
HYBRID WAR, ITS ESSENCE AND SPECIFICITY

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ABSTRACT

In the paper, the hybrid war is considered as an exclusively geopolitical phenomenon, which is not defined as a whole in the paradigms of other studies. In the article, the problem is studied within the methodology of geopolitical realism. The author believes that the essence of hybrid war is a set of actions aimed at destroying all the main geopolitical spaces of the opposing society, that is, its absolute destruction, carried out simultaneously in all main types of geopolitical spaces. The paper identifies the main technologies of hybrid warfare and its main actors. The author expresses his point of view on the ways of struggle, which is carried out through acts of hybrid war against the state.

Keywords: war, hybrid war, hybrid war participants, hybrid war

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INTRODUCTION

According to V.I. Dahl's dictionary (first edition, 1863–1866), the essence of the phenomenon of "war" is defined as follows: ⁴ "war, discord and military struggle between states, international insult". S.I. Ozhegov talks about this concept in more detail and in a different way, in his explanatory dictionary (first edition - 1949). According to him :⁵ "war is an armed struggle between states or populations or between classes in a state".⁶ In the dictionary-reference book of political sciences published in 2008, we read: "War is an armed conflict in the process of conflict resolution, a form of political conflict resolution using violence." ⁷ As we can see, unlike the 19th and 20th centuries, in our century, war is usually called an armed solution to political conflicts of any nature.

It should be noted that during the last quarter of a century, the noun "war" has been constantly overloaded with adjectives that change at a fairly high speed: asymmetric, preventive, networked, network-oriented, non-linear, non-contact, indirect, unconventional, informational, psychological, proxy war, chaos - War and finally the hybrid. A large variation of adjectives and the invariance of the noun "war" indicates a high degree of conflict in society, both at the global, regional and local levels of functioning.

What is the reason for the increase of social and interstate conflicts? In our opinion, there are several reasons:

1. Due to the disappearance of the world socialist system, the problem of redistribution of the post-socialist and post-Soviet space between the victorious powers in the Cold War (1946-1991) arose, which determined the high level of conflict in a number of "large regions" (Eastern Europe, the Central Asian region, the Middle East, South- East Asia, North and Central Africa);
2. In order to maintain monopolistic global leadership, the United States tries to stop the development of regional superpowers, by promoting separatism and terrorism in their territory, involving these states in "low-intensity conflicts", organizing "color revolutions" and "humanitarian interventions;" ^{8,9,10}.

⁴ <https://slovardalja.net/> (ссылка: 04.11.2024).

⁵ <https://slovarozhegova.ru/> (ссылка: 04.11.2024).

⁶ Толковый словарь Ожегова онлайн. Война. URL: <http://slovarozhegova.ru/word.php?wordid=3653> (дата обращения: 15.05.2017).

⁷ Погорелый Д. Е., Филиппов К. В., Фесенко В. Ю. Политологический словарь-справочник. Война [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://www.studfiles.ru/preview/2427088/page:6/> (дата обращения: 17.05.2017).

⁸ Перкинс Дж. Тайная история американской империи. Экономические убийцы и правда о глобальной коррупции. М., 2008.

⁹ Сетевые войны: угроза нового поколения. М., 2009.

¹⁰ Фридман Дж. Следующие сто лет: Прогноз событий XXI века / пер. с англ. А. Калинина, В. Нарницы, М. Мацковской. М., 2010.

3. The "welfare state" of Western countries, formed during the struggle between the two systems. Also, their competition in the field of social protection is gradually losing its positions, which causes discontent among some sections of the population. (migrants, the "new poor")^{11,12} and attempt to organize mass riots, demanding the return of full-scale forms of social protection.

MAIN PART

In the last decade, another reason has been added to all of this. This is one of the main factors in the emergence of the phenomenon of hybrid wars: for example, the transition modern Russia to the status of a great power and its attempts to return to its former controlled spaces, which currently already have other "owners".¹³

The concept of hybrid warfare has been used since 2001, when this type of warfare was first mentioned in the English-language scientific literature.¹⁴ Since the middle of the first decade of the current century, the term "hybrid war" has been constantly used in the works of such English-language authors as: Frank Hoffman, David Kicullen, Bill Nemeth, John McCuen, Nathan Frayer, Prashant. Parameswaran. Hybrid war is understood by these authors as a combination of regular and irregular forms of war.¹⁵ Irregular war in this case refers to operations carried out by terrorist organizations. Thus, both states and non-state structures are recognized as hybrid war actors.¹⁶

In the scientific literature, the interpretation of hybrid warfare is much more extensive.¹⁷ The field of hybrid confrontation covers all major areas of public life. At the same time, researchers of this problem, who offer definitions of the concept of "hybrid war", give exclusively descriptive definitions and list in detail the signs of hybrid war in various segments of public life.

In our opinion, K. Clausewitz implied the term "Hybrid Warfare" in all studies. He considered the term as a continuation of politics by other means. However, it seems that the positioning of hybrid warfare as a phenomenon that belongs exclusively to the realm of politics

¹¹ Мартъянов В. Кризис социального государства и городской креативный класс // [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://svom.info/entry/631-krizis-socialnogo-gosudarstva-i-gorodskoj-kreativny/> (дата обращения: 20.05.2017).

¹² Попова Е. А. Кризис социального государства: причины и пути выхода [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://human.snauka.ru/2012/01/492> (дата обращения: 21.05.2017).

¹³ Комлева Н. А. Контракция российского геополитического пространства: основные техно логии преодоления // ИНИОН РАН — Россия: ключевые проблемы и решения [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://www.rkpr.inion.ru/inion/items.html?page=2&category=103&kind=100002298> (дата обращения: 23.06.2017).

¹⁴ McGregor Knox and Williamson Murray, Eds. The dynamics of Military Revolution 1300 2050. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001. 175

¹⁵ Frank G. Hoffman. Conflict in the 21-th Century: the Rise of Hybrid Wars. Arlington, VA: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, December 2007 [Electronic resource]. URL: www.potomacinstitute.org/images/stories/publications/potomac_hybridwar_0108.pdf (accessed: 26.05.2017).

¹⁶ ојзз.

¹⁷ Гибридные войны» в хаотизирующемся мире XXI века / под ред. П. А. Цыганкова. М., 2015.

is illegitimate, and therefore it produces numerous definitions of existential meaning without ending up with the formulation of a definition of the essential. In our opinion, hybrid warfare is an exclusively geopolitical phenomenon that is not fully defined in other research paradigms.

Hybrid war is a set of actions aimed at destroying all the main geopolitical space of the opposing society, i.e. its absolute suppression. At the same time, aggression is carried out simultaneously in all major types of geopolitical space.

In this article, the authors consider that the main geopolitical spaces are: geographical, economic, informational-ideological and informational-cybernetic. In each type of geopolitical space, the methods of conducting hybrid warfare differ according to the nature of that type of space.

The main methods of conducting hybrid war in geographical space:

1. Local "traditional" wars in the resource regions of the country, which is the target of aggression, the involvement of the given country in a series of "low-intensity conflicts" on the border perimeter;
2. "Color revolutions", i.e. coup d'état in the target country of aggression and its geopolitical allied states;
3. Encouraging separatism in the target country of aggression.

All of the above technologies are used in modern states.

Late 90s - early 2000s. Western countries and their allies, Middle Eastern countries (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, United Arab Emirates). Attempts to implement a "Daisy revolution" in the Russian Federation were recorded in 2003-2008, as well as in 2012 ("White Ribbon Movement"). "Color revolutions" occurred in Serbia, Ukraine (twice), Georgia ("Rose Revolution") and Kyrgyzstan.

The main methods of conducting hybrid warfare in the economic space:

1. Sanctions against the object of aggression against certain sectors of the country's economy, including closing international markets (or their separate segments) and blocking access to certain technologies;
2. Sanctions against all sectors of the economy of the country targeted by aggression (economic blockade);
3. Sanctions against key individuals who determine the content and course of economic processes in the country targeted by aggression.

There are also personal sanctions against the country's leading politicians, bankers and industrialists.

The main methods of conducting hybrid war in the information-ideological space:

1. Replacement of traditional values and/or replacement of values of a given society with dominant ideological constructs and/or replacement with dominant ideological constructs of another society;
2. Target of aggression - falsification of the country's history;
3. Desacralization of the prophets, main personalities and main tenets of the main religions of the country targeted by the aggression;
4. Implantation and/or encouragement of decivilized social practices: debauchery, violence against the weak and helpless, drug addiction, incest, family and economic crimes.

The main methods of conducting hybrid warfare in cyberspace:

1. expulsion of the software products and cybernetic technologies of the country targeted by the aggression from the world and/or regional markets;
2. The target country of aggression - hacking attacks on the country's economic and political institutions.

These hybrid warfare methods are used in our country as well, although to be fair it should be noted that our ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) market did not have a large volume. According to studies if we talk about the ratio of military and non-military technologies used within the framework of hybrid warfare, today this ratio is 1: 4 in favor of non-military types of war.

In our opinion, the participants of the hybrid war are states, global and transnational corporations, interstate and supranational institutions, as well as non-governmental organizations. The peculiarity of hybrid warfare in the field of behavior is that there are no moral or legal deterrents for the aggressor actors in this war. The main thing is the result (the destruction of the opponent's geopolitical space), and not the observance of moral or legal norms. Almost all hybrid warfare researchers emphasize the above mentioned feature.

In our opinion, the conscious non-compliance with moral norms is caused by the state of psychological bitterness of a specific geopolitical actor, which, in turn, is caused by the real danger of losing the existing geopolitical status with the inherent capabilities, cumulative power and expansion resources of this status. Today, that "specific geopolitical actor" is the United States.^{18,19,20,21} therefore, in part, the US Army's operational concept, "Winning in a Complex World 2020-2040," suggests that the US Army is ready to engage in hybrid warfare,

¹⁸Бьюкенен П. Смерть Запада / пер. с англ. А. Башкирова ; послесл. А. Столярова. М. ; СПб., 2003.

¹⁹ Сорос Дж. Мыльный пузырь американского превосходства. На что следует направить американскую мощь : пер. с англ. М., 2004.

²⁰ Уткин А. И. Подъем и падение Запада. М., 2008.,

²¹ Фридман Дж. Следующие сто лет: Прогноз событий XXI века / пер. с англ. А. Калинина, В. Нарницы, М. Мацковской. М., 2010.

^{22, 23}, and one of the publications on the website of the NATO magazine «NATO Review magazine» contains a statement: "The term "hybrid warfare" ... has been adopted by almost all major military powers and has become the basis of modern military strategy ... which includes regular and irregular warfare, traditional and non-traditional tactical methods".²⁴ However, non-military sources, unlike military sources, contain a broader understanding of hybrid warfare. In particular, the Australian electronic magazine "The Diplomat" defines the structure of this type of war as follows: use of conventional weapons, irregular war methods, terrorism, use of criminal practices, non-violent actions, information operations, economic, financial and subversive political actions.

The above-mentioned methods of conducting hybrid war actually includes the involvement of non-traditional structures as fighters of private military companies, illegal armed groups of a terrorist nature, organized criminal structures (primarily drug cartels), radical-extremist opposition, subversive mass media, subversive non-governmental organizations.

How can we resist enemy attacks within the framework of hybrid warfare? Let us cite the advice of the now unpopular politician Mao Zedong (1893–1976), given, for a slightly different reason: ²⁵ "Act with the tip against the tip." This is a condensed verbal formula for dealing with hybrid threats.

In a more detailed form and in relation to modern conditions, this recommendation is as follows:

In the military field: to ensure balanced development of all types and branches of troops (forces), to master high-precision weapons and modern means of communication, intelligence, automatic control and radio-electronic warfare; to increase the mobility of forces and assets in order to regroup troops to conduct long-range operations, to respond quickly and decisively to conflicts, the non-linear nature of which allows significant results to be achieved with relatively small disruptions.²⁶

²² ამავე დროს, AOC ამტკიცებს, რომ ჰიბრიდული ომი მოიცავს „ტრადიციულ საინფორმაციო ოპერაციებს, ელექტრონულ ომს (EW) და კიბერ ომს ჰიბრიდული ომის მნიშვნელოვანი კომპონენტებია“, როგორც მნიშვნელოვანი კომპონენტი.

²³ The US Army Operating Concept (AOC): Win in a Complex World 2020-2040. 7 October 2014 [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.tradoc.army.mil/tpubs/pams/TP525-3-1.pdf> (accessed: 27.06.2017).

²⁴ Hybrid war — does it even exist? URL: NATO Review magazine [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.nato.int/docu/Review/2015/Also-in-2015/hybrid-modern-future-warfare-russia-ukraine/EN/> (accessed: 30.05.2017).

²⁵ ჩინეთის სახალხო რესპუბლიკის თავმჯდომარე 1954–1959 წლებში, ჩინეთის კომუნისტური პარტიის თავმჯდომარე 1943–1976 წლებში.

²⁶ Бартош А. Гибридная война становится новой формой межгосударственного противоборства // Военное обозрение. 9 апреля 2017 г. [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://topwar.ru/112955-gibridnaya-voyna-stanovitsya-novoy-formoy-mezhgosudarstvennogo-protivoborstva.html> (дата обращения: 15.05.2017).

In the non-military sphere: to provide the ability to rapidly focus critical efforts and resources on the most threatened location. Today it is the fronts of informational and economic warfare and it needs to ensure the cyber security of critical infrastructure; to have continuous intelligence production and close interaction with political and force command structures in order to create and exploit an advantage in a threatened direction; To ensure the presence of high-quality specialists who can ensure the development and implementation of a strategy for combating hybrid warfare; to develop a strategy for counter-hybrid warfare; to establish a pre-post state system of hybrid war against the leadership and the population; to create units in the structure of special operations forces and special services in order to conduct informational and psychological operations; to develop national legislation oriented against hybrid warfare technologies, primarily against "coup d'état"; to identify diagnosing and blocking the activities of negative communicators who try to undermine the informational sovereignty of the state; to monitor the blogosphere and social networks in order to block negative information aimed at promoting extremism and terrorism, ethnic and inter-religious hatred; to block all channels (financial, informational, organizational) and structures of foreign and oligarchic support of the radical and extremist opposition; To deepen the exchange process of information and international cooperation with strategic military-state partners, in the financial-economic and information-psychological fields, in order to take the necessary measures to identify and repel security threats.

The legal aspect of hybrid war is characterized as follows: it is impossible to use the modern norms of international law that define the concept of "aggression" in hybrid war. In such a war there is no "front line" or "back line". This circumstance creates great difficulties for the "target state" to overcome hybrid attacks directed at it.

In order to create an international legal base for the fight against hybrid wars, it is necessary to develop a legally precise definition of the essence of hybrid war and the basic forms; Also it is necessary to consistently comply with existing international conventions on humanitarian law and the protection of cultural monuments during hostilities as well as develop new international legal documents against hybrid warfare methods in each specific type of geopolitical space.

CONCLUSION

Systematic and targeted neutralization of hybrid warfare operations against the state requires the creation of a new organizational structure (Bureau of Counter-Hybrid Warfare). A similar structure already exists in the United States. This is the Hybrid warfare resistance bureau,²⁷ which was established in December 2015 and has the official status of a public

²⁷ Панарин И. Н. Гладиаторы гибридной войны // Экономические стратегии. 2016. № 2. С. 60–65.

organization.²⁸ It is interesting, but this organization does not have its own website on the Internet, it publishes its information exclusively on social networks.

In any case, only defensive actions and reacting to the opponent's moves will not be effective and they can not lead to the desired result. Therefore, there is a need not only for a response strategy to hybrid wars from the West and Europe (a constantly delayed response leads to delays and losses), but also proactive actions. In this case, it is important to remember the so-called Liddell-Hart "The goal of war is to achieve a better state of the world after the war, at least from your point of view. Therefore, during the war, it is important to always remember what kind of peace you want."²⁹ In our opinion, in order to win the hybrid war, first of all, you need to have a "grand project", that is, a conceptual and systematic representation of the foundations of the new world order, which will be built on other principles of the world, not on the current one. However, the existing alternative of a global project by itself is not enough, even if it is developed in detail. For its implementation, it is necessary to have an equally well-developed mechanism including resources, actors, technologies. A systemic threat requires a systemic response.

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²⁸ <https://www.nato.int/natostaticf2014/assets/pdf/2024/7/pdf/241007-hybrid-threats-and-hybrid-warfare.pdf> (წდომი: 04.11.2024).

²⁹ Лиддел-Гарт Б. Стратегия непрямых действий. М., 2008.

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