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استشراف مستقبل النظام السياسي الأوكراني في ظل الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية

Anticipating the Future of the Ukrainian Political System under the Ukrainian-Russian War

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Abstract: The research deals with a set of challenges of the Ukrainian political system in light of its ongoing war with Russia and its repercussions on its future. The research problem began with several questions: What are the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war? What are the main challenges facing the Ukrainian political system because of the war? What is the future of the Ukrainian political system? The research hypothesis touched on the challenges of the Ukrainian regime, which may take a long time to control and confront them, which will require great efforts to restructure and build Ukrainian society.

On the contrary, the political system may collapse and be replaced by another. In order to understand the content of the research, a Systems analysis approach and an inductive approach were used. Important results were reached, including that the geographical location of Ukraine has made it a point of conflict between Russia and the West. There are a number of future scenarios that are expected to occur, as the Ukrainian regime may succeed in maintaining its existence, or it may fade and end.

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الخلاصة: يتناول البحث مجموعة من التحديات التي يواجهها النظام السياسي الأوكراني في ظل حربه المستمرة مع روسيا وتداعياتها على مستقبله. بدأت مشكلة البحث بعدة تساؤلات: ما أسباب الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية؟ ما هي التحديات الرئيسية التي تواجه النظام السياسي الأوكراني بسبب الحرب؟ ما هو مستقبل النظام السياسي الأوكراني؟ وتطرقت فرضية البحث إلى التحديات التي باتت تواجه النظام الأوكراني والتي قد تستغرق وقتا طويلا للسيطرة عليها ومواجهتها، الأمر الذي سيتطلب جهودا كبيرة لإعادة هيكلة وبناء المجتمع الأوكراني.

على العكس من ذلك، قد ينهار النظام السياسي ويستبدل بآخر. ومن أجل فهم محتوى البحث تم استخدام منهج التحليل النظمي، والمنهج الاستقرائي. وتم التوصل إلى نتائج مهمة، من بينها أن الموقع الجغرافي لأوكرانيا جعلها نقطة صراع بين روسيا والغرب. هناك عدد من السيناريوهات المستقبلية المتوقع حدوثها، فقد ينجح النظام الأوكراني في الحفاظ على وجوده، أو قد يتلاشى وينتهي.

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL:

Ukraine has many geopolitical elements that make it a region of struggle and competition between the major powers. The conflict and competition between the West and Russia over the buffer zones made the two parties' strategies steadfast towards each other, with different behaviors and policies. Moreover, the Russian war on Ukraine has become a reality of the situation in which Ukraine lives. All countries expect its effects on the world since this war has external parties that affect and are affected by the ongoing military operations, whether politically, economically, or socially, considering that Ukraine is the link between many countries that see this war as The most dangerous since World War II, for which it is difficult to give a specific time limit for its end, this made the Ukrainian political system surrounded by a set of significant challenges at the internal level of the country as a result of the war, whether they were political, economic or social challenges, which could affect the form of the state and the stability of its political system.

The Importance of Research:

The importance of this research stems from addressing the significant challenges that the Ukrainian political system is facing during the war with Russia in 2022, its repercussions on its future, and the extent of its continuity and stability.

The problem of research:

The research problem stems from a set of questions, the most important of which are:

(1) What are the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war?

(2) What are the political, security, and social challenges facing the political system due to the war?

(3) How far will the ongoing war between Ukraine and Russia continue, and what is its future?

(4) What is the future of the Ukrainian political system: survival or decline?

Research hypothesis:

The research is based on the hypothesis that the Ukrainian political system faces a set of challenges and obstacles that need a long time to surround, control and confront, as the war that is now taking place with Russia is generating adverse effects and results that significantly affect the period through which the system will be able to Ukraine to settle disputes, whether internally or externally, as the longer the war lasts, the more complicated things will be for this regime in its mission to extend its influence and restore internal stability, which will require significant efforts to find a coherent general framework to restructure and build Ukrainian society again; otherwise, the political system may collapse and be replaced by another.

Research Methodology

In order to understand the content of the research and analyse it systematically and scientifically, the systematic analysis approach and the inductive approach are to be followed.

Research Structure:

The research divided into four axes; the first axis dealt with the Ukrainian political system, the second axis dealt with the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the third axis talked about the challenges of the Ukrainian political system, and the fourth axis dealt with the future of the Ukrainian political system.

1: **The Ukrainian political system:** The state of Ukraine is located in the eastern part of the continent of Europe between Russia, Belarus, Romania, Poland, Slovakia, and Moldavia. (As in Figure 1). It has views of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, its total area is more than 600 thousand square kilometers, and its population is more than 44 million people.[1]

Figure 1: Shows the geographical location of Ukraine



Source: Mappr, Where is Ukraine?,(https://www.mappr.co/location/ukraine/).

The state of Ukraine - after years of chaos and political instability since the beginning of the last century - emerged as one of the founding countries of the former Soviet Union in 1922, after which it expanded south and west. Of the (450) thousand people of German ethnicity, at the political level, Ukraine was one of the

[1] Abdulaziz. Al-Issawi, "The war and its impact on the Ukrainian political system: the possibilities of steadfastness and decline", Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, 2022 (https://www.bayancenter.org/2022/02/8154).

countries that contributed to establishing the United Nations Organization in 1945. It was able to after the end of the rule of "Stalin" in 1953 and the assumption of "Nikita Khrushchev's" power in the former Soviet Union, it was able to obtain official recognition of the transfer of "Crimea" from Russia to it to turn it into an industrial country with a military arsenal that ranks third among the countries of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine also provided many members of the Soviet leadership, most notably "Leonid Brezhnev," who then became president of the Union during the Soviet period (1964-1982).[1]

After the features of disintegration appeared in the former Soviet Union, the political situation in Ukraine began to change after it was affiliated with the Soviet Union. Ukrainian national lands, to become an independent democratic state subject to the principle of the rule of law, and that the constitution guarantees the principles of political, economic, and ideological diversity of social life, and that the people have the right to exercise all their rights to self-determination, and their right to exercise all powers as the only source of power that they exercise through referendum and through In 1991, a popular referendum was held, and "Leonid Kravchuk" was elected as the first president of the newly independent Ukrainian state.[2]

Ukraine implemented the presidential system after the collapse of the Soviet Union. After a political crisis in 2004, constitutional amendments were made according to which the Parliament was granted great powers to make its political system mixed, semi- or semi-presidential, dividing the executive power between the prime minister and the head of state and making them partners in the

[1] Ibid.

[2] Safia Denver, “Repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis on Russian-Western relations: 2013-2018”, “Master's thesis”, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Mohamed Kheidar University, Algeria, 2019, p.19 & Nawwar. Al-Khairy, “The political crisis in Ukraine and the tensions of the West”. *Journal of International Politics*. Issue 26-27, (2015), pp. 22–23.

administration State affairs, and this system differs from the presidential system in that it does not grant the head of state broad and absolute powers, and differs from the parliamentary system in that it does not give the legislative authority the right to dismiss the head of state easily.[1]

Thus, the Ukrainian political system is mixed, half of which is presidential and half is parliamentary, with the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. The political system in Ukraine is based on pluralism, and its Constitution guarantees the right to political practice for individuals according to the principle of partisan pluralism. The state power apparatus in Ukraine is divided into three central bodies:[2]

(1) The Legislative Authority: It is represented in the Supreme Council of the Representatives of the People (Parliament) as it is the only organ of the legislative authority in the country, and it consists of 450 seats that are wholly or incompletely filled according to the direct elections law that takes place by secret ballot for 4 years.

(2) The Executive Authority consists of the President and the Prime Minister[3]. The Council of Ministers is responsible to the Ukrainian President and is subject to oversight and accountability by Parliament. It exercises its powers in accordance with what is stipulated in the Constitution, the laws of the state, and the directives of the President.

(3) The judicial authority: It consists of three principal organs:

[1] Abdulaziz. Al-Issawi, "The war and its impact on the Ukrainian political system: the possibilities of steadfastness and decline", Op.cit.

[2] Nawwar. Al-Khairy, Op.cit, pp. 22-23 & The Arab House, "The Ukrainian Political System", 2010, (http://arabichouse.org.ua/aalnZaam_aalsyaasy_aalaaqkraany).

[3] Abdulaziz. Al-Issawi, "The war and its impact on the Ukrainian political system: the possibilities of steadfastness and decline", Op.cit.

- The Constitutional Court: It is the highest judicial authority in the state, and it is considered the only one concerned with deciding on the constitutionality of laws, legislations, rulings, presidential decrees, and concluded international agreements.
- The Public Prosecution Council: The Public Prosecution Council is headed by the Ukrainian Prosecutor General, who is installed and dismissed by the President of the State and with the approval of Parliament. Parliament can also impeach or impeach the Public Prosecutor and remove him from office.
- The Supreme Judicial Council: The Council has the power to condemn and punish in the event of cases of breach or violation of the country's constitution and laws. The Council supervises a group of specialized and regional supreme courts. The Ukrainian constitution prohibits the establishment of any special or temporary courts. Courts operate in Ukraine, according to its specialties and within its geographical surroundings.

2: The causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war

Ukraine represents a buffer zone between East and West, and Russia considers it the vital area and the strategic depth that brings it closer to the West on the one hand and secures the eastern European side on the other. Europe has tried to prevent Russia from being able to control this region or bypass it.[1]

There are many political, economic, social, cultural, military, security, and international reasons that led to the outbreak of this war, which are:

(1) The political reasons:

In 2013, Russian President Vladimir Putin pressured "Viktor Yanukovych," the pro-Russian Ukrainian leader, not to sign an agreement with the European Union, which led to protests that toppled the Ukrainian President in February 2014. Russia responded by taking control of the southern Crimea region in Ukraine, provoking

[1] Safia Denver, "Repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis on Russian-Western relations: 2013-2018", Op.cit.

rebellion in the east, and supporting separatists who fought Ukrainian forces in an 8-year war that claimed the lives of 14,000 people.[1]

Despite Ukraine's ambitions to join Western countries and its general interest in joining NATO, which was formed at least partly to deter Russian expansionism, Russia responded with aggression, which contributed to the swelling of tensions, claiming Russia to protect ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians, so it supported. At the same time, a separatist movement in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions of eastern Ukraine led to an armed conflict.[2]

A cease-fire and the 2015 Minsk peace agreement were never implemented. Shortly before the invasion of Ukraine, President Putin tore up the peace agreement and recognized two small Russian-backed states as independent from Ukraine. When he sent his troops into Ukraine, Putin accused NATO of threatening its "future." history as a nation," claiming, without foundation, that NATO countries want to take the war to Crimea.[3]

There are several files around which the conflict between Russia and Ukraine revolves, some of which represent a natural outgrowth of the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and are being dealt with between the two countries. In contrast, others, which are the most important and dangerous, resulted from a Western endeavor represented by the United States of America to use Ukraine against Russia. The most prominent of those files around which the Russian-Ukrainian conflict revolves today is Ukraine's attempt to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as its attempt to join the European Union, Ukraine's declaration of its intention to possess nuclear weapons, in addition to the

[1] Paul. Kirby, "Russia and Ukraine: What does Putin want, and will Russia end its war?", BBC News, 2022 https://www.bbc.com/arabic/world-59450489.

[2] Israa. Salahuddin, "The reason for the war between Russia and Ukraine 2022...Why did Putin decide to go to war?", Aldostor, 2022 https://www.dostor.org/3745878.

[3] Paul. Kirby, "Russia and Ukraine: What does Putin want, and will Russia end its war?", Op.cit.

status of the "Donbas" region and the declaration of the "Donetsk" republics. Lugansk and their independence, as well as Russia's restoration of Crimea, for the three primary files, namely joining NATO, partnership with the European Union, and nuclear possession, were the most dangerous and for which many Ukrainian measures have been paved since 2014, economic, political, military, social, and even religious related to the separation of the Orthodox Church Ukrainian for its Russian reference.[1]

(2) The social-cultural-economic reasons

The western part of Ukraine belongs socially and culturally to Europe, as it belongs to the Catholic Church and is characterized by its firm adherence to the Ukrainian language. In contrast, the eastern part belongs to Russia and the Orthodox Church, and its population seeks to maintain its loyalty to Russia. Russian-speaking Russians constitute a large percentage of the population of Ukraine. This is a reason for Russia's desire to control Ukraine and re-establish the Slavic Union by using the ethnic-religious card to serve Russia's interests in putting pressure on the Ukrainian political system.[2]

The West views Ukraine as the place through which the Western model can be transferred to Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, as well as its endeavor to control the enormous resources it contains, and considers it the key to controlling the Silk Road as an indicator of actual control over the world. In return, Ukraine represents tremendous economic importance. Russia also has substantial economic resources, as it owns a lot of mineral resources, energy sources, and fertile agricultural lands, by 22% of European arable lands. It is also the fifth country that

[1] Al-Mayadeen. Net, "Russia and Ukraine... What are the causes of the conflict?" Al-Mayadeen, 2022 (https://www.almayadeen.net/news/politics/%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B3%D9%).

[2] Safia Denver, "Repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis on Russian-Western relations: 2013-2018", Op.cit.

exports wheat and the third country that exports corn. The ten countries that export weapons and own the largest shale gas reserves in Europe at 1.2 trillion cubic meters.[1]

Ukraine represents the main corridor of Russian gas to Europe, and such a controversial issue, with the realization of Russia's need for it, which led the two parties into a spiral of disagreements between them in the past years, especially over the agreement on the cost of transit, which led to the stopping of the supply of gas to Europe at times. This made Russia use this as a pressure card against Ukraine, which it waves from time to time. On the contrary, this gave Ukraine additional importance to the European Union, with the need to reach a political agreement with its European neighbors.[2]

Also, the transformation from a socialist system based on economic protection to a capitalist system based on openness, investment, and the entry of capital, and its contribution to economic activity internally led to the overturning of the balances that had controlled the Ukrainian economy for decades. Ukraine's deteriorating economy now needs investment, the introduction of foreign capital, and global borrowing. However, this allowed many countries to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine under the pretext of protecting its interests and preserving the interests of its citizens investing in the territories, in addition to the intervention of donor countries to Ukraine using the assistance they provided to the latter. As pressure cards that can direct the policy compass toward its interests.[3]

[1] Ibid.

[2] Amna. Ali, (2016). “Crimean crisis and its repercussions on the Russian-Ukrainian crisis”, *International Studies*, No. 68, pp. 159-160.

[3] Ibid, pp.159-160.

(3) Military-security reasons:

Ukraine has strategic importance for Russia from a military point of view, as it is a buffer state between it and NATO countries, and as it represents Russia's first line of defense against NATO countries, and Russia's realization of the importance of southern Ukraine overlooking the Black Sea, which is connected at the end to the Bosphorus Strait, which made control of Ukraine a priority. Russian foreign policy, as well as the importance of the Crimean peninsula for Russian strategic security, because it contains the port of "Sevastopol," which contains the most major Russian naval fleet and is a base for launching into the waters of the Mediterranean (which was a concern for Russian rulers throughout history) to reach the Russian base in the port of Tartu's The Syrian.[1]

Russian forces began to reinforce their military presence around Ukraine in late 2021, under various pretexts, without revealing their intentions. In December of 2021, thousands of troops were hovering over Ukraine's borders and effectively encircling the country, raising tensions to the point that President Putin and US President Joe Biden talked about it — knowing that Russia had increased its forces. Surrounding Ukraine earlier this year—sparking concerns. Over time, Russia's demands to stop Ukraine from joining NATO, an alliance of 28 countries, crystallized. European and two North American countries as former Soviet states, and according to William Pomeranz, acting director of the Kennan Institute at the Wilson Centre (a nonpartisan think tank), it is possible that NATO now does not intend to accept Ukraine into the organization.[2]

[1] Safia Denver, "Repercussions of the Ukrainian crisis on Russian-Western relations: 2013-2018", Op.cit.

[2] Israa. Salahuddin, "The reason for the war between Russia and Ukraine 2022...Why did Putin decide to go to war?", Op.cit.

After the Russian President ordered the invasion of the Ukrainian capital, the Russian forces advanced from several directions. He said in his pre-dawn speech to the public on February 24, 2022, that Russia is under a constant threat from Ukraine, which he claimed poses a constant threat to Russia. With the first targets represented by Airfields and military headquarters located near cities across Ukraine, Russian and Belarusian tanks and troops rolled into the country from the north, east, and south, under the pretext of protecting people subjected to bullying and genocide, after his efforts to "demilitarize and de-Nazify" Ukraine came to a halt.[1]

(4) External causes - international

The goals that the Russian President set at the beginning of his invasion were reduced during the war, which he expected would end in a quick victory. Putin did not even acknowledge that it was an invasion or a war, preferring the phrase "special military operation," but what is clear is that he sees this as a pivotal moment in history. Russia, where the first goal was to invade Ukraine, dismiss its government, and permanently end its desire to join the Western defensive NATO, as the head of foreign intelligence, "Sergey Naryshkin" says: "The future of Russia and its future position in the world is at stake".[2]

Russia has confirmed that this battle for it is a fateful and existential one, so it will not accept losing it. Instead, Russian President "Putin" and Russian politicians are talking about the need to change the unipolar world order (the United States), meaning that Russia is continuing to achieve victory no matter what. The price was, and this necessitates moving to the second phase of the war, which will be more fierce, confirmed by the recent repositioning and mobilization of Russian

[1] Ibid.

[2] Paul. Kirby, “Russia and Ukraine: What does Putin want, and will Russia end its war?”, Op.cit.

forces in eastern Ukraine, in preparation for a substantial advance.[1]

3: The challenges of the Ukrainian political regime

The political system in Ukraine faces a set of challenges and problems that need a long time to control and confront, as the ongoing war with Russia will generate adverse effects and results that will significantly affect the period during which the system will be able to settle disputes, whether internally or externally, as the longer it takes The war has made things more complicated for the regime in its mission to extend its influence and restore internal stability, which requires significant efforts to find a coherent general framework for restructuring and building Ukrainian society again, as well as rebuilding its political system.[2]

Among the most prominent challenges and problems facing the Ukrainian political system are the following:

(1) Political Challenges:

- Poor political stability:

In light of the ongoing war, the Ukrainian political system suffers from weakness in employing official institutions and their containment of the war, as well as its inability to deal with the crisis and manage it in a balanced manner that guarantees its presence and control, which It makes it a system that lacks competence and weakens its performance as a political system that is responsible for achieving political stability.[3]

[1] Khaled. Ayad, "The Russian-Ukrainian war.. to where?", Aljazeera, 2022 (https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2022/4/24/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%).

[2] Fehil. Chalabi, *National Reconciliation in Iraq Political studies on the situation in Iraq after 2003*. (Iraq: Center for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, 2014), P.18.

[3] Ahmed. Hussein, "The stability of the political system and its impact on the formulation of the comprehensive strategy: Iraq after 2003 as a model", "Ph.D. thesis", Faculty of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, Baghdad, Iraq, 2016.

The weakness of the Ukrainian political system in extending its influence and imposing its sovereignty led to Russia publicly questioning the regime's sovereignty and refusing to deal with the Ukrainian President. Ukraine's sovereignty in exchange for its abandonment of nuclear weapons.[1]

- Political Violence:

The Ukrainian political system has been facing cases of violence within the country for years, as a report issued by the United Nations in February 2017 stated that "survivors of sexual violence committed in the context of armed conflict in Ukraine are often denied access to justice and left without proper care and counseling, making them fall victim twice. The 37-page report of the UN Human Rights Mission in Ukraine indicates that the country's justice system lacks the laws, capacity, and professional expertise to effectively investigate and prosecute allegations of sexual violence, which has led to widespread impunity among perpetrators of crimes," and this increased during the war now.[2]

As a result of the ongoing war, Ukraine is witnessing various acts of violence, as the human rights monitoring team of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights received reports of 124 alleged acts of conflict-related sexual violence against women. , girls, men, and boys in several Ukrainian cities." Women constitute most of the victims of these acts of violence. Violations against men included rape, attempted rape, forced public stripping, and threats of sexual violence. These cases are being investigated, according to the UN official.[3]

[1] Ahmed. Amin & Hoda. Refaat & Mario. Ashraf & Ahmed. Khalifa, *The Ukrainian crisis and its repercussions on the future of the international system*, (Germany: Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, 2022), pp.18-19.

[2] United. Nations, "Conflict in Ukraine: Stop Impunity for Sexual Violence Crimes", United. Nations, 2017 (https://www.ohchr.org/press-releases/2017/02/ukraine-conflict-end-impunity-sexual-violence).

[3] Ibid.

- The weakness of the political institution:

All countries include a group of institutions, but there is a big difference between the state of institutions and the state of non-institutions, where the institution is fixed. The individual is variable in the state of institutions, while the law penetrates the state of non- Institutions. The institution is a fragile building for the individual in which the individual has supremacy over the law and the institution. The state of institutions is a state of the rule of law. It has a clear vision and a future outlook for the role required of it, and it is a state capable of drawing up policies and programs and improving its services.[1]

Societies, including Ukrainian ones, during the wars and after their end, suffer from the weakness of the political institution. This represents the biggest and most important problem, as structural or institutional changes can only address this if the readiness and seriousness of those institutions are available. There must be sustained efforts by all relevant parties to provide guidance And guidance and material and moral support for the whole society, and the issue of settling the conflict between the parties represents a realistic goal; it is difficult to achieve this unless the political establishment supports continuous political guidance through its development of appropriate plans and with the help of experts and reliance on advanced programs.[2]

- External interventions:

External parties can influence any country's internal conditions and may cause internal conflicts and endanger internal security. External interventions may be in the form of militias, extremist or rebel groups allied with external agendas that

[1] Khairy. Jassim, "The relationship between political institutions and the rule of law and their role in building the state", *The Political and International Journal*, Issue 28-29, (2015), pp. 4-5.

[2] Fehil, Chalabi, *National Reconciliation in Iraq Political studies on the situation in Iraq after 2003,* Op.cit, pp.22-23.

have interests within a country, and affect the dynamics of conflict and its transfer from its domestic framework extends to the international sphere, and the Ukrainian political system is Facing a crisis in foreign interference during the ongoing war from several external parties that have their interests inside Ukraine, represented by the United States of America and NATO, as well as Russia and groups opposing the regime.[1]

External powers have strategic, political, and economic goals that lead to the disruption of order and the internal security of the state, as many significant countries with interests have interfered in small countries and have been able to control and influence the interests and security of small countries, and this is what Ukraine is facing in this period, as it has become a land of war between the powers Greatness has its interests that each of them strives to achieve.[2]

(2) Social, Economic, and Cultural Challenges:

- Ethnic Diversity:

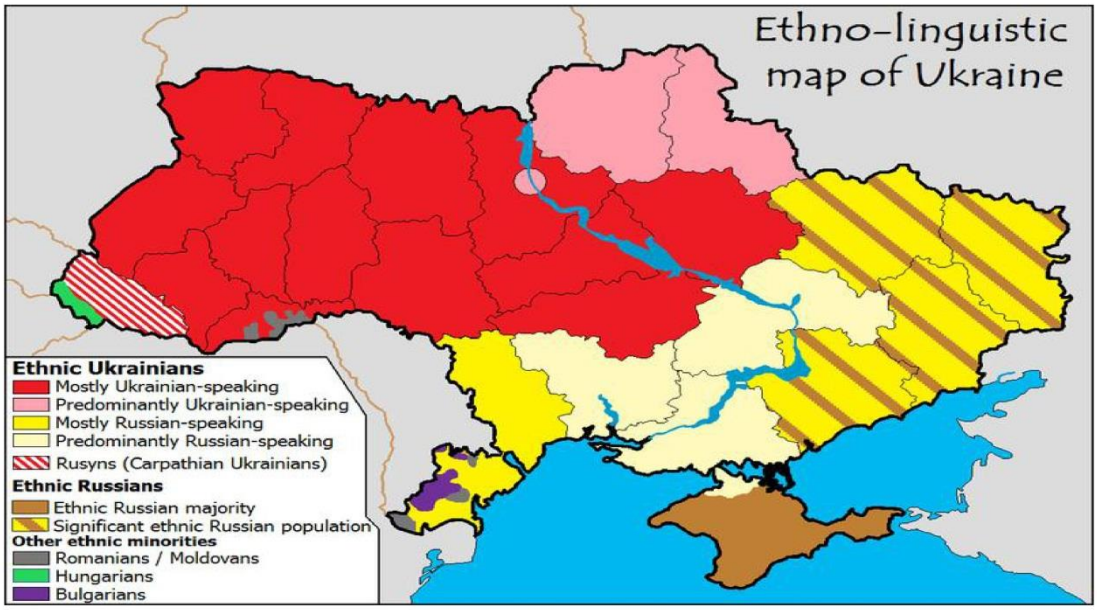
Many countries are under internal and external pressures resulting from the surrounding environment, which is represented by a set of economic, political, and social variables, especially in countries with ethnic diversity, where their most significant responsibility is in the growing interest in their internal structure, by setting up mechanisms to manage diversity and ethnic diversity and working to find a shared national identity through which everyone feels belonging to the state, and this is what Ukraine is experiencing now, whether in terms of the environment surrounding its variables or the diversity that made part of society speak Russian

[1] Abdul Salam. Jahish & Suleiman. Muhammad, *The role of external parties in international conflicts. A study of the conflict situation in the Darfur region 2003-2014*, (Berlin: Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, 2018), pp.55-56.

[2] Hasan. Mashhadhi, "Arms Control and Regional Security in the Middle East: An Iranian Perspective", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Issue 20 (1994), p.2.

and part speak Ukrainian. Each part has its tendencies and affiliations different from the others.[1] (Figure 2 illustrates the ethnic diversity of Ukraine).

Figure 2: The ethnic diversity of Ukraine



Source: Wikimedia, "Ethnolingusitic map of Ukraine",

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ethnolingusitic_map_of_ukraine.png.

Ethnic diversity is a double-edged sword in some countries, as it may motivate development and progress. In others, it may constitute a threat to its national unity and constitute a reason for causing a rift in the relations between the members of the internal society and its international external relations, which affect negatively on the political process. On the contrary, diversity was the reason for the progress of the United States of America, South Africa, and other countries

[1] Hamad. Al Khazraji, "Managing ethnic diversity in Iran after 1979 (non-Muslim religious minorities as a model)" *Tikrit Journal of Political Science*, Issue 26 (2021), p.78.

that became a significant force since each group seeks to provide its best to reach the point of prosperity, stability, and internal peace. . , as well as external prestige.[1]

• The growing spirit of revenge due to the effects of the past and bargaining over positions:

Society is ethnically, nationally, and sectarian. Each group has its history of coexistence with other groups according to its understanding of the nature, culture, and direction of those groups and the crimes between them. Adherence to the relics of the past leads to weak national unity, and the degree of social cohesion of any society depends on the nature of the organizations and groups that have influence. Directly on the behavior of individuals within a society whose members are linked to shared values and interests and suffer disintegration when going through crises that weaken the spirit of confrontation and the protection of the homeland.[2]

All situations related to conflicts, whether internal or external, will need a peaceful settlement, whether between groups or between political systems and states, but this settlement or negotiation will exhaust the parties in the event of bargaining over the situation because each party argues in defence of its position, which

[1] Fehil, Chalabi, *National Reconciliation in Iraq Political studies on the situation in Iraq after 2003,* Op.cit, p.19.

[2] May. Ghaith, "Peacebuilding in post-revolutionary regimes, Egypt as a model", *Egypt Institute Journal*, vol.1, No.1 (2016), pp.131-132.

makes the judgment on any It is a complex negotiation method in the event of deviating from some criteria, including.[1]

a) A prudent agreement must terminate the bargaining process if an agreement is possible.

b) Bargaining must be on a level of parity.

c) The necessity of reforming relations between the conflicting parties, or at least avoiding severing them completely.

- Unemployment:

Unemployment is "the compulsory cessation of part of the labour force in a society despite their ability and desire to work, and the labor force represents the economically active population, i.e., they are that part of the active population of working age, which includes workers in addition to the unemployed people, who represent the actual energy of society".[2]

Unemployment is one of the most critical problems that threaten the economies of many countries, as it has serious adverse effects on various economic, social, and security levels. And its delay.[3]

- Corruption:

[1] Bashir. Ahmed & Omar, Kurdi, "The role of international diplomatic law in negotiation", *Route Educational and Social Science Journal*, No. 5 (2018), p.404.

[2] Haitham. Al-Janabi & Asma. Yas, "The reality of unemployment in Iraq and ways to address it", *Journal Of AL-Turath University College*, No. 8 (2010), p. 51.

[3] Samara. Samara, "Unemployment .. and its economic and social impact", Alkhaleej, 2017 (https://www.alkhaleej.ae/%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%).

Corruption is a global phenomenon that many countries suffer from, but in varying proportions from one country to another, and the rates of corruption increase during wars and conflicts and in times of deterioration of the political system and the security and economic conditions of the state, which increases the state of political, security, economic and social instability, which requires the creation of institutions or Entities or bodies specialized in combating corruption within countries at the local level in addition to the international level.[1]

In times of wars and conflicts and upon exiting from them, the forms of corruption overlap with its political, economic, and social types, including bribery, nepotism, embezzlement, and fraud, as well as abuse of positions, transfer of resources and revenues and manipulation of laws and market systems, as well as electoral and judicial bribery.[2]

(3) External challenges represented by the West:

The West aims to thwart the Russian military operation as a whole, isolate it internationally and weaken its economy, according to the statements of the French Finance Minister, and influence the popularity of President Putin and perhaps push some of those around him to rebel against him, isolate him and end his rule,

[1] Abdul-Azim. Al-Shukri & Hosni. Al-Shammari, "Corruption in developing countries, its economic and social repercussions, and ways to combat it (Iraq, a case study) for the period 2004-2011" *Al-Qadisiya Journal For Administrative and Economic Sciences*, No. 3 (2013), p. 159.

[2] Ayman. Mohammed, *Corruption and accountability in Iraq* (Iraq: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013), p.2.

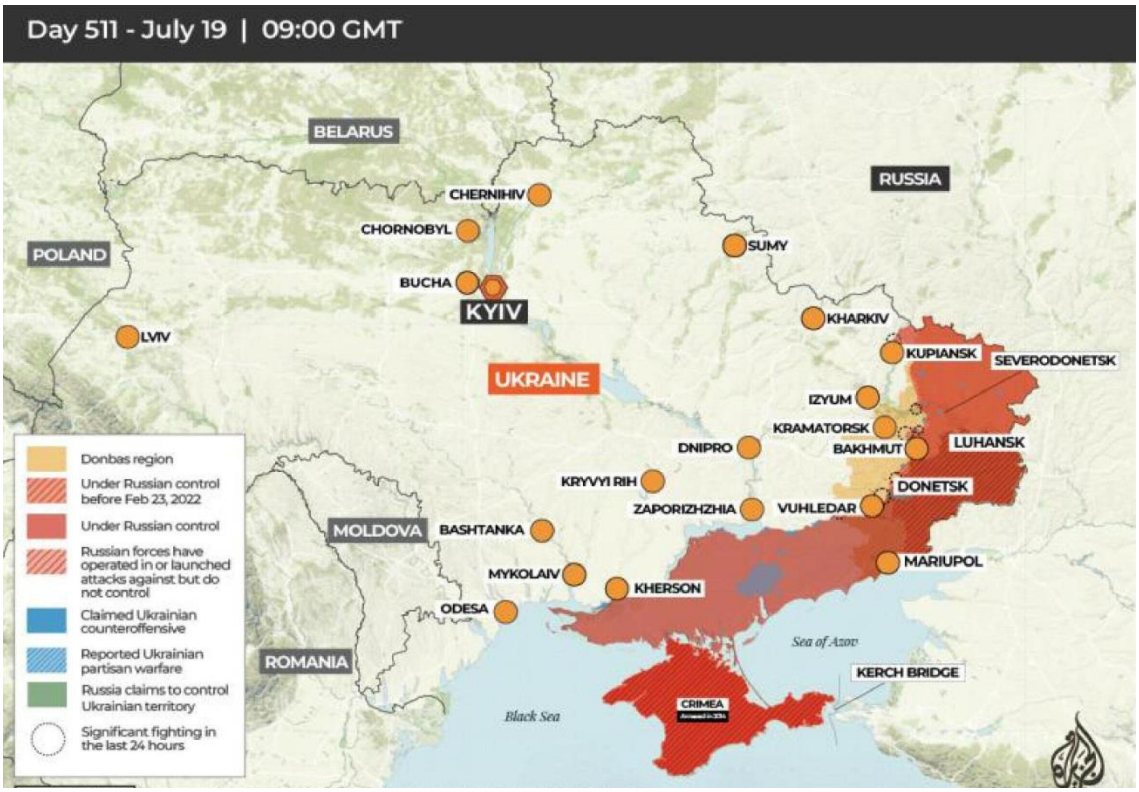
according to US President Joe Biden's perception, the Western position relied on four main paths to achieve its goals towards Russia; The first track was the imposition of economic and financial sanctions that ravage the Russian economy and impose many complications on the lives of Russians, The second is to participate militarily by providing Ukraine with lethal weapons to support its resistance to the Russian forces, and providing it with daily information about the movements of the Russian forces, the third track is related to political propaganda represented by the dominance of Western media in general, and the weakness of the Russian media, the fourth track relates to political action, and it revolves around two sub-tracks, the first is disregard for the negotiations taking place between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations, questioning their results in advance, and pushing the Ukrainian negotiator to be strict and reject the Russian demands, the second is represented in mobilizing more supporters of sanctions against Russia, and disengaging some crucial powers such as China, India, Pakistan, South Africa and others from Russia and threatening them to impose sanctions on them if they cooperate with Moscow in circumventing Western sanctions.[1]

[1] Hassan. Abu Talib, "Challenges of conflict management in Ukraine", The Middle East, 2022 (https://aawsat.com/home/article/3572786/%D8%AF-%D8%AD%D8%B3).

Despite the resistance of the Ukrainian army and the confrontation of the Russian incursion, most Western military experts expect the victory of the Russian forces, due to the imbalance of power and the difference in capabilities, numbers, and equipment between both sides, (Figure 3 shows the size of the Russian incursion into Ukraine), the United States of America in particular, and the West in general, are working to prolong the war in Ukraine, with Russia insisting that what is happening in Ukraine is a "special military operation" aimed at disarming Ukraine and "riding it off Nazism", after it has become an existential threat to Russia, as it is an advanced fortress of the West working to dismantle the Russian Federation, while Ukraine and the West describe what is happening as an invasion to undermine the world order and weaken and divide the West, despite the heavy losses for both parties, the West only cares about achieving its own interests, as it supports Ukraine militarily without getting involved in the war, and obstructs a diplomatic solution, in addition to undermining the possibility of Russia efficiently achieving its goals, and draining Russian capabilities.[1]

[1] Hassan. Abu Haniyeh, "Why does the West want to prolong the war in Ukraine?", Arabic21,2022 (https://arabi21.com/story/1435273/%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B0%).

Figure 3: The size of the Russian incursion into Ukraine



Source: ALJazeera, Russia-Ukraine war in maps and charts: Live Tracker, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/28/russia-ukraine-crisis-in-maps-and-charts-live-news-interactive.

Since Russia annexed Crimea, the rate of military and security cooperation between the United States and Ukraine has accelerated, and some estimates indicate that Ukraine obtained, during the period from 2014 to 2021, about $5.6 billion from the United States of America, including weapons and training equipment for the Ukrainian army, and counter-terrorist support. Cyber threats, in addition to intelligence support to counter Russian threats through the "Ukrainian Security Assistance Initiative", NATO approved a package of comprehensive assistance to enhance Ukraine's defence and security strategy, and public opinion polls during the years 2015-2021, conducted inside Ukraine, showed growing trends in favour of joining the Union European and NATO, Where a poll revealed,

on December 17, 2021, that 58% of the Ukrainian people supported joining the European Union, 54% supported joining NATO, while only 21% supported joining the Eurasian Customs Union led by Russia, on February 20 2022, Russian President, (Vladimir Putin), recognized the independence of two republics that separated from Ukraine, "Luhansk" and "Donetsk", and on the twenty-fourth of the same month, the Russian armed forces launched a comprehensive military invasion of Ukrainian lands, claiming that this came Based on a call made by these two separatist republics to the Russian regime to defend them, in the face of what the Russian regime called the "war of extermination waged by the neo-Nazis in Ukraine against minorities of Russian origin in the two republics." In exchange for Russian policies, international and regional reactions took place - politically, economically, and in the media. Moreover, the military - towards what was called the "Russian invasion of Ukraine," or the "Russian aggression against Ukraine,", especially with the extent of the destruction witnessed by the Ukrainian lands in a short period immediately after the start of the war.[1]

4: The future of the Ukrainian political system

At the beginning of the war, Russia threatened to target any convoys or military aid sent from NATO to Ukraine, but it did not implement this threat. It seems that it was moving away from confrontation with NATO. There are two reasons that most affected the duration of the war, the first is the increasing military support for Ukraine, and the second is Represented by the sanctions imposed on Russia. Both seem to have seriously injured Russia, indicating the difficulty of ending the war. However, with the increase in victims and "Ukrainian" refugees, the West finds an excuse to continue providing qualitative and accurate weapons and training the

[1] Essam. Abdel Shafi, “The Russo-Ukrainian War and the Future of the International Order”, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2022(https://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/article/5361).

Ukrainian army on them, which exacerbates the crisis. It significantly increases the losses of the Russian army.[1]

Accordingly, the conflict in Ukraine has led to many changes in Europe and the world, which were explained by the most prominent Russian leaders (Dmitry Medvedev), Vice President of the Russian National Security Council, in May 2022, represented in:[2]

(1) An unprecedented rise in inflation and prices in many countries of the Western Alliance and countries of the world.

(2) Damage to the global food supply chain, and energy damage from oil and gas, in addition to the alarming rise in their prices, in addition to the threat to the flow of Russian energy resources to Europe and the countries of the world.

(3) Interruption of the flow of major food crops, such as wheat and Russian and Ukrainian oils.

(4) The current doubts about the status and future of the global financial system and services, and striking the hegemony of the US dollar being the strongest currency in international transactions and monetary reserves globally, in addition to the American and European piracy of Russian monetary deposits and reserves in the banks of these countries, and the freezing of Russian governmental and private investments in these countries, which Its value is estimated at more than five hundred billion dollars at least.

(5) The illegal punitive measures from the perspective of international law, and the compliance of international financial and financial institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, the Bank for International Settlements, the international arbitration chambers, and the

[1] Khaled. Ayad, "The Russian-Ukrainian war.. to where?", Op.cit.

[2] Abdul Khaleq. Farouk,"The future of the conflict in Ukraine.. an attempt to explore the future", AlMayadeen, 2022 (https://www.almayadeen.net/articles).

World Trade Organization, all revealed themselves as mere tools in the hands of the United States and its allies in Europe, all of which give signals to policymakers in China and India, and perhaps some of the Gulf oil states, and the countries of the world as a whole.[1]

Therefore, there is a set of existing scenarios and possibilities for the course of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in the near and distant future. This complex bloody conflict, in its multiple dimensions, proceeds in one of the following possibilities or scenarios:[2]

The first scenario: that the military operation in Ukraine will end: So that the Russian forces will have achieved their aforementioned strategic goals, which are represented in the complete control of the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea (the Mernopil-Odesa line), and the transformation of the rest of the geography Ukraine to a wholly landlocked state, the destruction of Ukraine's military machinery.

The realization of this scenario depends on the Ukrainian political system signing peace agreements guaranteed by Western international parties in addition to China. This is doubtful because the United States desires to prolong this conflict and drain Russia for as long as possible.

The second scenario: is that Russia will be able to achieve some of the set goals, the most important of which is turning Ukraine into a besieged state, thus ensuring the safety of the former republics in eastern and south-eastern Ukraine, as well as organizing a referendum on its future, while the Russian-Ukrainian military conflict continues, but of low intensity. Whether motivated by Nazi groups in Ukraine or directed by the United States and the ruling right-wing forces in some

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.

Eastern European countries, such as Poland and Slovakia, without reaching a political agreement to settle the conflict.

The third scenario: that this high-intensity military conflict continues for more than a year, depending on the period that Russia estimates to finish achieving its goals, which requires it to expand the scope of military operations and reach the capital, Kyiv, and overthrow, but many risks accompany this scenario. Because the occupation of this country by Russia's military forces means that there is no guarantee of turning this presence into a foreign occupation, and resistance movements and guerrilla warfare may rush against this occupation, this is the worst scenario that Russia may be exposed to during this conflict, because it may continue in this way for many years. , repeating the experience of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

The fourth scenario: This scenario is a mixture of the third scenario, previously mentioned, in addition to the adverse effects of the continuation of this conflict for more than a year, in the countries of the European Union themselves and the possibility of the disintegration of its ties, especially among countries that believe that this conflict was an American and British need more than a European necessity. , which may lead to the disintegration of the unified European position towards the war and the intransigent attitude toward Russia.

Fifth scenario: With the continuation of the intensity of the military conflict in Ukraine, or what is left of it (geopolitical), secret or overt political initiatives will likely be activated from some European countries or China and India in order to search for acceptable results and put forward ideas that could lead to, In turn, the Russian military operations stopped at the borders of what its units had reached, and it will often be after crossing the Dnipro River and taking control of Kharkiv, and not reaching the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, and it started, in the last week of

May, and the beginning was with an Italian initiative, and the initiatives will likely come The following is done in a semi-collective manner by more than one party, through vigorous diplomatic contacts (China, Germany, Turkey, India, France, and some European countries... Etc.) with reluctant American acceptance, for fear of a weakening of the Euro-Atlantic alliance.

This is the most likely scenario to solve the safe exit of the Russian forces to the east of the Dnipro River and to start negotiations to preserve what is left of Ukraine. Russia will not agree to any settlement without liberating the port and city of Odesa and keeping the Kherson region. This is the minimum acceptable to Russia, in addition to its demands. In neutralizing what is left of Ukraine and preventing it from joining NATO, getting rid of the Nazi groups and the Nazi policy of Ukraine, and restricting the level of its armament, as for the Crimea peninsula, it will be outside any discussion or negotiation.

Of course, these scenarios or possibilities, or some of them, are just intellectual attempts to reach a future vision of the horizon of settling a conflict that has global repercussions, and the features and features of the global scene after it will be completely different from what came before it.

However, Russia is apprehensive about the outbreak of protests in Ukraine for fear of its expansion into it, and of the stability of its political system, for fear that this may cause the establishment of close relations with “Kyiv” and the West, which Russia considers its enemy since Russia was part of the Soviet Union, so It has placed Ukraine's political system in a position of permanent monitoring and control until the outbreak of war, which will put this system in front of three scenarios:[1]

(1) The steadfastness of the Ukrainian political system:

[1] Abdulaziz. Al-Issawi, “The war and its impact on the Ukrainian political system: the possibilities of steadfastness and decline”, Op.cit.

The Ukrainian political system enjoys good relations with the West, which continues to supply Ukraine with weapons during its war with Russia, in addition to the tremendous political and economic pressures on Russia exerted by the United States of America and European countries and the attempt to pass a Security Council resolution condemning this war, which could be a reason that prevents Without the Russian forces controlling Kyiv and overthrowing the political regime and changing its image.

(2) The decline of the Ukrainian political system:

Russia stated that it wanted to reach the Ukrainian capital (Kyiv), and (Putin) expressed Moscow's insistence on removing the Ukrainian President and ridding the western neighbor of what he described as neo-Nazis and his assertion that the Russian forces would not return before achieving their goals and their intention to overthrow the political system and replace it with another political system that guarantees loyalty Ukraine belongs to Russia. If the political system collapses, the Ukrainian authorities will be forced to make constitutional amendments that reduce the powers of the head of state in favour of Parliament to come up with a new pro-Russian political system.

(3) The prolongation:

Ukraine's Western allies may want to prolong the conflict to allow the Ukrainian political system to stand up to the Russian attack by supplying arms to Ukraine, trying to pressure Russia to stop the war, and making repeated offers of negotiations between the two countries.

Moreover, according to the current data represented by the tremendous international pressure exerted on Russia and the difficulty of the Russian forces reaching (Kyiv) and the increase in calls for negotiations, the third scenario may be the closest; As the escalating losses in lives, equipment, and property may push for

dialogue, and if this happens, Kyiv will find in that an alternative to the country falling into the hands of Russia. The Ukrainian political system will have an opportunity to negotiate and rearrange the papers, which may include making concessions to the Russians, whatever they may be. Large, it will be less than the Russian occupation and change the image of the political system.

Conclusions

- Ukraine's geographical location made it a point of conflict between Russia and the West, as well as the United States of America.
- There are a number of political, economic, and social reasons for the war taking place in Ukraine now.
- The Ukrainian political system faces a set of challenges at all levels, which may put it at stake.
- There is a set of future scenarios that are expected to occur in the meantime, as the Ukrainian regime may succeed in preserving its existence, or its existence may fade and end, or the regime may change radically.

Recommendations

- Ukrainian official institutions must be employed to help them contain the war, as well as deal with the crisis and manage it in a balanced way that guarantees the existence of the Ukrainian political system and its control over the situation.
- The Ukrainian political system must control all the tools of violence to prevent the emergence of indicators of political violence or confront them if they appear, by using the means by which the government maintains its legitimacy, and in accordance with constitutional rules in order to reach the balance that is the basis of the political process and the political system.

- The Ukrainian political system has the task of managing ethnic and cultural diversity in a proper manner that makes it a source of enrichment for society, and not a source of provoking conflicts and wars.
- Eliminate corruption and unemployment within Ukrainian society and work to support members of society financially until the end of the ongoing war with Russia.
- Work to improve Ukraine's relationship with neighboring countries by concluding permanent peace agreements in order to fortify internal security.
- The Ukrainian political system must constantly cooperate with official international actors in various fields to support the stability of the political system until the war with Russia is over.
- The Ukrainian political system must activate the early warning system that predicts conflicts and disputes before they occur, in order to avoid them in the future.
- Activating national reconciliation and renouncing the effects of the past in terms of disputes and tensions and everything that would harm the security and peace of Ukrainian society, which may positively reflect on the existence and continuity of its political system.

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