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## IS RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE DISRUPTING WORLD ORDER?

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### ABSTRACT

In this article, an attempt is made to study Russia's invasion and disruption of world order and its importance to Ukraine in the new game. With the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the world has entered a new threshold of close international relations. Just Russia, as a power that for years rejoiced in disobedience under the new world order - the end of the Cold War - has now taken the lead in rebellion, attacking Ukraine in defiance of set international norms and Western warnings. Has invaded Ukraine in this move, Russia seems to have used the legal interaction of the 21st century to force the world to confront the 19th century; But the West has inevitably taken a stand by imposing sanctions on the 21st century and directly avoiding military intervention against Russia in Ukraine. It is not clear whether Russia's new policy is to circumvent world order in a way that challenges (the US) and its allies, or whether it seeks to disrupt it all together; because it has a high cost, so far this research tries to provide further information.

**Keywords:** Russia, Ukraine, West, Sanctions, and World Order.

### Introduction

For some time now, for at least the last twenty years, the world has witnessed the tendencies of powers that think and take steps to disrupt the existing world order. For the past twenty years, Russia has obeyed the new order with its policy of secrecy; But China, like a silent dragon under the ground and in the air, rose to prominence in the heart of the American order to challenge America's superpower shortly. In this interaction, according to the claims of American experts, the extent of the Russian threat was placed against the United States after China, and China became the main concern of the United States. As Kurt Campbell and Eli Retnar, two former Obama administration officials who recognized that engagement with China had failed, wrote in 2018: "Washington now faces its most dynamic and powerful rival (China) in modern history." (Azadi,1400) Of course, four US administrations (Bush Father., Ronald Wilson Reagan, George W. Bush, and Obama) were involved in China's growth, its entry into world trade, and its international concession, to put China in front of Russia. To change Russia's position as a third-world power, and to control China's movements, as well as the containment policies of the Trump and Biden eras, which shaped US global policy on the Chinese axis. It seemed to be a threat to the West, but at the height of this predicament and the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and attention to East Asia, defeated and humiliated Russia, with its historical cost, like a polar bear sleeping under the snow of history, suddenly fell head over heels, according to some experts, order Challenge existing global calculations by invading Ukraine and establish itself on the international stage.

### Is Russia disrupting international order?

Russia's armed action after the end of the Cold War is not limited to the invasion of Ukraine, The Russian invasion of Crimea and Abkhazia and the war in Georgia have shown a sense of aggression and disorder. From this point of view, the world seems to be changing in an era of transition and world order. Experts, of course, argue that Russia's predicted invasion of Ukraine is not the beginning of this transformation, but a turning point in a gradual revolution that spawned at the turn of the century and developed within the framework of American international order; Contrary to expectations, however, the shattered, weakened, surrendered, and humiliated enemies of the United States were not resolved not only in a pro-Western liberal order; Rather, as soon as they recover and recover, they revolt against a system that revolves around the West (Azadi, 1401). Of course, the provocative actions of the United States and the West to make Russia dare to invade Ukraine cannot be ignored. In particular, NATO's approach to Russia's borders was taking its toll on Putin's tolerance, which in turn threatened and upset the balance of power. But when Western governments, with the help of the Velvet Revolutions, one by one removed the countries around Russia from their sphere of influence, that country sided with them in invading Iraq and Afghanistan or imposing a nuclear embargo on Iran and even offered Russia to join NATO. An offer that, of course, was not to the liking of the Western parties, The 2008 invasion of Georgia could be seen as Putin's first serious reaction to the West's advance in the Russian sphere of influence. Of course, his relations with Europe and the United States improved again, until an incident in Ukraine dealt a final blow to relations between the two sides. Just as he was hosting his Western guests at the Sochi Winter Olympics, his allied government was overthrown in Ukraine and a Western-allied government took office. It was then that Putin's policy toward the West reversed. He first seceded Crimea from Ukraine and annexed it to Russia, and later sought military support for his other ally, Syria, during the country's civil war. Hence, Russia's recent invasion of Ukraine can be considered



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a serious turning point in the international order. The current order was established precisely when, in the wake of Gorbachev's shortcomings, George W. Bush was able to show off his new US military might in the first Gulf War and restore America's lost eyebrows after the Vietnam War. (Rajae, 26 February 2022).

In this case, Russia is also seeking to unite itself in the region. China's support for Russia's position, as well as Iran's support for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, can be seen in the calculations of the two countries' interests in this area, as Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov from his ally a month after the invasion of Ukraine. China itself reaffirms the two countries' "unlimited" friendship with the United States. "China and Russia are 'more determined' to develop bilateral relations and strengthen cooperation," the Chinese foreign minister said after meeting with his Russian counterpart, who is in China to discuss Afghanistan. While China has consistently refused to condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine, it condemns the "illegal" sanctions imposed on Moscow by "the United States and its satellites." While Russia can only rely on Chinese power to escape complete economic isolation, no concrete action has been taken to support China. "We are going through a very important stage in the history of international relations," Lavrov said. "I am convinced that by the end of this phase, the international situation will become much clearer and we will move towards a multipolar, just, and democratic world order." "Our opposition to this hegemony is unlimited," said a Chinese diplomat. (Schaefer, 2022).

### Establishing authority and testing by maintaining the existing the existing order

All theorists do not believe that Putin can use these measures to change the current world order. How the Russian invasion of Ukraine can be well explained based on **John Joseph Mearsheimer's** theory of aggressive realism. As the most prominent theorist of aggressive realism, Mearsheimer believes that aggressive neo-realism is based on five assumptions that explain the reason and motivation of countries to maximize power in the anarchic international system. First, countries, especially the great powers, are major players in world politics operating in an anarchic system. Second, all countries have some degree of offensive military capability. Therefore, any country can inflict damage on its neighbors. Of course, the capabilities of different countries differ and change over time. Third, countries can never be sure of the intentions of other countries. Because, contrary to military capabilities, the intentions of countries that are in the minds of their decision-makers cannot be verified empirically. Even if one can understand the intentions of countries today, it is impossible to discern their future intentions. Hence, policymakers can never be sure whether they are dealing with a pro-status quo or a revisionist country. Fourth, the main goal of countries is survival. Countries can pursue other goals, such as welfare and the protection of human rights, but pursuing the same goals is possible if they survive. Fifth, countries are wise actors; That is, they can adopt the right strategies that maximize their vision and hope for survival. This does not mean that countries do not suffer from miscalculations. Because countries in a complex world operate with incomplete information, they sometimes make big mistakes .(Mearsheimer, 2001, pp. 30-31).

The sum of these five assumptions creates a situation in which countries are not only concerned with the balance of power and the maintenance of power but also provide a strong incentive to maximize power. Because countries are afraid of each other, they have to rely only on themselves for their security, and the best strategy for this and to ensure their survival is to maximize relative power. Hence, unlike defensive neo-realists who argue that nations seek only the appropriate degree of power? (Van Evera, 1999).

### The failure of the moral and political model of the United Nations

Along with Mearsheimer's theory of aggressive realism, Russia's action from there cannot, in the opinion of some experts, disrupt the existing world order, which has repeatedly taken military action against nations without observing the ethics of the existing order; But the international order was not disturbed. George H.W. Bush was a 21-year-old veteran at the time of the UN Charter and became president in 1990 when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait while the Soviet empire was collapsing. For a brilliant moment, Bush managed to get the entire Security Council behind the war to oust Saddam from Kuwait, including the Soviet Union and China. However, both neo-conservatives in his party and the Clinton administration's foreign policy leadership did not see this as evidence that the original UN model could work, but that the United States could use its political, economic, and military power. Use to guarantee any result Wanted anywhere in the world. (David, February 28, 2022).

Four years later, we went to Iraq almost without UN support," Kaiser said. At the time, the George W. Bush administration had declared the right to attack any country that was building weapons that we did not think it had in its 2002 national security strategy. And although Barack Obama opposed the Iraq war, he changed the regime in Libya and Syria without UN permission, with consequences ranging from mixed to catastrophic. Vladimir Putin has from the beginning rejected the "unipolar" system of US power, and in Georgia, Crimea, and now throughout Ukraine, he has unilaterally used force to impose a favorable outcome. The United States and NATO do not challenge the military invasion of Ukraine, but they do seem to want to force Russia to give up tough economic sanctions. Indeed, they gamble that in the age of globalization, their control over international economic and financial



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institutions - coupled with Ukraine's resolute resistance - prevents an aggressor nation from defying their will. (Azadi, 08, March, 2022).

### Exorbitant prices of international order

According to some international relations experts, history has shown that it is very difficult to build a stable international order with a humiliated and malicious power near its center, especially a power the size and weight of Russia. To do so, the West must adopt an approach of constant isolation and restraint. Keeping Russia down and involving the United States in such a scenario would be a European priority, as Europe would have to bear the brunt of managing an isolated Russia after the failed war in Ukraine. Washington, in turn, wants to finally focus on China. China, in turn, could try to strengthen its influence over weak Russia - which is exactly the kind of block-making and domination that China wanted to prevent in the early 2020s. (Azadi, 08, March, 2022).

No one inside or outside Russia should want Putin to win his war in Ukraine. He had better lose. However, Russia's defeat will have little reason to celebrate. If Russia stops its aggression, the violence already imposed on Ukraine will be a loss that will continue for generations. And Russia will not stop its aggression any time soon. The United States and Europe must focus on exploiting Putin's mistakes, not only by strengthening the transatlantic alliance and encouraging Europeans to act on their long-held desire for strategic sovereignty but also by influencing China with the implicit lessons of Russia's defeat: challenging norms. International, like the sovereignty of states, has real costs and weakens countries that embark on military adventure.

If one day the United States and Europe can help restore Ukraine's sovereignty, and at the same time lead Russia and China to a common understanding of international order, Putin's biggest mistake will be an opportunity for the West. But the price will be extremely high. (Azadi, 28, February, 2022).

### Russia and the United States in the Ukraine crisis

The strategic goal of the United States as a hegemonic power is to spread the desired order around the world and to integrate the world within the framework of Western political and economic values and patterns, and consequently its interests structurally and institutionally. Russia, dissatisfied with its degraded position from a superpower to great power, has made the return to a superpower its long-term strategic goal, but since this goal is not achievable in the short term, it seeks to maintain the current structure and it is an attempt not to be degraded by using an aggressive realistic strategy in foreign policy. There is no doubt that the confrontation between Russia and the United States over the Ukraine crisis, while escalating tensions between the two countries, has reached its highest level since the collapse of the Soviet Union. But these tensions have not fundamentally changed their relationship and have not brought them from the level of two great rival powers that follow the offensive pattern to the level of two enemies. (Fallahi, 15, December 2017).

At the same time, sanctions imposed by the United States and European countries on Russia will lead to Russia's separation from the world economy. Foreign investment will disappear. It will be much more difficult to raise capital. Technology transfer will be frozen. Markets will be closed to Russia, possibly the country's gas and oil markets, the sale of which was crucial to Putin's modernization of the Russian economy. Business and entrepreneurial talents will leave Russia. The long-term effect of these transfers is predictable. As the historian Paul Kennedy argues in *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, such nations tend to fight false wars, carry financial burdens, and thus deprive themselves of economic growth - the lifeblood of a great cloud. If Russia can dominate Ukraine, it can destroy itself in the process.

### CONCLUSION

Given Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the question of whether Russia is disrupting international order? Occasional views are presented according to the situation in Russia. But from a theoretical point of view, Russia does not seem to be disrupting the existing order and has organized an attack on Ukraine to consolidate its authority and test it while maintaining the existing order. The presentation of Mearsheimer's theory of aggressive realism illustrates well the stature of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. At the same time, it is said that Russia has acted against the values and norms of our nation-building, which means disrupting the current world order, but the failure of the UN moral model is not a new action, and the infrastructure of this order and the same organization, the United States. He attacked countries several times and disrupted the moral and political model of the United Nations, but did not disrupt the world order. Because the exorbitant price of international order can be calculated for its enemies and friends, and that is why the Western powers did not take military action against Russia after the invasion of Ukraine, and only imposed sanctions, and Russia is wise not to disturb the order. And because it cannot build it, On the other hand, the role model of Russia and the United States in the Ukraine crisis is to maintain the status quo and prevent hostility. Besides, the behavior of these two powers has been the



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same since the end of the Cold War. On this account, if Russia can quickly turn field gains into political gains and pull itself out of the mire of war, the memory of its thunderous victory and its destructive military might will be the only thing that will remain in the minds. Russia does not seem to be able to influence the international order in such a way as to marginalize the United States, even with a decisive victory in Ukraine. Because when the United States established a new international order, norms such as human rights, democracy, freedom, and liberalism were the driving forces behind the acceptance and implementation of the hegemonic system; For this reason, he was able to implement his intended hegemonic system. But Russia today lacks such superiority.

Therefore, Ukraine and Eastern Europe may be a quagmire for Russia if it does not get out of the trenches of war. Here the role of great economic power is highlighted to complement Russia's military power: China. The most who can benefit from this war. Russia is also under intense economic pressure from war and sanctions. As the leader of the theory of aggressive realism, Mearsheimer believes that the conflict between the two great powers will go so far that its costs do not lead to a substantial disruption of the status quo (the structure of the international system).

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