

The Political and Economic Factor in Russian Intervention in Ukrainian Crisis 2014

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ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian Crisis in 2014 has made headline throughout the world. The Russian Federation started the intervention knowing that the international society would condemn their actions, and will be facing embargos from other states. However, it is not unpredictable that this was going to happen; researchers are trying to understand the motives behind the Russian intervention. As to this research, it aims to understand and to explain as to why the Russian government intervenes in the Ukrainian soil through the perspective of realism and using the national interest theory and rational choice theory. This research shows the interests of the Russian Federation political, military, and economic interests. It also reveals the strong capabilities of the Russian Federation in making an intervention in foreign soil and the acknowledgement that there will be no further interruptions from a third party in their intervention. Finally, this research reveals the rational reasons why Russia issued policy of Intervention in the Ukrainian Crisis.

Keyword(s): Intervention, Russian Intervention, National Interest Theory, Rational Choice Theory, Ukrainian Crisis.

INTRODUCTION

Intervention is not a common term in international relations. Intervention is defined as the act in terms of certain coercive conducted by outside parties that occur in the territory of a sovereign country (Chatterjee & Scheid, 2003, p. 1). To be consider as an "intervention", an action must be coercive, and is not a desired action or required by state intervention. In addition to military action, many actions that are forced to be included in the category of "interventions" are: espionage; economic policies that discriminate such as trade sanctions and embargoes; Selective international aid; financial support for the rebellion in a country; Arming, supplying and training opposition forces, and so forth (Chatterjee & Scheid, 2003, pp. 1-2).

In general, foreign intervention from one country to another, can be a military intervention, political and economic. It would be appropriate to the context of action taken by the state. However, in international relations, interventions are most numerous and easily recognizable is the "military intervention". Military intervention is an act of coercion and interference from outside the country intended for one thing with the military used as a tool.

Geographical position of Crimea that connects Russia with Ukraine and Europe resulted in many Russian-owned interests in Ukraine. A study of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs analyzed some national interests of Russia as a systemic maintain Russian influence on the territory of

the former Soviet Union and deny the power of other competitors or other alliances that have the ability to dominate the territory of the former Soviet Union (Simes, 2011).

In 2014, Ukraine became the hotspot of the world on the crisis in Crimea. This was followed by the emergence of the Russian military forces that control of government buildings in the Crimea as well as the provision of military assistance to rebel groups and separatists who would like to maintain the government of Viktor Yanukovich who was subverted after Euromaidan. Actions taken by Russia is one form of foreign policy, the military intervention which led to political and economic conditions of Ukraine is unstable, led an armed uprising in the Crimea, and in the end resulted in many victims. Actions taken by Russia, shows that the interventions can still occur in countries in international system today. The international system is affected by a condition of anarchy, that is where sovereignty is in the state and there is no higher than it was in this world. In that condition, each country will compete and try to improve their military capabilities in order

to survive in the system. Thus, the condition of each country was influenced by the structure of a dynamic system.

After the resignation of Yanukovich as President of Ukraine, there was a change of regime. That's because party differences behind Yanukovich's leadership, as well as Turchynov and Poroshenko. Under the leadership of Yanukovich, Ukraine has a close relationship with Russia, while under the leadership of Oleksandr Turchynov and Petro Poroshenko, Ukraine prefer closer to Europe than Russia. Under Poroshenko, Ukraine and even signed a trade pact with the European Union. Different regimes and ideologies of the leader is then also lead to demonstrations in the Crimea.

The crisis in the Eastern Ukraine began on February 27 when a group of armed soldiers without identification took over government buildings in Simferopol, Crimea (Babiak, 2014). Not only government buildings, they also took over the Simferopol airport. A group of soldiers was later identified as the Russian army. Starting from this point, international community considered that Russia is deemed Ukraine intervene militarily. On March 16, 2014, Crimea held a referendum to join Russia or not. As a result, 97% of people want to join the Crimea with Russia than Ukraine (Siddiqui, 2014).

A brief explanation of the Ukrainian Crisis above shows how the world works with countries that have strong capabilities and interests. To understand how the world works, a study of this intervention is needed in the terms of foreign policy. This research explains what is the cause of Russian military intervention against Ukraine.

The data and facts obtained are then collected and analyzed using the paradigm of realism. Realism here refers to a dynamic international system and influence national policies of a country. This research describes a much deeper on the part of the Russian military intervention in Ukrainian Crisis in terms of policy making use of National Interest Theory and Rational Choice Theory. Because of interest in a country too dark and it is difficult to be touched, the cause of this intervention not only in the interests of Russia itself. Many things are pushed further intervention, both internal and systemic factors. Thus, this study is an explanatory nature. In this research, presenting Russian motifs contained in the National Security Concept, Foreign Policy Concept and Military Doctrine of the Russian. Furthermore, the capabilities and information held by Russia, a policy of Russia is very rational. This research examines the causes of Russia's intervention with

the use of national interest theory and rational choice theory thus this research is very expensive excuse intervention from the perspective of Russia. The paradigm used also realism, because many things can affect the decision-making process, not only the national political situation, but also the structure of the international system.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Realism

Realism is an inductive theory, in which to make a point, will be explained based on the units in a political system. In this case, usually is the individual holders of power that can influence the decision of a policy (bottom-up). For realists, power is everything, especially military force. Although realists recognize the strength of the economy in each country, but the realists consider that the military strength of a country can protect his country from the threat of other countries and also to protect its national interests. Realists also think that anarchy is the international system and the state reacted to the system. Realism believe that the structure of the international system affects a policy decision, not just units in a political system only. The international system is one of the key ideas realism with its focus on how to survive in the international system.

From the explanation above, it is important to understand realism to analyze foreign policy, particularly on security and military issues. This is because of globalization and interdependence are growing rapidly, so there are a variety of things from the international system that can influence the decision-making process.

National Interests Theory

Hans J. Morgenthau, the national interest theory or self-interest is the main pillar of international social and economic theories. This Morgenthau's approach is well-known, and create the dominant paradigm in international political studies after the World War II. Morgenthau's thinking is based on the premise that diplomatic strategies must base on the national goals, not the moral, legal and ideological reasons which are considered utopian and even dangerous. He stated that the national interest of each country is to pursue power, which is anything that can control and maintain the power of a country over another country. This power or control can be created through coercive and cooperative techniques. Thus, Morgenthau built an abstract concept that it is not easily defined, which are power and interest, which he considers as a tool and goal of international

political action. Many scientists, demand clear operational definitions of the basic concepts. But Morgenthau persisted in his opinion that abstract concepts such as power and interests should not and cannot be quantified. According to Morgenthau, "National interest is the country's minimum ability to protect, and maintain physical, political and cultural identity from interference by other countries (Morgenthau, 1948). Based on this review, state leaders reduce specific policies towards other countries that are collaborative or conflictual.

Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice means the choice of instrumental or directed choices (Jackson & Sørensen, 2005). Rational choice is a political approach that is based on the assumption that each individual is an actor who always attaches importance to himself according to rational thinking. This rational choice theory has the basic assumption that all actions are fundamentally rational and that people have calculated the profit and loss of each action before deciding to do so (Scott, 2000). Joseph Schumpeter and Anthony Downs analogized the rational choice model as a figure of politicians who are creatures who always seek power and will implement any policy that can lead them to choices that lead to success or power (Heywood, 2007). Rational choice seeks to empirical theories about how international actors behave when they have imperfect or incomplete information about other actors they are facing (Jackson & Sørensen, 2005). This Rational choice approach has a natural tendency to make a deductive hypothesis to explain various kinds of empirical facts in the context of several theoretical assumptions that might be thought of. This theory can provide an explanation for social stability and social change, and by mapping it to game theory, it can be used to analyze both social conflict and social cooperation (Harsanyi, 1969).

RUSSIA-UKRAINE RELATIONS

Russian Foreign Policy

Russia seems not having interest to have cooperation with other countries, Russia still continues to cooperate with the West to strengthen the economy and its position in the international community. After the Soviet Union era, in 1999 Russia made several cooperation with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the issue of the Yugoslav bombing campaign that year. In fact, Russia invited the NATO secretary general to Moscow to develop relations with 'Western' leaders. This was welcomed by the West by giving a positive response and full support through

bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Putin said that Russia's foreign policy must be based on "clear national priorities, pragmatism and economic effectiveness".

In 2012, Russia tried to focus on its economic issue, then initiated anti-Western nationalism, increased the defensive cost, and pursued the widest hegemony to the former Soviet Union (Giles, 2015). From 2007 to at the end of 2013, Russia still had an unfavorable relationship with Ukraine regarding the problems of the Ukrainian oil and gas pipeline and debt. This was coupled with an agreement between Ukraine and the European Union so that the Ukrainian crisis emerged and Russia's intervention on Ukraine.

Year after year, there is a clear pattern, that Russia will always prioritize its interests rather than cooperation. Cooperation will occur as long as it is in line with Russian interests. Russia still makes superior of its military power in the international community. This to maintain its identity as Great Power. However, there are many things that are taken into consideration in every Russian foreign policy decision making. The pattern of cooperation or conflict taken by Russia will show the interests and values that are always upheld.

In every foreign policy carried out by Russia, there are actors who play a role in the decision-making process. As a country with the largest region in the world, Russia has many elements of decision making. Although the elements of decision-making in Russia are quite a lot, but Putin is a manifestation of the regime and is the key decision maker also the right spokesperson in every policy. Dmitri Trenin said that, "In all important issues, the political system in Russia is controlled by the only decision maker, namely Vladimir Putin. The power is like a monarchy or a Tsar and it is also supported by an old tradition in the Russian government. " (Lyne, 2015).

The highest decision is in the hands of the president. From the president, the decision was then through presidential administration and the Security Council. The results of the decision then went to the Ministry of Defense which was then followed by the desired operation, both land, sea and air.

Russian Politic in The International Community

Since the defeat of the Soviet Union in the Cold War, Russia should begin to organize its country in the domestic policy. This is because Russia facing various internal obstacles such as the weakening of economy and political culture that ultimately threaten the condition of businessmen

and society. If these internal barriers are not addressed immediately, it will threaten the security in Europe and stability in Russia (Giles, 2015). However, instead of focusing on these internal obstacles, Russia is in fact trying to build a system in order to unite the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries as a counter to the strength of NATO. One of the interests of Russia is preventing the expansion of NATO.

In the case of intervention in Ukraine, Russia seeks to keep Ukraine from joining the EU with a close relation with NATO. In the international community, Russia is trying to show their power as a Great Power with the fact that Russia is not affected by the embargo committed by the EU related cases of intervention in Ukraine. As long as it does not oppose their interests, Russia maintains a good relation like bilateral relations with Luxembourg which is actually a member of the EU that gives an embargo to Russia (Lavrov, 2015). In addition, Russia strengthens their position by cooperating with BRICS countries and countries in the Eurasian region. This is proven by the signing of a memorandum between Russia and China to join Silk Road Economic Belt Projects and Eurasian Economic Integration (EAEU) (Lavrov, 2015).

From those explanation, we can analyze that since 2003 until now, Russia has acted like an Independent Great Power with their foreign policies in facing multipolar international community system. Russia will be negative towards the countries that oppose them, but Russia remains positive and cooperates with new emerging powers countries as a form of adaptation to the ever-changing international community system. Russian attitudes and actions will be deciding whether they are in line with their national interests or not.

On the phenomenon of Russian Intervention in Ukrainian crisis, Russia is aggressive against Ukraine when Ukraine decides to establish further cooperation with the EU. Before the Ukrainian crisis took place, Russia did not behave like that because the policy of Ukraine still has not opposed the interests of Russia. In the context of the international community, Russia does not want Ukraine to work more closely and further with the EU or NATO because this will barriers to the interests of Russia in the future.

Russia-Ukraine Bilateral Relations

After the Russian Revolution, Ukraine declared its independence from Russia on January 28, 1918 which resulted in several wars between several groups. The Russian army finally won

against the Kiev army and in 1920 Ukraine became part of the Soviet Republic. In 1922, Ukraine became one of the pioneers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). As part of the USSR, the territory of Ukraine also got wider during the time of Vladimir Lenin and Nikita Krushchev. Ukraine also became part of the USSR which played an important role in the development of USSR before the down of USSR (Infoplease.com, 2016).

The fact that Ukraine is rich in natural resources is an important point where geographically Russia will always maintain their influence on rich territory. Not only the abundant natural resources, with Ukraine in western Russia, Russia has built its oil and gas pipeline in Ukraine so that Russia can easily and efficiently supply its oil and gas products. In addition to the abundant natural resources, one of the goals of Russia has always maintained good relations with Ukraine because Ukraine is a buffer zone. So that the international political activities systemically can be seen into 2 different powers. Russia as the strongest axis in the East, and countries in Central and Western Europe are joining NATO. Utilization of Ukraine as a buffer zone is very much looking at the geographical position of Ukraine that limits between Russia and EU countries. If Russia can trust the EU member states, then Russia will not be so hard in keeping Ukraine as the outermost circle guarding Russia's national territory.

The location of Ukraine is very strategic because Ukraine connects Russia with European countries. This can be seen from two sides, the first of which is an opportunity because Ukraine can be used to channel international trade between Russia and countries in Europe so that the Russian economy and trade out will be more smoothly. But on the other hand, this is a threat if until Ukraine fell into the hands of Europe because Ukraine itself is a Buffer Zone which became Russia's outer circle in protecting his country from Western influence.

Ukraine also has military bases in Crimea located near the Black Sea. The Black Sea is very strategic and connects Russian military bases with Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Georgia. The Black Sea also has abundant natural resources so that the presence of Russian military forces in the Crimea must be maintained. This is a strategy in maintaining Russian influence in the countries surrounding Russia, including Ukraine.

Economic and trade cooperation relationship can be seen from the trade balance between Russia and Ukraine which in 2006 reached USD 23.3 billion, with the growth of trade by 39% annually from 2002 to 2006 (Szeptycki, 2008). The trade structure between Russia and Ukraine

was formed based on its relationship since it was still part of the Soviet Union. Ukraine is a machine exporter for Russia, locomotives, trains and other vehicles; turbines, winches, and other electric-powered engines; metal industrial products, pipes; agricultural and food products such as meat, dairy products, sugar, alcoholic beverages, canned foods; chemical products such as ammonia, plastics, tires and chemical cleaning agents (Szeptycki, 2008). This then causes Ukraine to depend and rely heavily on Russia as a market as well as a consumer of the products it produces. Ukraine is easier to distribute its products to Russia because countries in Europe, which are mostly incorporated into the European Union, have quite strict trade barriers, while the quality of products produced by Ukraine is less superior than products from other countries.

While Russia is the largest gas exporter for Ukraine. In 2005, Ukraine imported 68.4% of its fuel from Russia. Apart from Russia, Ukraine actually imports oil and gas from Central Asia, but geographically it still has to go through Russia so there is a necessity and dependency. And the fact that Russia provides cheap prices to Ukraine so that Ukraine is very dependent on Russia. This price is very cheap compared to its selling price to other European countries. However, the generosity of this price must be paid with the services of Ukraine as a transit country. Ukraine is called a transit country because 80% of Russia's oil and gas pipelines flow to Europe via Ukraine. Russia also tried to overcome this by providing cheap prices for oil and gas to Ukraine (Szeptycki, 2008).

Relations between Russia and Ukraine reached a very bad situation when in 2009 Russian President Dmitry Medvedev accused Ukraine in his open letter that the Ukrainian Government had issued an anti-Russian policy. The Russian president stated that Ukraine had supported Georgian troops in the war between Russia and Georgia, violated an agreement on the Russian navy in the Black Sea, and was involved in anti-Russian discourse. But relations between Russia and Ukraine improved better when in 2010 President Viktor Yanukovich was elected President of Ukraine. Viktor Yanukovich is one of the leaders in Ukraine who is more pro in establishing good relations with Russia. Russia's relations with Ukraine became unstable again when Euromaidan and the Ukrainian Crisis occurred at the end of 2013 which ultimately threatened Viktor Yanukovich's position as president.

UKRAINIAN CRISIS

Leading The Fall of Yanukovich

Euromaidan demonstration began on November 21, 2013 at night when Yanukovich had decided to postpone the signing of the contract. Many Ukrainians wanted Ukraine to establish closer cooperation with the European Union, but Russia had the power to pressure the Ukrainian government. In addition to the postponement of the signing of the agreement, the Ukrainian people were ignited by other things such as corruption in the Ukrainian government (Getmanchuk, 2014), and also human rights violations against former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yulia Tymoshenko. Ukrainian society demands the release of Yulia Tymoshenko from prisoner and demands that President Viktor Yanukovich step down. Until the beginning of December 2013, the number of demonstrators continued to grow and reached 800,000 people. Until mid-January, the government began to ban demonstrations so that there was violence that took many victims. On January 28-29, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov resigned. The crisis continued, many demonstrators were arrested and many were killed. Until February 20, at least 88 people were killed in 2 hours. This is the worst violence in nearly 70 years of the history of Kiev. The demonstration continued until February 22, 2014, finally Viktor Yanukovich was overthrown and Yulia Tymoshenko was released (Loiko, 2014).

Under Yanukovich's, Ukraine has a close relationship with Russia, while under Olexander Turchynov, Ukraine prefers to approach Europe than Russia. After Turchynov, the elected president was Poroshenko. During his term, Ukraine signed the Trade Pact with the European Union (Higgins & Herszenhorn, 2014). It is this difference in regime and different leadership ideologies that later also led to demonstrations in other parts of Ukraine, in the eastern part of Ukraine.

Eastern Ukraine Crisis

On April, 7th 2014, protests and demonstrations began to spread to Kharkiv, Donetsk and Luhansk. They demanded for a referendum on independence. Kharkiv, Donetsk and Luhansk want to free themselves from Ukraine. In fact, some of the demonstrators demanded to join Russia. On April 17, Ukraine sent its armed forces to prevent widespread demonstrations. However, 3 protesters were killed as the first victims of riots between separatists and the Ukrainian army. On

April 22, the president declared resistance by issuing military operations against the pro-Russian Ukrainian people. The death toll in Ukraine increased when riots broke out. On May 11, 2014, The Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republic declared their independence from Ukraine (Walker, Grytsenko, & Amos, 2014). Since then, protests from pro-Russian separatists have expanded. This is because the majority of the population in Eastern Ukraine are people who still have emotional and cultural relations with Russia.

Until August 22, 2014, there was a large humanitarian convoy from Russia entering Luhansk without permission of Ukrainian Government. This is also what Ukraine calls a form of intervention. On August 26, 2014, a group of Russian soldiers were caught in Ukraine on a special mission (Prentice & Makhovsky, 2014). On 27-28 August 2014, separatist leader Alexander Zakharchenko said that there were about 3 to 4 thousand Russian civilians around the Azov Sea and Novoazovsk. Russia's involvement has deepened until Russia gets sanctions and embargoes from various countries in the world. But that does not reduce Russia's influence in Eastern Ukraine. Finally, on September 5, 2014, the pro-Russian rebels, the Government of Ukraine and the Russian Government also held talks in Minsk, Belarus which produced a protocol containing 12 points.

Crimean Occupation

Russian intervention continued in early March when the Russian parliament accepted Putin's request to use their military force in Ukraine to protect Russian interests in Ukraine. On March 16, 2014, Crimea held a referendum to join Russia or not. As a result, 97% of the Crimean people want to join Russia rather than Ukraine (Siddiqui, 2014). Although March 17, 2014 the European Union and the United States gave a travel ban and froze the assets of several Russian officials, on March 18, 2014 President Putin signed a contract which declared Crimea to be part of Russia. Everything goes so fast. Crimea became independent from Ukraine on March 16, 2014 and entered Russia's part on March 18, 2014. This was due to the large number of ethnic Russians in the Crimea. However, Russia has come under fire and embargoes from the West for its great condemnation actions.

A referendum held in the Crimean Republic in March 2014 showed broad support from the society to rejoin the Russian Federation. Although sharp criticism from the international community, the government of the Russian Federation and the Crimean Autonomous Republic continued the process of accessing Crimea to become part of Russia, so that the Crimean Republic

was formed as the subject of the Russian. The results of the referendum which took place from around 50% of the votes counted have resulted in 95% of the votes of the Crimean people choosing to join Russia and separate from Ukraine. Legal and illegal claims for the conduct of the referendum raise the tensions. Russia considers the referendum Legal, America and European consider it illegal.

RUSSIAN INTERESTS TOWARDS UKRAINE

Russian Political-Military Interests

In the political interests, researchers argue that Russia is trying to maintain its role and position as a country that has a super power in the world in the term of politics. Russia, which has historically been a ruling country since the Russian Empire to the Soviet Union, tried to maintain its role. Politically, Russia used to want to form a Union called the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union collapsed after the cold war and broke its states, including Ukraine. Although these countries have been independent and independent, Russia wants to show that its influence is not lost (Golani, 2011).

NATO member states and the European Union actually work together in inviting cooperation or providing assistance to the countries of the former Soviet Union, from bilateral cooperation to the provision of scholarships to the youth. In this case, including Ukraine. The importance of Russia's political fundamentals is slowly starting to be threatened if Russia does not respond and make a foreign policy. The crisis in Ukraine is the right moment to prove Russian influence and stop NATO expansion. In addition, Ukraine itself is a buffer zone between Russia and the European Union, so Ukraine must be protected so that Russia's political and military interests are safe.

Since mid-2003, Russia's policy is transforming. With good cooperation and adaptation after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia experienced economic improvement. However, this creates a stronger desire to restore its major role in history as an Independent Great Power and to restore Russia's image which has been considered weak since 1991. Russia's desire is deeply felt in the international system. If Russia makes a firm and strong stance, this will certainly have an impact on the return of Russia's image as Great Power, and this is an advantage and honor in today's multi-polar international system (Gannon, 2001).

Ukraine is seen as an important actor which could have a positive impact in solving the Transnistria conflict. EU identifies important role of Ukraine in strengthening co-operation on regional and international issues, conflict prevention and crisis management. According to the EU-Ukraine Action Plan, “Ukraine will continue its constructive efforts as mediator in the settlement process to solve the Transnistria conflict in Moldova”.

Russian power has decreased since the Soviet Union collapsed and turned into the Russian Federation and several other independent countries. Its smaller area also shows that its influence is starting to decrease in the neighbor countries. This has become a serious consideration when NATO and the European Union began to approach the former territories. When the international system changes from bipolar to multipolar, Russia try to balancing the power of NATO that widening its power and maintaining its power in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Thus, with its intervention in Ukraine will reduce the expansion of the West.

While Russian military interests refer to more strategic matters and more specific interests, the Crimea Peninsula and the Black Sea. The Crimea Peninsula is a strategic place to put the navy on the Black Sea. Since the era of the Soviet Union, many ethnic Russians have lived in the region to work as navies and sailors. One of the Russian navy bases is located there, so Russia always maintains good relations with Ukraine. This good relationship changed when President Viktor Yanukovich was no longer in power. Western-leaning Ukraine will be a threat to the Russian military in the Black Sea. Thus, if Russia cannot have Ukraine, Russia will fight to own Crimea. This proven by Russia's actions in inserting its military into Crimea after the Ukrainian government fell. Military bases that are also close to the buffer zone area must be protected to protect the main territory. Researchers believe that if Ukraine falls to the West, this is a big threat to Russia and Russia does not want it to happen. Major threats, especially those that also threaten the military must be solved immediately. For this reason, this policy appears under the president's command to protect national security and Russian military interests in its strategic areas. Many countries consider that this Russian policy is violating the international law and condemn-able, but Russia believes that this policy must indeed be done to protect national interests and security (Golani, 2011).

Figure 4. 1 Strategic Location of Black Sea



Source: simple.wikipedia.org

The matter of Russian occupation of the Crimea Peninsula and problems with the Russian navy in the Black Sea, Russia is trying to gain profits from a geopolitical point of view. Crimea is a strategic area for security and military. To achieve this, Russia upholds the values of independence written in the Basic Law of the Russian Federation in defending of the rights of the Crimean people which the Ukrainian government ignores.

Geopolitically, Russia has an advantage because it has many ethnicities that still support Russia, so that Russia's entry into Ukrainian territory can be accepted at the right momentum. This Russian interest does not only stop at influence, but also has reached a wider systemic level, which is about NATO. From this point, Russia's interests have been categorized as military interests, because it concerns the national security of the country. Russia will not commit to voluntarily join NATO or the European Union and be under the influence of other countries. Russia does not want to be part of them, but the existence of NATO is felt to become threatening with its members which are also dominated by countries on the European. Russia realizes that its strength and influence are not as big as before, so it will be difficult to compensate for NATO.

The problem of balance of power with NATO is coming after. Russia does not want NATO to dominate the countries of the former Soviet Union. The expansion of NATO has become a threat to Russia, given the Warsaw Pact has been disbanded. This was even more threatening when the

expansion reached the former Soviet Union. Russia's border is an important point for Russia to maintain Russia's security stability. The condition of Russia and its borders today is very unique, Russia's borders have changed a lot in history starting with the victory and defeat of the Muscovy, the expansion of the Russian Empire, during the Soviet Union, Russia's territory has increased and decreased (Oliker, 2015).

After all those military interest, Russia also consider their military capability. Until 2012, Russia had 2,800 tanks, 18,260 infantry vehicles, 5,436 active artillery equipment used. According to The Military Balance, there were at least 18,000 tanks, 15,500 infantry vehicles and 21,695 artillery equipment stored in the armory. Some of the equipment is old, but can still be used properly. In 2013, for the armed forces on land, Russia had 285,000 personnel including military service. For the entire army, by mid-2013, it was confirmed that Russia had 700,000 armed forces, consisting of officers, contracted soldiers and conscripts (Hedenskog & Pallin, 2013).

With a large number of armed forces, including the number of conscripted soldiers coming every season, Russia has a large and strong army. This is supported by their military facilities and infrastructure that acquired since the Soviet Union era. However, the army is divided to 4 different districts. The most difficult challenge is the southern district bordering Georgia and parts of Ukraine including Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk.

This matter very much contrast from Ukraine, according to the report of Ministry of Defense of Ukraine in 2013, the Ukrainian military power which only reached 165,500 personnel. The number of conscripts only reached 5,000 personnel in that year. Compared to Russia which has 285,000 army personnel, Ukraine has only 49,100 personnel. Ukrainian military equipment was only 683 tanks, 1,969 combatants, 379 artillery equipment and 72 helicopters (Ukraine M. o., 2013).

With a comparison of the contrast military power between Russia and Ukraine, Russia is ready to take military actions in order to achieve its interests. Moreover, the southern Russian military district is the strongest district. Other Western countries are also aware of this so they have not dared to take risks against Russia militarily. Russia has military capability in controlling Eastern Ukraine which was once the territory of the Soviet Union. Russia also has strong security defense indoctrination listed in the defense doctrine. When this is supported by a very strong military capability.

The possibility that Ukraine is against Russian military efforts, or the possibility that there will be an Anti-Russian alliance is very small, because foreign intervention is usually aimed at humanitarian purposes, not against Russia directly. The entry of the United Nations or NATO into Ukraine is not possible and Russia has a greater opportunity with its influence and strong relation with Ukraine. With information about the instability that exists in Ukraine and also about foreign perceptions of Russia, Russia is ready to face the consequences of the reaction to this intervention.

Even if other countries decide to issue an embargo, it will not have a big impact on Russia because Russia is a country that has strong economic power. Russia's resources make Russia ready to face all the consequences of foreign policy that have been taken, including Russia's intervention in Ukraine. Russia has considered all the consequences and benefits that will be gained by intervening against Ukraine. Even though many countries reacted negatively by issuing an embargo which caused the value of the Russian currency to fall dramatically, the stability of the domestic economy and the fulfillment of needs could still be well met. In fact, Russian society is not so disturbed because the Russian government is trying to maintain the security and welfare of its citizens.

Russian Economic Interests

Russia also has economic interests, President Putin stated that within the CIS country there was Russia's strategic interest (Morozova, 2009). This is a big threat if the CIS countries move their direction and join the West. One of the strategic interests of Russia is the gas and oil pipeline in Ukraine. In Ukraine, a lot of gas pipes connecting gas from Russia are sold to the European Union. 80% of Russia's gas and oil pipelines are in Ukraine and over the past few years, Russia has taken advantage of Ukraine's dependence and debt to easily obtain these gas and oil pipeline services (Szeptycki, 2008). If Ukraine integrates with the West, the Ukrainian economy will easily enter the West and will no longer depend on Russia. So far, one of the reasons why Russia is close to Ukraine beside Ukraine has the second largest Russian ethnic population, also because of the wealth of resources owned by Ukraine. Ukraine is a rich country, so Russia will try to maintain Ukraine for its strategic interests and economic interests.

From the beginning of the Ukraine crisis, Russian interference was about preventing Ukraine from breaking away from Russian influence and falling under what was seen by Moscow as a Western conspiracy which was always harassing to Russia with a hostile government. Russia

may have seen this crisis as a make-or-break moment for special connections to Ukraine and wants to intervene not to lose Ukraine permanently. Ukraine as a country with a diversity of resources and industry is depend on Russia and has negotiated with the West about the possibility of intimate cooperation. Ukraine's interests can be seen through the pattern of agreements and cooperation that has been carried out since 2008. If Russia does not have any more influence in Ukraine, it is clear that Ukraine will be more inclined to the European Union. However, due to its strong influence in Ukraine, Russia is very easy to adopt policies relating to Ukraine. Thus, the instability is the opportunity for Russia to maintaining the market of Ukraine. Russian gas and oil pipeline that has always been a dispute between Russia and Ukraine in recent years. 80% of Russia's gas and oil pipelines are built through Ukraine, making Ukraine an important area for Russian gas exports. Russia has taken advantage of Ukraine's dependence and debt to easily obtain these gas and oil pipeline services.

Figure 4. 2 Russian Gas and Pipelines Map through Ukraine



Source: longtailpipe.com

From the image above, Russian gas and oil pipeline that has always been a dispute between Russia and Ukraine in recent years. 80% of Russia's gas and oil pipelines are built through Ukraine, making Ukraine an important area for Russian gas exports (Szeptycki, 2008). This economic interest is supported by the fact that in the history of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was also a resource-rich area and supports Russian economy. When an economic interest is disrupted, this will affect

the country's economic activity. The fact that Russia sent military troops and provided military assistance to separatists in eastern Ukraine showed that Russia's strongest influence was in eastern Ukraine, and the strongest interests were also in the East, including Crimea and the Black Sea.

Military capability is strongly supported by the military budget every year. Military budgets can illustrate how much it costs for the country's military development each year. This matter can also be considered as a benchmark of a country's capability. The Russian Military Budget in 2012 amounted to 1,832 billion rubles. From this budget, Russia spent 1,812 billion rubles on military purposes. That amount is equal to 99 billion USD or 2.9% of its GDP. The Military Budget is certainly determined by the country's GDP annually. From 2013 to 2015, Russia took 3.1-3.8% of its annual GDP. This increased sharply because in the 2000s, Russia only took about 2.7% of its GDP (Hedenskog & Pallin, 2013). While Ukraine in 2013 spent military costs of 14,300.1 million UAH, or about 7 billion USD from the budgeted military budget of 15,281.2 million UAH (Ukraine M. o., 2013). Comparison of 7 to 99 billion is a figure that is very far adrift for military budgets. The numbers that spent in 2014 are not expected to be far from 2013. According to the World Bank's GDP in 2014, Russia reached 1,860,598 million USD and Ukraine only reached 131,805 million USD.

In terms of economic capability, it is also different because Ukraine is a small country compared to Russia which has a large area and population. Besides, Ukraine is very dependent on bilateral trade with Russia. However, the dependence is not bi-directional, only one way which is the dependent Ukraine. Especially Ukraine's dependency on the energy sector imported from Russia, or imported from Central Asia but must go through Russia. Further, Ukraine has difficulties in finding a market that supplies several products from Ukraine. The market has been Russia. In the end, Russia took advantage of Ukraine's trade relations and dependence to pressure Ukraine. Russia shows its high capability not only in the military but also in the economy.

This capability is supported by Russia's willing and commitment to responsible for its foreign policy and not retreat from the attitude that have been taken. Russia remains strong even though Russia was finally embargoed economically by many countries. For example, after the occupation of Crimea, Russia received many embargoes from the United States and European countries. However, Russia can still hold on with its economy to survive in the international

community. Otherwise, Russia provides a food embargo on the countries that give sanctions. This food diplomacy has succeeded in weakening food needs in several countries in Europe.

The fact that Russia domestically has a strong economy is a symptom of Russia is being able to fulfill all its economic needs. This strong economic power can also support Russia's military capabilities, because Russia also produces its own military. Adequate military budget, a strong domestic economy, and its capabilities in the military field make the policy taken very profitable for Russia.

CONCLUSION

Military intervention against Ukraine in the Ukrainian Crisis 2014 was carried out by Russia by considering the policy for their interests. This interest shows the cause of Russian intervention. This interest can be seen through the political, military, economical fundamental interest, capability and information that Russia has.

After going through a fairly long process of consideration by political actors within the Russian government, Russia also issued an intervention policy as the end result or output of the foreign policy making process. Russia has a motive for achieving national security and also security in the CIS region. Russia does not want CIS integration to be weakened, and precisely the EU and NATO expansion which extends to the East. Russia also wants to maintain its role and position as a Great Power country in international system. In addition, Russia has strategic interests in Ukraine, namely oil and gas pipelines, as well as ports and fleets in Crimea and the Black Sea.

The interests were reinforced by Russia's strong military capabilities. The number of Russian army personnel reached 700,000 while Ukraine was only 165,000, with Russian military equipment also far more modern. Militarily, Russia is stronger than Ukraine. Not only militarily, but economically, both from the military budget, GDP to national economic conditions. Russia is far superior so they dare to take intervention policy. This policy was accompanied by information about the instability that occurred inside the domestic Ukraine, the doubts of the Ukrainian people, as well as the perception of Ukraine and other countries that Russia is still a strong country so the consequences will not be so severe. In addition, it will be more difficult for other countries to enter Ukraine and prevent Russia, and Russia has the freedom to enter Ukraine. This is due to the Russian affiliation with Ukraine that has been built for a long time.

With basic necessities and good economic power, it is clear that these circumstances created the motive behind Russia's action. Compared to Russia, Ukraine has much weaker and fewer military capabilities. Besides of information about Ukraine's interests and Ukraine's perception of Russia which still considers Russia as a power state. This exact calculation brings Russia to the right and profitable choice to achieve and maintain their interests.

Whether Russia chooses to intervene in Ukraine or not, it will be the best policy in order to maintain their interests. The consequences of the choice to intervene in Ukraine can be handled with Russian military and economic capabilities. Russia does not want long-term consequences in the form of military threats and economic instability. The intervention policy by sending troops and providing assistance is felt to be more efficient because the cost is less than the sanctions or international reaction to Russian policy. Russia has estimated the small possibility of the UN or NATO to intervene militarily in this domestic crisis, and Russia is also domestically prepared to face the embargo that comes as a reaction to this intervention.

Therefore, Russia's policy to intervene in Ukraine is very precise and most profitable for Russian interests by considering the strong political, military, economical fundamental interest, capability and information also the consequences and benefits gained. This Russian policy led to the achievement of Russia's goals and interests to survive in the international community.

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