

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia has a complex background involving a long history and a variety of factors. Historical, political, cultural and territorial factors contribute to the escalation of the conflict. Ukraine played an important role in the founding of the Russian Empire in the 19th century, serving as a mascot for the Russian Tsars until the collapse of the empire due to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. After the collapse of the empire, both Russia and Ukraine were transformed into a union of states in the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The end of the Second World War, in 1947, made the United States and the Soviet Union into superpowers. The two countries obviously have different ideologies, where the United States has a capitalist system, the Soviet Union has Communism as its ideology. These differences made the two countries always hostile which eventually led to the Cold War, which then led to the defeat of the Soviet Union which eventually the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, which was then followed by the establishment of several states in the Soviet Union into independent countries. Ukraine announced its independence on August 24, 1991 (Alfiansyah, 2015).

Historically, the Soviet Union was founded by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov on December 30, 1922. The Soviet Union consisted of 15 countries from Russia itself, Central Asia, Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, and the South. During the reign of the Soviet Union, there were indirect diplomatic relations between Russia and Ukraine, but there were also conflicts between Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine is an East Slavic country (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus), with two ethnicities, Ukrainian and Russian, with similarities in language and culture. The Ukrainian state is a unitary state formed from two main

ethnicities which are historically and culturally quite close, so the presence of ethnic Russians in Ukraine is very strong. (Shulman, 2004).



Figure 1.1. Uni Soviet Map

Source: CIA Doc. (1989)

Based on this historical perspective, Ukraine is significant for Russia as a complementary region. The establishment of the Ukrainian state came as a surprise to ethnic Russians. The political problem until now has been the dispute over Sevastopol and the division of assets formerly belonging to the Soviet Union (Molchanov, 1996). Until now, after the annexation of Crimea, the biggest threat to the Ukrainian state has been economic. It is this problem that makes Russian democrats unwilling to recognize Ukrainian sovereignty (Larrabee, 1996). While some former Soviet states such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic allied with NATO, Ukraine remained non-aligned. With the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation,

Ukraine has experienced multiple waves of nationalist mobilization, with the Ukrainian-speaking population taking the lead in opposing the Soviet regime and supporting Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. The conflict escalated when Ukraine tried to move closer to the European Union in 2013, which in turn triggered massive protests known as the "Euromaidan Revolution". These protests led to the overthrow of Ukraine's Russian-friendly President Yanukovich. Prior to Euromaidan, nationalist mobilization in Ukraine was limited to Ukrainian speakers while the Russian-speaking population remained passive. However, the Euromaidan movement in 2013-2014 marked a significant change in the dynamics of nationalist mobilization in Ukraine. During the Euromaidan movement, which was a series of protests calling for closer ties with the European Union and greater democratic reforms, Ukrainians of all linguistic and ethnic backgrounds came together to demand change. The Euromaidan revolution and the conflict with Russia in 2014 brought about major changes in Ukrainian and Russian national narratives and identities (Nedozhogina, 2019).

This marked a departure from previous nationalist mobilization efforts, which were primarily led by Ukrainian speakers. This shift can be attributed to several factors, including the actualization of Holodomor memory, which catalyzed diaspora mobilization and solidarity among Ukrainians. In addition, Russia's aggressive actions and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 increased the spirit of nationalism among Ukrainians, regardless of their linguistic background. This shift in nationalist mobilization can also be attributed to the stronger attachment to Ukraine and alienation from Russia felt by many Ukrainians, including those of Russian origin and/or who predominantly speak Russian, in response to what they see as foreign aggression.

In 2014, Russia occupied and eventually recognized the annexation of Crimea, a territory that had previously been an integral part of Ukraine, and supported a separatist insurgency in the Donbas region of eastern

Ukraine (Javed et al., 2019). These actions were accompanied by military conflict and a controversial referendum that was not recognized internationally. This sparked serious tensions between Ukraine and Russia, and resulted in international sanctions against Russia that triggered an armed conflict that has continued to the present day. The conflict in the Donbas region in eastern Ukraine is also an important part of this conflict. After the annexation of Crimea, Russian-backed separatists particularly in Donetsk and Luhansk declared their independence and began fighting with Ukrainian forces. This conflict has resulted in heavy casualties and significant infrastructure damage. Ukraine claims that Russia is supporting the rebels in the Donbas region with troops and weapons, while Russia denies any direct military involvement, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary (Guardian, 2019). This led to ongoing tensions in relations between the two countries and complicated efforts to reach a peaceful solution.

The political backdrop that provided the context for the Russian attack in February 2022 included tensions between Russia and Ukraine that have persisted since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the protracted conflict in Donbas that created a serious humanitarian crisis and affected the lives of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian government felt the need for stronger international support in dealing with this situation. Since then, Ukraine has been trying to get closer to the West, including by attempting to join NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), a military alliance led by the United States that aims to protect its member states from military threats. These efforts have received support from many Western countries, especially the United States, which sees Ukraine as a strategic partner in Eastern Europe. Amid growing tensions, Ukraine felt the need to improve its national security. Joining NATO is considered an effective way to gain military protection and support from the alliance in the face of threats from Russia. On the other hand, the change of Administration in the United States also played an important role. After the administration of President

Joe Biden succeeded President Donald Trump, there was increased support for Ukraine in the context of US foreign policy. The Biden Administration openly supported Ukraine's aspirations to join NATO.

Russian military operations on the Crimean Peninsula in February and March 2014 brought the concept of hybrid warfare into the public conversation. This was Colin Gray's concept moment. What was once one of many concepts used by military analysts to explain the evolution of warfare became symbolic of its changing nature (Lalu and Puistola, 2015; Cullen and Reichborn-Kjennerud, 2017). Hybrid warfare suggests three interrelated yet separate objectives. First, hybrid warfare is a civilizational conflict that aims to destroy targets through covert subversion. Second, hybrid warfare is a tool used in an effort to maintain Western hegemony in world politics. And third, hybrid warfare to counter Western expansion can be limited by fostering alliances and other constructive means of influence. This debate mimics Russia's official rhetoric on national security threats and thus consolidates the official interpretation, rather than offering an alternative to the threat.

The concept of hybrid warfare recognizes that military force alone may not be sufficient to achieve strategic objectives in modern conflicts. States must also use non-military means, such as diplomacy, propaganda and cyber warfare, to weaken adversaries and achieve their goals. The Gerasimov Doctrine, developed by Russian General Valery Gerasimov, is often cited as a prime example of a hybrid warfare strategy (Guerrero, 2022). The Gerasimov Doctrine, developed by Russian General Valery Gerasimov, is a prime example of a hybrid warfare strategy. According to Gerasimov, hybrid warfare is a strategy that combines military and non-military means to achieve strategic goals.

For the Ukrainian government, defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity from Russian aggression is of utmost importance. The Ukrainian government has adopted the Total Mobilization Strategy as a key component of its response to the hybrid warfare tactics employed by Russia.

The strategy aims to mobilize all available resources, including military, economic, technological and social aspects, to effectively counter the Russian invasion and defend its independence. To understand Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy in the face of Russian hybrid warfare tactics, it is important to examine the complex nature of the conflict and the specific challenges Ukraine faces.

One of the main objectives of Russia's power play in Ukraine is to occupy the geographical space on its western border and repel any actions contrary to its geopolitical interests (Guerrero, 2022). The use of military and non-military means, known as hybrid warfare, has been the main strategy Russia has employed in its efforts to counter Western advances on its borders. The concept of hybrid warfare involves the integration of conventional and unconventional methods of warfare, including the use of propaganda, the use of drones, cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic warfare, and support for local insurgents. These tactics aim to undermine the target country's security, in this case Ukraine, economic stability, social cohesion, and political legitimacy.

Understanding the Hybrid Warfare Strategy implemented by Russia in Ukraine is crucial to understanding the rationale behind Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy. Russia's hybrid warfare strategy in Ukraine includes a variety of military and non-military means (Veebel, 2020). These include diplomatic and political relations, economic manipulation, energy coercion, religious influence, military aggression and information warfare. The aim of these tactics is to gain control over Ukraine and shape public opinion both within Ukraine and internationally in favor of Russia. In response, Ukraine has implemented a Total Mobilization Strategy that includes all elements of national power to effectively combat the Russian invasion. This strategy involves the coordination and utilization of military power, economic resources, technological capabilities, political leadership, and societal cohesion.

The Total Mobilization Strategy implemented by Ukraine is a comprehensive approach that recognizes the need to address all aspects of national power in order to effectively counter the Russian invasion and defend its sovereignty. The military component of Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy involves the mobilization and deployment of armed forces to defend its borders and repel Russian aggression. This includes the mobilization of regular and irregular forces, as well as the integration of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities to gather information on Russian movements and intentions. The economic aspect of Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy involves the allocation of resources and financial support to ensure the country's sustainability and resilience in the face of a Russian invasion. This includes diversifying economic partnerships and reducing dependence on Russian resources, as well as implementing measures to mitigate the impact of economic warfare tactics used by Russia, such as trade disruptions and sanctions.

Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy involves leveraging its technological capabilities to improve its defense and security. This includes the development and deployment of advanced weaponry, cybersecurity measures to protect against cyberattacks, and the use of surveillance technology to monitor Russian activities. Next, the Total Mobilization Strategy involves strong political leadership and diplomatic efforts to garner international support and condemnation of Russian aggression. This entails diplomatic efforts to mobilize regional and international alliances, as well as advocating for sanctions against Russia and raising awareness of the ongoing conflict. Overall, Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy in response to the Russian invasion was a comprehensive approach that recognized the need for a coordinated and multi-faceted response.

The overwhelming strength of Ukraine's resistance came from total mobilization across society. Millions of citizens did their part. Dynamic networks of civil society and volunteer organizations are delivering aid to displaced families and children and sending support to frontline military

units, while cities are already planning reconstruction. A Chatham House survey of Ukrainian civil society in December 2022 showed that more than 60 percent of community groups had contributed to reconstruction efforts. When Russia launched its war, it did not realize that it was fighting in a different Ukraine than the one it faced eight years ago when it annexed Crimea.

Ukraine remained resolute in resisting Russian aggression because it adopted a 'total defense' approach, combining military and civilian components. In the first days of the war, more than 100,000 people volunteered to join territorial defense units. They provided massive reinforcements to the local police or carried out armed resistance to the Russian invasion themselves. Many later joined the armed forces.

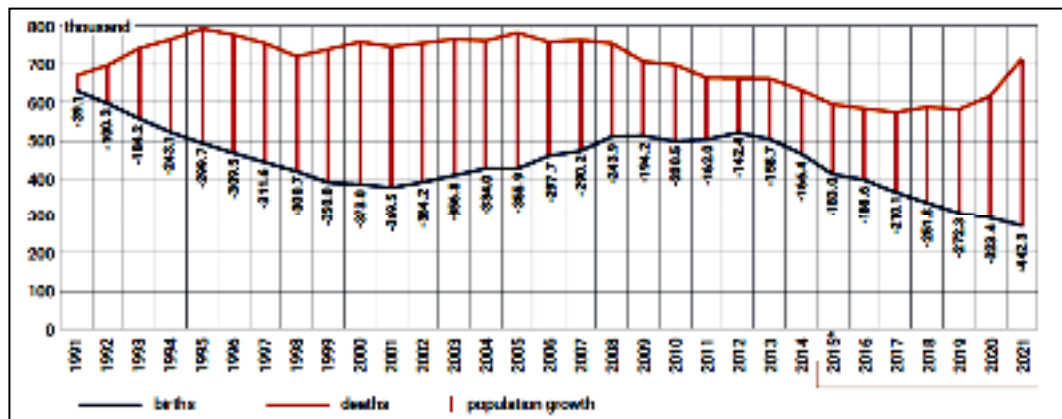
The immediate need for Ukraine is to win the war, or at least impede the Russian advance, but it is clear that Ukraine may need military and civilian assistance. In addition, Ukraine needs massive help in economic recovery after the conflict ends. In the first year since the invasion on February 24, 2022, Ukraine's economy lost 30-35% of GDP. Even after the war, Ukraine is likely to experience serious labor market shortages due to the refugee exodus. The first challenge relates to workers, following massive emigration from Ukraine. More than eight million Ukrainians were forced to flee to other countries in Europe after the Russian invasion.

The biggest obstacle on the Ukrainian side is the availability of materials, such as combat vehicles, as losses mount. Spare parts and ammunition for many Soviet-era systems became scarce and their availability depended on the willingness of non-Western countries to sell their stocks. As the war drags on, these sources will dry up and their availability is difficult to predict. The Ukrainian state faces several problems related to military recruitment. Ukraine's State Security Service has announced the blocking of 26 Telegram channels that it believes have helped military-age people avoid mobilization. (Gressel, 2023)

Other problems Ukraine faces in conducting total mobilization include limited human resources, financial resources, and material assets. Mobilizing the entire population for military purposes requires substantial resources, and Ukraine may need to address issues related to funding, logistics, and availability of essential supplies. Then there is the challenge of Public and Moral support. The challenge of political and diplomatic pressure where Ukraine faces political and diplomatic pressure from Russia and its allies. This includes attempts to isolate Ukraine internationally and affect its diplomatic relations with other countries. In addition to the challenge of community support, while the majority of the population may support the war with Russia and mobilization efforts, there is also a section of the population that may not agree. Ensuring overall societal support and engagement is a challenge in maintaining national cohesion and spirit. (KBRI Moscow, 2024).

Ukraine's population decline has been exacerbated over the years by labor migration, which often becomes permanent emigration. In 2021, before the current stage of the invasion, Ukraine's demographic situation was so difficult that the UN recognized Ukraine as one of the countries most affected by the rapid rate of population decline. The main reasons for Ukraine's population decline after 1990 are the negative birth rate for many years (the number of deaths far exceeds the number of births) and the huge scale of labor migration. In 1995, Ukraine's population growth rate (the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths in proportion to the total number of residents) was -5.8%, in 2000 -7.6%, in 2005 -7.6%, in 2010 -4.4%, in 2015 -4.2%, and -6.6% in 2019 (data collected by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine). In 2021, Ukraine's population dropped by 442,000 people, and by January 2022 there were only 39 births per 100 deaths. The massive Russian invasion only accelerated Ukraine's depopulation. A large number of soldiers and civilians died as a result of this war. According to information published by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine in April 2023, since the beginning of the

current war, about 10,000 Ukrainian civilians have been killed (including nearly 500 children) and about 13,000 wounded (including more than 1000 children).



Graphics 1.1 Ukraine's population change dynamic

Source: Ukrainian State Statistics Service, ukrstat.gov.ua. (2023)

Ukraine's Real GDP growth was reported at -31.4% in 2022-12. This is down from the previous record of -30.6% for 2022-09. Ukraine's Real GDP Growth data is updated quarterly, averaging 3.2% from 2002-03 to 2022-12, with 84 observations. It reached a high of 14.0 % in 2004-09 and a record low of -36.9 % in 2022-06. Ukraine Real GDP Growth data remains active in CEIC and is reported by CEIC Data. Data collected in the Global Economic Monitor World Trend Plus - Table: Real GDP: Y-o-Y Growth: Quarterly: Europe and Central Asia.

View Ukraine's Real GDP Growth from April 2020 to October



Graphics 1.2 Ukraine's Real GDP Growth

Source: <https://www.ceicdata.com/> (2024)

Research by Sanders (2023), regarding the Third Wave of Ukraine's Military Reforms 2016-2022 shows Ukraine's military reforms since 2016, particularly the focus on Command and Control, the development of the NCO Corps and Special Forces and clear procurement priorities have created the enabling conditions for the development of a flexible and adaptable military force, capable of limiting Russia's battlefield success and taking the fight to the enemy. Marsh's research (2023) further explains that aid providers put more emphasis on equipment than training, a choice that could be made because Ukraine already has a high level of combat skills and military organization.

1.2 Focus and Subfocus

1.2.1 Research Focus

The focus of the research will be needed to find out some criteria and inputs that can provide all the information during the research, so that it will be known exactly which data should be collected and select which data are considered less relevant (Strauss and Corbin, 2009). This research is focused on Ukraine's Total Mobilization in the face of Russia's Hybrid Warfare Strategy.

1.2.2 Research Sub-Focus

a. Readiness of the Ukrainian State to carry out total mobilization

In the context of this research, the sub focus is the expected condition is the achievement of the full effectiveness of Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy against the Russian invasion that relies on hybrid warfare tactics, which includes a number of orders and policies that are expected to actually occur in Ukraine and have become an integral part of the total mobilization strategy to counter the Russian invasion. Ukraine coordinates all aspects of its national power well, including military, economic, technological and social factors, to effectively counter the Russian threat. Ukraine needs to strengthen its military capabilities and improve its intelligence and surveillance capabilities to effectively monitor and respond to Russian aggression. Ukraine should also prioritize economic resilience and diversification to reduce its dependence on Russian resources and create a stable foundation for its defense and development.

Ukraine should invest in technological advancements and cybersecurity measures to protect its infrastructure from potential cyberattacks and hybrid warfare tactics used by Russia. In addition, Ukraine should also actively engage in diplomatic efforts to mobilize regional and international alliances, seek support for sanctions against Russia and raise awareness about the continuing threat to its sovereignty. Also, Ukraine should focus on developing community cohesion and resilience by encouraging national unity, inclusiveness and common goals in the face of Russian aggression.

b. Ukraine's Total Mobilization Strategy in the face of Russian invasion

The application of Total Mobilization to face the Russian invasion was carried out by coordinating all national forces to effectively counter the threat, including in hybrid warfare in several ways, including Manpower Mobilization. Ukraine mobilized its population to participate in a volunteer defense force. Then there is Economic Mobilization, where Ukraine seeks to strengthen its economy with measures such as economic diversification and seeking foreign investment.

Technological Mobilization by investing in technological advancements, including cybersecurity, to protect its infrastructure from potential cyberattacks that could be used by Russia in a hybrid war with this mobilization. Next Diplomatic Mobilization to mobilize regional and international alliances, seek support for sanctions against Russia, and raise awareness about the continuing threat to its sovereignty and lastly through Societal Mobilization, where Ukraine should focus on developing societal cohesion and resilience by encouraging national unity, inclusiveness, and common goals in the face of Russian aggression.

c. The role of NATO countries in supporting the Ukrainian state

Ukraine cooperates with the world's most powerful military alliance, NATO. In the current conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the alliance's focus is on possibly taking action to defend NATO member states that share a border with Russia and its ally Belarus. Ukraine is not a member of NATO and neither is Russia, so it does not benefit from NATO in terms of collective security and defense. But the former Soviet satellites and the newly NATO-member Baltic states are still vulnerable. Russia has carried out airstrikes against military targets in Western Ukraine within 25km of the border of NATO member Poland.

NATO has so far provided diplomatic, political, military, economic and other practical assistance. At the diplomatic level, NATO called on Russia to stop its military actions and withdraw its troops from Ukraine, and in February 2022, NATO member states agreed to implement economic sanctions against Russia, which was an unprecedented step. NATO also provided political and practical support to Ukraine including supporting NATO countries in providing humanitarian and non-lethal assistance.

1.3. Problem Formulation

Based on the background and the specific focus of this research, it becomes imperative to articulate the research problems that will guide this study. The following research questions have been identified:

- a. How prepared is the Ukrainian state to carry out a total mobilization of its national forces in the face of a Russian invasion?
- b. Howt is Ukraine's hybrid warfare strategy in the face of Russian invasion?
- c. To What extent does NATO countries' assistance support Ukraine's Hybrid Warfare Strategy against Russian invasion?

1.4 Research Objectives

This research aims to describe and analyze comprehensively and in detail about:

- a. The readiness of the Ukrainian state to carry out a total mobilization of its national forces in the face of a Russian invasion.
- b. Ukraine's hybrid warfare strategy in the face of a Russian invasion.
- c. NATO countries support Ukraine's Hybrid Warfare Strategy against Russian invasion.

1.5 Research Benefits

The benefits of research refer to the utility of the study as a source of information in advancing subsequent research activities. According to Sugiyono (2017:291), "The benefits of research are more theoretical, namely for advancing knowledge, but it does not dismiss its practical benefits in solving problems." Therefore, it is hoped that this research can be beneficial in the following ways:

1.5.1 Theoretically Benefit.

Theoretically, this research is anticipated to contribute to the development of the people's war strategy as a whole, especially for strategists at the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. This is particularly relevant when considering the implementation of a country's strategy that involves a new form of warfare, namely hybrid war, which incorporates both conventional and non-conventional methods. Additionally, this study aims to contribute to academic discourse on hybrid warfare and its implications for international security.

1.5.1 Practically Benefit.

Practically, this research is expected to provide informational guidance to readers regarding the condition of Total Mobilization in Ukraine and other countries in general when facing similar threats and effectively countering Russia's hybrid warfare strategy. Additionally, It is hoped that this research will contribute valuable insights for policymakers in the Ukrainian government in conducting comprehensive warfare.