

The Results of the War between Russia and Ukraine in the Formation of the New World Order

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Abstract

Russia's main strategy over the past years has been to prevent NATO's advance and influence to the east and Russia's close security environment and prevent Ukraine from joining the European Union. Based on this, during a special operation, which is considered a preventive measure from the Kremlin's point of view, to prevent future threats, the war between Russia and Ukraine began. The main goal of the research is to analyze the characteristics, scenarios, and goals of the war between Russia and Ukraine in the formation of the new world order. The type of research is applied and it has been done in a systematic, descriptive-exploratory qualitative method, the method of collecting data is documentary and library and interviews with 10 experts. According to the findings of the research, the features of war are described in 9 different categories, the war between Russia and Ukraine is erosive and both countries are practically caught in the swamp of war. What happened to Ukraine today is the result of trusting the West. Russia followed three maximum, medium, and minimum goals in this war, which has reached the minimum goal, which is to control the Donbas region. The research results show that the war between Russia and Ukraine has 35 special features. Russia has won the minimum war in terms of military form, but it has failed from the point of view of the "War of Narratives". Ukraine's military doctrine is shifting from "defensive to deterrence and becoming offensive." Russia's military doctrine has changed from "offensive to defensive" in some areas. The primary result of this war was the formation of the multipolar order and the end of the unipolar order centered on America.

Key words: legitimate defense, preventive war, new order, Russia, Ukraine

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Introduction

The reason for today's crisis of Russia in the territory of Ukraine has its multi-dimensional complexities and limiting it to the issue of NATO's expansion to the east and the borders of Russia does not include many existing facts. To find the roots of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine, it is necessary to look at the history of the formation of two countries, Russia and Ukraine, with a broader perspective. The two countries, Russia and Ukraine, have a common historical heritage and are a historical nation whose connection dates back to a thousand years ago. During the Middle Ages, Ukraine was an inseparable part of one of the main parts of the culture of the East Slavs, as the Rus' tribal federation formed the identity of Rus and Ukraine. That is why Kyiv is called the mother of Russian cities. Since the 13th century, when the Mongol invaders attacked Russia and razed Kyiv to the ground, gradually that difficult point of geography and identity of Russia changed from Kyiv to Moscow, and Kyiv went to the sidelines. So the historical entanglement of these two nations can be seen deeply. Therefore, historically, Russia considers Ukraine to be an inseparable part of its motherland. Vladimir Putin considers Ukraine to be a part of the historical and cultural identity of Russia and believes that Ukraine is an inseparable part of Russia. Since 2000, when Putin took office, the discussion of Russia's revival has been raised until Russia entered the Ukraine crisis in 2014 and recognized the independence of Crimea, and then annexed it to Russia. On the other hand, the gradual decline of the West and the United States and their desperation in various issues led the Russian leaders to the conclusion that the conditions of the international system are such that considering the existing political, economic, military, and security capacities in Russia Re-establish the authority of the Russian Federation as a superpower and enter into the creation of new arrangements in the structure of the international system. In the 1990s and after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the declaration of Ukraine's independence and separation from the former Soviet Union, the general orientations of Ukraine's internal and foreign policy increasingly leaned towards America and the West. On the other hand, the Ukraine crisis in 2104 and the Western sanctions against Russia in the mentioned years harmed the Russian domestic society and put Russia under pressure. For this reason, the leaders of the Kremlin had to be responsible for future threats to the

internal conditions in the country. Moscow had warned Western governments that the continuation of the process of arming Ukraine against Russia could have unpredictable consequences for regional and international security. From Russia's point of view, one of the important reasons for the decision to implement special operations was the concern about Ukraine's possible membership in NATO, which was considered a red line for Moscow. Also, Russia was worried that the opportunity for a military invasion would become more difficult with the passage of time and the gradual strengthening of Ukraine's defense situation, so it saw the conditions for this invasion at the current time. The importance of carrying out the investigation is that it reveals the sinister goals of the US and NATO to reconcile the people of Ukraine and use this country's card to confront its traditional threat, Russia. Lack of attention to research results changes the security mosaic of the world in favor of NATO and the continuation of the unipolar order and neglecting the formation of the multipolar order in the world. Therefore, the war between Russia and Ukraine has created threats and opportunities for the Asian region. One of the opportunities is that it has prevented the development and expansion of NATO to the east, and if Russia wins, it will lead to the formation of a multipolar order in the world. One of the threats is that it is likely to turn into an all-out war in the Asian region and cause the victory of NATO and the formation of a unipolar world led by the United States. The main challenge and concern of the researcher is that the high expectation of the West for the development of NATO towards the east and Russia's reaction to NATO may lead to a long-term war, so what has attracted the researcher's mind as the main question of the research is that What are the goals, characteristics of the war between Russia and Ukraine and its consequences on the world order? Based on this, the sub-questions are: 1- What are the goals and scenarios of the war between Russia and Ukraine? 2- What are the characteristics of the war between Russia and Ukraine? 3- What are the consequences of the war between Russia and Ukraine on the world order? The objectives of the research correspond to the questions. This article is exploratory and does not seek to prove a variable, therefore it does not have a hypothesis. The new world order is the dependent variable and the war between Russia and Ukraine is the independent variable, which was analyzed in the theoretical foundations section.

Theoretical Framework Background

The related backgrounds that are closely related to this article are as follows:

1-Hafez Nia(2022) in his article entitled "Scenarios for the future of the world in light of the Ukraine crisis" focused on the scenarios of war between Russia and Ukraine for the future of the world. Hafez Nia lists the possible scenarios for the future of the world in the light of the Ukraine crisis as follows: 1) limited and controlled war, with the superiority of Russia; 2) limited and controlled war, with the defeat of Russia; 3) immediate ceasefire and compromise; 4) unlimited but controllable war; 5) Unlimited and uncontrollable war.

2-Chenoy (2022) discusses in the article entitled "The War between Russia and Ukraine and the Changing World Order" that no substitute for shared and collaborative security is inclusive. Bilateral standards in the implementation of human rights and selective wars of aggression against smaller countries by major powers have led to the delegitimization of multilateral institutions and an unsafe world for all. Russia's war in Ukraine has accelerated the change of world order. Countries and analysts are calculating the consequences of rebalancing the balance of power and positioning for major changes.

3-Yefermenko (2022) in the article "World Order Z: Irreversibility of Change and Prospects of Survival" discussed the possible global causes and consequences of the military stalemate between Russia and Ukraine, which is the most acute stage of the geopolitical confrontation between Russia and the West. The decision of the Russian leadership to launch a special military operation in Ukraine is analyzed using the concept of ontological security. The economic and financial consequences of this conflict may lead to the disintegration of the current model of globalization and facilitate the transition to a model of dual global circulation between major centers of political and economic influence.

4-Mulligan (2022) in his article "Erosions, ruptures and the End of International Orders: Putin's invasion of Ukraine from a historical perspective argues that Putin's invasion of Ukraine represents a distinct challenge to the liberal international order. This invasion challenges the principles of strategic restraint, shows that economic interdependence can

lead to violent conflict as well as promote cooperation and peace, and requires new normative justifications. The war also revealed broader contradictions in the liberal international order that dates back to its post-Cold War construction.

5-Samii Esfahani and Farahmand (2022) in their article titled "Explaining why and how the war between Russia and Ukraine was formed based on the theory of balance of threats" concluded that understanding the threats and dangers caused by the movements and actions of the United States and NATO in Eastern Europe and especially in Ukraine has caused Putin's determination to counter NATO's advance to become aggressive and cause Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

6-Darvish, Rezadad (2022) in the article "Ukraine war; An introduction to the new world order" argues that Russia along with its alliance not only does not want to play with American rules on European soil, but their activism will be decisive in determining the type and nature of the possible consequences of this war and its impact on the new order. If the effort of the Western camp led by the US is not successful in its action against Russia, the world will witness another world order soon. America's inability to unilaterally impose realities on others is a clear characteristic of the emerging world order. This new reality will mean finding the power of others in proportion to their power and type of acting in this field.

7-Vahid Afrasiaban (2022) in the article "The Trinity of America, Russia and Ukraine in the Structure of the International System" argues the war between Ukraine and Russia can be seen as the arena of direct competition between America and Russia in the structure of the international system. Based on the results, the United States seeks to create a focus for tension and a long-term proxy war in Ukraine for Russia, a war of attrition that will keep the tension between Europe and Russia alive and maintain a confidence factor for the presence of the United States in Europe for decades to come.

In the first article, he discussed the scenarios of the war between Russia and Ukraine, and in the second, third, and sixth articles, he discussed the change of the world order from unipolar to multipolar, which is common in this article. In the fifth article, he discussed the balance of power, which is different from this article. In the seventh article, he discussed the war of attrition, which is shared with this article.

The most important innovation of this article with the mentioned backgrounds is that, in addition to the goals and components, it has addressed the important indicators of the war between Russia and Ukraine.

The theoretical framework of research

Legitimate defense

Legitimate defense, both individually and collectively, is the prelude to collective security. It has a defensive nature, not a repressive one, and in the evolution, if it has a punitive nature, it has a defensive nature in the seventh chapter of the United Nations Charter.

Conditions of legitimate defense:

1-The occurrence of a military attack is the main condition for legitimate defense, and any preventive attack in this regard has no legal value and is not considered a defense. Legitimate defense must be preceded by a military attack, and ideological, cultural, or economic attacks are not considered aggression.

2-Legitimate defense must be necessary, which means that legitimate defense can be done when there are no diplomatic and civilian ways to resolve the aggression.

3-There should be a balance between attack and defense. It is up to the Security Council to determine whether aggression has taken place or not, and in case of aggression, legitimate defense should be proportionate to it.

4- For the defense to be legitimate, it must be immediate and take place quickly after the aggression, if the aggression has been committed and ended and the defense takes place sometime after that, the defense will not be considered legitimate, rather it is a retaliatory action unless aggression and occupation to continue.

5-If an action is taken as a legitimate defense, it should be reported and informed to the Security Council immediately. The purpose of implementing Article 51 of the United Nations Charter is that, until the Security Council has taken the necessary and necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, governments can preliminarily, if they have been attacked by an armed attack. and temporarily defend themselves. In maintaining international peace and security, the Security

Council acts as a governmental and public force, and legitimate defense in international law is a temporary measure and a special introduction of the Security Council. Therefore, the scope of legitimate defense should not be increased with a broad interpretation, so that it becomes a tool to justify an unjust war. The war between Russia and Ukraine has been carried out in the form of legitimate defense, if there is an imminent attack and threat, the defensive action taken against it is called legitimate defense. (Aghabaghri, 2013, 29). There are two types of legitimate defense:

A- Preemptive war: It is a war that begins based on the existence of unquestionable evidence of an imminent attack by the enemy (Eftakharian, 2016, 616). The attack or action of an actor to eliminate the possibility of an imminent attack from the other side is called a preemptive war. A preemptive war can usually start when one of the involved parties assumes the threat of the opponent's attack is inevitable and urgent or claims the inevitability and urgency of the attack to gain a strategic advantage. In the definition of political science, the difference between preemptive war and preventive war is that in the first type, the attacker considers the opponent's attack imminent and urgent and acts based on it, but the second type is done in response to less urgent threats. In a preemptive war, the urgency and certainty of the threat is the central point. Preemptive war is a solution to the belief that an enemy attack is inevitable and immediate, and therefore there is little opportunity to prevent it from starting. In terms of international law, preemptive war is somewhat acceptable. (Sharifi, 2003, 96).

B- Preventive war: This war starts with the aim of preventing the other side from achieving offensive attack capability. This war has offensive power or hidden threat capability or has shown through its behavior that it intends to launch an attack in the future. The purpose of preventive war is to change the balance of power through a strategic attack before changing the balance of power in the direction of the enemy. Preventive war without the support of the United Nations is prohibited in the framework of modern international law. Therefore, preventive war refers to cases where a state resorts to force to suppress any possibility of future attack by another state, even in cases where there is no reason or belief that an attack is planned and cases where no initial attack has taken place. (Sharifi, 2003, 97). The environmental conditions

between Russia and Ukraine indicate that this war was of a preventive type, in the meeting that Putin had with the Supreme Leader, he said that if you did not take the initiative, the other side would cause a war with its own initiative. became. This statement of His Holiness expresses the preventive nature of war. Preventive war occurs when a powerful country feels that it is gradually losing its international and regional status due to the progress of other powers. Examining and understanding the major functions of disrupting the balance of power to their detriment leads to the implementation of preventive war.

The Special Operation Forces

The Russian special operations forces are elite, each fighter of which is a first-class force, and is under the command of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, which was established in 2009. It is impossible to carry out special operations with normal methods, and they are created to protect the interests of the government in a specific territory. The methodological basis of their activities in most cases is secrecy. Quick reaction forces or ground elite units are used in unconventional tensions, among the units we can mention Spetsnaz airborne infantry units and small special operations command. These units have the highest level of readiness in the Russian army and as soon as it is announced, they can respond to regional tensions or be sent to the mission site. These forces have been deployed to a large extent in Ukraine and Syria, and their missions in Ukraine and Syria have included special reconnaissance, covert and direct action missions, unconventional warfare, and working with proxy groups. This issue indicates that these units have a fundamental and different role compared to the heavier ground force units. (Monica, 46, 2020)

Future war

Our idea of the future and the possible scenarios about the future are also important and widespread topics in the scientific, press, and decision-making circles, which adds to the richness of this discussion along with the topics of the future war. There is a general theory about the future war that all the possible actors of the future war, to continue to survive in the space of the future war, must have four main principles or characteristics or must use four tools: 1- impact-oriented thinking; 2- network-oriented behavioral pattern; 3- flexible and complex structure;

4- The creative combination of soft and hard technologies. (Zehadi and Kalantari, 2017, 154).

New world order

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the American government decided to rule its government and power in the world and proposed the theory of the new world order with the aim of undisputed leadership in the world. The new world order under the leadership of the United States seeks to achieve a single sovereignty in the world by presenting values and norms such as human rights, liberal democracy, and free trade, which is based on American-Western thought, to rule the culture, civilization, and international systems. Now, with the emergence of new powers, this order has been criticized and challenged by many countries. The aforementioned changes have caused a change in the foreign policy orientation of the major actors of the new world order towards international and regional issues. The performance of the Islamic Republic of Iran as an active regional actor has always sought to challenge this order. So that; Ayatollah Khamenei says in this context: "The day when the American president announced the new world order after the collapse of the communist camp, he revealed America's long-standing arrogant goal and showed its real intention (statements of Ayatollah Khamenei: 2013-12-17). He also questioned the new American order for ignoring moral norms such as peace, disarmament, and issues related to human rights. The world that arrogance expresses is a word that has very treacherous and malicious intentions behind it" (statements in Friday prayer sermons 2001-7-29).

The current trends show the relative decline of the power of the West at the level of a dominant global actor, and the elevation of others in the international system has led to the limitation of its power.

There is also a difference of opinion between Russia and the United States regarding the international order. Since the end of the Cold War, Russian officials and analysts have expressed harsher views on the US-led international order. In other words, after the end of the Cold War, Russia has always been one of the main critics of the unipolar order led by the United States. From the point of view of Russian leaders, including Vladimir Putin himself; Washington does not understand the fact that in recent decades, "new power centers" with their "political systems and public institutions" as well as their "economic growth

models" are forming and gaining a position that has the right to protect themselves, and guarantee national sovereignty. Therefore, the era of the so-called unipolar world order is over (Putin, 2022). In contrast to the desired order that Russia supports, it is a multi-polar international order. In general, multipolar order means equal distribution of power among more than two nation-states. Russia's interaction with the concept of multipolar order is guided by the long-term vision of the country's foreign policy, which seeks to move the international system away from the unipolar order dominated by the United States. Therefore, in the political terms of Russia, multipolarity is the manifestation of an optimistic worldview that is based on the "fair" distribution of power among all types of poles. This is different from the realist concept of multipolarity, which is more about the balance of power. For various Russian discourses, multipolarity is more about managing inevitable global diversity, which is why Moscow's attempts at multi-polarization are paralleled by verbal denials of balance-of-power politics, indicating Russia's eagerness to break with the rhetorical legacy of the Cold War (Makarychev, 2011, 2). From Russia's point of view, the inherent tension between the hegemon's desire for dominance and the diversity of foreign policy interests of countries undermines global peace and stability, especially when the hegemon resorts to coercive military force and economic sanctions. As a result, it can be said that the only global governance tool capable of satisfactorily representing diverse national interests and controlling the hegemon's destructive motives is international law and multilateral diplomacy, which is formed primarily in the United Nations and the Security Council (Budnitsky, 2020,5).

The effect of the war between Russia and Ukraine in the formation of the new world order

The war in Ukraine has brought the discussions of political circles to two main hypotheses:

1-The first hypothesis indicates the end of the world order, which is the reason for the end of the unipolar world led by America. Professor Stephen Walt admits that the war in Ukraine marks the end of America's "era of unipolarity" (1993-2020), during which the United States was the world's only superpower. The war in Ukraine represents a return to previous patterns of world political relations that were temporarily overshadowed by the undisputed supremacy of the United States. Biden

called democracy "fragile". Also, in an interview with the Financial Times magazine in June 2019, Putin said that "the idea of liberalism has outlived its purpose" and that "every crime should have its punishment." "The idea of liberalism is outdated and is against the interests of the majority of the [global] community".

2- The second hypothesis indicates the lack of a stable world order during the post-Cold War period. Most of the dynamic political interactions in international relations have implicitly been a series of power games between China, Russia, the United States, and Europe. The cause of the recent geopolitical tensions and the war in Ukraine has been the efforts of countries to create a new multipolar system and the importance of geopolitics of other actors, especially China and Russia and some regional powers such as France, Turkey, Iran, and India; On the other hand, Australia has signed the ACOS agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom. However, Putin believes the world is in chaos because "there are basically no rules." He notes with satisfaction some of the benefits of the Cold War because "[during the Cold War] there were at least a few rules that all parties in international relations more or less adhered to." In an article entitled "Future World Order", Mark Saxon states that Russia has "overestimated its power" and that "only China and the United States are the two powers that can determine and maintain the world order." He concludes that in order to gain global supremacy, the US and China are convinced that their competition should not be drawn into a "European [type] conflict" [like the Ukraine war]. Analyzes about the second hypothesis are heard more, which considers the war in Ukraine as a part of the conflict or competition through which the great powers can shape the new world order. Russia and China are well prepared and positioned to confront the great American empire. The retired admiral of the US Navy and the former commander of NATO in Europe believes that in 1950 a world system was formed that if you consider that system as a good car, this car is now old and worn out and can be completely repaired, but in It is moving now. "Putin has driven this car more in a week than anyone else I can remember." (Cherkaoui, 2022, 22-25).

Ecology of Russian and Ukrainian war tactics

In examining these tactics, the Russians are in some way inclined to the policy of a dignified exit from this war and preventing its erosion through dialogue and getting the desired points in the negotiations. A policy that becomes more difficult for Russia with each passing day of the war and the efforts of America and Western countries to continue the war and impose defeat on Russia, as well as the high motivation of Ukraine to take back all the occupied territories. One of the issues facing the Ukraine war is the uncertainty of Western tactics to shape the outcome of the war. It can be said that the Western parties in NATO are hesitant to provide a level of arms assistance to Ukraine that would lead to the military defeat of Russia. From the point of view of Western tactics, the formation of a trend that has the prospect of Russia's failure in the conventional war arena may activate the alarm of nuclear war. Therefore, it can be said that the war in Ukraine is entering a stage that neither can lead to the victory of one side nor can it end without special achievements for the sides at this stage.

Three scenarios for the Ukrainian crisis before the start of the war

The first scenario: It was an act of incuriosity in which Ukraine did whatever it wanted (joining NATO, etc.) and the Russians did not show a serious reaction; Because in the end, the balance of power in Europe was decided by nuclear weapons. This scenario was costly for the Russians and unreliable in possible conventional confrontations.

The second scenario: the Russians thought to seize Kyiv with a thunderous attack. In this scenario, the risk of unpredictable military risks was imaginable for the Russians, and in addition, it exposed Russia's weak economy to economic pressures.

Third scenario: By all possible means, Russia aimed to prevent Ukraine from joining NATO without a major military operation. How was this possible? By shaping the balance of terror (strategic power projection) and creating military, security, and territorial challenges for Ukraine. According to the current procedure in NATO, countries with security problems such as separatism, border disputes, occupied territories, etc. will not become members of this alliance, and the Russians were well aware of this issue. Therefore, by continuing to occupy Crimea, creating a military-security crisis in eastern Ukraine and

making eastern Ukraine insecure again, and creating a civil war between the Ukrainian government and separatists in the east of this country, Russia could prevent this country from joining NATO. In fact, it seems that the most logical and least expensive strategy facing Russia was the third scenario, that is, the strategic balance of terror at the same time as indirect entry and creating military, security, and territorial challenges for Ukraine, so as to make this country and NATO passive. and postpone the issue of Ukraine's accession to NATO. (Mahdian, 2022,6)

Choosing the second scenario and starting the war:

The Russians chose the second tactic, a full-scale attack on Ukraine, for the following reasons:

1-Taking into consideration that Ukraine is not a member of NATO, and as a result, the risk of NATO entering the war directly is almost zero.

2-The Ukrainian army is quantitatively and qualitatively weaker than the Russian army, and they considered the possibility of victory in a full-scale lightning attack certain.

3- At the macro level, the experience of Europe's passivity and the structure of the international system against the annexation of Crimea and the occupation of the eastern regions of Ukraine led the Russians to adopt a strategy of all-out aggression towards Ukraine. In addition to the balance of strategic power, the Russians, taking into account their conditions and superiority in the global geoenergy structure and the evident dependence of Europeans on this country's energy, had the idea that European countries could not impose economic sanctions on Russia. (Mahdian, 2022, 7).

The conceptual model of the research

Based on the review of many studies, the war between Russia and Ukraine has been analyzed in the form of preventive war, therefore, according to the characteristics of preventive war and based on the research questions, as well as according to the opinion of experts and experts, the conceptual model is as shown in the figure below. In this figure, three goals, four scenarios, and four fundamental characteristics for the war between Russia and Ukraine are stated, which are effective in the formation of a new world order in the form of a multipolar order.



Figure 1: The conceptual model of the research

Methodology

This paper has increased our knowledge about the subject of the research. Therefore, this is an applied and decision-oriented research. In this research, theorizing is not intended, for this reason, the exploratory method and content analysis have been carried out qualitatively and systematically. The data collection of the study is documentary and library. The experts included 10 commanders and members of the Russian-Ukrainian war working group in the armed forces, who visited the scene of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the field. The researcher has reached theoretical saturation after interviewing 10 people, and the analysis of the findings and the text of the interview has been done based on the content analysis method. In this method, the goals, scenarios, and features of the war between Russia and Ukraine have been extracted from the interview text and documents in the form of categories and propositions and combined, therefore it has the necessary validity and reliability.

In terms of time, it coincides with the beginning of Russia's special operation against Ukraine in 2022, and in terms of location and subject, it includes the impact of the war scene between Russia and Ukraine in the new world order.

Data analysis and research findings

Quantitative and qualitative objectives of Russia's implementation of special military operations in Ukraine

According to the results obtained from the interviews with 10 experts as well as the content analysis of documents and study sources, according to the table below, Russia's goals of implementing special military operations in Ukraine can be summarized in 5 axes. Categories and propositions have been approved by experts with an average above 4, so they have high validity and reliability.

Table No. I: Open, central and selective coding of Russia's goals of conducting special military operations in Ukraine

Row	category	Proposition	Average
1	1-America rejecting Ukraine's entry into NATO 2- Russia considers the expansion of NATO members as a major concern for its national security and interests 3-Disarmament and military neutralization of Ukraine	Russia's sense of insecurity from the expansion of NATO to the east	4-3
2	1-Russia will seek to annex Ukraine to its territory 2-Recognition of the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk republics	Russian influence and traditional authority in Eastern Europe	4-3
3	1-Russia's military intervention in Syria 2-American military attack on Iraq 3-Russian public diplomacy and soft power	The foundation of the new world order	4-2
4	1-Personality characteristics and personal psychology of Putin 2-The tradition of rule and governance in Russia	Ambitious rule in Russia	4-1
5	1-Request for Russia's membership in NATO and the European Union 2-Russians have an identity different from European peoples 3-Reviving the Russian Empire	Opposition to the Europeanization of Russia	4

Based on the scenarios and information obtained in Table No. 1, Russia has 5 major goals in Ukraine:

1-The most important reason for Russia's "increasing sense of insecurity" is the expansion of NATO member states in Eastern Europe and along the western borders of Russia: this issue was raised as Russia's

main request in the peace talks between Russian and Ukrainian representatives in Belarus. The guarantee that the United States will abandon Ukraine's entry into NATO will give Russia a security guarantee that other countries will not use Ukraine as an example and the head of their actions. In general, Russia Domino considers the expansion of NATO members as a "fundamental concern" for its interests and national security. Russia wants "security guarantees" from the West that the increasing expansion of NATO will be stopped and as a result, most of Russia's security concerns will be resolved. In this regard, obtaining assurances from the West regarding the "disarmament and military neutralization of Ukraine", "creating deterrence on other countries" (Belarus and Georgia) that will never be in a union and lining up against the interests and national security of Russia, and "policy They will put "good neighborliness" at the top of their actions. This issue will be effective in "increasing Russia's bargaining power against America" in solving other important security issues such as removing security threats caused by the establishment and increase of American nuclear weapons in Europe and Russia's neighborhood.

2- Maintaining Russia's traditional area of control, influence, and authority in Eastern Europe: Considering the implementation of special and preemptive military operations in Ukraine and the complete recapture of the Crimean Peninsula in recent years, Russia will first seek to annex Ukraine to its territory. In the next stages of Russia's plan to overthrow the Western government of "Volodymyr Zelensky" and establish an independent government in Kyiv, and as a result, to rationalize Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy, and further realize autonomy and recognize the independence of the Donetsk and Luhansk republics, where the majority of the people These areas are also of Russian descent. In this case, Russian military forces will have the legitimacy to be present and act as "peacekeeping forces in independent regions". Regarding Russia's support for this newly established republic, it should be noted that Russia rightly believes that the ruling view of the Western-oriented government of Ukraine regarding the Russian-descended population of these regions is negative and racist and considers them the fifth pillar and the factor in achieving the goals. Russians in Ukraine know. In recent years, the inhumane and discriminatory actions of the Ukrainian government in the Russian population areas of Donetsk and Luhansk have been protested by the

Russians, and the people of these areas have repeatedly demanded to join Russia. In the similar case of Crimea, the protection of Russian descendants and Russian speakers against the discrimination and racist policies of the Ukrainian government provides the necessary commitment and moral requirements for Russia in military actions.

3-Establishing the new world order by emphasizing the global and regional role of Russia in managing developments and setting global guidelines: In this regard, Russia's military intervention in Syria and in support of "Bashar Assad" can be the most serious test and abandoned. In the new American world order after the Second World War, he knew. A subject that was easily passed over in America and the West. After the fall of the Soviet Union and the decline of Russia's role and position in the global and regional equations for many years due to internal weakness and disintegration, Russia inevitably defined its foreign policy in cooperation, silence and tolerance with the American policies and its external appearance. It was in Russia's foreign policy and its reflection in the global institution-oriented structure in international organizations in the form of accompanying and tacit approval of the American military attack on Iraq. Accompanying and implicit approval of American and Western policies in recent years has weakened and destroyed a significant part of Russia's international power, global prestige, public diplomacy and soft power in the world and even among its allies. Russia's military action in Syria was, in a way, the first action of this country in restoring its dignity and presenting an independent figure with thought and action in the international arena. From this point of view, the extensive actions of America and the West against Russia are aimed at restoring balance and stability to the world system and order, which has been challenged and revolted by Russia.

4-The tradition of ambitious governance in Russia: Many international relations experts reduce Russia's recent actions to Putin's personality traits and personal psychology. They point to his vast ambitions, but the reality is something else. Putin is not ambitious, but the tradition of ruling and governing in Russia creates ambitious and high-flying people from the leaders of this country the lap of Russian political culture produces despotic and ambitious children. Ambition is an inseparable part of the identity of Russian rulers, in fact, it is better to say that Putin has a role, a task, and a historical place in mind for himself, how he is judged by future Russians is important to him. The answer to the

question of whether he was the son of Khalaf and patriotism? In this regard, "Ivan Ilin" as the main preacher of Christian fascism, which has a tremendous impact on Putin's thoughts, emphasizes the position and role of the Russian nation as an honest nation with powerful leadership in saving the world. He once said that "Russia gets its spiritual strength from God and therefore is under constant attack from the evil parts of the world". "Our duty" (Russians) and Russia's divine mission to fight against the "disintegration of human existence" and repel the "evil of history" are completely in line with Putin's thoughts. Ilyin emphasized the "living organic unity" of Russia and considered Ukrainians to be a part of this unity.

5- America's disapproval of bringing Russia into the "Europeanization" process: after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russians repeatedly asked for membership in NATO and full membership in the European Union. An issue that was always ignored by the US and its Western allies. America and the West decided to define their "other" (the objective or mental factor connecting and unifying America and blocking the West in one direction) as Russia. In addition to humiliating and wounding the national pride of Russians, this issue also provided the necessary platform to weaken the liberal democratic faction strengthen the authoritarian faction in Russia, and facilitate the emergence of an anti-American and Western government in Russia. This exclusion caused the Russians to define an identity different from the European people, an independent identity with different goals and perspectives from the general course of Europe. This caused Russia to despair of cooperation with the West, to revive the idea of reviving the Russian Empire through re-dominance of the entire Heartland, that is, the former territory of the Soviet Union. The Russians found out bitterly that trusting the West and hoping for liberal democratic parties is futile.

Possible and upcoming conditions in the continuation of the war for the involved parties:

According to the results of the interviews conducted with 10 experts and experts, as well as the content analysis of documents and study sources, the scenarios of the war between Russia and Ukraine can be summarized in 4 axes. Categories and propositions have been approved by experts with an average above 4, so they have high validity and reliability.

Table No. II: Open, central, and selective coding of Russian and Ukrainian war scenarios

Row	category	Proposition	Average
1	Attack on Ukraine-Georgia, Moldova	The spread of conflict	4-2
2	The development of military war - economic embargo - political isolation	War of attrition	4-1
3	Surprise Russia - Russia's military supply chain - Devastating urban warfare	swamp war	4
4	The division of Ukraine into two eastern and western parts	The breakup of Ukraine	4

Based on the categories and propositions in Table II, the scenarios of the war between Russia and Ukraine are:

1-Expand the conflict: Ukraine shares a border with four NATO members, which were once part of the Soviet Union, and Putin does not hide his desire to retake them. After absorbing Belarus and invading Ukraine, could he covet Moldova, the small country between Ukraine and Romania, or even Georgia on the eastern coast of the Black Sea? In addition, will Russia dare to challenge NATO and its Article 5, which stipulates that it must respond in case of an attack on one of the members of the alliance? Pascal Asor, director of the Mediterranean Foundation for Strategic Studies, says: "This is unlikely because both sides have usually avoided confrontation." However, "the entry of Russian forces into a NATO member state, for example, Lithuania, to connect Kaliningrad to Belarus is a possible assumption.

2-War of attrition: the approach of the American-British side to the war in Ukraine is more inclined to this situation. In such a way that Russia remains involved in military war, economic sanctions and political isolation, and the foothold of the transatlantic flow in Europe is strengthened more and more, until this war leads to internal changes in Russia like the war in Afghanistan.

3-Russia getting caught in the quagmire: The Ukrainians have managed to surprise the Russians, the West, and maybe even themselves, even if we accept that the destruction and casualties of the conflict were too great for them. The people of Ukraine have not accepted the Russians as a "liberating" force; This is in addition to the problems that probably exist in the Russian military chain, and of course, it is too early to quantify them. The main resistance is largely led by Volodymyr Zelensky, who has stunned the world with his coolness and courage.

With the support of Western intelligence services and the delivery of weapons, Ukrainian forces can drag their enemy into a devastating urban war; Where ground awareness will be decisive. In this case, experience has shown that guerrillas rarely fail. Dragging the conflicts into urban war can become Ukraine's strong point.

4- Separation of Ukraine: Although the conflicts between European powers in the form of the Cold War have always been long, European military wars have not been very long in the past century, especially civil wars such as Bosnia and Kosovo. On the other hand, there is no lack of apparently democratic ways in Europe. Based on these experiences, Ukraine may also suffer the fate of Yugoslavia and Serbia. That is a short-term war of up to one or two years, and then the division of Ukraine into two eastern and western parts dominated by Russia. In this way, Putin achieves part of his goals in the short term, but the disintegration of Ukraine will not be the end of Russia's problems with Europe and America, and the Cold War atmosphere between them may last for a long time. This scenario seems more likely than others.

The characteristics of the future war based on the point of view of different experts

The various features of the future war have been collected in different categories from the point of view of experts. Concerning the distinctive features of the future war, the views and opinions of thinkers in the field of military literature are different. Each of these thinkers has proposed aspects of the characteristics of future wars in their defense and military works, which in most cases are similar or have slight differences. The following table summarizes and integrates the views of experts on the characteristics of the future war:

Table III: Characteristics of the future war according to experts

Row	Features of the future war	Row	Features of the future war
1	being multifaceted	13	Intensive and focused operations
2	cognition-oriented	14	The fluidity of the operation scene
3	intelligence	15	Attacking strategic capabilities
4	impact-oriented	16	Extensive psychological operations
5	Basic technology	17	Reducing the cycle time between information and operations
6	Capability-oriented	18	far from static
7	Basic people	19	Proximity of strategic and operational levels of war

8	Online and horizontal command and control	20	Minimal use of ground forces
9	Information dominance	21	Using terrorist groups
10	Value-oriented and ideal-oriented	22	heterogeneity
11	The intertwining of military threats with security threats	23	Inequality
12	Special operations	24	Mobilization of the components of national power

The results of the war between Russia and Ukraine on the world order:

Since the previous order of US unipolar power in the world arena has been destroyed, there is no doubt, that maybe the international actor that destroyed this order is not Russia and the group of countries that stand against domination and extravagance. They have started the process of confronting the world order considered by America years ago. The resistance of the Axis countries against the excesses of the West and their puppet government in the occupied territories, resistance against the aggression of the Arab coalition in Yemen and resistance against the West's desire to overthrow the political system in Syria are examples of the focal points of confronting The world order was intended by the United States, which was implemented during the administration of George Bush Sr., and a lot of money was spent by the United States to institutionalize it. Russia's war with Ukraine, however, was a major turning point in the decline of the world order considered by the United States. Russia's attack on its neighboring country to disarm this country was one of the events that faced a great challenge to the American order. Russia may have disrupted the world order that America envisioned, but it had shown the courage to confront America and target the interests of the United States in the region at the beginning of the axis of resistance. Now, after many years, Russia has also come to the conclusion that it must do its part in the decline of the power of the West, especially the United States. In the war in Ukraine, Russia not only questioned the existence and dignity of international organizations and the world order desired by the United States, but also destroyed the economic system, global energy security, and even the existing order in the cycle of production and distribution of goods in the world. Of course, Moscow's release from this full-scale war against the status quo was not to achieve

its national interests. The most ideal situation for Moscow was for Zelensky to accept Moscow's security demands and to withdraw the request for membership in NATO and the European Union and not to turn his country into a military, weapons and intelligence base of the West against Russia. In this game, like all the previous years, Ukraine stood on the side of America and the West, after being rejected by them, now it has become a proxy war ground for both sides. The new world order, with serious emphasis on reforming the structure of international organizations, redistributing power in the world, as well as the multipolarity of the world, has been taking shape for a long time. Russia may see economic and financial losses in the short term from taking an important step towards challenging the world order desired by America, but it has well understood the current trend in the world. This is a process that the countries of the resistance group, the countries of Latin America and other countries that faced global arrogance started many years ago, and now with the joining of Russia, it is the basis for the serious decline of America in the world arena.

Conclusion and suggestions:

A- Conclusion

The answer to the main research question of the goals, scenarios, and characteristics of the war between Russia and Ukraine and its consequences on the world order:

Russia had three important goals, which achieved the minimum goal of controlling the Donbas region. Russia had three scenarios, which have achieved the maximum scenario, which is the land connection of the Crimean Peninsula to Russian territory through the Donbas region and the disconnection of Ukraine's sea connection with the Sea of Azov. This war has 35 basic features. The most important consequence of the war is the return of the multipolar world and the end of the unipolar world, which indicates the beginning of a new era in international relations. In terms of the military, Russia has reached the minimum declared goals, or in other words, in terms of the military form, it has won the minimum of the war, but it has failed from the point of view of the "War of Narratives". Russia's narrative has failed against NATO. Ukraine's military doctrine has changed from "defensive to offensive" but Russia's

military doctrine has changed from "offensive to defensive", in such a situation negotiation is the way out.

The answer to the first sub-question; The goals and general scenarios of the war between Russia and Ukraine are:

Russia's goals in the war were: A- The maximum goal: to exercise control over the territory of Ukraine, B- The medium goal: To control half of the territory of Ukraine up to the Dnieper River, C- The minimum goal: To control the Donbas region, which would allow Russia to have a land road to Crimea. be

The main and current scenarios of Russia: the realization of the maximum scenario, that is, the land connection of the Crimean peninsula to the Russian territory through the Donbas region and the city of Mariupol, and the disconnection of the sea connection of Ukraine with the Sea of Azov. If this scenario does not materialize, Russia will practically be caught in the swamp of attrition war.

1-Russia's commitment to the minimum goal: control of the Donbas region, which would allow Russia to have a land road to Crimea, was aimed at connecting the Crimean Peninsula by land to the Russian mainland and cutting off Ukraine's maritime connection with the Sea of Azov. For this reason, Russia is suffering from a war of attrition and if NATO support continues, it will be stuck in a quagmire. The possibility of implementing this scenario seems more realistic. (Maximum scenario)

2-If Russia wins the war, the balance of power will change from single-multipolar to multi-polar or a board of directors. Russia needs a complementary power to achieve victory, on the other hand, the entry of a complementary power into the war will lead to the beginning of the third world war. The possibility of implementing this scenario is weaker than the above scenario. (Intermediate scenario)

3- If Russia fails, the world will witness a new revolution in Russia. Russia's defeat in 1905 against Japan, led to the formation of Tsarist Russia. - Russia's defeat in 1917 in World War I, which led to the formation of the Soviet Union. - Russia's defeat 2 years after the war in Afghanistan, which led to its collapse. Chivalry and formation of current Russia. The probability of implementing this scenario is weak. (Minimum scenario)

The answer to the second sub-question; The features of the war between Russia and Ukraine are:

- 1-Destruction-Oriented war (traditional and classical focus),
- 2-Changing the composition and nature of the battle scene,
- 3-Decentralized command,
- 4-centralized control,
- 5-Linear and front battle,
- 6-Non-specialization of combat and non-use of special forces.
- 7-Certainty of the time and location of the battlefield,
- 8-The asymmetry of war
- 9-Incompatibility of tactical, operational, and strategic levels of war.
- 10-The weakness of the information circuit, especially the circulation of information,
- 11-Lack of integration of systems and systems,
- 12-Low intensity war,
- 13-Aiming at deep and strategic targets and the enemy's centers of gravity.
- 14-High movements and maximum use of frontal penetrations instead of deep and small ones.
- 15-Continuous and intermittent and round-the-clock offense,
- 16-Using linear objects instead of flat and three-dimensional objects.
- 17-Not using drone systems against the Russian armored column in the first days of the war.
- 18-Not using ink-blot war tactics against the Russian ground forces.
- 19-Not using strong defense systems against Russian birds.
- 20-Not using drones to bomb Russia's sensitive centers.
- 21-Weak training and morale of the parties' human resources.
- 22-Not having secure communications, especially on the Russian side,
- 23-Not using smart ammunition, especially at the beginning of the war.
- 24-Not using anti-drone jammers,
- 25-Improper planning in the implementation of joint operations,
- 26-The inability of the Russians to integrate key elements of the battlefield.
- 27-The way of maneuvering and ignoring the principle of surprise,
- 28-Neglecting the media war,
- 29-Extensive use of armored forces that are not capable of fighting in urban areas.
- 30-The weakness of the Air Force, especially since the 25th day of the war,

- 31-Not using naval tactics, especially naval drones,
- 32-Not using urban warfare tactics and weakness against the resistance of the Ukrainian people.
- 33-The severe weakness of the logistics and service supply chain,
- 34-Calculation error of Russian designers in estimating information about the situation of the people and the army of Ukraine.
- 35-Ignoring US and European financial, logistical, and intelligence support for Zelensky.

The answer to the third sub-question; The consequences of the war between Russia and Ukraine on the world order

The war between Russia and Ukraine is a multipolar war and a war against hegemony. If the situation ends in Russia's favor, this issue can speed up the change of the international order and the concentration of power from the West to the East. The war in Ukraine marks the beginning of a new era in international relations. Although the West, led by the United States in the post-Cold War years, has established a principle-based liberal order as the basis for regulating international relations, it seems that such an order is declining. Ukraine is both a clear indicator of the limitations of America's global sphere of influence in the post-Cold War era, and an indication of Russia's ability to defend what it sees as its regional sphere. The war in Ukraine marks the return of a multipolar world and the end of a unipolar world, marking the dividing line between an era in which the United States saw the entire world as its sphere of influence and a new, more multipolar world in which US power is limited. The war in Ukraine has shown three things about the shifting global balance of power. First, while the US may still claim a global sphere of influence, it is practically unwilling to risk nuclear war with Russia to protect Ukraine. US weapons, intelligence, and finance have undoubtedly helped balance the conflict, but US troops are not involved. Second, spheres of influence are rarely uncontested, and Russia has so far proven unable to impose its full will on Ukraine, failing to achieve its primary and secondary military objectives in this war. Third, while much of the response to the war in Ukraine has been framed in a bipolar fashion that tends to portray the conflict as a struggle between Russia and the West—the response to the war is less clear-cut, and outside of Europe, most countries take a more nuanced approach to have adopted the crisis.

B- Suggestions

1-Formation of "Eurasian Alliance" centered on Russia, Iran and China in the form of "Unity Doctrine" to reduce American hegemony and prevent NATO's eastward expansion.

2-The unification of Asian countries against NATO and opposition to the US presence in the region will change the unipolar to a multipolar order.

3-A comparative comparison of the characteristics of the war between Russia and Ukraine with other wars conducted in the last 20 years should be used by the armed forces of Iran as a lesson learned.

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