

## СВІТОВА ЕКОНОМІКА ТА МІЖНАРОДНІ ВІДНОСИНИ

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## HYBRID WAR AS A NEW FORM OF INTERSTATE CONFRONTATION

*The weakening of the modern system of global security, its deformation and fragmentation lead to the growing chaos of international relations. Modern destructive technologies used in the interests of solving the problem of ensuring the global domination of the West, combined with unskilled and short-sighted actions of governments and irresponsible slogans of the opposition, put individual states and nations on the brink of disaster. Globalization as the strengthening of international economic, financial, political, cultural, demographic relationships and interdependencies affects all three key areas of managing the collective activities of people at the national level: administrative state (political) governance; management of the socio-economic sphere; management of the cultural and ideological sphere. In each area of governance, there are key areas of criticality, which can have a strong impact on the stable development of an individual country. In the context of growing global criticality, the composition of forces taking part in conflicts is changing, new non-traditional threats are emerging. In the context of globalization and the strengthening of the mutual influence of countries in the world space, as well as the rapid development of information technologies, interstate rivalry and confrontation can take fundamentally new forms. In this regard, the issues of the genesis of the phenomenon of hybrid wars and their new form of interstate proto-resistance acquire an important role. The purpose of this article is to analyze the concept of hybrid war from the standpoint of an interdisciplinary approach and prove that hybrid war, being a natural result of globalization, is not just a technology of interstate confrontation, but a separate concept taken in practice as a basis in the modern interstate confrontation between Russia and the United States. The problem of hybrid war is relatively new, in connection with which there is a large number of interpretations of this definition, which makes it difficult to select effective mechanisms to counter the hybrid aggressor.*

*Keywords: hybrid war, confrontation, globalization, new forms, information technologies.*

## ГІБРИДНА ВІЙНА ЯК НОВА ФОРМА МІЖДЕРЖАВНОГО ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ

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*Послаблення сучасної системи глобальної безпеки, її деформація і роздробленість призводять до наростаючої хаотизації міжнародних відносин. Сучасні руйнівні технології, використовувані в інтересах вирішення завдання забезпечення глобального панування Заходу, в поєднанні з некваліфікованими і недалекоглядними діями урядів і безвідповідальними гаслами опозиції ставлять на грань катастрофи окремі держави і нації. В умовах наростання глобальної критичності змінюється склад сил, які беруть участь в конфліктах, з'являються нові нетрадиційні загрози. В умовах глобалізації та посилення взаємного впливу країн в світовому просторі, а також стрімкого розвитку інформаційних технологій міждержавні суперництво і протистояння можуть приймати принципово нові форми. У зв'язку з цим важливу роль набувають питання генезису феномена гібридних воєн та їх нова форма міждержавного протистояння. Можна також констатувати, що «Гібридна війна» стала журналістським кліше для позначення дій держав, що не вписуються в рамки традиційної військово-силовий парадигми, і це вкрай негативно позначається на перспективах нормативно-правового регулювання даного явища. Крім того, інформаційно-комунікаційна сфера в силу її динамізму є занадто складним об'єктом міжнародно-правового регулювання. Важливо зазначити, що інформаційне протистояння завжди було невід'ємною частиною традиційного військово-силового протистояння держав, проте останніми роками супроводжуються безпрецедентним зростанням значущості інформаційного компонента в міждержавних відносинах. Метою даної статті є аналіз концепції гібридної війни з позицій міждисциплінарного підходу і доведення гіпотези про те, що гібридна війна, будучи закономірним результатом*

глобалізації, є не просто технологією міждержавної конфронтації, а окремою концепцією, взятої на практику за основу в сучасному міждержавному протистоянні Росії та США. Проблема гібридної війни є відносно новою, у зв'язку з чим виникає велика кількість тлумачень цієї дефініції, що ускладнює селекцію ефективних механізмів протидії гібридному агресору.

*Ключові слова:* гібридна війна, протистояння, глобалізація, нові форми, інформаційні технології.

**Problem statement.** The traditional type of conflict for many centuries has been a direct frontal clash of the parties, an armed conflict between sovereign states pursuing the goal of subjugating the enemy by force – a conflict in which organized military forces are used and which, from the beginning to the end of hostility, is subject to certain rules. However, such conflicts were typical until the middle of the 20th century. The initiators of modern conflicts seek to avoid their development according to the force scenario in order to prevent their own troops from being drawn into the meat grinder of hostilities, to preserve the resources and infrastructure of the country-victim of aggression, which is transferred under external control using “soft technologies”. War between states with large-scale use of violence is becoming an anachronism, and it is being replaced by “new wars” based on a fundamentally different type of organized violence, which is characterized by a mixture of war, organized crime, terrorist attacks and the massive impact of information and communication technologies. Along with the traditional confrontation environments, new ones are being formed. According to NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, who states that we have defined cyberspace as a military space. There are sea, land and air spaces, now cyberspace has been added to them. The military-space sphere of confrontation is taking shape, the struggle in the cultural and ideological sphere is becoming more and more sophisticated. Thus, the transformation of modern conflicts associated with the use of new technologies, the involvement of civil and military components in the war, leads to qualitative differences between the “new wars” and the “old war”, and it is important to understand what the essence of the changes is. Such a task requires an in-depth philosophical comprehension of the phenomenon.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** Among scientific researches in the field of knowledge component of competitiveness, Ukrainian and foreign scientists, namely B. Milner, I. Nonaka and H. Takeuchi, P. Senge, V. Bukovich, K. Viig, D.Ye. O’Leary, D. Snowden, Y. Vovk, M. Martynenko, A. Degtyar and M. Bubliy, A. Nalyvayko, N. Butenko, N. Smolinska and I. Hrybyk, S. Leonov and other scientists, have developed a number of theoretical, methodological and methodical approaches to determining the place and role of hybrid warfare in modern globalization. At the same time, it is important to note that at the beginning of the 21st century, the understanding of hybrid warfare, its causes and consequences have changed, requiring additional analysis caused by the rapid development of digitalization and informatization.

**Formulation of the aims of the article.** The purpose of the article is the analysis of hybrid warfare as a new form of interstate confrontation, the definition and justification of its modern specific features.

**Presenting the main material.** At the beginning of the 21st century, the phenomenon of hybrid war emerged with renewed vigor, the threatening urgency of which is one of the reasons for significant shifts in the modern military world outlook. At the same time, the essence and meaning

of war can change, but the higher interests associated with it remain and do not differ from the coined formula of Karl von Clausewitz, that states that the goal of any war is to achieve peace on favorable conditions for the victor. Thus, a hybrid war, along with “ordinary” traditional war, also includes politics “by other means” to achieve certain political goals and can be carried out in different spaces: informational (mass media, Internet space); cyberspace (the use of technically complex computer programs aimed at causing damage to large industrial enterprises and other strategically important facilities, as well as special spyware against specific government and industrial facilities in order to obtain information about closed developments, including in the military industrial complex); diplomatic (a traditional form of political confrontation); internal political (the use of any existing contradictions in the society of the enemy – from religious and interethnic conflicts to clashes between sports fans); economic (application of economic and financial sanctions and counter-sanctions, weakening the enemy in key sectors of the economy, organizing a “controlled collapse” in the national currency market, etc.) [1].

Advances in technology have made symmetrical warfare between equally armed opponents increasingly destructive, one that is difficult to win. However, there is little novelty in this phenomenon, since it also manifested itself during the First and Second World Wars, and most clearly declared itself in one of the largest modern military conflicts – the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980–1988.

The factor of “novelty” is becoming more obvious in connection with the avalanche-like development of communications, the expansion of global ties, which, on the one hand, makes it easier to mobilize supporters, on the other hand, it allows to sow fear and panic on an unprecedented scale. For example, in the First World War 11 media were used, in the Second World War – 13, during the Gulf War in 1991 – 25, in the events in Ukraine – 40 [2].

Thus, much of what we have to meet today, in one form or another, was used in the practice of past wars, but has now reached a new technological level and, in the context of globalization, has acquired a different scale and a unique ability to provoke an avalanche-like chaoticization of the situation. If earlier the source of aggression was determined long before the beginning of its active phase, then in modern conditions it is not easy to do this. It is not always possible to establish the time of the beginning of subversive actions and to make a forecast of their likely development.

There is no doubt that the emergence of new technologies, the growth of interconnection and interdependence in the context of globalization give special acuteness and sophistication to modern conflicts, in which methods are increasingly used based on the integrated application of political, economic, informational and other non-military measures, implemented with reliance on military strength. These are the so-called “hybrid” methods that allow to achieve the political goals of the conflict with minimal military-force impact on the enemy [3].

It seems that the transformation of conflicts leads to the formation of their new model, in which the development of weapons plays a lesser role in comparison with organizational, information technology, managerial, logistic and some other general non-material changes. These factors lead to changes in the methods and organization of new generation conflicts using non-military and military means and form the so-called "hybrid" strategies that underlie the second type of conflicts – hybrid wars and color revolutions. Both strategies are united by a stake on achieving political goals with minimal military-force impact on the enemy through the use of modern information and cognitive technologies based on "soft power" and "hard power".

At the same time, the combination of traditional and hybrid types of modern conflicts is a determining factor for all types of armed confrontation. If the use of hybrid methods in conflicts of a new type allows you to achieve the set goal without open military intervention (for example, in the color revolution), then traditional conflicts necessarily include hybrid technologies [4]. It can be assumed that the hybrid warfare may be one of the forms of sixth-generation wars. The sixth generation of "new" wars has three key goals: to crush the enemy's forces, destroy economic potential, overthrow or replace the political system. To achieve the set goals, a single information field is created by forming a "network army" and waging "network-centric wars". A distinctive feature of a "network-centric" war from any other is the increase in the combat power of the armed forces without increasing the number, that is, it is not the quantity but the quality of the forces that increases. Efficiency is increased by creating a single information network that connects all parties to the conflict with sources of intelligence information.

The phenomenon of the emergence of the concept of "hybrid" war in political discourse illustrates the importance of the information component as a non-military method of confrontation. Information technologies can act both as an unconventional non-military method of struggle and as a new actor. Modern technologies are transforming the usual forms of warfare. The goal of the "new" hybrid wars is political control over the population, so actions to control and change public opinion, where the ultimate goal is often to change the political regime, are carried out with the help of propaganda, disinformation and information stuffing become one of the key methods of information-psychological warfare. Political control over the masses, first of all, is achieved by changing or forming the basic and value attitudes of individuals and the masses regarding the social and political organization of the society in which they live [5].

The technical side of information warfare includes the infrastructure of all life support systems of the state, including telecommunications, transport networks, and banking systems. An act of manifestation of the information and technical component can be a large-scale disruption of the operation of strategic and economic objects, disruption of the normal functioning of transport, communication, financial systems using cyberattacks, hacking, leakage of strategically important information. Foreign researcher Greg Simons especially emphasizes the effectiveness of using cyberattacks in the field of energy and communications.

Cyberattacks aimed at energy and communication systems temporarily suspend their activities, which has a

deep chain effect on perception and public opinion: the masses doubt the state's ability to provide the population with basic public goods, feel vulnerable in the face of the threat, which undermines the legitimacy of the current political system. Although the original goal of cyberattacks is to physically disrupt systems, their psychological impact, which increases anxiety and uncertainty among the population, can directly affect the stability of the political system. In turn, cyberattacks, like using the services of private military companies, are more cost-effective. The visibility and psychological impact of systems shutdown outweighs the economic cost of cyberattacks [6].

Information-psychological warfare is a completely new type, which has appeared due to the development of information technologies and the global Internet network, which act as channels of direct influence on society and the "souls of people", can change their attitudes and values. Information-psychological warfare is more effective in comparison with traditional armed hostilities, because it covers and affects a large audience without causing massive destruction and casualties. The product of modern information and psychological warfare is information stuffing, propaganda or news bulletins that form a different public opinion, the necessary information background for overthrowing, changing the political elite or regime.

In addition to informational influence, a language policy can be a tool for influencing the population. Language is a "repository" of the collective memory of the people, in which certain political and social values and their worldview are fixed. The ability of the masses to speak one language creates a sense of belonging to a particular country, nation, cultural space. This sense of belonging is called national identity, which is inseparable from language. Benedict Anderson in his book "Imaginary Communities" comes to the conclusion that language and history serve as a unifying element of national communities, where each person will never see or recognize all the other representatives of his nation. He develops the idea of the "imaginability" of all nations as a social construct that have a sense of national identity and connection through the language and the printed materials written in it. Banning the masses of the language they speak would destroy a sense of national identity and could lead to national divisions and political confrontation among the elites and the masses. Therefore, language policy is becoming an area of struggle for identity [7].

Language policy is a fairly broad term, which implies not only the choice and establishment of an official language and the possibility of using it, but also the opportunity to study it in educational institutions, carry out cultural activities in this language, name objects and much more. Banning a particular language will lead to a loss of national identity and a political crisis. The population, having lost their familiar culture, value framework and guidelines, will become an object for manipulation by the enemy. In the end, the prohibition of the language can lead to a political crisis and the destruction of state foundations. Therefore, language policy is an instrument of "hybrid" war [8].

Economic sanctions can be an important non-military element of hybrid warfare. The imposition of sanctions on key, strategic sectors can undermine stability, economic interests and sustainable economic growth, that is, endanger the country's economic security. Economic insecurity is likely to lead to an economic crisis, which in

turn threatens the stability of the political system. A ban on the import of certain categories of goods that are not produced in the country causes inflation and shortages, and a ban on the export of goods deprives the enemy of sales markets. If the main category of the country's export is raw materials, the country suffers from the "resource curse", its national currency is unstable and largely dependent on energy prices, then the sanctions imposed on the energy sector will have a deep depressive effect on the country's economy [9]. Searching for new partners or the process of import substitution in a short time is not possible. The economic crisis, which can be expressed in a fall in the value of the national currency and a decrease in real incomes of the population, can lead to a political crisis and the displacement of political elites. In the modern world, the economic and political spheres are inextricably linked with each other; therefore, the sanctions imposed on the industries that shape the country's economic security can be an effective instrument of non-military confrontation [10].

Conclusions. So, the hybrid context of interstate confrontation is a natural result of globalization, which has led to the blurring of the boundaries of traditional norms and rules of warfare and to a change in the role of political and military institutions in the world community. Increased mutual influence and interdependence of national economies in the framework of globalization processes in the late 20th – early 21st centuries have led to the fact that irregular aggression has become much more effective for the purpose of political pressure on the opponent country than regular ("hot" war), leading to significant losses of the enemy with a thoughtful and systematic approach to the choice of its strategy and tactics. Such tactics can be considered even more effective, since they target certain groups of people close to the ruling regime of the opposing country, "hit" the narrow and most vulnerable spots of its national security, lead to a sharp deterioration in macroeconomic indicators and a decrease in the quality characteristics of the population's standard of living.

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