
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN MILITARY DOCTRINE POST COLD WAR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR UKRAINE

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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS

Russia, NATO,
Military Doctrine,
National Interest

Russia's decision to carry out an attack on Ukraine by conducting a special military operation or invasion was carried out on the grounds of protecting its national interests. Military doctrine, which is defined as a guideline and strategy, becomes one of the bases for formulating a country's defense policy and foreign policy in establishing cooperation or conducting conflict. This study aims to understand Russia's post-cold war military defense doctrine, which became the basis for its actions to carry out military attacks on Ukraine. The method in this research is descriptive by referring to the literature and reliable documents. Collecting data using literature review of various documents, journals and news as well as data analysis using qualitative. The results of the study show that the military operations carried out by Russia in Ukraine are inseparable from changes in military doctrine carried out after the cold war which made the nature of defense more offensive. This military doctrine later became one of the cornerstones in formulating its defense policy, including the decision to invade Ukraine.

INTRODUCTION

Defense and security are efforts made by all countries in order to maintain their existence. A strong defense system becomes a means of dealing with threats both from within and outside a country. A country with a strong defense system has a very large influence in the global security environment. For this reason, all countries are trying to strengthen their defense system in an effort to protect their national interests and their existence. Each country will eventually try to improve its national capabilities in order to achieve national interests. Talking about defense certainly cannot be separated from the defense doctrine or military doctrine adopted by a country where this doctrine shows the nature of its defense, namely defensive or offensive. This doctrine also later became one of the elements used as guidelines in the preparation of a country's defense strategy which then influenced the way the country protected its national interests.

In the era of the cold war that took place after the second world war, the western bloc led by the United States formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which aims to defend Western Europe from the influence and threat of the Soviet Union's attack. To match the power of NATO, the Soviet Union formed the Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955. The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the countries that were part of the Soviet Union flocked to independence. (DW, 2014).

Russia, which was the largest state of the Soviet Union, tried to maintain influence, both politically and militarily from the former Soviet Union. This is done to maintain the

sovereignty and security of its territory from the influence of western hegemony and NATO (Kurniati, 2014).

The crisis with Ukraine appeared for the first time when the President of Ukraine at that time, Viktor Yanukovich, canceled a cooperation agreement with the European Union during the Eastern Partnership Summit in Lithuania in 2013. At that time, Russia strongly supported Ukraine's attitude which really wanted Ukraine to become a neutral country by not joining the bloc west or NATO. Russia appreciates the steps taken by Ukraine, so that Russia provides loan assistance worth 198 trillion rupiah for Ukraine's development (Prahasto, 2015)

Some Ukrainians were disappointed with Yanukovich's decision to be very close to Russia and wanted Ukraine to join the west. Massive protests took place in Ukraine and eventually the Ukrainian people overthrew Yanukovich's government (BBC, 2014). After Yanukovich's overthrow, parliament was controlled by the pro-Western opposition. The crisis, which initially only occurred in Kiev, then spread to other regions, including Crimea, which from the beginning was in dispute with Russia and its majority ethnic Russian (Tartar) population. (Higgins & Erlanger, 2014).

Russia is worried that the conflict in Ukraine will pose a threat to its regional security and defense. Moreover, the new Ukrainian government is pro-Western and wants to join NATO, which in fact is a threat to Russia's security. (Renz, 2014). Russia then annexed Crimea in 2014. This action was indeed carried out to protect Russia's national interests. In addition, Russia also supports the people's liberation movement in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions for independence from Ukraine. The revolution in Ukraine has further distanced the country from its neighbour, Russia. Ukraine's desire to join the European Union and NATO is getting bigger and this is also responded positively by the European Union and NATO (Oktaviano & Fachri, 2015). This is one of the reasons why Russia carried out a special military operation in Ukraine which began on February 24, 2022.

On the other hand, since 1999 NATO has expanded into Eastern Europe. Three countries joined NATO, namely Poland, Czechia and Hungary which were members of the Warsaw Pact (DW, 2014). Then in 2004 Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia and Latvia joined NATO. Meanwhile Albania and Croatia joined NATO in 2009. This is increasingly troubling Russia. President Vladimir Putin's remarks at a press conference warned that the emergence of a military alliance on Russia's borders is an immediate threat (DW, 2014).

Russia's actions in carrying out attacks on the territory of Ukraine and the countries bordering it are supported by its defense policy and military doctrine. It is known that after the end of the cold war era, Russia made several amendments to its military doctrine, these amendments were of course based on the dynamics of international environmental conditions. The conflict in Ukraine was one of the causes for the signing of the amendment (Klein, 2015). The Russian military doctrine in 2014 clearly and unequivocally placed NATO's territorial expansion as a major threat to Russia's defense and security (Klein, 2015).

Military doctrine or also known as defense doctrine can be interpreted as a military guideline and strategy. This military doctrine is used as one of the considerations in formulating a country's defense policy and foreign policy. This policy is then used as a basis for a country to interact with other countries, either in the form of cooperation or conflict. In the theory of national interests presented by Morgenthau, national interests can be divided into several levels from primary national interests to specific national

interests. Changes in military doctrine will certainly change its defense policy and foreign policy which will then change the way the country protects its national interests.

From all the descriptions mentioned above, this study seeks to explain how changes in Russian military doctrine after the cold war era significantly changed Russia's defense and foreign policy so that it had implications for Ukraine which was the target of Russian military operations and invasion.

METHOD RESEARCH

This type of research is a qualitative research where the final results of the study cannot be achieved by statistical or quantification/measurement procedures (Creswell, 1998) The research method used in this study is a descriptive approach. Data collection is carried out through a literature review, namely collecting data and information from various documents, journals, reliable news related to changes in military doctrine carried out by Russia after the end of the cold war era and its implications for changes in its defense and foreign policy policies. This policy change data is then compared with changes in military policy, namely the development of Russian military capabilities and skills which are supported by a significant increase in the amount of the defense budget after changes to its military doctrine and the decision to invade Ukraine.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Russian National Interest

Russia's policy which is supported by its parliament in carrying out an attack on Ukraine by deploying military force is a policy to safeguard its national interests. The results of the study indicate that several internal and external factors were the reason for the Russian attack on Ukraine in protecting its national interests, namely:

a. Internal factors

One of the internal factors that underlies the start of the conflict with Ukraine is geography. The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 was partly due to a very strategic geographical location where the Crimean port was a natural port on the Black Sea that did not freeze during winter, so the Black Sea became a very strategic sea highway. On the other hand, the Black Sea Port can connect Russia with the Mediterranean region, the Balkans and the Middle East (Oktaviano & Fachri, 2015). This is clearly an economic and military advantage for Russia because it gets wider access to the Black Sea waters. In Crimea, Russia can also increase its military fleet more to prevent NATO expansion in the Black Sea region.

The next internal factor is the interest to protect the Russian people and Russian-speaking speakers, especially those who make up the majority in the Eastern Ukraine region. The figure below is the distribution of Russians in Ukraine who are Russian speakers.



Figure 1
Distribution of language use in Ukraine

Source: <https://www.geocurrents.info/>

In addition, the majority of President Yanukovich's supporters, who are very pro-Russia, reside in this region. Even Crimea became the main support base for President Yanukovich in the 2010 general elections. The following is a picture of the distribution of the results of the 2010 Ukrainian elections.

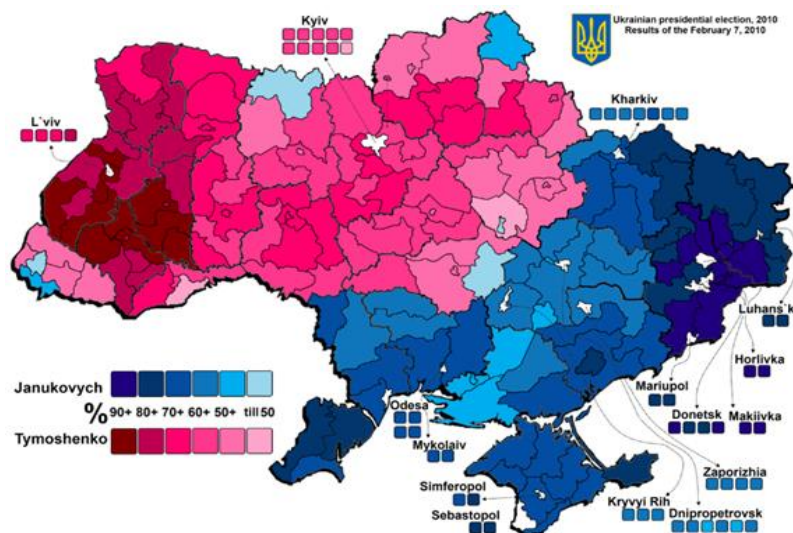


Figure 2
distribution of the results of the 2010 Ukrainian elections.

Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/>

Based on the distribution of voter data on the results of the 2010 Ukrainian election above, it can be seen that the majority of this Eastern Ukraine region strongly supports Russia, as seen from the amount of support for President Yanukovich, who is very pro-Russia..

b. External Factors

The pattern of relations between the countries around Russia certainly greatly influenced its foreign policy. This situation also became the determinant of Russia's actions in carrying out attacks on Ukrainian territory. Systemic factors in the international environment where Eastern European countries began to join NATO made this a potential threat to Russia's sovereignty. NATO's program to expand its expansion into Eastern Europe is certainly a direct threat to Russia's defense and security. The following is a picture of the expansion of NATO in the eastern European region which includes the former Warsaw Pact countries and the former Soviet Union countries.



Figure 3
NATO expansion in Eastern Europe.

Source: <https://www.bbc.com/>

Since the end of the cold war era, NATO has indeed massively expanded into the Eastern European region, even though Russia has expressed its objections to this expansion. This expansion shows that the United States and its allies appear to have neglected joint efforts to build a new order in eastern Europe, especially after the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. NATO unilaterally extends the range of its troop presence to the Russian border region.

National interest is the main thing for a country in maintaining the sovereignty and survival of its people. In addition, national interest is also a way to gain influence, power and strength that is used to develop and maintain control of a country. The way to achieve this can be done through coercion or cooperation (Oppenheim, 1987). To safeguard national interests, a country will of course interact with other countries and this form of interaction can be in the form of cooperation or conflict.

The national interest is a form of concept that is very vital for a country, because it concerns the independence, territorial integrity, security and welfare of its people. (Williams, 2012). Russia's policy of carrying out an attack on Ukraine cannot be separated from the assumption that this is an important step in protecting its national interests.

In pursuit of influence and power to realize national interests, a country makes policies towards other countries. This foreign policy can be influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors related to national interests include security, social, economic, geographical, ideological, and domestic politics while external factors include international politics, alliances, and arms race.

With the joining of eastern European countries into NATO, especially those directly adjacent to Russian territory, it is possible for NATO to place nuclear weapons and troops in the region, this is clearly a direct threat to the security of Russia's territory. The NATO statute which explicitly states that if one member of the alliance is attacked, all members of the alliance will help, of course this is considered by Russia as a real threat to sovereignty that can endanger Russia's defense and security, especially if this expansion is carried out on countries that become Russia's buffer zones are countries that have direct land borders with their territory. With the presence of NATO members in the Russian border region, it allows NATO to relocate its troops and build military bases in the region.

From the explanation above, as explained in the theory of national interest by Morgenthau, it can be seen that Russia's actions in Ukraine can be classified as Primary Interest because it is related to protecting the security and politics of the country. In addition, changes in Russia's military doctrine and foreign policy that try to stem NATO's influence through military operations in Ukraine can be classified as secondary interests, namely as an effort to protect Russian citizens and people residing in the territory of Ukraine who are racially and regionally closer to Russia. compared to the seat of the Ukrainian government in Kyiv.

2. Changes in Russian Military Doctrine

After the end of the cold war, which was marked by the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia first ratified its military doctrine in 1993. Then this military doctrine was updated in 2000, 2010, and 2014. This doctrine is a document that contains basic views which are then used as guidelines by the state in regulating the state in the form of policies or the role of the state. This doctrine is dynamic in nature which is adapted to the strategic security environment it faces including its external and internal threats. Russian military doctrine contains components, concepts and provisions of law that bind all political officials from the executive, agencies, corporations and organizations that have been determined by the government of the Russian Federation through laws. (Klein, 2015).

The following table shows the development of Russian military doctrine since the end of the Soviet Union.

Tabel 1
perubahan doktrin Rusia setelah era perang dingin

No	Year of Approval	Explanation
1	Year 1993	Describes the role of the state as the authority and guarantees defense or carries out war. Russia emphasizes that this doctrine is defensive in nature
2	Year 2000	Russia calls this doctrine Defensive in Nature by expanding the topic of discussion with modern warfare including the implementation of arm control treaties and international sanctions.
3	Year 2010	This doctrine is divided into 4 parts, namely general provisions, military dangers and threats, military policies and military economics supporting defense.
4	Year 2014	A significant change from the 2014 doctrine is that Russia specifically mentions NATO as the main threat to the country's defense and security.

(Source: processing results)

The first doctrine passed by Russia after the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union was the 1993 doctrine. This doctrine describes the role of the state in ensuring national defense and carrying out war when necessary, but in this doctrine emphasizes a defensive doctrine. The military doctrine was only legalized in 2000 after President Vladimir Putin took office. This doctrine emphasizes modern warfare. After the era of President Putin's leadership, the development of the Russian military began to be compiled and developed. The 2000 doctrine was then updated by a doctrine published on February 5, 2010, where the previous doctrine only mentioned threats, while this doctrine was clarified by mentioning danger. The reason is that the threat becomes less important, because the threat only appears after the danger. Furthermore, the actual danger that arises comes from the external environmental situation, namely the situation of relations between countries carrying out military operations or carrying out military shows with the aim of provoking Russia and its allies.

Then the 2010 doctrine was renewed again with the ratification of the 2014 doctrine, where Russia explicitly and specifically mentions NATO as the main threat. Russia considers that NATO's expansion into Eastern Europe is an external danger that threatens its sovereignty. By including threats and dangers that are more specific than the previous doctrine, this shows that Russia is prepared to take military action if necessary to overcome the threats and dangers. The implementation of this doctrine can be seen from the Russian military action which annexed Crimea in 2014 as well as an increase in its defense posture by allocating a sizeable military budget from year to year, especially after changes to its military doctrine.

The implementation of the development of Russia's military doctrine can also be seen from the increase in its military budget as an effort to improve its defense

posture. Russia's military expenditure data based on the SIPRI military expenditure database from 1992 to 2012 can be seen from the graph below.

Russian Military Spending 1992-2012

Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database

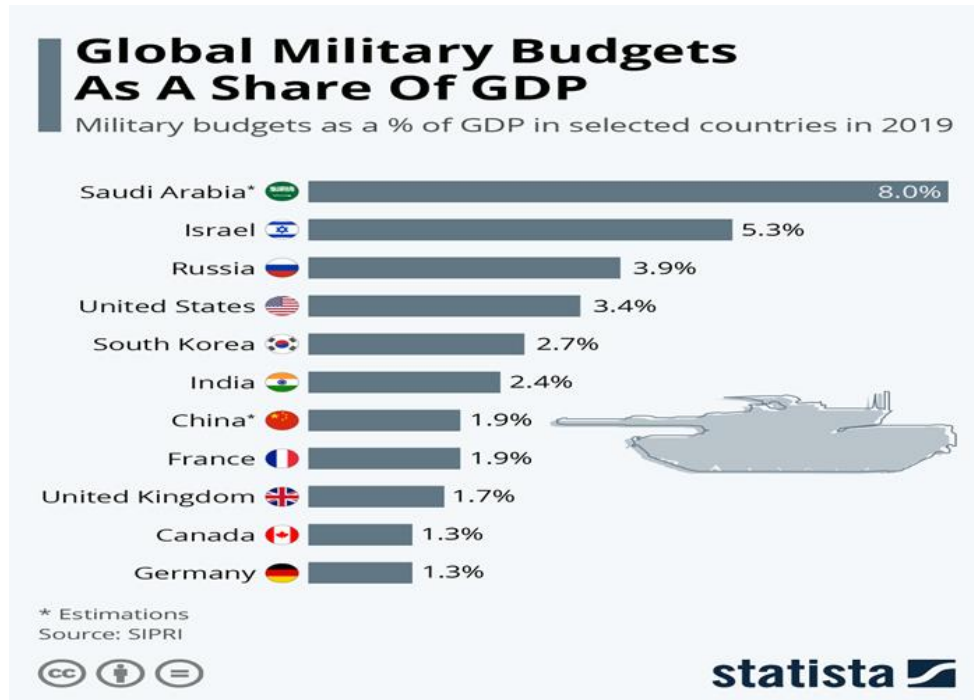


Grafik 1

data belanja militer Rusia tahun 1992-2012.

(Source: <https://military-history.fandom.com/>)

The graph above shows that Russia's military budget has grown significantly after the adoption of the doctrine in 2000. In the era of President Vladimir Putin's leadership, from 2000 to 2019 there were significant changes in the defense budget. In 2019 even the share of Russia's military budget to GDP is larger than the United States, this shows that Russia is very focused on increasing its military capacity and capability as if preparing to face external threats that may come in the near future.



Graph 2
Percentage of Military Budget to GDP in 2019.
(Source: Statista)

In 2019, Russia even allocated its military budget of 3.9% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), where the standard defense budget of other countries on average was still around 1% of GDP. This shows that Russia is very focused on increasing its military strength in order to face the threat of expanding NATO territory in Eastern Europe which is the main threat in its latest military doctrine.

In general, the term doctrine can be interpreted as something that is believed and taught as a guide in carrying out tasks to achieve a goal. In the NATO defense dictionary, military doctrine is defined as the basic principles of military power that serve as guidelines for action in supporting national interests. This doctrine is authoritarian but based on judgment in its implementation (Schuette, 2021). Military doctrine cannot be simply ignored because it is a system that is formally formulated and accepted by the state in view of threats and the nature of the defense carried out by the state. Differences in various political, economic, social, cultural and geographical conditions produce different military doctrines for each country.

Afflin Toffler stated that the ability and strength of a country depends on its main ability, namely the ability to influence other countries through the economy (wealth), knowledge (knowledge) and the deployment of its armed forces (military). From this aspect, the economy and military are the main factors for a country in the dynamics of international politics (Nugroho, 2012). So it is understandable that the increase in the defense budget and the development of Russia's military strength is a strategic step that has been planned by Russia in order to improve defense posture and stem NATO's influence in eastern Europe.

The implications for Russia's foreign policy after changing its military doctrine can also be seen from Russia's policy in supporting Syria and the annexation of the Crimean peninsula. In Syria Russia firmly supports the government of Bashar Al-Assad along with China and Iran. The Syrian conflict itself began as demonstrations aimed at bringing down the authoritarian government of Bashar Al-Assad, but later this conflict developed into an armed conflict between the Assad government and the rebel groups Free Syrian Army and the Syrian National Council. The conflict in Syria is becoming increasingly developed and complicated because several countries are involved in it with reasons to protect their respective national interests (Shaheen, 2015). Groups of countries that are pro-rebel, namely the United States and Turkey, while Russia, China and Iran firmly support the government of Bassar Al-Assad. This support is provided in the form of military and non-military assistance. From this case it can be seen that Russia began to change its foreign policy regarding its involvement in foreign conflicts as happened in Syria where this was not done by the Russian government in the early days of the end of the cold war era until 2000. This policy change is inseparable from changes in defense policy. and Russia's military doctrine, which has undergone changes in accordance with its strategic security environment.

From the explanation above, we know that Russia's military operations and invasion of Ukraine were carried out in order to secure its national interests. Russia seeks to maintain its defense and security as well as its country's political and economic interests. In carrying out the military operation policy, of course it is also influenced by its military doctrine as explained in the literature review that military doctrine is a military guideline and strategy which is one of the bases in formulating defense policy. In the latest Russian doctrine of 2014 clearly explains its internal and external threats. The threat is related to the alliance of Russia's neighboring countries with NATO led by the United States. NATO's expansion into the Eastern European region became an external trigger for Russia in taking its foreign policy and carrying out its invasion of Ukraine. Changes in defense policy can also be seen after the change in military doctrine, in which Russia allocates a military budget which continues to increase from year to year after the enactment of its newest doctrine in 2014. The stability of Russia's political climate is also a major factor in the implementation of this defense policy. The election of President Vladimir Putin for the second time shows that the policy is supported by the majority of the Russian people.

CONCLUSION

Russia's goal of carrying out an attack on Ukraine is to protect its national interests and country's security. This national interest can be seen from internal and external factors. The internal factor is the geographical security factor where Russia views the East Ukraine region bordering Russia as very strategic, especially the Crimean peninsula, so this region must be safe and become Russia's main access to the Black Sea. The next factor is the culture where the majority of the East Ukraine region is Russian and really wants Ukraine to be able to cooperate with Russia, this can be seen from the Ukrainian presidential election where the majority of the eastern regions are supporters of President Yanukovich who is very pro-Russian. while the external factor is the expansion carried out by NATO in the eastern European region. This expansion is seen by Russia as a security threat because NATO can place nuclear weapons and troops in its member territories bordering Russia. In the theory of national interest as stated by Morgenthau which divides the levels of national interest, it can be seen that Russia's action is an action

in order to protect the Primary Interest and secondary interest because it is related to the protection of the defense, security and politics of its country as well as an effort to protect citizens and Russians living in Ukraine, especially Russians in Eastern Ukraine, namely in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, the majority of whom are Russians and speak Russian.

In order to protect its national interests, Russia has made very significant changes in the development of its military doctrine in recent years. This development can be seen from the beginning of the first doctrine passed in 1993 when the Soviet Union had disbanded where the defense doctrine at that time was more defensive, but then the doctrine began to develop starting from the doctrine in 2000, 2010 and then renewed in 2014 during the government President Vladimir Putin is considered more offensive, where the military doctrine explicitly states that NATO is the main threat to Russia. This military doctrine is also the basis for formulating defense policies and foreign policies, including forging cooperation and conducting invasions. The implementation of this doctrine development can be seen from the number of military budgets that have continued to increase since the change in defense doctrine in 2000 to 2014. Even in 2019, Russia budgeted a defense budget of 3.9% of GDP. then the attitude of the Russian government which decided to provide military and non-military assistance to the government of Bashar Al-Assad in its efforts to fight the Syrian rebel group which is clearly also supported by the United States. This special military operation and invasion of Ukraine is an implication of Russia's defense policy and the doctrinal changes it made after the end of the cold war era. Judging from the foreign policy theory put forward by Rosenau, Russia's action is a form of real action or behavioral attitude in response to events and conditions of global security dynamics where NATO expansion begins to approach Russian territory and is considered a threat. The invasion of Ukraine was a response to the NATO move.

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