Chapter 14
Hybrid Wars in the 21st Century:
Study on the Russia–Ukraine Conflict

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ABSTRACT

Today it would be difficult to define peace, as we witness that wars have many forms and aspects different from armed conflicts. Many modern wars, even if their actors do not want to call them that, are conflicts at other, even invisible or not totally discovered spheres (cyberspace, outer space, trade markets, etc.) with sophisticated, nonviolent (at classic meaning) methods. Hybrid war is from sociological, psychological, and security aspects, a totally different and complex form of violence and battle. The Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2014 is seen as a tipping point for more attention on hybrid wars and defense. Understanding, good concept of hybrid wars, and prepared defense explained how some of most powerful armies in the world loosed their battles against much weaker enemies. Still, distraction of hybrid threats requires deep understanding of mass and personal psychology, media, and culture.

INTRODUCTION

Conflicts are as old as societies are. From the beginning of the world, different kinds of conflicts are presented – interpersonal, among groups, tribes, empires, states. And all of them mostly were armed conflicts, from stones and swards to bombers and nuclear bombs. Although there were wars for survival or liberation, most of them were conquering – for lands, food, slaves, and resources. Even today, many of so-called ''justified'' wars are actually fighting for supremacy – military, ideological, political and/or economical. States and societies changed their cultural, ideological and law tradition and state of mind, but wars seems stayed the constant of the world. Lessons learned from WWII establishment of UN and the number of international declarations of peace and human rights, were short light at the tunnel of conflicts. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), the leading provider of statistics on political violence, has identified 285 distinct armed conflicts since 1946 (Dupuy and Rustard, 2018). Knowing

this, the sentence of Orwell's character Winston that he could not definitely remember a time when his country had not been at war sounds so actual all the time. The fact that at modern times, war is much more sophisticated and undercover than armed collisions at classical battlefields, just support notion or even fact that serious conflicts exists around the world every day. UCDP data about 285 armed conflicts after WWII, include organized military conflicts involving one or more states, and large proportion of conflict-related casualties are occurring in conflicts involving the Islamic State (IS), including Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq (Dupuy and Rustard, 2018). All or at least much of these wars are those defined by many theorist at past. Van der Dennen (1977) said that war is very special category of violence. War is armed I bloody fight between organized groups, said Bouthoul (1971). If we speak about violence, fight, death, than it is understandable why Hobbes (1651) said that nature of state is war, and that it is so ugly that people need system and sovereign authority to control nature and anarchy – if not so, war is consistent by nature and beliefs that there is no alternative. Combining this opinion with Bierce's (1996) that peace is a period between two fightings, Grieves (1977) question is possible apply on many definitions – Can peace be defined as the absence of war?

Today, at the 21st century, it would be difficult to define peace, as we witness that wars got many forms and aspects, different from armed conflicts. Many of modern wars, even their actors do not want to call them like that, are conflicts at other, even invisible or not totally discovered spheres (cyberspace, outer space, trade markets, etc.), with sophisticated, nonviolent (at classic meaning) methods. So, if Clausewitz (1976) said that war is an extension of politics, but with different resources, today we could say that hybrid wars are entrance halls for classical wars. As Hadjitodorov and Sokolov (2018) said - The Prussian General Carl Philip von Clausewitz once famously described war as "the continuation of politics by other means. However, politics and warfare are not divided by a single 'step.' Hybrid warfare aims to incorporate the entire spectrum between the two (p.8).

Hybrid war is from sociological, psychological and security aspects, totally different and complex form of violence and battle. Conventional and known are not adjectives we can use for this kind of wars, as its forms are changeable, increasable, mostly invisible, and do not have to include army and classic weapon, even that is not excluded at some point. But, what is important for scientists, strategists and decision-makers – it is war, as that word is striking and definite at syntagm ''hybrid war''. Word hybrid, as in its basic meaning, indicating collection of different things – at this case, mixture of non-armed, mostly sophisticated methods of enemies' exhaustion. The term "hybrid" refers to something heterogeneous. It implies a blurring of the distinction between military and civilian (de Wijk, 2012:358). Hybrid warfare is generally considered to include hostile campaigns conducted below the level of traditional warfare that combine both conventional and non-conventional, military and non- military, overt and covert actions aimed at creating confusion and ambiguity on the nature, the origin and the objective of these actions (Andersson, 2015:1). Even non-armed and undercover actions against enemies are known even from time of WWII and especially during The Cold War and intelligence activities and rivalry, hybrid war changed the form of military and political strategies and priorities at defense measures. Concept of hybrid war is not new, as states and their agencies used subversive techniques and tools…KGB used misinformation and propaganda, as well as CIA did it to stop communism spreading (Milosevic, 2018). But, with technology improvement, Internet and mass media and social networks presence at all spheres of work and living, and in almost every profession, so and security, hybrid wars become more complex than intelligence work. Much has changed since the days of the Cold War. Not only is the media landscape completely transformed by digitalization, the internet revolution, and the emergence of social media, but the West's social and cultural make-up is much less homogeneous and less constrained by

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