

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

Russia's support for separatist groups and the reality of the conflict have led to the opposite of the claim that this sentiment is sufficient to create a separatist movement. Historical and identity factors have been widely cited as the main explanations for the separatist movement in Donbass, Eastern Ukraine. However, the DNR (Donetsk People's Republic) and LNR (Lugansk People's Republic) conflicts and wars in the region would not have occurred without resources. The resources came from Russia and some of Yanukovich's allied oligarchs. Changes experienced by local governments also made it easier for Russia to intervene in the Donbass War. In this case, there was no complete collapse of the state, but there was a combination of state weakness, neglect by the Kyiv government, defections and disloyalty, the emptiness of the exit from Yanukovich's elite system in both Donbass and Russia, as well as the decision to dissolve Berkut and dismiss many of the local police which boomeranged. The eastern state of Ukraine is weak, but far from collapsing, it is permissive and possible. (Wilson, 2016) The Russian invasion of the Donbass challenged international order by violating the sovereign territory of Ukraine. Given that Ukraine has acquired its sovereignty like 14 new post-Soviet states. One of the factors that may make the region inherently vulnerable to Russian aggression is due to the territory of Ukraine adjoining Russia, with its internal ethno-linguistic diversity especially Russian speakers, and the challenges of nationalizing Ukraine and pursuing its own international agenda within what Russia considers to be its own scope. geopolitical influence. (Stebelsky, 2018)

Separatism is an important issue that must be understood because of the impact it has on a region and society. In addition, it should be noted that separatism usually has the objective of taking control of the state over a region, achieving independence for the region, or changing government policies. The internal conflict that leads to separatist movement is also a high-intensity conflict that often involves large-scale, organized, and ongoing regular armed forces. This can result in significant casualties and consumption of resources. (Politik, 2021) In addition, the absence of unity and integrity in the life of the nation and state will cause the condition of the state to be shaken. Countries can be divided by the conflicts that occur. With the emergence of an awareness of the importance of state unity and integrity, the strength of the state will be strengthened. (Welianto, 2020)

Ukraine itself, as a newly independent country in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. Previously, for approximately 300 years since 1654 Ukraine was a territory of Russia. Since its independence, Ukraine is one of the very few bilingual countries in the world inhabited by two parties with different linguistic and religious backgrounds with more or less equally strong and regionally polarized populations and powers. In Western Ukraine, the majority of the population are Uniate Christians and speak Ukrainian, while in Eastern Ukraine, the majority are Orthodox Christians and speak Russian. These two different backgrounds of people's circumstances are related to the historical fact that much of West Ukraine has been under the control of Poland, Lithuania, and Austro-Hungary, while East Ukraine has long been under the control of Russia. This history is what makes it difficult for this country to be united in the future because the West Ukrainian people who are nationalistic and want a united Ukraine are hindered by the East Ukrainian people who think that they are part of the Russian people. (Mahardhika, 2016)

Eastern Ukraine is a region bordering Russia and the majority of the population speaks Russian for everyday use. The Donetsk region, which is currently controlled by separatists, stores natural resources in the form of large reserves of coal. Despite its abundant natural resources, it is considered one of the slowest developing economies in Ukraine. In addition, after the riots in Kyiv in February 2014 that led to the overthrow of President Viktor Yanukovich, people living in eastern Ukraine are feeling restless. They worry that the new government will adopt a nationalist policy and will prohibit people from using Russian. Then, the situation finally sparked a referendum in Crimea on March 16, 2014, which ended with the region joining Russia. Therefore, there was a demonstration in Donetsk and Lugansk and protesters seized the local government building on 7 April 2014, then announced the creation of DNR (Donetsk People's Republic) and LNR (Lugansk People's Republic). In response to the action, Kyiv then declared that the Counterterrorist Operation had begun. Thus, Ukraine classified the conflict that occurred in Donbass and the clashes that occurred as inevitable. In fact, in mid-2014 the parties involved had deployed armored vehicles, aircraft, and air defense systems. (Yegorov, 2017)

According to Russian nationalist ideology, Ukraine is only a brother bound and subservient to Russia. In addition, Putin made policies that were hostile to Ukraine's national interests. In fact, Putin allied and forced Viktor Yanukovich to break his promise by refusing to sign the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. This sparked protests in Ukraine which were the main cause of Yanukovich's ouster from his post as president of Ukraine that sparked Putin's invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing conflict in the east of the country.(Dickinson, 2021a) Russia's important political goals in relation to the Donbass conflict have not changed since 2014 when the armed conflict broke out. Russia insists that the most important step is the establishment of direct dialogue between the Ukrainian

authorities and the Luhansk and Donetsk regions about their special status. There are at least two main goals of Russia in negotiating the war in the Donbass. The first is to grant legally binding and effective autonomy to its proxies in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions. The second is to legally conceal his role as the main protagonist of the armed aggression in Donbass by holding formal direct talks between the Ukrainian government and Russian proxies in Donbass, which would reinforce the myth of civil conflict put forward by Russia. (Minzarari, 2021)

In addition to the belief in the emergence of the status quo, a new belief emerges. That Russia is satisfied with this status quo and is only seeking its ratification. This belief is also based on existing assumptions. The first assumption is that as long as Russia controls these segregated areas and state borders, Ukraine will not be able to reassert its control without Russia's approval. Then, as long as this goes on, then Ukraine cannot become a member of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). (Sherr, 2021) Since the first conflict broke out in 2014 in Eastern Ukraine, Russia has sought to maintain a reasonable veil of denial by deploying a limited number of conventional troops alongside a hybrid army of mercenaries, local collaborators, and volunteers. If the Russian military congregated on the Ukrainian border were deployed, it would mark an entirely new stage in a conflict that would have serious implications for international security. (Dettmer, 2021)

Ukraine itself, declared that it would not back down due to Russian pressure amid tensions between the two countries. Andrii Taran, Ukraine's defense minister, said that Ukraine will not stop fighting for its territory even though Russia is trying to force the Kiev government to give up negotiations and increase its military at the border. Ukraine initially aimed to use diplomatic means to take back territory controlled by the separatists, but the Kiev government maintains that there should be no compromise

in defending Ukrainian interests. (Berlianto, 2021) Current Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky invited Russian President Vladimir Putin to meet in conflict-ridden Eastern Ukraine, stressing that millions of lives are at stake from fighting in the territory's separatist conflict. The offer from the Ukrainian government came in response to flare-ups of clashes between the Ukrainian army and pro-Russian separatists who control territory in the east of the country. President Zelensky stated that Russia participated in peace negotiations but continued to build up troops on the Ukrainian border. In addition, he also added that Ukraine's principle is not to start a war first, but Ukraine will persist until the end. (Aivanni, 2021)

Since February 2015, several countries such as France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine have been trying to mediate the cessation of the conflict through the Minsk Accords. The agreement includes provisions for a ceasefire, withdrawal of heavy weapons, and full control of the Ukrainian government throughout the conflict zone. However, efforts to resolve the issue diplomatically and the resolutions carried out were unsuccessful, so the armed conflict in Donbass continues to this day. (Pristiandaru, 2021) Russia's ambassador to the UK, Andrey Kelin, issued a warning regarding tensions between Russia and Ukraine. Kelin warned that if Ukraine deployed its military forces to the conflict-prone Donbass, Russia would respond and there would be bloodshed. In this case, the two countries blame each other for the tension of the conflict in the Donbass region. Vladimir Putin, Russia's president, has deployed tens of thousands of Russian troops and their weapons to the Ukrainian border, sparking fears of an escalation in the military conflict. The Russian side insists that Russia does not want a large-scale military conflict with Ukraine. However, Russia's response was inevitable if Volodymyr Zelensky, the Ukrainian president, deployed troops to the Donbass region. (Christiastuti, 2021)

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky takes the conflict with Russia seriously and thinks it could erupt into a major war at any moment. Thus, to anticipate this, the Ukrainian president pressed new regulations to facilitate the use of reserve troops in emergency situations. Previously, the use of reservists had to be preceded by an announcement of mobilization. The regulation will strengthen the effectiveness of the time of military aggression. According to Ukraine, Russia intends to help separatist groups in Eastern Ukraine and claim Donbass as territory from Russia. If so, then the Crimean incident in 2014 will be repeated. On the one hand, Russia denies the accusation, although it does not deny that it will react strongly if anything happens to the separatist group in Donbass. Ukraine has asked Russia to immediately withdraw its troops from the eastern border of Ukrainian territory. However, Russia did not budge and rejected the request with the defense that it had the right to conduct military concentration. (Pramadiba, 2021)

With ceasefire violations and massive military deployments of deer near the borders of Eastern Ukraine, tensions are inevitable. Ukraine is concerned about the concentration of Russian troops and is urging Russia to withdraw them. However, Russia argues that it has the right and is free to deploy its troops in the region and has sternly warned the Ukrainian government against using force to retake control of territory held by rebel groups that have left more than 14,000 people dead in years of fighting. The lack of effective conflict resolution has fueled new tensions. Ukraine accuses Russia of stoking tensions by deploying 41,000 troops near the eastern Ukrainian border. Sergei Shoigu, Russian Defense Minister, said that the increase in military forces was part of a readiness exercise. The Russian side also called their action a necessary security precaution amid what it described as Ukrainian provocations along the lines of control. With a strict ban on Ukraine recapturing eastern territories, Russia insists that it

can intervene to protect civilians if faced with the threat of massacre. (Isachenkov, 2021)

The researcher's chooses this topic based on the curiosity regarding what was the cause of the conflict in Ukraine to break out, especially in the Donbass region and why was Russia involved in it. Researchers want to find out whether Russia's intervention made the conflict in Eastern Ukraine more heated or even brought peace to the region. In addition, the researcher is interested in the topic of international conflict and conflict resolution. This topic is important to be raised because the world needs to understand the background of the conflict and the impact that the conflict can have on life and the international world.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background that has been stated, this thesis will come up with the question, "Why did Russia intervene in the Donbass War and how is the impact to the conflict?"

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

This study uses the theory of Identity and Separatism. According to this theory, there are several existing intergroup models used to understand the complexity of various social identities and how these identities relate to intergroup analysis. One of them is the common in-group identity model, which argues that inter-group relations can be improved through identification with a more inclusive superordinate identity. Nevertheless, there are also examples of subgroups that wish to separate themselves from the superordinate category. An example is a group fighting for independence and autonomy from the superordinate nation-state. This group tends to make separatist claims based on common ancestry or differences

in language and culture. In addition, the study of the history and politics of human groups provides many examples of divided states, there are independence movements that want to be at home, and regions that claim some form of autonomy. According to social psychology research on separatism, segregation and schism tend to focus on the relationship between two groups. However, actual political change usually occurs where various parties or groups are involved. Then, the relationship between these groups is important for the direction of change. In addition, several studies have examined minority groups in terms of horizontal hostility or ethnic hierarchies. Theories such as belief congruence offer explanations for the differing evaluations of outgroups. These theories do not focus on motivation to achieve a distinctive social identity but argue that the degree of inequality in basic beliefs, worldviews, and group goals influences evaluation outside the group. Especially if it is a shared belief, this is what will generate interest. (Martinovic, Verkuyten, & Weesie, 2011)

The separatist group views that their identity is not adequately represented by the superordinate group, this is what has led to the idea of an identity rebellion starts. Identity subversion is considered a trigger for separatism sentiment and is interpreted as a perception that separatist groups believe that their identity which includes the values, norms, ideology, and culture of their group is threatened. Subversion or the urge to rebel against this identity encourages separatist groups to negatively assess the existence of the superordinate identity. Thus, there is a perception that separatist groups consider the national leader to be an individual who does not represent their group. (Mashuri, 2021) The possibility of separatism occurring in the identity structure is when ethnic identity is inconsistent with national self-consciousness, where the interests of the group do not match the officially accepted version of the national idea. In social science, there is a view of the nature of separatism and its relationship to individual



identity. That separatism is a nation's natural tendency to be sovereign. The main thing is the ethnic division of humans based on the phenomenon of fundamental groups as the same unit. Thus, conflict is unavoidable where ethnic and political boundaries do not coincide. (Jakk, Rykiel, & Rusev, 2020)

The conflict in Donbass focuses on the characteristics of identity among the inhabitants of the eastern region of the country, particularly those that have similarities to the DNR and LNR such as the appeal to the Russian world called the *Russkii mir* and the glorification of the Soviet Union. The notion that the separatist population is deeply committed to Russia and idealizes past Russian culture makes strong simplistic assumptions about the identity of the Donbass population and how that identity determines political attitudes more generally. In addition, it is possible that people identify as ethnically Russian in terms of personal identity and maintain political attitudes on certain issues that are orthogonal to the set of ideas and interests related to Russian culture, language, history, and politics in Ukraine. The defense of the Russian language, which has been a controversial issue since Ukraine's independence, has become a major issue for separatist groups that have been mentioned repeatedly in their resolutions and at demonstrations. When Ukraine's new government took power, the new parliament voted to repeal a language law passed by former President Yanukovich in 2012 that made Russian the official regional language. Thus, citizens can use Russian instead of Ukrainian in official government business in their territory. In addition, the Russian federation took advantage of the Ukrainian parliament vote to condemn Ukraine for committing so-called brutal violations of the rights of ethnic minorities and to call on Ukraine to protect the rights and languages of minorities. In response to the protests, Ukraine's interim president at the time, Oleksandr Turchynov did not sign the repeal and reinstatement of the law on the status of the Russian

language. In Donbass itself, the separatists have an interest in the status of the Russian language and state that it is the official language of the Ukrainian state in their resolutions and official documents. Thus, the status of the Russian language in danger of being revoked has become a very important subject in separatist demonstrations. (Giuliano, 2018)

Russia has deep cultural, economic and political ties to Ukraine, in this respect Ukraine is the country's central identity and vision. The Russian invasion was apparently meant to support pro-Russian rebels in the Donbass. President Putin supports rebel groups and is fomenting violence in eastern Ukraine to maintain a lasting separatist crisis. Russia itself has long felt a special historical relationship with Ukraine which plays an important role in Russian national mythology. The idea of a special relationship with Ukraine was very important to Russian nationalists who saw it as an important component of the larger Russian empire. A special bond with Ukraine in the Russian nationalist view is not only about historic relations but about regaining Russia's rightful place as a great power. It also aims to rectify the injustice of the collapse of the Soviet Union, so that several countries including Ukraine left Russian territory and some people who still identify as Russian are under the control of the Ukrainian government. Therefore, by reason of the same identity, Russia insisted that its involvement in the Donbass War was an act to protect pro-Russian citizens who wanted to be part of the country. (Fisher, 2014)

#### **D. Hypothesis**

The hypothesis is the author's provisional assumption on the research question of the topic. By using the data and theoretical framework that has been written, the author argues that Russia's involvement in the Donbass War has

caused the conflict increases instead of making peace which was marked by a prolonged conflict and many casualties. Russia's actions are based on its interests to achieve the ambitions of the Putin regime to strengthen its influence in the eastern region as well as to bring Ukraine under the modern Russian world.

### **E. Research Methodology**

This study aims to find out Russia's involvement and intervention in the East Ukraine conflict. This study uses secondary data collection methods. With this method, data from the research of other scientists will be collected and then analyzed. Secondary data analysis itself refers to the analysis of data collected by other people. This method is used to formulate research questions and determine tentative hypotheses by looking for potential data sets to solve the problem formulation. Before that, researchers must conduct a literature review to avoid similarities with existing studies. (Donnellan & Lucas, 2015)

The existing data sources that are used to support information for researchers are obtained from library materials, literature, previous research, books, and other forms of documents. In this research, the researcher uses document study as a data research method that is not directed at the research subject. Document study itself is a type of data collection that examines various useful documents to be used as material for the analysis of research. (Ciputra, 2016) In order to perform a secondary analysis, the researcher must first read and learn about the origins of the data set. By reading and examining the data carefully, the researcher can then determine the purpose of collecting or producing the material, the specific methods used to collect the data, the validity of the data obtained, the credentials and credibility of the author, the limitations of the data set such as what information does not need to be

collected and added to the study, and the historical or political circumstances surrounding the creation or collection of material. It should be noted that before using secondary data, the researcher should consider how the data are categorized and how this might affect the results of the secondary data analysis. In addition, the researcher must also consider whether the existing data must be adapted or adjusted in a certain way before the researcher conducts an analysis of the research. (Crossman, 2019)

## **F. Writing Systematics**

In compiling this research, the authors grouped it into several chapters to facilitate the preparation of discussions related to the subject matter of the research.

Chapter I: This chapter contains a research introduction consisting of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, and writing systematics.

Chapter II: This chapter contains a background description of the problem that will explain the Donbass conflict and how Russia ended up getting involved in it. In addition, this chapter will also explain what actions Russia has taken in carrying out its intervention in Eastern Ukraine. The researcher explains the intervention carried out by Russia in accordance with the facts from the data collected.

Chapter III: This chapter contains a summary or conclusion of the research results that will answer the research question.