

The New Russian Strategy and The Challenge of Changing the International System in Shadow of Contemporary International Variables

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Abstract

The Russian Federation has tried to return strongly to occupy an influential global position in international politics, especially since Russia has a global strategy that stems from many security, diplomatic and economic considerations, and has many elements of power to play global roles in international relations, through political and diplomatic means and through the use of military force and its interventions in international affairs. Russia's strategy during the Putin era was a prominent example of highlighting Russia's global role by strengthening Russian foreign policy and its presence on the level of regional issues and files, whether in the Middle East or its military movements towards regional countries, the latest of which was its military incursion into Ukraine, where the war is still bloody. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it sheds light on the strategy of one of the great countries active and present at the level of international politics. Especially since the movement and action of this state have very important repercussions negatively and positively on the future of international relations. As well as the repercussions of Russian military movements in international politics on the issues and files of the countries of the Middle East. The study tried to verify and verify the validity of the hypotheses identified by the study, which are that Russia relied in its strategic construction towards restoring its role on its strengths, specifically military power. Especially since the new military approach in the strategy of restoring its global role was linked to global changes, specifically the decline of American unilateralism, and Russia was able to turn the international scales, so it is no longer possible to talk about the Unipolarity of America

Keywords: Russian Strategy, International Politics, International Standing, Unipolarity Declining, The Ukrainian War, The Future of The International System

INTRODUCTION

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation has been trying hard to return to an influential global position in the tracks of international politics, specifically the issues of the Middle East. Russia has a global strategy that stems from many security, diplomatic and economic considerations, especially since Russia has many elements of power to play global roles in international relations. Despite the period of inactivity in the early 1990s, which was considered as a restructuring of self-power through the building and strengthening of political and military institutions, it has been striving for nearly two decades to restore its global role, sometimes through political, diplomatic and other means, through the use of military force and its interventions in international affairs. The strategy of Russia during the Putin era was a prominent example of highlighting Russia's global role by strengthening Russian foreign policy and its presence on the level of regional issues and files, whether in the Middle East or its military movements towards regional countries. Its last military incursion into Ukraine, which the war is still bloody there.

The Importance of Studying

The thrust of this study is that it highlights the strategy of one of the superpowers

It is active and present at the level of international politics through its prominent and influential presence in regional and international issues, especially since the movement and action of this state have very important repercussions, positively and negatively, not only on regional but also international issues. On the other hand, the fate of quite a few was and still is dependent on the action and positions of this giant state militarily. The importance of this study also comes through the fact that the study is concerned with studying the strategy of

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a country that has recently begun to rely effectively on military means to resolve many issues, whether in Georgia, Syria or Ukraine, and this is at least contrary to what is common in international politics, especially in the presence of the United Nations, which prohibited the use of military force to resolve international disputes, specifically if the option of using military force outside

United Nations Framework Adoption

Study Objectives

The Study Aims to Verify Several Issues Such As

Statement of the new premises and principles of the Russian Federation in international politics

Monitoring and analyzing the supreme strategy of the Russian Federation in light of the new international changes

Analysis of the political, economic and military components of the Russian Federation

Defining the supreme strategic objectives of the Russian Federation

The repercussions of the Russian moves in international politics on the issues and files of the countries of the Middle East

The Problem of The Study

The research problem starts by analyzing a complex equation related to the new Russian strategy and its military moves to resolve some issues, especially security issues. While Russia represents an international body, it is hoped that it is a vital part and party for the stability of the international system as a permanent member of

The Security Council, but Russia, through its resort to military means, has become an influential force in causing global chaos. On the one hand, and on the other hand, Russia, through its new military strategy and through its incursions into the internal affairs of countries, its presence in this way can motivate other powerful military countries to follow suit.

The Russian approach is based on military power, and this is what creates global chaos in the near future. In the light of these problematic, the study raises

Well, this raises questions.

What are the new intellectual and military strategic starting points for Russia

What are the strategic options for the Russian Federation towards restoring its global role in international relations

What are the most prominent challenges that Russia may face in its quest to restore its global role

What is the fate of the issues and files of the countries of the Middle East related to the military strategic approach of Russia

What are the global variables that gave the Russian Federation the opportunity to highlight its global intentions

What is the future of the Russian strategy in light of the worsening of its relations with Western countries in general and America in particular?

Hypothesis of the Study

The study tries to verify and verify the validity of a number of hypotheses identified by the study

I tried by analyzing the factors and variables related to the topic, as follows:

- Russia relied on its strengths, specifically military power, in its strategic construction towards restoring its role.

The new military approach in the strategy of restoring its global role was linked to global variables, specifically The Decline of American Unilateralism-

-Russia opposes the international system at several security, economic and commercial levels. It is known that for nearly two decades there have been Russian complaints about file management and global issues which Russia considered to be one-managed, especially by Western powers, specifically America.

-Russia has an important and decisive role for many issues and files in the countries of the Middle East. Russia has become a difficult number present in quite a few files, whether the Iranian nuclear file or the Syrian crisis or even the Ukrainian issue

Russia has been able to turn the international scales. It is no longer possible to talk about the unipolarity of America.

We cannot say for the moment that Russia, through its military strategy, will provide a measure of independence, flexibility and mobility to a number of countries in the political and security equation of the Middle East.

Study Framework

The Study Analyzed The Russian Strategy Through Several Frameworks, Including...

Timeframe: The study tried to shed light on the analysis of the Russian strategy for a period of After 2011, it was linked to shifts and variables at the level of regional and international equations.

Spatial framework: The study aimed to analyze the Russian strategy by focusing on Russia and its current and future roles.

Thematic framework: In the thematic framework, the study analyzed the military dimension in The New Strategy of the Russian Federation

STUDY METHODOLOGY

In order to analyze the internal factors and global variables surrounding Russia and international politics, the study relied on the realistic analysis approach that helped us in analyzing the Russian strategy towards restoring its role and presence in international politics. In the subject of analyzing the new Russian strategic dimensions and its reliance on the military option as the most prominent title of its new foreign policy, we relied on the realistic approach that focuses on analyzing the external behavior of the state in light of the strengths of the state. The forward-looking approach also helped us to identify a number of scenes and scenarios related to the future roles of the Russian Federation in international politics.

Theoretical Approach to the Study

The study relied to a high degree on the new realist theory, which basically proceeds towards analyzing

The structure of the international political system, considering that the structure of the international system, which takes several forms and patterns from unilateral to bilateral and ending with multilateralism, is responsible for drawing and determining the external behaviors of countries, relying on the hypothesis of the decline of the power and presence of the United States of America as a single pole in international politics in relation to many variables, which gave a strategic opportunity to emerge

The rise of several world powers, among which the most present was the Russian Federation.

RUSSIA'S NEW STRATEGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Strategic Premises of Russia

After the exit of the Russian Federation from the orbit of the Soviet Union, which occupied the status of great powers in the twentieth century, many intellectuals and theorists from politicians, academics, diplomats and

critics entered into an intellectual and ideological debate, in an attempt to reformulate Russian international strategic concepts and identify the intellectual premises, principles, goals and means of Russia's new foreign policy, in an environment in which Russia fell below the superpower (Kazim, 2013, p. 40)

As a result, it became clear that Russian foreign political thought did not witness a shift during the period immediately following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but rather that intellectual discussions took a direction and nature of naming several new orientations of Russia, ranging from liberalism, nationalism, religion, Eurasianism, Atlanticism and the central state... These trends have spread in Russian foreign policy on many levels.

1-The emergence of these trends was often linked to reactions to internal developments related to internal policies to address differences, problems and conflicts within the Russian Federation, or what was related to the external sphere, specifically the Commonwealth of Independent States, as a case of the embodiment of negative or positive reactions, offensive or defensive, when they were provoked by external challenges such as the policies of Atlantic expansion, and the involvement of the Warsaw Pact countries

and the countries of the former Soviet Union in the European Union, and crises in areas of Russian influence such as disintegration events

Yugoslavia (Emirate , 2009. Post Box (96-100)

On this basis, we will refer briefly to the most prominent of these trends, which have been adopted at the level of Russian foreign policy since 1991, to the current international policy, namely the Atlanticists and the priority of orientation towards the West, then the Eurasians and the priority of orientation towards the East, and finally the realists and the policy of pragmatism.

The Atlantic and the Westward Priority

This orientation was put forward by the former foreign minister under President Boris Yeltsin, Andrei Kozyrev, and it embraced many of the followers of former President Gorbachev under the new thinking in which he called for the integration of the Soviet Union into the "common European house" (37.Varol, 2013,p).

The Atlantic school of thought presented its arguments on historical, cultural, religious and objective premises and commonalities. Russia has a European history for centuries. It participated in shaping Europe's political history and played a decisive role in the wars and settlements of Europe. In addition, Russia is a Christian power, a key aspect in the mind, morality and behavior of Western civilization. In other words, Russia cannot be a culture and civilization like other religions that are incompatible with the Christian West, such as Islam and Buddhism, because the supporters of this trend see it as Western in terms of culture, history and religion. On the objective level, the Atlanticists have taken steps to approach the West and the United States of America in more than one area. From a security point of view, the Atlanticists consider that Russia has a place in NATO in one way or another, so that some did not rule out being a member of it and establishing a security partnership with it (Kazim ,2013, p. 44).

Kovedyayev, one of the proponents of this ideology today, says: To avoid the worst, Russia must go Westward, and preparing to join the two main structures in the West, NATO and the European Union, will attest to its sincere intentions by joining the European Union which will be an inevitable operation and NATO remains its only option at least its political wing" 38. Varol, 2013, p This is an affirmation of the desire of the elite Russian political and foreign political decision-makers in integrating Russia into Western institutions.

The Atlanticists believe that the Atlantic Alliance (NATO) is considered the influential center in contemporary international politics and the alternative structure of global security after the structure of bipolarity and the nuclear balance of power. From the point of view of the proponents of this trend, this alliance is a link between a security cordon embodied between Europe and the Atlantic.

Eurasians And the Priority of Orienting Towards the East

1- This current emerged as an opponent of Atlantic thought, and centered on the idea of Eurasian Russia, which calls for the need for the external political decision-maker to focus inward "represented by the unique geopolitical strategic depth of Russia, on the one hand (Kazem 2013, p. 46.) as well as the fact that Russia as an existing geopolitical entity is

The basis of the so-called "Asia-Europe" on the other hand, which is considered to be

Geography, nature, language, climate, culture and religion are the ideological link that unites

west and east, and these characteristics are exactly what determine Russia's position as a link in the bloc Eurasian geopolitics (Jankiani, 2011, p. 139).

This will be the basic structure for the advancement of Russia in the next phase as global powers in relations international In this context, this philosophical basis for starting with the Russian external trends finds its introductions in the ideas of

Their theorists in the 19th century, for example, Nikolai DANILEVSKY was the first to identify Eurasia as a geographical entity in the middle of Europe and Asia, and defined it as: a vast uninterrupted land area separated at its edges by the high mountain ranges of the Himalayas, the Caucasus and the Alps, and broad entities that make up the Arctic and Pacific, the Atlantic, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Caspian; the term Eurasian does not mean to combine Europe and Asia, as is common, but rather it is an independent entity, Eurasia as envisioned by Savitsky "and" Troitsky "and their peers are neither Europe nor Asia, it is a geographical world" as a whole completely different from the first and second (38,39, Varol, 2013).

Eurasia is a geopolitical center surrounded by peripheral regions, and post-communist Russia is facing a practical geopolitical reality; it is located far from the western flank of Western Europe and Atlantic security, as it is separated by countries that left the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union and rushed to join them.

According to the strategic vision of the proponents of this trend, Russia has interests that may not coincide much with the Western powers in many fields, and Russia has been insulted in this aspect. The West has emerged as a winner and Russia is the losing party. Therefore, Russia's policy should be based not on the rules of intellectual, civilizational and religious principles that make it close to the West as seen by the Atlanticists, but on the rules of the balance of power. Since foreign policy cannot establish a structure of relations with the West on the basis of the balance of power with ideal proposals, Russia must regain

Its power is subjective and not with the West, and then when the West sees Russia recovering with its components, they will appreciate the value of this alliance, and then cooperation with the West will be a need for Russia as it is for the West and the United States of America, cooperation on the basis of a world based on multiple powers and not unipolar and that this pluralism is dictated by geopolitical reality (Kazim, 2013, p. 48)

Eurasians are keen on Russian interests from a different intellectual-political point of view that results in orientations in Russian foreign policy that are not driven in one vehicle, on one railway, and at one point. The Russian interest does not lie in the fact that Russia is the knee of the West, but its interest comes from its geography, history, culture, customary construction, and political traditions. Therefore, Russian foreign policy should be keen to preserve the Russian state. In the midst of this, Eurasians criticized the Atlanticists on the subject of dependence, that is, giving Russian foreign policy a direction towards the United States of America and the European West without an objective assessment of the reality of the determinants and components of Russia as well as the reality of the new Russian environment globally.

At the beginning of 2000, Vladimir Putin officially declared I opposed the restoration of any kind of official state ideology in Russia 'Russia at the turn of the millennium. After Yeltsin abdicated the presidency in early 2000, and since taking power, Vladimir Putin has seemed a pragmatic, non-aggressive politician who does not carry any ideology that defines Russia's internal and external policy, declaring his rapprochement with the West in accordance with Yeltsin's previous policy that made Russia dependent on the West as a result of the economic, social and political shock left by the fall of the Soviet Union. However, what prompted Putin after

that to clash with the West, after his first term from 2000 to 2004 was pragmatic aimed at to help Russia meet “Western standards and get closer to Europe.

But after 2004, the president's rhetoric became tougher. His actions and pronouncements of obsolescence became driven by anti-Western ideology fueled by the theses of some conservative philosophers in Russia. Did regional and international circumstances compel him to lead Russia in a style mixed with tsarism and Stalinism to counter the West's plans to contain Russia once again? His first goal was to restore stability to his country seriously affected by the economic and social crisis and to eradicate the wounds of the fall of the Soviet Union... Try to reconcile the red and white memories of the country

By mixing the symbols of tsarism and the Soviet Union to push Russia forward and get out of its crisis.

As a former officer in the KGB, he sensed the Western danger hovering around Russia, where he could not allow criticism at home to be launched freely against the Soviet era with the help of Western institutions. He cannot condone the accession of the Baltic states to NATO and the European Union after they were in the space of the Soviet Union. And the color revolutions "(Georgian) at the end of 2003 and Ukraine in late 2004 that call for joining NATO and the European Union. Putin considered it a hoax and manipulation by Western and American secret service organizations. The fall of the Soviet Union represented the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century. As if to pave the way for the return of Stalinism in the country according to a new perspective that makes him a supreme guide for Russia, and instead of confronting the past and speaking against it, Putin suggested burying it in order to move forward.

The economic collapses that occurred in Russia during the reign of President Boris Yeltsen, the first president of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union, continued in addition to his illness. He could no longer run for a new term of office according to the Constitution. The latter was forced to resign on 31/12/1999 and hand over the reins of power to his Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, and since the arrival of the President

Putin came to power in 2000 and Russian foreign policy has set its goal of further entanglement in Global political, economic and security processes, based on the incorporation of their internal development and ambitions in a context of globalization. (Dr. Abdullah, Al-Arab and Globalization, 2007)

The most important objectives of Russian foreign policy under Putin are as follows:

1. Nationalization of Russian foreign policy, stressing the need to restore prestige and power

Russia

2- Seeking to establish cooperative relations with former friends of the Soviet Union, especially India, Iran and China.

3- Agreement with regional neighboring countries to achieve stability in the region

4. Strengthening democracy in Russia.

In addition, the most important steps he has taken to strengthen his country's foreign policy in the face of other major world powers are Russia's integration into many foreign policy activities such as the Group of Eight (G-8), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Asia, and the Russian summits with the European Union) (Abdul Hakim, 2015).

The Security Doctrine of Russian Policy under Putin

Going back to the historical stages and stations, we find that modern Russia "Russia" "Putin" in general has stopped

At three geopolitical stages until the end of 2009:

The recovery phase "The Doctrine of Restoration of the State": which began with the beginning of the Custody and ended with its end in 2000.

2004, and many political and military analysts believe that this period was closer to the restoration of the nation-state, by virtue of the fact that European-Russian relations at this stage were characterized by a defensive style much more than an offensive one.

The stage of building the transcontinental nation-state is the doctrine of "imposing" respect (2005-2009). The Russian security doctrine at this stage stems from the global geopolitical trend, which is based on building and establishing a strong army and defensive and offensive military capabilities. It can be said that the military doctrine is a doctrine of imposing respect, which is

Second Russian confrontation, attack and provocation doctrine (2005-2009): for the West, specifically the United States of America.

The stage of confirming the global status of the doctrine of strategic balance ": It is the third doctrine adopted by Russia in its modern history and has been applied in practice since (2011-2015). The Russian analyst, " vitch alexander leonod ", stated that the new Russian security doctrine did not come from a vacuum, but rather came as a reaction to the announced US national security strategy. It can be said that this stage relied on exceptional military strategic options as an option for Russia to launch pre-emptive nuclear strikes and the possibility of using Russian military forces outside the country in the event of any threat. (Al-Futaisi, 2010).

In 2004, President Putin was able to obtain a second presidential term, during which he revealed that Russia is dissatisfied with the policy of the United States of America towards Russia's goals at the global level (Ahmed, 2013, p. 9). Putin waved strong steps for Russia's foreign policy that his country intends to take against "Western partners" because of what he called their unilateral steps on the world stage, and the marginalization of the Russian role and interests. The President stressed that it is not permissible to determine the rules of playing in the international economy and politics behind Russia's back or separately from it and its interests, stressing the pursuit of constructive cooperation and dialogue on international counter-terrorism issues, arms control and the maintenance of public security. (Ahmed, 2015, p. 33).

VARIABLES IN THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE NEW RUSSIAN STRATEGY

The changes that occur at the international level from the restructuring of some blocs, institutions and alliances, or the establishment of new institutions, or the transitions from a multipolar system to a bipolar or to a single pole, up to the current stage that the international system suffers from instability due to the global health crisis of the spread of Coronavirus Pandemic.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and until the beginning of 2020, the world has witnessed the third profound changes in the international system: the first has been concerned with the transformation of the structure of the system; the system moved from bipolar to unipolar led by the United States and then the prosperity of China to a conflict in unipolarism. The second is the nature of the international system. There has been a radical shift in the list of global concerns focused on security and strategy to issues of economic growth and development, the environment, welfare, minorities and human rights. The third is the institutional structure of the system with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security or its function in addressing economic and social problems. ²⁰ This transformation has caused international variables aimed at redrawing the map of the world through the globalization of the system by relying on economic bases controlled by major countries to achieve their interests in exchange for the marginalization of the sovereignty of States and the return of their political wills. It soon turned into a post-Covid-19 pandemic crisis, with the multiplicity of variables and their effects and illusion of variables.

Contemporary Global Variables

There have been a number of global changes that have accompanied the development of international politics at all levels and have affected on the nature of international relations as well as had repercussions on the

reconstruction of global strategies, specifically for the great powers. Among these changes and transformations, we refer to the most prominent of them

Variables of Globalization

The process of interdependence paved the way for another process (globalization). With the beginning of the 1990s, this term appeared in international politics to reflect a phenomenon that indicates the transformation of the world into a single global market and village in which the elements of production move without restrictions in light of a new global pattern that transcends the nation-state system led by that process and driven by the capitalist power represented by multinational companies and governments that work to achieve the interests of those companies based on the gains of the Third Industrial Revolution, which gave them tremendous technological power and economic ability to achieve the interests of those capitalist powers by profiling the world in line with those interests. In this context, profiling means that the world prevails a single intellectual model with economic, political and cultural dimensions that coincide with Western interests. However, this profiling does not mean the creation of a single homogeneous world, as globalization starts from identifying the interests of international capitalist powers and sets the standards that achieve those interests and imposes on the countries of the South the burden of trying to benefit from those standards. Thus, globalization is not just a multidimensional economic phenomenon that guarantees economic, political and cultural aspects, although the economic aspect represented by the liberalization of international trade remains the most important aspect (Alawi, 2005, pp. 34-36).

Globalization has a range of political, economic, cultural and security impacts, such as opening international markets to the free movement of goods and services ²⁵, in addition to reformulating the concepts of international relations to give the countries driving globalization the opportunity to rise to the ranks of major powers in the new world order, by exercising the right to intervene in the affairs of the countries of the South. These countries put forward concepts such as human rights and democracy as concepts that the countries of the South must apply to achieve integration with globalization, and humanitarian intervention is carried out to monitor and protect the application of those concepts. ²⁶ As for security effects, they mean that NATO will have missions in different parts of the world, which need NATO intervention to resolve disputes through the concept of confidence-building "measures" as a way to resolve regional conflicts, when the countries of the South have demands towards the North, while overlooking those measures if the countries of the North have demands towards the countries of the South. ²⁸ Naughty, (Ahed, Sail, 2018, without a page)

Coronavirus Variants

The spread of the novel coronavirus represents one of the most important variables that affected the political ecology of countries at the internal and external levels, especially the Arab countries that are witnessing internal conflicts such as Syria, Yemen and Libya due to their declining health care systems and the absence of leadership in them, especially since the warring parties can invest this crisis in their favor by keeping these parties with medical aid to their supporters. On the other hand, there are some systems that have invested the health crisis to tighten their control over the internal system and foreign policy outputs, and it is likely that some Arab countries will face difficulties in facing the repercussions of the coronavirus crisis

Economic, (especially the oil countries Beijing, Akhbar Al-Youm website, 2020).

Rentier economy to a knowledge economy, through smart cities, and to harness artificial intelligence in

Country management Thus, the interactive capacity of the international system increased; the countries that took the reins of the Third Industrial Revolution

She was able to prevail in the international system (Belaour , 2010,p. 55).

5.1.2 : Global Economic Variables:

A set of economic variables that contributed to influencing the nature of the transformations that had a role

The most prominent in shaping the international system as follows:

A- The emergence of international economic blocs:

The policy of interdependence and division of labor in the fields of investment and trade is one of the most important characteristics of the modern global economic system, which is achieved through the pursuit of developed and developing countries with different economic doctrines and degrees of development to establish giant economic groupings in which Qatari countries retain their legal personality, status and sovereignty. Economic blocs can be seen as cooperation between the bloc countries and integration in production at the same time as a wall to confront other strong economies. However, these blocs do not stop at the point of economic interests, but rather look at a distant and more comprehensive horizon to turn them into major political blocs. Among the most prominent of these blocs are the European Union - NAFTA - BRICS - ASEAN - EPSA - Mercosur). (Abdul Hamid1998). B- Knowledge Economics:

Emergence Of Problems and Issues of a Global Nature

Some of the problems have gained the character and global attention, which are topped by the issues of human rights and the implementation of democracy, the problems of the environment and the spread of immunodeficiency, and advanced viral diseases, which have been taken as one of the mechanisms of fourth-generation wars. These issues were considered non-military threats that prevent the stability of many countries, which was the focus of global attention. However, the approach of selection and marginalization by major and superpowers towards small and medium-sized countries has prompted the use of these major issues as pressure cards sometimes by Western countries, especially the United States of America , on other countries, not necessarily to achieve stability and non-traditional security at the global level or a victory for these values or a push on the path of these trends, but to serve the narrow and specific interests of the stressing countries (Balour,2010,p. 21).

Technological Variables

Military capabilities alone are no longer the standard criterion for the distribution of power and authority. The predictions of technological capabilities have a key position in determining power in the new international order. The environment of the regime has been characterized by the acceleration of the accumulation of information, the increase in its use and its transformation into a commodity that generates large sums of money for the state that monopolizes this information and accelerates communications, which announced with it the flowering of the third global revolution - after the agricultural revolution, and the industrial revolution - namely: the knowledge revolution and its elements, science, technology, information and culture. The leaders of the third stage, namely businessmen, leaders of cross-border companies and political leaders, have been distinguished by the speed and intensity of communications. The extension of knowledge exceeds geographical borders and includes various countries of the world, which led to the emergence of new international units and the emergence of new issues in international politics that began with the transformation of knowledge into exportable productive goods.

the rentier economy to a knowledge economy, through the Smart Cities Summit, and to harnessing artificial intelligence in State administration and thus increased the interactive capacity of the international system; the countries that took the reins of the Third Industrial Revolution

It was able to prevail in the international system (Balar, 2010, p. 55).

Global Economic Variables

A set of economic variables that contributed to influencing the nature of the transformations that had a role

The most prominent in shaping the international system is as follows:

The Emergence of International Economic Blocs

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Knowledge Economics...

The new economy is witnessing radical changes in the mechanisms of market economies, and the shift towards knowledge economies, an economy in which the production, distribution and use of knowledge is the main driver of sustainable growth and the creation of wealth and employment opportunities in all fields. It is also based on the production of knowledge, and the use of its fruits and achievements, so that this knowledge constitutes a major source of wealth and well-being of the developed society, and with regard to forms of knowledge, it is represented in: explicit knowledge that includes databases, information, software, etc., or the implicit knowledge represented by individuals with their experiences, knowledge, relationships and interactions (Diab, Lebanese Civil Defense Journal, 2008).

Moving to Market Economies

An American believes that the capitalist economy is the best and that it is suitable for all countries of the world, using both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as a global tool. However, since 2008, capitalist economies have been suffering from the repercussions of the financial crisis, which paved the way for the decline of the influence of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, especially after the opening of the New Development Bank by the BRICS Group in Shanghai, China, in 2015. The aim is to establish an international organization similar to the World Bank capable of financing development projects in the country. Emphasis will be placed on LDCs and countries with the greatest needs. (Hardt, Antonio, 2002, p. 23).

Russia And the Possibility of Its Emergence as A Global Power

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the beginning of a new phase in international relations, the most prominent features of which are the absence of the bipolar phase in international decision-making, which controlled the conditions of the world.

Since 1945, both sides of the equation have used all the methods and tools of conflict that enable them to maintain their dominance

On the international stage, especially since that theater witnessed many tensions that almost led to destructive confrontations between the two poles Brzezinski, 1999, p. 18. This stage created the conditions for another stage, the most prominent features of which were the failure and collapse of socialist experiments in the eastern camp system, with the disintegration and demise of the alliance and bribery. One of the most prominent features of the Cold War and most important of all, the fragmentation of the Soviet empire and the scattering of its republics in various directions (Vitaly, 2006, p. 96)

At that stage, the Anglo-Saxon rival, on the west bank of the globe, was closely watching the developments of what was happening in the east, and preparing for the earliest opportunity to seize the throne of hegemony over decision-making on the planet. Then the second Gulf War in 1991 presented him with an unrepeatability opportunity with the tyranny of his power and influence over everyone, which gave him absolute preponderance in the management of international affairs. This is clear even in the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. These decisions were made at an easy pace and at an unprecedented speed, and in the way designed by the US administration 14, and what was happening was lost the prestige and influence of many major countries, so that none of them dared to threaten or use the veto. (Al-Rubaie, 2007, p. 194)

The American rival began, high with the fall of bipolarity, and the chaos that was happening in Russia, so that he wanted to break all doubts about his uniqueness in dominating the management of political, economic, military and cultural affairs in the international arena, when he began a form of show of force, sending his naval

and air fleets to the farthest and most dangerous locations, and this is what we have seen in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Rwanda. without toning down his policy tactics in other troubled international theaters such as Korea, the Caucasus, and other

Central Asia, Lebanon and Iran. It is a step by step that carries a lot of risks, when it began to encroach on the areas of influence of the former Soviet Union, dismantling the strategic locations of the Russian presence, by enticing those countries to join NATO, in preparation for their accession to the European Union (Vitaly, 2006, p. 114)

Strategy for a Multipolar World

that the Russian bear, did not prolong his nap, especially after Putin came to the presidency, who seemed to be an active leader restoring. Russian history has its presence on the international scene, and this is evident in many major and inflammatory issues, such as the US aggression against Iraq and the continued cooperation with Tehran in completing its nuclear program at the Bushehr reactor, or in modernizing the Russian industrial and military machine, through the production of the latest fighter in the world or in the manufacture of an intercontinental missile with self-propulsion and capable of carrying nuclear warheads,... Many other issues are that Russia's return to the theater of international conflict has become a global need, in the face of the impulse, arrogance and looseness that have characterized American behavior since their domination of the international political scene. This return, accompanied by the growth of the power of the European Union, with the rise and growing affection of Chinese power, will be the main ways to achieve a multipolar world, in which multiple powers compete, after the United States of America has reached the end of the stage of exclusivity and domination of the international system as a single pole, which creates the atmosphere for everyone, to achieve world peace, away from the atmosphere of power and unrest, which has been the most prominent features of the era of hegemony and exclusivity since the 1990s (Andrew, 2008 – P126)

Russian President Vladimir Putin said on Sunday that Russia is a "global power," stressing that it "will never allow any external hegemony or dictates," while Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy warned that Moscow could exploit

Kiev celebrates its independence anniversary on August 24, for provocative action, and in his self-fulfilling speech

Nationalist, at a time when Russia is facing the challenges of war and its attrition in Ukraine, Putin said: The national flag symbolizes our faith in our traditional values that we will never give up, which are truth, justice, solidarity, compassion, respect for Russia's centuries-old history, and the achievements and victories of our ancestors that inspire us to shepherd and defend our homeland, and we never allow any foreign domination or dictates (Al-Sharq, 2022)

Russia's presence and concentration militarily or economically, and through its energy weapon, markets, and supply lines in vital and hot spots in the world in one way or another, makes it a center of global domination that affects a large part of the globe? Does the Russian Federation have a special international influence that makes it a permanent partner in the conduct of world events and the organization of world affairs? Since they are based on mutually chosen relationships. With so many countries, can we call it a superpower? This is according to varying degrees of rise and fall in power indicators, and does it have an iron hand through which it can direct a multi-purpose and multi-location military strike, or launch diplomatic, commercial, industrial, financial, cognitive, cultural, or advanced technological campaigns or cold wars, and affect the world's economic crises, and contribute to the formation of social values and principles, and a transcontinental point of view and public opinion, which applies only to the United States at the present time, and therefore it remains the most effective and qualitatively influential superpower in the world.

The Challenges of The Russian Strategy on Its Way Back to Universality

The Russian presence in the region has increased, and the strategic nature of the Russian approach has increased. She pointed out at the outset the importance of understanding the dimensions that qualify any

country to play influential global roles and become an effective player on the international and regional levels, and the Sheikh summarized those dimensions in what she called the global role triangle, which consists of

A leadership with vision, economic potential, and huge military capabilities that enable it to protect its movements and interests. It seems that the three dimensions are available to the Russian state, which enabled it, under Putin's period, to return to the square of major powers (Future website, 2022)

The Russian state still dreams of achieving the so-called "strategic leap" of Russian influence. It is a goal that faced a number of challenges even under the former Soviet Union, the most important of which are:

1-The challenge of access to the Red Sea, where Russia has stumbled for many years to reach a focal point, especially with the United States, through its policy of containment, keen to prevent this from happening.

2-The threat of terrorism, as Russia is surrounded by a belt of terrorism that extends from Syria to Afghanistan and is certainly linked to Russia's internal terrorism.

3- Russia faces a series of economic sanctions and competition in the energy market, as well as Russia's worrying maneuvers and movements in the Black Sea and other challenges.

Moscow is trying to break those rings and challenges to move on a wider scale, which has prompted it to move in wider spaces in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, which is an important fulcrum for Russia, through which it tries to assert its position as a major power capable of protecting its Energy and the field of weapons. Perhaps the most important challenges facing the Russian strategy are: interests. as well as creating different alternatives and markets, especially in the field of

Internal Challenges of Russian Strategy

Economic crisis: The Russian economy suffered from decay for a long time before Putin took office as head of the Russian state. Russia had military power but lacked an economic base. President Yeltsin's vision was that the beneficial treatment for the Russian economy was to move to capitalism once or the so-called (shock therapy) to achieve economic growth and began since 1992 to liberalize trade, reduce government spending, reform taxes and privatize state institutions and others to achieve this goal (Emirate, 2000, Stories 29-30).

The Russian economy: The improvement of the standard of living of the population significantly and work in appropriate ways to double GDP, diversifying the sources of the Russian economy and transforming it from a rentier economy based on selling oil and gas to a diversified industrial and agricultural economy... Requires the development of medium- and long-term plans and strategies. Russia's economy, despite recording rapid and steady growth during Putin's eight years in power, still needs improvement in many respects... Inflation, for example, is still recording high numbers, which jeopardizes the reforms in the country by swallowing the growth in the income of the Russian citizen. These things prompted President Medvedev to pledge to implement the programs developed by Putin for Russia until 2020, including a program for a society that provides equal opportunities for people to develop themselves, develop an innovation-based and more effective economy, and create a larger middle class. He also pledged to make Russia one of the five largest economies in the world in the next 10 to 15 years. This means that plans should be developed with ambitious goals focused on modernizing Russia and making it globally competitive in other fields besides oil, gas and weapons. Effective strategies and procedures should be adopted to transform the economy from energy and arms exports to innovation and exports. other products. Russia's foreign economic policy in the distant future should aim to occupy a position

The forefront in the supply of energy resources and high-tech goods, as well as the investment of competitive advantages available in the field of transport, and in the sector of agriculture and raw materials manufacturing (Emirate, 2009, p. 87).

- The military establishment: The reform of the Russian military establishment and the development of the Russian military side in a way that preserves the prestige of the Russian army and raises the possibility of competition in international markets is one of the challenges facing the presidency of Dmitry Medvedev... It requires the development of the Russian military industry and providing it with advanced scientific technology,

which contributes to increasing its ability to compete internationally in the field of sales, which consequently benefits the Russian economy a lot... It also points to the possibility of advancing the reality of the Russian army and the military institution in general. By formulating a new strategy for building the armed forces that takes into account emerging threats... As well as the need to rely on advanced technologies to manufacture new types of weapons at the lowest possible costs. (Emirate, 2009, p. 88).

B- Pressure of internal forces: The influence of these internal forces is highlighted in the issue of the Kuril Islands and the relationship with Japan. The nationalist and militant currents oppose the handing over of these islands to Japan, in addition to 47,000 Russian citizens, including twenty military security officers who inhabit the islands. Indeed, each Russian Sakhalin province may claim to defend the islands and resist their handover. In 1991, 70% of the citizens of these islands voted against returning the islands to Japan. In light of the widespread internal opposition to the possibility of returning these islands, this position was a determining factor for the Russian foreign political movement towards Japan and blocked any attempt to make Russian political concessions on this issue. Emirate, 2000, p. 45...

Terrorism and separatism in some republics under the rule of the Russian Federation, which are

The most dangerous challenge to Russian stability, which affects the unity and territorial integrity of Russia, which requires its elimination through the use of various Western and intimidating means in order to deter those who think about adopting the same approach. Separatism influenced by fundamentalist thought is concentrated in the Caucasus and the Chechen issue. These matters can only be resolved through the establishment of security and order in the country.

External Challenges Facing Russian Strategy

There are a number of external challenges that stand and may be responsible for formulating foreign policy strategy

For the Russian Federation, the most prominent of which are:

1- Expansion of NATO's successor and accession of European countries:

On May 18, 2022, Finland and Sweden submitted an official request to join NATO and abandon the policy of neutrality that the two countries have been committed to for decades. This request was welcomed by Europe, while Turkey opposed it on the grounds that Sweden harbors its opponents from members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is classified by it, the European Union and the United States as a terrorist organization. Ankara also calls on both countries to drop the arms embargo imposed on them since 2019 after its military operations in northern Syria.

In the same vein, Croatia opposed the accession of the two countries to NATO, until the election law in Bosnia and Herzegovina is amended to facilitate the election of Croat representatives to government positions in the aforementioned country...

It is noteworthy that the two countries applied to join NATO, in accordance with the "open door" policy, in Article X of the

Its Charter, which allows any European country to join it, an article that Russia adheres to its demands in canceling, as part of the security guarantees provided by NATO, Europe and the United States of America alike.

The concept of neutrality, is one of the concepts in the context of conflict resolution, and the achievement of peace and stability, especially in disputes and rivalries between major powers. The United Nations defines neutrality as: "The legal status resulting from the abstention of a State from participating in a war with other States, the maintenance of a position of neutrality towards belligerents, and the recognition by belligerents of this abstention and impartiality - this is critical through which the United Nations gains trust and cooperation from all parties in order to act independently and effectively, especially in cases involving political flare-ups." Many countries in the world are still committed to neutrality, such as Ireland, Austria, Switzerland, Moldova

The New Russian Strategy and The Challenge of Changing the International System in Shadow of Contemporary International Variables and Turkmenistan, which are registered as neutral countries in the United Nations. (Sahar , Strategyx website , 2022).

International Sanctions

Russia will face a fifth package of Western sanctions. Despite the consensus on tightening sanctions, there is still a lot of room to maneuver about Russian energy supplies and the energy sector. However, Western countries face a dilemma: they want Russia's alleged war crimes not to go unpunished, but at the same time they do not want to help Ukraine militarily to the extent that pushes it towards direct involvement in the war against Russia. Against this backdrop, the tightening of Economic and financial sanctions against Russia are the best option.

In this context, the German Chancellor (Olaf Scholz) said that we will decide to impose further measures in the

Our allies over the next few days and (Russian President Vladimir) Putin and his supporters will feel the consequences. ” As of Wednesday 06 April 2022, Washington, in coordination with the G7 and the European Union, will ban all new investments in Russia, as part of a new package of sanctions, according to identical sources. The White House said the United States would impose more sanctions on Russian financial institutions, Kremlin officials and their families, while European Council President Charles Michel announced that the European Union must impose sanctions on the Russian oil and gas sector " sooner or later."

The new EU talks are expected to focus on the question: how can sanctions be tightened in response to the atrocities in Butcha and punished? European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen said the bloc was considering a range of sanctions that could include oil imports and an end to all coal imports from Russia. “These sanctions will not be our last sanctions,” she said in a tweet.

Since Russia began its invasion of Ukraine, it has been subjected to harsh economic sanctions, including freezing the Russian president's foreign accounts and personalities in his close circle, as well as banning the export of high-tech products to Russia and isolating a number of Russian banks from the international payment system, "swift.", the sanctions also included the closure of European ports and European airspace to Russian ships and aircraft (Deo website, 2022)

The most important sanctions imposed by Western countries and the United States on the Russian Federation are: (BBC website: (2022 Arabic)

Impose a ban on dual-use exports of goods with civil and military uses, such as Auto parts - by UK, EU and US

Imposing a ban on all Russian flights in the airspace of the United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union and Canada.

Imposition of a ban on imports of Russian gold

Imposing a ban on the export of luxury goods to Russia.

The UK has imposed a 35 per cent tax on some imports from Russia, including vodka.

In addition to the measures taken by governments, many international companies have either suspended their business dealings in Russia or withdrawn altogether. These include McDonald's, Coca-Cola and Starbucks....

CONCLUSIONS

The most important strategic objectives of Russia's foreign policy during the Putin era included: nationalizing Russia's foreign policy strategy, and emphasizing and striving to restore Russia's global status. Seeking to strengthen and restore the network of relations and alliances with former allies of Russia during the era of the

Soviet Union, specifically in the Middle East, such as the restoration of alliances with Asian powers and Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya.

The strategy of building and restoring the Russian role has passed through several stages, the most prominent of which was the stage of recovery and restructuring of the supreme strategy of the state "The Doctrine of Restoring the State": It began with the beginning of the first and second Putin era (2000-2008), as that period was characterized by direct pursuit towards restoring the state to its national prestige, through the Russian-European relations, where the Russian strategy at this stage was characterized by a convergent defensive method, much more than the divergent offensive approach and method.

The strategic doctrine of Russia relied on building and shaping the movement of the nation-state towards transcontinental universality under the title "The doctrine of imposing respect and prestige for Russia" (2008-2012), as the strategic security doctrine of Russia at this stage relied on the global geopolitical trend, which relied mainly on building and strengthening the army and defensive and offensive military capabilities. During this strategy, Russia imposed itself as prominent forces in international politics along with the West and the United States of America.

The post-2012 phase represented the stage of confirming the global status of the Russian Federation, which was entitled

In the name of the "strategic balance doctrine": which is the third strategic doctrine adopted by the Russian Federation in contemporary international politics, especially since this strategic security doctrine of the new Russia did not come from a vacuum, but emerged as a reaction to the security and economic policies pursued by the West and the United States of America, especially towards Russia and the geographical space of Russia's strategic influence, whether in the Middle East or in the European continent and countries neighboring Russia.

One of the most prominent and important strategic objectives of the Russian Federation is the issue of enabling and developing Russian capabilities and maintaining national security, including its territorial integrity and territorial integrity: One of the most important and prominent strategic objectives of the Russian Federation is to protect its national security, territorial integrity and territorial integrity and its right to recover some areas and territories lost during the days of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This is related to the territories and territories of neighboring countries. There are territories that Russia considered to be part of, most notably areas and territories of the three Baltic Republics (Ukraine - Georgia Estonia - Lithuania - Latvia), where these republics have become independent in accordance with post-Cold War settlements, in addition to the disintegration of Ukraine and Belarus, which are an integral part of the Russian Empire due to national overlap and common heritage. After all, Russia must provide defense of its territorial integrity.

Russia has worked hard to establish a multipolar international system, by emphasizing the independence and balance of Russian foreign policy, while taking into account the interests of other countries, while categorically rejecting a world governed by one pole, where Russia has seen new challenges and threats.

The national and strategic interests of Russia and its allies and its strategy, whether in the Balkans or in the Middle East, come from the claims of the Western world, foremost of which is the United States of America, believing in the superiority and entitlement of the West to lead the world. There is an increasing quest to establish a unipolar global structure under which the United States controls the world militarily, security and economically using force and with the support of its Western allies. This is something that the Russian Federation cannot accept. Russia has sought to achieve a multipolar international system that can effectively reflect the diversity of the contemporary world at all levels.

There have been many changes taking place at the international level, related to the decline and exhaustion of American power in many regions, through attempts to restructure some blocs, institutions and alliances, or establish new institutions, or transformations from a multipolar system to a bipolar system or to a single pole, and up to the current stage in which the international political system suffers from instability, chaos and wars in many global places.

There were a number of challenges that accompanied the Russian presence in contemporary international politics. Foreign policy challenges stem from the availability of the internal capabilities of the state. In this

context, I found that there are advantages of a strategic nature that characterized the Russian orientation, as the importance of the dimensions that qualify any country to exercise influential global roles, and become an effective player at the international and regional levels. These dimensions can be considered as the triangle of the global role, which consists of leadership and leaders with a strategic vision, and the potential of economic power, in addition to the huge military capabilities, especially nuclear, that enable them to protect their movements and strategic interests. It seems that the three dimensions

It was available to the Russian state, which enabled it under Putin to return again to the square of Great powers.

In addition to the internal challenges, there were several challenges on the path of the Russian strategy towards restoring its global role, which was mainly represented in the expansionist policies of NATO towards countries neighboring Russia, and this raised the Russians' ire towards adopting offensive policies that were embodied more than once in the means of managing its foreign policy, the last of which was the attack on Ukraine in early 2022.

In connection with the global trend of the Russian Federation, Russia's political and military presence has had and will continue to have decisive repercussions for resolving issues in the Middle East, the most prominent of which is the Iranian nuclear file, which has become the second in terms of global importance after Russia's invasion of Ukrainian territory. In addition, Russia's presence, which is undoubtedly closer to Iran than the rest of the European countries, has given room for Iranian movement and maneuver in the way of resolving its nuclear file. Iran has become playing cards parallel to the Russian strategy by conducting negotiations on its nuclear file. In the same context, the Russian strategy has played a decisive role in stabilizing the Syrian crisis in favor of the Syrian regime and keeping Assad in power.

The Russian war on Ukraine and its repercussions on the international system are among the most prominent complex geopolitical crises facing Europe after the Cold War period, which came after the security policies pursued by the United States of America and countries of the European Union to besiege Russia geographically, which coincided with and even contradicted the strong desire of Russia "Putin" to restore Soviet glories, as the administration of the latter seeks to control Ukraine, in order to protect vital Russian interests, at the same time.

The West, in turn, seeks to contain Ukraine, through Euro-Atlantic expansion, and this and the conflict

Circulation between the two sides will be sufficient to resolve the issue of restoring Russia's global status in the future

The recent war in Ukraine represents the real and final test of the strategic capabilities of the Russian Federation in the repositioning of the state as a global cat in contemporary international politics or not.

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