

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

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. In this research, it will be presented under the title;

**“Russian Intervention in Ukrainian Crisis 2014.”**

## **1.2 Research Question**

The making process of Russia's foreign policy is quite interesting, because Russians assess the risk of criticism from Western countries. However, the policy is still taken even though it is against the international system, so that this phenomenon needs to be studied in an explanatory. Thus, the research question based from the background above is;

### **"Why did Russia Conduct Military Intervention in Ukrainian Crisis 2014?"**

## **1.3 Research Purpose and Benefit**

### **1.3.1 Research Purpose**

This research has the objective to provide an understanding of the causes of the Russian intervention in Ukrainian Crisis 2014, using interest theory. As for the various causes will be described in some respects in the body of research.

### **1.3.2 Research Benefit**

#### **1.3.2.1 Theoretical Benefits**

- a. Provide scientific contributions by giving the facts of how the Russian intervention goes according to Interest Theory.
- b. Provides an understanding and knowledge of security issues, especially regarding the post-Cold War security crisis.

#### **1.3.2.2 Practical Benefits**

- a. Provides exposition of how the foreign policy of a country associated to the motif, material and information.
- b. Inspiration for foreign policy makers to use interest theory in achieving national interests.

## **1.4 Theoretical Frameworks**

This research uses the paradigm of realism as a perspective and also the framework in the assessment of this case. Although many theories and paradigms that can be used to look at the case, but the selection and use of realism perceived as a paradigm that is most appropriate in view of the case. Furthermore, there will be explained the concept of intervention that have occurred in the international political system. Then, as the most important theory, will explain the National Interest Theory and the Rational Choice Theory also the variables were used as knives analysis in policy making Russian intervention.

### **1.4.1 Realism**

The paradigm uses in this research is realism, according to Waltz, there are three things that distinguish realism and neorealism (Lamy, 2008, pp. 128-129) .

- a. 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).
- b. 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.
- c. For realists, 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. International System can

be defined as a set of countries that interact with each other. In such systems, there are several factors that influence the course of the system. The international system is often analogized like billiard balls. However, unlike billiard balls that have the same size, a set of states in an international system does not have the same size. In an international system, the most important thing to note is the presence of an actor or components or the perpetrators, and also their interactions made by them.

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.

#### **1.4.2 National Interest 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.

This research emphasizes the decision-making process of a Russian foreign policy using national interest theory. Basically, every country, including Russia, makes a policy with full consideration for its interests in order to obtain as much profit as possible and achieve its national interests which is a strategy theory in foreign policy that will explain the reasons behind a policy. In this research, researchers use the perspective of a country that faces an international system that raises obstacles and opportunities. The international system is assumed to be anarchy, with no higher power than the state, so that a country must think about its interests by making decisions that have certain objectives that can be considered to achieve its interests, as well as obstacles and also its opportunities.

Interest is one of the most important things in the decision-making process. Interest considers various things which is input, then produces of a policy as the output of this process. Thinking about interest, state should aware of the consequences, impacts and benefits derived from every possible choice. In the decision-making process of a foreign policy involving national interest, there are 3 important things that are taken into consideration, namely fundamental interest, capability and information.

In Russian foreign policy decision making, especially in the military sector, there are many things that Russia must pay attention to. The process of making this policy is not easy. Russian foreign policy decision making concerning strategic matters, headed by the President. In its process, involving the prime minister, defense minister and foreign minister. In the decision-making process of the intervention policy, Russia will consider the fundamental interests, then the capability that covers its capabilities in the military and also information about possible result of policy. Russia also has considered many things in terms of the consequences or impacts that will be obtained, and also the calculation of good profit and loss so that Russia finally decided to intervene in Ukraine. To describe Russia and also the international situation faced by Russia, researchers see from political, military, economical fundamental interest, capability and information. So, from these three things, the researchers obtained answers to the causes of Russian intervention in the Ukrainian crisis.

Fundamental interests are the main interests and are considered very important in the sustainability of a country. In this case, Russia's fundamental interest is in its national interest. Russia's national interests are a combination of the interests of individuals, society and the state in terms of economic, domestic politics, social, international, informational, military, border, environment and another sector. This national interest is protected by state authority institutions. Individual interests are usually the use of constitutional rights and freedom in maintaining security; in improving the quality and standard of living; in physical, spiritual and intellectual development as an individual and citizen. Society interests are usually in the form of strengthening democracy; in law making and social statements; in gaining public harmony. Whereas the



state's interests are usually in the form of a constitutional system that cannot be changed, full sovereignty of Russia and territorial integrity; in achieving political, economic and social stability; the right to absolute freedom to the law and rules; and to enhance profitable international cooperation. In this study, of course the interests in question are the interests of the state in the form of full sovereignty, territorial integrity, achievement of political, economic, social stability and also beneficial international cooperation. In this, case researcher defines fundamental interest into Political-Military Interests and Economic Interest.

In the context of national interest theory, capabilities are the important things that are needed for any possible options in order to achieve the fundamental interests. In short, the resources of the state as a power or capability of a country. Capability is a military capability of a country. But the strength of a country's military capability is also supported by the economic power to strengthen and maintain its military capabilities. Variable material greatly influences the choice of strategies adopted by a country because these materials can improve the ability to acquire military capabilities that will clearly affect both the outcome of its policy to deter, coerce, protecting and attacking.

In making a military policy, state should consider its military capabilities. However, even military capabilities must be supported by economic capabilities to fund all military policies that will be carried out. Even in the current international system, state power is not only based on military capability, but also economic capability. Specially to consider the economic impact on trade relations between the two countries.

Information is the external consideration that influences the choice of strategy because this

information influences expectations regarding the action of the opponent, including the action towards his own policy. In this case, what Russia knows about the value of Ukraine for Russia and the possibility of third-party intervention. This information is used as a tactic in strategy. This affects the reaction had been anticipated by a country against what would be the next move, and for that, the strategy must be selected. This information is very important and secret intelligence that various measures are needed to obtain information from other countries.

### **1.4.3 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).

There are several types of Rational Choice Theories, depending on which side this theory will be used. Sometimes this theory is used to analyze economic, social, political and strategic issues or policies. In this research, the Rational Choice Theory used is a strategic choice theory, because it will be used to analyze the most appropriate Russian strategy in the 2014 Ukraine Crisis.

To understand Rational Choice Theory, we have to understand what is the background of the theory which is the Rational Choice Actor Approach as explained by Allison. This approach has the basic assumption that the government is the main actor who determines everything, and the government selects certain objectives, evaluates them based on their functions, and selects the most profitable one. State actions are analyzed based on the assumption that the state has considered all options and acted rationally to maximize its functions (Allison, 2008: 223). The Rational Actor approach can be regarded as a political figure who has utilize his freedom to act to achieve the goals he has expressed through a very careful and rational process that involves full and objective learning of all information and alternatives concerned with what is currently it's being faced. At the same time, this approach assumes that these central actors are in full control of all state apparatus so that when a decision is made it will be as good as when it applied. All decisions are centralized and in full control, so usually the actor rational choice is the figure of the leader of the country. The actor as the decision maker will make a decision that he believes will lead him to the best possible outcome for his institution or his country, including to do an intervention.

The concept of the intervention itself is often used in the study of International Relations. According to The International Relations Dictionary, intervention is an act of coercive interference in relations between countries conducted by another country or group of countries to influence the internal and external policies of a country (Plano & Olton, 1982, pp. 175-176). Intervention is defined as the act in terms of certain coercive conducted by outside parties that occur in the territory of a sovereign state ( Chatterjee & Scheid, 2003). Meanwhile, according to Holsti, intervention is all the actions that have a particular impact directly or gradually in the domestic politics of another nation, including all forms of persuasion and programs diplomatic, economic, and military (Holsti, 1987). Thus, all these actions can show us that the intervention has many kinds, such as political intervention, intervention in the economy, and military intervention. However, the concept of political intervention and intervention in the economy is still too abstract and its movement is less clear in the cross the country's borders. However, each state may intervene in politics or the economy of other countries and even though it violated the sovereignty of a country, it is still often encountered in international politics.

The final form of intervention is an act of sending troops in large numbers are being made to maintain the stability of the regime against the rebellions, or done to help the rebels overthrow the government of the ruling (Holsti, 1987, p. 377). Military intervention is a concept of an intervening act committed by a state in foreign affairs of other countries with the use of force and threat of force. But not only the foreign affairs of other countries, according to Martha Finnemore, military intervention is an act of deployment of military troops across the border to protect foreign nationals from the violence that is caused by a group of people

(Eniayejuni, 2012, p. 2). The violence inflicted by a group of people in the country that is perceived as a threat that could lead to the emergence of intervention, because it requires military support from foreign parties. It is then used as a justification for an intervention may enter a country's sovereignty. Therefore, military intervention can be defined as the use of force by crossing the state border by groups of countries and regional organizations with the justification and rationale for their action in order to restore peace and security as well as an end to the suffering and human rights violations through multilateral aid without the consent of the state where the intervention occurs (Eniayejuni, 2012, p. 2). This tactic is used to destabilize the options that will be taken of a country that is experiencing domestic conflict. Military intervention is often equated with the invasion. In fact, the two concepts have similarities and differences. Neither military intervention nor the invasion usually using military means. However, the intervention aims to force the state to adopt a particular policy. While the invasion usually wants control of the region geographically and make it part of his administration. In the case of Crimea, the actions taken by Russia can be regarded as an invasion. Since many military interventions that happened then, began to appear a lot of the concept of "military intervention", "humanitarian intervention" to "responsibility to protect.

## **1.5 Hypothesis**

Russian Federation decides to have a Military Intervention against Ukraine in Ukrainian Crisis in order to maintaining their interests due to very strategic position of Ukraine, considering Ukraine linking Russia with the European countries. It can be seen from many Russia opportunities to the Ukraine, such as;

- a. Political-Military Interest: Image of ‘Super Power’ in the international community; Crimea Peninsula and the Black Sea is the strategic place to have a military base;
- b. Economical Interest: Ukraine is a place to channel international trade between Russia and the countries of Europe.

## **1.6 Method of Research**

This research is a qualitative research which will prioritize meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and depictions of the object, concept or phenomenon (Berg, 1988). This qualitative research involving the views, perceptions, perspectives and meanings of researchers are currently processing and analyzing the data obtained.

This research provides a deep understanding of the meaning of a bunch of policies issued by Russia to Ukraine in the context of the 2014 Ukrainian Crisis by collecting secondary data as the basis of the analysis. Understanding is done because the phenomenon under this research is very crucial and has hidden meanings and problems that are not yet clear enough. Thus, this research is subjective from the perspective of researchers based on data and facts that have been obtained.

The research method used to consider the actions will affect the subject according to the perspective of researchers. This research is subjective despite trying as objectively as possible. Qualitative research methods try to figure out what cannot be measured quantitatively and require understanding. Thus, the qualitative method allows researchers to provide

subjectivity regarding a social phenomenon such as social structure that has a lot of impact on human life. However, the subjectivity of the researcher must be based on concepts, theories, as well as data and facts that are in accordance with the actual conditions so that an objective explanation can be built.

### **1.7 Scope of Research**

The research is limited to find out why does Russia did Military Intervention against Ukraine in Ukrainian Crisis 2014 including Euromaidan, the fall of President Yanukovich, Eastern Ukraine crisis in Donetsk and Luhansk as well as Crimean occupation. However, to conduct proper analysis, this research uses National Interest Theory and Rational Choice Theory as the perspective.

### **1.8 System of Writing**

Chapter I: A brief explanation of the research, explaining the background of the research and the problems or questions that need to be answered or the research question. And also explain the purposes of the research and theoretical framework that is used to analyze the question. The hypothesis, the methods of the research, the scope of the research, and the system of writing are also written in this chapter.

Chapter II: This chapter describes the objects of the research under review, Russia in the International Community, Condition geopolitics and geostrategic of Russia and Ukraine, Russian Foreign Policy Pattern, Russian foreign policy decision-making, and Russia's relations with Ukraine.

Chapter III: This chapter describes the Ukrainian Crisis, as well as the military intervention by Russia against Ukraine.

Chapter IV: This chapter answers the research question which is the focus of research with the correlation

between interest theory and the object being studied. In this chapter, author used three variables to analyze the causes of Russia issued a policy of military intervention against Ukraine due to very strategic position of Ukraine also Russian political and economic interest toward Ukraine.

Chapter V: This chapter contains the conclusions and recommendations of the research that has been done.