

ANALYSIS OF SECURITY DILEMMA CONCEPT IN THE UKRAINE

CONFLICT

2014-2022

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The study of international relations provides a range of concepts and theories that can be used to understand conflicts between states. The concept of security dilemma is a well-known theory that has demonstrated its ability to offer deep insights into various global conflicts. Security dilemma describes how defensive measures implemented by a state to strengthen its security can trigger similar reactions from other states, resulting in a cycle of escalating tensions¹. In the Ukrainian conflict, this theory has significant relevance as it can effectively identify and analyze key factors affecting conflict dynamics. This belief is based on the capacity of the security dilemma to identify threat perceptions and security responses between states, which is particularly important in this conflict². Therefore, using the concept of security dilemma as a tool to analyze the Ukraine crisis not only offers a deeper understanding but also helps identify factors that can exacerbate or defuse tensions.

The crisis in Ukraine has far-reaching implications not only for the countries directly involved, namely Russia and Ukraine, but also for other countries in the region and globally. Rising tensions in Eastern Europe created a security dilemma,

¹ Shiping Tang, "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies* 18, no. 3 (September 18, 2009): 587–623, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410903133050>.

² Anders Wivel, "Security Dilemma," 2011, 2389-91.

where NATO's efforts to strengthen military readiness were perceived as a threat by Russia. NATO's defensive actions trigger Russia to increase its military capacity, creating a cycle of distrust that can increase the risk of conflict³. The EU faces a security dilemma as sanctions against Russia result in economic hardship and dependence on Russian gas. Efforts to reduce this dependence are considered defensive, but can be perceived as a threat, potentially triggering an aggressive response from Russia and exacerbating tensions.⁴

In this framework, the security dilemma emphasizes how defensive measures taken by one side, such as the deployment of NATO forces in the Baltic states and Eastern Europe, can be interpreted as a potential threat by Russia⁵. As a result, Russia responds by implementing similar measures, thus amplifying existing tensions. Countries outside Europe, such as the United States and China, are caught in a security dilemma due to the infighting in Europe. Their involvement in political alliances and global economic impact can trigger defensive reactions from other countries, increasing tensions and the cycle of mistrust⁶. Therefore, examining the Ukrainian crisis using the security dilemma framework allows the authors to understand its far-reaching and complex impact, which has a significant impact on global stability and security.

The urgency of this research is critical due to the ongoing nature of the conflict and its profound impact, both regionally and globally. Using the concept

³ NATO, "NATO's Response to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," NATO, accessed May 18, 2024, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_192648.htm.

⁴ "The_economic_sanctions_against_Russia_Im.Pdf," n.d.

⁵ Nigel Walker, "Conflict in Ukraine: A Timeline (2014 - Eve of 2022 Invasion)," May 18, 2024, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9476/>.

⁶ Huasheng Zhao, "Explaining China's Reaction to the Russia-Ukraine Crisis," *China International Strategy Review* 5, no. 1 (June 2023): 24–46, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42533-023-00129-2>.

of *security dilemma*, this research can provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the Ukraine crisis, including the causes that exacerbate tensions between the countries involved through analyzing the key variables of the concept. Moreover, it can provide valuable insights into how the security reactions of each party can influence the development of the conflict, either exacerbating or easing tensions. Therefore, this research has the potential to have a significant impact on our understanding of global affairs, disputes, and strategies to resolve or manage conflicts in the contemporary world.

Based on the above background, it is clear that the crisis in Ukraine has received great attention on the global stage due to its complex nature, involving several countries and far-reaching consequences. Amidst this ever-changing situation, the concept of Security Dilemma emerged as an important theory to understand the struggle. Given the complicated reactions of various states to the crisis in Ukraine and the continued escalation of tensions in the region, it is imperative to examine the significance of the Security Dilemma concept in further understanding the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Therefore, the author finds it important to develop a relevant research problem to explore how the notion of Security Dilemma can be applied to analyze the situation in Ukraine.

1.2. Problem Formulation

From the description given, the author formulates the next research question as follows:

How is the concept of Security Dilemma in analyzing the Ukraine Conflict?

1.3. Research Objectives

From the background description and problem formulation above, the purpose of this research is to analyze the Security Dilemma situation in the Ukrainian conflict in the 2014-2022 period.

1.4. Uses of Research

1.4.1. Academic Uses

This research is expected to be one of the reference materials for international relations in the field of the Security Dilemma concept in understanding the Ukrainian conflict.

1.4.2. Practical Uses

The results of this research are expected to be a source of reference, input, and reference for practitioners to apply a smart approach to various perceptions and steps taken by considering the long-term impact and strategic consequences.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Previous Research

In this study, the authors conducted a literature review to refine the research discussion and prevent redundancy by reviewing previous studies relevant to the author's own research. In addition, the literature review serves as a reference point for repeating the discussion with previous research. The previous studies related to this research are as follows:

Table 1 . Literature Review

NO.	YEAR	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	JUDGEMENT	EQUATIONS	DIFFERENCE
1.	2019	David Mitchell	Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies	<i>The Cycle of Insecurity: Reassessing the Security Dilemma as a Conflict Analysis Tool</i>	The second discusses the concept of the Security Dilemma where recurring patterns of conflict and how actions aimed at ensuring security by one party can maintain a state of insecurity.	The research uses the Northern Ireland war as a case study to exemplify its argument
Position: The first previous research becomes a glass of comparison and reference for the author to analyze how the analysis of the conception of Security Dilemma in the Ukrainian conflict.						
2.	2021	Charles E. Ziegler	Texas National Security Review	<i>A Crisis of Diverging Perspectives: US-Russian Relations and The Security Dilemma</i>	The two engaged in a conversation about the Security Dilemmas Framework examines international relations in light of security dilemmas, which explores how threat perceptions and countermeasures contribute to increased tensions.	This research analyzes the bilateral relationship between Russia and the United States without including Ukraine in the discussion.

Position: The second previous research becomes a glass of comparison and reference for the author to analyze how to analyze the conception of Security Dilemma in the Ukrainian conflict.						
3.	2019	Cindy Wittke & Maryna Rabinovich	Journal of East European Politics	<i>Five Years After: The Role of International Actors in the Ukraine Crisis</i>	Both explain the importance of external actors in influencing conflict development and contributing to security challenges.	Explicit Emphasis covering a wide range of topics, such as the Minsk Agreement, de facto unrecognized states, and the EU's development strategy .
Position: The third prior research provides a foundation for a thorough and nuanced understanding of the ongoing tensions in the Ukraine Conflict.						
4.	2024	Valerii Novorodovskyi and Nadiia	<i>East European Historical Bulletin</i>	<i>National Minorities Participation in Public Life of Ukraine Under the Conditions of the Russo-Ukrainian War (2014-2022)</i>	<p>1. Both are engaged in discussions about the influence of the Russia-Ukraine war on Ukraine's internal situation.</p> <p>2. Both emphasized the problems and potential</p>	<p>1. The main focus is on minority involvement in Ukrainian political and ethno-political affairs</p> <p>2. This article uses the method of Functional Structural Analysis.</p>

					that Ukraine faces after the war.	
Position: Previous research provides a foundation for understanding the importance of the interaction between internal social components and external security threats in influencing the Ukrainian conflict.						
5.	2020	Ketevan Grdzeldize	The Center for International Politics Research and Forecasting - CIPRF	<i>Spiralling Into Security Dilemma - The Case of 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War</i>	<p>1. Both analyzed the hostilities that took place in the region once occupied by the Soviet Union</p> <p>2. Both emphasize the Security Dilemma Concept in analyzing conflicts</p>	<p>This research uses Quantum Relativistic Noology as a research methodology and takes the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh war between Armenia and Azerbaijan as a case study.</p>
Position: The fifth previous study provides useful insights into the security dilemma and its relevance to conflicts in the post-Soviet region and helps in studying similar patterns in other regional wars that can enhance the author's interpretation of important factors and how they apply to the Ukrainian conflict.						
6.	2019	Sebastian Relitz	Journal of East European Politics	<i>The Stabilization Dilemma: Conceptualizing International</i>	1. Both analyze wars arising from disputed territories and	<p>This article offers a historical survey of the various de facto regimes that have</p>

				<i>Responses to Secession and De Facto States</i>	<p>the involvement of international organizations and countries in addressing the problem.</p> <p>2. Both focus on the existence of certain problems or obstacles (such as security dilemmas and stabilization dilemmas) that make international responses more complex.</p>	<p>emerged since 1945 and explicitly analyzes de facto states and stabilization issues within the framework of international responses.</p>
Position: Previous research has been insightful in raising the author's awareness of the difficulties, roadblocks and tactics associated with handling the Ukraine crisis.						
7.	2021	James Kenneth Wither	Journal of European Security	<i>An Arctic Security Dilemma: Assessing and Mitigating the Risk of Unintended</i>	<p>1. Both studies analyze security issues in the field of international relations.</p> <p>2. The impact of historical events is</p>	<p>The main focus of this research is the analysis of military struggle and cooperation between countries in the Arctic region.</p>

				<i>Armed on the High North</i>	evident in both studies, one addressing the takeover of Crimea in the Arctic region and the other focusing on the roots of the Cold War in the context of the Ukraine conflict.	
Position: Previous research provides useful insights into the dynamics of security difficulties, namely how mistrust and competition can increase tensions, even in traditionally cooperative states.						
NOVELTY	In this research, the author will analyze the implementation of the key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict in the 2014-2022 period that have not been clearly defined in previous research articles.					

The first previous research was written by **David Mitchell** with the title *"The Cycle of Insecurity: Reassessing the Security Dilemma as a Conflict Analysis Tool"* published by the journal **Peace and Conflict Studies** in 2019⁷. The research explores the security dilemma theory and its use in analyzing conflict. It advocates a more comprehensive interpretation of the security dilemma, and describes it as an iterative process in which actions taken by one side to ensure security often result in increased insecurity for both sides. The cyclical nature of conflict includes various fundamental elements: 1) Analyzing the creation and perpetuation of an insecure environment by examining the activities of the individuals concerned. 2) Analyzes the factors that shape actors' reactions to

⁷ David Mitchell, "The Cycle of Insecurity: Reassessing the Security Dilemma as a Conflict Analysis Tool," *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.46743/1082-7307/2019.1586>.

feelings of insecurity, including individual viewpoints and the actions of others. 3) Emphasizing that individuals' strategies and identities are influenced by their interactions, rather than existing independently of their cultural or historical context. 4) Incorporation of environmental reality and social psychological components to comprehensively understand the cycle of insecurity. 5) Identifying self-perpetuating factors that contribute to the sustainability of conflict, as described by Snyder and Jervis (1999).

The main similarity between the previous study and this one lies in the focus of the Security Dilemma concept, which explains recurring patterns of conflict and how actions aimed at ensuring security by one party can maintain a state of insecurity. studies emphasize the importance of understanding the relational dynamics between opposing parties and how these dynamics perpetuate conflict as well as the impact of security concerns on the behavior and tactics of parties involved in a conflict. The first previous study used the North Irladia war as its case study. Whereas in this research, the author will analyze the implementation of the key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Previous research becomes a glass of comparison and reference for the author to analyze how the analysis of the conception of Security Dilemma in the Ukrainian conflict.

The second previous research was written by **Charles E. Ziegler** with the title "*A Crisis of Diverging Perspectives: US-Russia Relations and The Security Dilemma*" published by the **Texas National Security Review** journal in 2021⁸.

⁸ Charles E. Ziegler, "A Crisis of Diverging Perspectives: U.S.-Russian Relations and the Security Dilemma," Texas National Security Review, November 9, 2020, <https://tnsr.org/2020/11/a-crisis-of-diverging-perspectives-u-s-russian-relations-and-the-security-dilemma/>.

The research describes characterizing the relationship between Russia and the United States as a security challenge. Both countries view each other as a major threat, prompting them to take actions that exacerbate their mutual fears. Russia considers US conventional weapons superiority, NATO expansion, and the promotion of democracy (which could potentially lead to regime change) as threats. On the other hand, the US considers Russian nuclear modernization, attacks on American democracy, violations of neighboring countries' sovereignty, support for bad actors, and partnership with China as threats. This sense of mutual danger has resulted in a deterioration of Russia-US relations characterized by political and military rivalry. The likelihood of war is currently at its peak in the last three decades. However, if both governments adopt a defensive realism approach, which prioritizes defense over offense, then cooperation is possible.

The main similarity observed in the previous and subsequent studies is their focus on the Security Dilemma Framework examining international relations in light of security dilemmas, which explores how threat perceptions and countermeasures contribute to increased tensions. In addition, they also explain where efforts made by one party to improve security can inadvertently create feelings of insecurity in the other party. This leads to a continuous cycle of mistrust and antagonism.

The difference between these two studies lies in the focal point of the object of analysis. The second previous study analyzed bilateral relations between Russia and the United States and outlined specific risks seen by Russia and the United States, such as the expansion of NATO and the increase in nuclear weapons. Whereas in this study, the author will analyze the implementation of the key

variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Previous research becomes a glass of comparison and reference for the author to analyze how the analysis of the conception of Security Dilemma in the Ukrainian conflict.

The third previous research was written by **Cindy Wittke and Maryna Rabinovych** with the title "*Five Years after: The Role of International Actors in the Ukraine Crisis*" published by the **Journal of East European Politics** at in 2019⁹. The research explains the purpose of assessing the involvement of various external entities in the Ukraine issue since 2014, with a special emphasis on institutional actors (such as the EU and the UN) and individual governments (such as the United States and Russia). The research also analyzes the impact of external players on the Ukrainian crisis from various academic perspectives, such as International Relations (IR), Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), International Law, and Peace and Conflict Studies. Explanations relate to the negotiation and implementation of the Minsk Agreements, providing insights into their effectiveness and suggesting solutions to overcome the current impasse. The stabilization process of de facto unrecognized states, such as the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics, and its relationship with recognized states. The EU's actions in reaction to the Ukrainian crisis, particularly in relation to development policy and alignment with foreign and security policy. The research emphasizes the importance of combining viewpoints from different fields to understand the complex dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict.

⁹ Cindy Wittke and Maryna Rabinovych, "Five Years after: The Role of International Actors in the 'Ukraine Crisis,'" *East European Politics* 35, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 259–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2019.1645012>.

The similarity between the third previous study and this one lies in their focus on the impact of foreign actors' activities on conflict dynamics. The difference between these two studies lies in the explicit emphasis that covers various matters, such as the Minsk Agreement, de facto unrecognized states, and the EU's development strategy. Whereas in this research, the author will analyze the implementation of the key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Previous research serves as a foundation for a thorough and nuanced understanding of the ongoing tensions in the Ukrainian Conflict.

The fourth previous research was written by **Valerii Novorodovskyi and Nadiia Kulesha** with the title *"National Minorities Participation in Public Life of Ukraine Under the Conditions of the Russo-Ukrainian War (2014-2022)"* published by the **Journal of East European Historical Bulletin** in 2024¹⁰. The research describes the involvement of ethnic minority groups in the Ukrainian public sphere, namely during the Russo-Ukrainian War, and investigates the potential obstacles of national ethnopolitics in the post-war era. This research focuses on analyzing the participation of national minorities in different public spheres (political, cultural, educational) during the Russian-Ukrainian War and to identify ethnopolitical barriers after the war. The research uses several methodologies including analogy, comparison, generalization, source analysis, content analysis, and systemic and structural-functional methods. State policy is heavily influenced by ethno-national issues. The Russia-Ukraine war underscores

¹⁰ "NATIONAL MINORITIES PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE OF UKRAINE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR (2014 - 2024) | EAST EUROPEAN HISTORICAL BULLETIN," accessed July 5, 2024, <http://eehb.dspu.edu.ua/article/view/306351>.

the importance of addressing these issues to reduce vulnerability to foreign threats. This fight has resulted in the strengthening of a unified civic identity, despite the obstacles and paradoxes in society. Post-war Ukraine will face many obstacles, which include the need for reform, ensuring national security and overcoming social contradictions. In addition, there will be particular challenges in the territories that have been liberated from occupation.

The similarities between the fourth previous study and this one are that the focus on the Russian-Ukrainian War Context centers on examining how the war affected Ukraine's internal dynamics. Both also focus on the problems and potentials facing Ukraine after the war as well as exploring the political and social aspects of the conflict, including civil society engagement and the influence of national identity. The main difference identified between the two is that the fourth previous study concentrated on focusing on ethnopolitics, civic identity, and the role played by national minorities. Another difference lies in the use of functional structural analysis research methodology. Whereas in this study, the author will analyze the implementation of key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Previous research provides a foundation for understanding the importance of the interaction between internal social components and external security threats in influencing the Ukrainian conflict.

The fifth previous research was written by **Ketevan Grdzeldze** with the title *"Spiralling into Security Dilemma - The Case of 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War"* published by **The Center for International Politics Research and Forecasting - CIPRF** in 2020¹¹. The research analyzes the scenario of security

¹¹ "(PDF) Spiralling Into Security Dilemma -The Case of 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War," accessed July 5, 2024,

issues in international relations, specifically related to the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute and the 2020 war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The security dilemma is a well-known concept among international relations academics and is often considered a fundamental factor contributing to large-scale conflicts and minor disputes. This study explores the phenomenon of states' efforts to enhance their military capabilities, which may trigger reciprocal responses from other states, resulting in increased tensions. Security concerns arose in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict when Azerbaijan's military advances prompted Armenia, with Russian support, to improve its defense capabilities, ultimately resulting in war in 2020. This study presents "Quantum Relativistic Noology" as a new analytical paradigm for understanding and resolving security challenges. Georgia is identified as a potential mediator providing a platform for diplomatic discussions.

The previous five studies and the next study have similarities in the use of the Security Dilemma as an analytical framework for hostilities that occurred in the region once occupied by the Soviet Union, especially in Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result, there is a correlation between military advancement and defense capacity as a potential cause of increased tension and provoking conflict. Previous research has also focused on Georgia's role as a conflict mediator. There are differences in the case studies ranked by the fifth previous research, namely the war between Nagorno-Karabakh in 2020. Whereas in this study, the author will analyze the implementation of the key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. Previous research provides useful insights into the security dilemma and its relevance to conflicts in the post-Soviet region and

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/361366494_Spiralling_Into_Security_Dilemma_The_Case_of_2020_Nagorno-Karabakh_War.

helps in studying similar patterns in other regional wars which can improve the author's interpretation of important factors and how they are applied in the Ukrainian conflict.

The sixth previous research was written by **Sebastian Relitz** with the title *"The Stabilization Dilemma: Conceptualizing International Responses to Secession and De Facto States"* published by the **Journal of East European Politics** in 2019¹². The research emphasizes the notion of "de facto states", which refers to institutions that have proclaimed independence and function together with some degree of self-government despite lacking significant international recognition. The main emphasis is on the "stabilization dilemma" faced by international organizations (IOs) and states when dealing with these institutions and their associated conflicts. De facto states pose a challenge to conventional notions of statehood, territorial integrity and global stability. The stabilization conundrum relates to the challenge of effectively addressing unilateral secession in a way that promotes stability in both the international system and the local context, often resulting in ambiguous responses taken by the international community. Since 1945, a total of 25 de facto states have been established, each with different outcomes in terms of reintegration and recognition. Previous research has also outlined two main objectives of international responses: achieving stability in the international system through reintegration and achieving stability on the ground through engagement. These objectives often clashed, resulting in inconclusive reactions. The international community uses several techniques, including

¹² Sebastian Relitz, "The Stabilization Dilemma: Conceptualizing International Responses to Secession and de Facto States," *East European Politics* 35, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 311–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2019.1580191>.

combating, isolating, ignoring, interacting with and de facto recognizing states, all of which have adverse implications for stability. Examples include Georgia's military intervention in South Ossetia and the ongoing hostilities in Ukraine between the Donetsk People's Republic (DNR) and Luhansk People's Republic (LNR). In addition, previous research has also shed light on the potential and significance of international engagement with de facto states without granting official recognition, which can contribute to conflict resolution and stabilization.

The similarity between the former and the latter lies in their focus on the existence of certain problems or obstacles (such as security dilemmas and stabilization dilemmas) that make international responses more complex. Both studies recognize wars arising from disputed territories and the difficulties they pose in maintaining global peace. However, an important difference between the two is that the previous five studies mainly concentrated on surveying the history of various de facto regimes that emerged since 1945 as well as the analysis of de facto states and stabilization issues within the framework of international response. Whereas in this study, the author will analyze the implementation of key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. The previous research served as an insight in raising the author's awareness of the difficulties, dead ends and tactics associated with the handling of the Ukrainian crisis.

The seventh previous research was written by **James Kenneth Wither** with the title *"An Arctic Security Dilemma: Assessing and Mitigating the Risk of Unintended Armed in the High North"* published by the **Journal of European**

Security in 2021¹³. The research analyzed the changing security dynamics in the Arctic region following Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014. The previous article emphasized the transition from collaborative diplomacy to increased military competition between Russia and Western Arctic states, resulting in the formation of security difficulties in the Arctic region. The absence of military dialog will exacerbate tensions and increase the likelihood of accidental armed clashes. The seventh previous study also analyzed several elements that could mitigate the impact of a situation, including current events such as the new US administration's dedication to worldwide engagement and Russia's future leadership in key Arctic organizations. Previous research explores theories on security issues and highlights the importance of confidence-building measures and cooperative security techniques in effectively managing conflict in the Arctic.

The similarities between the previous seven studies and this one emphasize the importance of understanding historical events that focus on the roots of the Cold War in the context of the Ukrainian conflict. Both show similarities in analysis of security issues in the field of international relations. However, the previous seventh study specifically focused on military struggles and cooperation between countries in the Arctic region. Whereas in this study, the author will analyze the implementation of the key variables of the Security Dilemma Concept in the dynamics of the Ukrainian conflict. The previous research provides useful insights into the dynamics of security difficulties, namely how mistrust and rivalry can increase tensions, even in traditionally cooperative states.

¹³ James Kenneth Wither, "An Arctic Security Dilemma: Assessing and Mitigating the Risk of Unintended Armed Conflict in the High North," *European Security* 30, no. 4 (October 2, 2021): 649–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2021.1942850>.

1.5.2. Conceptual Foundation

Security Dilemma Concept

The Security Dilemma is a concept in the field of international relations first proposed by Robert Jervis in his 1976 publication "*Perception and Misperception in International Politics*" explaining the security dilemma as the unexpected and undesirable outcome of activities undertaken with the intent to provide defense¹⁴. The Security Dilemma, introduced by Robert Jervis, suggests that a state's defensive actions to enhance security are often perceived as a threat by other states, increasing tensions and exacerbating the cycle of distrust, which in turn can trigger conflict.

Many efforts by a country to strengthen its security unintentionally reduce the security of other countries, and the security gains made by one country often unwittingly jeopardize its own security. A country's efforts to strengthen its security often reduce the security of other countries, creating a security dilemma. When one country increases its military capacity, another may respond with a similar move, increasing tensions¹⁵. Jervis also states another dimension of the basic premise of the security dilemma argument is that when one state increases its security, it may inadvertently reduce the security of another state¹⁶. This is not due to misunderstandings or perceptions of hostility, but rather due to the chaotic nature of international relations.

Jervis identifies and emphasizes seven key elements of the security

¹⁴ Robert Jervis, "Perception and Misperception in International Politics" (1976): 66.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 62, 72.

¹⁶ Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): 317.

dilemma: (1) Security dilemmas arise from inherent structural factors. (2) Uncertainty and fear among states about each other's current and future intentions play an important role in shaping and maintaining the security dilemma. (3) Security dilemmas are unintentional and stem from defensive actions¹⁷. (4) These dilemmas often lead to unintended and counterproductive outcomes, such as a decrease in one's own sense of security. (5) They often result in unintended and tragic consequences, in particular, the outbreak of war. (6) While security dilemmas can contribute to wars, they are not the sole cause of all conflicts. (7) The dynamics of security dilemmas increasingly resemble a spiral. In addition, Jervis adds that the severity of security dilemmas can be influenced by physical/material factors, such as technology and geography, as well as psychological/perceptual factors, such as misunderstandings¹⁸

Robert Jervis in his 1976 article, "*Perception and Misperception in International Politics*", explains the impact of pressure on individual decision-making processes. When governments adopt an independent approach, they often anticipate worst-case scenarios and prepare accordingly. They assume that the other party's objectives will be commensurate with their capabilities¹⁹. In the security dilemma, the assumption that the other party's objectives are commensurate with their capabilities can lead to misperceptions. When a country feels threatened and increases defensive armaments or alliances, these actions may be perceived as a threat by the other party, exacerbating tensions and increasing the risk of conflict.

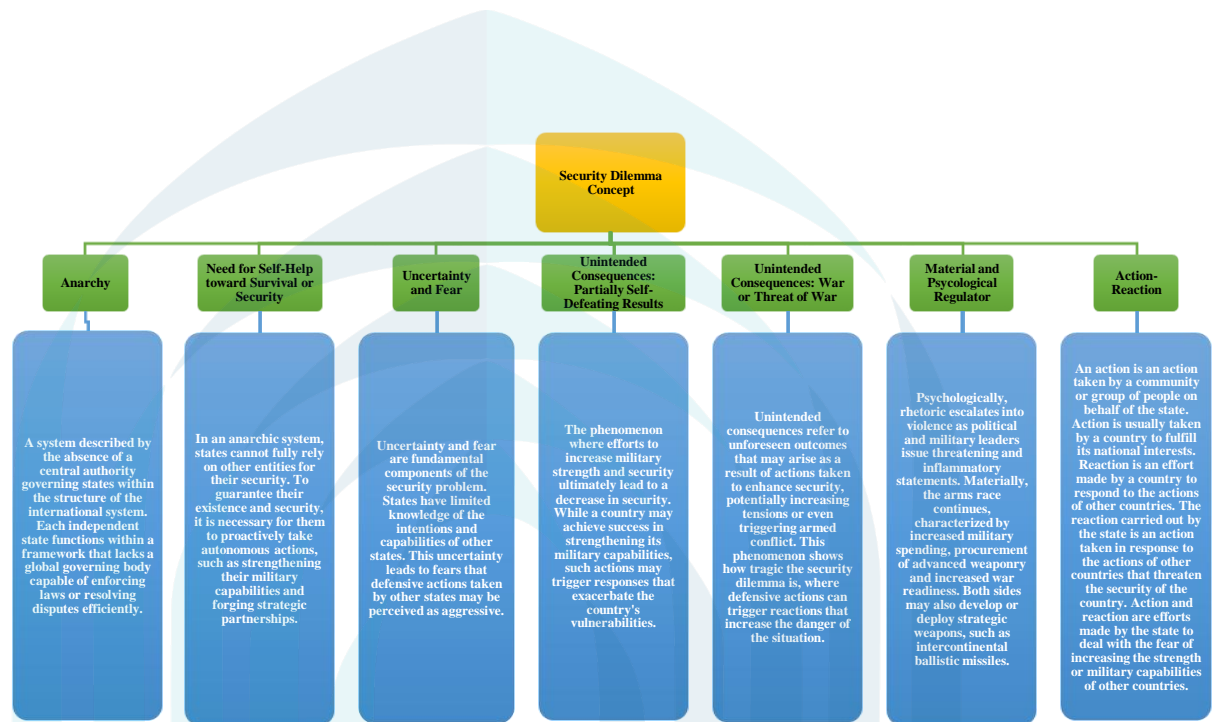
To take advantage of favorable circumstances, a confident state tends to

¹⁷ Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 361.

¹⁸ Taliaferro "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited," *International Security* 25, no. 3 (Winter 2000-2001): 137.

¹⁹ Jervis, Robert "Perception and Misperception in International Politics" (1976): 68.

Figure 1 . The Variables of Security Dilemma Concept according to Robert Jervis



Source: Personal Documents

initiate attacks, while seeking to increase its security by maximizing its arsenal. In a 1978 study titled "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma" published in the journal *World Politics*, Robert Jervis explained that the security dilemma is strongly influenced by the use of techniques or instruments aimed at improving the country's defense²⁰. Actions aimed at improving military capabilities can put a country in an aggressive position towards other countries (*offensive*) or in a vulnerable position (*defensive*). Therefore, the military may be considered a paradoxical instrument, aiming to protect a state while posing a threat to other states.

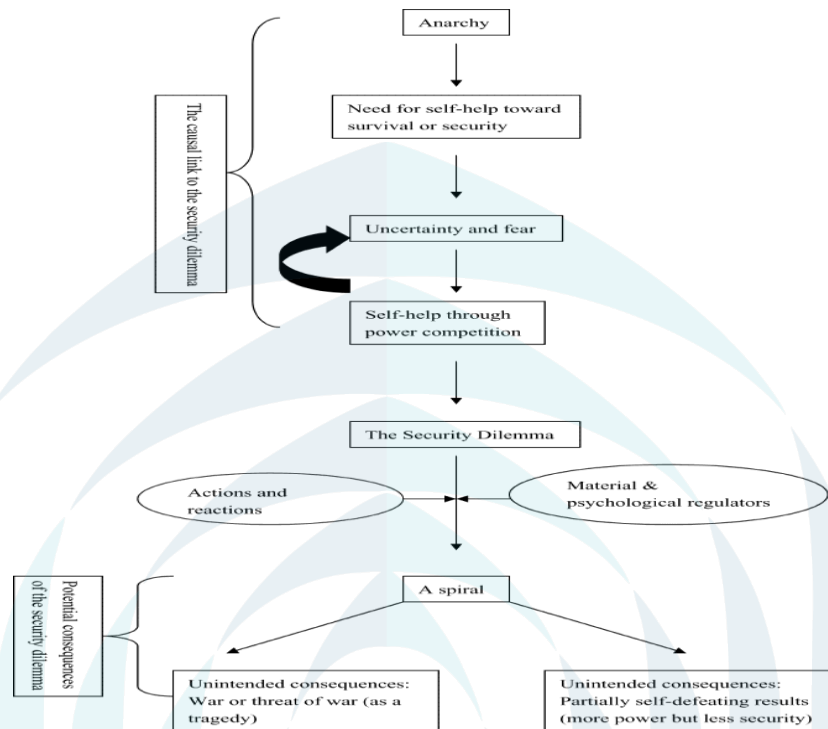
²⁰ Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma."

Jervis also emphasizes the spiral model or spiral mode as the process by which states engage in an arms race, responding to each other's security requirements and advances in weaponry. The Spiral Model explains the misinterpretations relating to state actions and intentions. Although governments prioritize achieving security as their primary goal and do not intend to cause harm to other states, many states choose to increase their military capacity as a preventative measure against future attacks. This action creates a security dilemma, where defensive efforts are perceived as a threat, exacerbating tensions and increasing the risk of interstate conflict²¹. Nevertheless, understanding a state's goals, whether they are good or evil, presents challenges when applying the concept of security issues.

Figure 2 . The causal link to the Security Dilemma



²¹ Anders Wivel, "Security Dilemma," *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, no. October (2017).



Source: Shiping Tang, The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis

In terms of Ukraine's security dynamics, the security conundrum refers to NATO's response to the Russian threat that impacts the geopolitical and security situation in Eastern Europe. The delivery of weapons from NATO to Ukraine is considered a step to improve Ukraine's defense capabilities and proactively prepare for any aggression from Russia. The above situation indicates the existence of security difficulties between NATO and Russia, which has the potential to exacerbate tensions and increase the possibility of confrontation in the region. This research will analyze the security dilemma of Ukraine's position due to the arms transfer aid action and the standoff. In addition, it will also explore how Russia's reaction may affect the overall security situation in Eastern Europe.

1.6. Hypothesis

Based on the research background and concepts discussed earlier, the authors

formulate the following hypotheses or basic assumptions.

The reactions of the actors playing a role in the Ukrainian conflict explain the process mentioned in the Security Dilemma Concept. The process begins with anarchy in international relations. The anarchy leads to structural factors in international relations between Russia, Ukraine, and NATO countries. These factors include international alliances and agreements, such as NATO enlargement, which contribute significantly to the security dilemma in Ukraine. Ambiguities and concerns surrounding Russia's military and political objectives towards Ukraine, as well as reactions from NATO countries, increase tensions and instability in the region. Ukraine's defensive actions, such as military build-up, and Russia's defensive responses, such as troop deployments near the border, inadvertently raise tensions and exacerbate security challenges. Ukraine's efforts to improve its security by collaborating with NATO inadvertently reduced Russia's sense of security, which then reacted with military measures, thus increasing the likelihood of an armed confrontation, which eventually occurred in 2014 with further escalation in the following years. Although the security challenge was not the only reason for the Ukrainian conflict, it had a substantial impact on the escalation of armed confrontation between the two countries. Defensive and responsive contacts between Ukraine and Russia contribute to the cycle of security problems, exacerbating the situation and making it more difficult to reach a peaceful settlement. The severity of the security dilemma is determined by physical/material factors, such as Ukraine's advanced military technology and strategic geographic location, as well as psychological/perceptual factors, such as misunderstandings and exaggerated threat perceptions between Russia, Ukraine and NATO countries.

These factors contribute to the escalation of the security dilemma. The hypothesis of this research is that the concept of Security Dilemma can analyze how Ukraine reacts in the face of Russian attacks.

1.7. Research Methods

1.7.1. Research Design

The author uses a qualitative type of research in this study. In an article written by Lynn Westbrook entitled "*Qualitative Research Methods: A Review of Major Stages, Data Analysis Techniques, and Quality Controls*" explains that qualitative research can analyze problems obtained from a comprehensive examination of existing literature.

The research method used by researchers is descriptive method, using this method with the aim of describing systematically, factually, and accurately about the data under study²². Descriptive methods are used in writing to provide an in-depth description of the phenomenon under study.

The author uses a major analysis approach. In the article Lynn Westbrook explains that major analysis is a research approach that focuses on identifying, measuring, and analyzing important aspects or key variables that have a considerable influence on the subject or phenomenon under study²³. This approach aims provide a deep and comprehensive understanding of the important aspects that shape or influence a situation. This approach is particularly beneficial in complex

²² Albi Anggito Setiawan Johan, *Qualitative research methodology* (CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher), 2018).

²³ Lynn Westbrook, "Qualitative Research Methods: A Review of Major Stages, Data Analysis Techniques, and Quality Controls," *Library & Information Science Research* 16, no. 3 (June 1, 1994): 241–54, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0740-8188\(94\)90026-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0740-8188(94)90026-4).

and multi-dimensional research contexts, such as the exploration of the Security Dilemma in the Ukraine crisis.

1.7.2. Research Objective

The object of this research is the key variables of the Security Dilemma concept in the Ukraine conflict.

1.7.3. Data Collection Technique

Researchers utilize secondary data, namely data obtained from existing literature research, including books, previous research in the form of journals, articles, newspapers, magazines, and other media that support research²⁴.

1.7.4. Data Analysis Technique

The author uses inductive qualitative data analysis techniques in this research. That is, data-based analysis which is then formulated into a hypothesis. After formulating a hypothesis based on the available data, additional data is then sought. Literally, hypotheses are tested until a definitive determination can be made regarding their acceptance or rejection, depending on the accumulation of data. If data can be collected and the hypothesis is proven, then the hypothesis develops into a theory²⁵.

1.8. Systematization of Writing

The writing of this research consists of four chapters, where each chapter is divided into several sub-chapters. The initial details and general description are as follows:

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

²⁴ Setiawan, *Qualitative research methodology*.

²⁵ Prof. Dr. A. Muri Yusuf M.Pd, *Quantitative, Qualitative & Combined Research Methods* (Prenada Media, 2016).

This chapter contains the background of the problem, problem formulation, research objectives and benefits, literature review of relevant previous research, theoretical framework or concept, hypothesis, research methods, and writing systematics.

CHAPTER II: PARADIGM SHIFT OF SECURITY DILEMMA AS A CONCEPT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

This chapter contains an explanation of the the dynamic of Ukraine Conflict and the seven variables of Security Dilemma Concept.

2.1. Dynamic of Russia-Ukraine Conflict in 2014-2022 Period

2.2. Concept of Security Dilemma

2.2.1. Paradigm Shift of *Security Dilemma* Concept

2.2.1.1. The Era of Bipolarity 1947-1991

2.2.1.2. Post-Cold War Transition Period (1991-2001)

2.2.1.3. The Era of Multipolarity, Asymmetric Threats, and Terrorism Attacks 2001-2010

2.2.1.4. Technology Development, Industrial Revolution 4.0, and Cyber Security (2010-present)

2.2.1.5. Global Security Transition Period (2010-present)

2.2.1.6. Differences in the Concept of *Security Dilemma* Before and After the Ukraine Conflict

CHAPTER III: IDENTIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY DILEMMA IN THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT

This chapter contains an explanation of the implementation of the Security Dilemma Concept Variable in the Ukraine Conflict.

3.1. Variable Identification of 'Anarchy' in the Conflict

3.2. Variable Identification of 'Need for Self-Help toward Survival or Security' in the Ukraine Conflict

3.3. Identification of 'Uncertainty and Fear' Variables in the Ukraine Conflict

3.4. Variable Identification of 'Self-Help through Power Competition' in the Ukraine Conflict

3.5. Identification of 'Material and Psychological Regulator' Variables in the Ukraine Conflict

3.5.1. Regulator Material

3.5.2. Psychological Regulators

3.6. Identification of 'Action-Reaction' Variables in the Ukraine Conflict

3.7. Variable Identification of 'Potential Consequences' in the Ukraine Conflict

3.7.1. Unintended Consequences: War or Threat of War as Tragedy'

3.7.2. Unintended Consequences: Self Defeating Result More Power but Less Security

3.8. Islamic View in Security Dilemma Concept

CHAPTER IV: CLOSING

This chapter is a closing that contains conclusions from the research results and suggestions for readers and further researchers.