THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON THE CAUSES OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT

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Abstract
This research aims to find out the cause of the war between Russia and Ukraine that just started on Thursday, February 24, 2022. This war took place after months of increasing tensions between the two countries. On Monday, February 21, Russian President Vladimir Putin acknowledged the creation of two states in the separatist region of eastern Ukraine. Then what is the background of the conflict in Ukraine which is now expanding into a West-Russian escalation. In February 2014, pro-Moscow Ukrainian President Viktor Janukovich was ousted from power by mass protests in the capital Kiev. Previously, Janukovich refused to sign an association agreement between Ukraine and the European Union under Russian pressure. The refusal has angered many citizens who are already excited about joining the European Union. This study uses a Historical Normative approach by collecting various literatures as the main source. Moreover, there were many accusations of corruption of government officials, including Viktor Janukovich, who eventually fled to Russia. Russia retaliated by sending troops to the Crimean Peninsula. After taking control of Crimea, Russia has fomented a separatist insurgency in the mostly Russian-speaking eastern Ukraine, known as the Donbas region, by sending weapons to the separatists. The results of the analysis show that in April 2014, Russian-backed rebels seized government buildings in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and proclaimed the creation of two new republics. The following month, the two separatist territories applied to become part of Russia. But Moscow has not officially responded to the request. Russia is known to want to prevent Ukraine from becoming a member of NATO, like other Eastern European countries. In conclusion Moscow also denies sending troops and weapons to eastern Ukraine, saying that Russian citizens fighting in eastern Ukraine are volunteers to prevent the genocide of the Ukrainian government.

Keywords: Army; Conflict; Politic; Security; Sovereignty; War.
A. INTRODUCTION

Amid heavy fighting involving tanks, heavy artillery and warplanes, a Malaysia Airlines passenger plane departing from the Netherlands was shot down over eastern Ukraine on July 17, 2014, killing all 298 people on board. An international investigation concluded that the passenger jet was shot down by a Russian-supplied missile from rebel-held territory in eastern Ukraine.

After the Ukrainian troops were pushed back by the separatists, the delegation of the Ukrainian government, representatives of the separatists and representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe OSCE held negotiations and finally signed a ceasefire agreement in the Belarusian capital, Minsk.

The agreement, among other things, said the ceasefire would be monitored by the OSCE. All foreign troops must withdraw from conflict areas, exchange prisoners and hostages, withdraw all foreign fighters from Ukrainian territory, amnesty for rebels and promise that separatist areas will have autonomous status. But the deal did not last long, fighting broke out again until February 2015.

France and Germany eventually brokered a new peace agreement, which was signed in Minsk in February 2015 by representatives of Ukraine, Russia and the separatists. The agreement also contains conditions for the withdrawal of heavy weapons from disputed areas. A declaration supporting the peace agreement was signed by the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, France and Germany.

The Peace Treaty later also known as the "Minsk Document" helped end major fighting, but the situation remained tense on the demarcation line. Both sides accused each other of starting the battle by violating the peace treaty. To secure its influence in eastern Ukraine, Moscow also shared more of 720,000 Russian passports to citizens in the Donbas, about a fifth of the total population of about 3.6 million people.

Putin’s acknowledgment of the independence of the two rebel-held territories effectively undermined the Minsk Peace Treaty. The two separatist leaders were in Moscow on Monday (21/2) and together with Vladimir Putin signed a "cooperation agreement", including military support from Russia.

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B. RESEARCH METHODS

This research was a qualitative research used a normative historical approach which explores sources of data from literature and various reliable sources related to the beginning of history and the causes of conflicts or wars between Russia and Ukraine.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The Beginning of the Ukrainian Crisis

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia is not something that has just happened. At first Russia, Ukraine and Belarus were a single territory with its center now being the Ukrainian capital, Kiev. Then the region developed after the rulers of Kiev entered into a trade and mining agreement with Constantinople, and the area was named Kyivan Rus in the 10th century. Because of this agreement, Kyivan Rus began to apply Orthodox Christian bases and rejected Roman Catholicism brought by people from the neighbor, Poland. The conflict began after the ruler of Kyivan Rus named Yaroslav The Wise died and the breakup of the Kyivan Rus region in the form of the establishment of small governments based on religion, race and language. This was exacerbated by attacks from the Mongol Empire in 1237 to 1240, led to the division of Kyivan Rus. The split was also used by the kingdoms in Lithuania and Poland to spread Roman Catholicism, before finally the Russian Empire, which moved its center of power in Moscow, was able to take back the old territories of Kyivan Rus in 1782. However, since then, Ukrainian society has seen differences who live in the east and west. Most people in eastern Ukraine speak Russian and follow Orthodox Christianity, while people in western Ukraine speak mostly Ukrainian and follow Catholicism.

The conflict experienced in Ukraine also occurred in 1917 after the Russian Empire collapsed and changed to the Soviet Union. Ukraine, then known as the National Republic of Ukraine, declared war on the new Bolshevik-controlled government with the aim that Ukraine could become an independent state. The war ended in 1921, with the result of a crushing defeat on the Ukrainian side. Furthermore, most of the territory of Ukraine such as Crimea, Kuban and others belonged to the Soviet Union, while the western part of Ukraine belonged to Poland.

The stark differences and conflicts that have occurred between Ukraine and Russia have also changed the identities that were originally shared by both parties. Russia considers its identity as a country based on the principles of Odin Narod, or in Russian it means "One Nation" where the territories and nations that were formerly part of Kyivan Rus

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(Ukraine and Belarus) are part of Russia which is expected to be reunited. Meanwhile, Ukraine considers its identity as an independent country with its own culture and language and has ties to Europe rather than Russia.

Crimea as one of the main parts of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict also has its own history. After the invasion of the Mongol Empire in 1240, Crimea was ruled by the Mongols before two centuries later it was handed over to the Turks due to the war between the Mongol Empire and the Ottomans, and Crimea returned to the Russian Empire in 1783. When the Russian Empire collapsed and became the Soviet Union and the War continued. World 2, Crimea is one of the regions experiencing the most violent turmoil due to the stark difference between the Russian population who supported the Soviet Union and the population of Mongol (Tatar) descent who supported Ukraine and Germany at that time. Which caused the Tatar population to be sentenced to forced transfer to Siberia during the reign of Joseph Stalin after Crimea was reoccupied by the Soviet Union. During the reign of Nikita Krushchev, Crimea was handed over to Ukraine in order to strengthen relations between the Ukrainian people and the Soviet Union. Crimea became part of Ukraine, and it survived even though the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

The Ukrainian crisis began in November 2013 when Ukraine experienced economic problems in the form of a state debt of US $ 140 billion. At that time, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych was faced with two choices, namely to receive loan assistance from the European Union in the amount of US$ 827 billion with the condition that he was willing to join as a member of the European Union (SPIEGEL Staff, 2013), or receive loan assistance from Russia amounting to US$ 15 billion and given a reduction in the price of natural gas from US$ 400 to US$ 268 per thousand cubic meters. During the decision between the two previous options, the agreement to join the European Union was suspended three times, namely on November 21, November 29 and

December 15\textsuperscript{14}.

During the month of November to December 2013, massive protests from interest groups and people who were in opposition to the government had sprung up in the form of a gathering of 800,000 demonstrators at Independence Square in Kiev\textsuperscript{15} and the destruction of a statue of Vladimir Lenin as a symbol of revolt from the government. This collection of interest groups and communities calls themselves the Maidan/Euromaidan bloc\textsuperscript{16}.

As more and more people joined the Maidan and demonstrated for Yanukovych to step down, on January 17 Yanukovych issued a law banning anti-government demonstrations (Department of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Secretariat, 2014). After the promulgation of this law, riots broke out between the Maidan and the police, the first demonstration being on January 22 that killed three people\textsuperscript{17}. This incident affected the negotiation meeting between Ukraine and the European Union at the same time that led to the European Union's condemnation of the actions of the Ukrainian government and the heating up of relations between the two parties\textsuperscript{18}.

After receiving many protests from countries in Europe and the United States plus Prime Minister Mykola Azarov resigning from office on January 28\textsuperscript{19}, the Ukrainian parliament decided to partially withdraw the provisions of the anti-protest law and offered amnesty to persuade demonstrators. But the result remained the same where the demonstrators continued to occupy Kiev's Independence Square. During the month of February, 67 people died and 77 people were arrested by the police in the riots that occurred\textsuperscript{20}.

Yanukovych also entered into negotiations with the leaders of the demonstrators on February 21, which continued to disappear on February 22 just when the Ukrainian parliament decided to demote him as president due to his failure to maintain Ukraine's stability. The demotion plan is also accompanied by the election of a new president

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later on May 25\textsuperscript{21}.

There was a government vacuum until the Ukrainian parliament announced three things on February 23-26. First, bring up the names of Olexander Turchynov as interim president and Arseniy Yatsenyuk as interim prime minister. Second, the elite Berkut police unit was disbanded and blamed for the deaths of demonstrators during the riots. Third, the ban on the use of Russian as a second language in Ukraine. This news sparked protests from areas of Ukraine where the majority of citizens are Russophone or who use Russian in their daily lives\textsuperscript{22}.

2. Annexation of Crimea

Although the Russian military officially intervened in the southern region of Ukraine, namely the Autonomous Republic of Crimea on March 1, there is evidence that Russia has long been involved in the annexation of Crimea since the start of the Ukraine Crisis at the end of November. It started when the electronic media in Russia announced that the Russian government would carry out a program to overcome the Maidan bloc which attracted attention from the southern and eastern parts of Ukraine, one of which was Crimea. Thereafter, on December 14, two pro-Russian leaders Gennady Basov and Sergei Aksyonov held a meeting with the Consulate General of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea Vyacheslav Svitlychny and officially stated that Crimea was planning a referendum on whether Crimea should separate from Ukraine and join Russia. The result was another official statement from the Crimean parliament on February 4 that Crimea would hold a referendum as previously planned, as well as persuading Russian President Vladimir Putin to protect Crimea.

In another sign of rebellion against the new Ukrainian government, on February 25 when the Mayor of Sevastopol Vladimir Yatsuba resigned from his post, the post of mayor was replaced by a civilian named Alexei Chalyi without the permission of the President of Ukraine. On 27 February, a group of armed members took control of the capital of the Crimean Autonomous Republic, Simferopol, raising the Russian flag and occupying the Crimean parliamentary building. Then the armed group also occupied two airports in Simferopol on February 28 and blockaded the Isthmus of Perekop, where the area is the border between Crimea and Ukraine. Ukraine's parliament says the armed group is the Russian military which started its invasion of Ukraine\textsuperscript{23}.

The entry of the Russian military on a large scale into Crimea only occurred on March 1, when the Russian Parliament also approved Putin's request to use full military force in Ukraine with the territory assigned to it, namely Crimea. The Prime Minister of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sergei Aksyonov, acknowledged the Russian military entry that

day, with the statement that he had indeed requested Russian military assistance to secure peace and stability in Crimea.

During March 2 to March 15, the Russian military blockaded one by one area in Crimea such as the Donuzlav Bay, villages on the border of the Kherson Oblast and the peninsula on the Black Sea which is the location of Russian military bases since 1783. The Ukrainian government heard the news that Russia had sent its military to Crimea, immediately stepped up guarding every border. Through a spokesman for the Interim President of Ukraine Oleksander Turchynov, he stated that the entirety of the activities of the Crimean authorities was not approved by both the parliament and the government because Ukraine had been pressured by Russia and wanted to take firm action against the Crimean parliament.

Finally, on March 16, a referendum was held for citizens living in the Crimea region to determine whether Crimea wanted to join Russia or remain with Ukraine. The results of the referendum were then announced on 17 March, with the result that Crimeans voted to join Russia. From the results of the referendum, Russian President Vladimir Putin also issued a letter of approval to join the Autonomous Republic of Crimea into one of the parts of the Russian Federation under the name Republic of Crimea (the letter can be seen in the attachment).

The approval letter was then processed into an agreement to merge Crimea with Russia signed by Russian President Vladimir Putin, Prime Minister of the Republic of Crimea Sergei Aksyonov, Chairman of the Council of Crimea Vladimir Konstantinov, and Mayor of Sevastopol Alexei Chalyi. Finally, on March 21, Crimea officially became part of the Russian Federation after the agreement letter on the merger of Crimea with Russia was ratified by the Russian Federal Assembly.

The military intervention carried out by Russia along with the official announcement that Crimea became part of Russia also received mixed responses from various countries. The first reaction was from Ukraine, which did not accept the liberation of Crimea in the form of a statement from the Provisional Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk about Russia having robbed Crimea which actually belonged to Ukraine.

Second, the United Nations reacted through Secretary General Ban Ki Moon with condolences and disappointments over Russia's behavior towards Ukraine in the form of intervention in Ukraine's sovereignty and annexation, as well as the official country atlas from the United Nations that still includes Crimea as part of the Ukrainian state.

Third, the reaction of the European Union through its representative Catherine Ashton was that they regretted Russia's actions by using military force to invade Ukraine, and asked Russia to comply with international rules and regulations implemented by Ukraine itself in

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24 Branislav L. Slantchev., *Introduction to International Relations Lecture 8: Deterrence and Compellence*, University of California, San Diego, 2005, page.3

order to reduce tensions in relations between Ukraine and Russia. Fourth, the European Parliamentary Council (PACE) also considers that the actions of Russia involved in Crimean separatism include violating the sovereign territory of Ukraine and giving full support to the integrity of Ukraine and Crimea.

Finally, NATO reacted by condemning Russia’s actions in military intervention in one of the regions of Ukraine which violated the 1994 Budapest Memorandum of agreement concerning the agreement between the five founding countries of the United Nations (United States, Russia, China, France and Britain) to respect the sovereign security of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus and the 1997 Cooperation Agreement between Russia and Ukraine\textsuperscript{26}.

The annexation of Crimea also caused other eastern regions of Ukraine such as Donetsk and Lugansk to participate in separatism in the hope that they could also become part of Russia. The armed conflict between the Ukrainian government and pro-Russian separatists is still going on today.

During the annexation of Crimea until March 21, countries in Europe, America, Australia and parts of Asia launched economic sanctions in order to punish Russia for its military intervention in the sovereign territory of Ukraine. Sanctions against Russia took place in three waves, namely the first wave in the form of special traveling bans for members of the parliament of the Republic of Crimea and members of the Council of the Russian Federation on March 17 by the European Union, Canada and the United States, as well as asset freezes on 20 Russian businessmen who invested in America. States on March 20. The second wave of sanctions involved freezing the special assets of 17 business entities with close ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin on April 28. The third wave of sanctions took place on July 17 after the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine, namely Donetsk and Lugansk. Where the third wave of sanctions is still ongoing until now\textsuperscript{27}.

3. Human Impact

All of the events that occurred in Ukraine during the crisis resulted in a huge humanitarian impact on the Ukrainian people, where the resulting humanitarian impact stemmed from crimes against humanity and war crimes that occurred from mid-April 2014 to February 2017 in the eastern border regions of Ukraine namely Donetsk, Lugansk and Kharkiv.

As of February 2017, the total number of victims from civilians, military and armed groups was 33,146 cases in the form of 9,900 fatalities and 23,246 injured. There have been 1,493 victims since


February 2015, among them civilians caught in the fighting, captured and tortured, and in poor health. Meanwhile, the number of registered asylum seekers from Ukraine has exceeded 1,600,000 people, of which these asylum seekers went to Russia (750,000), Belarus (80,000), other European countries (5,000), and the rest remained in Ukraine. Some of the refugees who remain in Ukraine have Internally Displaced Person (IDP) status, where these people change their residence but do not move outside the borders of the country where they originally lived.

However, this number of IDPs does not include other Ukrainian civilians who are still on the queue or who are not registered as IDPs, and it is estimated that the total number of civilians in need of humanitarian assistance is more than three million people. The Ukrainian government has also amended IDP registration regulations whereby local governments can grant IDP status without going through the State Immigration Office first. However, this step still does not solve the problem of the decline in humanitarian aid funds for IDPs which are still often suspended by the State.

The available hospitals are getting less and less, as one by one has been destroyed because they are in the battle zone area. Reported by WHO at the end of December 2014, there were 32 hospitals affected by this humanitarian impact of which 17 had been completely closed and 70% of all medical staff had fled. This shortage of medical and hospital staff also causes health problems for Ukrainian citizens, where not only outbreaks of disease occur but also mental disorders that cannot be treated properly. Data from the WHO in September 2014 showed that 40 people had died due to hunger and lack of health care. Although WHO itself has provided assistance in the form of establishing an emergency clinic with four mobile clinics.

This is exacerbated by acts of crimes against humanity and the war that took place in Ukraine itself. Data from OHCHR states that armed militia groups from Ukraine such as the Azov group often exchange fire in areas crowded with civilians and arrest some people suspected of being opponents of the Ukrainian government. From March 2014 to February 2016, 726 cases were known and recorded. The report includes 11 cases of murder, 12 cases of torture, 27 cases of unilateral suppression of human rights, 29 cases of beatings, and 6 cases of theft.

There were five acts of human rights violations committed by armed groups, the military and the Ukrainian government itself, which were recorded from 2014 to 2016. The first was freedom of expression where during October 2014, many journalists from various countries were arrested by armed groups and interrogated. All the journalists were

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found safe but traumatized by being forced to give false news about the situation around Lugansk.

Second, the Ukrainian government tapped the contacts of 30,000 people daily during 2016 to arrest citizens who opposed the Ukrainian government, mainly those living in Donetsk and Lugansk. When the names and locations were determined, the militia groups arrested one by one and tortured them and even put up a search list via the internet if the target was not found.

The third is a violation of religious freedom, where religious minorities in Donetsk and Lugansk such as Protestantism, Islam, Judaism and Jehovah experience discrimination where every congregation who wants to worship or celebrate a religion must be inspected by a militia group to ensure that no element plans to oppose the government. Ukraine, but there is still the possibility that religious activities of each religious minority will still be banned even though the congregation has shown complete documents and evidence.

Fourth, when the Ukrainian government and local government in Kharkiv banned people from holding peaceful demonstrations in the name of the Donetsk People's Republic and Lugansk People's Republic in 2014, which ended in riots between anti-Maidan and pro-Maidan and the fall of a Lenin statue in Kharkiv. Similar demonstrations took place in Donetsk and Lugansk, ending in chaos and three people being shot and injured. This regulation is still in effect as of the last report in October 2016. Finally, this militia group also frequently planted mines in densely populated areas of civilians and agricultural areas, which caused about 109 cases of mine explosions with victims in the form of children in March 2015.30

Due to the large number of refugees who plan to seek asylum in Russia, the Russian government also provides foreign assistance to Ukraine in the form of accommodating a number of refugees in cities that still border the Ukrainian border, such as Belgorod and Perm. The refugees who were placed in Belgorod were provided with luxurious facilities in the form of food, health and mental consultation, as well as proper shelter (Malinkin & Nigmatullina, 2015). In addition, in the city of Perm, the Russian government also provided pocket money for the refugees there in the amount of 800 rubles or the equivalent of USD 20 for the living needs of the refugees. In addition, in August 2014, Russia for the first time sent more than 5,000 tons of humanitarian aid in the form of food, medicine, electricity generators, clothing and clean water in the southeastern regions of Ukraine (Donetsk, Lugansk and Kharkiv). This continued for two years, with a total of close to 60,000 tonnes of humanitarian aid in March 2016.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian government considers all aid from other countries and Russia as a disguise to attack Ukraine from within, then the Ukrainian government issued a policy to block any aid. Even though the contents of the aid were only food and medicine, they were

30 Ibid.
still refused, making it more difficult for the people who were victims of war because of the late delivery of aid.

D. CONCLUSION

First, the relationship between Ukraine and Russia has been in conflict for a long time, marked by the division of the cultural unity of Kyivan Rus and continues until the Ukraine crisis which is still ongoing today. Second, the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis stemmed from many protests from the public, groups and parliament who were in opposition to the policies of the Ukrainian president Yanukovych, resulting in the vacancy of the presidential office which was then temporarily replaced by Turchynov until the next presidential election. Third, the most common crimes against humanity in Donetsk, Lugansk and Kharkiv were when armed militia groups under the Ukrainian government involved civilians in the form of arresting, threatening, suppressing human rights against civilians and even killing them.

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