

# The Russian-Ukrainian war and its implications for international security: a geopolitical vision

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**Abstract:** The clashes of interests of the great powers have led to large-scale geopolitical conflicts. Today Heartland Ukraine represents those cultural and civilizational conflicts between the major powers and a favorable geographical environment for any operations of a geopolitical and geoeconomic nature. Analysis of the course of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Eurasia region takes us to talk about the acceleration of the civilizational confrontation, which has become Ukraine its appropriate theater, this is the real reason for the geopolitical situation in Ukraine today, it is part of the political front of the clash of civilizations, which seeks The United States and its European allies through it to achieve a long-awaited future goal of promoting its interests in spreading the values of liberal democracy in Eastern Europe, through the use of young democracies such as Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, this would eventually make Russian influence in the Eurasia region weaker .

On the other hand, Russia constantly aims to maintain its geopolitical and geoeconomic sphere of influence in this region and to control the military capabilities to prevent pro-Western political and economic changes. Ukraine is one of the most important post-Soviet countries for Russia.

Research aims to answer the following questions: What is the geopolitical dimension of the Russian-Ukrainian war? What are the root causes of the war and the motives of the main actors in it? What are the implications of the war on international security? What will be the possible scenarios for the future if the war continues for a long time? All these questions will be answered by the research according to a geopolitical analytical vision.

**Keywords:** war, Russia, Ukraine, international security, geopolitics .

## 1- Introduction:

The Russian-Ukrainian war led to the emergence of multiple and contradictory interpretations that question the nature of the contemporary relationship between East and West. It is necessary to understand and comprehend it in order to avoid its international repercussions and the grave dangers it poses to global peace and security, regardless of the geopolitical perceptions presented by experts and political analysts to the leaders of the main parties to the war. Sometimes the causes of the war are attributed mainly to Russia, and sometimes to the United States, NATO and the European Union, Ukraine is the battlefield in this war, whose motives often do not distance itself from the perceptions of classical and modern strategic theorists to search for a balance between forces from the point of view of the system, Especially the cultural model of the clash of civilizations presented by (Huntington) as a cultural option that seeks to overcome barriers through the hybridization of different cultural and ideological proposals to achieve global hegemony. The geopolitical approach casts a shadow over the current international conflict in Ukraine, and Huntington did not rule out That cultural and religious contradictions replace political and economic contradictions to create fault lines between civilizations that transcend the logic of the state.

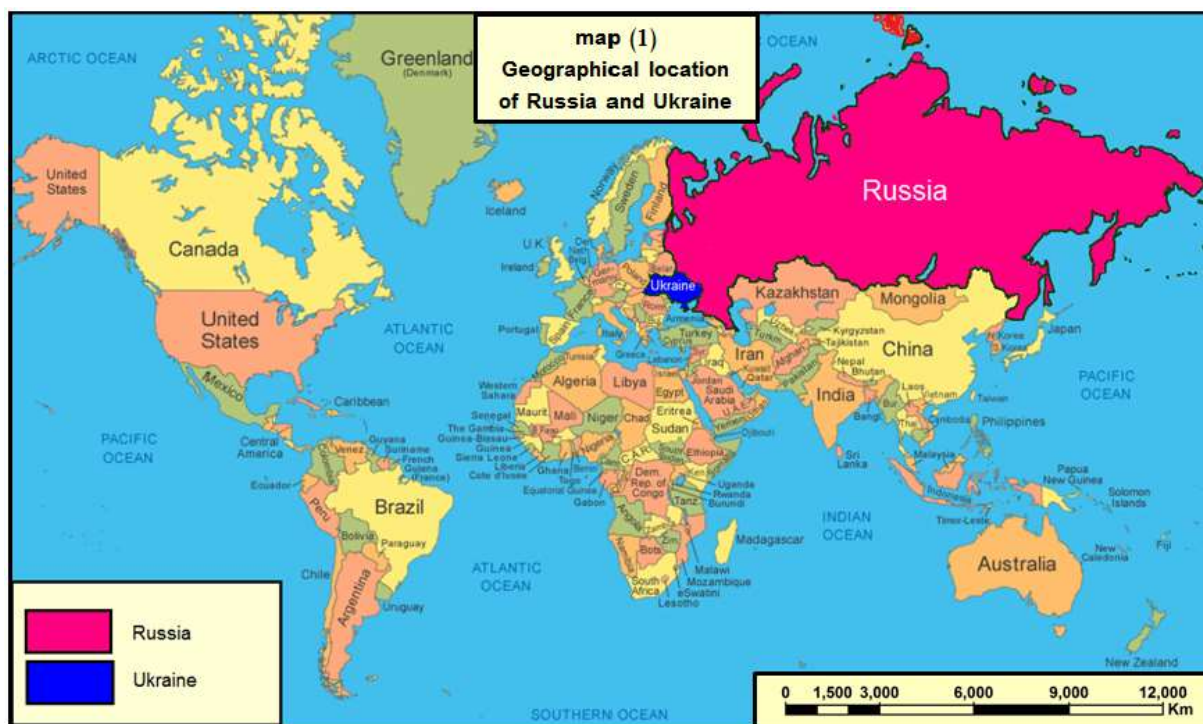
Moscow has had difficult relations with Ukraine since the two countries separated from the Soviet Union in 1991, a subset of Russia's problematic relationship with the outside world. yVladimir Putin's view As two independent republics, and finally Russia launched a comprehensive war on Ukraine since February 2022 until now, this war in which Russia revealed to the world the importance of ideological and cultural factors as a means of geopolitical expansion in the twenty-first century, this type of third wave wars is called hybrid war, and it is a mixed war Asymmetrical, in which all available means and tactics are used to achieve political goals that confuse the opponent, weaken its ability to respond, and intervene in a series of surprises and a state of uncertainty. It is also difficult in this type of war to find political understandings to get out of

the crisis; Because its threads are woven from the core of the representations of geopolitical analyzes in the struggle for global domination, Hybrid, an unequal mixed war in which all available means and tactics are used to achieve political goals that confuse the opponent and weaken its ability to respond and intervene in a series of surprises and uncertainty.

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Since 2021, Russia has significantly increased its military presence along the Ukrainian border, as thousands of Russian soldiers were stationed there. Russia justified this move by claiming that Ukraine was planning a military attack in the predominantly Russian-speaking Donetsk Basin, as well as NATO's failure to respond to Russia's demands to stop Expansion on Russia's borders and military action on Ukrainian lands and other countries in Eastern Europe, in addition to its deployment of short and medium-range missiles at points that pose a direct threat to Russia.

Russia is geographically located in the Asia is located on the border of the Arctic Ocean, stretching from Europe (the western part of the Ural Mountains) to the northern Pacific Ocean. Russia is bordered to the north and east by the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, and to the northwest it has small frontages on the Baltic Sea next to Finland and Norway. It is bordered to the west by Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus, to the west and southwest by Ukraine, and to the south by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, China and North Korea. As for Ukraine, it is geographically located in Eastern Europe, bordering the Black Sea, bordered by Belarus to the north, Poland to the west, Slovakia, Romania and Moldova to the southwest, the Black Sea to the south, and Russia to the east and southeast. Map (1).



Source: <https://geology.com/world/world-map.shtml>

## 2- Motives and causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war:

Ukraine is one of the most important post-Soviet countries for Russia, and is seen as an extension of the Russian orbit and civilization, as nationalism is linked to strengthening the cultural unity of the Russians, which is closely related to the Slavic unity. to the symbolism of Kievan Rus' as representing the roots of Russian Orthodoxy, as it is largely seen as at the heart of the formation of Russian civilization; Because modern Ukraine is a continuation of the so-called (Eurasian world), and it was accidentally turned into a separate region as a result of the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century.<sup>[1]</sup> The special place of Ukraine is seen in Moscow's perceptions of Kyiv as (the mother of Russian cities), the cradle of the Russian Orthodox faith, and the heart of Slavicism. Ukraine means much more than any other part of the near abroad to Moscow; Because it is closely related to Russia's sense of itself, even Russian liberals find it difficult to accept the idea that Ukraine is an independent state, as many Russians view eastern Ukraine as historically Russian territory, and there are cultural, religious and historical ties between Russia and Ukraine Kyiv, where Russian Christianity began More than 1,000 years ago, the Russians called their fellow Slavs in Ukraine (the Little Russians), and the Russians viewed the Ukraine issue as central to the identity of the Russians themselves; Therefore, Putin promised to take all possible measures to defend Russian citizens in Ukraine, and reserved the right to use force to protect Russia's interests there.<sup>[2]</sup>

Ukraine was a cornerstone of the Soviet Union, and archenemy of the United States during the Cold War, behind only Russia, it was the second most populous and powerful of the fifteen Soviet republics, and home to much of the agricultural production, defense and military industries of the Soviet Union, including the sea fleet Black and some nuclear arsenal, Ukraine was so vital to the union that its decision to cut ties in 1991 proved to be an attempted coup against the ailing superpower. <sup>[3]</sup>

On the other hand, there is a Ukrainian view that is completely different from what Russia sees, as the majority of Ukrainians view Russia as the long history of the former Soviet and current Russian suppression of their language and culture in particular, and the heavy loss of more than 5 million Ukrainians in the 1930s under the collectivization campaign. The coercion of Stalin, the former Soviet leader, and the harsh treatment of alleged Nazi collaborators in World War II also loom large in Ukrainian historical memory.<sup>[4]</sup>

Ukrainians constantly complain that Russia has never accepted their existence as a sovereign state, and according to Putin, US President George W. Bush himself told him in 2008 that Ukraine (not even a country), Ukrainians have historically resented Soviet-era policies It aims to suppress Ukrainian culture, especially the Holodomor famine that followed Stalin's campaign of mass transformation. To persuade the Russian-speaking people in Ukraine, who number about half of the population, to adopt the Ukrainian language and to refuse to legally protect the rights of Russian-speaking people.<sup>[5]</sup> During its three decades of independence, Ukraine has sought to carve its own path as a sovereign state while looking to align more closely with Western institutions, including the European Union and NATO. However, Kyiv has struggled to balance its foreign relations and heal deep internal divisions. The Ukrainian-speaking nationalist population in the western parts of the country generally supported greater integration with Europe, while the Russian-speaking community in the east preferred closer relations with Russia.<sup>[6]</sup>

The starting point of the Russian aggression against Ukraine is rooted in the refusal of Ukrainian President Yanukovich, who is close to the Russian power, to sign the association agreement with the European Union and the suspension of negotiations with Brussels in late 2013. Violent with law enforcement authorities in Kyiv, as a result of which nearly 100 Ukrainian citizens were killed, then tensions developed in eastern Ukraine in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, as well as in the Crimea, President Yanukovich then fled to Russia and the Maidan movement formed an interim government that announced the abolition of the Language Law After that, President Vladimir Putin denounced what he called the coup and said that Russia would reserve the right to use all available options including force as a last resort, and in March 2014, Russia regained control of Crimea and military bases Ukrainian in the region.<sup>[7]</sup>

The overthrow of the pro-Russian former President of Ukraine Yanukovich, who refused to sign an association agreement with the European Union, was a very important turning point in contemporary Ukrainian history, and one of the most important causes of the Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014, and the outbreak of unrest in the eastern and southern regions of Russian-speaking Ukraine , which has been demanding autonomy with the payment of Russia, which it used as a pretext to invade Ukraine recently on February 24, 2022.<sup>[8]</sup> While Russia's seizure of the Crimea is one of the most important reasons for the

escalation of tensions between the two countries, especially after the Lenionopad movement opposed to the regime of former Ukrainian President Yanukovych dismantled and demolished the statues of the thinker and former political leader (Vladimir Lenin), the well-known symbol of the Russian figure, in 90 cities scattered all over the country. Ukrainian lands on April 17, 2015, after the government authorities in Ukraine passed a law condemning communism, National Socialism (Nazi) and totalitarian regimes and banning propaganda for their symbols.<sup>[9]</sup>

Ukraine and the West accuse President Vladimir Putin of having a long-standing desire to revive the Soviet empire, and that he will eventually go after the rest of Ukraine, as well as other countries in Eastern Europe. On the part of Ukraine.<sup>[10]</sup> Including trying to expand NATO membership to include Ukraine, he has a deep sense that the loss of power and prestige in the former Soviet Union is the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century, he also has a firm belief that Russia today needs to protect its citizens who live in the former Soviet strategic space. He confirmed it in an interview on April 7, when he declared (we have reached a point beyond which there is no turning back) and he is well aware of the risks of the West in the fate of Ukraine are much less than the dangers of Russia, as well as Putin believes that the West deceived Russia through the expansion of NATO on its borders, today Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania Members of NATO, then Poland, Bulgaria and Rome, and trying to bring Ukraine into NATO, this would put NATO forces 400 km from Moscow, and make Russia lose large swathes of territory bordering the West, a route of conventional invasion that Moscow cannot accept, which sees that the current borders They constitute a threat to Russia in the sense that they do not guarantee a reasonable level of national security; because<sup>[11]</sup>

On the other hand, there is a very different political opinion of the political elite that takes power in Kyiv led by Volodymyr Zelensky, especially regarding the (Minsk II Agreement), in which they criticized the former Ukrainian President Poroshenko for his concession to the enemy, and his signature was just a retreat and an actual loss of Ukrainian lands in favor of the Russian aggressor, and they see the need to continue The war until Kyiv succeeds in regaining full control of the separatist areas, and negotiating after the military victory in these areas, is a highly questionable question given the Russian military superiority used to counterbalance any progress of the Ukrainian army today.<sup>[12]</sup> In fact, it is not correct to blame this dirty game on Putin alone, who annexed the Crimea, and then followed it with the recent aggression and invasion of Ukraine. The United States and its European allies also share the responsibility for the war. For the European Union to the east and around the Baltic Sea? Are they aggressive actions carried out by the Russian side? From a realistic perspective in international relations, security is a necessity, and when red lines are crossed, a decisive and swift response must be expected to deter enemies, ensure the security of the state and protect its borders. Without a doubt Local factors played a decisive role in accelerating the war and exacerbating the tragic situation in Ukraine. It is unreasonable to exclude Ukrainian political actors from taking responsibility and blame On what happened and is still happening to Ukraine, the ambiguous Ukrainian geopolitical situation is one of the most important reasons for this war; Because it has allowed the clumsy interventions of competing external powers to pursue their self-centered agendas, it has pushed Ukraine's crowded domestic politics to the brink of a violent civil war, in which the three main protagonists are Russia, the European Union, and the United States in almost descending order of importance.<sup>[13]</sup>

The change that occurred in the policy of Ukrainian President Zelensky, who made Ukraine's membership in NATO and the European Union a priority, followed by the supply of weapons from the United States to Ukraine, and the appointment of Ukrainian personalities to important positions that Moscow describes as fanatical Nazis, as well as Ukraine's use of Javelin missiles, The drones in Donbas 2021, exercises and movements of Ukrainian forces during this year near the borders of Russia, the presence of the US command ship (Mount Whitney) in the Black Sea, and the deployment of F16 and F22 fighters in the region, all these issues seem to have raised great concern in Moscow and were viewed as Fatal provocations, which contributed to the acceleration of the Russian special military operation in Ukraine on February 24, 2022. <sup>[4]</sup> It is true that the United States is far from the theater of conflict in Europe, but it leads NATO, which is expanding in the vicinity of Russia, and therefore Moscow finds itself facing additional security risks in Europe, represented by nuclear weapons possessed by France and the United Kingdom, as well as Washington's deployment of semi-strategic nuclear weapons. In Europe, the conventional NATO forces are on Russia's borders, and this is what Moscow fears of a future threat by US

nuclear weapons, which are deployed today in its neighboring countries and on its borders.<sup>[15]</sup> The Russian national security establishment, headed by Putin, believes that NATO's expansion in the vicinity of Russia was not only a land grab that upset the geopolitical balance in Europe, but also represented a violation of the assurances made by Western leaders to former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at the time that in exchange for German reunification and NATO membership, no The alliance is expanding eastward.<sup>[16]</sup> Moscow has had difficult relations with Ukraine since the two countries separated from the Soviet Union in 1991, a subset of Moscow's relations with the outside world that made Ukraine the touchstone of two decades of frustration and insecurity in Russia, with tragic consequences. The collapse of the Soviet Union stripped Russia of half Its population, a third of its territory and all the bloc of its European allies and client states in the 1990s, the loss of the great power along with economic collapse and an ideological vacuum created a deep identity crisis in Russia that exposed it to humiliation by the West, and the NATO decision to expand the alliance to include the former Warsaw Pact countries, and the bombing of NATO forces Yugoslavia in 1999 in an attempt to stop human rights violations in Kosovo was a turning point that stressed the political marginalization of Russia, which was unable to protect Serbia, its traditional ally. on the trail Rising global oil prices, Vladimir Putin forged a new Russian identity, the identity of a superpower capable of countering the plundering of the United States (the only superpower in the world). This new shift in Russian foreign policy led by Putin resonated strongly with the Russian public, which has deep roots in Soviet and Russian history, so Ukraine became a crucial choice for Russia's re-emergence as a great power with 46 million people. This is confirmed by Ukraine is a critical choice for Russia's re-emergence as a great power with 46 million inhabitants. Ukraine is a critical choice for Russia's re-emergence as a great power with 46 million inhabitants. (Zbigniew Brzezinski) Without Ukraine, Russia is no longer a Eurasian empire<sup>[17]</sup>

Although opinions (Brzezinski) does not necessarily serve as warnings to Washington to prevent Russia from regaining its position as a superpower in the event that it manages to include Ukraine in the Russian Federation. From a personal point of view, many of the political analyzes that Brzezinski included in his books may be political maneuvers to entrap the opponent, Outwardly, it provides strategic advice to Washington, and inside it are destructive mines for its opponents. It is not excluded that the aim of Brzezinski's views regarding Ukraine is to drain Russia and weaken it with a long-term war that does not allow it to return as a Eurasian superpower competing for hegemony.

Undoubtedly, the fragile balance between Moscow and Kiev was threatened by the Orange Revolution from 2003-2005, which played an important role in the development of Russia's relationship with the West; Because it overturned the regimes in the countries loyal to Russia, through the United States to support the reform movements pro-democracy to invade the former Soviet Union.<sup>[18]</sup> Which saw the defeat of pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich in the elections, through a wave of color revolutions that began in Georgia in 2003, Ukraine in 2004, and Kyrgyzstan in 2005, to overthrow authoritarian leaders through popular protests demanding fair elections, Putin considered this an organized campaign by The West to spread democracy, and pro-Western governments in the post-Soviet space, and took decisive steps to prevent this phenomenon from reaching Moscow, as it tightened restrictions on the opposition and created pro-Kremlin movements, the color revolutions came against the background of the Western expansion of the European Union and NATO. [19], which previously opened the door to the former Warsaw Pact countries, and some post-Soviet republics, and today NATO announced its intention to accept Georgia and Ukraine in the future, which greatly enhanced Russia's fears and made Putin convinced that Russia is subject to a deliberate strategy of encirclement. and containment by the United States. for Ukraine. [21] Therefore, the apparent shift in Russian foreign policy came as a response to the repeated tensions and provocations that the United States and its European allies are making in the post-Soviet space, starting with support for the independence of Kosovo from Russia's ally Serbia, and the United States' plan to install a ballistic missile defense system in Eastern Europe All these issues and others have become realistic reasons for the outbreak of the Ukrainian-Russian war, and an indirect option to avoid the scenario of full confrontation between the United States and Russia, the two main parties in this war.

### **3- The geopolitical dimension of the Russian-Ukrainian war:**

From a geopolitical perspective, Halford Mackinder focused his Heartland theory on the Heartland as a temporary step toward world domination, and suggested that if a country, federation, or bloc of nations were

able to dominate that specific region by extending its influence to the warm coasts of Eurasia and then combining its vast resources and free access To the main trade routes a world empire is likely to be visible, he also focused on the lands of central Europe, and the countries around the Baltic and the Black Seas as very vital lands, he also mentioned that he who rules Eastern Europe reigns over Heartland, and he who rules Heartland reigns on the world island, Whoever rules the world island rules the world, Because Ukraine and the former Soviet space countries are located in Eastern Europe, and an integral part of the Heartland, the major powers represented by the United States in the West and Russia in the East have struggled to impose their influence in the countries of Eastern Europe. From its vital field, which prompted Moscow to respond decisively to NATO's expansion in the region and the invasion of Ukraine to enhance its military influence, and the deployment of its military fleets in the Black and Mediterranean Seas, in addition to its proximity to the Baltic Sea.

As for the theory of naval power by Alver Mahan, who believes that no country can be considered a world power if its naval forces are not strong and sufficient enough to enhance its strength and presence throughout the world, and that the goal of naval power must be control of sea routes, and according to this theory Changing the Ukrainian government from Yanukovich to Poroshenko from the Russian point of view means an attempt to prevent Russia from using the Black Sea region in order to demonstrate its renewed naval power. Putin's reaction to these events in Ukraine was defensive, not offensive; Because reaching the warm seas is a long-term global goal, and therefore the United States is trying to prevent Russia from achieving its goals, through the support it provides to the anti-Russian and pro-Russian Ukrainian government, which is part of a grand strategic game to secure seduction or encircle the heart of the region; Because it is unlikely that Washington will invade it with its own military means.<sup>[22]</sup>

Because the Russian naval base at Sebastopol in Crimea is a vital point for connecting the Russian Black Sea Fleet to the Mediterranean, Putin believes that no pro-Western Ukrainian government in Kyiv can be tolerated depriving Russia of these crucial military assets, and he does not rule out the establishment of the current pro-Western government. By canceling the agreement establishing Russian bases in Crimea, and Ukraine's swift transition to NATO membership, Therefore, the Russian response to the occupation of Crimea in 2014 came quickly as a primary deterrent to the Kyiv government, and when Putin felt that this step was not sufficiently disciplinary for the Kyiv government, which did not reconsider its political behavior towards Moscow, the Russian response came by demanding the autonomy of Donbass and Donetsk, This was followed by the entry of Russian military units into Ukraine and its invasion in 2022. In the model of political confrontation between civilizations founded by the American political scientist Samuel Huntington, Huntington predicted that the clash will occur in Ukraine, which is geographically located between Orthodox, Eastern (Orthodox), and Western (Catholic) civilizations. The conflict between the powerful international parties, as Huntington expected an internal conflict in Ukraine more than a direct clash with Russia, and did not rule out the possibility of the collapse of Ukraine, similar to the Czechoslovakian or Yugoslav scenario.<sup>[23]</sup>

But although Huntington's predictions were largely realized, the internal conflict in Ukraine was not Ukraine, but that its engines were external. Through its establishment of military bases and the deployment of strategic nuclear weapons on the periphery of Russia and its support for the expansion of NATO there, these strategies have given Russia the pretext for military intervention in Ukraine under the pretext that the regime in Kyiv is suppressing the population of Russian origin in the Donbass and Donetsk regions, the United States is constantly trying to create perceptions The European Union states that the greatest threat to Europe comes from Russia, and they are unable to confront Russia alone without continuing their strategic alliance with the United States, and they do not stop boasting about their global role in which they provided support to Britain and France to confront Germany in World War II. In order to obtain a complete geopolitical understanding of the actions taken by Russia on the Ukrainian lands, we must learn about its strategies, and its political geography towards the post-Soviet states since the beginning of their independent existence, that is, since the geopolitical transition from the former Soviet Union to the present Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation is seen as a global power in the international arena, with an area of nearly 17 million km<sup>2</sup>, which is the largest country in the world in terms of area, as its territory extends across the continents of Europe and Asia, and is one of the most populous countries, with a population of

approximately 143.5 million people, and has enormous potential for energy resources, as it is one of the largest producers of natural gas and oil in the world, and ranks third after the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States of America in oil production, and comes second only to the United States of America directly in the extraction of natural gas, and therefore the Possession of natural resources, and the possibility of extracting and processing them puts Russia on one of the pillars of the power base in the international arena. Its production of natural gas and nuclear energy are among the most important tools of power it uses in international politics. As for Ukraine, it is the second largest country in the former Soviet Union after Russia. Its area is approx 603,500 square kilometres, with a population of approx 45 million people, and the Ukrainian economy is highly dependent on agriculture; Thanks to its fertile soil, it also contains important natural resources such as iron ores, black coal, manganese ores, and small amounts of gas, oil and amber.<sup>[24]</sup>

Russia views Ukraine from four main angles. Ukraine is a strategic depth for Russia, and a buffer wall thanks to which Russia has historically defended itself against hostile invasions. Ukraine also plays the role of cultural mediator between gas-rich Russia and the energy-consuming European Union. Extra access to warm seas.<sup>[25]</sup> From a geoeconomic point of view, Russia views the Ukrainian territory as very important in the transfer of Russian energy resources such as natural gas to the West; Because the vast majority of these strategic resources pass through the Ukrainian terrain in order to reach the domestic market and the energy-hungry European market, Ukraine's accession to the European Union threatens the success of the Eurasian Economic Union project led by Putin. On the other hand, Ukraine forms a geopolitical wall of separation that prevents the collision of the major powers in the West represented by the United States and the European Union, and the powers of the East represented by Russia on the other hand. Geopolitically, Russia's loss of territory after the Cold War wiped out large swathes of its buffer zone under the Soviet Union, and in the century preceding World War I, this weakened its defensive advantage in depth, as well as diminishing Moscow's influence. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Russian objections to the expansion of NATO towards their borders, along with statements regarding Russian privileges in the near abroad, and Moscow's desire to expand and control its surroundings are long-term. It has been renewed in an unprecedented way under President Putin, whose project for the establishment of the Eurasian Union is described by analysts as the embodiment of a long-standing Russian desire for control. Vladimir Putin has indisputably succeeded in bringing Russia back into action as a superpower. Since the invasion of Georgia in 2008, Russian military capabilities have greatly improved, especially the Airborne Forces and Special Forces, and this was also evident in the Russian occupation of the Ukrainian Crimea through covert action. Combined with sound intelligence information related to the weakness of the Kyiv government, and its management in responding militarily, and the recent Russian military invasion of Ukraine in 2022 and its reintegration within Russia's sphere, it made it return as a major dangerous power. It is not excluded that it risks a military confrontation with the West. On the other hand, Washington's weak reaction to Putin's military adventure, and his successful use of military force, puts the European Union in a vulnerable position, with little they can do other than condemn Russian expansionism in Ukraine and join any US sanctions against Russia.

The conditions available to Russia as a permanent superpower. Time has shown that Russia's position in the world can improve dramatically after any setback. The Russian state can get sick and go through a stage of great weakness and deterioration, but it does not die; Because there is a deep feeling among the Russian people and their leaders over time that Russia is a superpower that no other powers can put behind. Rather, it can work in a balanced field with other major powers that guarantee and respect its international historical and political position, but it cannot be a follower or part of the strategies of the other great powers competing with them, as is the case of the British Empire, which gave up its previous global position to be part of Washington's strategies. This is hard to imagine with Russia and its adventurous people. The desire to restore the role of the great powers will be a counter-reaction to modern Russia no less than the inability to protect and promote its interests as one of the centers of global influence in the twenty-first century, and to improve Russia's chances of maintaining a proper place in the global system of the twenty-first century. On the twenty-first century, Russia needs to work more actively on the international scene, besides, it must take into account that it is impossible for Russia to build and strengthen its influence without establishing regional integration with the post-Soviet states, even if it requires a higher degree of risk. , meaning the ability of the state to expand and establish itself as the nucleus of a certain group of states.<sup>[26]</sup>

This is what Russia is working on at the present time through its invasion of Ukraine. The aim is to fortify its position from any potential threat on its borders, and to enhance its capabilities as a superpower by extending its influence in the post-Soviet space, and to provoke terror in the surrounding countries and subjugate them using force if it required it to spin in the whirlpool of the Russian astronomy, and to build its policies and economies in integration with the Russian politics and economy, and not with Russia's enemies. European threats to Russia cannot be erased and removed from the memory of Russian strategists; Because they constantly feel that the United States and NATO are their biggest enemy at present and in the future, and that the risks and threats adopted by the leaders of some former Soviet countries near the borders of Russia on behalf of Russia are prompted by the United States to besiege and encircle Russia, and limit its global role to prevent it from being an influential superpower. in the international arena. The war that began in 2014 between Russia and Ukraine is a European war par excellence, and not a war between the Russian and Ukrainian governments to control a specific region as the European press and diplomacy have tried to portray over the past years, Moscow and Kiev have completely different goals, Ukraine is fighting for its survival as an independent state It has the right to join both the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), while Russia is fighting for its right to determine the borders of these two organizations and the scope of sovereignty for most of their member states..<sup>[27]</sup> The crisis in Ukraine, regardless of its internal character, also reflects the geopolitical struggle between Russia and the West over the post-Soviet space. The opposition of the United States of America and the European Union to integration processes in the post-Soviet space is a practical application of the views of the American geopolitical expert (Z. Brzezinski) who argued that Ukraine is a land located deep in the heart of Russia and must be separated from Russia and if possible to create opposition to each other, and the United States to support the pro-Western political forces in Ukraine, the most effective way to fight against Russia.

The main objectives of the United States in Ukraine are the control of the Crimea and the naval base of Sevastopol, the withdrawal of the Russian Black Sea Fleet from it and their placement under American control; Because the presence of military bases in Crimea makes it possible to control the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, the southern borders of Russia and Ukraine, and the eastern borders of Romania and Bulgaria, it is also useful not as a military outpost but as a transit point for the transport of goods and merchandise, and in 2014 the United States directed NATO to move To control the Black Sea region and the Caucasus against Russia and deny it access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean through its military bases and NATO bases; To reduce Russia's role as a global power, as well as support NATO to penetrate into the Caucasus and southern Russia, the United States is constantly seeking to control this region, but Russia's re-integration of the Crimea and Sevastopol with the Russian Federation was the major shock..<sup>[28]</sup> The Russian naval base in Sebastopol in the Crimea represents a vital point for connecting the Russian Black Sea Fleet to the Mediterranean. This strategic advantage Putin does not allow the Kyiv government to deprive Russia of, Therefore, the Russian response came quickly to the occupation of Crimea in 2014 as a pre-deterrence strategy for the Kyiv government to modify its behavior, which it describes as non-neutral towards Russia.

The geopolitical expansion of NATO in Eastern Europe, specifically in Ukraine, was interpreted by the Russian elite as another aggressive step towards Russia that requires appropriate retaliation, and believes in the need to neutralize Ukraine, and NATO forces should remain in Ukraine in very small numbers and without combat capabilities to avoid escalation in the future, regardless of The border line extending between Russia and Ukraine without any barrier between them. On the other hand, there is the issue of the Black Sea. For the Russian side, this elite believes in the necessity of effective Russian control over this sea; Because it will provide an opportunity to reach the warm seas (Mediterranean Sea) regardless of other maritime difficulties, which Russia needs to overcome, and therefore the Russian elite believes that Russia's reaction to the loss of Ukraine should not be underestimated because it is at least related to the importance of the Crimea, and its integration In the Russian Federation, since the Sevastopol Naval Base is the only available means of securing Russia's southwestern flank,

Therefore, further sanctions on Russia would not reverse Putin's actions at present or even in the near future, but rather would provide justification for maintaining a tougher line that would pave the way for the complete dissolution of Ukraine into smaller entities after all, as long as The West is trying to expand in the vicinity of Russia and threatens its strategic interests there. The great financial and military support provided



by the United States and its allies today to Ukraine cannot last for long in light of the internal economic problems, high prices and the great financial burden they pose, which could cause major internal turmoil in these countries. Countries in the future. The failed American campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq are a not far off example of the deteriorating economic situation and the exacerbation of the financial burden on Americans compared to the recent financial recovery of Russia and the rising growth of the Chinese economy. These challenges must be understood and addressed. On the other hand, the rise of Russian military capabilities and its geographical proximity to the region under competition enables President Putin to safely seize the initiative, while it must be taken into account that Ukraine's accession to NATO will be a historical military nightmare for Russia's future as a superpower, and can be interpreted later on It is a sign of weakness for President Putin and jeopardizes his political future in power, so Russia's best strategy in the near future is to show patience, and undermine or even destroy any attempt by the Ukrainian government with the help of the West for financial recovery. The Georgian example is an adequate guide for the future.<sup>[29]</sup>

The risks and miscalculations resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine cannot pass this time as normal, as when the United States granted itself the right to military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, or any other country it deems to threaten its national security, or threaten American interests in Areas of American influence, but rather will have dire repercussions on international security that the United States is trying to impose and control in every way, at a time when we are witnessing a clear deterioration of the unipolar international system, which has become old and unable to manage itself. The Europeans suddenly realized that the current system is not able to protect them, and they can no longer take peace for granted, nor can they rely on international treaties or international institutions to protect their political borders in the future. Russia threatens That it is ready to use nuclear weapons at any moment, from that the international system is no longer effective and needs fundamental adjustments in line with the geopolitical changes that the world is witnessing today.

Therefore, today, more than ever, we are witnessing great Russian grumbling about the European order that followed the Cold War, and that the Kremlin's violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity not only marked the beginning of the crisis of the European system after the Cold War, but also represented the last stage of a long process during which Russia reluctantly put an end to For something that it felt was not beneficial to its interests, the reality indicates that most countries of the world have never accepted this new European order, even if the Europeans see that this approach is universally applicable. The crisis in Ukraine revealed that many non-Western powers are not interested in investing in maintaining a system After modernity in Europe, Brazil, China, India and South Africa did not join the West's efforts to punish Russia, with which they formed the most important non-Western economic grouping of the BRICS countries.<sup>[30]</sup>

It is clear and beyond doubt that Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the subsequent invasion of southeastern Ukraine and then the recent invasion in the depth to try to overthrow the capital Kyiv is the most serious crisis in European security since the end of the Cold War, and perhaps since the pre-Cold War era, this matter It will have dire repercussions on global peace and security and overturn the multiple assumptions that have strengthened the foreign and security policy of the United States and its allies in Europe since the nineties of the last century. It is characterized by more conflict and less cooperation than was the case after the end of the Cold War. Therefore, we do not rule out that the world will face the dangers of a new Cold War commensurate with the dynamics of the new emerging relationship between the United States and its European allies on one side, and Russia and its allies on the other, but the new conflict will not be the same as the previous one. there There is a great difference in the nature of the conflict, its repercussions, the context in which events are taking place, and its importance in the unipolar international system. These and other issues are completely different from the situation and issues that imposed the previous confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Especially as Russia views Ukraine and some leaders of the post-Soviet countries hostile to it as a product of American intelligence and the product of its undeclared interference in the presidential elections of those countries to change their regimes towards American democracy. Moscow also believes that the leaders of these countries will have absolute loyalty to Washington than to their citizens and their land that they will not be indifferent to the suffering of their own citizens in the wars they are leading on behalf of the United States; Because their agendas and loyalty to the outside prevent them from taking neutral and courageous national political stances that

guarantee safety and peace for their people. It is difficult for them to look at their people through a balanced lens between Washington and Moscow, as did the current Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko, who believed that the greatest threat to his country would be Russia, not Washington, And Belarusian stability and peace is not by hostility to Russia, but rather by joining the Russian umbrella.

Therefore, the Kremlin views the invasion of Ukraine as part of a larger geopolitical project, and a first step towards achieving the Eurasian Union project, as the famous Russian scientist T. Snyder, who underestimated the legitimacy of the Kremlin throne without Ukraine and Kiev (the mother of the Slavic cities), and stated that changing the borders of the Ukrainian state and annexing the Crimea by force, contributed to fueling the conflict in the southeastern regions, and posed a challenge in which Russia shook the Western world and the current global order, in a way General, Snyder believes that this Russian behavior represents a challenge to the global order, European security, and the emergence of intentions to destroy the Ukrainian state. The West will, however, keep Kiev and that international role will ultimately determine not only the future of the Eurasian terrain, but the future of the entire global system.<sup>[31]</sup>

#### **4- The repercussions of the war on international security:**

The Russian-Ukrainian war has contributed to an increase in humanitarian and security risks at the global level, as it has led to the flight of more than two million Ukrainian refugees since mid-March 2022, according to the reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and expectations indicate that the number may reach five or ten million refugees who will leave in the future if The military offensive continued.<sup>[32]</sup> The continuation of this war will inevitably increase the suffering of the people and complicate the humanitarian crisis. Because the increase in the flow of Ukrainian refugees to neighboring countries will lead to chaos and its repercussions will appear on these countries in the future, especially since the countries that have received refugees are economically weak and their institutions are difficult to provide services and basic needs for refugees without financial and food aid from the United States and major countries in the European Union such as France, Britain and Germany Especially since Russia and Ukraine are major producers of basic commodities, and the war between them has caused a rise in world prices, especially oil and natural gas, and food costs have jumped with the rise in wheat prices. in food, goods and services.<sup>[33]</sup>

From an economic point of view, the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war was reflected on the entirety of companies, consumers, governments and societies around the world. The war in Ukraine threatens the basic principle of support for international peace and the global security system after World War II enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, specifically the provisions prohibiting the threat, or use of force Against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country, the continuation of war is likely to lead to escalation between Russia and NATO, including the threat of the use of nuclear weapons (nuclear war).<sup>[34]</sup>

Therefore, the repercussions of this escalation on the global economy will be direct. Because many countries in Europe, Africa and Asia have their economies linked directly or indirectly to the rules of the Russian and Ukrainian economies, it is certain that the global economy as a whole will feel the effects of slower growth and faster inflation. These effects will take three main paths. First, higher prices for basic commodities such as food and energy will increase inflation. Higher oil and natural gas prices will affect everything from transportation to manufacturing to home heating costs, eroding the value of income and affecting demand. Second, neighboring economies in particular will struggle with disruptions to trade, supply chains, and remittances, as well as historically high refugee flows in the future. Third, lower business confidence and increased investor uncertainty will lead to asset prices tightening financial conditions and possibly stimulating capital outflows from emerging markets. These repercussions are very serious, and civil unrest is likely to disturb peace and security stability. <sup>[35]</sup>

The world has not yet recovered from the fragile economic situation due to the epidemic resulting from Covid 19, to enter into a new global crisis represented by the Russian-Ukrainian war, which the institutions of the existing international system were unable to find a solution to stop it, and this is evidence of the weakness and fragility of the current international system, which will become weaker when the crisis increases. Food over time, especially since Russia and Ukraine represent one-fifth of global wheat production, and 70% of sunflower oil exports. <sup>[36]</sup>

Food shortages and persistently high prices may also lead to global food insecurity, and increase poverty and malnutrition cases, especially since Ukraine and the Russian Federation are among the largest

bread baskets in the world, and are major exporters of wheat, barley, corn and sunflower oil, at the same time Russia is the largest exporter. As a result of the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the prices of basic commodities reached record levels in all fields, the prices of foodstuffs increased by an unreasonable rate, and similarly the prices of crude oil and gas rose. Natural fertilizers and fertilizers have more than doubled almost to the point of raising the alarm on food security and global political stability.<sup>[37]</sup> From a political and security point of view, the repercussions of the war on liberal democracy can appear in European countries, and that it may harm the liberal democracy project led by the United States. that they do not have a long opportunity to remain as refugees in the countries in which they have sought refuge; Because the European Union granted them to stay in some countries for a period of one year or a little more, and here lies the problem if the war freeze continues for many years. Where will the fate of these innocents be, will their fate be the same as the fate of the Syrians, or will the Ukrainians of European origin have a different interest than others, and will this continue? Attention and care, are European leaders ready to face more refugee crises, all these matters and other unpredictable needs that European countries should anticipate and prepare for their risks.

Russia's actions in Ukraine are likely to further polarize a region that is already moving toward a mixture of populist and authoritarian leftist governments, and the economic, political, and social repercussions of the war will be grave for NATO member states and the European Union, with Current responses among Latin American nations to the Russian invasion and associated outreach. In the coming months, other Latin American and Caribbean governments are likely to sign defense, political, and other cooperation agreements as tacit declarations of their alliance with Russia, to achieve mutual material benefits. In the long run, this war may have profound effects on other global political and institutional dynamics, in particular, if Russian aggression bypasses Ukraine, it will fundamentally change the calculus of many countries in the world, and diminish the belief of many in the inherent inviolability of their sovereignty against threatening actors, thereby making leads some to seek to join or strengthen formal alliances to defend them, and Countries like Finland or Sweden may find in the lessons of the invasion additional incentives to join NATO to protect themselves against a Russia that has proven willing to take risks and act on its regional ambitions.<sup>[38]</sup>

China can also take advantage of the continuation of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the world's preoccupation with it, to start integrating Taiwan by using military force. But the problems that Russia faced in Ukraine may prevent it from doing such a thing, although China will not give up its ambitions with regard to Taiwan, but it may be more careful, perhaps, in the use of the military. If Russia succeeds in achieving its goals in Ukraine without escalation and compels the West to accept the new status quo, its success is likely to similarly encourage the Republic of China to move against Taiwan when conditions are right..

Finally, it can be said that the economic sanctions imposed by the United States and its European allies on Russia were quick and ill-considered in terms of size and severity. Energy prices, rising food prices, supply chain disruptions, market instability, price volatility and other economic matters, the situation may cause a deep rift between Russia and the West not seen since the Cold War era; Because the effects of high energy and food prices will appear on European societies themselves in a not too long time and will lead to violent internal social unrest in Europe that will be difficult for the United States and its European allies to address. of insecurity and stability.

#### **4- The future prospects of the Russian-Ukrainian war:**

There are grave dangers awaiting the world, which will have repercussions not insignificant on international peace and security, all of which depend on the reaction and response of the United States and NATO towards Russia, if Russia prolongs the war in Ukraine, what will be the fate of the peoples who depend on Russian and Ukrainian wheat, and what The fate of the European peoples that depend on Russian gas supplies, how will the countries that embraced the Ukrainian refugees face the food crisis, lack of employment and the economic decline they are going through, will the United States be able to meet the needs of all European countries in the future, or will these countries be victims of the clash of culture and ideology. The conflict between the West and the East, how would the United States and NATO respond if China ventured and moved militarily to annex Taiwan, all of these issues are related to the future of the

Russian-Ukrainian war, and will have serious repercussions on the international system and on global security and peace.

The future is enough to reveal the validity or incorrectness of analyzes that suggest that Putin does not have a large and specific plan at the present time, or that his plan is limited to Ukraine, but most importantly is the fact that Russia's goals are likely to develop in the future and turn into a response to internal and external stimuli, Putin may have a grand strategy in the future that includes the use of military force in the Baltic states to stir up discord within the alliance and cast doubt on the mutual relations within it..

It is likely that Russia will develop its plans after the new situation in Ukraine, even if Putin has no plan to use military force within the Baltic states, but he may be able in the future, and through the recent invasion of Ukraine Russia put all options on the table and Europe and the United States are no longer able Assuming that Russia will pursue its goal peacefully or not, but Russia's actions in Ukraine are likely to continue to maintain rather than overturn the status quo, by contrast, any Russian effort to destabilize the Baltic states is unlikely to amount to a clear effort to redraw The entire European security system after the Cold War.<sup>[39]</sup>

Therefore, these promises made by the United States do not go beyond being a political maneuver to stop the adversary's progress. In fact, these promises have proven to be discredited after the recent Russian expansion in Ukraine, in which American deterrence did not exceed the framework of a war of words and the mobilization of allies to support Ukraine with money and weapons, and it seems that This kind of weak deterrence was known to the Russian military leaders under the current circumstances, it is likely that Russia will achieve its political goals of sowing discord within the ranks of NATO simply by expanding on some lands of one of the Baltic states, in the absence of real American European deterrence, It is not inconceivable that it will develop its strategies to achieve a large-scale conquest of Western Europe given Russia's geopolitical advantage, and also because it surpasses all military capabilities there, as well as in light of the messages that Russia sends of its unwillingness to avoid further conflict. In terms of defense strategy, it is likely that the United States and its European allies in the future will not be able to provide Ukraine with anything but traditional methods of soft power, such as ineffective diplomatic support, the partnership agreement and the possibility of obtaining economic aid, and useless sanctions against Russia, where the irony lies in the strength Soft power often requires hard power policies to be effective.<sup>[40]</sup>

Therefore, the Ukrainian leaders bear primarily the responsibility for the Russian invasion; Because it was she who brought fire to the territory of the state when its foreign policy departed from neutrality and accepted for itself to become a means and tool for defending the unipolar American world order rejected by Russia, China and to a lesser extent India, Brazil, North Korea, Iran and other countries, and it went in a direction conducive to achieving the global interests of the states The United States at the expense of competing countries, led by Russia and China.

On the other hand, we do not rule out the possibility of a Russian military incursion into the Baltic states in the future, but it will be by its nature very difficult. Because the Baltic states are less susceptible to the kind of hybrid strategies that Russia used effectively in Crimea, and to a lesser extent in the recent invasion of Ukraine, the Russian ethnicity in these countries is much less and does not rival that of Ukraine, the best example being the split of the Ukrainian population over NATO membership, Compared to the Baltic states, living standards in the latter are much better than in Ukraine, which means that any Russian operation to channel ethnic separatism in the Baltic states in the future will be inherently more difficult than in Ukraine, and more difficult to legitimize, not to mention the fact that The Baltic states, unlike Ukraine, are part of NATO.<sup>[41]</sup>

The closest scenario to resolving the Russian-Ukrainian crisis is to reach an agreement between the three parties to the crisis, Russia, the European Union and the United States on a new system in Eastern Europe. New in Eastern Europe, in which Russia is a real player, and has a large political, economic and security space in the former Soviet Union countries that constitute its distinct field of interests. These understandings guarantee Russia to stop the dangerous threats in its vicinity represented by the circular geopolitical expansion carried out by NATO led by the United States, in return they guarantee For the countries of the former Soviet Union, Russia recognizes the sovereignty of these countries and does not overstep their political borders. Stability in Ukraine is largely related to the US-led NATO policy towards Russia; Because the latter justified that its recent military move is a large part

Therefore Creating a viable future in Ukraine requires great understandings between the countries that are party to the crisis, so that Ukraine can be given a special status for relations with NATO, but any attempt to become a full partner in the alliance is prohibited; Because it only exacerbated the situation and allowed military violence to return, especially since Russia negotiated at a very fast pace with Turkey and Greece an alternative gas pipeline to transport energy resources towards Europe, and this clearly indicates that Russia has become to view Ukraine as a lost case.<sup>[42]</sup>

It is also very important that official and unofficial channels remain open with Russia to avoid the continuation of Russian expansion in the Baltic states in the future, and it may extend further, and then the costs of stopping it will be very expensive. The reasons mentioned in this research are cause for concern and real challenges to NATO in the future Believing that the United States and its allies can deter Russia by all means of deterrence and restore security in Europe without military or financial costs would be naive and far from the reality we are witnessing. Tensions with Russia are likely to increase if the United States and NATO continue to expand and deploy strategic weapons in Central and Eastern Europe, and the repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis will cast a shadow on international security and increase the fragility of the unipolar regime led by the United States.

The Kremlin's willingness to use force to change the borders in Europe destabilizes the whole of Europe, which is not excluded in the future, especially if the United States and its European allies increase its pressure and sanctions on Russia in order to besiege and isolate it; The risks posed by Russia's retaliatory foreign policy to the United States, NATO, and stability in the broader Euro-Atlantic security realm are complex, varied, and difficult to predict, and their effects will be profound; Because the Russian aggression against Ukraine has canceled security standards in Europe and created a state of insecurity in general, the future threats to the countries of Western Eurasia, whether it is Ukraine, Georgia or Moldova, from Russia will be dire, due to the weakness of these countries themselves on the one hand, and the ambiguity of intentions and capabilities On the other hand, Russia regards these countries as part of its territory and has the absolute right to defend it<sup>[43]</sup>.

The European Union is at present in an unfavorable position to be a major power in Europe capable of confronting Russia; Because the great political and economic problems that its peoples are witnessing are many and manifold. To this day, its peoples suffer from the problem of the relative deterioration of economic competitiveness, the problem of the long-term slow decline in global GDP, and the problem of the continuous increase in social and economic inequality, among others, which are clear weaknesses that should be Therefore, his policy of expansion and annexation of the Soviet European countries may push Russia to involve the European Union countries in major political, economic and ethnic problems in the future that it is unable to keep pace with and expose a large part of these countries to political and economic collapse, especially since large countries in the European Union depend largely on Russia in its economy and filling the population's need for energy, food, and others.

The weakness of the position of the United States and the European Union towards the Russian invasion of Ukraine, in large part, is due to the great danger posed by the rapid improvement of the Russian economy. Therefore, we do not find them sticking to a large extent in stopping the Russian-Ukrainian war as much as they agree to stop the growth of the Russian economy; Because they feel the danger of this economy growing at the expense of their own Which has not yet recovered from the shocks and risks posed by the growth of the Chinese economy, the United States and its allies today are unable to accept another rising economic power such as China at a time when the American and European economies are witnessing a clear decline, it is possible that the real goal of the United States and NATO is to drain Russia and its weakening in Ukraine, which is intended to be the fuel of a war between these conflicting countries for hegemony.

It is clear that the United States and its European allies will have less interest in what is happening in Ukraine in the future, as in the case of the decline in interest after Russia's invasion of the Crimea in 2014, and it is likely that they will focus on the internal politics of their countries, and try to overcome the economic problems resulting from the Russian intervention in Ukraine, which Its global effects are beginning to appear clearly on those societies, and the foreign policy interests of these countries, including finding solutions to the Ukrainian crisis, are not of great importance in the near future. It is also likely that very different geopolitical changes will occur during the next decade of this century, which is subject to many surprises and new alliances, and that the emergence of a new multipolar world order has become a

reality in light of the inability and inadequacy of the current global system and its institutions to address emerging geopolitical problems. The inability of the world order to stop the Russian-Ukrainian war, find solutions to the Iranian nuclear program, stop North Korean nuclear armament and others are realistic examples of the failure of this system, which has become fragmented between civilizations whose values conflict with the end of the Cold War. The Russian-Ukrainian war revealed the fragility of relations between the United States and its European allies on one side and Russia on the other, and it is very difficult to see common ground between the two parties at the present time, but in the future there may be signs from the United States and Europe to restore what looks like normal life with Russia, this war will be long and will carry many surprises and human suffering, because Russia will cause a lot of suffering to the United States and the European Union.

Also among the scenarios for stopping the Russian-Ukrainian war is Kyiv's announcement that it will never join NATO, the cession of significant regional autonomy to the Russian-speaking parts of eastern Ukraine, and the pledge not to cooperate with any force trying to harm Moscow's interests in the region, and for Ukraine to be part of the It is part of the Russian sphere of influence and within Moscow's orbit, or at least remains neutral There is a consensus among analysts and political and military experts that the war will be prolonged and heading towards a non-stop freeze, and it is possible that Ukraine will disintegrate in the future and a new country with less area and less population will be created with a new international reality. No one can predict how long the war will last and when we can return to an acceptable level of stability. Therefore, any attempt to analyze contemporary Russian strategy must take into account the trajectories of its relations with the international dynamics; Because international conflicts are mostly the result of internal and external political, economic and social contradictions, and are rarely the result of cultural contradictions, the turmoil and insecurity that the world is witnessing today are representations of the end of bipolarity, as Russia, using its ethnic and cultural identity, introduced new strategies in a new type of war The hybridization of Ukraine to achieve its geopolitical goals in the post-Soviet space, and to re-establish its status as a great power, a transformation Finally, it can be said that the efforts made to end the Russian war on Ukraine have not succeeded at the present time, and reached a dead end; Because the main conflict parties, namely the United States, NATO, the European Union and Russia are not ready to make concessions, and the continuous violations of the cease-fire are a clear picture of the mistrust between the conflicting parties, which made the solution more difficult, and the obstacles to peace are increasing, while All of these parties benefit in one way or another from the current crisis, while Ukraine and its people remain the biggest losers in this difficult geopolitical equation.

### **Conclusions:**

- 1-** The overthrow of the pro-Russian former President of Ukraine, Yanukovich, was a very important turning point in contemporary Ukrainian history, and one of the most important reasons for the Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014, and the outbreak of unrest in the eastern and southern regions of Russian-speaking Ukraine, which began to demand self-rule, prompted by Russia Which you used as a pretext to invade Ukraine recently on 24/February/2022.
- 2-** Russia views Ukraine from four main angles. Ukraine is a strategic depth for Russia, and a buffer wall thanks to which Russia has historically defended itself against hostile invasions. Ukraine also plays the role of cultural mediator between gas-rich Russia and the energy-consuming European Union. Additional access to warm seas.
- 3-** The main goals of the United States in Ukraine are the control of the Crimea and the Sevastopol naval base, the withdrawal of the Russian Black Sea Fleet from it and placing them under American control. and their allies in NATO, and was recognized as a fiasco in the work of American intelligence.
- 4-** Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, and the subsequent invasion of southeastern Ukraine and then the last invasion in the depth to try to overthrow the capital Kyiv in 2022, constituted the most serious crisis in European security since the end of the Cold War, and perhaps since the pre-Cold War era. It has dire repercussions on global security and peace in the future.
- 5-** Further sanctions on Russia would not reverse Putin's actions at present or even in the near future, but rather would provide the justification for maintaining a tougher line that would pave the way for the complete dissolution of Ukraine into smaller entities.

**6-** After the new situation in Ukraine, Russia is likely to develop its plans for a future Russian military incursion into the Baltic states, but it will be of a very difficult nature; Because the Baltic states are less susceptible to the kind of hybrid strategies that Russia has used so effectively in Crimea.

**7-** Efforts to end the Russian war on Ukraine have for the time been unsuccessful, and have reached a dead end; Because the main conflict parties, the United States, NATO, the European Union, and Russia are not willing to make concessions, the decision to stop the war requires Ukraine's pledge never to join NATO, the ceding of Crimea to Russia, as well as the ceding of significant regional autonomy to the parts that speak the language Russia in eastern Ukraine, and a pledge not to cooperate with any force trying to harm Moscow's interests in the region, which are Russian conditions that are difficult for any Ukrainian government to implement.

**8-** The rivalry between Russia and the US-led NATO is likely to remain a major feature of the Euro-Atlantic system for the foreseeable future; This is due to the absence of major changes in Russia's view of NATO's movements, and the latter's view of Russia, in addition to the recent Russian occupation of Ukraine, which complicated the scene a lot, which calls for a political and not a military solution to end this confrontation, which is difficult in light of the growing mistrust between the three parties. Major in the war (Russia, the United States, the European Union).

**9-** It is very important that official and unofficial channels remain open with Russia to avoid the continuation of Russian expansion in the Baltic states in the future, and it may extend further, and then the costs of stopping it will be very expensive;

Because the Kremlin's willingness to use force to change the borders in Europe destabilizes the whole of Europe, which is not unlikely in the future, especially if the United States and its European allies increase its pressure and sanctions on Russia in order to besiege and isolate it.

**10-** In terms of defense strategy, it is likely that in the future the United States and its European allies will not be able to offer Ukraine anything but traditional soft power methods, such as ineffective diplomatic support, the partnership agreement and the possibility of economic aid, and useless sanctions against Russia, where the irony lies in the strength Soft power often requires hard power policies to become effective. Therefore, there is a consensus among analysts and political and military experts that the war will be prolonged and heading towards a non-stop freeze, and Ukraine is likely to disintegrate in the future and create a new state with a smaller area and less population with a new international reality.

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