Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report on

21st Century Warfare: Strategy in Ending Hybrid Warfare

(Case studies: Syria & Ukraine)

Name of Students:

Mr. VUTH PICH CHAN KOMAR

Mr. OEUN SOTHEANITH

Name of Academic Advisor:

Dr. RAYMOND LEOS

International Program
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ABSTRACT

Wars and conflicts had never remained the same but had revolutionised itself, through the human errors, political power over other nations, the success and failure of military leaders, and war theorists through the past era of conflict. The battlefield of the First and Second World War may fall silent and quiet among the fallen. However, the 21st-century warfare had now proven to be challenging to confront for modern military theorist and political advisors to thoroughly understand and scope the entire situation that the world might confront within the advancing period of technology, and cyber-communication through the internet would become a new battlefield arena for the information war. The influences of political power from the rivals of the Cold War and the rise of the privatised military around the world had created a new form of world order. The city would also become the centre of conflict and may soon become a ruined ghost city. These methods of war would increasingly become part of another type of conflict which was coined by the United States military, as Hybrid Warfare.

In our thesis, we have divided the paper into five parts: (1) The first is the introduction of our thesis which gives the main idea, aims, scope, terminology, and research methodology of our topic. (2) Chapter one provides insight and a brief history of conflict and methods of war that would later be expanded into the current concept in modern wars (3) The Second Chapter explains the definition of Hybrid warfare and other types of warfare concept that would support the primary terminology. (4) The Third Chapter is the analysis case studies of the method of Hybrid tactics used, and analysis of Syria and Ukraine, respectively, providing clear insight into the Hybrid conflict. (5) Finally, the last section provides the suggested recommendation to combat Hybrid warfare and the conclusion combined with the finalised literature review of the authors.

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List of Acronyms

ATO	Anti-Terrorist Operation
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COIN	Counter Insurgency
CQC	Close-Quarter-Combat
FSB	*Federal'naya sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii* translated as Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation
GRU	*Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye* translated as Main Intelligence Directorate
IDSA	Institute for Defense Studies & Analysis
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
KGB	*Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* translated as Committee for State Security
LIC	Low-Intensity Conflict
Mossad	*HaMossad leModiʿin uleTafkidim Meyuḥadim* translated as Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations
MOUT	Military Operations in Urbanized Terrain
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NKVD	*Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh* Del translated as People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PMC	Private Military Company or Private Military Contractors

SAS	Special Air Service
SBU	*Sluzhba Bezpeky Ukrayiny* translated as Security Service of Ukraine
SOE	Special Operation Executive
USSR	Union Socialist of the Soviet Republics
VDV	*Vozdushno-Desantnye Voiska* translated as Air Assault Troops (paratroopers)

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Middle East and Eastern Europe had already plunged itself into an undesired Civil War, where independence factions attacked unexpectedly on both opposition and Government forces for their political purposes. Unrest riots and terrorist attacks increase on the International network, with the collapsed of powers within the governmental structure. There had been sudden events, that cannot be controlled or predicted that would cause a significant shift of power in the conflicted regions. Military intervention and peacekeeping missions had now become a mere tool of political power for the new arena of the 21st Century. The rising threat of Hybrid warfare that had been fashioned and innovated over the years of war had now produced several critical factors that would change policies in combating violence aggression, challenge the United Nations peacekeeping operation, and the reformed of military forces around the world.

Since the rise of ISIS in both Syria and Iraq and the annexation of Crimea by Russia, it had become clear that the lack of preparation and understanding of the new form of warfare, would put many countries at risk of Armageddon or the threat of Nuclear war. With the risk of nuclear war, many superpower nations had now focused on combating each other during the period of peace, without attracting any attention from the international media. The idea of Low-Intensity Conflict had now become a new environment of combat, including the increasing numbers of urbanised cities, would be likely of replacing the traditional warfare. Social media and advanced communication would be a great tool of propaganda, the gathering of intelligence, and even recruitment for the potential candidate in the shadowy underground war. All these methods of warfare had become an essential part of conducting hybrid warfare. One of the newest countries that are riddled with early stages of Hybrid warfare is growing in the northern

part of South America. Both the United States and Russia are the critical opponent in starting another proxy war combined with the form of low-intensity conflict in Venezuela.

Scope

The purpose for this thesis is to discover and find new approaches in combating Hybrid Warfare, since the Syrian Civil War, and Ukrainian conflict in Donbas had now spawned new challenges that military reforms had to be introduced for the Syrian Armed Forces and the Ukrainian military. Despite this, military experts, political policy-makers, intelligence analysts, and scholars were able to describe the functionality and recommended counter-measures that were needed to combat the growing numbers of terrorist organisational planned attacks, and guerrilla insurgency in the past. Hybrid Warfare introduces a new form of doctrine and analytical studies to understand its potential structures, functionality, and how it would shape modern conflict in the nearest future. There had already been books written about Hybrid Warfare, these documentations had only shown the description, case studies of some countries resulted from the Hybrid Threat, but the tactics, method, and counter-measures were still lacking in resolving the situation.

Primary Questions

The principal purpose for this thesis is to explore the method or means of conducting Hybrid Warfare and finding any new solutions in combating Hybrid Threats in the current and future conflicts, the question that we would try to answer are (1) What is Hybrid Warfare? (2) What type of methods are used in Hybrid Warfare? (3) Can we defeat or stop Hybrid Warfare? (4) Why is Hybrid Warfare becoming more challenging to confront? (5) Would Hybrid Warfare replace the traditional way of warfare? (6) Also, would it evolve into something more dangerous?

Key terms

- **Clandestine operation:** is a secret or undercover operation which are supported and conducted by any governmental or private agency, without revealing its main intention

- **Counter-Insurgency** is an operation in combating insurgents in the region and must use a different form of training and skills in operating against this type of warfare. Conventional means not be used, instead of extensive use of special force units, gathering intelligence, and winning "hearts & minds" of the local population conducted to fight off the insurgents, as the insurgents operate within the civilians.

- **Doctrine:** is a form of written rules or guideline in both political and military planning for combating either current or future operation.

- **Guerrilla** a type of unconventional warfare that does not confront the opposing force with superior military forces, and only aims to weaken the enemy's capability to fight.

- **Fascism:** a form of far-right wing nationalist ideology, created during the inter-war period, before the Second World War. The idea of a race superior to other races, and characterized by a form of dictatorship, and government oppression in the state

- **Kyiv** is a term used to reference the Ukrainian Government

- **Kremlin** is a term used for the main headquarter of the Russian government or centre of power, including the term **Moscow** (The name of the Russian Capital)

- **Militias** is an unofficial or irregular combatant, not trained or part of the official armed forces of the state, but consider to have some forms of paramilitary training, and acts as volunteers protecting for a particular region.

- **Operators** are field combatants that served for a Private Military Firm, and served under the contract of a client; they may also be termed as Contractors or even informally as mercenaries

- **Insurgency/Insurgents** are armed civilians of the state, and fights an unconventional war against occupational forces, for liberation or a political cause.

- **Paramilitary** is a type of unit that consisted of civilians, which specialised some form of military training but are of the Ministry of Defense. They may also act as security forces, volunteer militias, the national guard of the state, or even handle internal security during times of chaos; serving either for the government or the community. Example official government paramilitary: French Gendarmerie, Russian National Guard, Internal Russian troops, United States National Guards.

- **Psychological warfare** is a military concept that targets the mentally of the enemy troops by traumatising or destroy the morale of the enemy. For example, surrounding an enemy barrack cutting off their supply route, reinforcement, and communication; a long siege would force the unit to surrender. Another example is the constant ambushes and a roadside bombing that causes "shellshock" effect among the troops.

- **Security forces** are an official paramilitary unit of the government, and acts as an auxiliary unit for the police force, especially during a state of emergency. For example, Sri Lanka Civil Security Force

- **Spetsnaz** a Russian term that translated as "Special Purpose" described as special forces unit, and used as elite units for any branches of the Armed Forces, the Ministry of Defense, and even Foreign Intelligence agency, most former communist nations still use the term "Spetsnaz."

Note: The term "Kiev" is written in a Russian format, while the term "Kyiv" is the form written in Ukrainian. The same goes for the term "Donbass" in Russian and "Donbas" in Ukrainian.

Literature Review

In this Literature Review, past authors and scholars had pointed out some issues, and related problems or part of Hybrid Warfare, and those questions were:

1. Should Conventional Military forces reform their armed forces to adapt to the changing nature of warfare or maintain some conventional tactics for inter-state conventional war?

2. What is a Private Military Company? Also, what its primary role in the new world of Hybrid conflict?

3. What type of reason for the evolution of ISIS? What type of mistakes that Western forces that made for the ill-preparation against Iraqi insurgency? Moreover, Finally, what type of strategy and tactics that the Iraqi insurgent used effectively against the Western Military forces?

4. Is past battle relating to urban warfare be analysed for current modern conflict, especially in Hybrid warfare?

5. What type of lesson learned from Urban battle engagement in Grozny, Chechnya, Russia, and that would prove any importance for future conflict for Russian Military oversea engagement?

These questions would also relate to the transformation of Hybrid Warfare, and how past scholars had made some progress in determining some problems that modern military theorists might face in the current era.

1. Should Conventional Military forces reform their armed forces to adapt to the changing nature of warfare or maintain some conventional tactics for inter-state conventional war?

Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict was formally written by eleven authors, that are edited and combined into a book by former Indian Army Colonel Vikrant Deshpande, and published it for the Institute for Defense Studies & Analysis (IDSA). The book also gives an essential insight studies analysis of Hybrid warfare that is practice in different conflicts, diverse form of conduct of Hybrid tactics, and countries that perform it, such as Pakistan insurgency groups, Russia, China, Iraqi insurgents, and even ISIS. Colonel Vikrant Deshpande had stated that conflicts no longer fought, but conflict is currently increasing. Instead of conventional battles or wars declared by states, there are now forms of proxy conflicts spawning in unstable state civil wars, either sponsored by non-state or states actors.[1]

2. What is a Private Military Company? Moreover, what its primary role in the new world of Hybrid conflict?

The book, "Corporate Soldiers and International Security: The Rise of Private Military Companies" written by Christopher Kinsey, provides historical creation of Private Security Company, the PMC important role during and after the Cold War. How military and security sectors are privatising for modern conflict and purposes outside of official military operation, and the types of regulations are imposing upon the PMC. The authors explained the events that shaped the appearances of both the past and current Private Military contractors that had been using for different purposes during and after the Cold War. He describes different types of PMC that had existed, and performed various tasks and conduct clandestine operation for a foreign government for high expenses. It has shown that former soldiers form PMC operators had served for their respective countries and decided to work for any client that would provide jobs that are relying upon their military speciality and skills, especially for the money. Their line of works would also provide a type of role that all government military forces are unable to

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[1] Vikrant Deshpande, Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018. Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf.

conduct in hostile nations, in which using the act of hard power would only damage the reputation of the state, thus using PMC operators would lessen the involvement of the state.[2]

3. What type of reason for the evolution of ISIS? What type of mistakes that Western forces that made for the ill-preparation against Iraqi insurgency? Moreover, what type of strategy and tactics that the Iraqi insurgent used effectively against the Western Military forces?

The book "The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraqi Insurgency 2003-2014", 2nd Edition, was written by a former and retired US Navy Intelligence advisor & operator Malcolm W. Nance, who had 33 years of experience in countering terrorist operation, including in Iraq. The book provides an extended, but well-detailed information of Iraq insurgency, the history of its origin, the Iraq strategy in combating the US and foreign forces, methods and tactics that shapes the image of Iraqi insurgents, and how it affects the current situation in Syria and Iraq. The author had made several descriptions of how ISIS had evolved from the Saddam Regime as a last-ditch preparation against the Western allies such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and other coalition forces. It was right after the 9/11 September attack that now fueled the United States for war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, and other terrorist organisation.

Due to these approaching fate for Iraq, Saddam Hussein would form secret Jihadist extremist group in his state, and another loyal paramilitary group, trained in insurgency operation and terrorist tactics, as a way to fight off the invading forces but during the period of occupation, instead of the initial invasion period. The exiled officers of Saddam regimes and other loyalists would be the reason for the rise of ISIS in the region.

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[2] Christopher Kinsey, Corporate Soldiers and International Security, New York: Routledge, 2006.

The book also provides a well-documented analysis of the Iraqi insurgent strategy and tactics that had brought chaos and increasing numbers of causalities towards the coalition forces, especially the occupational period. The analysis allows future private contractors and other PMC firms that wish to operate within the hostile environment of Iraq, would be sure of the consequences and to be well-prepared for the outcome of the attack. Most conventional forces tend to ignore the fighting capabilities of the Iraqi insurgents, and terrorist cell units would have a tremendous effect upon the urban population, and the results of a foreign soldier's death would have meant for more fresh recruits from the civilian populations and a propaganda victory for the militants. The documentation of the authors had been a combination of news reports, interviews, free intelligence reports, and unclassified documentation made by the CIA.[3]

4. Is past battle relating urban warfare studied for modern conflict, especially in Hybrid warfare?

Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare From Stalingrad to Iraq, written by author Louis A. Dimarco. The author had described past battles and wars that had been involved in close confined spaces in concrete buildings and determined that Urban warfare would become an essential key factor in Hybrid Warfare. Insurgents and Terrorist would have a definite advantage against regular conventional troops, that only specialises in the wide-plain battlefield. Many Urban cities that are too foreign or unknown to Western Coalition forces would have significant consequences for troop lives and the outcome of the country.

He argues that urban warfare in the past would still serve as a primary lesson for future operation, as cities would always target as primary objectives for its strategic positions, the

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[3] Malcolm W Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015.

political power of the population, and an effective defensive barrier against technologically advanced armies.[4]

5. What type of lesson is to learn from urban battle engagement in Grozny, Chechnya, Russia, and that would prove any importance for future conflict for Russian Military oversea engagement?

Russia's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Olga Oliker wrote lessons from Urban Combat. The author provides an in-depth insight into the problems and mistakes that the Russian military had made during their war against the Chechen nations, who demanded sovereignty, and independence from the Russian Federation. The author also gives sufficient critical reasons for the failure of the Russian military performance against the Chechen, primarily how it was conducted, especially in an area that their former predecessor had fought during the Second World War, which was urban warfare, the battle of Stalingrad. The insufficient training of Russian troop for urban terrain, the lack of budgets, a deceased of non-commission officer group (whose job is providing disciplinary training, specialist training, and leadership for the infantry), and finally underestimating their opponent.[5]

Research Methodology

The Research approach for our thesis would be entirely limited due to the lack of personal interviews to assist and solidify our topic, however the research material and e-books acquired from the online library, official documentary interview videos, college lectures, and online intelligence analysis article that is related to the topic, would ensure a good progress in our paper.

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[4]Louis A. Dimarco, Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq. General Military. Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012.

[5] Olga, Oliker, Russian's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Lessons from Urban Combat. RAND, 2001.

The types of documents that are using in our research paper would be books that had been published by authors who had researched past conflicts, military theories, and solution that had been using. Besides, video documentation and professors who had experienced the conflict in Ukraine, including ex-military members of the armed forces, would provide detail analysis and theories on how hybrid war is conducted.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF HYBRID WARFARE

For centuries, fighting between state-owned regular armies, either by invasion or defending against invasion forces were common. The usage of manoeuvre warfare tactics, combined armed forces, and a decentralized chain of leadership command, had allowed a rapid change in modern warfare, and the combat fought in the past, and it was first introduced during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, bringing the campaign to a German victory in just one month.

1.1. Modern use of Unconventional Warfare during the Second World War

Since then, the Second World War forced the allied command to make counter-measures against the Nazi German war machine, experimented new tactics, technology, and different combat units. One of these experimentations which were suggested by Winston Churchill was the introduction of the Ministry of Ungentlemanly Warfare and at the same time, the creation of the Special Operation Executive (S.O.E.). Its primary purpose is to "Set Europe Ablaze," formally to fight the German in unconventional warfare, by supporting partisan resistance group formed in Europe, providing firearms, equipment, paramilitary training for civilians, and even gathering intelligence upon the opposing forces. This concept was called Guerrilla warfare, in an informal term, known as the "Fighting Dirty warfare." [6] One extraordinary example was during the Second World War was the liberation of Paris in 1944, supported French Resistance fighters, by sabotaging telecommunication, and railways, that would ensure German postpone reinforcement arrival in the D-Day invasion of Normandy, 1944. [7] Another was the Soviet "Rail War" fought by the Soviet partisans, in destroying

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[6] Terry Crowdy and Steve Noon, SOE Agent: Churchills Secret Warriors, Warrior, Oxford: Osprey, 2008. Pg. 4-5

[7] Terry Crowdy and Steve Noon, French Resistance Fighter: Frances Secret Army, Warrior, Oxford, UK: Osprey Pub., 2007. Pg. 50-55

logistical routes and communication, would ensure the delay of German reinforcement in the Eastern front, but also directed by the Soviet Intelligence agency, the NKVD.[8] The British introduction of the SAS, The Special Air Service, also share the same concept, of going behind enemy lines, and sabotaging critical strategic and tactical positions, that would support the war effort. All these actions, unconventional strikes, ensure a quick close end of the Second World War in 1945.[9] However, all these unconventional methods in combating against massive armies, it would only influence another long silent conflict, known as the Cold War (1945 to 1991).

1.2.   The Cold War: Innovation in espionage & clandestine operation

The Union Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) also known as the Soviet Union, had great mistrust over the Western powers, and in return, the Western powers also had the same idea, including the ideological barrier between the two superpowers. The Soviet and American supported different political ideology in running their nation, which is the Communism and Capitalism, respectively. Due to the introduction of the Nuclear weapons on both sides, and fearing an all-out nuclear attack would only end in Armageddon (End of the World), forced both the Soviet and the American, to resort to the usage of espionage, unconventional warfare, clandestine operation, and the reintroduction of special force unit.[10] All these Cold War methods would somewhat resemble the same type of operations used during the Second World War, but with a major modification that would suit the situation of the conflict. During the Cold War, forms of small interstate conflicts and civil wars, are mostly the results from both superpower nations, to influence the government and people of the conflicted state, that would benefit for both sides. The recently described conflict was known as proxy wars. In proxy

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[8] Nik Cornish and Andrei Karachtchouk. Soviet Partisan: 1941-44. Warrior. Oxford: Osprey, 2014.

[9] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Who Dares Wins: The SAS and the Iranian Embassy Siege, 1980. Raid. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009. Pg. 6

[10] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces, Elite, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015, Pg. 14

conflict, the government of the state would fight on behalf of a supporting superpower nation. The insurgents or anti-government fighters were supported either by the opposing superpower state or independent faction. One example was the Six-day War of 1967, between the Israeli and Arab nations such as Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. The Egyptian suspicion over the Israeli intention in the Sinai Peninsula increased, due to the Soviet Diplomat and Intelligence agency persuaded, and even provided false information that the Israeli had placed tank division near the border.[11] This false intelligence was meant to provoke Egypt to declare war over the Israeli, and forcing the Israeli High command to retaliated by executing a well-prepared pre-emptive Air strike over the Egyptian territory, which also results in an Israeli political and military victory in just six days.[12]

Another example is the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Spetsnaz (Special Purpose) and FSB Alpha units assassinated the Afghan President, Hafizullah Amin, replacing the country with an Afghan Communist puppet government under the Soviet sphere of influence.[13] Despite the rapid development of the country, such as the modernisation of the city, modern education, and medicine. The Mujahedeen, the conservative tribal group of the Afghan people, finds the Soviet modernisation program unacceptable and instead declared a guerrilla campaign against the Soviet military. The Soviet began a long counter-insurgency (COIN) operation against the Mujahedeen forces, by forcing the local population to reside away from the mountainous terrains, as the high peak areas are well suited for guerrilla's attacks, ambushes, and a natural fortification against Soviet air strikes. [14] The mountainous region also provides natural or even human-made underground caves, that could hide weapons caches, ammunition,

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[11] Lawrence Freedman and John Keegan. The Cold War: A Military History, London: Cassell, 2001. Pg. 153-157

[12] Simon Dunstan, The Six Day War 1967: Sinai, Osprey: London, 2009. Pg. 11-12

[13] Galeotti, Mark. *Russian Security and Paramilitary Forces*. Edited by Martin Windrow. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2013. Pg. 35

[14] Lawrence Freedman and John Keegan, The Cold War: A Military History, London: Cassell, 2001. Pg. 178-185

equipment, and supplies; making it a living nightmare for regular Soviet Infantry units. The Soviet adapted to the situation by sending in Soviet Spetsnaz and Airborne units to flush out Mujahedeen strongholds, with the use of Soviet Helicopters known Mi-8 transporters, allowing Soviet units to transport at high speed and surprise the guerrilla's forces at any moment.[15] However, the tactics and campaign of the COIN operations became short-lived, as the Mujahedeen near the end of the conflict regained the advantage with the support of the US-CIA covert operation, along with the supplies of surface-to-air Missiles launcher, to destroy the slow-moving Soviet Mi-24 Hind helicopters. Besides, due to the Soviet economy collapsing, as the budgets were used up in the Soviet-Afghan War, forcing the Soviet Military to leave Afghanistan for good.[16]

1.3.   The Foundation of the Concept

Why discuss such a long history of past conflicts? Why study the strategy and tactics of these brutal wars? The important reason for these descriptive explanations is that warfare never stayed the same, instead it becomes revolutionized to the point that training, military doctrine, political policymakers, and even the local civilian populations, must always be regularly informed and updated of this new concept, as it may lead to miscommunication, lack of understanding, and even violent chaos. The Geneva convention itself is also outdated, and may not apply to the current conflicted affairs that it once proclaimed. The current conflicts that are fought today, such as the Syrian Civil War and the war against ISIS, the Ukrainian Conflict, the Indo-Pakistan War, and even the War in Afghanistan and Iraq. All the mentioned conflicts have a similar warfare concept that had been introducing during the Second World War and the Cold

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[15] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces, Elite, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015, Pg. 20
[16] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, The Soviet-Afghan War 1979-89, Essential Histories, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, Pg. 80-85

War itself, but in a larger area of operation than in the past.[17] Battles ceased to exist in an established frontline or solid static fortification. Conflicts are also no longer fought in wide open fields; instead, battles are now fought in a new form of a human-made battleground which is also within the domestic population, known as a city, and categorised in the field of Urban warfare.[18] Terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), and even the Indian Mujahedeen had been reinvented itself to become more combat effective against the conventional armies around the world.

The developed nations and even superpower nation are now more focus in expanding Special Force Units, establishing Cyberwarfare groups in combating the Cyber-attacks as the digital eras begin to prosper, and media coverage on the internet becomes a tool of propaganda and misinformation, becoming a major benefactor in the many proxy conflicts. The country that had experienced this new form of warfare began in the middle east, and it may be the end of interstate conflicts, as non-state actors are increasingly becoming dominant in the world political stage. The war within the state of Israel, a state actor, was caught unprepared by a highly-trained and professional terrorist group known as Hezbollah, trained by Iran, and it would cause Israel to refocus and renews its military reform in combating Hybrid Warfare.[19]

1.4.   The Israeli-Hezbollah War

The 2nd Lebanon War, also known as the Hezbollah-Israeli War of 2006, was a hard fought 33 days' conflict, which sparked a sense of concern for the state of Israel, as the conflict itself had already revealed many gaps, faults, and poor performance of the Israeli Military, including its political leadership in handling in the situation. However, what makes the Conflict

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[17] Vikrant Deshpande, ed, Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018, Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf.

[18] , Louis A. Dimarco, Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq, General Military, Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 15-17

[19] Vikrant Deshpande, ed, Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018, Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf. pg. 1-5

differ from past conflict was how long it lasted, unlike most wars, interstate conflict and civil wars lasted an extended period, but the 2nd Lebanon War only lasted a month. Hezbollah insurgents' primary means of warfare was LIC or Low-intensity Conflict,[20] instead of engaging a straightforward battlefield. The militants instead use the confined civilian population building as a shelter against the Israeli air strike and long-distance artillery attacks, forcing the Israeli military to lessen the strikes, due to fear of harming the civilian population, and creating raw recruits for the Hezbollah forces, if a civilian causality was to occur. The insurgents resort to criminal activities, such as kidnapping upon Israeli Civilians and Soldiers, which would force the Israeli military to back down or hold their attack upon the insurgents, and allowing some form of negotiation for a prisoner exchanges between both sides.

The insurgent would then fire the artillery and multi-missile launchers against the Israeli civilian population, causing panic, confusion, and chaos among the local population. Despite, the best effort of the Israeli army to disrupt and destroy the Hezbollah strategic position, such as the Radio station for media broadcast and communication, strongholds, ammunition storages, and political offices that belong to the Hezbollah political leaders. However, the Hezbollah military organisers were able to save most of its firepower, and human resources due to the pre-plan preparation of underground tunnels and storages bunkers, that would protect any air-strikes and artillery barrage.[21] The Israeli would have to conduct an urban assault operation against the Hezbollah, however, due to lack of planning, preparation, and training equipped for urban warfare would cost the Israeli military failure in stopping the insurgency. The Hezbollah

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[20] Vikrant Deshpande, ed, Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018, Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf. pg. 13-15

[21] "Civilians under Assault: Hezbollah's Rocket Attacks on Israel in the 2006 War." Human Rights Watch. June 25, 2015. Accessed May 16, 2019. https://www.hrw.org/report/2007/08/28/civilians-under-assault/hezbollahs-rocket-attacks-israel-2006-war.

tactician would immediately switch their response towards the Israeli combat approach from terrorist attack, to a more conventional fighting tactic against the Israeli troops. [22]

The advancement into the city was quickly cut-short, and the Israeli had to negotiate a ceasefire with the Hezbollah leaders. The ceasefire agreement had caused the Israeli to be humiliated, despite their successful wars against the other Arab nations, such as the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Six Day War, and the Yom Kippur War. A military victory for Hezbollah was not the primary objective; instead, their action was only to provoke the Israeli civilian population, to view the conflict as a "massacre" for the Israeli government and demanding for a quick political resolution for the conflict. Wars fought in the clear, everyday battlefield are not applied to the modern conflict; instead, armed conflicts or insurgency continues during periods of undeclared conflict and peacetime.[23]

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[22] Scott Farquhar, and other authors, Back to Basics: A Study of the Second Lebanon War and Operation CAST LEAD, Defense Technical Information Center. January 2009. Accessed May 01, 2019. https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a498599.pdf, pg. 6-10

[23] Ibid, pg. 10-11

CHAPTER 2: DEFINITION OF HYBRID WARFARE

There had been many attempts in explaining and defining the definition of Hybrid Warfare, as discussed by past scholars, however, due to its complexity in categorising the warfare type. However, understandably, the term Hybrid Warfare or Hybrid Threat, was only termed during the Israeli-Hezbollah War of 2006. Many would assume that Hybrid warfare is an advanced formed of unconventional or Guerrilla warfare, however, Hybrid warfare still maintain the usage of conventional tactics and weapons, and at the same time it still holds firm to the unconventional tactics, such as the use of insurgency and guerrilla units to conduct disruption operation, instead of attacking the infantry troops. There had been other states that do not use the term "Hybrid Warfare," to identify the new warfare transformation, such as Russia uses the term "Non-linear Warfare," then China's term known as "Unrestricted Warfare," and finally the US military termed it as "Hybrid Threat."[24]

The problem in defining Hybrid warfare is placing in the right categories, as it seems to be a new form of warfare, that is being recreated or reformed from the traditional, and irregular warfare. It should note that war is a tool in the continuation of politics as stated by the late Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian military theorist during the Napoleonic wars. Hybrid Warfare still retains a critical factor in accomplishing its concept, is gaining a political victory, either by winning the support of the population and the International media, without conquering the vast territory or even winning a military battle. According to former Indian Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal as quoted about the hybrid threat:

> *"Any adversary that simultaneously and adaptively employs a tailored mix of conventional, irregular, terrorism, and criminal means or activities in the operational battlespace. Rather than a single entity, a hybrid threat or challenger may be comprised of a combination of state and non-state actors."*[25]

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[24] Vikrant Deshpande, ed. Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018. Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf. pg.15-18

[25] Vikrant Deshpande, ed. Hybrid Warfare: The Changing Character of Conflict. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018. 2018. Accessed May 1, 2019. https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book-hybrid-warfare-vdeshpande.pdf. pg. 15

The Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal statements describe a clear summarised characteristic of hybrid warfare. Based on this analysis, military strategists in conducting this operation depending on the efficiency and cooperation between the state and non-state actors, for successful Hybrid warfare. A proxy war is still used today by states as a means of 'conquering' another nation without having to provide or use any of its military force units. As state actors have the resources, human resources, political influence, established territorial borderline, and technology to conduct a long operation in the region, while the non-state actors mostly lack most of these essential factors to faction. At the same time, the state actors mostly would not intervene directly in a conflicted state, due to political and diplomatic decision-making, and not damaging the state's international image. This reasons would force the state actor to provide, consult, and train any non-state actors that would support the political ideals, benefit its national interest and, for future diplomacy.

2.1. Symmetric vs. Asymmetric Warfare concept

As discussed earlier of the historical usages between the concept of Symmetric (Conventional) warfare and Asymmetric (Unconventional) Warfare concept, both had its vital uses for many centuries of past warring states, however, the latter concept had been increasingly shown its tremendous brutal effects in conducting modern conflicts and even in politics, without having to reside into "Total War". As for the first concept it had almost become obsolete, but interestingly it still had some use in some progressing conflict, whenever the losing faction in the Hybrid Warfare begins to crumble, forcing the supporting nations to provide assistance, sending regular troops to stabilise the situation. It is best to discuss the concept individually and separately to paint a transparent picture for each military warfare concept.

2.1.1. Symmetric Warfare

Symmetric or Conventional Warfare is also known as conventional warfare, the concept had been used and applied for armed invasions, national defence of states, protection of sovereignty, declaration of war against another state, attacking and holding strategic positions, and of course conquering or gaining territory of the other state. Symmetric Warfare can be described as a "Straightforward" or "Direct" Warfare and consisted of the usage of small-armed weaponry, armoured vehicles, air offensive capability, and other conventional forces. The concept and style of warfare before and during the 20th Century was widespread, armed forces around the globe had mostly adapted and professionalised with it, as it had already strongly influenced battlefield, wars, military theorists, policy-makers, doctrine, and even military generals. However, it had already proven in many conflicts that a conventional force would be a permanent means into establishing control, law, and order, upon the state and the local population. The idea of Confrontation between combatants, capturing and holding on strategic territorial location, and finally occupying the civilian population with its military presence in the city.[26]

2.1.2. Asymmetric Warfare

Asymmetric Warfare also is known as unconventional warfare, had been theorised and practised as a counter-measure against conventional or regular military forces. The concept had been revolutionized throughout by different famous Guerrilla leaders such as British Intelligence officer T.E. Lawrence during the 1917 Arab Revolt, Josip Tito leader of the Yugoslavian Partisan resistance of the Second World War, Argentinian communist leader Che Guevara during the 1953 Cuban revolution, Mao Zedong leading the long march and

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[26] Prescott, Jordan, R. "Goodbye Conventional War. It's Been Fun." Modern War Institute at West Point. March 21, 2019. Accessed June 1, 2019. https://mwi.usma.edu/goodbye-conventional-war-fun/.

communist insurgency against Nationalist force in China during 1945-49. [27]The main purpose for the insurgency, terrorist, and other paramilitary organisation are not to confront directly at the main conventional military forces of the nation. The idea is to disrupt logical support, cut off communication, transportation of reinforcement, the assassination of military leaders (even political leaders), and to weaken conventional armed forces without confrontation in battle. The strategical concept allows highly mobilised troop movement, decentralised leadership command and a form of special camaraderie-ship (comradeship) among the troops, formed to coordinate an attack on vulnerable of the conventional forces.[28]

Asymmetric warfare makes it very difficult for conventional forces to combat, due to the lack of confrontation of the insurgency groups on the battlefield. Also, insurgents and terrorist units would avoid the wide-open field, and reside among the rough terrains, such as mountainous regions, heavily forested sectors, urbanised areas, human-made underground tunnels, and bunkers. In modern era conflict, insurgents were able to merge among the dense population in the urbanised cities, allowing them to avoid detection, forming into secret terrorist sleeper cells. For example, The Mumbai 2008 Terrorist attack, launched by Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic militant group stationed in Pakistan. At least ten indoctrinated trained terrorist units disguised as a tourist, split up to attack the five main coordinated target in the urban city. The attack lasted for three days, and it was due to the Internal Security forces, lack of training, human resources, ordnance, and signal communication, that allowed the terrorist attack to lasted longer. The groups were able to merge with the civilian population during the daytime, and to proceed the offence at night, making it difficult for the security forces to coordinate their counter-attack. Communication, on the other hand, was compromised, the terrorist handlers that

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[27] Andras Racz, Russia's Hybrid War in Ukraine: Breaking the Enemy's Ability to Resist, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, June 16, 2015, Accessed June 1, 2019. https://www.fiia.fi/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/fiiareport43.pdf, pg. 20-24

[28] Malcolm W. Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014, 2nd ed, London: CRC Press, 2015. Pg. 96-97

were giving direct attack coordination were watching the situation on live broadcast by the Indian media. The reason for any decisive intervention was due to the Indian Security forces cannot cut off the telephone, media or internet signal, as the Indian security forces were also using the same connection as the civilian population. The main terrorist targets were civilians, to create an atmosphere of chaos, and to cause infrastructural damage to the major popular sites such as the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel.[29]

The Asymmetric doctrine tactics allow insurgent to avoid close quarter combat with the security forces, using the urbanised terrain if necessary to escape without prolonging the gunfight and increasing their chance of survival. The ideas are to prolong the battle, increase frustration among troops psychologically, and wasting the regular troops' logistical supplies. According to Louis A. Dimarco, author of "Concrete hell: Urban Warfare From Stalingrad to Iraq" made a description of urban warfare in chapter 1, as quoted:

> *"The urban battlespace gives – as it always has done – maximum physical advantages to the defender; the physical environment tends to mitigate many technological advantages held by the attacker; the presence of civilians can greatly complicate the operations of attacking forces, while sometimes also providing cover and concealment to the defender; and it opens the battle to modern media scrutiny."[30]*

Unlike the wide-open field of battles, the confined and tight spaces of the cities provide some somewhat natural human-made obstacles for both defending and attacking forces. Insurgents could use buildings as strategic defensive positions, without having to make any additional preparation for defence. The attacking forces on the other hands are forced to attack insurgents in these near "impeccable" defences, as described by Soviet Commander Vasili Chuikov, during the battle of Stalingrad, "Fighting from streets by streets, house by house, and

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[29] Rabasa, Angel. "The Lessons of Mumbai." RAND Corporation. 2009. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP249.pdf. pg. 3-8

[30] Louis A Dimarco, Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq, General Military, Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 26

room by room" scenario. [31] These confined urban spaces, become excellent ambush coordination against unsuspected regular troops, IED and booby traps could be applicable in the building, and causing troops to become confused and placing a psychological impact on the troops' mentality.[32] Besides, troops must make a quick decision in confirming insurgent units in residential areas, as most civilians are held hostages or against their will by the combatants. It is for propaganda purposes for the insurgents, showing them defending civilians against government forces, again the media becomes an unconventional tool for Asymmetric operations.

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[31] Louis A Dimarco, Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq, General Military, Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 41-45

[32] Malcolm W. Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015. Pg. 149-150

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS: CASE STUDIES OF HYBRID THREAT

The analysis of Hybrid conflict currently in its later form of stage conflict had already plunged the entire state into a near "Civil War" in the region. The Civil War in Syria and the Conflict in Ukraine provides an interesting case study, and detail analysis of the early formation of the Hybrid Warfare practised mainly by the Russians, but also other state players such as the United States, and NATO members.

3.1. Method of Hybrid War

Hybrid once can be defined as "all means, military, diplomacy, economy, technology" + "limited time" + "enough resources" to win a particular conflict or accomplish a strategic objective, the hybrid doesn't aim to win the full-scale war, it wins a particular or separate battle using all means. Hybrid war is unpredictable and uncertainty, which always led to another war or long term war.

Establishment of Organization Operating Hybrid Warfare in all means of warfare		
Conventional Warfare	Unconventional Warfare	Information Warfare
• Regular troops or conventional unit of the armed forces • Standard Civilian Police Force • Elite Troops (Paratrooper, Marines, and Rangers)	• Paramilitary forces • State Militias • Terrorist Cells or Sleeper Cells • Military Police or Gendarmerie Force (French Gendarmerie, China PLA armed Police) • Special Operation Force or Spetsnaz (US Navy SEALs, Russian Alpha Spetsnaz) • National Guard	• Independent Hackers or Local Cyber terrorist • Cyber Troops • State Security (Example: FSB and FBI) • Foreign Intelligence Agency (Example: Russian GRU,

	• Counter-Terrorist Unit	America CIA, or Israeli Mossad)

Figure 1: List of organisation and branches specialised in different categories of warfare

3.1.1. Special Force Units

As we had mentioned about the first creation of special forces during the Second World War, in the first chapter, since the introduction of elite units trained to fight behind enemy lines, conduct unconventional warfare, collect intelligence, and disrupt enemy's progress in conducting proper conduct of war. Their success would also become a rapid development during the Cold War, but with less involvement, as Special Operations were doctrine as conventional units, fighting a regular battlefield, while Intelligence agency conducts a clandestine operation, without provoking any incidents that would spark tension during the Cold War.[33]

As the war in the middle east progress, so does the Special Operation groups changed their doctrine, Special force Units are not only performing as an elite military force, but also as an intelligence agent inside the hostile foreign territory. However, as technology in media began to increase further into the 21st Century, secrecy and espionage had also increased, which also put many nations to increasingly use Special force units in conducting Secret operation against other nations. For example, the war in the Donbas region had seen an increase of Special Force operation, instead of the regular troops deployed in the conflict regions. The new deployment of Special force unit was due to the lack of training, inability to adapt to the changing unorthodox battlefield and understanding of hybrid rapid interchangeable tactics, and the high demand in mobility.[34] Most conventional forces were trained to combat against regular combatant dressed in proper military uniform, especially not against insurgents, or terrorist

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[33] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015. Pg. 4-5 & Pg. 14
[34] Ibid. Pg. 46

hidden in civilian clothing, as a standard rule of engagement with the accordance of the Geneva convention, and formally stated in accordance of the international law as:

> "The ability to recognize combatants as such is particularly important for enemy forces, both for military purposes and to protect the civilian population and avoid civilian casualties. As there is no requirement for the formal notification of uniforms by warring parties in international law, armies should brief each other on their respective distinctive signs and uniforms, thereby enabling the adversaries to be identified as combatants." [35]

The urban city would also prove a significant challenge for the regular troops; thus, Special Forces that specialised in MOUT or Urban CQC send into the designated areas, combined with urban recon intelligence. The new type of engagement improves the number of civilian causalities, and provide a more efficient method in combating insurgents and terrorist units merging with the civilians.[36] Unlike the conventional forces, Special Forces units can avoid media coverage and conduct operations without leaving any substantial evidence that their state is involved. The Special Operation units may also merge themselves among the civilian population, without attracting any attention. For example, the Israeli operation to eliminate the PLO insurgents, by sending in both Israeli intelligence agents from Mossad and members of the Israeli Naval Special forces disguised as a tourist. The operation took place in Beirut, Lebanon, where the key PLO operatives were stationed quietly in a civilian apartment block. Once the PLO members eliminated, the Israeli operators evade from capture, and the operation was left unsolved, due to the secrecy of Mossad, and it was only after 20 years later that the operation leaked out.[37]

The title and formation of special forces are not only formed within the elite hierarchy of the armed forces but in other ministries too. For example, in Russia, the term "Spetsnaz"

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[35] Toni Pfanner. Military Uniforms and the Law of War, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). March 2004. Accessed July 7, 2019. https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/irrc_853_pfanner.pdf. Pg. 106

[36] Fremont-Barnes, Gregory. Who Dares Wins: The SAS and the Iranian Embassy Siege, 1980. Raid. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009. Pg. 11-13

[37] Vargo, Marc E. The Mossad: Six Landmark Missions of the Israeli Intelligence Agency, 1960/1990. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2015. Pg. 119-123

translated as "Special Purpose," introduced during the Second World War, had been hugely successful in conducting clandestine operation for the Soviet Intelligence agency, the NKVD, and other branches of the Soviet Armed Forces.[38] Both during and post-Cold War period would gain favourable interest and purpose for the Russian Federation to continue the group for future conflicts, especially under the Presidency of Vladimir Putin. The Spetsnaz formation created within the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD)[39], the different branches of the Russian Armed Forces, the Federal Security Services (FSB)[40], and even within the Federal Protection Service who is in charge of protecting Russian High officials.[41] These units would specialise and train accordingly to the institution that is doctrine for different threats in both in and out of the Russian Federation. Understandably, the Russian Spetsnaz cannot be categorised as a Special Forces unit of Western world standards, and not wholly part of the foreign intelligence agency.[42] These Russian operators could slot in between of these specialisations, allowing for the increasing numbers of Spetsnaz recruitment and training in both Internal and External security sector of the Russian administration. We would see more in detail of these units in our case study of Ukraine, operating within both Crimea and the Donbas region.

3.1.2. Terrorism

Terrorism had existed in many different forms of violence, to terrorise and gain a specific agenda or objective in the organisation, mostly against the civilian population, that are easier to persuade, and also to gain essential and material support. The Cold War had been a period of violence and terrorist activity in many parts of the continent. Mostly, these terrorist

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[38] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015. Pg. 9-11

[39] Mark Galeotti, Russian Security and Paramilitary Forces. Edited by Martin Windrow. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2013. Pg. 26-32

[40] Ibid. 35-38

[41] Mark Galeotti, Russian Security and Paramilitary Forces. Edited by Martin Windrow. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2013. Pg.47

[42] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015. Pg. 22-24

organisations had sponsored by superpower nations, such as the Soviet Union or the United States, however, due to the underground operation that conducted, it had been challenging to prove the state involvement.[43] According to the US Department of Defense definition of terrorism, stately defined the term as:

> *"The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political."[44]*

The term describes the characteristic of terrorist reasonably; however, the term had since become outdated, since the collapsed of the Soviet Union in 1991. Terrorist attacks mainly targeted upon strategic targets, the civilian population, and internal security forces; aimed to create chaos and panic among the local population, either in their territory or other states. The political goal created by the terrorist organisation during the Cold War period were mainly to remove foreign powers from their states, demands for the release of political or militant prisoners from foreign prisons demands independence, or to increase popular support for nationalist groups.[45] Terrorist organisations are difficult to be tracked; the task demands the requirement of surveillance and foreign intelligence, to eliminate the threat. The reason for these difficulties is that Terrorist groups rarely conduct any conventional operations, but conduct a mixed of criminal activities, insurgency, and guerrilla warfare style operation. Terrorist units would blend in the local populations, and live their lives as typical civilians, but their homes are set up for underground networks, stockpiling weapons, and IED explosives.[46]

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[43] Ladislav Bittman, The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View, International Defense, Washington, 1985. Pg. 183-185

[44] U.S. Department of Defense, DOD. The Dictionary of Military Terms. Revised and Updated ed. New York, New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2015. Pg. 225

[45] Gregory Fremont-Barnes, Who Dares Wins: The SAS and the Iranian Embassy Siege, 1980. Raid. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009. Pg. 15-17

[46] Malcolm W Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015. Pg. 216-221

Terrorism has now played a significant role in Hybrid warfare, despite its violent action against the local population, the method of instilling fear among the civilians provides political support against the state that holds these terrorist organisation, psychological fear for some states and non-state actors. It brings extreme fear towards the government and its military forces. For example, the rise of ISIS was due to the weaken state of the Assad government, and its military forces, with the torturing of captured government troops, roadside IED, individual suicide bombers in packed populated areas, homemade explosive attack-drones, armed IED vehicles for quick strike at bases, insurgent snipers to control areas of the city, and unconventional terror methods.[47] These methods provided with the merging within the civilian populations gives an element of surprise, that would catch the security force off-guard; giving almost no time to react but with already a nearly destroyed infrastructure, and civilians' deaths.[48] For example, the 2019 Sri Lanka Easter suicide bombing, was a simultaneous attack upon hotels, tourist sectors, and churches, causing more than 200 deaths, including 500 more wounded. The Sri Lankan security forces could only savage and rescue some of the survivors, but capturing the culprit of the suicide bombing attack, makes it difficult as it is within the Muslim community, and any form of violence or retaliation against the minority, would also split the community, and losing trust among the people. Violence, Terror, fear, and the unpredictable movement of terrorist planning would make a harsh challenge for security forces not to make any unintentional action that would spark a riot or anger among the people that are affected or accusation among the minority in supporting or aiding in the attack.

In the political stage, it had managed to bring in significant support from individuals who supported their philosophy and indoctrinated into their organisation. ISIS was able to gain

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[47] Malcolm W Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015. 226-228
[48] Ibid. 228-231

this advantage by using social media such as Facebook, YouTube online videos, and other social media application that can easily reach the public view. Propaganda posters and homemade videos of their Jihadist image for Iraqi and Syria future, provide reasons for young people, especially youngster, to be quickly drawn into their recruitment station. The mentioned recruitment method had resulted from many nations to disowning them, and causing them to be a trap into the hands of the terrorist, which resulted from many young recruits to die unreasonable death, but becomes a tool of terror against the government forces of Iraq and Syria.[49] Even if their main branch collapses, it may easily migrate into other countries, through the unprotected and unsecured of the national borders, and reviving itself through immigration.[50]

Terrorism as a mean of Hybrid Warfare summarised into the following perspective:

- Terrorism is a tool of violence that can traumatise mainly the civilian population

- The terrorist method consists of the use of IED, suicide bombing attack, night raids, and other forms of guerrilla warfare methods.

- Cause tremendous damage and destruction upon residential areas, military facilities, and even religious sites

- A continued terrorist attack can also demoralise the population, losing faith towards the government, and some cases can even conduct revenge kill among the minorities that side with the terror group

- Terrorism is also a mean of unexpected shock and surprise, to conduct a successful profound psychological impact on the people

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[49] Malcolm W Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015. Pg. 237-240

[50] Ibid. Pg. 236

- A terrorist network can easily blend within the civilians, and not attract any attention, which also classified them as an unlawful combatant

- A terrorist attack is also an extended form of political speech, to gain notoriety, and attention, as a crude way of accepting their ideology, faith, and political rule.

- Terror attack upon security personnel or military units would affect the civilian population morale and may show a sign of weakness for the government.

- Terrorist cell networks NOT only operate in hostile regions but may easily to other peaceful nations and even corrupted countries.

3.1.3. Private Military Company

Private Military Company or informally known as "armed group for hire," were formed by a group of a former or ex-military serviceman who joined due to their harden experiences in combat, their lack of ability to rejoin civil society, and lack of civilian employment. These reasons had placed many of these servicemen to use their combat talents and skills for business clients operating in a dangerous line of works, especially in a hostile conflict environment, such as the Middle East.[51] Besides, Private Military Contractors hired through the past inter-state conflicts, and civil wars that had existed during the Cold War, post-Cold War period, most notably in Africa, the Middle East and recently in Eastern Europe.

The primary purpose for the Private Military Contractors or simply PMC Operators was to function as combat and specialist instructors for the armies, provide conventional or counter-insurgency training for newly formed regular troops depending on the state's situation, provide logistical support, and even gather intelligence for the "client." The difference for Private Military Company, that set them apart from other conventional armed forces, is that they

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[51] Hannah Tonkin, State Control over Private Military and Security Companies in Armed Conflict, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pg. 12-15

privatized conflict as a business enterprise, the political aspect and influence of the state doesn't bind them to the conflict, but the payment, financial benefit, and "clean" reputation were the main objectives for these Private Military Companies were to be continued.[52] During the 1960s, the term "Private Military Contractors" did not exist; instead, the most common term used was "the mercenaries." The term ceased due to the brutal massacre during the Congo Crisis (1960-1965), where the Congo's government mercenaries to stop an armed rebellion and the rescue of captured foreign hostages by rebel insurgents. However, these "heroic" acts were later denounced by the International community, due to the brutal and cruel treatments towards the rebel forces by these "Gun for Hire" men, that would cast a shadow upon them. Eventually, for the new mercenaries to acquire future jobs, ex-military men would later form a private company, to represent themselves as a formal military professional enterprise.[53] Just like the CEO of a business company, the Private Military Company would run and directed by the board of Directors, who are mostly former military servicemen. The benefit that the Private Military Company would gain is the legalisation of the mercenaries for the use of service in the conflict, the maintenance of company policy would ensure that their operator would follow the Geneva convention, nor use any form of brutal tactics in a future conflict, especially towards civilians and captured insurgent fighters.[54] Private Military Companies such as Executive Outcome and Sandline International, mainly operating in South Africa, proven to be effective in combating violence conflicts, enforcing peace and maintaining law & order in the destabilised regions, such as Angola and Serra Leone.

The Sierra Leone Civil War became a famous example for the newly formed PMC, as it represented a competent and reliable fighting force for the War-torn country. During the

[52] Christopher Kinsey, Corporate Soldiers and International Security, New York: Routledge, 2006. Pg. 54-55

[53] Ibid. Pg. 65-69

[54] Christopher Kinsey, Corporate Soldiers and International Security, New York: Routledge, 2006. Pg. 15

Executive Outcome successful operational period in combating the Sierra Leone rebels. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), made a ceasefire with the Sierra Leone government, the ceasefire agreement concluded that all PMC operator must leave the country, once the agreement is signed. However, once the ceasefire agreement broked, fighting resumes, and chaos reigned over the country again, forcing the United Nations Security Council to retaliate by sending in UN peacekeepers. The Peacekeepers, unfortunately, were unable to combat the situation, which would result in many of them becoming hostages for the Rebel forces, the UN, unfortunately, would also depend on the PMC Executive Outcome, for assistance. It was due to this group of harden military veterans experience, that would also prove its effectiveness in the current modern conflicts and for the political stage. [55]

The United States also began its use of PMC operators before and after the Iraq Invasion of 2003, toppling the Iraqi regime, and due to the US Embassy bombing incident in Lebanon during the 1980s. Most of these contractors serve as bodyguard units in the protection of Iraqi Oilfield, in charge of the US Embassy compound and its convoy, and to provide specialist training for Iraqi Security forces, especially for reestablishing infrastructure of the country that had been destroyed or damaged during the Invasion. The primary purpose for allowing PMC operation to increase in Iraq was due to its flexibility in handling in the situation, unlike the occupation US troops station in the country. US military personnel and officials are only limited to the COIN operation, humanitarian assistance, and joint-military operation with the new Iraqi armed forces. Clandestine operation, Diplomatic protection, infrastructure, and internal security, are handled by these contractors. However, the lack of attachment with a government institute had made these contractors lose some form of discipline. The notorious PMC Blackwater, in some accounts, had violated the Geneva convention by shooting civilians, while escorting an

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[55] Christopher Kinsey, Corporate Soldiers and International Security, New York: Routledge, 2006. Pg. 61-63

Embassy convoy through the streets of Iraq, which would later put four of the convicted contractors in US court for these attacks. The Blackwater company, after the incident, would later be bought by another PMC company known as Academi.[56]

The Private Military company had also formed in Russia, but only after the fall of the USSR, mostly towards the experienced military pilots. One such case, the US PMC was able to acquire the Alpha group of the FSB Spetsnaz operation for Private Security contract, primarily operating as a protection unit for guarding oil refinery in Iraq. The Russian Private Contractors would also be hired to combat against the Piracy threat in Somalia.

The increasingly hostile situation in the in Ukraine and Syria conflict would require the high demand for covert operations, as a way of avoiding direct involvement. The purpose of the PMC contractors operating in Ukraine is to be registered within the Russian government as an official PMC but operate on behalf of any foreign state. For example, The Russian PMC, known as Wagner, operates in Syria, operating for the Russian government, but if any PMC operators killed in any operations, the Russian government would not take any responsibility or even broadcast the PMC death on the media. It is meant for the Russians to avoid any involvement in any clandestine operation, especially in supporting the proxy war in Syria and Ukraine. Primarily, the benefit of using PMC organisation offers an advantage that could overcome any political and diplomatic complication, is that PMC operations can be denied or cover-up by the government, by denying any governmental involvement in the exposed situation. The Russian's action would give a simple reason for other states to intervene in the situation, due to the lack of substantial evidence. Another example in the case of the Ukrainian war against the "Pro-Russian" in the eastern part of Ukraine, currently known as the Donbass region, despite Russia's denial of any involvement in the conflict, there are still Russian PMC

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[56] Jeremy Scahill, Blackwater: The rise of the world's most powerful mercenary army, Nation Books: New York 2008

advisors providing military training, technical training, logistical support, and even heavy-weapon support (Artillery training) for the Separatist. However, the Russian PMC is still a mercenary commercial group that can be hired by any government forces (most likely with strong diplomatic relations with the Russian government) or even formed with the within the FSB jurisdiction.[57]

Throughout the decade long years of Privatized military marketed for many purposes, that had been summarised through these points:

- A clandestine operation can be extended or provided by PMC operators if failed, client or government officials may cease to recognise it

- Resources and strategic importance can be protected by Private contractors, without attracting attention from international media

- Private Contractors were ex-military servicemen for the respective country they once served in, however, performing a private contract meant that their nationality could be denied by their respective nation, as only recognised as private company mercenaries

- Private Contractors are non-uniformed combatants; hence they can't be recognised as official combatants, nor unlawful combatants, as they operate within the limit of their contract and for their client

- Private Contractors had longer service years in the military, and had better experiences in combating hostile combatants, meaning that the risk of losing personnel is lesser, and would not count as part of the country's casualties.

- Failed PMC firms could easily readapt into other functional PMC firms and may even be reform into a different name for future high-risk management marketing for clients.

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[57] Ase Gilje Ostensen and Tor Bukkvoll, Russian Use of Private Military and Security Companies the Implications for European and Norwegian Security, Chr. Michelsens Institutt. September 11, 2018. Accessed June 1, 2019. https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/6637-russian-use-of-private-military-and-security.pdf. Pg. 24-27

3.1.4. Cyberwarfare & Electronic warfare combined into Information warfare

The Second World War and Cold War espionage experience taught many nations, especially the world-superpower nations, the importance of spreading disinformation, propaganda, creating deception and information restriction, that would affect the international community in decision-making, create reaction on false event that would result in the situation, that would benefit the state that conducts the operation. The state-owned intelligence agency, described as the "Eyes & Ears" of the state allow them to gain information from internal or external affairs. The beginning of the Cold war during the 1950s, had seen the rise of intelligence and espionage operation conducted by the United States and Soviet Union Intelligences, including other proxy-state agencies set up by these two superpower nations, to operate freely in another state. During the time of the Cold War, the Soviet had developed a concept known as "Maskirovka" formerly translated as "Military Deception" or "Strategic Deception, it had its uses during the Second World War, as the concept gives advantages in the battlefield, by tricking or deceiving the enemy forces through any mean of disinformation, fakes news event, and sabotage. The Counter-Intelligence agency would prepare and plan out the operation that would make the enemy to believe the falsified information and causing them to make changes to any military operational plans, and wrong political decision-making. These unconventional tactics would ruin or cause chaos in the government, and throughout the region. Conventional warfare is avoided, due to the high escalation of nuclear warfare, that could turn into Armageddon, Judgement day or no win conclusion that lead to a full nuclear war confrontation, forcing the Soviet Union to create a political concept of Maskirovka, indoctrinated for future information warfare. Instead of restrictive control over the media and news reports, relating to events or political matters. The Maskirovka concepts and the state

security that is in charge of the flow of information would produce a series of false information to cover up the truth or the real event that happened.[58]

Maskirovka's main purpose is to initiate a reaction from the public, and that would change their opinion, in support of the government's campaign or political goal. However, the practical use of Maskirovka may be successful in provoking, and gaining the support of the public, but if the false information is unprepared and wrongfully planned, it will receive even worse retribution against the government official and state security that planned it. For example, the First Chechen War had left the Russian Federation in disarray, due to the poor condition of the Russian military, and Presidential leadership towards the decision of going to war against the state of Chechnya unprepared for the high capabilities of the Chechen Rebels. However, by September 1999, explosive devices were detonated in four different apartment buildings in three cities of Russia, leading to more than three hundred deaths, and more than a thousand injured, the incident would later be known as the "Russian Apartment Bombing." According to the Russian media, which reported that the FSB, the Russian Federal State Security, placed complete blame on the Chechen insurgents as the culprit for the bombing attack. This incident, combined with the Dagestan War, would lead to the Russian Presidential election victory for Vladimir Putin, as the new Russian President. By 1999, President Putin declared a bombing raid in Grozny, Chechnya, which would later become the Second Chechen War, but this is also due to the Russian public opinion upon the bombing incident in their home country, and a scent of revenge against the Chechen Rebels. On the other hand, the Western media portrayed this as an act of sabotage and proclaiming that it was the FSB who committed. Despite the lack of solid pieces of evidence, the FSB secret was eventually leaked out by a former FSB officer, Alexander Litvinenko, author of "Blowing up Russia." In his book, it revealed that the FSB

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[58] Chin Hui Han, POINTER, Journal of the Singapore armed forces: Maskirovka in The Information Age. https://www.mindef.gov.sg/oms/safti/pointer/documents/pdf/V42N1_Maskirovka_in_the_Info_Age.pdf. Pg. 39-40

organised and staged the attack, in order to gain Russian public and International community support against the Chechens and to allow Vladimir Putin to become the President of the Russian Federation. It is also due to Putin being a former KGB Colonel before the collapsed of the USSR and being installed as the Director of FSB by the former President Boris Yeltsin. Also, the culprit who was named by the FSB and planted the attack were never apprehended or caught. Since the publishing of the book, Alexander Litvinenko was also murdered due to Radiation poisoning, in an afford in silencing him. An inquiry conducted by the British government and concluded that the FSB was behind his death. The entire operation would have been a successful Maskirovka deception if the leakage was blocked or a loyal officer does not question the matter. [59]

Cyber and Electronic warfare had become a new form of threat in disrupting, destroying, and spreading confusion in the modern age of Technological information. Cyber-crimes and advanced forms of hacking had already penetrated through the national security of many nations. Classified information can be extracted for both political and military purposes, to gain full knowledge over the opponent. The Russian approach of war in the usage of cyber warfare, would not be the complete control of social media or classified information to be denied. Instead, it becomes the opposite approach, the Russian newly formed Cyber-troops would instead recreate their information to flow along with the events, without revealing their opponent of the real intention of the falsified source. The new Cyber-command would also conduct cyber intelligence of collecting information, and cyber-surveillance upon the target, and provide insight into political power among state's political opponents that might threaten the balance of power against it. The most rising threat for states is cybercrimes, the difficulty is not capturing

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[59] Alexander Litvinenko, and ĨUriĭ Felʹshtinskiĭ. Blowing up Russia: The Secret Plot to Bring Back KGB Power: Acts of Terror, Abductions, and Contract Killings Organized by the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation. London: Gibson Square, 2013.

the Cyber hacker or culprit, but how much damages it can do to the system once the attack is launch. As Cyber technology kept on growing, so does the capability of hacking into any defence system and any weapons that are linking with the computers. Terrorist cyber hackers could easily shut down the defence system during a coordinated attack against security forces and civilians. Offensive weapon system such as the Attack Drones that carry spy video surveillances, missiles, and other explosive ordnances can be hacked and controlled for the state's false intention of attacking their own allies' positions or any political targets within the range of the drone. Another key importance of using Electronic warfare that had the advantage over the armed combatants is its approach and difficulty of detection for the incoming assault upon its main target.[60]

3.1.5. Criminal Organization Involvement

A criminal organisational group such as underground secret society, mafias, and even gang groups, were designed to create chaos, and disorder among the local population, that could also become a political and military tool used by the government or the terrorist organisation. The main purpose of this criminal organisation is to support an attack during the time of peace. When ceasefire agreements are signed, and the peace process is augmented, coordinated attacks created by insurgent groups would only break the peace agreement and restart the conflict again. However, the insurgent leaders knew that if the peace progress continues, it would also buy more time for the government forces to rebuild and retrained its strained groups. The method to cut down the government's military buildup was the insurgency forces would form small, but effective gang groups to indirectly targeted civilians and infrastructure, to weaken the institution and influences of the government forces. The criminal groups would also mislead

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[60] White, Sarah P. "Understanding Cyberwarfare: Lessons from the Russia-Georgia War." United States Military Academy. March 20, 2018. Accessed June 1, 2019. https://mwi.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Understanding-Cyberwarfare.pdf.

the government forces to take priority on the minor issues, it also becomes a diversionary attack, and to provoke disorder among the local population. By continuously disrupting the peace, morale among the people would become critically low which would benefit the terrorist cells, and it would also reduce the workforce of the local defence force to handle the domestic violence in the city.[61]

Also, criminal activities are essential in supporting a terrorist organisation, conduct black markets operation in supplying weapons, and ammunition for the terrorist cells. Even if government forces crack down these criminal activities, it can still renew and grow again for the non-state that are conducting illegal activities against the state. Crime Syndicate groups can also issue some training among convicts and extremist group members. Without proper law enforcement and corruption becomes a daily occurrence in the streets, providing opportunities for the Crime boss to protect residents against domestic violence, however also collecting protection money from the locals.[62] For example, The Crimea invasion by Russian troops, also gains support by the Crimean local population, mainly the Russian-speaking majority in the region. Due to the hostility of the Ukrainian riot police towards the Pro-Russian protestors. A group of Pro-Russian supporters would later be known as the Separatists, would turn to the Russian Motorcycle club for aid and training, against the Ukrainians. There had been evidence that the Russian Motorcycle club was supported and given financial aid from the Kremlin, with some implication of the GRU and FSB operators, had made preparation beforehand, for the recruitment and support of criminal syndicate, once the secret invasion begins.[63]

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[61] Malcolm W Nance, The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014. 2nd ed. London: CRC Press, 2015. Pg. 247-248

[62] Ibid. Pg. 334

[63] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands. London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015.

3.1.6. Urban Warfare

Throughout the centuries, the city remains as both an important strategic point in conquering a nation, and for political value in controlling the local population, including government power. However, in recent years of the Second World War, it had also become a military objective in the grand strategic planning, despite the risk of losing innocent civilian lives. The main reason for this change of warfare in terrain is due to its benefits in the battlespace, how troops engage in combat. Since the Soviet Red Army Victory in the battle of Stalingrad against in 1942, proving that a low technological army, close quarter combats in tightly confined rooms, and a concrete jungle of buildings allows the Soviets to defeat the more superior German army.[64]

However, during the period of Hybrid Warfare, it started to take into a more complex, and unpredictable form that had also concern the Russian government to make innovative reform for the Russian Military after the conflict with the Chechen rebel forces. In the old doctrine of the Russian military planning, the Russian armed forces indoctrinated and trained for an open confrontation in combat. Although its predecessors, the Soviet Army, were experienced in the art of urban warfare during the Second World War, the Cold War objective shifted towards a more political tool. According to Olga Oliker, author of Russa's Chechen Wars, explained that the old Russian doctrine describes the function of capturing a city, it should be confronted with the "show of force" as a psychological weapon against the defender of the city. Moreover, the Russian military planner did not prepare any reconnaissance or intelligence gathering of the city, as they expected a light resistance from the Chechens.[65]

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[64] Dimarco, Louis A. Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq. General Military. Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 27
[65] Olga Oliker, Russian's Chechen Wars 1994-2000: Lessons from Urban Combat. RAND, 2001. Pg. 9-12

The three most important objectives for the Russians to maintain control over the Chechen is to secure the important strategic position of the city Grozny, and those were the Oil Depots, Grozny Airport, the Presidential palace of Chechnya. Since, President Boris Yeltsin of Russian Federation was against the secession of the Chechnya from the Russian state, as most of Russia's vital oil resources linked in Grozny, Chechnya, and strong resistance from the Chechen leadership, lead to the First Chechen War in 1995.[66] However, the Russian military was not the same as it had been during the years of the USSR or the Russo-Afghanistan war in the 1980s. The Russian economy was failing, which forces the Duma and presidential decree, to cut down the budget on the military, causing a major downgrade in the experience non-commission officer (NCO) corps, training exercise, and even the equipment needed for maintenance.[67]

The entry into Chechen Capital, Grozny, would become important for Russia's military reform and combat doctrine for future conflict. Based on Louis Dimarco book in chapter 8: Urban Death Trap had accounted that the Russian Commanders decided that the troops would slowly move into the city with personal armour vehicle, along with dismounted troops to provide cover for the armour troops stationed inside the vehicle. However, they also exposed themselves in the wide streets towards the Chechen defenders hidden among the city ruins. The Russian bombing campaign did not destroy the infrastructure of the city and had only enhanced or created a new battlefield of ruin building, that the Chechen would take full advantage of its new natural defences. The apartment blocks with different level of stories would be manned or occupied by Chechen marksmen or urban snipers, trained to harass or eliminate any key targets of the Russian officer branch. The Chechen only engaged the Russians, once the five main

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[66] Dimarco, Louis A. *Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq.* General Military. Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 152-153

[67] Ibid. 155-156

Russian columns moved deeper into the city, first destroying the armour vehicles, and finally engaging the dismounted troops. Due to the disorganised, confused and ineffectiveness of the Russian regular troops, they were unable to fight the Chechen in a straight battle.[68] The Russian commanders were too reliance towards the Russian Air force to provide air support cover for the trapped soldiers, but due to the Presidential degree that is against using a bombing campaign, and the technological equipment to survey the battlefield were not designed to outline the urban terrain, causing many implications of "Friendly Fire" incidents. The Russians had also made attempts to retake the initiative by sending in Russian Spetsnaz units, and paratrooper regiment, however, the Chechen would again switch their combat role into a more terrorist style engagement by placing IED explosives inside the apartment rooms, causing more chaos and confusion among the Russian troops. Chechen would also gain advantages in the Russian communication equipment systems, and it was easy for the Chechen militias to provide "False" information, to set up an ambush, that would cause more losses for the Russians. The ill preparation of the Russian troops, urban training, the lack of human resources due to under-budget cost and corruption involved in the administration.[69] In the end, the Russian government had to negotiate with the Chechens, allowing the Chechens to win a tactical victory over the Russian military and political stage.

Based on the description of the urban combat and the analysis of the battlefield that had shaped the conflict, into a victory for the opposition or defender of the capital. It should be noted that this means of warfare had now shown most commonly in the Battle of Aleppo and Damascus in Syria, the Battle of Mosul in Syria, and finally the Battle of Donetsk Airport in the Donbas Region of Ukraine. Urban warfare summarised as:

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[68] Dimarco, Louis A. Concrete Hell: Urban Warfare from Stalingrad to Iraq. General Military. Oxford, Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2012. Pg. 157-163

[69] Ibid. Pg. 164-167

- Cities that have any strategic targets that would fuel or gain an advantage in achieving victory against their opponents, such as industrial factories, airport, fuel depots, communication towers, and even state ministries, would have tremendous influence in the war, and support benefit for the logistics of the faction that gain control over those materials.
    - Based the analysis in the Chechen war, and the Syrian War, the airports in Grozny and Aleppo respectively, are the main focus by a military commander to gain control over the airspace of the city region, establish a direct link for foreign military aids, supply routes, and immediate reinforcement when necessary.
    - Fuel depots provide supplies of petroleum for vehicles, especially armoured personnel, and main battle tanks (MBT) for continuing into the battlefield. It also the primary source of financing the armed conflict.
    - Communication towers control by any faction, would control the media, and establish propaganda stations, to increase support and recruitment from the region's population.
    - State ministries such as the Ministry of Defense or Foreign affairs, would be a breakdown of military leadership, and communication within the international community respectively, most importantly, the moral of the government army and people would be affected, and eventually would lead the mass desertion, that would lead the collapsed of the government.
    - Palaces or administrative building are the primary sources of control and political power over the state, hence if capture would lead to the mass capitulation of the state, including the leader would be exile into another state.
- Apartment blocks, rooms, and even staircases become formidable obstacles against troops that are foreign or unknown toward the layout design of the city and would benefit the defender of the city.

- CQC and a street-battle fight would last for years and every building blocks must be assaulted, and occupied by troops, to secure region, or else opposing forces would recapture it.

- Snipers become a dangerous threat towards both civilian and regular troops while making their patrols or committing to their daily routine, despite it is against the Geneva convention of attacking civilian or non-combatants such as medic or red cross members.

- Insurgents placed Landmines, Booby traps or IED traps, to deter government forces from retaking the buildings or from causing more fatalities and wounded among the troops and even unexpected civilians who are trap in the fighting.

- Underground tunnels or sewage tunnels can be used to transport insurgents and supplies into the urban city, can also be used as hidden caches of weapons and ammunition.

- Media coverage into the way can be risky and dangerous, and sometimes information about the conflict in the urban areas could be biased depending on the objective of both the politicians and military commanders.

3.2. Conflict in Syria: Hybrid War in Syria

As a world-known, a full-scale civil war in Syria, a majority of people will be thinking about the war between the government forces and opposition armed groups or moderate rebels. Syrian war, not just a conventional war, it has been fought as unconventional war, proxy war, cyberwar, involving different types of tactics and many others unique strategically fighting or hybrid warfare. How to define the hybrid war in Syria over the Civil War and Proxy War? That is true the war in Syria is a full-scale civil war between the government forces, pro-paramilitary forces, and loyalist forces against the moderate rebels, jihadist fighters, allied terrorist forces. Both sides maintain a strategic long term survival forces with the support of different countries behind the scenes. The proxy war to feed both sides forces discovered as:

- The Syrian government was support by the Russians, Iranians, and Hezbollah organisation.

- Moderate Rebel openly supported by the western countries led by the United States.

- Jihadist and terrorist's allied forces have gain support by Turkish led, and many Arab countries led by Saudi Arabia.

- The confrontational conflict between the Syrian government and the Israelis government is also a side war to be mention.

Beside to support the survival of their allies in the Syrian War, these countries are trying to accomplish their national interest such as Russia, Iran, USA, Israel, and Turkey. These leading players get a hand use of hybrid war in Syria as:

Russia wants to defeat and kill the cure of terrorism from Syria to Chechnya, after the war in Chechnya 1998 to 2003 the defeated forces of the war have been travelling to Syria in order to join with extreme terrorist to fight against the Syria government who is Russia major allied. These forces are actively operating in Chechnya by conducted the terrorist act against the Chechnya authority. Russia conducted a hybrid war against these forces to eliminate the cure of terrorism back to Russia.

How visible did Russia conduct a hybrid war in Syria against the Chechnya terrorist called in Russia?

- The use of Special Operation Forces to eliminate the crucial persons of ISIS spearheads, Jabhat Al-Nusra or Hyrir Tarar Al-Sham (Al-Qaeda Allied), principal commanders and leaders. As the battle of southern Idlib is a hot buffer zone between Jihadist Allied forces against Syrian government forces. The Russian Special Unit always taking part by recon operation, gathering intel, target or destroy important objective along the front, monitor

battle preparation, front-line assessment, and call in airstrikes.[70]In eastern front in the province of Deir Ez-Zour, a small portion of ISIS-controlled area between Syrian-Iraqis border is now a quite front which a significant element of ISIS forces already eliminated by Syrian Arab Army and Russian Air Forces. The particular Russian unit was pictured along with Syrian army personnel actively fought in eastern Deir Ez-Zour front as an advisory group to Syrian Army Infantry, and Special Air Force coordinator or target assessment operator group.[71]

▪ The use of PMC (Private Military Contractors): there is a large force of PMC has been operated in Syria, in objective to protect allied high ranking persons, defence essential government facilities, defence critical economic facilities, assist the Syria government forces in fighting against Isis in Palmyra. ISIS Hunter is the name of pro-regime paramilitary unit recruited by Russian Private Military Contractors specialise in Vast Desert Operation. This unit acts as rear guard for essential government facilities and as a quick reaction response forces enrol in supporting the front line. This unit also involved in the battle of Al-Sakunah, Second Battle of Palmyra, and Battle of Al Badam to eliminate ISIS sleeper cell.[72]

▪ The use of informational war: Russia has already perfected in military deception doctrine over the past decades. However, besides the full-scale war, the Russian government also deploy the informational deceive in Syria as well as in Ukraine. Why did Russia need to use information war? Means to guard as the eyes and ears to hide the world along with

[70] News Desk, *"Russian special forces take part in northwestern Hama offensive"* last modified May 10, 2019 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/russian-special-forces-take-part-in-northwestern-hama-offensive-photos/

[71] News Desk, *"Russian special forces in action against ISIS in eastern Syria"* last modified May 09, 2019 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/russian-special-forces-in-action-against-isis-in-eastern-syria/

[72] Aboufadel, Leith, *"Russian-backed ISIS Hunters reemerge in eastern Syria as new operation approaches"* last modified January 01, 2019 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/russian-backed-isis-hunters-reemerge-in-eastern-syria-as-new-operation-approaches/

media from seeing what they are doing in Syria. There was one incident where Russian private military unit was supporting Syrian infantry fight against ISIS near US-backed Syrian Democratic forces. The government side pushed to Syrian Democratic forces where US army personnel located which turn into rampage when all sides fought against each other even US side called in the airstrike. The incident resulted as many troops die. The Russian media and government denied the event was untrue. However, later the event proved by a local Syrian news agency that the fighting was real, which was a miscommunication between Russian Backed Forces and US-Backed Forces.[73]

What about Turkey is doing in Syria? Why do they have to employ Hybrid war in Syria? Who are its allies?

Turkey is conducting in Syria not to fight the Syrian government but to fight against Kurd. There is a Kurdistan autonomous in Iraq, a Kurdish independence fighter group in Turkey, and a Kurdish fighter group in Syria, and Turkey objective means to disrupt Kurd independence and the form of a recognised state. There has been fighting going on in southern Turkey between the government forces and Kurdish fighters in Turkey. These fighters get survival forces from the support from Kurdish from Iraq and Syria. Turkish troops and other specialised branches are deploying to stop and eradicate the Kurdish fighter within Turkey territory. Kurdish separatists PKK organisation conducted many attacks on the Turkish government and army since October 2007 that killed many civilians and soldiers.[74] Later on, to declare revengefully, the Turkish government had declared the limited war by Kurd at 20 January 2018 code name Operation Olive Branch against Kurd Syrian Democratic Forces and YPG In Syria.[75]

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[73] Christoph, Reuter, *"The Truth About the Russian Deaths in Syria"* last modified March 02, 2018
https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/american-fury-the-truth-about-the-russian-deaths-in-syria-a-1196074.html
[74] Bruno, Greg, *"Inside the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)"* last modified October 19, 2007
https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/inside-kurdistan-workers-party-pkk
[75] News Dask, *"Pro-Turkey Kurdish militia to join Operation Olive Branch against YPG in Afrin"* last modified February 26, 2018

- The use of special forces: A war was fought to northern Syria by Turkish armed forces and its allies Free Syrian Army to Kurd controlled areas. Besides to conduct the full-scale war, Turkish special forces also were involved in targeting Kurdish high ranking official and commanders. After its Operation Olive Branch had succeeded, Turkey deploys its Special forces and even Special police units to hunt down Kurdish forces and essential military personnel who might have left behind as spies.[76]

- The direct intervention against Kurd and Syrian government: there is a case that can define the Turkish government uses a private company to supply the FSA with weapons, ammunition, and other necessary support. There is a specialist who trained the FSA personal which believed to be Turkish PMC. After the conquered of Afrin area, Turkey now is a significant player in Syrian that will take a hand of Syria's future. In cease-fire negotiations along the Hama-Idlib Front, Russian, Iran, Syria, and Turkey agree 30 cease-fires which allowed Turkey to install observation post to monitor the cease-fire.[77]

The US and Kurdish: Since the beginning of the war, the United States has been direct and indirect involvement in the Syrian War by its support to the Kurdish Syrian Democratic Forces. Unlike other proxy war, the US has chosen the SDF, who is the opposite side with Turkey, which is one of the US closest Allie. After President Trump got elected, the US withdraw much support from SDF and get a small hand out of Syria. From the direct Proxy war to Hybrid support to the SDF can be found at:

- The use of Special Forces: many Special units from the US Army, US Navy, have been recruiting the SDF forces. These forces act in the boundary of military assistance,

https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/pro-turkey-kurdish-militia-join-operation-olive-branch-ypg-afrin/

[76] News Desk, *"Turkey to deploy special forces to Syria's Afrin – Deputy PM"* last modified February 26, 2018 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/turkey-deploy-special-forces-syrias-afrin-deputy-pm/

[77] News Desk, *"Turkish military adds new observation posts to block Syrian Army offensive in Idlib (map)"* last modified March 02, 2019 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/turkish-military-adds-new-observation-posts-to-block-syrian-army-offensive-in-idlib-map/

military administration, and military stationery in SDF controlled areas. These forces are conducting its daily work within the notice from the public media.

- The use of Private Military Contractor: the US army personnel and PMC contractors made some involvement in recruiting a brigade of New Syrian Army (Non-Kurdish) at Al Tanf that captured in ave of 2016,[78] a strategic border town located along the Damascus-Baghdad highway. Why is Al Tanf a strategic point for the US? Because Iran influence on Syria, Iran has a big hand on a friendly country such as Iraq which allows Iran to send the military supplies to Damascus regime by land route to Baghdad. Al Tanf was a cut route to Syria for Iran when the US-backed rebel-occupied area, It disrupted the land route supply to Damascus regime.[79] There was a showcase an image of the US military personnel and PMC recruiting the new rebel group to occupy the area. Even the government forces advance on Al Tanf resulted in the US conventional military response (airstrike).

- The use of Informational War: the US government always denies its military presence in Syria, even the PMC. This information war always hides the US intent in Syria. There is a case that shows the US presence in SDF controlled Raqqa[80], and Al Tanf, according to the Syria government sources. [81]

- The Saudi Led bloc: Saudi Arabia is another active player in Syrian Civil War, but the scale of its involvement in Syria could not be called Hybrid War tactic because of Saudis

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[78] News Desk, *"US forces at Al-Tanf are impeding fight against terrorism: Syrian official"* last modified February 19, 2019 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/us-forces-at-al-tanf-are-impeding-fight-against-terrorism-syrian-official/

[79] News Desk, *"US presence in Tanf region is to curb Iranian influence in Syria: general"* last modified October 24, 2018 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/us-presence-in-tanf-region-is-to-curb-iranian-influence-in-syria-general/

[80] Tomson, Chris, *"US Army convoy transports weapons, vehicles to Kurdish forces in rural Raqqa"* last modified May 21, 2017 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/pictures-us-army-convoy-transports-weapons-vehicles-kurdish-forces-rural-raqqa/

[81] Tomson, Chris, *"In pictures: Syrian drones spot hundreds of US, Jordanian armored vehicles at the border"* last modified May 09, 2017 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/pictures-syrian-drones-spot-hundreds-us-jordanian-armored-vehicles-border/

support the rebel group considerably know Ahrar Al-Sham with financial support only. There is no Suadi informational war, diplomacy support or the vast network of military equipment support to its backed rebels such as Zinki Al-Sham, Ahrar Al-Sham, and Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham in Syria.[82]

- Iran Led: Iran is a very active player in Syria even send its revolutionary guard commander to assist the Syrian regime. Iran and the Syrian government are a great friend in the Middle East. Before Russia has openly come to Syria with air forces support, there was Iran who sent a large chunk of military, weaponry, workforce, and financial support to the Syrian government. Iran led will include the Lebanese Hezbollah, Iraqi Hezbollah, Iraqi [one more group] and its revolutionary guard units in Syria. From conventional support to hybrid support shall be found as:

- The use of Special Intelligence Units: Iran one goal is to eliminate the ISIS threat from Iraq at first and at last in Syria. Iranian Special units have been playing a significant role to eliminate the ISIS foundation by operating the intelligence recon along the Iraqi and Syria border. Many sources of information will direct to Syrian with the support of Russian and Iraqi forces with its air force make the push to ISIS-controlled area. Also, in the battle of Al-Hader Farm, Aleppo the Iranian Army's elite 65th Airborne Brigade (NOHED) took part and a spearhead element to get rid of Jihadist strong point. The mentioned action clearly shows how the Iranian Revolution Guard has supported the government with its human resources.[83]

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[82] Cronaldo, *"Will rebels revive the formidable Jaish al-Fateh project? Muheisni answers"* last modified December 12, 2017 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/will-rebels-revive-formidable-jaish-al-fateh-project-muheisni-answers/

[83] Aboufadel, Feith, *"Iranian Special Forces arrive in Aleppo"* last modified April 05, 2016 https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/iranian-special-forces-arrive-aleppo/

Israelis government is much involved in overthrowing Assad Government. Israelis government openly wages conventional, unconventional, and even hybrid war on Syrian government since many decades ago. The objective behind Israelis government hugely defence its tiny territories from the Arab Nations, especially closest Arab neighbours such as Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Palestine. Some capable enemies and each poses a significant threat to Israelis have been Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Behind this primary objective, the strategic objective defined as to destroy enemy's capabilities or to get ready to fight, prevent the enemy from producing weapons of mass destruction, and prevent the enemy from building its armed strength. From the Six-Days War to First War in Lebanon, Second War in Lebanon (2006 Israel–Hezbollah War), Munich massacre of 1972, and lately the Syrian Civil War, Israel always put its forces on alert to respond and destroy its enemies before they possibly can conduct a long war.

- The use of Special Forces: One of the most significant secret operations of Israelis Intelligence agency known as Mossad was Operation the Solf Melody to destroy Cube, its objective was to destroy Syrian Nuclear reactor or Nuclear weapon capabilities in 2007. From the diplomatic, political argument, and lastly to IDF decision on operation need to define its clear what was there. Led by best recon Mossad unit called "Sayeret Matkal" to gathering intel from the ground close to the nuclear reactor without any enemy detection within Syrian border, to give its best allies, the United States for support and Great Britain for back up. The operation was approved to destroy Syrian nuclear reactor even faced with full-scale war with the Syrian Government. The operation was operated by Air Force unit with the formation of eight F15s, along with Mossad ground support. [84]

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[84] Benn, Aluf, and Harel, Amos, *"No Longer a Secret: How Israel Destroyed Syria's Nuclear Reactor"* last modified Mar 23, 2018 https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/MAGAZINE-no-longer-a-secret-how-israel-destroyed-syria-s-nuclear-reactor-1.5914407

- The use of Informational War: Israelis and Syrian government always denied what they did behind their indirect confrontation. For the Soft Melody, Israelis government denied any involvement, as well as the Syrian government, rejected the call of its Nuclear program in the call from the International Atomic Energy Agency in fear of UNSC call for sanction. Informational war propaganda of the Israelis government is powerful since the US as the central controller of world media as their back. As shows case, Palestinian inhuman treatment from Israel's government, army and authorities have been ignored to the western media. The operation shows how intense is the Israeli informational war. The world is very silent when Israel air force conducted the strike on suspected Iranian forces in Syrian soil. The concentrated Iranian forces in Syria spotted at the critical military bases such as Shayrat air base, Mezzeh Military Airport, Al-Dumayr Military Airport, and Al-Qusayr Military Airbase. These airports often hit by Israelis long range guided missiles. Despite the denial of the use of military airstrikes at the moment, there was still digital and reliable evidence of photos, videos, and the remnant of aircraft or missile pieces proved. The denial is a sizeable valid sample of informational war conducted by the Israelis government in order to cover what they have done in targeted enemies' soil.

3.3. Ukraine's Eastern European Hybrid War

Historically, Crimea and Ukraine itself was once part of the former USSR, but forming into a self-autonomous republican state, which was under the government leadership ruled by the Ukrainian Communist Party, and a republic that would have under their jurisdiction. Soviet Premier Mikhail Khrushchev allowed the jurisdiction of Crimea to be hand over to the Ukrainians in 1954[85], for stronger support from the Ukrainian public and to restore order in the regions, as there was a shortage of water supply for the population. Crimea has the vital water

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[85] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine, Elite, London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 5

reservoir for the agricultural production for the Ukrainians, and a great benefit for the Soviet Union.[86] Although the regions are known for the Soviets as a historical site for the battle of Sevastopol, during the Second World War, and the Defense of Sevastopol during the Crimean War during 1853.

The Ukrainian had a much slower introduction for freedom and democracy, due to Stalin's Russification policy which was the migration of Russian citizens and occupation by Russian troops. The anti-communist purges striking into Ukraine during the Communist period, including the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who had against the Nazi during the Second World War, and later on against the Soviet Secret Police, and only by the 1950s, it had disbanded.[87] The Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of openness and restructuring of the communist system in the USSR would allow a strong opposition in the region and the failed Soviet KGB military coup in the Kremlin. The event would force the Ukrainian Communist party to step down, and allow an Independent referendum vote, that would gain the majority of Ukrainian supporter for an independent Ukraine, which also includes Crimea, despite the majority of the population speaks dominant Russian, rather than the Ukrainian newly declared official language. However, in that period, there were many Crimean who felt they are still part of the USSR but still does not want to break away from Ukraine. They decided to demand independent self-rule of Crimea, the establishment of their government and constitution, even as far of renaming the state, as the "Republic of Crimea" despite the Soviet Committee handover of the region since 1954. However, the Ukrainian parliament would abolish those position of Crimea, including the presidency position, and would force the region to be part of Ukraine; but allowing them to become an autonomous republic.[88]

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[86] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015, Pg. 153-154

[87] Studio, Invert Pictures Film. "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army - Chronicles 1942-1954 (Part TWO) | Release 2015." YouTube. April 30, 2015. Accessed May 10, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WNJlAVaBks.

[88] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015, Pg. 154-155

The event in the Crimean Republic would also have dire consequences for the Ukrainian government, especially whenever they make any foreign policy for the state, it would also need to reconsider its geopolitical, and economic trade attachment to the Russian Federation. There are many factors and reasons that label the Ukrainian conflict as Hybrid War, and that the conflict would not be able to end in a short among of time, which may end up like up exactly the Syrian Scenario.

3.3.1. Situation

Figure 2: Map of Ukraine[89] (Osprey Publishing)

Crimea holds a critical strategic position for the Russian Federation especially, the port of Sevastopol, military naval ports and being part of the Russian Navy's Black Sea Fleet (BSF) stationed within the Black Sea, which would have a geopolitical impact for the regions.[90] The control of the black sea would also dominate the resources and control over the trade route among the neighbouring state, especially Ukraine. However, what dominate the reason for

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[89] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 6
[90] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 7

control of the BSF and the port of Sevastopol, was the advanced equipment and facilities, that had been upgraded and installed in those areas such as the RADAR stations, surveillance systems, and even a military airport, losing those to the Ukrainian would spell disaster for the Russian Military, and weaken the strategic position. The Russian had already made attempts in building new ports and military facilities in the Black Sea region. However, the loss of Sevastopol would make it even difficult for the country to operate and effectively becomes a strategic victory for NATO, as the area can be used for a military exercise, establishing better diplomatic relations, and it would become closer in striking distances from the Russian mainland.[91]

Another critical importance of the Crimea is the border protection for the Russian Federation, which is results from years of tension against NATO during the USSR period of 1945-1991. When the USSR collapsed, so does the organisation that it had to create within the communist puppet states and other independent communist states, known as the Warsaw Pact.[92] The Russian new government under the Presidency of Boris Yeltsin hopefully thought that if the Warsaw Pact ceased to operate, so does NATO. The primary purpose for the creation of NATO was to keep the Soviets out of Germany, as the state divided among the former allies' forces of the Second World War. Besides, if the Soviets were to invade into West Germany, then the combined NATO forces would come to aid the state against the Soviet forces. However, the main hope for the Russian government would want was for NATO to also step down, did not come as planned. In the end, the former communist states that had gained full sovereignty from the USSR now had begun to join NATO slowly. Those former communist bloc states also

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[91] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015, Pg. 156

[92] Leonhard, Robert R., Stephen P. Phillips, and Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgent Strategies Team, ARIS. ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg. 38-39

fear the influences of the Russians would migrate again into their homeland.[93] The only states that now buffer between Russia and NATO are Ukraine and Belarus.

The Ukrainian conflict sparked due to the Maidan revolution, which brought many pro-Ukrainian, military veterans, and Fascist political members against the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych, for failing to make political and economic deals with the European Union and its entry into NATO, and the Presidency commitment towards the Russian Federation. The economic crisis in Ukraine, the Maidan protest, and the Pro-Russian issues in the Eastern region of Ukraine would force the resignation of President Yanukovych, who would later exile to Russia. The new Ukrainian government, after the Maidan revolution, are showing a keen interest in joining with NATO, this action would bring Russia's former enemy towards its borders.[94] Russian President Vladimir Putin and his Russian security council consisting of FSB Director, Defense Minister, and Political advisors, would have to resolve to their own designated "Crimean Military coup", combined the use of Hybrid warfare tactics or "Non-Linear Warfare", by creating a LIC in Crimea, where the majority of the region population are made up of Russian speakers and supporters.[95] The stage set for both the Crimean and Russian to retaliate against the Ukrainians that would lead to full-blown Civil War in the region.

3.3.2. Stages towards Low-Intensity Conflict Invasion

In February 25th, 2014, was the start of the conflict, when "Crimean Pro-Russian" insurgents stormed into the building that holds the Prime Minister based in Crimea. The insurgents fearing for the Crimean referendum would succeed in voting for autonomy within Ukraine, managed to get the committee to cast a vote for the Independence of Crimea

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[93] Gyula Bene, "NATO EXPANSION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE." Federation of American Scientists (FAS). 1996-97. Accessed May 25, 2019. https://fas.org/man/eprint/bene.htm.

[94] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015, Pg. 137-141

[95] Ibid. Pg. 157-158

referendum, despite not following the parliamentary procedure, and to be conducted in complete secrecy.[96]

In the next two days after the seizure of power in Crimea, the soldier with "unknown origin" began capturing the main terminal airport in Simferopol, Capital of Crimea. According to Western media sources, the unknown soldiers would later be described as "Little Green Men," as the troops had no insignia or official patches that could make any identification of the units and especially their national origin.[97]

According to VICE's news media interview in 2014, that had stationed themselves in Crimea, had made attempts to interview the "Little Green Men" troops, but without any success, as the troops seem to ignore the questions that cast upon them. The Russian President, Vladimir Putin would proclaim that the so-called "Little Green Men" were not Russian soldiers, despite the uniform designs only sources were from the Russian Military; but are part of the "Crimea's armed self-defence force."[98] Those soldiers would later increase their presence in Crimea, and even going as further into surrounding a military base stationed by Ukrainian Marines, who were cut by both the "Little Green Men" and Pro-Russian supporters. Besides, the checkpoint routes, military facilities, and the parliament building seized by the "Little Green Men" and other Pro-Russian insurgents, and to further the support for the Russian government, and those strategic points were marked by "waving" Russian Flags. Ukrainian Government forces would later pull out its unit from the facilities, and regrouping for a future offensive against the Crimean, re-plan their political against both Russia and Crimea.[99] However, another episode would put the Ukrainian to a more difficult situation.

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[96] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 11

[97] Maksymilian Czuperski, John Herbst, Eliot Higgins, Alina Polyakova, and Damon Wilson, "Hiding in Plain Sight: Putin's War in Ukraine." Atlantic Council, October 15, 2015, Accessed June 15, 2019, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/Hiding_in_Plain_Sight/HPS_English.pdf. Pg. 4-5

[98] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 11

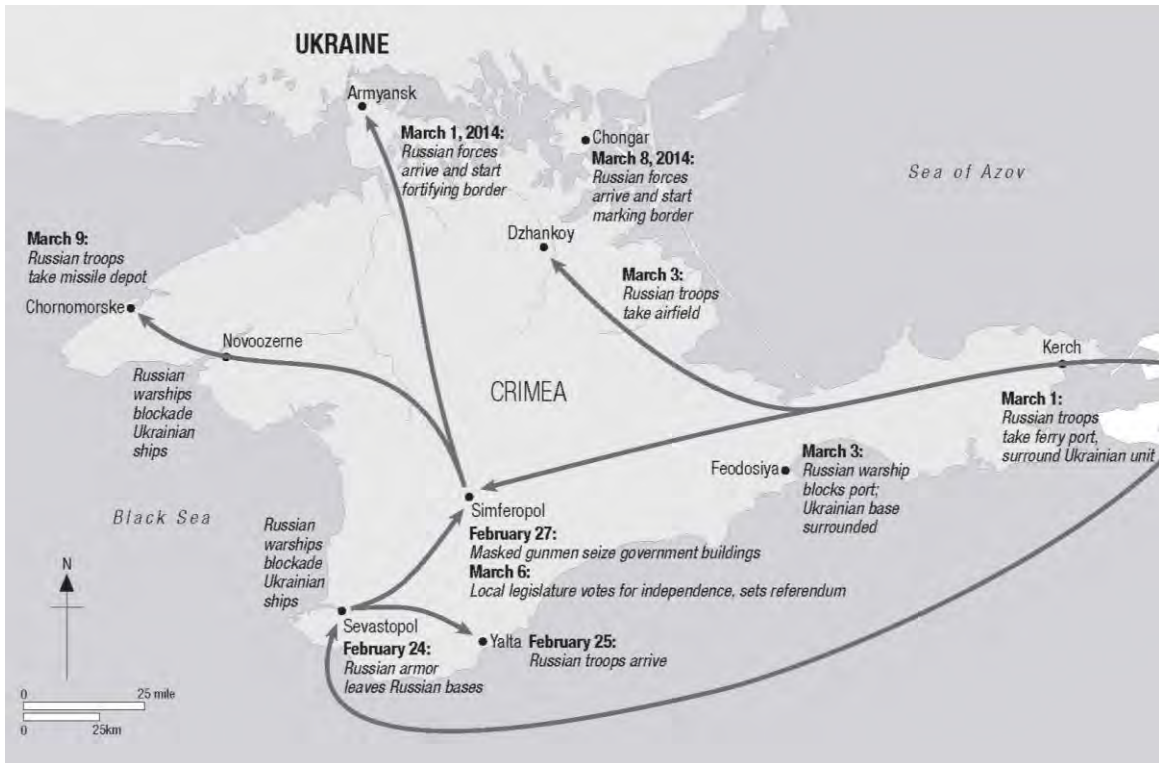[99] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015.Pg. 50-51

Figure 3: Chronological stage of the Invasion of Crimea by then unidentified Russian Forces [100] (Osprey Publishing)

According to Dr. Phillip Karber, who made a lecture relating to the Russian ways of war, made an argument for the Ukrainian lack of defence or resistance against the "Little Green Men" occupation of the cities and other strategic checkpoints of the Crimea. As it was advised by the United States and NATO, further stating that any Ukrainian fire a single bullet, would be an explicit declaration of war against the Russian, as the Russian government has made any confirmation or continuous denial of Russian troops are in Crimea.[101]

3.3.3. The Novorossiya Confederation

The annexation of Crimea would have only escalated the situation even further and forcing the Ukrainian government to seek NATO support. If NATO arrives in Ukraine, that would have meant that Russia borders with the Ukrainian in the South, would be unsecured and

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[100] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 10

[101] Modern War Institute. "Dr. Phillip Karber on the Russian Way of War." YouTube video, 1:01:29. Apr 20, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_CMby_WPjk4&t=36s.

near the "new" NATO border. In order to secure the border, a month after the annexation of Crimea, the Pro-Russian supporter in the region of Donbas, would separately declare with their independence as the Republic of Donetsk, and the Luhansk People's Republic, respectively, both would be supported by the Russian humanitarian aid, and military training and equipment.[102] Pro-Russian supporters in the Donbas region would later be known as the Separatist forces and with the aid of Russian PMC, Chechen, and Cossack volunteers fighting against both the Ukrainian military and its paramilitary units.[103] By 2014, both newly declared Republic would unite and form into a Confederacy known as the Novorossiya Republic or translated as the New Russia Republic, would become a new threat against the Ukrainian government and the military.[104] The demonstration formed by pro-Russian supporters that dominated in the Donbas region, was also due to the rise of Ukrainian nationalism forming during the Maidan revolution, and the expulsion of Moscow close tied Ukrainian President Yanukovych from the presidential power, and finally the newly elected authority which consisted Ukrainian nationalist that condemned the Russian language as a second official languages. Misinformation of Ukrainian Nationalist paramilitary moving towards to the Donbas region causes panic and fear among the Russian-speaking group and causing many to seek refuge and protection from the Moscow government.[105]

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[102] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 17
[103] Ibid. Pg. 22-24
[104] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 17
[105] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015, Pg. 217-220

Figure 4: Map of the Donbas Region[106] (Osprey Publishing)

In the end, the Russian majority living in the Donbas fearing mass persecution would start creating their volunteer militia group, creating insurgency among the state-building and seizing them in force. The communication tower that had also stop broadcasting Russian Media was also retaken and re-continue the Russian language broadcast. The Pro-Russian insurgency would start their national army, known as the Donetsk People's Army, as a conventional defence force against the Ukrainians.[107] However, the uprising in the Donbas region had already attracted the attention of the Ukrainian public and international community, the viewpoints with the western world, would consider this as uprising support and armed by the Kremlin, as a

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[106] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 13
[107] Ibid. Pg. 19-21

strategy halting the NATO intervention in the region. On the Ukrainian side, the government designated the entire Novorossiya Republic as a "Terrorist Organization." The Ukrainian Intelligence agency formerly known as the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) would conduct an Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) against the Separatist forces, which had been successful in the early stages. However, these early successes would later be countered by Russian conventional troops, fighting off the SBU operators and its Special Forces.[108]

3.3.4. Faction Involvement & Method

To further understand the situation in the Donbas Regions and the annexation of Crimea without the declaration of war from the Russians. We need to analyse and provide the methods of war that would provide a foundation of Hybrid warfare, that the Russian had already specialised in, and the reactions of foreign coalition forces that are involved in the Ukrainian Conflict.

Russia's Involvement very apparent from the beginning, due to its strategic location closed to the Crimean Peninsula, the former president of Ukraine fleeing to Russia, Russian uniformed troops, avoiding direct contact with western media, and finally the establishment of Russian flags over the government buildings and military facilities. To give proper clearance on the Russian "Non-Linear" conflict strategic planning, we first have to analyse its used methods:

The Usage of special Force units:

▪ Western media had continuously referred to these unidentified units, as the "Little Green Men" Soldiers. These soldiers were only confirmed by Russian President Putin, as being Russian Soldiers. However, he had made claims that the Russian soldiers were meant to protect the Russian-speaking population in the region. Several sources had pointed out that

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[108] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 17-19

the Spetsnaz Brigade and even the Russian VDV Paratrooper were deployed to annex Crimea, capturing the parliamentary buildings and other vital checkpoints, to cut off Ukrainian reinforcement and supplies from the besieged Ukrainian bases. However, these troops were only used to stall the reaction from the Ukrainian government, as the political decision made in the Crimean referendum for joining with the Russian Federation was heartily approved. In the end, this forces many Ukrainian military troops to evacuate the bases, without any bloodshed, and by March 24th, 2014, [109] the entire Crimea was successfully annexed by Russian Special Forces.[110]

- The Ukrainian faced was the continuous denial of Russian troops, and only recognised themselves as "Crimean Armed Forces." Russian Spetsnaz and GRU operators provided this cover-up, as to intentionally declare a peaceful military coup with the takeover of the Crimean Parliament. The Ukrainian troops stationed in barracks are unable to react due to the risk of creating an international incident, no confirmation of a Russian invasion or attack, and lack of communication for proper orders.[111]

- The Russian Naval Infantry Spetsnaz had already been stationed in a base in the southern part of Crimea, in Sevastopol Naval base. This position allowed the Russians to deploy not only from the Eastern part of Crimea but also in the south, providing a swift invasion force for the annexation. Again, these troops did not wear any insignia or badge, for official armed force unit or national identification.

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[109] Mark Galeotti, Spetsnaz: Russia's Special Forces. Elite. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2015. Pg. 50-51

[110] Leonhard, Robert R., Stephen P. Phillips, and Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgent Strategies Team, ARIS. ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019.
https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.43-45

[111] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019.
https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.45

The Usage of Cyberwarfare combined with Maskirovka:

- Cellphones, internet, and other communication systems in Ukraine were disrupted and cut off. With the communication going offline, it also becomes difficult for the trapped Ukrainian troops stationed in Crimea, to make any responses or report of the situation, thus causing the troops to become unresponsive to the situation. Without proper authorisation by both the Crimean parliament and Ukrainian leadership, the use of force by the military units would cause an international incident. As the Russian Spetsnaz units and Pro-Russian protestors surrounded the Ukrainian-held military bases. Russian media may portray this as an act of war, attacking innocent Russian-speaking Crimean, and would give full authority for the Russian Spetsnaz to attack the base with lethal force if necessary.[112]

- At the same time, the annexation of Crimea begins to proceed, many of the Ukrainian military officers, especially those operating the Ukrainian Navy in the Black Sea, started to deserted from the Ukrainian military and to join with the Russian Armed Forces. According to the document stated by NATO Strategic Communications department, had mentioned that the Ukrainian military had mix historical aspect from the former Soviet Union occupation, due to the Nazi Germany invasion of Ukraine during the Second World War, and the stationing of Soviet troops during Post-War Europe. The Ukrainian military deserters did not felt loyal, nor any form of belonging within the new Nationalist Ukrainian Government.[113]

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[112] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019.
https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.46-47
[113] Ibid. Pg.43-45

- Russian agents and media such as Russia Today News[114] are used to manipulate and show areas of concern to the Russian population as if the Ukrainian is entirely hostile towards the Crimean Russian speaking group, and provoking a sense of Russian patriotism for the recruitment of volunteer for the fight in Crimea.[115]

Insurgency Activities:

- The insurgency of the Donbas militias was involved and supported by the Russian Naval Infantry unit, known as the 810th Independent Naval Infantry Brigade. The Pro-Russian, later known as the Separatist forces, had been formed by this Naval brigade, to provide a self-defence force against the Ukrainian militias, as the Kyiv government (Ukraine) would not stand by, and watch the incident go unnoticed. The primary purpose for these insurgency to grow in Crimea is also to establish their autonomous government within the Russian Federation.[116]

- Criminal activities were also heavily involved during the takeover of Crimea, as stated in Dr. Phillip Karber lectures, had mentioned about the kidnapping of certain Ukrainian officials and to be tortured for information by the Russian agents. The attack may also be looked upon as a criminal act, without being seen as a political target. Russian GRU and FSB agents, identified as being the first to be heavily involved for the annexation of Crimea and the Donbas region.[117]

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[114] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.48-49

[115] Pg. Sazonov, Vladimir, and And Other Authors. "RUSSIAN INFORMATION CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN STATE ..." Kaitsevae Akadeemia. 2016. Accessed May 01, 2019. https://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Report_infoops_08.02.2017.pdf. 70-72

[116] Richard Sakwa, Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands, London, Great Britain: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2015. Pg. 157-159

[117] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.48-49

- Corruption and bribery is the leading source for the stabilisation of Ukraine, without sharp or reinforced commitment in combating the administration issue, Russian agents can sneak past security and border checkpoint, without arousing suspicion.[118]

- The recruitment and training of Crimean volunteer militia units by the Russian motorcycle club were formed to increase the pressure that the Ukrainian Nationalist would be attacking the local Russian-speaking population. These Rumors were meant to create panic, chaos, fear, and uncertainty among the Crimean, which would quickly welcome the protection of the Russian takeover of Crimea.

Russian PMC operation in the Donbas Region:

The Russian President Vladimir Putin, would also send in "Russian" volunteers to support, train, and fight for the Separatist, against the Ukrainian forces, without any direct involvement in the conflicts. There were attempts and methods to hide the Russian objective from the opposing forces by:

- Hiding Russian soldier causalities, cutting off media attention or reports upon their deaths, and providing the families deceased with a secret funeral, without compromising the Russian motives or clandestine operation in Ukraine

- Cossacks and Chechens are not directly related to the Russian majority group and are considered to be ethnic minorities; thus these men can be sent in as Private Military contractors for the Separatist movement, without provoking the International community accusation of having direct involvement with Moscow. Throughout history, both the Cossacks and Chechens had been proven to be active fighters, due to their long heritage

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[118] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019.
https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg. 54-55

of military traditions such as experience during the First and Second Chechen War, respectively.[119]

- Cossacks are formerly known to be expert of unconventional warfare, a strong sense of duty and act professionally as a law enforcer, especially during the 2014 Sochi Olympics.[120]

- The Chechen was formerly enemy of the Russians, however, but a deal was made between the moderate Chechen, and joined as part of the Federal troops, serving as militias, but highly trained fighters, due to years of insurgency and urban combat.[121]

- Based on the CMI report of Russia's use of PMSC, RSB-Group was a registered Russian PMC company with Moscow and consisted of former FSB and GRU officers. The group had its deployment during the annexation of Crimea, without arousing suspicion may have supported the separatist rebels. Another PMC was the PMSC Mar, function similarly as the RSB-Group but much smaller, and again was deployed by the Kremlin to engage in the Donbass region.[122]

Russian and Foreign Volunteers within the Rebels

- Interestingly, there are different "volunteerism" within the Cossacks and Chechen armed fighters with the different factions of the conflict. In the Luhansk People's Militia, had the Cossack National Guard consisted of ethnic Cossacks within Ukraine and the southern

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[119] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg.44

[120] Ase Gilje Ostensen, and Tor Bukkvoll. "*Russian Use of Private Military and Security Companies the Implications for European and Norwegian Security*." Chr. Michelsens Institutt. September 11, 2018. Accessed June 1, 2019. https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/6637-russian-use-of-private-military-and-security.pdf. Pg. 17-20

[121] Galeotti, Mark. Russia's Wars in Chechnya 1994-2009. Essential Histories. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2014.Pg. 26-28

[122] Ase Gilje Ostensen and Tor Bukkvoll, "Russian Use of Private Military and Security Companies the Implications for European and Norwegian Security." Chr. Michelsens Institutt. September 11, 2018, Accessed June 1, 2019, https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/6637-russian-use-of-private-military-and-security.pdf. Pg. 23-27

part of Russia. While in the Donetsk People's Militia had a unit called the Russian Orthodox Orthodox Army which had some Cossacks and Russian volunteers within its rank, and the Vostok Brigade consisted of Chechens and formed by the Russian GRU military intelligence unit.[123]

- There was foreign volunteer involved in the conflict, such as the Serbian veterans who had fought during the Balkan conflict of the 1990s. The Russian Peacekeepers protective action in the 1990s Balkan Conflict seen by many Serbians as an act of political support against NATO and UN peacekeeping, and it had become a critical reason for many Serbians, especially their sniper speciality to be used in the Urban areas of Donetsk.[124]

Political Tool used both in Crimea and the Donbas Region:

- The Russian government under President Vladimir Putin continuously denied the Russian military involvement in the Crimean takeover, with some plausible reason for the incident, had only strengthened the western allies mistrust, and allowing conflict to extend much longer.

- It had been proven by different satellite photographic imagery and the increased posting of Russian equipment by their troops through social media, being transported and send into Eastern and south part of Ukraine, as stated by the Atlantic Council document.[125]

- The annexation of Crimea and insurgency of Donbas would demand the needs of military support and equipment. In order to provide these armaments and training for the "Separatist" soldiers, time is needed to make them well-prepared for the upcoming Ukrainian assault and NATO expeditionary forces against the insurgents. The Russian

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[123] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 22 & 28-29

[124] Ef19450509, Posted By. "The Most Famous Serbian Volunteer Leaves the Donbass." SLAVYANGRAD.org. October 16, 2016. Accessed May 14, 2019. https://slavyangrad.org/2016/06/05/the-most-famous-serbian-volunteer-leaves-the-donbass/.

[125] Czuperski, Maksymilian, John Herbst, Eliot Higgins, Alina Polyakova, and Damon Wilson. "*Hiding in Plain Sight: Putin's War in Ukraine.*" Atlantic Council. October 15, 2015. Accessed June 15, 2019. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/Hiding_in_Plain_Sight/HPS_English.pdf. Pg. 8

government would delay the western forces by denying every accusation made by both the European Union and the US government, as the Russian Foreign Minister had commented that before an accusation is committed against the Russian government, the opposing forces must layout substantial evidence to support the accusation of the annexing of Crimea by Russian Special Forces.[126]

- As soon as the hostile engagement erupted between the Separatist forces and the Kyiv government forces, humanitarian assistance must provide for the people who were affected by the conflict, especially those are non-combatant and civilians. However, the Ukrainian would not allow Russian Humanitarian aid to assist the causalities in the Donbas, as the Kyiv government had designated the Novorossiya Republic as a terrorist organisation.

- Russian FSB agents conduct within both the Crimean and Donbass government establishment and represent themselves as political figures or even the position of prime minister in the government.[127]

- A Crucial concern is a Russian espionage within the Ukrainian intelligence agency (SBU), as many of its agents were former USSR military veterans, causing many of them to defect from the SBU towards the Russian side.[128]

Propaganda used in the Information war

- The increased hostility of the Crimeans towards the Kyiv government was also due to the rise of nationalist organization fighting and volunteering within the Ukrainian military.

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[126] Czuperski, Maksymilian, John Herbst, Eliot Higgins, Alina Polyakova, and Damon Wilson. "*Hiding in Plain Sight: Putin's War in Ukraine*." Atlantic Council. October 15, 2015. Accessed June 15, 2019. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/Hiding_in_Plain_Sight/HPS_English.pdf. Pg. 7

[127] ""Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014." The Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Accessed June 24, 2019. https://www.jhuapl.edu/Content/documents/ARIS_LittleGreenMen.pdf. Pg. 34-35

[128] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 51-52

- The Azov Battalion had a fearsome reputation in the frontline against the Separatist force with their Ukrainian volunteer. However, most had a radical-leaning towards the ideals of ultra-nationalism, as their armed patch insignia originally belongs to the Dutch Waffen SS Volunteer[129] (The SS was a notorious elite unit for the Nazi regime during the Second World War, many fascist foreigners joined the SS to combat against the Soviets due to the difference of ideology. They were also responsible for the Holocaust and other horrible war crimes).[130] The Crimeans had fears of fascism spreading within Ukraine.

- Aidar Battalion had a background of radical ideology, had been responsible for the blockade of Humanitarian aids for the "New Russia Republic" civilians.[131]

3.3.5. Conclusion of Russia's Hybrid Conflict in Europe

The Crimean annexation and the ongoing Donbas armed insurgency had caught the Ukrainian government by surprise, and unable to counter against these elements with any success at all. The cause of the initial stage is the introduction of criminal activities, corruption within the government, the deployment of Russian Secret agents, and widespread use of Maskirovka had been the foundation for Hybrid warfare to be implemented successfully. The success of Hybrid tactics is not the usage of hard power, but instead the usage of Smart power. The International community on one side had failed to foresee the threat, as they were not aware of the stage, agenda, and objective of the Russian before the implemented plans. Based on the analysis, Hybrid threat requires short, well-executed planning, and preparation of unconventional units to be used beforehand, even the start of the conflict. It could be said that

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[129] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 55

[130] Chris McNab, Hitlers Elite: The SS 1939-45. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2015

[131] Mark Galeotti, Armies of Russia's War in Ukraine. Elite. London, England: Osprey Publishing, 2019. Pg. 54

Criminal activities and corruption, maybe the critical factor for destabilising the situation. The factors which would have given the Russian an advantage of the situation in Crimea were:

- The weak administration of the Ukrainian government which is prone to corruption and bribery, and linked to the Criminal syndicate Ukrainian officers would also defect to the Russian side. The reasonable cause was the lack of maintenance of the armed forces, and corruption within its ranks.

- Sleeper and foreign Intelligence agents were able to assassinate and gain vital information about the Crimean situation, and using it to their advantage.

- The information campaign is created by the Russians to persuade the Crimeans through the use of the media to gain supporters among the Crimeans to join the Russian Federation, which enables the Russians to annex the peninsula peacefully.

- The limited use of force and unidentified military unit, can bypass or delay the reaction of the international community, and giving enough time for the troops to establish a strategic position within the region.

- Russian Intelligence Officers and other military officers are chosen to lead the political decision making in the newly founded republic in Eastern Ukraine but under the control of Moscow

- PMC operators are almost tricky to identify due to the low-profile training it had within the Russian FSB and GRU, and its financial backing from Moscow, and deployed without media attention nor any official establishment in Crimea and Donbas

- The development "Fascist." Ukrainian organization would be an advantage for the Russian media to broadcast them as the dangerous opponent and threat towards the Crimean. Many Crimean fearing for their lives, side with the Russians for protection

CONCLUSION

In our research paper, we had established questions, which are the definition Hybrid warfare, the type of methods involved, the elimination of Hybrid threat, the difficulty in ending, and finally the traditional replacement warfare with Hybrid warfare, with the risk of becoming dangerous in the future.

In summary, the introduction of the privatised military used in the conflict does not seem to fade or ceased that easily. Terrorist organisation and its violent attack on civilians remains a useful terror tool for political and propaganda gain. Cyber and electronic warfare would continue through the information age, as technology advance rapidly and modernisation program would be heavily involved in the armed cyber race. The underground criminal organisation would remain a significant problem in transnational border crimes, and illegal smuggling that would profit and equip other insurgent groups for a future attack on weaken state. Elite units and other Special units may also replace conventional troops in the future, as inter-state conflict and the rules of war are beginning to cease from function. The terrain and environment of conflict would increasingly be involved in the urbanised cities, and that would profoundly affect the population and society residing in it. Also, finally, both case studies of Syria and Ukraine had shown that Hybrid threat, once the intent conflict begins in its first stage, and no implemented counter-measures, would make it very difficult to end the conflict. Besides, Hybrid conflict is temporary and happens very quickly, and without any notice, it would spawn at a different time of the war. We could say that once Hybrid warfare is implemented successfully in the conflict, the result would be a cycle of battle and violence without any solutions unless the state decided to negotiate.

The past scholar and author that had researched, and written books related to the concept of Hybrid warfare, had made various concerns of these conflict becoming part of our society,

and may even become a threatening factor in the evolving change of 21st-century warfare. The following authors who had question and argument for the threat of Hybrid warfare, those are Indian Army Colonel Vikrant Deshpande, Christopher Kinsey, Malcolm W. Nance, Louis A. Dimarco, and Olga Oliker. They had proven that the method of warfare would remain as the future way of warfare, and the challenges that shown in the information age would require new forms of analysis or an institute that would focus on the studies of Hybrid warfare, not just the military, but also other sectors such as politics, diplomacy, media, and even economics. We must also agree with the author that the forms and means of this type of warfare, would not remain the same. However, it would further develop itself through the strategic mindset of the Political leaders, Military commanders, the combat experiences, and the objective of the current event that is involved in this new era of violence, with the rapid innovation of technology and the Cyber network.

In our final thoughts of this research paper, we can conclude that an important observation, intuition, and adaption to the changing conflict is needed, and doctrine should never remain the same, or else countermeasures and weakness would appear for other nations to take advantage of it for their political benefit.

RECOMMENDATION

Throughout our analysis of Hybrid threat in both of Syria and Ukraine, we can assume that the only effective countermeasures, is the complete reforms of both Political and Military doctrine that can adapt to the changing conflict environment. However, it is also crucial for the Political Policymaker, Military commanders, and Internal Security Commanders, must learn to process and analyse the situation, and work together to make this Hybrid threat to become less effective and low chances of success. Our analysis also had shown the root cause of Hybrid warfare, the starting stage of this concept is by targeting the local population into believing in the information, produced by either the terrorist propaganda branch or the state intelligence agency. Secondly, it is the domestic and transnational crimes, including corruption within the state that would bring disorder, fear, and the failure of the social-political system, which would be advantageous for the other states or terrorist group to secretly invade or control the country, by providing the people with another political solution. Thirdly, cross-border illegal residents entering the state can be a dangerous threat, if the immigrant remains hidden among the local population, without any legal documentation, due to the risk of foreign agents instigating violent protest or crimes, meant to disable the state's administration. Finally, the increase of urbanisation, would also become a haphazard threat for hidden terrorist cells network, with improper city plans, and a lack of training for internal security forces, would later become an intense and bloody killing field, if not properly inspected.

We had made some recommendations in combating or preventing Hybrid tactics from creating into a protracted conflict, with no end. The following are the proposed recommendation for countermeasures against Hybrid Threat in its initial or early stage:

- **Anti-Corruption Operation in ministries & Weak institution:** It had been clear that weak structure of administration within the society and government agency are prone to

criminal activities, that would lead to a complete collapse of a state, and the quick occupation by other neighbouring nations.

- Improve the budget and economy, to avoid the accepting of bribery that could lead to a breach of security within the state
- Daily inspection of the ministries could deter any form of corruption
- Establishment of Special Branch or Institute that handles transnational criminal activity also linked to the members of the ministry

- **Coordination of both political and military branches:** The rapid changes of nature of warfare is a significant threat and fear, that should require the need for individual attention and cooperation between all the branches of the government.

  - Political Policymakers must have an updated report and analysis of the Hybrid conflict with operation within the armed forces
  - Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) should not only be operated by the Special Forces unit but also with the conventional troops, to provide support and reinforcement for securing the strategic position of terrorist holdouts
  - Internal Security forces should have proper detail information of the threat in the city within the OGA (Other Governmental Agency) to avoid hostile retaliation from the locals.
  - Intelligence Agency should focus on analysing terrorist strategic goal and methods for more effective counter-measures

- **Constant Urban Combat Readiness exercises:** Internal security forces and other military personnel, should be more familiar and trained continuously for urban warfare, as the majority of people have mostly resided in the city, terrorist hidden cell units maybe operate quietly among the urban areas, and hostile attacks may come out unexpectedly.

- Civilians have to be familiar with evacuation drills training in preparation against terrorist and other CBRN attacks, especially within the confine of the urban areas.

- Must have a precise mapping of the urban city layouts, to identify "Kill zone" regions and safe routes to tackle hidden insurgents.

- **Creation of a Cyberwarfare troop branch:** With the increasing threat of Cyber and electronic hacking, combined with falsified information. A separate and independent Cyberwarfare branch should be created, in coordinating within the government ministries and Armed forces, to retaliate, counter and protect communication system from being hijacked by "Foreign" agents.

  - Electronic device and Cyber-attacks are protected continuously without any interference during an operation

  - Protection of internet networks against the unexpected virus from foreign agents that could lead to a shutdown of electrical facilities

- **Establishment of a National Guard Branch:** Based on Russian President Vladimir Putin cause of action against Hybrid threat. The idea of this is to balance the use of force against the depending situation. The Maidan protest was once peaceful; however, it escalates into violence soon after, and the Ukrainian police responded wrongly against the protester. The same would be said for the Arab Spring case in Syria, that similar consequences as the Maidan protest. Russia fear of becoming part of these unexpected situations would make more political reforms in dealing in the "Maidan style" situation both internally and externally.

  - The National Guard is formed to function as an internal security force but with riot police training, combined with counter-terrorist specialisation, inspect illegal migration

including for suspected terrorist cell agents, and to combat organised crimes within the state.

- For external threat, they would also replace the regular troops in Syria and Ukraine, and serve as peacekeepers, with coordination with the Russian Military police, that specialised in non-lethal attack (without killing the arrestee).[132]

- **Stricter Border Control:** Terrorist units, Crimes group and even foreign agents of a state, may cause internal insecurity of the state, which would cause social disruption, kidnapping, assault, murder, and the smuggling of illegal weapons, that would fuel for a hidden agenda for Hybrid war in the region. Border security and inspection must be increased and reformed, to differ any transnational crimes form growing, and merging among the innocent civilians.

  - National Intelligence Officer secretly posted near the checkpoint, to act as an inspector and anti-corruption observers.

  - Restrict the flow of illegal contraband and product, such as drugs, alcohol, and other products are a link to a criminal syndicate (Risk of secret connection with a terrorist organisation or government agency).

  - Specialised Border Guards to provide inspection of illegal border-crossing, patrolling unsecured line and migration from criminal activities[133]

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[132] Hawk, J., Daniel Deiss, and Edwin Watson. "*Russia Defense Report: Countermeasures of Hybrid War*." South Front. April 09, 2016. Accessed May 05, 2019. https://southfront.org/russia-defense-report-countermeasures-of-hybrid-war/.

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