia-1664280559?showpage=all>