



TRAPPED IN THE PAST 'GREATER HUNGARY':
MANIFESTASI *TRIANON SYNDROME* DALAM PERUBAHAN
KEBIJAKAN LUAR NEGERI HUNGARIA
TERHADAP UKRAINA

SKRIPSI

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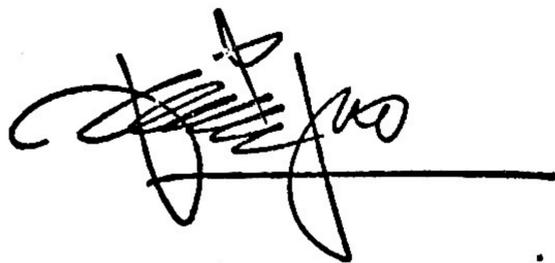
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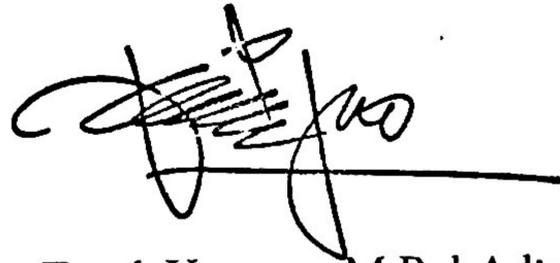
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MOTTO

She walked with God, that was her game changing strategy

“God is within her, she will not fail.”

Psalm 46:5

PERSEMBAHAN

*I present the entirety of this work for my guardian angels,
my late father and my loving mother.*

ABSTRAK

Kebijakan luar negeri Hungaria terhadap Ukraina mengalami perubahan signifikan selama invasi Rusia ke Ukraina tahun 2022 yang terlihat dari dukungan Hungaria kepada Ukraina melalui penerimaan pengungsi dan pengiriman bantuan kemanusiaan, sementara turut bersikap kontra pada serangkaian kebijakan Uni Eropa dan menjalin hubungan kerja sama dengan Rusia. Di bawah kepemimpinan Viktor Orbán dan Partai Fidesz, perilaku Hungaria dinilai tidak konsisten antara pro-Uni Eropa dan tidak pro-Uni Eropa dalam menanggapi perang.

Penelitian ini menggunakan teori *decision-making* dan *strategic culture* dengan berfokus pada *setting* internal untuk mengetahui faktor mendasar yang memengaruhi para pengambil keputusan dalam membentuk kebijakan luar negeri. Penggunaan metode *process-tracing* menemukan bahwa terdapat pengalaman historis Hungaria, yaitu Perjanjian Trianon tahun 1920, yang berdampak pada kebijakan luar negerinya. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perubahan kebijakan luar negeri Hungaria terhadap Ukraina merupakan manifestasi dari *trianon syndrome*, sebuah trauma kolektif yang dirasakan oleh etnis Hungaria akibat Perjanjian Trianon.

Pemerintahan Viktor Orbán dan Partai Fidesz berhasil mempolitisasi trauma ini menjadi *strategic culture* Hungaria dalam merespons ancaman terhadap kedaulatannya sebagai sebuah negara dan bangsa. Penelitian ini melihat bahwa kepentingan nasional Hungaria, yang berpusat pada etnis Hungaria, merupakan faktor kunci dalam manifestasi *trianon syndrome* selama perang Rusia–Ukraina 2022 berlangsung.

Hungaria menggunakan perspektifnya yang dibentuk oleh pengalaman terhadap ketidakadilan dan kerugian akibat Perang Dunia I untuk mendefinisikan kepentingan nasionalnya. Maka dari itu, kebijakan luar negeri Hungaria dalam situasi ini menjadi lebih defensif, agresif, dan oportunistik sehingga mencerminkan adanya perubahan kebijakan luar negeri terhadap Ukraina yang dinilai inkonsisten terhadap Uni Eropa.

Keywords: *Trianon Syndrome*; ‘Greater Hungary’; Kepentingan Nasional Hungaria; Perang Rusia–Ukraina; Etnis Hungaria

ABSTRACT

Hungary's foreign policy towards Ukraine underwent significant changes during the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, as evident in its dual stance of supporting Ukraine through refugee acceptance and humanitarian aid, while simultaneously opposing a series of European Union (EU) policies and maintaining bilateral relations with Russia. Under the leadership of Viktor Orbán and the Fidesz Party, Hungary's behavior characterized as inconsistent, oscillating between pro-EU and non-pro-EU positions in responding to the war. This research utilizes decision-making and strategic culture theories, focusing on internal settings to identify the fundamental factors influencing decision-makers in shaping foreign policy. The process-tracing methods reveal that Hungary's historical experience, particularly the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, had a lasting impact on its foreign policy. The research findings shows that Hungary's foreign policy change towards Ukraine during the Russian invasion is a manifestation of the *trianon syndrome*, a collective trauma felt by Hungarians resulting from the Trianon Treaty. Viktor Orbán's government and the Fidesz Party successfully politicized this trauma, incorporating it into a strategic culture framework that guides Hungary in responding to threats towards its sovereignty as a state and nation. The study finds that Hungary's national interest, centered on Hungarian ethnicity, is the key factor in manifesting the *trianon syndrome* during the 2022 Russia-Ukraine war. Hungary used its perspective shaped by its experiences of injustice and loss due to World War I to define its national interest. Consequently, Hungary's foreign policy in this situation became more defensive, aggressive, and opportunistic, reflecting the inconsistency in its foreign policy towards Ukraine in the EU.

Keywords: Trianon Syndrome; 'Greater Hungary'; Hungary's National Interest, Russia-Ukraine War; Hungarians

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