

From Shadows to Spotlight: Analyzing Protodiplomatic Strategies In The 2022 Russia-Ukraine Crisis

Dari Bayangan ke Sorotan: Analisis Strategi Protodiplomatik dalam Krisis Rusia-Ukraina 2022

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Abstract:: *This article aims to analyze the activities of protodiplomacy in the series of conflicts between Russia and Ukraine in 2022. This paper uses qualitative methodology with a case study method. Data collection techniques and data sources use secondary data through ethnography. In addition, the data analysis technique used is a tracking process to review the historical traces of the occurrence of protodiplomacy in Ukraine. Based on the results of the author's study, the results obtained are that protodiplomacy is a district-area activity within the state in the form of a Union or Decentralization that seeks to secede from the territory of the country due to differences in various sides. Paradiplomacy activities as a foreign relations strategy carried out by sub-state actors or local governments are the beginning of protodiplomacy. This means that paradiplomacy activities have the potential to become protodiplomacy if there is no political control in the government's political governance system. So that paradiplomacy can move as a global political agency to seek support and separate itself from the territory of the country. This research argues that the occurrence of protodiplomacy by Luhansk is due to differences in Culture, Political Justice, and Economic Justice. Protodiplomacy is also known as Identity Paradiplomacy because of the disintegration that occurs due to differences in identity so that regions act to secede. The pro-diplomacy activities that occurred in Luhansk, the*



Ukrainian region, were also not less from the support and conflict that struck between Russia and Ukraine. The implication is that Luhansk is more free to choose and move. Moreover, Luhansk has the same historical traces as Russia. Thus, political support became an instrument for Luhansk to secede. Thus, the phenomenon of great power through invasion became a new tradition in the study of contemporary international relations. And it marks the return of great power in global conflicts. On the other hand, the security threat to Ukraine comes not only from the Russian state but from within the country, namely protodiplomacy (desecuritization).

Keywords: *Conflict, Luhansk, Protodiplomacy, Identity*

Abstrak: *Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kegiatan protodiplomasi dalam rangkaian konflik antara Rusia dan Ukraina pada tahun 2022. Tulisan ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus. Teknik pengumpulan data dan sumber data menggunakan data sekunder melalui pendekatan etnografi. Selain itu, teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah proses pelacakan untuk meninjau jejak sejarah protodiplomasi di Ukraina. Berdasarkan hasil kajian penulis, diperoleh hasil bahwa protodiplomasi adalah suatu kegiatan di wilayah distrik dalam suatu negara yang berbentuk Persatuan atau Desentralisasi yang berusaha memisahkan diri dari wilayah negara karena perbedaan berbagai sisi. Pemerintah negara bagian atau lokal adalah awal dari protodiplomasi. Artinya, kegiatan paradiplomasi berpotensi menjadi protodiplomasi jika tidak ada kontrol politik dalam sistem tata kelola politik pemerintah. Sehingga paradiplomasi dapat bergerak sebagai agen politik global untuk mencari dukungan dan memisahkan diri dari wilayah negara. Argumen dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa protodiplomasi oleh Luhansk terjadi karena adanya perbedaan Budaya, Keadilan Politik, dan Keadilan Ekonomi. Protodiplomasi disebut juga Paradiplomasi Identitas karena disintegrasi yang terjadi akibat perbedaan identitas sehingga daerah-daerah bertindak memisahkan diri. Kegiatan protodiplomasi yang berlangsung di Luhansk, wilayah Ukraina, juga tidak lepas dari dukungan dan konflik yang terjadi antara Rusia dan Ukraina. Implikasinya, Luhansk lebih fleksibel memilih dan bergerak. Apalagi Luhansk memiliki jejak sejarah yang sama dengan Rusia. Sehingga, dukungan politik menjadi instrumen bagi Luhansk untuk memisahkan diri. Dengan demikian, fenomena 'great power' melalui invasi menjadi tradisi baru dalam kajian hubungan internasional kontemporer dan sekaligus menandai kembalinya kekuatan besar dalam konflik global. Dari sisi lain, ancaman keamanan terhadap Ukraina tidak hanya datang dari negara Rusia tetapi dari internal negara yaitu protodiplomasi (desecuritisasi).*

Kata Kunci: *Konflik, Luhansk, Proto-Diplomasi, Identitas*

Introduction

One of the changes is the transformation of international security threats in the strategic environment. This is inevitable because it is part of the national interest which is also of international and global interest. Barry Buzan (1998) explains that the evolution of international security studies has changed significantly. Buzan (1998) states that there has been a shift in security threats in international relations. This means that the security landscape is changing significantly. This incident became one of the hot issues and changed the constellation of security studies and international relations. As a result of this incident, chaos arose called (security disorder). This means that there is a rivalry between referent objects or what is threatened versus landscape security or the stretch of security issues and interstate versus intrastate security and human security. This means that security comes from the words *se* (free) and *curus* (care) – in other words it can be called ‘free from care’. Thus, security is the liberation of a community, both human and state, from care and/or threats both coming from domestic and international. So, security is the ability to survive because it has strong durability. The source of security itself is influenced by economic, military, ideological, political, and environmental factors. That’s why security studies are so complex.¹

Furthermore, Hansen and Buzan (2009) suggest that there is an evolution of contemporary security studies. In this evolution, there are five dominant factors that influence it, namely:²

- a) Great Power which concerns the anarchic international system after the Cold War. The end of bipolarism will lead to regional complexities related to the direction of power distribution, polarization of amity and enmity, involvement in intervention and social position in security;
- b) The event or event describes the event. In this case, it can be a challenge whether theory is able to explain the event and the involvement of political actors in institutions;
- c) Academic debate, at this point it is more concerned with four situations, namely security studies influenced by rivalry between American scholars who emphasize the Positivist Rationalist

¹ Barry Buzan, Ole Weafer, d. J, Security A New Framework for Analysis. (London, 1998)

² B. B Hansen, Evolution of International Security Studies. (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

approach compared to European scholars who emphasize interpretive reflectivist and hermeneutic approaches.

In addition, there was a transdisciplinary approach that influenced security studies such as economics and mathematics that gave rise to game theory. After that is the political debate and politicization that concerns the involvement of academics in the decision-making process. Scholars who become trustees contribute to the relationship between academics and politics. Finally, is the future of the ever-evolving study of security that is inseparable from the Kukunian tradition. That is, whether this security scholar can accept paradigm transfer from other sciences and be able to become his own study or just an approach. Furthermore, d) institutionalism, at this point relates to whether this security assessment can be institutionalized. Or simply it is to be able to form an academic organization. And e) technology, at this point of course technology will be part of the security study itself. Because technology as an instrument can be used as a tool by individuals or groups for the decision-making process. Hansen and Buzan (2009) do not deny that the evolution of international security studies is influenced by two factors, namely internal and external.³

In this regard, the security threat carried out by the state in the form of an invasion should no longer exist. But this was different during Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. This means that the threat model pattern returns to the traditional model of desecuritization because the state became the dominant actor in the invasion. In addition, the invasion marked a model of neorealism that as a result of the anarchist international system led states to act. Anarchism originated from Ukraine's desire to qualify and join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Ukraine has traces of history with Russia when it was part of the Soviet Union. Another anarchism is the result of triggers in conflicts so that there are alliances and alliances in the international system that affect various fields such as security, energy, economy, aviation, and other fields.

From this situation, Buzan's theory above re-emerged because the Great Power re-emerged to invade, after the American attack on Iraq. The return of the Great Power broke up the international system with the return of a new rivalry between the Western and eastern coalitions. But interestingly, after America became a power of unipolar in the international system and mastered global politics, the quality and quantity of global power had no match. However, the aftermath of Russia's invasion of

³ Ibid

Ukraine has seen the rise of a new power that has shown its existence as a global power that has long been silent.

In addition to great power content, there are events that occur as Buzan said above. The event meant that the attack gave rise to a new political movement that had previously been initiated by the annexation of the Crimea region by Russia in 2014. Russia recognized Crimea as a sovereign and independent state on March 17, 2014, and drafted an agreement to make Crimea part of the Russian Federation with the capital Sevastopol. The recognition resulted from a referendum of the Crimean people 95.5 percent voted to join Russia.⁴

Since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, Eastern Europe has been facing a migration crisis. Several million Ukrainians are internally displaced or have fled the country and now face threats to an uncertain future. At the same time, Western sanctions and the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union have influenced Russia's migration policies. This largely overlooked process has the potential to change the social landscape of the region for years to come. The purpose of this collection is to shed light on the forgotten migrant crisis at Europe's doorstep of the Union and understand the various migration processes in and from Ukraine and Russia.⁵

The tragedies of the Russia-Ukraine conflict range from the Euromaidan protests and uprisings, Russia's annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of war in Ukraine's two eastern provinces of Donetsk and Luhansk. He also viewed Ukraine's response to Russia's invasion as decommunizing – the removal of statues of Lenin, communist symbols, and the imposition of the so-called Law of Memory of spring 2015. These events are in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and Ukraine's geostrategic location between Russia and the European Union. It seeks to provide answers to questions too often mired in propaganda and cursing and to assess whether the path Ukraine takes is most likely to end in success or failure.⁶

This means that there is political activity within the territory of the federation in the form of actions to secede. Ukraine faced Russian military

⁴ M.R Hasugian, "The Russian world officially recognizes Crimea as a Republic", *Tempo.co.id*, March 16, 2014, <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/563290/rusiaresmi-akui-crimea-jadi-negararepublik>

⁵ A. P.-W. UEHLING, *Migration, and the Ukraine Crisis: A Two-Country Perspective* (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2017)

⁶ D. R Marples, *Ukraine in Conflict an analytical chronicle* (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2017)

aggression in 2014 and beyond. Led by Ukrainian Jewish-Russian speakers, the city of Dnipro and the Dnipropetrovsk region prevented the spread of the Kremlin's so-called 'New Russia' project outside the Donbas into the Ukrainian heartland. This groundbreaking study challenges Russian disinformation and Western stereotypes about Ukraine portraying it as a country-divided region with military conflict as a 'civil war' between Russians and Ukrainian speakers.⁷ The tragedy of political activity in an attempt to secede is also called paradiplomacy.

Alexander S. Kuznetsov divided 11 dimensions of paradiplomatic activity. Based on its 11 dimensions, this study is related to 3 dimensions, namely: the federalist dimension related to state activities in seeking support and international area activities, the nationalism dimension related to regional activities that assess identity and culture that is different from its parent region and the security and geopolitical dimensions, namely, this activity concerns how regions are able to become the latest threat to the state through disintegration because strategic environment and its resources. In Kuznetsov's terms, the formula used region using the disharmony formula is a formula that is not aligned between the center and the region.⁸

Paradiplomacy is a form of political agency that facilitates the representation of collective identity on a global scale, generally expressing the will for greater political autonomy and sometimes even aspirations to create a new independent state. In cases where this last ambition prevails over other possible political designs, "paradiplomacy" mutates into "protodiplomacy". But protodiplomacy rarely produces the results expected by its proponents, namely to gain significant international support for secession processes, being more often conducive to international isolation and ethnopolitical conflicts with consequent economic, social, and political costs.⁹ Therefore, paradiplomacy activities have the potential to increase into protodiplomacy if there is no awareness, justice, and respect for collective identity to create togetherness. Thus, this paper will explain the factors of protodiplomacy in Luhansk. This research uses qualitative methodology with a case study method. The data source used is secondary data with tracing process data analysis techniques.

⁷ S.I Taraz Kuzio, *Ukraine's Outpost Dnipropetrovsk and the Russian-Ukrainian War* (Bristol: E- International Relations, 2022)

⁸ A. S Kuznetsov, *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy Subnational governments in international affairs* (London: Routledge, 2014)

⁹ Cornago, "Paradiplomacy and Protodiplomacy", *Encyclopedia of Diplomacy* Oxford (Blackwell-Wiley, 2018)

The Concept of Paradiplomacy to Protodiplomacy

James McHugh defines para diplomacy as ‘a formal activity in which sub-state actors engage in formal representation with states, international organizations or other parties conventionally recognized under international law’. However, like modern diplomacy, the involvement of sub-state actors in international relations can be achieved in a variety of ways. The foreign policy objectives of non-state entities can be continued through the establishment of formal and informal contacts with representatives of foreign entities and can take the form of bilateral and multilateral relations by engaging with foreign public and private entities. The increased involvement of non-state actors in diplomacy can be explained through globalization, as transnational trade and capital flows have made economies truly international and increased the need for multinational corporations, unions, and regions to represent their interests. Paradiplomacy is usually more specific and functionally targeted, often opportunistic and experimental.¹⁰ However, paradiplomacy activities have the potential to become protodiplomacy. Protodiplomacy can be defined as an attempt to promote claims of political independence or autonomy by the people or political subunits. Protodiplomacy not only seeks legitimacy for non-state entities but is also used to promote the interests of the entity and publicize the identity and culture of its people to seek international support. While protodiplomacy can be used by regions or sub-state entities that have some form of formal status within a state, it can also be practiced by national, linguistic, or cultural groups that do not have formal status within an existing state. Protodiplomacy ultimately seeks international legitimacy for the units or people represented primarily through activities related to cultural and national promotion and recognition.¹¹

Like traditional diplomacy, protodiplomacy can be used in parallel with the use or threat of armed forces but often indicates a desire to secede while simultaneously avoiding high-risk methods of seeking

¹⁰ J.T McHugh, “Paradiplomacy, protodiplomacy and the foreign policy aspirations of Quebec and other Canadian provinces”, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, (2015); R.G Dijkhoorn, “Para- and Proto-Sports Diplomacy of Contested Territories: CONIFA as a Platform for Football Diplomacy.” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, (2020); L.M Fathun, “Paradiplomacy Towards a World City: A Case Study of Makassar City Government”, *Indonesian Perspective*, (2016); Destiny Ali Mukti, dkk, “Paradiplomacy Policies and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia and Korea”, *Journal of International Relations*, (2021); F.L Mohammed, “Paradiplomacy in Creating Regional Competitiveness: Case Study of Jember Regency”, *Indonesian Perspective*, (2021)

¹¹ R.G Dijkhoorn, Op. cit.; Cornago, Op. cit.; J.T McHugh, Op. cit.

independence. Paul Kingston and Ian Spears argue that the diplomatic efforts of 'de facto' or 'quasi-states' such as Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Puntland and Somaliland can also be called protodiplomacy. However, protodiplomacy has limitations and Cornago argues that success in gaining international diplomatic profile and securing significant international support for secession more often occurs through strong state involvement than through proto diplomacy independent of separatist entities, and that protodiplomacy rarely produces the results expected by its supporters.¹²

Protodiplomacy movement, which refers to international relations carried out by subnational, regional, and local institutions, for their interests. Protodiplomacy is a political movement that seeks to secede from its parent country. This movement factor can be due to political, economic, social, cultural factors and its congestion. Protodiplomacy is an activity to carry out independence from the autonomous regions it controls into a unitary state. Because that region is a region as a meta entity like Asia, America. Territory as a form of history, culture, economy, Central Asia, the Middle East, Central Europe, territory as a territorial unit such as a state. Territory is spatial and territory is the boundary of identity, therefore many regions, especially in unitary states, carry out protodiplomatic movements after they are granted regional autonomy rights.¹³ Therefore, the con offederal, decentralized or state equities has the potential for protodiplomacy to occur from paradiplomatic activities. To control this requires commitment, a common sense of identity, and awareness to stay together in a unified state. So as not to disturb the stability of the country's security.

Discussion

a. Luhansk District of Ukraine

Luhansk is a city internationally recognized as Ukraine, although administered by Russia as the capital of the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR). In 2021, the population was estimated at 399,559, making Luhansk the most populous city in the region and the 12th largest in Ukraine. In 2001, almost half of the population was ethnic Ukrainian, and 47% was ethnic Russian. Luhansk has been the capital and administrative center of Luhansk Oblast, although the Ukrainian administration was moved to

¹² Ibid.

¹³ L. M Fathun, Op. cit.; J.T McHugh, Op.Cit.

Sievierodonetsk when the War in Donbas broke out after the formation of the LPR.¹⁴

Luhansk has an area spanning about 10,000 square miles (26,000 square kilometers). Luhansk borders two other Ukrainian regions, Kharkiv and Donetsk, but the border it shares with Russia is longer than the border it shares with the rest of Ukraine. It once had a population of more than 2 million, but this number has declined over the years as people flee the fighting to cities like Kyiv or Moscow. As of December 2017, the population of LPR is 1.4 million, with 435,000 of them living in the city of Luhansk.¹⁵

The population of Luhansk can be divided into four categories: Russian speakers (the largest category), Ukrainian speakers, speakers of both languages and Russian speakers who speak themselves they are ethnic Russians. According to the 2001 census – the most recent census in Ukraine – 52 percent of the population in the LPR is Ukrainian and 44 percent is ethnic Russian. However 77 percent of people say their mother tongue is Russian, and there are regions within the LPR where the population is predominantly Russian.

In 2014, when Luhansk and Donets first proclaimed their independence, a majority of residents there said they would rather be part of their own republic, rather than be part of Russia. Some 52% of people in the region at the time said they opposed joining Russia, while 28% in Donetsk and 30% in Luhansk supported it, according to the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, a private research group in Ukraine that conducts sociological and marketing research. At the same time, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia strongly oppose joining Russia. About 85% of people in Kherson and 82% in Zaporizhzhia say they want to remain separate, according to the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology.¹⁶

After eight years of fighting, which led to the destruction of homes and infrastructure, as well as thousands of civilian deaths in eastern Ukraine, the number of Russian sympathizers in Donbas is declining. The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology reported that in late 2021 and early 2022, less than 22% of people in the Donbas region and less than 12% in Kherson and Zaporizhzhia wanted to be part of Russia. More than 52% of Donbas residents, meanwhile, said in a separate survey conducted

¹⁴ M.P Lublina, *History of Luhansk*, (Gorod-lugansk, 2015), <https://gorod-lugansk.com/>

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ M. R Iswardhana, "The History of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine in a Geopolitical Lens", *AIHII*, (2022)

by American polling experts in early 2022 that they were apathetic about where to live, both in Russia and in Ukraine. What most people care about is their financial stability and overall family well-being. Since the 2022 invasion, 92% of residents surveyed in Donbas have said that there should be no territorial concessions for the end of the war as soon as possible, according to the Kyiv Institute of International Sociology.¹⁷

Available natural resources:

1. Donbas has one of the largest coal deposits in the world. Coal reserves of grades A, B, and C were 55.6 billion tons in 1977 or 20 percent of the total reserves of the Soviet Union. Ukraine's Donbas contains nearly 48.1 billion t. In 2000, proven reserves were raised to 57.5 billion t and presumed reserves to an additional 18.3 billion. Methane gas reserves associated with coal deposits are estimated to exceed 2.5 trillion cubic meters.
2. Large deposits of rock salt in the northwestern Donbas in the Bakhmutka River basin (Bakhmut with proven reserves of 5.4 billion t and Sloviansk with reserves of 3.5 billion) and the Kalmiius River and Toret River Basin have the greatest value. Near Mykytivka is a quicksilver cinnabar-ore deposit (see Mykytivka mercury deposit), most of which are now depleted. Mercury and antimony ores have been discovered recently in the vicinity of Sloviansk and Druzhkivka. Various ores such as zinc and lead, with alloys of copper, silver, and gold, are found near Sloviansk, Bakhmut, and in the Naholnyi Ridge region but have not been exploited. Earth elements are rarely found in the south (Pokrovka-Kyriivka, Petrovo-Hnutove). From the 18th century to the early 20th century, small deposits of poor iron ore (brown and siderite ores) were worked in northwestern Donbas and near Bakhmut. In the northwest of Donbas near Sloviansk lignite was found, and in the north natural gas is found in the Lobachivka and Kondrashivka deposits. Both resources remain unexploited.
3. Building materials are common throughout the Donbas: limestone, dolomite, gypsum, refractory clay, napal (calcium carbonate), quartz sand, sandstone (mainly gray and black for road paving), quartzite, chalk, slate, and pottery clay. Some of

¹⁷ The Conversation, "Russia plans to annex parts of Eastern Ukraine – an Eastern European expert explains 3 key things to know about the regions at stake", *The Conversation*, September 29, 2022, <https://theconversation.com/russia-plans-to-annex-parts-of-eastern-ukraine-an-eastern-european-expert-explains-3-key-things-to-know-about-the-regions-at-stake-191482>

them are also used in the metallurgical industry. Limestone is used in the chemical industry and metallurgical industry; the main deposits are in Olenivka (Dokuchaievsk) (see Olenivka flux limestone deposits) and Karakuba (Rozdolne). Large napal deposits in Amvrosiivka and in the southern Donbas and smaller deposits along the Luhanka River are the basis of the cement industry. Rich refractory clay deposits located in the center of Donbas, Chasiv Yar being the most famous deposit.¹⁸

Luhank's referendum turmoil cannot be separated from several factors of local rational consideration in interpreting national policy. The referendum is the first step in the statement of political stance as an international local political agency. The consequence is that protodiplomacy with the consideration of identity will be the rational reason for conducting local political movements.

b. Protodiplomacy Luhansk District of Ukraine

The current crisis in Ukraine has lasted for two years, an interesting perspective of the phenomenon known as Euromaidan – something that continues to evolve without an endpoint in sight. It has become more than just a local event, if it can indeed be described as such, because of its international involvement. Russia, the European Union, the United States, and Canada play an important role. The Ukraine conflict is an international issue. Ukraine can no longer be considered a post-Soviet state or one identified with Russkiy Mir. Since 1991 it has always remained on the periphery, or divorced completely, from emerging Russian-led structures such as the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Eurasian Economic Union, and the Collective Security Treaty Organization. But, it may 3 no longer be the same country as it was in 1991 and its last borders are still in dispute. Scholars debate the nature of Euromaidan: is it a civil war or a war with Russia? Is this the beginning of a new Cold War? Should Ukraine join NATO to secure its borders? Whether it will bring Ukraine to Europe or end up as.¹⁹

The intense and dangerous turmoil triggered by the breakdown of Russia-Ukraine relations has escalated into a crisis that now afflicts the European country and global affairs. Since the beginning of the

¹⁸ I. Stebelsky, "Ukraine Resources and power", September 5, 2018, britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine/Resources-and-power>

¹⁹ M. Dyczok, *Ukraine's Euromaidan Broadcasting through Information Wars with Hromadske Radio*, (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2016)

confrontation, much has been written about the root cause, the motivations of the main actors, and possible scenarios for the future. However, few have seen what has come to be called the 'Ukrainian crisis' from the point of view of Russian-Ukrainian relations and captures the perspectives of the various groups involved, as well as the discursive processes that have contributed to the development and interpretation of the conflict.²⁰

Looking at the Russian-Ukrainian conflict seen in multiple perspectives, first is how Western historians continue to include Ukrainians in a 'Russian' imperial history that denies Ukraine as a separate history. The second perspective is to counter the common narrative of Crimea as 'always' being 'Russian' which denies that the Tatars are indigenous to Crimea – not Russia. The third perspective focuses on the academic orientalist approach to writing about Ukraine and the Russo-Ukrainian war. The fourth perspective downplays Russian nationalism (imperialism) in Vladimir Putin and completely ignores the rise of Tsarist and White immigrants of Russian nationalism who deny the existence of Ukraine. Meanwhile, academic orientalism exaggerates the influence of Ukrainian nationalism in post-Euromaidan Ukraine. The fifth perspective contradicts Putinversteher or Putin-Versteher claims about taking the 'civil war' in Ukraine through extensive evidence of Russian military aggression and imperialism. Finally, these five factors when combined show that the study of the Russian language is inseparable from its crisis if it cannot understand how the source of the Russian-Ukrainian war lies in Russia's national identity and attitudes towards Ukraine and Ukraine and why therefore the chances for peace are slim.²¹

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has turned relations between Russia and the West into what many refer to as a new cold war. The West is slowly understanding that Russia's annexation and intervention, election interference, cyber warfare, disinformation, assassinations in Europe and support for anti-EU populists arise from Vladimir Putin's belief that Russia is at war with the West. This suggests that the crisis is rooted in Russia's inability to cope with its requirements with the declining Ukrainian state. Moscow's view of The Orange revolution and the Euromaidan Revolution as a Western conspiracy and, finally, its inability to understand that most Russian-speaking Ukrainians do not want to rejoin Russia. In Moscow's eyes, Ukraine is crucial to rebuilding the region's influence in the former

²⁰ A. P.-W. Sakwa, *Ukraine and Russia People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*. (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2016)

²¹ Taraz Kuzio, *Crisis in Russian Studies? Nationalism (Imperialism), Racism and War*, (Bristol: E- International Relations, 2020)

Soviet space and to rebuilding Russia as a great power. The book shows that various 'hybrid' tactics that Russia has exerted show continuity with Soviet-era actions.²²

The implication of this major conflict between Russia and Ukraine has caused turmoil to occur both in the territory of Ukraine and Russia. According to the author, there are several important arguments related to the conflict: a) some Russians disagree with Vladimir Putin's actions to invade Ukraine. But on the other hand, there are also some people who support the aggression because Ukraine cannot be separated from Russian history, b) Some Ukrainian people strongly challenge the invasion carried out by Russia but Others choose to make peace with two options, namely Russia and Ukraine remain strategic partners or Ukraine joins the Russian Federation c) Trigger which is carried out by the international system so that the pattern of international relations becomes anarchist. The system is divided into three, namely the coalition of Russian supporters and the coalition of opponents of Russia and neutral coalitions d) The movement of global threats is not only a threat that comes from countries but also sub-states to secede. This means that the coalition of great power with the propaganda of internationalized events makes the polarization of power and power to conflict and qualify. It was in this context that the implications for Ukraine led Luhansk to conduct a referendum attempt to secede from the country following a referendum conducted by Crimea in 2014. This event raises the assumption that the involvement of great powers with good issue construction makes Ukraine threatened its security from the local, internal and external sides of the nation state.

Local activities that carry out politic movements to separate themselves from the state are included in the dimension of paradiplomacy that conducts protodiplomacy. These activities will certainly threatens the stability of the security of the abandoned country. Domestic political turmoil will influence national decisions and have implications for their external actions. Luhansk's decision to hold a referendum is concrete evidence of his pro-diplomatic activities to join the Russian federation. Luhansk's joining is a condition of uncontrolled political and security turmoil in Ukraine. Because the quality and integrity of a country is seen from how the country protects its territory from disintegration. There are several reasons for Luhansk's local political turmoil to secede from Ukraine:

²² T.K D' ANIERI, *Russia's Great Power Politics Ukraine and the Challenge to the European Order*, (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2018)

- a. People are dissatisfied with the government in Kiev, especially how the Ukrainian government distributes state resources. Many believe (erroneously) that the region's wealth and resources were unfairly redistributed to poor and less productive parts of the country, leading to a growing sense of alienation from the rest of Ukraine;
- b. Second, the Euromaidan revolution supported right-wing Ukrainian nationalists who, among other things, tried to repeal laws allowing regions to grant special status to minority languages. The separatists argue that Kiev is trying to reduce the importance of the Russian language in the Russian-speaking region;
- c. Luhansk believes there are negative consequences to joining the EU – in particular reducing trade with Russia and the possibility that Ukraine could be forced to adopt austerity measures similar to those imposed on countries like Greece that have been struggling with high debt and other economic problems;²³
- d. According to the author, another factor is the collective identity shared by the Luhansk people who tend to be closer to Russian identity. It concerns language, culture, history and other identities that influence the local turmoil. The referendum was the beginning of protodiplomacy. Protodiplomacy here means referring to the identity of culture. Protodiplomatic originates from the assumption that there may be interdetermination and interdependence between the “product” of culture and its “producer”, indirectly, through the reality of culture as symbolism. Roman Osipovich Jakobson defined six functions of language (or communication functions), according to which the act of effective verbal communication can be explained. Each function has an associated factor. When we want to research the past, we cannot talk about it if we do not have visual or written information about the proposed subject. Umberto Eco believes that the research is the result of selective memorization. It works not only at the individual level, but also at the social level. Thus, through a combination of the author's own reading and writing experiences, presented and perceived intertextually and intratextually throughout the text itself, and a series of fictionalized versions of personal experience, not only can

²³ U.R. Hanifa, “Economic Embargo as a Strategy for EU Confrontation with Russia during the 2013-2015 Ukraine Conflict”, *Journal of Socio-Politics* (2017): 169-195.

the reader gain insight into the author's motives, intentions, and personality, but the author can also retain or regain some authority over the text he creates. indifferent to the difference between literary and non-literary texts.²⁴

- e. The author also assesses that factors of previous movements influenced the actions of the Luhansk district in Ukraine. Protodiplomacy in Ukraine has been waged by Crimea since 2014 and has been recognized by Russia as a republic. Not only that, there are also many other districts that carry out the same actions as Donetsk. The argument could be related to justice political, economic, social and legal. But the interesting thing is that this turmoil was carried out simultaneously by several districts and the value of the referendum stamped 90 percent more. That means the level of leadership satisfaction and the desire to separate has been very unanimous from its mother country, Ukraine. Invasions and invasions and Russian promises. According to the authors, this factor is also important to assess because Russia always promises glory, goodness as was the case when the Soviet Union was victorious. This means that victory can be achieved if Russia is supported by sources of national strength to meet national and international needs. As mentioned above, Luhansk's natural resources are very large but have not been managed fairly by the state. So Russia's intervention to manage these resources fairly could be Luhansk's logical reason for turmoil like Crimea. This means that Russia's seriousness in guarding, managing Crimea is clear evidence of Russia's strength and seriousness to take care of the region which is still part of the territory of the former Soviet Union. The implication is that the kindness Crimea has gained could be a trigger for awareness of turmoil in Luhansk.

Mukti explained that there are four components in the relationship between the Central Government and Regional Government that have cooperative or competitive consequences, namely: a) differences in political understanding between the Central and Regional Governments. This is related to the ruling party, vision and mission and achieving political image and reputation; b) the existence of social movements in society, namely movements that destabilize central and regional relations that make both tenses. The implication is that the relationship

²⁴ A.P Popescu, "The Proto-Diplomatic Document in Romania", *International Conference Knowledge-Based Organization* 22, no. 2 (2016)

between them has the potential to create inequities in socio-political approaches; c) economic power in the regions is better than national. Good economic potential makes regional potential a good economic source. The implication is to make the region able to stand alone in the face of its autonomous region. That is, separation from the Central Government is not a meaningful thing because economic capabilities can support the needs of the people, and; d) bureaucracies that handle foreign relations both formally and informally. This is because it deals with who is responsible for dealing with the external relations of the territory and what its boundaries look like. Bureaucracy as a coordination function will be needed by both regional and central actors.²⁵

Furthermore, the tragedy of Luhansk's protodiplomacy and reminds of the events of Basque Nationalism to secede from Spanish territory. This tragedy of Basque Nationalism became the beginning of proto-modern diplomacy. And what Luhansk is doing is a strategy to maximize the potential of the region. The turmoil is used to explain the role of national, minority, and ethnic movements that are less dominant in the global society system as one of the factors in IR. This movement as a socio-political movement was the first step in seeking foreign support, something projected as Tartar Nationalism. This movement was formed both within the country itself as well as organizationally, politically, socially, & electoral aspects to bring foreign roles to form a real movement pattern and can be identified as a political movement that can create a "Tartar Nation". The aim was to re-establish the claim of New Russia. There are several indicators of regional actions in international activities, namely:

1. Historical context related to the historical traces of the region in the formation or establishment of the region;
2. The International Agenda aims to find out the issues that occur abroad so that action can get the support of alliances abroad;
3. The principle of sustainable action is that every action taken is neatly arranged and systematic so that the activities carried out can be monitored for their point of effectiveness;
4. The need for foreign action aimed at establishing connections with other nationalists as a form of communication and community of common collective identity or coalition;

²⁵ T. A Mukti, *Paradiplomacy of Foreign Cooperation by Local Government in Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Hinis Press, 2013)

5. An international alliance to gain the same identity collective support as the nationalism movement;
6. Power and power area geographical as a reason for action because geographical location sometimes becomes a representation of culture, ethnicity and equality;
7. It is a foreign delegation as an effort to maintain relations and formal support for secession;
8. Suggestions and instruments are strategies used in carrying out movements.²⁶

If these measures are taken by Luhansk, it will be more complex for Ukraine to pressure the region to become part of its country. In addition to the above steps, other potential strategies modified from Keating are such as a) contacting consulates or embassies of the closest neighboring countries such as Russia b) communicating with communities or presidents who have the same identity c) initiation of economic agreements and foreign investment d) opening diplomatic offices and diplomatic asylum e) meeting the basic needs of the community f) proclamation of independence and sovereignty g) collaborating with organizations international. Therefore, paradiplomacy activities and challenges of federated states, decentralization or union states view these paradiplomatic activities as opportunities for nation states or challenges for nation states (Kuznetsov, 2014).²⁷ Therefore, the need for strong political control to suppress internationalized domestic political turmoil.

According to the author, this phenomenon can depend on the point of view and readiness of the legal and governance order. If political and economic control is good, rebellion and protodiplomacy will not occur. This means that paradiplomacy activities must be proportionate because there are also benefits taken if paradiplomacy helps the central government in foreign relations, namely: (1). Cooperation between those involved at the local level in different regions, intended to facilitate the exchange of experiences either through knowledge transfer or through joint project development; (2). Increased capacity to act and better methods to achieve economic and social development in areas less favored for those involved at local and regional levels, and; (3). Regional or local development achievements that provide examples of how to respond to the challenges

²⁶ F. A Keating, *Paradiplomacy in Actions the Foreign Relations of Subnational Government*, (London: Routledge, 2013)

²⁷ A.S Kuznetsov, *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy Subnational governments in international affairs*, (London: Routledge, 2014)

of modern society and that can be a pilot step to disseminate good practices in the region concerned or in neighboring regions.²⁸

According to Fathun, that there are three keys to maintain the progressiveness of paradiplomacy so that it does not become a protodiplomacy activity, namely: a) Intensify socialization related to the duties and functions of paradiplomacy in foreign relations; b) Develop commitment to maintain loyalty to national territory and anti-insurgency, and; c) Reward and punishment for regions that are qualified in their duties and functions according to applicable rules.²⁹ Therefore, the protodiplomacy that occurred in Luhansk is concrete evidence of the lack of central control over the regions. It is good to see Indonesia as a unitary state consisting of various ethnic groups but still remain standing and full of commitment to become a whole country on behalf of Indonesia. Why Indonesia, with its political system of government in the form of a unitary state and guided by democracy Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution Indonesia is able to become an example of a diverse country that maintains state sovereignty as a death price. Indonesia is able to control the role of paradiplomacy activities well. This means that conservative measures are chosen to organize political governance of government that is free to be responsible. So far, local governments or paradiplomacy are given the opportunity to conduct foreign relations such as sister cities, regional cooperation but still through a one-stop system through legislators of the Regional People's Representative Council or DPRD in their regions which are communicated to the central government as initiatives, protectors of foreign relations in Indonesia. The benefits of paradiplomacy activities in Indonesia can be controlled, including not being able to establish representative offices in other countries as a form of commitment to a unitary state.

Conclusion

Based on analysis above, it shows the complexity of para diplomacy activities. Paradiplomacy activities have the potential to be opportunities and challenges for the global political agency of nation states. On the other hand, the involvement of paradiplomacy in the activities of global political agencies is needed as an extension of the central government to emphasize the importance of collaboration and synergy between

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ L.M Fathun, "The Role of Paradiplomacy and the Potential Proto-Diplomacy in The Unitary State", *Journal Of Islamic World And Politics*, (2021)

governments. This has been shown in the protodiplomacy activities carried out by Luhansk as a form of misalignment between the central government and local governments. The attempt to secede to conduct a referendum is a strategy to carry out separation from the mother country. This means that the conflict between Ukraine and Russia has not only brought global disaster in the security, social, economic and other fields. However, through this conflict, it became a medium for local political agency movements to conduct protodiplomacy. The seduction of identity politics, Russian political promises and past tragedies are key reasons for protodiplomacy. Thus, Ukraine must experience two threats at once in the context of its state security, namely the security threat of the disintegration of the nation and the threat of invasion from Russia. So that security stability is disrupted due to the involvement of great power that has long been vacuum. The events that occurred showed that security threats can also come from within the state through protodiplomacy as a concrete form of political movement to fight the central government which is assumed to be unfair and irrational in policy. The events of New Russia can be said to be the return of neorealism in the global political and security system. However, desecuritization occurs because the threat is still state, both external and internal.

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