CONFLICT AS A PROBLEM AND THREAT TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

KONFLIKT JAKO PROBLEM I ZAGROŻENIE BEZPIECZEŃSTWA NARODOWEGO I MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO

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ABSTRACT

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by a deep crisis of the national and international security system. For many factors caused by the intensification of military-political conflicts of a new type, the term "hybrid war" is now used. A feature of these conflicts is, in the first place, the use by the opponents of a wide scale of non-military means of influence: economic, informational, environmental, social, political and others. It is important here to justify the importance of the transformation of the state system of civil protection, which is being developed under the influence of contem-

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porary military and political conflicts. The problem of military-political rivalry, by defining the content of the term "military-political conflict", leads to a confrontation of political entities both within the state and at the state level, as well as between states, aimed at achieving their own political interests using various means and ways of influencing the political, military, economic, social and information spheres.The purpose of this speech is to present the mechanisms of solving all existing problems related to the functioning of society and to present the forms and features of contemporary hybrid conflicts.

KEYWORDS
national security, hybrid war, hybrid conflict

ABSTRAKT
Początek XXI wieku charakteryzuje się głębokim kryzysem systemu bezpieczeństwa narodowego i międzynarodowego. Dla wielu czynników wywołanych nasileniem konfliktów militarno-politycznych nowego typu, obecnie używa się określenia „wojna hybrydowa". Cechą tych konfliktów jest w pierwszej kolejności wykorzystanie przez przeciwników szerokiej skali niemilitarnych sposobów oddziaływania: ekonomicznych, informacyjnych, środowiskowych, społecznych, politycznych i innych. Ważne tu jest uzasadnienie ważności transformacji państwowego systemu ochrony ludności, co powstaje pod wpływem współczesnych konfliktów militarno-politycznych. Problem rywalizacji wojskowo-politycznej poprzez zdefiniowanie treści pojęcia *konflikt wojskowo-polityczny*, doprowadza do konfrontacji podmiotów polityki zarówno w wewnątrz państwa jak i na szczeblu państwa oraz międzypaństwowym, mającym na celu osiągnięcie własnych interesów politycznych z wykorzystaniem różnych środków i sposobów oddziaływania w sferze politycznej, wojskowej, gospodarczej, społecznej, informacyjnej. Celem tego wystąpienia jest przybliżenie mechanizmów rozwiązywania wszelakich istniejących problemów dotyczących funkcjonowania społeczeństwa oraz przedstawienie form i cech współczesnych konfliktów typu hybrydowego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE
bezpieczeństwo narodowe, wojna hybrydowa, konflikt hybrydowy.

INTRODUCTION[1]

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by a deep crisis of the national and international security system. Among many other factors caused by the intensification of military-political conflicts of a new type, the term "hybrid war" is now used. A feature of these conflicts is the priority of the opponents' use of a wide range of non-military means of influence – economic, informational, environmental, social, political and other. The location is complicated by additional challenges that modern states experience in terms of ensuring an adequate level of security for citizens. On the one hand, these are global factors (limited natural resources, periodic occurrence of economic crises, rapid technology development, deepening globalization, increasing the international community's requirements for the protection of human rights and freedoms), and on the other hand, tendencies to increase natural and human risks and socio-political threats that society and every person may potentially face in their daily lives.[2]

It is important here to justify the significance of the transformation of the state system of civil protection, which arises under the influence of contemporary military and political conflicts. The problem of military-political rivalry, by defining the content of the term "military-political conflict", leads to a confrontation of political subjects both within the state and at the interstate level, aimed at achieving one's own political interests using various means and ways of influencing in the political, military, economic, social and information spheres.

The aim of this speech is to present the mechanisms of solving all kinds of problems arising from the dawn of the world and the functioning of society, as well as to present the forms and features of contemporary hybrid conflicts.

CONFLICT AS A MECHANISM FOR SOLVING CONTRADICTION PROBLEMS

At all stages of the development of society, wars and armed conflicts were indispensable companions of society. As a rule, they were the catalyst for the rise and fall of states and civilization, changes of historical epochs. From the analysis of the literature we know that about four millennia of history as we

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[1] This is a conference paper from the Conference LVIII CICA – XVI SECURITY FORUM KRAKOW 2021, held on 13–14 May 2021 in Krakow.

[2] Nećas, P., Kelemen, M., *War on insecurity: Caling for effective strategy!*, Kiev, The Centre of Educational Literature, 2010, p. 23.

know it, only about three hundred years were completely peaceful without wars and armed conflicts. At the same time, during this period, almost 14.5 thousand wars, large and small, took place, during which about 4 billion people died and died from various causes related to them.[3] The number of those affected has increased rapidly with the development of measures to exterminate people and the scale of military operations. Record-breaking in terms of the scale and intensity of armed clashes was the twentieth century, when the frequency of wars and armed conflicts exceeded the average frequency of these events in the entire known history of mankind is almost 1.5 times. Conflicts of low and medium intensity have brought mankind no less suffering than world wars. Only 50 years have passed, but we remember the terrible time of victims that spread to many countries of the last World War II, where over 40 million people died and over 30 million became refugees, which can be compared with the victims of world wars.[4]

In the twenty-first century, military-political conflicts of varying intensity remain a characteristic sign of humanity's vital activity. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, there are more than 30 armed conflicts in the world each year, leading to the extermination of no less than 1.000 people.[5] An example is the Ukrainian crisis, which introduced significant changes to the European security environment. By violating the territorial integrity of Ukraine, the Russian Federation has broken several international treaties and conventions, weakening the system of international law established after World War II. The aforementioned conflict highlighted the list of potential threats to the security of the European Union and showed the importance of such forms of contemporary competition as information warfare, cyber attacks, and energy dependence.[6]

War, given its practical and mental significance, has been subject of philosophical thought from the beginning of history. Attention should be paid to such ancient thinkers as: Aristotle, Caesar, Thucydides, Heraclitus, Cicero, Vegetius Renatus, Sun Tzu. From ancient times, the sense of

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[3] W.M. Stankiewicz, *Conflict as a phenomenon integrating and disintegrating the face of the modern world*, Olsztyn, Publishing House of the University of Warmia and Mazury, 2008, p. 19.

[4] K. Pawłowski, 'Armed conflicts in the late Westphalian international environment, in M. Pietraś, K. Marzęda (eds.), *Late Westphalian international order*, Lublin, 2008, p. 113.

[5] Pawłowski 'Armed conflicts'.

[6] V. Jurčák, 'Security of the European Union in the context of the conflict in Ukraine', *Ante Portas – Security Studies*, no. 1 (6), 2016, p. 21.

war took place in a purely classical realistic paradigm. For the most part, ancient philosophers dealt with military issues and security, argued that there should be special institutions that would take care of it. Cicero in his treatise "on the limits of good and evil" (45 BCE), as one of the first to refer to the problem of humanitarian law in armed conflicts, considered it necessary to follow in war with mind, respect and restraint to avoid feelings and relegate instincts to the background. Even in the classic writings of military theorists (e.g. Sun Tzu VI–V century BC work "military strategy"), war always appears in a hybrid form, not focusing solely on military confrontation[7]. In particular, Sun Tzu believed that the best war and victory is achieved without the use of force, by using all other means to force the opponent to abandon his political goals and thus make him more compliant, that is, "conquer someone's army, not fighting."[8]

War as a socio-political phenomenon was comprehensively recognized by the German philosopher I. Kant in his work: "To Eternal Peace."[9] In this work he strongly condemns aggressive, unfair wars, justifies the right of nations and states to defend themselves and conduct a just war, strongly advocates the primacy of law and morality over politics. I. Kant also stated that the initiators of the war are politicians (heads of states) and should, above all, be responsible for unleashing the war. Taking into account the increase in the intensity of military-political conflicts in the 20th century and their wide application in resolving interstate contradictions, this period is characterized by an active study of this issue, as well as the emergence and development of various theories and concepts in this field of social and political relations. "Political realism" is the thesis that the imperfection of the position in the world is the result of the action of forces embedded in the imperfect nature of man himself. Therefore, it is not necessary to oppose these forces, but to take into account in politics. According to the concept of "political realism," the most important point of reference that helps to find a rational path in the sphere of national and international politics is interest. In international politics, it acts mainly as a national interest, so any foreign policy must be built on the basis of the physical, political and cultural reality of the nation. All

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[7] *Vide* S.Tzu, S.Pin, The Complete Art of War, translated by A. Bakalarz, T*he Art of War. Tractates*, Gliwice, Helion SA., 2004, p. 139.

[8] Tzu, 'Tractates'.

[9] I. Kant, *To Eternal Peace. Letter*, 6 T.M.: Thought, vol. 6, 1966, p. 743.

nations, in the best possible way, are committed to one thing – to protect their physical, political and cultural identities from the threat of external attack. According to the concept of "political realism," the essence of international relations is the struggle for power between sovereign states striving for global or regional domination. In the process of fighting for the realization of national interests in the sphere of international relations, each state takes a place corresponding to its strength. At the same time, the strength of a state depends both on its economic and military potential, as well as on allied relations with other states and its authority on the international arena. The basic mechanism regulating relations between states in the international arena is the "balance of power" between the blocs and unions led by the most powerful countries in the world. The centre of strength maintains the balance in a certain equilibrium, which is dynamic. War or active preparation for it is a consequence of an imbalance.[10] The term "military-political conflict" is used quite often and has definitions that vary. Military-political conflict as: "all kinds of organized forms of armed clashes of social forces, both within the state and at the interstate level or between state coalitions, which are characterized by a sufficient level of armed violence directed by the political intentions of the parties, a transition from peaceful militarist modes of social activity to political, inevitable casualties among military and civilians, and destruction."[11]

A military-political conflict occurs under the following conditions:
- *internal* (the ability of social groups to perceive chauvinistic or militarist ideas, a high degree of hostility between social groups, the degree of power in the hands of the governing authority, social instability);
- *external* (interest in the conflict of the third party, support and help from allies, the state of the international situation), subjective (doubts as to the legality and legitimacy of the existing system, the division of political power, spiritual and material values, the situation of uncertainty of the present and the future, which social in front of the problem of choice, awareness by contradictory parties of the importance of conflict interests and their incompatibility, misunderstanding and the misperception of the statements of the opposing party, readiness

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[10] P.P. Szlachta, *Political Science (Theory and History of Political Science)*, Kiev, Lybid Publishing House, 2005, p. 576.

[11] M.V. Zurupa, B.C. Jasińska, *Fundamentals of Contemporary Political Science*, Kiev, Condor, 2009, p. 354.

and leadership ability to use force, the level of hostility, confidence that the opponent will be vulnerable);

- *objective* (the presence of dual power, loss of legality and political legitimacy of certain entities over others, the opposite of interests, internal stability of the social group and its support for the leadership course in the confrontation, presence of allied duties, support and assistance of allies favoring the emergence of a conflict, balance of power in a coalition in the region;
- *in an opponent's coalition*, favourable power ratio, availability of sufficient resources and resources to prove the started and achievement of the set goal, no resolution of the conflict).[12]

The decisive and most general side of the essence of the military-political conflict is its understanding as a specific type of political relationship that will consist of from the conquest, holding, redistribution of political power in society and in the process of its exercise. Quite often, the last convincing argument for parties defending their interests is the "language of arms", which transforms a political conflict into a military-political one. In modern conditions, military-political conflicts acquire new content both in terms of the content of hostilities, quantitative and qualitative indicators, and the type of disputes resolved. In such a conflict, it is possible to resolve contradictions of a different nature: *economic, territorial, demographic, ethnic, national, religious, ideological*. Usually, the cause of these conflicts is the struggle for political power in the state, which makes their consequences for the population more tangible.[13]

A characteristic or special feature of contemporary conflicts is also the strengthening of the role of external forces and their influence on the course of contemporary military and political conflicts, which are still a continuation of politics by means of military means, a tool for achieving political and geopolitical goals and the realization of economic interests. Local wars and armed conflicts today constitute one of the main threats to both national and international security. Analysts predict that in the coming years there will be a high dynamics of political events, a rapid change in tension in various regions, instability and poor predictability of the situation. Despite the fact that doctrinal attitudes and strategic concepts overwhelm most

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[12] G.M. Perepelytsia, *Military-Political Conflict: Methodology, Research and Settlement*, Kiev. Publishing House of Knowledge of Ukraine, 1996, p. 38.

[13] O.V. Zagreb, *Features of military and political conflict resolution*, Kiev, National University of T. Shevchenko, 2017, pp. 47–48.

countries in the world perceive war as the greatest national misfortune and a threat to the physical existence of human civilization, military power in interstate relations remains a traditional means of achieving political goals.[14] While maintaining the high level of military potential of states and the lack of a developed and agreed international regulatory framework, even a metered use of military force may drastically destabilize the situation in potentially conflict regions, lead to an escalation of the conflict and to a massive local (regional) war. The military element of state power is still perceived as the dominant element of securing the national interests of states. The reality remains, the presence of a high level of military potential that in the event of a political decision, it may be used for its intended purpose.[15]

FORMS AND FEATURES OF THE CONTEMPORARY HYBRID TYPE CONFLICT

The military-political conflicts that are part of social life change as the social environment in which they arise evolves. The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by the presence of military-political conflicts that differ from their, so to speak, "traditional" form-classical conventional war.[16] A characteristic sign of the present is also the decrease in the number of interstate military-political conflicts and the increase in the number and scope of domestic armed conflicts in which the growing role of various non-state actors is observed. The variety of forms and methods of conducting these conflicts, the gradual blurring of the clear boundary between regional and local military conflicts and the "great" war resulted in the need for a new interpretation of the contemporary military-political conflict. This created the need for a more precise typing of the methods of warfare, of which four generations of wars are traditionally distinguished (military-political conflicts).[17]

The wars of the first generation are wars from the pre-industrial era fought by states with the use of numerous masses of the army, which used smooth-barreled firearms. These wars reflected the line tactics of the first armies and were characterized by a relatively small size (the number of

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[14] Zagreb, 'Features'.

[15] Ł. Skoneczny, Hybrid war – challenge of the future? Selected issues, *Internal Security Review* special edition, 2016, no. 14, p. 43, https://www.abw.gov.pl/pl/pbw/publikacje/przeglad-bezpieczenstwa-4/1213,Przeglad-Bezpieczenstwa-Wewnetrznego-WYDANIE-SPECJALNE.html (accessed on 27 December 2021).

[16] R.O. Dodonova, *Hybrid war: in verbo et in praxi*, Vinnitsia, TOV Nilan-Ltd, 2017. p. 412.

[17] Dodonova, 'Hybrid war'.

soldiers) involved in the conflict, and a small area where direct hostilities were conducted. Battles (except sieges) were of short duration and decisive clashes (mostly within one day). The greatest development of the first-generation war was achieved during the Napoleonic wars[18].

Second-generation wars are conflicts involving the use of rifled weapons and large armies. Battles took place over large territories and amounted to multi-day or even months-long intense battles with a clear advantage of defence over the attack. In many cases, artillery firepower was used extensively. The victory in the war was achieved by destroying the military and economic potential of the enemy by exhausting it during an armed struggle (war of exhaustion). An example is the wars of the industrial era, from and including the American Civil War to World War I[19] .

Third generation wars are manoeuvring wars related to the advent of heavy armoured vehicles that combined deep manoeuvring and high firepower (destruction power).The achievement of war goals ensured the destruction of the enemy's military-economic potential by taking over or destroying the military-industrial base, reserves, communication routes, infrastructure, and the like. Such wars were characteristic of the period after 1918, an example is the II World War. Since the end of the twentieth century, the priority subject of scientific research is the so-called "new (fourth) generation wars" (Eng. 4 GW-4th Generation War). This type of military-political conflict is based on the use of breakthrough technical innovations (lasers, electromagnetic guns, other types of precision weapons, remotely controlled devices, computerized communication networks, aviation intelligence, electronic warfare and cyber weapons) combined with a complex of actions by undermining the enemy's abilities to the resistance without overpowering his main military force.[20]

Wars 4 GW are modern wars of asymmetric nature, appropriate duration, the use of terrorist methods, decentralized, cross-border and beyond the state base of the conflict, focusing on the civilian population as the target of tactical operations, the disappearance of the front-rear division, the inability to conduct a decisive battle and such a specific feature as the presence of the media broadcasting the war live to the masses of the

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[18] V.P. Gorbulin, *World War: Ukrainian Front*, National Institute of Strategic Research, 2017. p. 496.

[19] Gorbulim, 'World War'.

[20] Gorbulim, 'World War'.

population, thus influencing public opinion. Characteristics of the fourth generation of military-political conflicts (4 GW): their goal is not to physically destroy the enemy (his armed forces), but to achieve his internal collapse and the destruction of the entire state system by attacking society and politics, forcing him to give up further resistance in various ways (mostly non-military), somehow destruction of the cultural environment and infrastructure, violation of governments, loss of trust in national and military-political leaders, suppression of will to fight, liquidation of the energy and industrial base[21].

Open military aggression against the enemy becomes optional, but the enemy's contradictions with neighbours can be used to resolve the conflict between them, the results of which will be beneficial to the Organizer, including internal political contradictions and instability to form a resistance movement and civil conflict (for example, the so-called Arab Spring events in the Middle East and North Africa), the battlefield of the entire enemy society ("enemy as system" theory). A blow can be inflicted on all sensitive enemy objects, the distinction between "military" and civilian objects disappears. When choosing targets for defeat, the main criterion is not its military significance, but the importance of the object for the ability of the enemy society to fight and organized resistance both in terms of material, as well as ideological and spiritual (above mentioned military and political leadership, elements of transport, energy, infrastructure) and communication social networks to attract and bring into conflict the involved social groups, communities, to carry out cyber attacks by hackers, in order to conduct sophisticated psychological warfare to manipulate the information media[22].

One of the main differences from the wars of previous generations is that at least one side of the struggle may not be an army (force) organized and operating under the control of a national government, but armed with formations controlled by religious, political and other organizations, including terrorist nature. This means that in fourth generation wars, the state loses its monopoly on violence as other influential non-state actors emerge. The forms and methods of conducting armed struggle are changing, in particular the principle of "victory without governments" is pos-

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[21] H. Królikowski, Forces of special operations (Special Forces) in hybrid conflicts, Krakow, *Security. Theory and Practice,* 2016, no. 3, p. 24.

[22] Królikowski,' Special Forces'.

tulated. The scale, intensity and speed of the operations will be so high that they will be difficult or impossible to control under a classical directive-type control system, and thus more and more operations will take place in the "realm of chaos." Therefore, based on the above, it is advisable to is a statement that in contemporary military-political conflicts, in addition to military confrontation, information and psychological tools will be used comprehensively, socio-economic, diplomatic and socio-political influences. The other side of the conflict recovery conditions.[23]

In order to forecast the direction of future armed conflicts, in 2009, NATO presented the document – Multiple Futures Project – Navigating Towards 2030" (*Project specifying many options for the future – navigation in 2030*) in which theoretical predictions about the nature of possible armed conflicts appeared. In the Alliance's development areas was to adapt to the new nature of hybrid threats. The essence of this type of threat is that a potential "hybrid enemy" will avoid direct clashes with NATO forces in "conventional operations," will use regular forces (terrorist and criminal elements that will interact with each other in various "mixed modes") and asymmetric forms of combat. The document also stressed that the *Hybrid Adversary* would not abide by international war law: civilians would be used as a permanent "human shield" separating the opposing sides of an armed conflict.[24]

SUMMARY

Contemporary conflict is a confrontation of political subjects both within the state and at the interstate level, aimed at achieving one's own political interests using various means and methods of exerting influence in the sphere of political, military, economic, social and information. The essence of the changes taking place in the international security environment, it is constantly changing. Unusual threats are increasing. These new sources of threats are very difficult to identify as they are followed by non-state actors. They can strike directly in the security of the country's citizens as well as the state authorities that are crucial for its efficient functioning.[25]

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[23] Królikowski, 'Special Forces'.

[24] Królikowski, 'Special Forces'.

[25] A. Olak, B. Konecka-Szydełko, M. Maruszak, The Schengen Agreement and the security of Poland, *Contemporary Management Problems*, Jaroslav. The State University of Technology and Economics in Jaroslav 2020, no. 1 (16), p.12.

The main focus of modern military-political conflicts as mentioned in this material is to eliminate the opponent's resistance and persuade him to fulfil the winner's will unconditionally, the achievement of which is to be achieved through physical violence against the armed forces, the destruction of state systems and military administration. At the same time, the role of indirect (non-military) actions on the enemy is increasing: political, diplomatic, economic, environmental, information, psychological and others. There is a "blurring" of the clear line between a political conflict and the beginning of an armed confrontation – warfare.

The systemic challenge to the security of states today is the increase in the number of local wars and armed conflicts that may turn into a regional war. Increasingly, actors of international politics as an argument to defend their political interests use a complex combination of military/non-military instruments, influences that change a political conflict into a military-political hybrid type.

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