

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background Study

Russia and Ukraine have experienced similar historical journeys, both having been fractions of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War before 1990, Ukraine and Russia were part of a federation called the Soviet Union. After the United States won the Cold War, the Soviet Union countries formed the *Commonwealth of Independent States* (CIS), but Ukraine thought that the CIS was an attempt by Russia to control the countries under the Soviet Union, which led to tensions between Ukraine and Russia. In 2014, relations between Russia and Ukraine heated up again, when there was a revolution against Russian hegemony, in the end the rebel masses succeeded in overthrowing the Ukrainian president. The revolution also mentioned that Ukraine was seeking to join NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the European Union. Russia was upset by NATO's incessant presence in Eastern Europe, which had started in 1991. President Putin gave demands, one of which was to ask NATO to stop military activities in Eastern Europe and Ukraine and ask NATO not to accept the former Soviet Union as a member.

However, at present, Russia is a superpower that plays an important role in international politics, while Ukraine is a fragment of the Soviet Union that became independent on December 1, 1991. Russia's attack on Ukraine can be said to be the largest attack in world history because it is considered sufficient to cause various large chaos and imbalances, especially in terms of economic, political, and legal rights that do not only occur in the Eastern and Western European

regions, but almost all corners of the country that speak up and are involved in this conflict. The current international conflict between Russia and Ukraine that began in February 2022 where Russia opened an armed conflict into Ukraine became a surprise at the beginning of the year that attracted the attention of the international community. Russia with its existence as the "heir" to power from the Soviet Union showed its military strength by launching its first military confrontation on Thursday, February 24, 2022. In the recent past, Russia and the United States engaged in a rhetorical war over the United States' full support to help Ukraine join NATO. During his visit to Ukraine, US President George Walker Bush Jr. promised Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko that the United States' approval of Ukraine's plans to join the trans-Atlantic military alliance would be delivered at the NATO Summit in Bucharest in April 2008.



**Source:** Congressional Research Service

In February 2022, Putin embarked on a new strategy to end Ukrainian democracy through massive military intervention in which Putin claims that his goal is to stop the expansion of the North of Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Ukraine-NATO relationship has not changed in the past year. It is true that Ukraine aspires to join NATO one

day (Person & McFaul, 2022). Ukraine's desire to join NATO since 2014 to date is a concern for Russia that the current situation is not far from NATO's presence in Ukraine which has even expanded its influence almost throughout Eastern Europe. By the end of 2014, Russia had changed its military doctrine which also affected military policy in Ukraine until April 2022. Since Russia declared that it would enter Ukraine, the world has criticized while imposing some sanctions which will be followed by the imposition of more severe sanctions if Russia actually operates its military action to Ukraine. Moreover, for a long time in the Crimea case in 2013, where the Crimea region in Ukraine became the center of conflict between Russia and Ukraine due to the overthrow of the leadership of President Viktor Yanukovich by pro-Western Ukraine, Russia took immediate action by sending large numbers of troops to the southern region of Crimea.

The first Russian attack succeeded in paralyzing more than 70 land infrastructure facilities belonging to Ukraine (Pristiandaru, 2022). In response to the Russian attack, the Ukrainian government also immediately launched several counterattacks with the aim of regaining several regions, including Kyiv, Makariv, Borodyanka, Kherson, and Mykolaiv that had been controlled by Russia (Sef, 2022). Russia's first attack aimed to demilitarize Ukraine and limit Ukraine's space to conduct its relations with NATO. Russia still continues to launch various attacks, thus making the world's attention focused on immediately finding a way to solve the problem by imposing sanctions on Russia. In fact, the United Nations condemned Russia's special military action to Ukraine. Normatively, the United Nations (UN) runs the basic framework of the rule of international law through the UN Security Council meeting. In the meeting, the UN Security Council discussed the possibility of sanctions that the UN could impose violations of international law committed

by Russia as well as conflict resolution for the war that occurred. However, at the meeting on February 25, 2022, Russia made a negative vote or veto on the decision which then caused the results of the Security Council resolution to not take effect (Adha & Mubin, 2022). After months of the conflict, the Russian military attack has resulted in a humanitarian crisis, as thousands of Ukrainians fled to the west of their country and abroad. Meanwhile, Poland recorded nearly 2.3 million Ukrainian residents decided to evacuate to neighboring countries since March 26, 2022. As a result of this attack, a number of western officials, major figures, and the world community claimed that this was a serious violation because it violated contemporary international law such as International Humanitarian Law, International Human Rights and International Morality (Saryono & Jabar, 2022). All cross-country leaders, major figures and the world community also commented on the attack and called for a halt to Russian military action against Ukraine.

If the conflict between Russia and Ukraine can be seen as a conflict with security interests as well as territorial interests, these interests can be understood as efforts to protect themselves from threats coming from other countries. Therefore, Russia's attitude should be, not to use military force in Ukraine to prevent a stir and not cause mental burden. In fact, Russia can use peaceful means as expressly stated in article 2 paragraph (3) and article 33 of the UN Charter, and abandon armed violence as a policy choice and instrument to resolve its disputes with Ukraine (Sudiq & Yustitiantyngtyas, 2022). However, it seems that Russia continues to carry out these military attacks despite the threat of international sanctions and criticism from other countries because it is considered to endanger global security. By seeing Russia's actions in the form of political and military suppression to Russia's special military action of Ukraine, making world

leaders then crowded to condemn the Russian president, Vladimir Putin by imposing various sanctions on Russia and even Putin as said United States President Joe Biden labeled as aggressor as reported in CNN News, the United States Congress continues to work to immediately introduce a bill labeling Russia as "Aggressor State". This comes amid plans by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to visit Washington on December,2022 (Bertrand, Atwood, & Wilson, 2022). Despite that, the importance of seeing this conflict is not just in one eye. Therefore, this is what makes researcher interested in seeing and examining the reason for Russia by its military operation to Ukraine through the Greed and Grievance perspective.

### **1.2 Research Question**

Based on the study background of the problem described by the researcher, the following problem can be formulated:

“Why the Conflict between Russia and Ukraine Occured?”

### **1.3 Research Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to examine the cause of Russia-Ukraine conflict through the lens of Greed and Grievance.

### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

To analyze the research question above, firstly, the researcher in this study takes Security Analysis as the theoretical framework. The theoretical concept used in this research is the State Securitization Theory which was first coined by (Buzan, Waever, & Wilde, 1998). Starting from the term International Security Studies, *Great Powers Politics*, according to Buzan, has framed relations between states. The rivalry between the United States and the Soviets dominated

security studies for nearly forty years. (Buzan & Hansen, 2009) . Over a period of forty years, security studies have clearly been heavily influenced by the relationship between these two great powers. The concept of security then becomes a multi-interpretative concept. Security is not the dominance of defense and war as the main concept, but also opens space for a broader concept that includes political issues including a mix of military and non-military threats (Callabero, Anthony, Emmers, & Acharya, 2006). How Russia's sensitivity to border issues works is visible to all. Under the leadership of President Vladimir Putin, a nationalist who seems to have vowed never again to see Russia humiliated by the West at the end of the Cold War that led to the breakup of Russia. For Russia, the border is not just a border, but something that is much important that becomes a Russian buffer. At first, Zelenskyy's major policy of having Ukraine join the European Union may have still been acceptable to Russia, but when Ukraine joined NATO due to geopolitics, Russia became much more interested in this. Thus, it automatically linked historical and cultural factors which are one of the important components to real analysis, today's politics is a provocation that is difficult for Russia to accept (Mazarr, Blake, Casey, McDonald, Pezard, & Spirtas, 2020). From Buzan's approach, it is interesting to examine security from all angles as well as addressing the social aspects of security and how people may construct or "securitize" threats.

Secondly, the researcher then will use the lens of Greed and Grievance as the forerunner of this research is "Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy" written by Paul Collier and the book is a co-publication of The World Bank. According to Paul Collier, the ongoing conflict, and not finding the right solution, gives birth to two perspectives, namely: greed and g(Collier, 2003). According to him, conflict can be interpreted from these two

perspectives. From a greedy perspective, conflict is a profitable event because of the opportunity to exploit society through political propaganda. In a conflict situation, it is any means that can be done to bring profit, as well as carrying out mass mobilization and manipulation of facts in the medical of his political opponents. For this reason, if a state wants to survive, then conflicts must be created and pursued so that the situation of society continues in a state of disharmony. Meanwhile, in the perspective of grievance, conflict is seen as an injustice because it can be detrimental, deterred and can threaten its existence. Those who experience injustice and a deep sense of disappointment will take emergency measures to save themselves from various threats, that is, inevitably have to fight with all strategies and risks.

The classic rivalry of influence between the Western and Eastern axis has been seen for a long time in Ukraine, even the issue of Ukrainian bipolarity has arisen at the beginning of the period when this country declared its independence (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 2019). The ideological freedoms that plagued Eastern Europe along with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 gave birth to great vacillations for Ukraine's foreign policy preferences; will it choose to maintain proximity to Russia as the former Soviet Union with the most power also on the consideration of the historical side as a fellow breakaway state of the Soviet Union, or to forge and join a new alliance together with Western European countries under the umbrella of EU unity or NATO which is thick with nuances of United States-style liberalism.

In the framework of security as a goal of national needs and expanding its influence in the international arena, countries make alliances and form camps to kick off the international system and indoctrinate the world that their camps are the most "super". This is done through involvement

and even involving themselves in a country or region that is considered strategic. Therefore, these countries choose regions in which there are internal conflicts. Ukraine, one of the countries that became a Buffer Zone State by Russia and is often targeted as an arena of war or competition for the two superpowers (the United States and Russia).

In states that are experiencing conflict, there are generally two major groups involved and have different perspectives in achieving their interests. This is one of the statements made by Paul Collier in his research sponsored by the World Bank on countries that are being hit by continuous conflict, one of which is Ukraine. This conflict is a result of two perspectives: namely greed and grievance (Collier, 2003). In the greed perspective, conflict is a profitable event because of the opportunity to exploit society through political propaganda. In a conflict situation, all means can be used to bring profit, such as mass mobilization and manipulation of facts in discrediting political opponents. For this reason, in order to survive, then conflict must be created and strive so that the situation of society continues in a state of disharmony.

Meanwhile, in the grievance perspective, conflict is seen as an injustice because it can harm, oppress, and threaten its existence. Those who experience injustice and a deep sense of disappointment will take emergency actions to save themselves from various threats, which inevitably have to fight with all strategies and risks. In fact, according to (Klandermans & Roggeband, 2007), grievance is one of the potential sources of accumulated disappointment and frustration that can manifest in the form of irrational collective action. It can even become a formulation of social movements to fight back. Therefore, conflict, in addition to being disadvantageous, will lead to marginalization and discrimination in the political environment. In line with this view, Barry Buzan argues that if actors or groups want to exist



and survive, then those in conflict must securitize issues related to grievances. In Buzan's view, securitization strategies are very important to achieve the goals or interests of greedy actors.

At first glance, the United States has always wanted to be a leader in the world through the Eurasian region. The importance of this region for America is because it is the most strategic because it consists of two continents, namely from Europe and Asia and has natural resources and even a line of communication that makes it a target for great powers for the United States to control the world. To achieve the goal of controlling Eurasia, the United States must deal with Russia as a former Soviet state that dominates the region. Then than that, Ukraine became a buffer state that was so important for Russia's existence that this also supported Russia trying to rise and embrace the former Soviet Union countries again.

To counter Russian power, the United States imposed a containment strategy by utilizing Ukraine's position which was able to influence Russia's position in Eurasia. The potential possessed by Ukraine is inseparable from its geographical aspect, which is located between Russia and the European Union and Ukraine's role in energy security. In addition, what makes Ukraine important is Russia's dependence on Ukraine in terms of ethnic Russians in Ukraine, the distribution of Russian energy through Ukraine, the placement of the Russian Fleet in Ukraine, and Ukraine's role in the Eurasian integration project. Russia's dependence on Ukraine is then utilized by the United States to launch a containment strategy against Russia. The strategy imposed by the United States is to provide economic, military and democratic assistance in Ukraine. The impact of this containment strategy is the closer relationship between Ukraine and the United States along with NATO and the European Union which will certainly be able to support the

efforts of the United States in stemming Russian influence in Eurasia..

### **1.5 Research Argument**

Based on the application of the basic framework of thought and problem formulation above, temporary conclusions can be drawn as follows:

- 1) Russian President Vladimir Putin claims and presses that the Special Military Operation to Ukraine is a form of Russian defence against threats to prevent Ukraine from becoming a member of NATO.
- 2) Russia's military action is also the cause of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is also a response to the situation that threatens Russia's sovereignty which considers its country as a Grievance due to the maneuvers of the United States and NATO as Greedy States Actor by deliberately raising the issue of NATO expansion into Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine.

### **1.6 Research Method**

This research uses a qualitative approach with a library research method. The type of research used is library research or literature study where researchers rely on various literatures to obtain research data and use a qualitative approach because the data produced is in the form of words or descriptions. In this research, it is carried out by utilizing studies which are similar or related (Sugiyono, 2013). The characteristics of library research include dealing directly with data that is not primarily from the field, the fact that library data typically comes from a secondary source rather than being first-hand information, and the fact that library data is not restricted by time and space (Zed, 2008). Thus, this qualitative research involves the views, perceptions,

perspectives and meanings of researchers are currently processing and analyzing the data obtained.

Secondary data is data obtained through literature studies from various existing data sources. The information was gathered from a variety of sources, specifically earlier studies that were published as books, journals, research papers or research reports, and articles which had some connection to the current research. Through qualitative procedures, various data and facts obtained from various sources such as official government documents, journals, and official websites and news were collected. Then the data and facts are matched, and analyzed with the theory used in this research.

## **1.7 Writing Systematic**

The writing of this thesis will be arranged systematically based on the standards for scientific writing and is subdivided into chapters with discussions in distinct yet interconnected areas. This thesis is divided up into numerous chapters in order to facilitate understanding of the problem's issue as follows:

### **(1) CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will describe the reasons for choosing the title, research objectives, background of the problem, problem formulation, analytical framework, research argument, research methods, and writing systematics.

### **(2) CHAPTER II : THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT TENSION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE.**

The researcher will outline an overview of the relationship between Russia and Ukraine until the outbreak of conflict between the two countries.

### **(3) CHAPTER III : ANALYSIS THE GREED AND THE GRIEVANCE PERSPECTIVE IN THE CASE OF RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT**

This chapter will examine and elaborate the background of Russia to invade Ukraine through the application of Greed and Grievance perspective through two subdivisions as follows:

#### **a. Perceiving the United States of America as 'Greed' in the Conflict between Russia and Ukraine**

In this subchapter, the researcher will elaborate and explain why Russia is being eyed as an aggressor by Western,

European and most of the international audiences.

**b. Understanding Russia as ‘Grievance’ in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict**

In this sub-chapter, the researcher will explain how Russia is positioned as *grievance* in the conflict of Russia and Ukraine.

**(4) CHAPTER IV : CONCLUSION**

This chapter concludes the discussion from the previous chapters.