

دور الحروب الهجينة في تغيير الصراعات الدولية: نموذج الصراع الروسي-الأوكراني

The Role of Hybrid Wars in Changing International Conflicts: The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict Model

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الملخص

ظهر مفهوم الحرب الهجينة كأداة لإدارة الصراعات نتيجة لزيادة حدة الصراعات الدولية وعدد من التغيرات العالمية. حيث تبحث الدول المتصارعة عن أدوات جديدة لإدارة صراعاتها الدولية والحفاظ على مصالحها بعيداً عن الأداة العسكرية المباشرة قدر الإمكان. تكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة في محاولاتها لشرح دور الحرب الهجينة وأثرها على بيئة الصراع، من خلال استكشاف التهديدات الجديدة، ومدى تعقيد الصراع الهجين، ودورها في حل الصراع. مع تحليل مدى استخدام الحرب الهجينة في إدارة الصراع الروسي-الأوكراني، خاصة بعد توسع روسيا في عملياتها العسكرية في منطقة دونباس، مما أثار تساؤلات حول العودة لاستخدام الأداة العسكرية المباشرة في إدارة الصراعات الدولية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الحرب الهجينة، العامل غير العسكري، الغموض، المسؤولية الدولية، والأدوات الاقتصادية.

Abstract

concept of hybrid war has emerged as tool for conflict management as result of increasing intensity of international conflicts, and several global changes, the conflicting countries are looking for new tools To manage its international conflicts and preserve its interests away from the direct military tool as much as possible. The importance of this study stems from its attempts to explain the role of hybrid warfare and its impact on the conflict environment, through which new threats are explored, the extent of the complexities of the hybrid conflict, and its role in resolving the conflict. with an analysis of the extent of the use of hybrid war in managing the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Especially after Russia expanded its military operations in the Donbas region, which raised questions

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about the return to using the military tool directly in managing international conflicts.

Keywords

hybrid war, The non-military feature, Ambiguity, International responsibility, The economic tools.

INTRODUCTION

The hybrid war has a major and influential role in changing the nature of international conflicts after the year 2001 AD, and that countries have worked since the beginning of the twenty-first century to enhance their capabilities of this kind and work to train their forces and provide capabilities that enable them to the degree The basis is to confront and deter the hybrid threat and fight regional and international conflicts that are based on hybrid tactics that target several levels at the same time on the one hand, and enhance their non-military hybrid capabilities on the other hand. Also, many countries have worked to employ hybrid tactics in achieving their interests and ensuring their national security and in The foremost of which is imposing its control over its geographical surroundings or increasing the level of influence or hegemony in its international environment.

the significance of the study: lies in its comprehensive exploration of contemporary security challenges, with a particular focus on hybrid warfare as a key component. It seeks to analyze the broader implications of hybrid warfare on international policies and state-to-state relations, ultimately contributing to the formulation of effective strategies to address these complex and emerging threats, and the study aims to enhance our understanding of the evolving challenges facing international politics in the current global landscape.

The problem of the study: Russian hybrid war against Ukraine is one of the most complex operations, where traditional warfare tactics are intertwined with unconventional tools such as cyber-attacks, economic influence, and political interventions. This war is embodied in a combination of direct military strategies and indirect pressure at both the international and local levels. Therefore, the central issue revolves around a pivotal question: How can hybrid warfare be defined within the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, and what are the unique characteristics that distinguish it from other forms of conventional or unconventional warfare in this complex conflict?

Hypothesis of The study: The study is grounded in the hypothesis that the Russian war in Ukraine represents a multifaceted and evolving conflict, marked by a combination of traditional military tactics, cyber warfare, economic sanctions, and political influence. As the war progresses, it becomes increasingly complex, with the potential to reshape international power dynamics and influence the global security landscape. The ongoing nature of the conflict suggests that its repercussions will extend beyond the immediate region,

affecting diplomatic relations, alliances, and security policies at the global level. The study posits that the long-term consequences of this war could significantly alter the architecture of international relations, challenging existing norms and raising new questions about the future of global peace and stability.

The scientific methods: The research relied on the historical approach to understand the historical context that contributed to the emergence of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, tracing the causes and motivations that led to the outbreak of this war, including political, economic, and geographical factors. The inductive method was also used to gather data and information related to the studied phenomenon, aiming to build conclusions based on observing and analyzing individual cases and real-world models. Additionally, the research employed the descriptive analysis method to understand the characteristics and nature of hybrid warfare, focusing on tracking the evolution of the methods and techniques used in wars over time, including traditional and modern military tactics, cyber-attacks, and economic and political strategies, and how these tools integrate within the context of contemporary wars.

first requirement: the definition of hybrid wars and their nature

Conflict is the defining function of international relations, whose outputs make the distribution of forces⁽¹⁾ it is a natural phenomenon in the lives of people and nations, so there are many forms of conflict. starts from the personal conflict until it ends with the international conflict⁽²⁾ the technological and information revolution, and globalization made the whole world accept a system of change. This change has affected everything on or life, and the concept of war was no exception to that, so the concept of Hybrid war is as one of the products of this change⁽³⁾

the concept of Hybrid war was used as one of the forms of international conflict for the first time in the early 2000s in a master's thesis by William J. Nemeth (*Future War and Chechnya: The Case of Hybrid War*), where this concept was used to analyze how the increasing disintegration caused by globalization reinforces the trend towards ethnic and tribal affiliation, and Nemeth indicated that the hybrid war will become increasingly prevalent and that the Chechen insurgency is A model of hybrid war). Then, in 2010, the term "hybrid threats" was adopted within the framework of a new strategic concept

¹⁾ Miaad Nasrallah Dawood , Faiq Hassen, *International conflict and cooperation in the Ideal Approach*, BilD Law Journal,no.1,2022,p123

²⁾ Taazur Falah shandookh , Abbas Hashim Aziz,concept of conflict and Identifying a Form CR SIPPABIO (conceptual and Theoretical Framework), social science Journal, no.4,2022,p2512

³⁾ Hani Abdullah Omran, *The Phenomenon of Hybrid Warfare in International Relations*, Journal of Human Sciences / College of Education for Human Sciences, No. 2, 2022, p. 1

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for NATO. Thus, the use of the concept of hybrid war expanded in many countries such as Spain, the Baltic states, and Poland to describe potential hidden aggression. Specifically for Russia⁽¹⁾

Hybrid war is the latest designation or concept to frame the apparent dramatic changes in war and conflict⁽²⁾ There are many definitions of hybrid wars, in addition to the development of the meaning of the concept from one stage to another, as there are two distinct perceptions of the concept, one Western and the other Russian. Western literature defines "hybrid wars" as "those conflicts that involve the combination of the use of conventional armed forces and irregular forces, such as rebel movements, terrorist groups, and organized crime groups." All available means are used: political, military, economic, social, and informational To achieve a common political goal. As for the Russian literature, it defined hybrid wars as: "a pattern of wars followed by Western countries, and it is based on combining wars in which there is no direct contact with non-military coercive tools such as economic pressure and political sabotage, as well as the use of information hegemony to weaken and reduce the spirit." Morale to create a state of "hermetic anarchy", which is necessary to prepare the ground for the overthrow of an elected government⁽³⁾ Among other definitions is what Hoffman came up with in his book (Conflict in the Twenty-First Century), where he defined it as (a full range of methods of confrontation, including traditional capabilities, irregular tactics, formations, and terrorist acts, including indiscriminate attacks and coercion, as well as criminal disorders). Hybrid wars can be conducted by both state and a variety of non-state actors. These multi-modal activities can be conducted by separate units, or even by the same unit, but are generally operationally and tactically directed and coordinated within the main battle space to achieve synergistic effects in the physical and psychological dimension of conflict. the effects can be gained at all levels of war⁽⁴⁾ Hybrid war is a term that has been increasingly circulated in recent years, to emphasize the use of new technologies or methods, or the actions of new actors, who are active in actions below the threshold level of

¹⁾Hussam Abdul Ameer Khalaf, Hybrid wars: A new challenge for international humanitarian law, Anbar University Journal of Legal and Political Sciences, no.14, 2018, p47

²⁾A group of researchers, The Shift in War Perspective: Hybrid War, Translated by Nawras center, Turkish National Defense University, 2017, p. 73

³⁾Shadi Abdel-Wahhab Mansour, Fifth Generation Wars: Methods of "Explosion from the Inside" on the International Arena, Dar Al-Arabi for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2019, pp 67-68

¹⁾frank G. Hoffman, conflict in the 21st century: the rise of hybrid wars, Potomac Institute for policy studies, Virginia, 2007, p8

armed conflict, which represent a mixture or hybrid of insurgency and conventional war⁽¹⁾

In 2014 NATO statement describes hybrid warfare (the centralized, joint, and controlled use of various covert and non-covert activities, ranging from conventional forces to economic pressure, and intelligence services), and adds that disinformation campaigns, coercive and disruptive tactics are at the core of the hybrid strategy, as it constitutes Hybrid war, in the end, is the aggressive use against a country of all political, ideological, economic, media and other tools) and in traditional and unconventional ways⁽²⁾

The modern term of hybrid war is the clearest term for depicting how wars have been waged for a long time, as the hybrid war itself is the war that includes symmetric and asymmetric threats to achieve goals in innovative ways away from international standards and is difficult to follow up and arrange international sanctions against, and is employed by Before states and non-states⁽³⁾

The current nature of war indicates an erosion or subversion of established norms, not only including war-fighting but also international relations, where these subversive elements take five forms:

first is political: such as sabotaging the political economy through misinformation, electronic sabotage, or espionage

second is diplomatic: trying to break alliances or stir up division among allies

third is military: by using irregular local forces or state special forces to camouflage, sabotage, assassinate, fight a proxy war, or implement brinkmanship or terrorism.

fourth is social: using media campaigns to discourage people

fifth is economic: using sanctions, purchasing resources, or even manipulating prices paid by consumers. Herein lies the danger of this war, since this matter is beyond the ability of the military forces to confront it⁽⁴⁾ We can see from the foregoing that hybrid warfare is a type of modern conflict in Which the differences between combatants and civilians are erased, and which is led by international or non-international actors on all terrains at any time using multiple kinetic and non-kinetic means at the same time and to achieve special interests

²⁾Frank G. Hoffman, hybrid warfare and challenges,2009 pp35-36.[\[PDF\] Hybrid Warfare and Challenges | Semantic Scholar](#)

²⁾Husam Abdul Ameer Khalaf,op.cit,p49

³⁾A group of researchers, The Shift in War Perspective: Hybrid War, op. cit, p122

¹⁾Keir Giles, Russia 's Hybrid Warfare: a Success in Propaganda, 2015. [\(PDF\) Russia's Hybrid Warfare: A Success in Propaganda \(researchgate.net\)](#)

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In order to clarify the concept of hybrid war, we need to know the following:

first: the nature of hybrid wars

Hybrid wars are characterized by a complex and special nature compared to conventional wars which can be summarized as follows:

1-Ambiguity: Hybrid warfare is described as hidden and deniable activities marred by ambiguity and lack of clarity due to the use of a different mix of military and cyber tactics and attacks easily simultaneous through developments in technology and globalization, which makes this type of war hidden and invisible, which leads to the generation of ambiguity between the population and the international community⁽¹⁾

The hybrid threat may use non-state agents to perform hybrid operations, and ultimately behind the real hybrid threat is a whole set of state tools applied in coordination across a range of domains within the full range from peace to war⁽²⁾ Also, the actors responsible for the threats deliberately withhold the intention, the means used, and the measures, and if the threat is revealed, the actor denies his involvement in the matter, as the lack of clarity makes the discovery, identification, and deterring threats a major challenge for states, and states hide the lines separating the areas of cooperation and competition, or between peace, crisis, and war sometimes referred to as grey zone which creates ambiguity an

²⁾ Ola Ali Khudair and Hossam Abdel Amir, Hybrid wars and their types in international humanitarian law (a legal analytical study), Imam Jaafar Al-Sadiq University journal of Human and social sciences, NO. 2, 2023,p361

³⁾Neil Chuka , Jean François Born, Hybrid warfare: Implications for CAF force development, Defence Research and Development ,Canada, 2014,p 19-22
https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/rddc-drdc/D68-2-43-2014-eng.pdf

leads to the difficulty of defining the difference between cooperative actions that are mutually beneficial or actions that harm national security⁽¹⁾

2-The non-military feature: Although hybrid wars - even though they bear the name of war - do not rely on resorting to official military force except in the narrowest limits; Rather, hybrid war is a tool developed primarily to be used to manage international conflicts without the need to use direct military force. Sometimes, hybrid wars are resorted to as a prelude and a prelude to limited military intervention according to different justifications, and sometimes war tactics are used within the framework of hybrid wars. non-state actors acting on behalf of other states, that is, they are used in a hidden way, and if they are used by states, they are usually more like small limited wars within the framework of the deliberate hybrid⁽²⁾

3-Comprehensiveness: Hybrid war is an inclusive term for many irregular, non-traditional, and asymmetric activities with a wide spectrum of threats. A set of actions and activities aimed at achieving strategic objectives, consisting of guerrilla warfare, proxy warfare from groups, various other insurgent tactics, and a combination of asymmetric approaches⁽³⁾

¹⁾ Pia Hansen , Monika Gill, Strategic Communication Hybrid Threat Toolkit, NATO Strategic communications center of Excellence, p.9 [Strategic Communications Hybrid Threats Toolkit Rev 12.indd-Strategic-Communications-Hybrid-Threats-Toolkit.pdf \(stratcomcoe.org\)](https://www.stratcomcoe.org/Strategic-Communications-Hybrid-Threats-Toolkit-Rev-12.indd-Strategic-Communications-Hybrid-Threats-Toolkit.pdf)

²⁾ Amira Alsayed Hassan Siddiq, Hybrid Warfare: A Tool to Manage the Russian-Western Conflict for Ukraine, Journal of Political Trends, no:20, September 2022, p35. <https://democraticac.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%AF%D8%AF-%D8%B9%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%8A%D9%84%D9%88%D9%84-%E2%80%93%D8%B3%D8%A8%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%B1-2022.pdf>

³⁾ MAJ Brian P. Fleming, The Hybrid Threat Concept: Contemporary War Military Planning and the Advent of Unrestricted Operational Art ,School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2011, p44.

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Hybrid war includes a variety of activities, and the use of different tools to destabilize society, to influence the decision-making process, including:

A-Interference in electoral processes: the opponent can use techniques from campaigns through the media and social networks to secure financial resources for a political group to influence the outcome of the elections in a direction that serves the political interests of the opponent.

B- False and misleading news: the opponent can use lies and create parallel facts to fuel social division. The idea here is to confuse the public and make it difficult for the government to seek public approval for the policy or any international process.

C- Financial influence: The opponent can make investments, conclude deals, or make loans that make the state vulnerable to political pressures in the long run.

D- Electronic attacks: The opponent threatens destructive electronic attacks targeting the civilian population, such as attacks on networks that run hospitals, electricity, and water supplies, to put pressure on governments to achieve their goals.

E- Drone attacks: The enemy uses remotely piloted platforms to paralyze airport operations, ambulance aircraft, and police helicopters. These attacks can impede military airspace operations in the early stages of a conflict.

Hybrid warfare works by integrating various elements, including (conventional terrorism, irregular, catastrophic, sabotage, and exploitation of technology to champion military superiority)⁽¹⁾

4- Flexibility: The hybrid warfare method was developed, which is flexible and decentralized operations within a clear understanding of the basis, which is to work independently within the lines drawn by the leader or decision-maker, and the task of centralized control is combined with the implementation of activities in a decentralized manner through governmental and non-governmental activities. The hybrid threat is a sophisticated mixture of unrestricted activities, as it combines traditional and irregular terrorists with subversive criminal methods, and the adoption of the concept of an open war arena without relying on fixed lines, trenches, fortifications, or mobilization centers. Rather, it can be launched at all times regardless of the situation. The terrain or the target environment, which makes it of greater interest and attraction than other countries⁽²⁾

¹⁾Frank G. Hoffman, Hybrid vs. compound war, Armed Forces Journal, 1/10/2009, <http://armedforcesjournal.com/hybrid-vs-compound-war/>

²⁾MAJ Brian P. Fleming, OP.CIT, PP34-36

Second: the factors that led to the emergence of hybrid wars Several factors led to the emergence of hybrid warfare as a new tool for managing international conflicts without the need for the direct use of military force, including:

1-The nature of international circumstances: These circumstances are determined by the success of the United States in asserting its unilateral hegemony over the world since the nineties of the twentieth century, which soon threatened the success of many other powers in the rise since the beginning of the current century to declare its desire for a multipolar international system, and to represent a threat potential for individual American hegemony. Among these emerging powers, for example, is China, which is the first challenge to the US global economic hegemony, after it managed to occupy the position of the second largest economy in the world, after the United States of America, since 2010, Especially in light of the economic crises and problems that the latter is going through, as well as Syria, which has sought, since President Putin came to power in 2000, to restore its global political position⁽¹⁾

Despite the challenges, the United States is still the largest military force in the world and can intervene militarily anywhere in the world. Thus, these international circumstances supported the idea of waging hybrid wars and relying on them as a tool by countries opposed to the United States of America, especially, for example, the Chief of Staff stressed The Russian army, Valery Gerasimov, emphasized the increasing importance of non-military power factors, and their superiority over military power as a tool to achieve the national interest. On the other hand, the interest of the United States - as a dominant power - has increased in hybrid warfare, in anticipation of the possibility of its use by opponents in confronting it, to confront it, and to use it as a tool to manage conflict with opponents without resorting to direct military confrontation⁽²⁾

2-The development of weapons technology: Despite the US military superiority, and the inability of its potential adversaries to overcome this superiority, the development of modern technology has reduced the effectiveness of the US offensive capability despite its clear military superiority, and even enhanced the

¹⁾Muhammad Ismail Hadid, Hybrid Warfare is a Strategy Worthy of Reflection, Journal of Political Thought, Damascus, Issue 1,2017, P94

²⁾ Michael Kofman, Matthew Rojansky, A Closer Look at Russia,,s Hybrid Warfare (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Kennan Institute, no.7,2015, p3

capabilities of these adversaries to threaten US interests despite its military superiority. The feasibility of using military force has declined relatively⁽¹⁾

3-Nuclear deterrence: The form of possession of nuclear weapons is a deterrent factor that prevents direct military outbreaks between the major powers, which increased the chance of unconventional wars, and therefore the hybrid war appears as one of the effective tools in managing international competition and conflict in light of the difficulty of resorting to conventional war because of what it includes. The risk of a nuclear war between the major powers⁽²⁾

4- The negative results of American conventional wars: The increasing tendency to use military tools in American politics appeared during the era of US President George Bush Jr., who adopted the principle of preventive war, and military force became a major tool in implementing the US global strategy. Where the United States of America used it to change unfriendly regimes that pose a threat to its interests, allies, and international security⁽³⁾. However, the negative results of the two wars waged by the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the need to save the huge expenses of the wars, and redirect them to urgent local needs.

5-Globalization: Globalization and its variables play a prominent role in explaining the decline in the desire of different countries to use military tools. technology and others⁽⁴⁾ Finally, we point out that as a result of these aforementioned factors combined, several countries of all levels of power have begun to search for new, more effective, non-military tools that can be used in managing their international conflicts and protecting their national interests, As a result, in the recent period, new concepts have emerged that express new forms of power other than hard power, such as soft power, smart power, coercive power, and finally hybrid wars as a tool for managing international conflicts.

third: Hybrid warfare tools:

Each country has a set of tools for force and war, which range from political, military, economic, informational, social, and cultural tools, and these strategies are greatly intertwined and intertwined, thanks to technological development and it is difficult to separate them from each other. Below we will

¹⁾David Gumpert, Hans Benendik, *The Power to Coerce: Confronting Enemies Without War*, RAND Corporation, California, 2016,p3

²⁾Amira Alsayed Hassan Siddiq, op .cit, p36

⁴⁾Ahmed Muhammad Wahban, *Analysis of International Conflict Management: A Survey Study*, Saudi Society for Political Science, No. 14, p36

⁴⁾David Gumpert, Hans Benendik, op. cit, p4-6

present the most important tools that countries mix to eventually produce a hybrid war.

1-Political tools: Hybrid war relies politically on the political forces within the opponent's region, and it uses psychological warfare more than any other form of warfare. Politicians and government officials, and destabilizing the relationship between citizens and their governments, and these methods have been widely used in recent years⁽¹⁾ Some countries adopt several political methods to achieve their goals and interests and to put pressure on the enemy without resorting to war, such as seeking the help of mediators or third parties. Given its realization of the high cost of this war⁽²⁾.

Likewise, political coercion is resorted to as a political tool in the hybrid conflict in the form of interference in elections, influencing local voters in favor of specific candidates, or sowing discord within political parties, developing political and partisan conflicts and divisions, to change the balance of power between countries, and increase the chances of competitors using hybrid tactics⁽³⁾ important tools used in hybrid wars. Compliance with the will of the countries that use this tool, without the need to resort to direct military confrontation ⁽⁴⁾

2-The economic tools: include several forms, including economic embargoes, economic blockades, tariff hikes, Subsidies, and dumping, manipulation of the currency exchange rate, cutting economic aid, and thus the routers became between countries, through the use of weaknesses by relying on the target countries on external sources, to mitigate and weaken the state economically⁽⁵⁾

3-Informational tools: Hybrid warfare differs from modern armed conflicts in that it does not depend on the use of force as much as it depends on the use of information, modern warfare turns into a satirical war when the center of gravity shifts to the information area. ⁽⁶⁾One of the basic elements in the set of hybrid warfare tools is arming with information or using information warfare, and it includes a mixture of propaganda, misinformation, diplomatic duplicity,

¹⁾Muhammad Fathi Amin, *Encyclopedia of Types of Wars*, Dar Al-Awael, Damascus, 2006, pp 168-169

²⁾Shadi Abdel Wahab Mansour, *Fifth Generation Wars: Methods of "Explosion from the Inside" on the International Arena*, Dar Al-Arabi, Cairo, 2019,p50-62

³⁾Melissa Dalton, *Partners, Not Proxies: Capacity Building in Hybrid Warfare*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2020, p 3

⁴⁾ David Gumpert, Hans Benendik, op. cit, P16-17

⁵⁾Munteder D. Abad, *The role of hybrid warfare in international conflicts after the year 2001*, Political Science, a letter of master's degree, University of Baghdad/ Political Science,2022, P76-77

³⁾Hussein Bassem Abdul Amir, *The Political and Social Effects of Hybrid Warfare* Political Studies and strategi , Bayt Al-Hikma , No. 45,2022, p.191

manipulation of the media, or direct publication of lies aimed at the confusion and division of public opinion within the target country or other opponents⁽¹⁾

International media platforms play a major role as an informational tool in hybrid wars, as the major countries of the world are keen to launch satellite and news channels speaking in different languages to improve their image globally or to spread false information, distort opponents, and mobilize public opinion according to interest, and global news channels are not the only tool used In the information war, even social networking sites - such as Twitter Facebook – lead A role no less dangerous than the role of international media platforms, and here the influence of the informational tool and the cyber tool interferes⁽²⁾

where electronic attacks are an essential element in waging modern wars, including hybrid warfare, they are increasingly used to attack vital infrastructure to disrupt communication and information flows and obtain information Intelligence about the opponent's intentions and actions, communication networks have changed the political, social and economic systems, and changed the nature of war at the same time, as it transforms non-military operations to achieve war-like effects, and progress in information technology has become faster than the development of mechanical systems on a large scale, meaning that it must We expect a significant and accelerating shift towards virtual threats⁽³⁾

4- Social and cultural tools: The hybrid war targets several tools, including identity and religious or ethnic affiliation, so the conflict in it is not just a direct conflict with the government of the target country, but also a conflict of cultures, so that the conflict is manifested in the continuation of work on the decline of the state and the emergence of alternative loyalties and cultures, often What is external and alien to society. It also seeks to reduce societal harmony, enhance differences, and destroy community bonds, allowing the attacking party to exploit weaknesses to influence the inside, and then destroy it. It also seeks to spread the values of globalization, which is an ideal environment for the success of hybrid war⁽⁴⁾

¹⁾ Katie Abbott, *Understanding and Countering Hybrid Warfare: Next Steps for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, University of Ottawa, Canada, 2016, p. 15

²⁾ Adel Abdel Moneim, *Information Security and National Security*, International Political Magazine, Al-Ahram Foundation, Issue 213, p 204

¹⁾ Ralph D. Thiele, Johann Schmid, *Hybrid Warfare – Orchestrating the Technology Revolution*, Institute for Strategy, Policy, Security and Economic Consulting (ISPSW), Germany, 2020, P.P. 5-6.

⁴⁾ Ghada Mohamed Amer, *The development of international conflict according to technological progress and the emergence of asymmetric wars (atypical wars)*, Journal of Strategic and Military Studies, no.8, Arab Democratic Center, Germany, September 2020.p36

As for culture, the cultural invasion aims to give priority to the culture of the opponent country over the other targeted country, and to create a gap between the past and present of these people, and between them and their cultural heritage. Within society, pushing towards presenting the positive aspects of other civilizations and raising the level of fascination with the outputs of other countries, leads to directing intellectual and popular energies in a way that is opposite to what the state aspires to, and this helps in the formation of entities parallel to the state⁽¹⁾ Hybrid warfare is an incomprehensible series of actions on different fronts, characterized by the use of a wide range of military and technological tools, economic pressures, criminal acts and terrorism, humanitarian and religious means, and disinformation across a whole range of conventional and unconventional warfare⁽²⁾

Thus, we see that the complex world in which we live today has fundamentally changed the tools and means used in the conflict, as the focus has increased on political, economic, social, cultural, and other non-military tools. All this is complemented by military means of a covert nature, including conducting informational struggle actions and supporting groups hostile to the adversary country.

second requirement: the impact of hybrid war on the nature of International conflicts

The complex contemporary world in which we live has changed dramatically the means used to achieve secret and overt goals. Hybrid warfare is the most appropriate way to achieve political goals in an effective and less costly manner. International actors resorted to hybrid warfare tools, so there are no strategic bombers, main fighting tools, or soldiers. Infantry, but rather pirates, intelligence operatives, special operations forces, and private military companies that often operate in the shadows, and the optimal combination of all traditional and non-traditional, regular and irregular means, information and electronic warfare, to achieve political goals in ways without reaching the threshold of traditional conflict

Three main factors explain the emergence of hybrid threats⁽³⁾:

- 1- The changing balance of global and regional powers, which means that more actors have a greater incentive to challenge the status quo.

³⁾Munteder D. Abad, op. cit, p89

²) Ralph D. Thiele, The new colour of war - Hybrid warfare and partnerships, ISPSW strategy Series : Focus on defense and international Security, NO 383, Oct 2015, p. 3.

³⁾Sean Monaghan, Countering Hybrid Warfare So What for the Future Joint Force?, PRISM, VOL. 8, NO. 2, 2019, p. 86.

- 2- The complex interdependence within the global political economy means that more countries are vulnerable to penetration in more subtle ways and non-violent means.
- 3- Technological convergence between the actors, which means the ability to cause more damage.
- 4- The existence of a large number of actors, some may be state actors, others non-state actors acting as agents of states, while still, others represent criminal elements or segments of society that consider themselves disenfranchised by the system. The capabilities of non-state actors are increasingly augmented through the emergence of new technologies that provide means to create effects that were previously specific to states, as a result of the removal of barriers to obtaining these capabilities that cross the spectrum of traditional to non-traditional, and this new technology allows actors Participation in the conflict is to act adaptively and flexibly in response to events that occur directly within the operational environment that affects it ⁽¹⁾.

Shifting Perspective on War (Hybrid Warfare) Hybrid war passes through three basic stages (emergence, convergence, and transformation). We note here that the entry of new actors in the economic and technological aspects seeks to find ways that can be used in their favor or to prevent any threat they see facing them. This creates an imbalance, and here is the starting point, as actors with superior capabilities seek to maximize their opportunities while those with weaknesses minimize threats to them, further increasing the momentum of the conflict. At a time when actors seek to maximize their gains and minimize their losses And here begins the second stage, where the convergence begins and the engagement increases with a decrease in tactical superiority/imbalance, attempts are made to consolidate the gains that have been achieved or to restore the conditions that have been lost, then the last stage of the model comes with a transformation as the effects resulting from the convergence lead to a state of balance in Conflict in which no actor has superiority, and so new technologies that have provided a level of advantage become fully integrated into the character of an ongoing hybrid conflict, in which new methods of hybrid warfare are created⁽²⁾.

The changing nature of warfare in the twenty-first century can be seen at all levels of military thinking (strategic, operational, and tactical) through considered one of the wars that are characterized by a diverse mix that enters

¹⁾Frank G. Hoffman, conflict in the 21st century: the rise of hybrid wars, op. cit. p29-30

²⁾Ali Jassim Muhammad and Sarab Hassan Aloun, *Elements of Fifth Generation Warfare in American Perceptions*, Political and International Journal / Al-Mustansiriya University, Issue 55, 2023, p. 426

into a conflict in which many tools are employed, including military, economic, informational, cyber and alike by a simultaneously mixture of traditional and unconventional tactics and strategies which are able to cause the greatest amount of damage indirectly through which states do not appear as aggressors in enemy territory, but rather by forming alliances that include state actors in addition to secondary actors that include institutions, individuals, groups, technological, ideological, biological and environmental factors ⁽¹⁾.

On the other hand, the rules of war in the contemporary political environment have changed to the extent of growth played by non-military means to achieve political and strategic goals. In many cases, the power of weapons exceeded their effectiveness, and therefore the modern military strategy focuses more and more in the direction of the wide use of measures Political, economic, media, humanitarian, and other non-military measures, and this change is manifested through the use of special operations forces and the internal opposition to create a front that operates permanently across the entire territory of the enemy country in addition to procedures, devices, and media that are constantly improved, with results comparable to the results of any war fact.

In general, hybrid warfare has brought about many transformations like international conflicts, which can be summarized as follows:

1-Actors: Once the dominant conflict actors in conventional warfare, states are increasingly investing in government agencies that participate in or respond to hybrid conflicts, enhancing their defensive and offensive capacity, all of which have created, invested, and expanded such government agencies over the past ten years. It is important to note that many capacities in this area lie outside the formal or even institutional governmental sphere, as well as the employment of public organizations and bodies, and states carry out many hybrid operations through non-state actors or covert units⁽²⁾.

2- Scope of conflict: Traditional conflicts have been characterized by the presence of an agreed clash and most of the battles are managed on the borders and have a beginning and most of them end with the settlement or imposition of the conditions of the victor, but the new conflicts vary greatly, as hybrid conflicts are described as a new war without beginning or end, where the borders of peace, war, soldiers, and civilians are completely unclear - where everyone is a target and a weapon⁽³⁾

¹⁾Frank G. Hoffman, hybrid warfare and challenges, op. cit,p23

²⁾Bianca Torossian and others, Hybrid Conflict Neither war nor peace,2020, [Hybrid Conflict | Strategic Monitor 2019-2020 \(hcss.nl\)](https://www.hcss.nl/publications/hybrid-conflict-neither-war-nor-peace)

²⁾Steven Metz, Philip Kochia, The decisive war of the twenty-first century, Institute for Strategic Studies, Pennsylvania, 2011, p. 24

3-Objectives of the conflict: The goals of international conflicts have changed a lot from before with the changes that have occurred in various areas of life, as modern wars are national and supranational, no land cannot be bypassed, and no means cannot be used in war, no area and method cannot be used together, the use of traditional and non-traditional means, including terrorism and information, to undermine the will of the existing state, delegitimize it, and stimulate internal social collapse, Defenders of the theory of hybrid warfare focus on the goals of modern warfare focus on the topics of political will, legitimacy, culture, and secondary identities, and the adversary exploits societies and adopts un sober constructions to penetrate the interior, using mass mobilization techniques ⁽¹⁾.Modern conflicts aim at several things, the most important of which are; the internal penetration of societies and directing them to the destination that benefits the hybrid attacker, that many of the measures taken during conflicts were not designed to target military units, or even civilians directly, but were aimed at preventing societies from recovering from conflict, unlike traditional conflicts, which were linked to specific lines and spaces and targeted traditional battlefronts ,In modern conflicts, states exploit the main weaknesses of an adversary and target the factors that have shaped the resilience and increased the ability of regimes to recover after conflict⁽²⁾.

4-International responsibility: States are increasingly using proxy actors to indirectly influence hybrid conflicts, this trend has had important implications for international standards on the use of force and state accountability for its non-state actors (activist groups, terrorist organizations, etc.), which are difficult to find, difficult to stop from operating in this gray area, where there is a wide range of space in which state and non-state actors, Jointly or separately not to take responsibility for violations of international legal norms, where actors lack the necessary international legal personality for accountability and are not legitimate actors in the international arena⁽³⁾.

5-Technological development :Technology and hybrid warfare are interdependent, Technology is a catalyst for related methods and tools while at the same time expanding the scope of hybrid warfare available to governments, and as a result, the development of intelligence-gathering solutions and the employment of information tools for the force must go hand in hand with the development of the process of analyzing physical and virtual data to obtain the advantage of excelling in the possibility of integrating and moving tools on the

¹⁾ Frank C. Hoffmann, hybrid warfare and challenges, op. cit, p. 57

²⁾Munteder D. Abad, op. cit, p.129

³⁾Annyssa Bellal, International law and armed non-state actors in Afghanistan, Geneva Academy, Vol. 93, No. 881, March 2011, p.p. 59-60.

battlefield for a successful hybrid attack. On the other hand, technology has provided new conflict tools and enabled governmental and non-governmental agencies to achieve their goals to a lesser degree than the costs incurred by major countries, which led to the emergence of sub-state actors in large numbers as a result of their ability to harness modern tools to achieve their goals and attract attention towards them⁽¹⁾.

third requirement : the study of the Ukrainian-Russian crisis

Ukraine has been linked to the interests of the major powers, due to its geopolitical elements that made it, in different periods of time, a region of international struggle and competition between the old empires and between the West and the Russian Federation today⁽²⁾ on the other hand Russia and Ukraine, the two neighboring countries, have been associated with relations since ancient times, as historical writings go that the first to establish the renaissance of Ukraine are the Eastern Slavs, so this country, known as the Kiev Russians, became the center of the Middle Ages of the Eastern Slavs, and the Russians are the Ukrainian city of Kiev, "the mother of Russian cities" and the center of Eastern Orthodox civilization⁽³⁾ and Ukraine is a cornerstone of the Russian strategy in Europe, as it is a natural and vital extension towards Eastern Europe and then to Europe in general⁽⁴⁾ Therefore, any destabilization in Ukraine is a direct threat to Russia, Directly by supporting the opposition in Ukraine, which is part of the US project to limit the role of Russia and try to contain its geographical and military space and put it within a specific range⁽⁵⁾

The arrival of Russian president Vladimir Putin to power in the Russian federation is an important factor in delineating anew approach to Russian policy towards regions that have great strategic importance affecting its national security⁽⁶⁾ Russian regional and international moves aimed at

¹⁾ Ralph Thiele and others, Modern Battlefield is Multi-Domain –HENSOLDT Analytics Webinar on Hybrid Warfare, 2022,p2-3. [Modern-Battlefield-is- Multi-Domain-HENSOLDT-Analytics-Webinar-on-Hybrid-Warfare-HENSOLDT-Analytics-v2.pdf \(anetakpawlik. eu\)](https://anetakpawlik.eu/Modern-Battlefield-is-Multi-Domain-HENSOLDT-Analytics-Webinar-on-Hybrid-Warfare-HENSOLDT-Analytics-v2.pdf)

²⁾ Musa Jaafar Radi and Muslim Mahdi Ali, The Geopolitical Dimensions of the Ukrainian Crisis and its Impact on the Future of the Global Conflict, Iraqi Journal of Political Science / Iraqi Society for Political Science, No. 7, 2022, p. 136

³⁾ Amna Muhammad Ali, The Crimean crisis and its repercussions on Russian-Ukrainian relations, Journal of International Studies / Center for Strategic and International Studies, No. 68, 2017, p. 152

⁴⁾ Suhad Ismail Khalil, The geostrategic position of Ukraine and its impact on Russian national security (the Crimean crisis as a model), Journal of International Studies / Center for Strategic and International Studies, No. 70, 2017, p. 152

²⁾ Vian Ahmed Muhammad Lawand, The Ukrainian crisis in Russian and American politics and its future dimensions, Journal of Sustainable Studies, No. 3, 2021, pp. 174-175

⁶⁾ Hadeel Harbi Thare, The new Russian orientation towards the Eastern European region after 2021, political sciences Journal, no.65, 2023, p.221

protecting Russian national security from threats and proving its presence in the international scene through its pragmatic and open foreign policy without falling into direct confrontation With all countries in the world⁽¹⁾the united states and the Russian Federation, which are considered traditional powers that have been and are still engaged in different types of competition⁽²⁾the United States places on top of its priorities the issue of expanding NATO membership in the east to include more countries, especially in the near Russian neighborhood, while Russia puts the issue of NATO's expansion eastward expansion at the top of the threats to Russian national security because NATO expansions place the alliance directly on the Russian border .Therefore, the goal of preventing the expansion of the alliance to the East has become one of the most important Russian goals⁽³⁾.

When analyzing the Russian strategy, and the direction of Ukraine, by describing the method adopted in the war that broke out in Crimea in 2014, in eastern Ukraine, we find one expression, which can summarize the phenomenon, which is hybrid warfare, and the fact that the adoption of the term by NATO contributed to its use, on a larger scale despite the development of expressions, and the emergence of the Russian hybrid model in Ukraine is due to Russia's employment of methods of this new type of war, while in previous cases such as Chechnya. In Iraq and Lebanon, these tools were used by non-governmental actors .Thus, Russia's operations in Ukraine were much broader and clearer than their predecessors in other hybrid cases, where Russia focused not only on the battlefield, but also focused on non-military means, and the Russian General Staff prepared for hybrid operations in Ukraine long before the crisis, where there were military exercises in several military regions, especially the so-called second exercise of the Russian army, which serves as training for parts of the campaign on Ukraine ⁽⁴⁾.On the other hand, Russia has used an information warfare tactic, including high-energy microwave systems, jammed Ukrainian communications, disrupting the monitoring process run by teams from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe⁽⁵⁾also used energy for

¹⁾ Aya Jaafar Abdul Sattar, Yusra Mahdi Salih, *The position of Iraq in Russia's foreign policy after 2000AD*, Baltic Journal of Law & Politics, no3, 2022, p598

²⁾ Saad Obaid Alwan and Mustafa Abdul Kareem Majeed, *Economic and security competition between the United States and Russia in Africa*, Journal of Positive School Psychology, No.7, 2022, p644

⁶⁾ Amira Alsayed Hassan Siddiq, op .cit, p43

¹⁾ Lawrence, Freedman, *Ukraine and the Art of Limited War*, survival, Global Politics and Strategy, 2014, 35-38. [Ukraine and the Art of Limited War \(tandfonline.com\)](https://www.tandfonline.com)

⁵⁾ Damien Sharkov, *Russia engaging in Hybrid war with Europe*, says former Nato chief, Newsweek, 2015 [Russia Engaging in 'Hybrid War' With Europe, Says Former NATO Chief \(newsweek.com\)](https://www.newsweek.com)

political purposes, by preventing other countries from accessing natural resources, threatened to cut gas pipelines to Ukraine, and created humanitarian pressure for Russian-speaking minorities by claiming that they were being treated badly. Hence the adoption of the principle of the responsibility to protect as a pretext for intervention ⁽¹⁾.

Russia has achieved the desired results largely through⁽²⁾

1- Flooding the region with illegal weapons, using mercenaries to destroy the infrastructure

2- Weakening the local economy, which resulted in the state's inability to provide social welfare, which exacerbated the refugee crisis

3- Employing information warfare through the exploitation of social media in addition to electronic hacking attacks

4-Activating Russian investments in the main European economies, and influencing the economic elites

5-Obtaining the support of opposing political parties, through the purchase of media

6- Establishing relations with religious institutions, exploiting unresolved ethnic tensions, and campaigning for minority rights

7-Adapting non-military forces to achieve their goals such as targeting British finances, and sales of French weapons and German oil, especially since the international media focuses only on Russia's conventional and nuclear capabilities. From here, we see that Russia has the full conviction that Ukraine cannot be outside Russia's national security strategy and achieve its ultimate goal of restoring its prestige on the international stage.

The last Russian hybrid war on Ukraine in 2022 began after the Ukrainian crisis in 2014, where Russia continued to use the tactic of asymmetric warfare by supporting rebel movements in eastern Ukraine, especially the separatist republics of Luhansk and Donetsk, where Russia took advantage of the fact that the majority of the population of eastern Ukraine is Russian, to assert its influence in the region, and Western analyzes believe that Russia is the main engine of rebel movements in the region, in which it exercises great influence, but supporting the region's rebellion. This time it was intending to press to retreat from the Ukrainian president's pro-Western policy, and his desire to join NATO and the European Union, and in response to the rebellion of the Russians in the Donbas region against the rebellion of the republics of Luhansk and

³⁾Sikory David, *The Fog of Non-linear War: Russia's strategic coercion in the near abroad*, 2016, [The Fog of Non-linear War: Russia's Coercion in the Near Abroad | Albuquerque International Association and Center for International Studies \(abqinternational.org\)](http://www.abqinternational.org)

²⁾Asma Haddad, *Hybrid Wars: The Ukrainian Crisis as a Model*, Political Orbits Magazine, Issue 3, 2017, p120. [104957 \(cerist. dz\)](https://cerist.dz/104957)

Donetsk (which announced separation from Ukraine since the 2014 crisis and the annexation of Crimea, and a vote was held on this separation, and more than 90% of the region's population voted in favor of separation from Ukraine and Russia recognized it only), Russia has used the tactic of military intervention, and announced on February 24 Its military operation against Ukraine under humanitarian justifications ⁽¹⁾.

While the cyber warfare tactic was not far from the Ukrainian crisis, for example, the Ukrainian satellite Viasat, which is used for military and commercial purposes, was attacked, which negatively affected the Ukrainian control and control systems that were penetrated, while Ukraine, with American and British assistance, succeeded in penetrating communication systems between the Russian land and air forces, and even locating many military targets on land and sea, and locating Russian army personnel, which helped to liquidate some senior Russian army officers⁽²⁾.

Information warfare or propaganda was one of the most important tactics used by the West and Russia together. On the one hand, Russia tried to spread the idea that the war in Ukraine was not an act of aggression, but it intervened to protect the population of the Donbas region was only to restore stability in the Donbas region against the rebels, while the West tried to promote the idea that the Russian war on Ukraine is tantamount to military aggression against a sovereign state and that the war aims to undermine Ukraine's territorial integrity.

The tactic of the economic instrument was evident during the Ukrainian crisis . On the one hand, European leaders agreed to impose economic sanctions on Russia only four days after the start of the Russian military operation against Ukraine, and the United States of America imposed new sanctions on Russia last April, and Europe's dependence on Russia in the field of natural gas played a major role in Russia's use of the economic tool in response to Western sanctions, where European countries get 40% of their gas needs from Russia, and for this, the Russian president issued at the end of March 2020 A decision to oblige European countries to pay the gas bill in Russian rubles instead of dollars or euros⁽³⁾. the last tactic is the dismantling of states, it is noted that

¹⁾Sabine Fischer, "The Donbas Conflict: Opposing Interests and Narratives, Difficult Peace Process", SWP Research Paper (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, No. 5, April 2019), p.14.[The Donbas Conflict: Opposing Interests and Narratives, Difficult Peace Process \(swp-berlin.org\)](https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publications/research-papers/the-donbas-conflict-opposing-interests-and-narratives-difficult-peace-process)

²⁾ Manoj Joshi, "Russia–Ukraine War: Ukraine’s resistance in the face of hybrid warfare, Observer Research Foundation", June 6, 2022.[Russia–Ukraine War: Ukraine's resistance in the face of hybrid warfare | ORF \(orfonline.org\)](https://www.orfonline.org/exp/insights-and-analysis/russia-ukraine-war-ukraine-resistance-in-the-face-of-hybrid-warfare)

³⁾ Amira Alsayed Hassan Siddiq, op .cit,p47

Russia came to use it within the framework of the current hybrid war in the Donbas region, and Russia did not only hold a referendum to annex Crimea to it in 2014, but also supported a referendum to secure the independence of the republics of Luhansk and Donsk in the same year, and although the majority of votes came in favor of secession, no country recognized these results except Russia only, and after the recent crisis, Russia renewed recognition of the independence of the two republics⁽¹⁾. The Russian war against Ukraine in 2022 came as a preemptive strike to an expected attack from the West, and as evidence of the loss of trust between the Russian and Western camps, which requires, in order to restore this trust, several measures should be taken, including:

- 1- Stopping the expansion of NATO in northern and eastern Europe
- 2- Not deploying offensive systems and bases near the Russian borders and using Ukraine as an arena for directing offensive strikes against Russia
- 3- Providing guarantees to the Russian-speaking peoples in Ukraine
- 4- Stop supporting for separatist groups that lead to the dismantling of Russian Federation

In return, Russia should seek to withdraw from Ukrainian territory, provide compensation to Ukraine, ensure non-interference in the internal affairs of neighboring countries, and ensure maritime management of the Black Sea coasts in a way that preserves the security of both countries⁽²⁾.

From the above, we see that the Ukrainian crisis is part of the conflict between the United States and Russia, considering that it is related to Russia's position in Europe and the world⁽³⁾. In general, it seems that the war in Ukraine will continue to an invisible extent, especially as Russia strengthens its defenses in

¹⁾ BBC Arabic, Russia, and Ukraine: Putin announces Russia's official recognition of the independence of two separatist regions in eastern Ukraine, 2022.
<https://www.bbc.com/arabic/world-60457985#:~:text=%D8%A2%D8%AE%D8%B1%20%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%AB%2021%20%D9%81%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%B1%2F%20%D8%B4%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B7%202022%20Reuters%20%D8%A3%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%86,%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%B3%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%85%D8%A7%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%20%D8%A8%D9%87%D8%B0%D8%A7%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1%20%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%B9%D9%85%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%85%D9%87%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%AA%D9%8A%D9%86>

²⁾ Haila Hamd Al-Mekaimi, the Impact of putinism on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict: an analysis of the contents of speeches of Russian president Vladimir Putin on the causes of the Russian war on Ukraine in 2022, *political sciences Journal*, no.56, 2023, p184

³⁾ Amer Hamid Hussein, NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe and the political geography of the Ukrainian crisis (a study in cooperation and challenges), *Al-Kitab Journal for Human Sciences / Al-Kitab University*, No. 8, 2022, p. 94

the east and south along the 600-meter front line, which divides Ukrainian and Russian forces, and the front line will remain the same for now. Fatigue and lack of equipment may lead to a temporary cessation of hostilities, and a ceasefire agreement may be concluded. These are temporary solutions that may last for many years⁽¹⁾.

Devastating Consequences: Assessing the Losses of the Russian-Ukrainian War

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict continues to take a terrible toll. Below is a look at some of the numbers that show the scale of the devastation, including the cost of the war in human lives, and the staggering financial commitment made by the U.S. and its partners to help Ukraine withstand the assault.

Neither Russia nor Ukraine has officially released casualty figures, but both countries are believed to have suffered huge losses on the battlefield since Vladimir Putin launched the invasion on Feb. 24, 2022.

Data compiled by Ukraine suggests Russia may have sustained some of its highest casualties of the entire war during the early months of 2023. Ukrainian forces on the front line have told CBS Ukraine said an average of 824 Russian soldiers were dying every day. News that Russian commanders have thrown wave after wave of men at some battles as if they were meat.

Ukraine said an average of 824 Russian soldiers were dying every day in February 2023, and while those figures cannot be independently verified, the general analysis was supported by the U.K. government, which estimated this month that Russia has suffered between 175,000 and 200,000 casualties during its war in Ukraine, including 40,000 to 60,000 killed.

The British intelligence services estimated that Russia's private Wagner Group, which has sent a large number of mercenaries, including convicts recruited from prisons, to the front lines in Ukraine, has taken losses at a rate of up to 50%.

In December, an adviser to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said as many as 13,000 Ukrainian troops had been killed since the start of the war.

United Nations data show that since the start of the war, more than 7,199 Ukrainian civilians have been killed and 11,756 have been injured, with most casualties caused by explosive weapons. The U.N. acknowledges that the real number of casualties is likely much higher, because information is difficult to obtain from areas where there's heavy fighting.

At least 6,000 Ukrainian children have been taken to camps and other facilities in Russia and Russian-occupied territory since the invasion began, prevented

¹)Alaa Abdel Razzaq ,long-term war in Ukraine: The West's Need to Plan for a Long-Term Conflict with Russia, *Journal of International Studies / Center for Strategic and International Studies*, No. 93, 2023, p. 665

from communicating with their families and subjected to pro-Russian re-education, according to a recent report from the Conflict Observatory, a research group that monitors alleged Russian war crimes in Ukraine⁽¹⁾

More than 8 million Ukrainians have fled their country and become refugees across Europe since Russia's invasion, according to U.N. data. More than 5.3 million others are still estimated to be internally displaced within Ukraine.

According to interviews conducted with over 43,000 Ukrainian refugees, the vast majority of people who've fled the country have been separated from family members, most often due to Ukraine's restrictions on men of fighting age leaving the country under its system of martial law, which was declared after Russia's invasion.

The largest group of refugees are women between the ages of 18 and 59, followed by children between the ages of 5 and 17⁽²⁾

Conclusion

Hybrid war has emerged as a relatively recent tool used to manage international conflicts, and through the use of many tools that are hybridized together, with an indication of the validity of using this concept in the case of the Russian-Western conflict in Ukraine during the recent crisis, and here we reach the following conclusions

1-The concept of hybrid warfare is relatively recent, and there is no comprehensive definition of hybrid warfare, the first of which is the adjective of hybridization in the sense of mixing more than one tool (rebellion movements, cyber threat, information warfare, economic tool, dismantling states and using a military tool based on humanitarian justifications). Hybrid war is usually used in the face of countries that are characterized by being an arena for wars by proxy, not by being an enemy in itself, and for this reason, the hybrid war is considered a tool for managing conflicts between world powers.

2-Despite the novelty of the concept of hybrid warfare, the tools that have been hybridized are not all new. The state usually employs a set of different tools to achieve the goals of its foreign policy and to support its ability to impose its will on opponents, and by using a non-military tool to manage its international conflicts more effectively and at a lower cost.

¹⁾Haley ott, One year of Russia's war in Ukraine, by the numbers ,23 February 2023
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ukraine-war-news-russia-invasion-by-the-numbers/>

²⁾Haley ott, Ipde

3-This concept can be used in analyzing how the conflicts between Russia and the West over Ukraine were managed, and it is noted that the United States and Russia were both able to use the strategy of hybrid wars, but according to their style.

4-The (hybrid war) was employed to a large extent in managing the international conflict between Russia and the West over Ukraine in 2022, and it has developed during the recent crisis more than the crisis of 2014, as the economic tool appeared to a large extent in the Russian strategy, as the economic tool appeared largely clear in The Russian strategy, as well as the continued activation of the tool of dismantling Ukraine, and Russia expanded the use of the tool of military intervention, on the other hand, the West waged its hybrid war using cyber, economic and informational tools, and provided military support to Ukraine in the face of Russia, which led to prolonging the Russian military intervention in Ukraine.

Recommendations

1-It is crucial for countries to update their security strategies to include hybrid threats, such as cyber-attacks and information warfare, ensuring comprehensive preparedness to face these challenges

2-Countries should invest more in advancing cyber security technologies to ensure the protection of critical infrastructure against the growing threat of cyber-attacks

3-Developing effective strategies to counter misinformation and propaganda, which are crucial aspects of hybrid warfare, is vital. This includes enhancing the capabilities of official media and social media platforms to combat fake news and disinformation campaigns

4- academic and research institutions should intensify their efforts in studying hybrid warfare and its impact on international relations, offering scientific recommendations to address the challenges posed by these types of conflicts.

5-Governments and the international community should prepare for the future challenges posed by hybrid warfare, especially with the increasing role of advanced technologies like AI, drones, and robotics in military strategy.

6-International organizations should conduct a thorough assessment of the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war on global security and relations among major powers, in order to develop strategies to prevent future hybrid conflicts.

7-Ukraine and its neighboring countries should reinforce regional security cooperation to address shared threats arising from hybrid warfare, such as cyber-attacks and attempts to destabilize political systems in the region.

8-It is essential for the international community to continue supporting Ukraine in facing hybrid warfare, through both military assistance and the provision of

cyber security technologies, as well as protection from media attacks aimed at distorting Ukraine's international image.

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