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British Coercive Diplomacy Under Prime Minister Boris Johnson to Russia as an Effort to Resolve the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

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ABSTRACT: Russia's military attack on the legal territory of Ukraine is considered to be a serious threat to the national interests of the countries on the European continent. Prior to the military attack which Russia calls a "Special Military Operation" starting on February 24, 2022, various efforts to resolve the conflict have been taken by Europe, the United Nations, and other international relations actors. Britain is one of the countries that is actively pursuing diplomacy to stop Russia's actions, which the West calls an illegal invasion. In carrying out its foreign policy, the UK practices Coercive Diplomacy, namely diplomacy with pressure on Russia. This was marked by an ultimatum accompanied by economic, political and military sanctions against Russia. This study uses a qualitative research method based on secondary data from various credible sources and the conceptual theory put forward by Alexander L. George (1971) as the first initiator of the Concept of Coercive Diplomacy. Therefore, this research raises the research question How does Britain apply British Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia as a Conflict Resolution effort?" and will be answered using the characteristics given by Alexander L. George in the concept of Limited Power in Coercive Diplomacy.

Keywords: Coercive Diplomacy, Boris Johnson, British, Russian, Invasion of Ukraine



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INTRODUCTION

The Russian military attack on Ukraine which started at 00.05 local time, on February 24 2022 until the time this article was written has had an impact not only on the two countries directly, but also on other countries on the European continent, including England. For most countries in Europe, open Russian-Ukrainian armed contact has become a serious threat to their security stability. Moreover, Russia, with its hegemony and power, is seen as the biggest security threat in the European region since the end of World War II.

Each country has a different level of threat. As stated by Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, threats that can endanger national interests, namely, threats to citizens, territorial integrity, or the ideology of a country, make security a main thing in national policy. The state as a main actor in international

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relations, needs to strengthen security for the sake of the country's sovereignty and independence (Massaguni et al., 2022).

Apart from security threats, the most obvious impact of the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine is the disruption of food supplies from Ukraine, which is known as a breadbasket for Europe and even the world. Ukraine has an important role in supplying the world market as the largest exporter of sunflower oil, the fourth largest exporter of corn and the fifth largest exporter of wheat (Bakrie et al., 2022).

The UN, through Secretary General Antonio Guterres, at an official forum held in May 2022, stated that around 20 million tons of grain were stuck in Ukraine from the previous harvest. The UN also issued a warning that disruption of agricultural commodity production in Ukraine could trigger a food crisis not only on the European continent, but as global.

Additionally, the invasion of Ukraine also substantially increases the risk of disruption in global fertilizer trade as Russia is the world's largest fertilizer exporter. Based on data from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, in 2021 Russia will be the world's largest exporter of nitrogen fertilizer, ranked second in the world as a producer of potash fertilizer, and ranked third in the world for phosphorus fertilizer. The armed conflict that continues to rage between Russia and Ukraine has had a serious impact on the world food supply chain, especially as apart from being a fertilizer producer, Russia is also the world's leading producer of cereals and wheat, as well as a number of other important commodities.

The next impact resulting from the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine was the disruption of energy availability and price stability which hit most of Europe and even the world. This happens because Russia is the third largest oil producer and exporter in the world, the second largest exporter of natural gas, and the third largest oil exporter of coal. Russian energy politics has caused an energy crisis in the UK in particular and European countries in general and is becoming more complex with the food crisis that has hit. As is known, geographically, Ukraine is directly bordered by four European countries, namely Poland, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. As prices soared, inflation was inevitable.

Not only does it have an impact on the economy, the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine also continues to claim lives. Data released by the UN states that the number of victims continues to increase until May 7 2023, there were 23,606 Ukrainian civilian victims, of which 8,791 were killed and 14,815 were injured. OHCHR also believes that this figure is likely to be much higher, because many reports in conflict areas are still pending and some of them are still waiting for confirmation. The additional number of victims is certain to be higher because various violations of humanitarian law against Ukrainian civilians are still ongoing (OHCHR, 2023).

The situation created by Russia's military attack on Ukraine then prompted Britain to intervene to seek a resolution to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Among the countries on the European continent, Britain is known as one of the countries that is very active in responding to Russia's military attacks on Ukraine. As one of the countries with the largest economic power in the world,

Britain has an interest in ensuring that regional and world security stability is maintained.

Among the reactions shown by European countries to the military attack carried out by Russia against Ukraine, the author is interested in exploring Britain foreign policy, especially during Boris Johnson's leadership which pursued diplomacy with pressure or what is popularly known as Coercive Diplomacy. Britain carried out foreign political policies accompanied by pressure during the leadership of Prime Minister Boris Johnson until he resigned as Britain Prime Minister on Thursday, July 7 2022.

Among the reactions shown by European countries to Russia's military attack on Ukraine, the author is interested in exploring British foreign policy during the leadership of Prime Minister Boris Johnson until he resigned as British Prime Minister on Thursday, July 7 2022. There are several previous researchers who discussed efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

First, Syuryansyah and Rethorika Berthanila entitled Resolving the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict, published in the Power in International Relations (PIR) Journal, 2022, which focuses more on resolving the Russian and Ukrainian conflict through four methods, namely negotiation, good offices, international organizations, and mediation. According to both of them, these four efforts can be used as alternatives to end the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022).

Second, the results of scientific research written by Adib Izzuddin entitled Analysis of Efforts to Resolve the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict in 2022. This article focuses on the analysis of the Russian and Ukrainian conflict in 2022 and the efforts made to resolve the conflict, especially through the negotiation process carried out by Turkey and Israel who failed (Izzuddin et al., 2022).

Third, the scientific paper by Ruth Endam and Divine Forcha Wasum Russian-Ukrainei 2022 War: A Review of the Economic Impact of the Russian-Ukrainei Crisis on the USA, UK, Canada, and Europe published by Advance in Social Science Research Journal (2022) which focuses more on the impact of the war between Russia and Ukraine on the economic sector experienced by Russia and even globally. According to Endam and Wasum, global commitment is needed in seeking a resolution to the Russia-Ukraine conflict (Mbah & Wasum, 2022).

Fourth is an article entitled Economic Diplomacy Approach in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict written by Randy Bion Bramastya and Ranita Rompa Batan in the Integrative Social Political Journal (SPI) Vol. II, 2022. In this article, the two authors discuss Economic Diplomacy carried out by the European Union, Britain, the United States, South Korea and Japan. These developed countries agreed to do everything they could to stop the war in order to ensure peace. One of them is using Economic Diplomacy which is not effective (Bramastya & Batan, 2022).

Fifth is an article entitled Indonesian Diplomacy in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict: A Study of Soft-Power written by Dinda Tulus Tiara and Syasya Yuania Fadila Mas'udi which was published in the Political Issue Journal (JPI), 2023. These two International Relations Scholars discuss Indonesia's efforts through President Joko Widodo took the initiative to carry out a peace mission by visiting Ukraine and Russia. This initiative was carried out with a mission to become a communication

bridge between the two countries in conflict (Tiara & Mas'udi, 2023).

However, the findings from previous literature studies have not yet specifically discussed Britain's Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia during the administration of Prime Minister Boris Johnson as part of efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine Conflict. So the researcher concludes that there has been a research gap.

The contribution (novelty) of this research is intended to elaborate on the concept of Coercive Diplomacy put forward by Alexander L. George and (1971) who put forward three characteristic elements of Coercive Diplomacy, namely requests, threats and deadlines, time pressure. In George's view, Coercive Diplomacy is a type of diplomacy that refers to the use of threats with limited force or limited force to stop or cancel the actions of another party that is considered threatening (Alexander L. George, David K. Hall, David Kent Hall, 1971).

METHOD

British's coercive diplomacy towards Russia aims at peace making, marked by Russia's willingness to stop aggression and seek peaceful solutions through dialogue and negotiation. However, until Boris Johnson leaves No. 1 Downing Street. 10, London, as a sign of the end of his leadership as Head of the British Government, Russian military forces are still carrying out military attacks in Ukraine amidst various pressures exerted by Britain and its allied countries. The phenomenon of British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia as an effort to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict will be analyzed using the concept of Coercive Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution Theory.

In applying the descriptive method, the data sources obtained to prove the analysis of theories and concepts are qualitative secondary data and come from a collection of literature reviews of various researchers and experts who explore East Asian issues, especially around the relationship between British, Russian, and, Ukraine. This researcher used the Literature Review research method or literature review. A written exam or written survey (writing audit, writing research) is research that looks at or examines basically the information, thoughts, or discoveries contained in a compiled collection of scientific writing (scholastic situated writing), finding systemic hypothetical commitments for certain points (Subakti, H., Chamidah, D., Siregar, R. S., Saputro, A. N. C., Recard, M., Nurtanto, M., ... & Sitopu, 2021).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The importance of diplomacy as a guardian of balance and peace in the international order is increasing in the modern world. In fact, diplomacy always plays a big role in regulating international policy and many international problems can be resolved through diplomacy (<u>Umar & Indrayani</u>, <u>2020</u>). Diplomacy is also defined as a relationship, communication and connection. Apart from that, diplomacy is also said to be a two-way interactive process between two countries carried out to achieve each country's foreign policy (<u>Roy</u>, <u>1991</u>).

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In international relations there are two categories of diplomacy, the first is soft diplomacy which is usually carried out through art, culture and trade, while hard diplomacy is carried out using military force or other forms of pressure (Nye, 2008). Coercive Diplomacy is a type of hard diplomacy because in practice it often uses threats.

Coercive Diplomacy is the use of threats with limited force to force an enemy to stop or delay their actions (Alexander L. George, David K. Hall, David Kent Hall, 1971). In its application, George's version of Jakobsen's Coercive Diplomacy strategy involves four variables consisting of requests, containers or mechanisms to create a sense of urgency for requests such as time limits, threats or punishments for non-compliance, and the use of incentives (<u>Jakobsen</u>, 2020).

According to George, Coercive Diplomacy has two main objectives, namely to stop or cancel dangerous actions that have been carried out by the target country (Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, 2016). Coercive Diplomacy as stated by George must be used carefully and based on the principles of international law. Its use must be in line with international norms and the inherent goals of diplomacy as a tool for achieving peace and stability. George even emphasized in his article entitled The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy, Second Edition (1994 p. 7) that the strategy carried out by the sending country is intended as a form of defense and on a limited scale so that the opposing country stops or reverses its actions.

According to him, full offensive force is not coercive diplomacy but is more worthy of being called a blackmail strategy (Levy, 2008). Diplomacy is carried out in a way that prioritizes measured pressure, not violence, let alone blackmail. Even though it is known as one of the countries that has power and is one of the countries that carries out nuclear enrichment, Britain together with NATO member countries has not used its full force to help Ukraine.

In International Relations literature, Coercive Diplomacy essentially has two main objectives: first, it is intended to change the target's behavior; and second, the sending country or coercer does so, including with threats but without using force) in limited quantities (Art, R. J., & Cronin, 2003). This coercive foreign policy instrument is deemed necessary by Britain because of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict which continues to geopolitical impact and globally.

British's coercive diplomacy steps can be seen from the country's actions through its policies during the reign of Prime Minister Boris Johnson, marked by the imposition of various sanctions, confiscation of Russian assets, recall of its citizens, termination of business relations with Russia, and various other forms of pressure (Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office, 2022).

In carrying out its Coercive Diplomacy practices, Britain was not alone, Britain used limited military power in alliance with NATO so that Russia complied with its request to stop military attacks against Ukraine.

Tabel 1. Characteristics of Coercive Diplomacy

Characteristics of Coercive	Britain Coercive Diplomacy Practices towards Russia	
Diplomacy		
Clear demanding	Urge Russia to immediately stop its military invasion of Ukraine. Through discussions at the level of heads of state	
	foreign ministers and diplomats (Reuters 2022) and through UN forums (GOV.UK 2022a).	
Threat	The Alliance's threat is in accordance with NATO's collective security principles. Britain drops sanctions packages: economic, political, military (Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office, 2022).	
Time Pressure	Britain put maximum pressure on Russi (GOV.UK, 2022b).	

From the table above, there are three characteristics that characterize Coercive Diplomacy according to George: 1) demand; 2) threat; and 3) time pressure (Jakobsen, 2020). Alexander L. George in Tom Sauer states, one of the characteristics that requests are made (<u>Sauer, 2007</u>).

First, requests in Coercive Diplomacy involve very specific and non-negotiable demands or demands. Requests must be clear and detailed, so that there is no confusion or manipulation in the negotiation process. Clear requests also help in maintaining trust between the parties involved. In other words, there should be no double standards in demands or requests. The request or request is considered false and not credible. In this case, the probability that the target country will fulfill the request is low.

In efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Britain has made clear requests to Russia on several occasions since Russia began its attack on Ukraine on February 24 2022. (Reuters, 2022) Statements were delivered through Prime Minister Boris Johnson, at diplomatic level and even direct statements at UN forums (GOV.UK, 2022a). However, it did not succeed in changing Russia's view, which did not want to continue invading Ukraine. Russia calls its attack on Ukrainian territory a Special Military Operation aimed at the unification and demilitarization of Ukraine. The second characteristic of Coercive Diplomacy involves threats made in response to unfulfilled demands or unwanted actions from another party. These threats can take the form of economic sanctions, military action or other actions that can put pressure on the targeted party.

The third characteristic, Coercive Diplomacy relies on tight time pressure to achieve its goals. Time pressure is given as an approach to speed up the negotiation and decision making process. That time pressure can create uncertainty, forcing the other side to respond quickly, and reducing room

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for persistent tactics. By limiting the time available, Coercive Diplomacy can increase pressure on the targeted party to act more quickly.

These three characteristics are intended to increase the effectiveness of Coercive Diplomacy and make the targeted party comply with the demands made. However, diplomatic situations have unique dynamics, and not all of these characteristics must always be present to achieve the desired outcome. From the studies of scholars, it can be seen that the Coercive Diplomacy approach is used to influence other countries through threats or limited use of force.

Britain in order to protect its national interests and maintain geopolitics in the European region, is carrying out diplomacy with pressure or what is known as Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia. The first form of Britain Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia as an effort to resolve the conflict was by imposing threats and sanctions.

As stated in the official press release published by the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office on May 13, 2022, Britain has imposed a number of sanctions packages in the economic, military and political fields against Russia in response to Russia's illegal actions in invading Ukraine. Britain has sanctioned more than 1,200 people and more than 120 businesses since Putin's invasion of Ukraine. In practice, economic sanctions are often used as a conflict resolution strategy between countries involved in a conflict.

Britain is one of the countries with the largest economic power in the world and is the main resource in achieving its foreign policy goals. In practice, economic sanctions are often used as a conflict resolution strategy between countries involved in a conflict. Economic sanctions are an instrument of Coercive Diplomacy (Rosyidin, M., & Fitrah, 2016).

Britain also imposed sanctions on Kalashnikov Concern, an army equipment manufacturer, a military industrial company, a major supplier of weapons and military equipment to Russia, and on GTLK, Russia's largest leasing company. Before Britain was deep into the vortex of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, bilateral relations between Britain and Russia in the military field had actually been well established, even though they were often marred by various incidents. This was proven by the existence of a cooperation agreement in implementing the Chemical Weapons Convention in Paris on January 13,1993.

Imposing sanctions on Russia has become a priority in Britain foreign policy. Britain during the time of Prime Minister Boris Johnson also included threats in its request, and determined maximum pressure against Russia. Several strategies were carried out by Britain against Russia, including using economic sanctions, military deployment near conflict areas, applying diplomatic pressure, and providing support to Ukraine in various forms.

Along with NATO allies and other partners, Britain has imposed a number of financial, trade, visa and other restrictions on Russia. Formal sanctions are combined with informal boycotts run by businesses. The scale of the new sanctions is unprecedented. The Britain government stated on May 22 2022 that Britain had issued a series of sanctions against more than 120 business

institutions and 120 people since Russia attacked Ukraine (Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office, 2022).

It is hoped that these various sanctions packages will weaken Russia's power. Various sanctions from the West have an impact on the Russian economy. Apart from that, this action was also carried out as a punishment for Russia as well as a diplomatic strategy aimed at weakening the Russian economy with the calculation that if the Russian economy experienced a downturn, then one of the largest energy exporting countries in the world would run out of budget to fund the war and in the end Russia would take action. leg of Ukraine. In the concept of Coercive Diplomacy, the threat aims to change the behavior of the targeted party and make them comply with the request made (Reichberg & Syse, 2018).

Britain Gives Support to Ukraine, as a form of Britain Coercive Diplomacy through politics, Britain shows support for Ukraine. The UK has provided political, economic and military support to Ukraine in their efforts to resist the Russian invasion. Britain foreign policy that supports Ukraine is also seen as putting pressure on Russia politically. Before and after Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24 2022, Boris Johnson was recorded as having made several diplomatic visits to Ukraine to meet directly with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelinsky, including on April 9 2022 and secondly on June 17 2022 (Boris Johnson On His Official X, 2022). Via his X official account, Boris Johnson called Volodymyr a hero of all nations. Britain provided massive support for Ukraine during Prime Minister Boris Johnson's leadership.

As quoted on the official British government website, the country and its international partners are united in supporting Ukraine. The Britain government provides various economic, humanitarian and military defense assistance to Ukraine, and vice versa implements Coercive Diplomacy through economic, military and political sanctions against Russia. Support to Ukraine is provided in the form of financial assistance, humanitarian assistance and military training. Coercive Diplomacy carried out by the UK is part of a wider international effort to pressure Russia and stop military attacks in Ukraine.

Britain exerts diplomatic pressure on Russia, Prime Minister Boris Johnson also often says that President Vladimir Putin made a big mistake by invading Russia. Britain also blacklisted a number of Russian defense officials and figures. Land, Sea and Air Blockade. The closure of the British Embassy in Moscow was followed by the withdrawal of its diplomats. Ban on Russian citizens coming to and from the UK (Rahim, 2019).

Working with NATO allies and other countries to coordinate a diplomatic response to Russia. This step urges Russia to respect Ukraine's sovereignty and encourage dialogue and negotiations to reach a peaceful solution. The British government under the leadership of Boris Johnson has issued a strong statement against Russia's actions in Ukraine. Britain publicly condemned the military attack and urged Russia to stop its aggression and respect international law.

Britain is increasing NATO's military presence near Ukrainian territory. NATO-allied Britain has increased its military presence in the Baltic region and Eastern Europe to provide support to

countries threatened by Russia's military offensive in Ukraine. Deployment of troops and military equipment in countries such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Even though they are not directly at the center of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the presence of British military forces can influence the aggressiveness of Ukrainian troops towards Russian logistics routes such as airfields, railways and others. England also provided assistance in the form of military training and even weapons.

Coercive Diplomacy often involves the threat or use of military force as a means to achieve desired goals. These actions include the deployment of troops, the use of limited military force, or the imposition of economic sanctions that are detrimental to the target country. Coercive diplomacy aims to impose negative consequences on target countries if they do not comply with demands or change their behavior. These consequences could take the form of economic loss, international isolation, or even the use of military force. Coercive Diplomacy will be more effective if the party using serious threats against the target country.

Military power is an instrument that is often used as an instrument in carrying out diplomacy. Hard Diplomacy is known as war, to be a specific military and political hostility. Theoretically, coercive tactics basically have a close relationship with a military perspective. This arises because of the use of the military in political exercises under pressure. In George's view, Coercive Diplomacy is an alternative to war because it gives the enemy "an opportunity to stop or withdraw before someone undertakes military operations."

Despite implementing various sanctions both economically, militarily and politically, Britain also continued to provide motivation for Russia to comply with what England wanted. Coercive Diplomacy was proposed by George as a holistic "stick-and-carrot" crisis management strategy where management crisis through a compromise acceptable to both parties to the conflict before resorting to war (Perez, 2015).

Before Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24 2022, Britain, through Prime Minister Boris Johnson, in diplomatic talks with President Vladimir Putin said that NATO would not accept Ukraine's membership provided that Russia canceled military aggression in Ukraine. Motivation in the form of 'carrot' rewards by the UK through Boris Johnson will withdraw all sanctions that have been or are still being planned against Russia. Apart from that, Britain will also ensure that it will continue to provide support to Vladimir Putti as president of Russia if it stops the invasion of Ukraine.

George's thoughts as quoted from Ilario Schettino's article entitled Is Coercive Diplomacy a Viable means to achieve political objectives? It is stated that Coercive Diplomacy is actually an attractive strategy, because it offers the possibility of achieving political goals without using traditional military force, without bloodshed, and with fewer political costs (Schettino, 2009). In the history of international conflict, Coercive Diplomacy it has been proven to be effectively used to exert lower risk 'coercive' pressure on weaker opposing states.

The Coercive actions of Britain and European countries and the US succeeded in suppressing the

Russian economy, but Russia's attacks on Ukraine continued until Prime Minister Boris Johnson's term of office ended. There are several factors that caused the failure of British Coercive Diplomacy during Boris Johnson's administration that the author identified.

First, there is a lack of consensus among European countries because each country has different dependencies on Russia. This can be seen in the response when the European Union banned imports of crude oil and coal from Russia which resulted in the closure of gas pipelines to European Union countries, leaving many European Union member countries worried about disrupting energy security in their respective countries. Factors that influence the output of Coercive diplomacy are not only internal factors related to the relationship between the two parties but also external factors outside the relationship (Astuti, 2015).

Second, NATO's involvement, even though it has not officially accepted Ukraine's membership, NATO provides support to Ukraine in fighting the Russian invasion in the form of military training, military troops, and even financial assistance in the form of a budget for the purchase of military weapons so that the armed conflict continues (Hidriyah, 2022). 28 Professor of International Relations Arry Bainus B. Arry (2023). Interview after being a speaker at the Seminar: The 7th Global Knowledge from AIHII Epistemic Community, National University, Jakarta, 31 May 2023 even stated that NATO intervention did not solve the problem at all. The West, through NATO, which came and had the same interest in fighting Russia, sending weapons and so on actually made the conflict even hotter. According to him, NATO should not intervene too far.

Third, Russia's adaptability in facing Western sanctions because it is not the first time that Britain and Western countries have carried out sanctions against Britain, since Russia intervened militarily in the Crimea and Donbass regions. However, the economic sanctions imposed by the US, UK and Western countries against Russia have not had a significant impact on the Russian economy or changed Russia's behavior in Ukraine or changed Russia's behavior in Ukraine. Russia has adapted to sanctions and has shown resilience in the face of pressure from the West and has taken countermeasures to mitigate the impact of sanctions. For example, Russia has reduced its dependence on the Western financial system, forged alternative economic partnerships, and invested in domestic industry (Guruh Edi Purwanto, 2015).

Fourth is the energy political strategy carried out by Russia. This country, which is known to be rich in energy, is using its energy political power to push back against Britain and countries in Europe. Russia has become accustomed to Western sanctions following the military operations it has carried out in Ukraine since 2014. In carrying out its energy politics, Russia relies on the strength of energy resources (petroleum, gas and coal) and other important commodities. Russia's energy political strategy was carried out as a form of disobedience to Britain and other Western countries.

The threat of stopping energy imports (petroleum, gas and coal) issued by Britain and its allied countries was responded to swiftly by Russia by reducing and even stopping energy supplies, especially gas flows to a number of European countries which have been dependent on Russia for decades. As a result, Britain and countries in Europe also had to experience disruptions in energy

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stability apart from food, which was much earlier.

The massive increase in food prices combined with rising energy prices has exacerbated inflation which was already rising before the military offensive began on 24 February 2022. This condition further increases pressure on the government's capacity for public spending which was already affected by the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic. Russia has firmly stated that it will return energy supplies to European countries if Europe lifts sanctions against Russia.

Not only that, in February 2022, Russia banned the export of ammonium nitrate, and in March 2022, Russia told fertilizer producers to slow down their exports in retaliation for Western sanctions. Russia, with its defense strength and potential resources, is able to reverse the various economic sanctions it has received as a weapon that has caused Britain in particular, and Europe in general, to experience an energy crisis due to the reduction or even cessation of Russia's energy supplies. Russia did not obey England as a country sending coercers. Suffering due to coercive actions often occurs not only in the target country but also in the sending country (Feaver & Lorber, 2012).

Another factor causing failure that the author identified was Russia's military strategy, which was in second place after America in first place, which meant that Russia continued its military actions in Ukraine. In carrying out what it called a Special military operation, Russia deployed a significant number of military troops. Quoted from the BBC (April 2022) Russia has 2.9 million military personnel with reserves of 2 million people. This figure is much higher than Ukraine's strength, which only has 1.1 million military personnel.

Military power is an instrument that is often used as an instrument in carrying out diplomacy. Hard Diplomacy is known as war, to be a specific military and political hostility. Theoretically, coercive tactics basically have a close relationship with a military perspective. This arises because of the use of the military in political exercises under pressure (Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, 2016).

These factors then made Britain's Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia fail. Based on the Coercive Diplomacy Concept pioneered by George Alexander, Tom Sauer25 identified 10 factors that can determine the effectiveness of coercive diplomacy strategies through sanctions, namely (1) legitimate requests, legitimate underlying objectives, legitimate underlying objectives, legitimate requests. demand), not afraid of mistakes (no fear of a 'slippery slope') (Sauer, 2007), threats (proportional threat), threats supported by public opinion (threat supported by public opinion), fear of escalation (fear of escalation), reputation, credible time pressure, absolute motivation and relative motivation (Sauer, 2007).

Table 2 Russia's Response to British's Coercive Diplomacy (Yusupov, 2022)

	British Coercive Actions	Russian Response
	against Russia	
Economic	 Energy Embargo (oil, gas and coal) Ruble currency blocking Embargo on non-energy commodities 	 Using energy politics to result in an energy crisis in Europe. Russia implements purchases with Rubles Russia threatens to reduce exports of fertilizer and other commodities.
Military	 Russia is allied with NATO providing assistance: military weapons Military training. 	 Russia is actually becoming more aggressive in its attacks on Ukraine Military weapons attacks were also carried out on Kyiv. Russia has not withdrawl its troops in Ukraine
Politic	 Launching a negative stigma against Russia Blacklisting a number of Russian defense officials and figures. Blockade Land, Sea and Air Prohibition of Russian citizens from and to the UK 	 Russia actually launched a counterattack with no less harsh accusations against British. Russian officials openly say they do not trust British diplomacy The Russian public labeled or nicknamed Boris Johnson as a clown.

CONCLUSION

This research can prove that Britain during the government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson has carried out the practice of Coercive Diplomacy towards Russia as an effort to resolve the Russian-Ukrainian conflict which has been going on for a long time. Coercive pressure has been exerted by Britain as an outside party on Russia, since the country led by President Vladimir Putin carried out a military invasion starting on February 24 2022.

The strategy that characterizes Coercive Diplomacy has been implemented by Britain during the government of Prime Minister Boris Johnson, starting from conveying clear demands to Russia and they have articulated them in several negotiation processes. Likewise, threats accompanied by economic, military and political sanctions against Russia. Regarding the deadline, Britain itself did not give Russia an explicit deadline until when it had to withdraw its troops, only mentioning it until Russia completely left Ukraine.

So it can be concluded that Britain tends to only focus on its commitment to exert maximum pressure on Russia and ignore other factors which are more essential in determining the effectiveness of Coercive Diplomacy. Coercive Diplomacy, which was originally expected to weaken Russia's military strength and immediately stop its military attacks in order to create peace, turned out to be a failure, it did not go according to British expectations. The failure was caused by various factors, including NATO's intervention in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Britain's alliance with NATO which uses military force also makes Russia's resistance even more massive, even though Coercive Diplomacy is essentially a Diplomatic Strategy that relies more on the threat of force than the use of force itself.

As in the concept of Coercive Diplomacy developed by Alexander L. George, the force deployed is limited in scale. Apart from that, the lack of consensus between countries on the European continent, Russia's economic independence, and Russia's ability to adapt to Western sanctions are also the reasons why British Coercive Diplomacy during the time of Prime Minister Boris Johnson failed to become a Conflict Resolution effort.

Failure is marked by the reality that Russia is still carrying out military attacks against Ukraine, until the Prime Minister from the Conservative Party officially resigned on Thursday, July 7 2022. Russia has proven disobedient to Britain's coercive actions because of the power it has, both economically and militarily. even though an important element of the success of Coercive Diplomacy is determined by the compliance of the countries that have been imposed sanctions by the UK. This failure supports theoretical evidence put forward by Alexander L. George and experts who developed the study of Coercive Diplomacy that those who make threats are not always helpful and that Coercive Diplomacy in practice is more complicated than it seems, especially if it is aimed at a country like Russia which has domestic economic independence the strong one.

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