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***The American Strategy of Proxy War: The Case of Russian-Ukrainian War***

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
 Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this research work to my parents, my family members, my classmates and friends.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to determine if the United States of America is using Russia as a pawn in its proxy conflict with Ukraine. Additionally, it makes an effort to pinpoint the driving forces behind America's decision to use this defensive tactic against its key adversary, Russia. Additionally, one of the main goals of this research project is to look into the US's employment of proxy warfare in this global fight. The final goal and aim of this study is to examine the effects of this global conflict on America, Russia, and the rest of the globe. The researcher uses a qualitative research approach inside an analytical framework in an effort to close the gap between military and political concerns. By using this research design, the researcher hopes to demonstrate that the US is engaging in proxy warfare against Russia. The findings of the study revealed that the US is waging a proxy warfare against Russia in the Russian-Ukrainian War. The study findings demonstrated that Russia is fighting America together with its western allies in this international conflict in Ukraine. Major powers frequently start proxy wars because they feel extremely vulnerable to the activities of other states. As their powers grow, they typically start taking part in more proxy battles. This proxy competition runs the risk of developing a positive feedback loop. This research work findings also showed that the economic factors usually play a more restraining role, especially for those powers whose trade and investment relationships might be harmed by such conflicts. American intervention in Ukraine is not an exception in this regard.

**Keywords:** Defence strategy, Proxy War, Russian-Ukrainian War, The American foreign policy, The United States of America.

## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>DSG</b>	Defense Strategic Guidance
<b>HIMARS</b>	High Mobility Artillery Rocket System
<b>NATO</b>	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NLAWS</b>	Next Generation Light Anti-Tank Weapons
<b>USA</b>	The United States of America
<b>US</b>	The United States
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>WWII</b>	World War II

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# **General Introduction**

## **1. Background of the Study**

In June 2021, the Russia-United States summit witnessed the first in-person meeting between Presidents Joe Biden and Vladimir Putin to ease the mounting tensions between Washington and Moscow. Even though both presidents expressed cautious optimism about the future trajectory of U.S.-Russia affairs, what followed was anything but positive. In 2021, tensions between Moscow and Washington reached an all-time high, when Russia repeatedly accused the United States and NATO of providing military assistance to Ukraine and nudging the country closer to NATO and the European Union (Hoffman,2016).

Washington and its allies expressed worries about Russia's nuclear weapons and political aspirations as the battle intensified. Western leaders were compelled by this to sanction Russia and help the Ukrainian military. Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov charged NATO with waging a "proxy" war against Russia by continuing to back Ukraine in face of this support. In turn, Moscow maintained its alliances with significant Middle Eastern nations and expanded its political and economic connections with China. Due to these tensions, there will be fierce geopolitical competition amongst the major nations (Hoffman, 2016) .

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

None of the military preparations the US might make for proxy wars are guaranteed to be successful. These confrontations are incredibly complicated and run the risk of enacting costs that are at odds with the interests of the United States that are at stake. The United States is interested in gaining a competitive edge over competitors like Russia, but it is also interested in managing that rivalry

efficiently while still meeting its own national security needs. The United States should make an effort to prevent potential spiralling proxy wars, if it can do so without jeopardizing vital or significant national interests, in order to control expenditures. However, sometimes diplomacy and joint military operations may not be enough to realize American goals. When possible, it should work through local partners to reduce costs, unlike its rivals who have no desire in making any kind of concessions to the United States. However, sometimes diplomacy and joint military operations may not be enough to realize American goals.

### **3. Research Questions and Research Hypotheses**

This study attempts to answer the following key questions:

- (1) Is the US in a proxy war with Russia in Ukraine ?
- (2) What are the US motives to resort to proxy war strategy in the Russian-Ukrainian War ?
- (3) How does the US use proxy war strategy in the Russian- Ukrainian crisis ?

Based on the above stated questions, the study tries to test the following hypotheses:

- (1) The US decision makers` official speeches and attitudes about the Russian-Ukrainian War, in addition to the US military support to Ukraine may be considered as an indicator that America is fully involved in a proxy war against Russia in this international conflict.
- (2) Russia in addition to China are the two main competitors to the US in ideology, politics, economy, and military phase. This may lead the US to engage in a proxy war against Russia to weaken one of its main rivals.

(3) In the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, the US hides itself behind countless and unconditioned military and political support through its allies in Europe and the NATO to the Ukrainian army to aid it resist Russian invasion.

#### **4. Aims of the Study**

This study aims at investigating whether the United States of America is waging a proxy warfare against Russia in the Russian-Ukrainian crisis. It attempts also to identify the motives that push America to resort to this defence strategy against its main rival, Russia. Add to this, one of the key objectives of this research work is to investigate how the US use proxy warfare in this international conflict. Finally, the repercussions of this international conflict on America, Russia, and the whole world are a part of this study aims and objectives.

#### **5. Research Methodology**

This section outlines the procedures of the present study from the selection of the data gathering procedures to the analytical frameworks and methods used in data analysis and interpretation. The current study is qualitative where the findings are more descriptive and the inferences can be drawn quite easily from the data that is obtained. It is also exploratory in terms of attempting to investigate whether the US engagement in the Russian-Ukrainian War is a proxy warfare.

In this type of research design, the researcher makes use of qualitative research method in an analytical framework attempting to bridge the gap between what is military and

what is political. The researcher, via adopting this research design, is interested to prove that the US is in a proxy warfare against Russia.

## **6. Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study stems from the following points:

- This study will provide students, professors, and researchers in the field of history, political sciences, and literature and civilization in English Departments with a thorough knowledge and information about the US foreign and military policies, the process of decision-making in America, and proxy warfare strategy.
- The study will also provide knowledge-seekers with an overview on the policy of proxy warfare as a military strategy adopted by the US in several international conflicts, including Russian-Ukrainian War.
- This research work is also significant as it attempts to interrelate, in a mosaic form, history, politics, military strategies to question and answer whether the US involvement in Ukraine is a proxy war against Russia.

## **7. Structure of the Study**

This study is divided into two chapters. The first chapter is titled: The American military policies and the use of proxy war strategy. This research section is the theoretical part of this study. It sheds light on the different US military and defence strategies with a special focus on the proxy warfare military policy. This chapter is concerned with defining the concept proxy war, its types, and the ways of putting it in practice in different international and regional conflicts in the world. The chapter also tackles with examples the use of proxy warfare on the part of the United States in several wars. The second chapter is the practical part of this research work. In this section, the focus is on proving that the US is fully involved in a proxy warfare against

Russia in the Russia-Ukraine crisis. This chapter introduced the different motives and ways of integrating this military strategy on the part of the US in this international conflict.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

# **The American Military Policies and the Use of Proxy War Strategy**

## **Chapter One: The American Defense Policies and the Use of Proxy War Strategy**

### **Introduction**

The American military policies and the deployment of proxy war tactic is the title of the first chapter. The theoretical portion of this study is this research component. It clarifies the many US military and defense plans with a focus on the military strategy of proxy warfare. In this chapter, the term "proxy war" is defined along with their various varieties and applications in various global and regional conflicts.

#### **1.1. The American Defence and Military Policy: Historical Overview**

The United States used to have a War Department. Until 1947 one of the President's cabinet-level positions was the Secretary of War, who headed the War Department. President Harry Truman renamed them the Secretary of Defense and the Department of Defense, a telltale sign of changing times. The most destructive war of modern times — World War II (WW II) —, and nuclear weapons were introduced at its conclusion. The hope was that countries would "beat their swords into plowshares," according to the famous biblical statement that was to be engraved into a wall of the United Nations building in New York City. Still, a United States defense policy is necessary as a second level of protection in case diplomacy fails to solve.(us history.org.a,2013.p:1).

#### **1.2. Defense and Military Policy Decision-Making in the United States**

The President takes the lead in defense policy. This initiative is based on the constitutional powers as "Commander in Chief" of the armed forces. The Constitution grants Congress the power to declare war, a power with much less meaning in today's

world. The last time that the United States officially declared war was December 8, 1941, the day after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Yet America has fought full-scale wars in Korea, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf without actually declaring war .(us history,org.a,2013.p:1)..

Today the President is able to order covert — or secret — operations to avoid full-scale military involvement. If that option fails, the President, sometimes with the vote of Congress, can try coercion, or tactics that force countries to "behave." Examples are: economic boycotts, breaking diplomatic relations, and restricting tourist and business travel between countries. The United States has applied all of these tactics to Cuba since Communist leader Fidel Castro took over in 1959. The President may also avoid congressional involvement in decision-making by endorsing limited military "interventions" without asking for a war declaration (Hoffman,2016).

The Department of Defense is the President's main source of advice on military policy. Its headquarters is the Pentagon, which houses about 25,000 military and civilian personnel. True to the wishes of the founders, the Secretary of Defense — who heads the department — is always a civilian. However, all three military departments — the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force — are under the general supervision of the Secretary of Defense.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff is a five-member advisory body to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense. It includes the Chiefs of Staff of the three military departments and the commandant of the Marines. The President, with the consent of the Senate appoints all of the service chiefs, as well as the chair.(us history,org.a,2013.p:11).

### **1.3. U.S. defense Policy and Strategy Development and Mechanisms**



To guide the development of the Armed Forces, the new team at the Pentagon will need an updated force design mechanism to size and shape that force. This research sub-section offers options and guidance for two major components of U.S. defense policy: alternative force design constructs and design principles. These force constructs are not the strategy itself, but they are the requisite building blocks and guidance that defense policymakers use to shape the desired force and explain that force in its requests for the funding required from the American people. (Hoffman,2016, p.37).

Since the end of the Cold War, there has never been a more pressing need for an effective U.S. defense strategy. In three different regions (Russia in Europe, China in Asia, and Iran in the Middle East), the United States is currently up against revisionist countries that threaten its core interests and close friends. North Korea continues to be unique, posing a remote but serious threat to two friends of the United States. Each of these nations is working to undermine and change a rules-based international order that has allowed for a protracted period of stability and prosperity for all. They face a problem that is much larger than the failing governments and violent extremist groups that have dominated policy over the previous 15 years.(Hoffman,2016).

U.S. defense policy and strategymust account for many factors and incorporate many competing elements. They must incorporate the Nation's defined interests, its geographical realities and territorial security, overarching grand strategy, alliance structure, and war plans and existing doctrine. Just as important, our strategy must account for potential challengers to U.S. interests, as well as the opportunities presented by ever-evolving technology trends. Finally, policymakers must be cognizant of the strategic planning, acquisition, and personnel systems that shape the fundamental outputs of policy and defense strategy. (Hoffman,2016,p36).

#### **1.4. The US Military and Defense Strategy Guidance, Models and Force Design**

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, U.S. military policy has had to regularly modify its strategy and force planning processes in order to both more precisely define the size of the force required to carry out our strategy and to identify the kind of forces that were most appropriate for a changing security environment. Defense policy has significant effects on the size and composition of the army overall. The capabilities (the type of force in terms of land, sea, air, or space power) and overall capacity (how much) of each are discussed by force planners. Policymakers use a variety of force planning constructs, which typically focus on the number and scale of conflicts (large regional wars or international conflicts), to assess the risk involved in force design.(Hoffman,2016).

Regarding military levels and threats, there was widespread agreement during the Cold War. The Base Force, created by General Colin Powell of the United States following Operation Desert Storm and the ensuing Bottom-Up Review of the early Bill Clinton administration, was the first of these new constructs, but with the collapse of the Soviet Union, they became the essential building pieces of any defense strategy. Both of these used the concept of "two wars" to describe the post-Cold War American military.(Hoffman,2016).

In this framework, Hoffman (2016: p,39) says: The “two-war” model was criticized for its emphasis on maintaining force capacity without consideration of a larger strategy to prevent wars. A desire for a “peace dividend” generated a brief adoption of a win-hold-win framework that reduced the need for large forces by dropping the requirement for two overlapping campaigns. Criticism of this motivated Congress to establish a commission in 1997 to assess post–Cold War defense

planning. This commission concluded that the “the two-theater construct has been a useful mechanism for determining what forces to retain as the Cold War came to a close, [and] to some degree, it remains a useful mechanism today.”

The "4-2-1 strategy," adopted by the George W. Bush administration, placed a strong emphasis on forward deterrence in four distinct geographic areas: Europe, the Middle East and Southwest Asia, Northeast Asia, and East Asia.<sup>18</sup> This framework established the kind of force needed to "swiftly defeat" two different foes while "winning decisively" in one of them. Instead of only annihilating the enemy's troops, "decisively" winning meant having the ability to impose a regime change .(Hoffman,2016)..

Defense Strategic Guidance (DSG) from the Pentagon in 2012 made an effort to reconcile defense planning with significant cuts imposed by the Budget Control Act.<sup>21</sup> The DSG modified the "win two wars" paradigm by outlining a force that was "capable of denying the objectives of—or imposing unacceptable costs on—an opportunistic aggressor in a second region." For multiple budget cycles, this "win/deny" concept has served as the primary shaping tool.<sup>23</sup>.(Hoffman,2016).

Hoffman (2016:p.40) says: However, the likelihood that the United States would find itself in two significant wars at once is not really the question that many strategists and defense policymakers actually consider. Instead, their focus is on deterring and preventing conflict. Both the international order and our alliance system are predicated upon U.S. core capabilities and their credibility. America’s treaty commitments and alliance systems, and a projected environment of great power tension, augur clearly for the capacity to successfully engage in more than one

conflict. There is no shortage of possible combinations of crises in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East that would directly impact our core interests and require a response.

Constrained by reduced forces, the United States will find it difficult to play its historical role as a guarantor of a stable global system, a rules-based international and economic order that has widely benefited much of the world. The various regional chapters in this volume give additional credence to foreseeable demands for U.S. engagement and support. Given that conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> century appears to be both increasing in frequency and lethality (compared to the last 25 years), demand for U.S. forces is increasing, and the potential exists for longer duration conflicts. Our policy and force design should recognize and strive to resolve this demand signal.

### **1.5. The US Force and Military Design Options**

This section looks to the future after establishing the development of previous U.S. force plans. The assumption about resources that should be explicitly laid forth frames the option set that is examined here. Although the regional powers and revanchist regimes are becoming more tense due to the changing strategic environment, domestic political constraints in the United States will limit how much money can be set aside for security. The national interest payments will eventually surpass our defense budget when the country's national debt load approaches 100 percent of its gross domestic product. The demographics of the United States will keep pushing up domestic spending on social security and health insurance. Furthermore, the last election campaign provided no evidence that the American taxpayer is willing to forgo current entitlement benefits in favor of extensive police. (Hoffman,2016).

While designating a much larger military force that would enable the United States to be everywhere and complete all potential objectives has some value, it is more

beneficial to provide the upcoming defense planners with clear priorities for how to allocate budget. We cannot avoid the constants of strategic planning: resource limitations, uncertainty, and risk. As a result, the range of option sets for strategy and force designs explored here is between the \$500 billion to just over \$600 billion per year levels defined by the Budget Control Act.(Hoffman,2016).

### **1.6. The Motives for Using Proxy War Strategy**

With the development of societies and the phenomenon of globalization, the expression “proxy war” has come more often. It is no more than a conflict where states use proxies, in other words, it’s when the parties in conflict use a third party to fight at the front line while the sponsoring states provide logistical support, information line support, provide weapons, training or neutral ground for force planning and recovery .(John,2019,p.1).

It is simple to comprehend how often proxy wars are. Cheap intervention is made possible by proxies. They are much less expensive than sending out a state's own troops, and the proxy conducts the killing. Proxy war is more politically acceptable since the expenses are fewer; few Americans are even aware that the United States is attacking Libya, let alone which specific group it is supporting. In fact, using proxies is that uncommon foreign policy technique that seems to match both Donald Trump and Barack Obama's styles of doing foreign policy. Despite their disagreements, both presidents have pledged to fight terrorism but are dubious about the deployment of numerous American troops. Despite all of its benefits, proxies frequently let down their sponsors. Local organizations frequently go their own way, pursuing their own interests while pocketing the money and other support they receive, rather than being appreciative and obedient. Their cruelty knows few limitations, and their competence

is frequently pitiful. Some even force their alleged superiors to participate in unwelcome interventions. (Bayman,2018).

A proxy war occurs when a major power instigates or plays a major role in supporting and directing the fighting in another country but does only a small portion of the actual fighting itself. Proxy war stands in contrast not only to a traditional war when a state shoulders the burden of its own defense (or offense), but also an alliance, when major and minor powers work together with each other, making significant contributions according to their means. Washington's close work with Kabul against what's left of Al Qaeda and the Taliban more closely resembles a traditional alliance because of the major U.S. role, with thousands of American troops and hundreds of airstrikes. Meanwhile, Iran's relationship with Houthi rebels in Yemen should be counted as a proxy war because Tehran primarily provides weapons and funding, not large numbers of its own troops. (Bayman,2018, p.1).

Proxy forces, like the U.S.-backed Kurdish YPG in Syria, the Iranian-backed Houthis in Yemen or Russian-backed forces in Ukraine, seek outside support for many reasons. Resources are the most obvious one: outsiders will provide money, weapons and training, among other forms of support that groups sorely lack. Russian air defense weapons neutralize some of the Ukrainian government's advantages over rebels. Iranian ballistic missiles enable the Houthis to threaten Riyadh with attacks. And even limited training can give a coherence and level of skill to local fighters that rival militias often lack. Some governments also provide a haven, giving the leadership of a group a place to plan and organize with at least some impunity. Pakistan, for example, allows the Afghan Taliban to enjoy a rear base on its soil where the Taliban's leaders reside and where the group can

organize its efforts to fight the United States and the Kabul government. At times, the military support can be massive. The United States conducted over 10,000 air strikes in Syria, helping the YPG drive the Islamic State from much of eastern Syria—a feat the group could not have accomplished on its own. (Bayman,2018, p.1).

### **1.7. Proxy Warfare as an Indirect Strategic Approach:**

Proxy war can be defined as: “the indirect engagement in a conflict by third parties wishing to influence its strategic outcome.” This can involve the provision of weapons, money and other forms of assistance, but crucially absolves the intervening party (often described as a benefactor or sponsor) from having to undertake its own direct military intervention in a pre-existing conflict by outsourcing the lethal activity to a proxy, such as a militia group or other national military (often labeled a surrogate). Proxy wars are fought at arms-length by those who want to simultaneously protect or expand their interests whilst avoiding the exposure and costs of a direct military intervention. As a concept proxy wars transcend the mono-causal modes of conflict that have dominated recent strategic discourse, such as insurgency or piracy. Instead, it encompasses a complex set of relationships, dynamics and processes. Proxy warfare takes place in multi-threat environments in which states and non-state actors interact (both covertly and overtly) for the purposes of extending influence, interest and, in some cases, territory via third parties. This goal does not have to be achieved through lethal means alone, and can indeed be conducted virtually in cyberspace. Historically, states have exploited specific localized events (such as a civil war) to provoke a shift in the wider geo-political environment (such as the stifling of a rival ideology in the broader region). (Mumford,2017,p:1).

Wild (2017: P. 12) says: proxy wars have been especially common since the close of WW II and the rise of the cold war, and were a defining aspect of global conflict during the latter half of the 20 century. Much of this was motivated by fears that direct conflict between the united states and soviet union would results in nuclear holocaust, rendering proxy wars a safer way of exercising hostilities .(Hashemi and Sahrapeyma,2018:p.3).

### **1.8. The Use of Proxy War Strategy**

The Middle East has long been a region of interest for the United States since the Cold War. Israel received significant American aid throughout the Arab-Israeli clashes. In 1957, the American condemnation of the joint British and French invasion during the Suez Crisis ended the lingering remnants of European influence in the Middle East. Later initiatives, such as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in 1974, the Camp David Accords in 1978, and the Madrid Conference 1991 allowed the United States to assume an active role in reducing tensions in the Middle East.

Despite its engagement in the region, the US has rarely taken a direct part in regional conflicts. The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003, respectively, and the interventions in Lebanon in 1958 and 1983, as well as participation in the first Gulf War in 1991, show that such interventions are the exception rather than the rule. Instead, the US chooses to support its friends militarily and financially by playing a more background role in the region. The United States has a history of using proxy war to impose its influence abroad. Between 1970 and 1974, military assistance to Israel during the Nixon administration increased astonishingly, from \$30 million. The primary function of funding the Israelis was to combat Soviet-sponsored Arab states in the region, while simultaneously containing



Arab nationalism that it could not completely control. The Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1970s was a regional microcosm of the U.S struggle for influence during the Cold War, and also an example of indirect American involvement as a primary strategy in the Middle East by supporting states like Israel and Iran. (Arnold,2019:p.1).

The term proxy war has experienced a new popularity in stories on the middle east. A proxy war is two opposing countries avoiding direct war, and instead supporting combatant that serve their interests. (El Ghamari,2015: p.43).

Proxy wars are one of the major categories of conflict that contribute to humanitarian crises around the world. The war can take place between multiple countries, or a country and a nonstate actor like a politically violent group. Proxy wars are often ideological and hold ties to a country's religious systems. Multiple proxy wars can occur simultaneously around the world. In addition, multiple states can back proxies within other states, which can be seen in both Syria and Yemen. (Stephens,2021. p.1)

But ironically, American use of proxy war in the Middle East against its old partner Iran has persisted into the twenty-first century. Since 2015, Saudi Arabia has been militarily engaged in Yemen's conflict with the Houthi movement, which is supported by Iran. A Saudi-led coalition has intensified the civil war in Yemen in an effort to restore the deposed Hadi administration. As the United States continued to refuel Saudi jets and provide them with bombs up until late November, American military assistance to the Saudis had a crucial part in this. Although not actively involved in the battle, the US sold Saudi Arabia an enormous amount of armaments, amounting to over \$9 billion from 2013 to 2017. The United States approved arms transactions last year.

The United States approved arms transactions with Saudi Arabia at \$18 billion, which is quadruple the sum of the preceding four years' worth of sales. Arms sales by themselves do not necessarily indicate that the United States is engaging in proxy war, but money for the Saudis and the current condition of relations with Iran point to a link between American policy and its geopolitical goals. (Arnold,2019:p.1).

(Bidwell 1983,p.17) says that: "The united states has already said it would give logistical and intelligence support to Saudi Arabia ,but the situation in Yemen may well come to require more than that , and some kind of US combat support as well as US diplomatic pressure on Iran.

Parry (2015,pp.23-51) says: The US is also involved and Leading from behind or a distance. While it work to strike a deal with Iran, it also wants to maintain an alliance against Tehran using Saudis. The pentagon would provide support". The GCC has been unleashed on Yemen by the US. President Barack Obama foreign policy inclinations to step back from conflict may have been driven by the best of intentions and reality of American battle fatigue after Iran and Afghanistan drained energy and resources but US ability to influence events in the wider Middle East has scarcely been less since the Suez Crisis of 1956.(El Ghamari,2015:p.51).

The persistence of proxy warfare as a component of American military policy demonstrates a preference for covert conflict resolution. As evidenced by the Arab-Israeli war of the 1970s, it enables the US to exert geopolitical control over regional conflicts that have wider ramifications. Supporting Saudi Arabia in Yemen allows the US to have an ally challenge Iranian dominance in the region while simultaneously reducing Iran's geopolitical clout in the region through a series of diplomatic and economic moves. As a result, the United States will have a greater influence in the

region without intervening directly, a stronger Saudi Arabia in the region, and a friendlier actor.(Arnold,2019.p.1).

There are some points of agreement for scholars of proxy warfare. The first is sponsors subcontracts the use of force as an alternative to direct military intervention in a conflict (which runs the risk of escalation into major war), domestic opposition to the involvement the armed forces, or geographical constraints such as distance from the war zone concerned. Secondly, sponsors and proxies have a common enemy in the form of a target state and that, as was the case with the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan during the 1980s, proxies can have more than one sponsor backing them. Thirdly, the sponsor-proxy relationship is usually a clandestine and undeclared one, although Fourthly, states subject to internal destabilization may be quick to claim they are the victims of subversion (sometimes on spurious grounds), while proxies and their backers may seek to deny their relationship because foreign support could stigmatize them as Fifthly, although proxy warfare contains superficially appealing benefits for all parties, there are several potentially negative implications for all involved, ranging from abandonment and faction-fighting for proxies, to exposure and escalation for the spans puppet actors these links may well be ‘implausibly deniable’.(Hughes,2022.p:1).

The United States' Middle East strategy strongly points to a pattern of ongoing indirect confrontation by supporting and using its friends as proxy. By depending on its allies in the Middle East to further American goals, proxy warfare helps to get around these obstacles and offer an alternate means of American influence. Shifting from direct to indirect action may be necessary to achieve a balance between the objectives of American hard power and its constraints, but even with the loss of

complete control, the United States may benefit more in the long run. (Arnold ,2019. p.1).

Two antagonistic factions that fight mostly in the West have formed in Yemen as a result of numerous diverse individuals coming together. The 'Houthis,' a terrorist organization supported by Iran and adhering to the Shiite school of Islam, are essentially in charge of Yemen's northern region. The coalition forces, led by Saudi Arabia and its ally, the UAE, are mostly in charge of Yemen's southern region. This group represents the Sunni branch of Islam, which is also supported by the United States. One of the biggest humanitarian catastrophes on the planet has developed as a result of the war in Yemen. Four million people who have been displaced and around 24 million people require emergency humanitarian aid. Many people have left the Western region due to the location of the war. They escaped from ports, which are located near much of the disputed territory and the scene of the main armed fighting. Over 100,000 civilians have been killed in the last five years of fighting, which is a significant number.(stephnes,2021).

Part of Iran's strategy in Yemen was providing Houthi forces with arms—crucially, drones, and ballistic missiles which are regularly employed against targets in Saudi Arabia. In the past several months alone, there have been numerous drone or missile strikes on critical infrastructure and energy facilities in Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, Tehran has mobilized its most important proxy group, Hezbollah.

In response to the Iranian regime's support for the Houthi rebels, Saudi Arabia assembled a coalition of its regional allies to prosecute a military campaign aimed at restoring Hadi to power. The United States and the United Kingdom have assisted the coalition, providing intelligence, logistical support, and arms to the Saudi-led

coalition to counter what they perceive as Iran's growing influence and the Iranian regime's efforts to further destabilize an already-troubled region. Complicating Riyadh's efforts, however, the United Arab Emirates—the Saudi's primary ally in the conflict—recently began withdrawing its forces from Yemen. ( Lis ,2019.p.1).

Agency warfare typically depends on a third party that is not involved in the initial conflict; this third party is frequently terrorists or rebels who are provided with the resources and weapons they need by the superpowers that handle this issue most of the time in order to further their own agendas. Most of the issues revolve around what benefits it and its citizens, even if that means violating some of the rights of other nations involved in the proxy war. The superpowers act as financiers, helping those in charge of the proxy war by providing money and weapons, but they do not take part in the actual fighting. This is done with the assistance of experts who are very knowledgeable about the nations where proxy conflicts are taking place, as well as to protect the sons of their people. proxy wars broke out for the first time during the Cold War period, they began to be used effectively in the regions of the Middle East also present, with the American invasion.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter outlined different US defense and military strategies adopted by the American administration in several international conflicts. It also highlighted in details the strategy of proxy war which was put into practice in several regional conflicts as the case of the Middle East region, mainly in Yemen and Iraq. In this respect, this research section gave examples of proxy warfare usage by the US and other regional powers mainly in the Middle East. The next chapter will focus on the

case of Russian-Ukrainian Crisis questioning whether the US is using proxy warfare strategy against Russia in this international conflict.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

# **The US Interference in the Russian Ukrainian War: The Integration of Proxy Warfare Strategy**

## **Chapter Two: The US Interference in the Russian Ukrainian War: The Integration of Proxy Warfare Strategy**

### **Introduction**

The globe is currently experiencing an international atmosphere marked by issues, public opposition to foreign conflicts, financial pressures, and sacrificing the citizens of states in battle without reward. As a result of these pressures, nations have resorted to using others as proxies in order to fight their wars for them to create a situation that is conducive to peaceful coexistence. The Russian-Ukrainian war is a blatant example of proxy wars. In order to defend itself against the invading Russian forces, the United States of America is using all of its effort to support Ukraine on the military and political fronts. The provision of comprehensive and in-depth information to Ukraine is another way that the United States used to aid Ukraine. Based on the above stated brief background, the second chapter is the practical part of this research work. In this section, its main focus is on proving that the US is fully involved in a proxy warfare against Russia in the Russia-Ukraine crisis. This chapter introduced the different motives and ways of integrating this military strategy on the part of the US in this international conflict.

### **2.1. The U.S and Russia in Ukraine : A Proxy War**

After Ukraine got independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States established diplomatic ties with that country. The success of Ukraine's transition to a contemporary democratic state with a thriving market economy is extremely important to the United States. A democratic, affluent, and secure Ukraine that is better incorporated into European and Euro-Atlantic organizations is at the heart of U.S. strategy. The U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership emphasizes



the value of the two countries' relationship and calls for increased collaboration in the fields of democracy, trade, economics, and energy security. It also highlights the United States' ongoing commitment to supporting further cooperation between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).(US embassy,org ,n.d.).

The battle has quickly turned into a full-fledged proxy war with Russia, with implications for the entire world. American officials increasingly describe America's role in more ambitious, borderline hostile terms. The objective is to "weaken" Russia and ensure that a sovereign Ukraine outlives Putin, supported by tens of billions of euros in aid. The President said to reporters on Thursday, "Throughout our history, we've learned that when dictators don't pay the price for their aggression, they cause more chaos and engage in more aggression." They continue to move. And the costs and dangers to the globe and America are increasing.(wright,2022).

It would be simple to classify US assistance to Ukraine as a "proxy war." After all, the American leadership is explicit about wanting to stop Russian expansionism by arming Ukraine. When Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin met with President Zelenskyy in April 2022, he acknowledged that the US wanted to see "Russia weakened." (Fornusek,2023).

Having basically run out of appropriated funds, Biden has asked Congress for thirty-three billion dollars—for new military, economic, and humanitarian support—in the latest of several packages for Ukraine. “The cost of this fight is not cheap,” the President acknowledged. (As Politico noted, the new aid is about half the size of the entire Russian defense budget—and also more than half of the U.S. State Department’s annual budget. Over the next five months, U.S. aid to Ukraine will average more than two hundred million dollars a day.) The investment, Biden said,

was a small price “to lessen the risk of future conflicts” with Russia.(wright,2022.p:1).

The United States government is providing economic assistance to Ukraine to help meet its wartime needs and lay the groundwork for a successful recovery. This assistance includes \$22.9 billion in direct budget support through USAID and the PEACE mechanism of the World Bank, helping the Government of Ukraine fund fundamental public services like healthcare, education, and emergency response; \$1.9 billion in humanitarian assistance to save lives and meet the urgent needs of the Ukrainian people; and more. Support from the United States has continued to encourage other international contributors, such as the European Commission, Japan, Canada, and the United Kingdom, to contribute. (Press Release,2023).

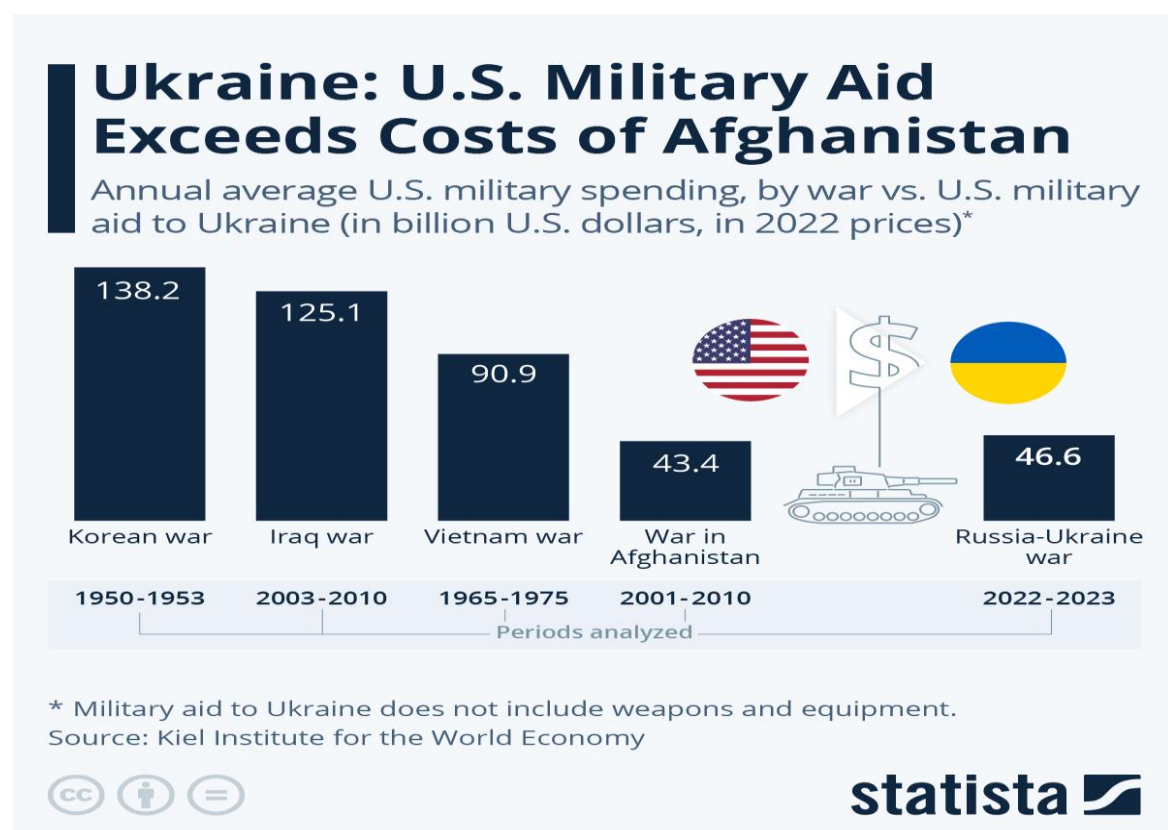
The United States, our allies, and our partners worldwide are united in support of Ukraine in response to Russia’s premeditated, unprovoked, and unjustified war against Ukraine.□ We have not forgotten Russia’s earlier aggression in eastern Ukraine and occupation following its unlawful seizure of Crimea in 2014.□ The United States reaffirms its unwavering support for Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, extending to its territorial waters. Ukraine is a key regional strategic partner that has undertaken significant efforts to modernize its military and increase its interoperability with NATO.□ It remains an urgent security assistance priority to provide Ukraine the equipment it needs to defend itself against Russia’s war Ukraine. (U.S.Security.cooperation with Ukraniane,2023.p:1).

The United States has committed approximately \$44 billion to security aid since January 2021 as a sign of our continuous support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.This includes more than \$43 billion since February 24, 2022, when Russia began

its deliberate, unjustified, and merciless assault against Ukraine. In order to aid Ukraine in maintaining its territorial integrity, securing its borders, and enhancing interoperability with NATO, the United States has given more than \$45.4 billion in security assistance since 2014. (U.S.Security. cooperation with Ukrainiane,2023).

The war in Ukraine is not just a conflict between Moscow and Kyiv, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov recently declared. It is a “proxy war” in which the world’s most powerful military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, is using Ukraine as a battering ram against the Russian state . (Brands,2022.p:1).

**Figure 2.1: American Military Aid to Ukraine**



(Armstrong ,2023.p:1).

## **2.2. The American Intervention in the Russian-Ukrainian War: Details of the US Political, Military, and Economic Support to Ukraine**

This chapter sub-section gives some details proved by high official speeches in Ukraine, Russia, and the US related to the unconditioned political, military, as well as economic support on the part of the US and its allies to Ukraine to resist and weaken Russia. The intention and the aim of the researcher is to prove that these multiple aids is an indicator that America is waging a proxy war against Russia in the Russian-Ukrainian crisis.

***Figure 2.2. The Map of Ukraine, Russia, and their Geopolitical Sphere***



### **2.2.1. Political Support**

The proxy war started in 2014 when a military coup, engineered by the United States, took place in Ukraine, removing the democratically elected president, and putting ultra-nationalists largely in control. The immediate result though was that

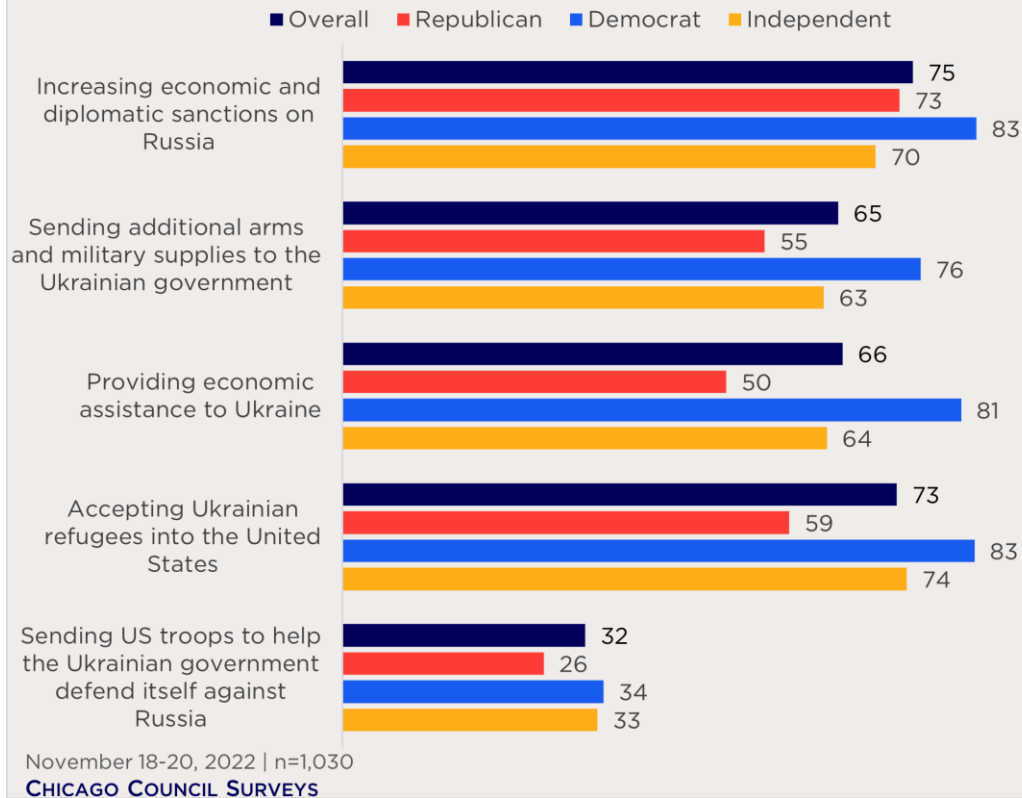
Ukraine began to break apart. Crimea had been an independent, autonomous state from 1991 to 1995. In 1995 Ukraine illegally tore up the Crimean Constitution and annexed it against its will. The Crimean people didn't consider themselves part of Ukraine, and were largely Russian speaking, with deep cultural connections to Russia. When the coup occurred, with Ukrainian ultra-nationalists in control, the Crimean population wanted out. Russia gave them an opportunity with a referendum to stay in the Ukraine or join with Russia. They chose the latter. However, in the eastern Ukraine the primarily Russian population was subjected to repression by ultra-nationalist and neo-Nazi Kyiv forces. Russophobia and extreme repression of the Russian-speaking populations in the East set in with the infamous case of the forty people blown up in a public building by neo-Nazis associated with the Azov Battalion. Originally there were a number of breakaway republics. Two survived in the Donbass region, with dominant Russian-speaking populations: the republics of Luhansk and Donetsk.(Floster,2022,p:1).

A civil war thus emerged in Ukraine between Kyiv in the West and Donbass in the East. But it was also a proxy war with the U.S./NATO supporting Kyiv and Russia supporting Donbass. The civil war started right after the coup, when the Russian language was basically outlawed, so that individuals could get fined for speaking Russian in a store. It was an attack on the Russian language and culture and a violent repression of the populations in the eastern parts of the Ukraine.(Floster,2022,p:1).

***Figure 2.3: The US Policy in Ukraine-Russia***

## US Policy on Ukraine-Russia

*In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine would you support or oppose the United States: (% support)*



### 2.2.2. Military and Economic Support

By the end of November, 2014, the United States authorized its latest assistance package to Ukraine, valued at \$400 million to bolster the country's security and defense in the war against Russia, now beginning its 10th month. A just-completed November 18-20 Chicago Council survey finds that large majorities of Americans continue to support US assistance to Ukraine, both economically and with military equipment. But as the fighting drags into winter, the overall US public is now divided on whether the United States should support Ukraine as long as it takes or if it

should urge Kyiv to settle for peace as soon as possible. (Smaltez and Kafura and Sullivan, 2022,p:1).

In addition to the \$400 million defense package, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken announced \$53 million in assistance to support Ukraine's electrical system to help it recover from Russia's bombardment of the country's energy grid. Americans favor continued assistance to Ukraine, with majority support for supplying the country with arms (65%) and economic aid (66%), accepting its refugees (73%), and sanctioning Russia (75%).(Smaltez and Kafura and Sullivan,2022,p:1).

While Russia continues its relentless and cruel attacks that are killing Ukrainian civilians and destroying public infrastructure, the people of Ukraine heroically defend their nation against Russian aggression. World leaders are continually moved by Ukraine's unwavering courage. I'm approving our 43rd drawdown for Ukraine as per President Biden's delegation of power. Air defense munitions, artillery rounds, armored vehicles, anti-armor capabilities, and other equipment crucial to bolstering Ukraine's valiant forces on the battlefield, aiding them in retaking Ukraine's sovereign territory, and aiding them in defending their fellow citizens are all included in this assistance package. From the Department of Defense's stockpiles, this package includes crucial military aid worth a total of \$400 million in weapons and equipment. For however long it takes, the United States, as well as our allies and partners, will stand with Ukraine.(Blinken,2023).

As the spring offensive against Russian forces prepares to begin, the U.S. is providing Ukraine an additional \$325 million in military supplies, including a sizable quantity of artillery shells and ammunition, the Pentagon announced on Wednesday. The operation against Russian soldiers will begin when Ukraine's military are

prepared, according to Oleksiy Danilov, the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine's secretary. Additionally, he stated that the launch depends on the delivery of armored vehicles and ammunition.

More than 9 million rounds of small arms ammunition, four logistics support trucks, replacement parts, and equipment for harbor Security, maintenance, and repair are all part of the new U.S. aid package. Demolition munitions to clear pathways are also included. Since the conflict broke out in February 2022, Ukraine has received 36 packages of Pentagon supplies, bringing the total amount of U.S. military aid to close to \$36 billion. (Press,2023).

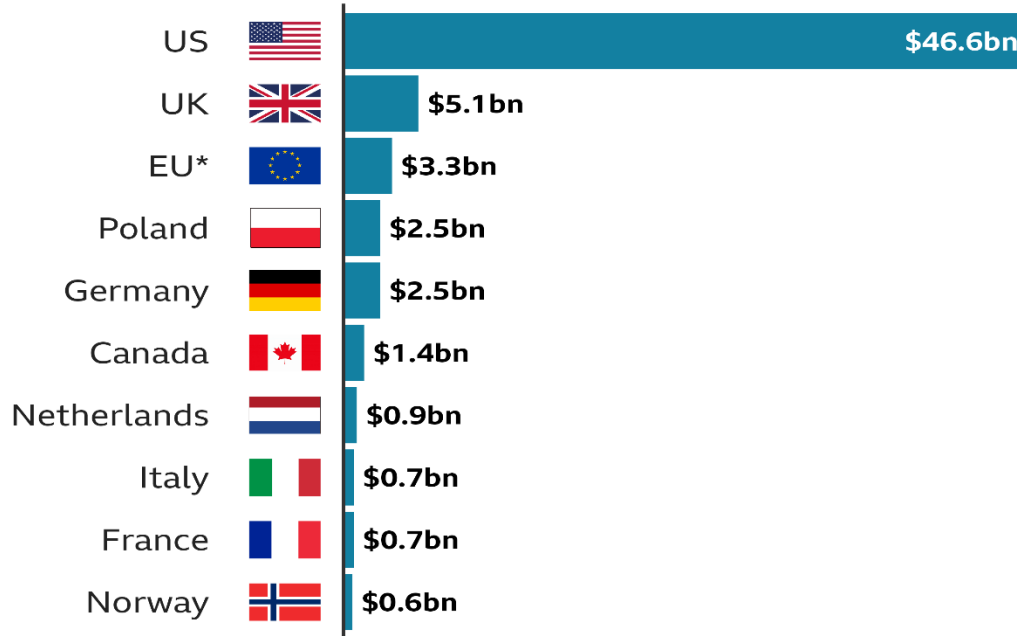
Washington provided an enormous amount of military support to Kyiv between 1991 and 2021. The direct military aid to Kiev from the United States was \$3.8 billion from 1991 to 2014. From 2014 to 2021, it was \$2.4 billion, increasing in rate, and then finally skyrocketing once Joe Biden came into office in Washington. The United States was militarizing the Ukraine very fast. The United Kingdom and the Canada trained around 50,000 Ukrainian troops, not counting those trained by the United States. The CIA actually trained the Azov Battalion and the rightwing paramilitaries. All of this was targeting Russia.(Foster,2022.p:1).



*Figure 2.4. Largest Donors of Military Aid to Ukraine*

## Largest donors of military aid to Ukraine

Commitments made by donors for arms and equipment,  
24 Jan 2022 to 15 Jan 2023



\*Commitments by EU institutions include the Commission, Council, EPF and EIB  
Figures do not include commitments related to other military purposes

Source: Kiel Institute for the World Economy, 21 Feb 2023

**B B C**

(Drenon,21February.p:1).

Nearly 50 allies and partners have so far helped Ukraine with its security. Allies and partners have made numerous contributions to Ukraine, including 10 long-range Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS), 178 long-range artillery systems, almost 100,000 rounds of long-range artillery ammunition, almost 250,000 anti-tank munitions, 359 tanks, 629 armored personnel carriers and infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs), 8,214 short-range air defense missiles, and 88 lethal unmanned aerial vehicles. Over \$13 billion in security aid has been offered or committed by allies and partners globally since February 24. (U.S.Security.cooperation with ukraine,2023.p:1).

Since the beginning of the Biden administration, the US has contributed \$43.7 billion in military aid to Ukraine, making it the greatest donor. Of total support, \$43

billion have been given since February 2022. The UK, which is currently the second-largest donor, has pledged £4.6 billion in military aid to Ukraine (£2.3 billion in 2022 and a promise to equal that spending in 2023). A training program (Operation Interflex), sponsored by a number of partners, is also being hosted by the UK with the goal of educating 30,000 new and existing Ukrainian soldiers by the end of 2023. The UK recently agreed to train Ukrainian fast jet pilots, but has now stated that, at least initially, combat fighter aircraft will not be delivered. Long-range, high-precision strike missiles are supplied by the UK.(Mills,2023.p:1).

The United States has provided Ukraine with an unprecedented amount of military equipment and weapons, including: MANPADS, air defense systems, howitzers, multiple launch rocket systems, tanks, helicopters, armored vehicles, drones, guns, ammunition, missiles, and other equipment. The United States is a strategically important partner of Ukraine, as its military and financial assistance is estimated at tens of billions of dollars. (Visitukraine, today .n.d.. p:1).

Following Russia's annexation of Crimea and invasion of the Donbass, the United States has given Ukraine military assistance totaling more than \$2.5 billion since 2014. The United States has provided trainers, particular defense technologies (such counter-mortar radars), and more recently, Javelin anti-tank missiles to Ukraine. The primary goal of this assistance has been to increase Ukrainian efficacy in the largely stationary battle against the predominantly small- and light-arms-equipped, as well as some artillery and Soviet-era armored, separatist troops in the Donbass that are supported by Russia. (Charap and Boston,2022).

The United States will continue to stand with more than 40 allies and partners in support of the Ukrainian people as they fiercely and valiantly defend their freedom

and independence. The United States "continues to supply Ukraine with artillery, with a whole host of weapons," according to State Department Spokesperson Matthew Miller. Later this week, the United States will also reveal "additional assistance that we plan to provide Ukraine." Miller responded that he would "keep those private diplomatic conversations private" when asked what US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said to Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba when he asked allies to deploy long-range ATACMS missiles. According to earlier reports, US President Joe Biden's administration would soon reveal a new \$200 million military aid program for Ukraine. (eurointegration.com.ua ,2023).

The Defense Department unveiled a new security assistance program worth up to \$800 million with the intention of supplying Ukraine with crucial tools to support counteroffensive operations and defend against Russia's aggression. As Ukraine continues its campaign to retake land taken by Russian forces, the package includes extra ammunition for Patriot air defense systems and High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems supplied by the United States. The recently fielded bombs, which will be taken from Defense Department stockpiles, are made to scatter sub munitions from the air, giving Ukraine the ability to target large areas of firmly planted Russian troops and equipment:

- The Defense Department announced an additional security assistance package of up to \$800 million aimed at providing key capabilities to support Ukraine's counteroffensive operations and defend against Russia's war of aggression.

- The U.S. has provided more than \$95 million in assistance for Ukraine's demining efforts.

- In a statement, the Pentagon said the package shows America's continued commitment "to both Ukraine's critical near-term capabilities as well as the enduring

capacity of Ukraine's Armed Forces to defend its territory and deter Russian aggression over the long term.”(Paldor and associated Press,2023,p:1).

In order to organize military assistance for Ukraine as Russia's invasion switches to an attack against the country's Donbas area, Austin and Joint Chiefs chairman Mark Milley met with more than 30 defense officials from dozens of NATO and non-NATO nations at Ramstein Air Base in Germany. (Knuston,2022). A large portion of the assistance has gone toward giving Ukrainian commanders the weapons systems, instruction, and intelligence they need to defend against Russia, which has one of the most potent militaries in the world. According to many Western experts, the United States and its allies' military support was crucial to Ukraine's defense and counteroffensive against Russia. Leaders in the United States and its allies view Russia's invasion as a brutal and unlawful war of aggression on the border of NATO that, if successful, would subjugate millions of Ukrainians, support Russian President Vladimir Putin's revanchist objectives, and invite similar aggression from other rival powers, particularly China.(Masters and Merrow,2023).

### **2.3. Highlights of the US Aids to Ukraine during Joe Biden Administration**

The US President Joe Biden announced nearly half a billion dollars of US military aid to Ukraine during a surprise visit to Kyiv. The US is the largest contributor to Ukraine in terms of money spent. That's on top of billions the US has already spent on Ukraine's conflict with Russia. Congress appropriated more than \$112bn (£92.47bn) in 2022 alone. More than \$112bn (£92.47bn) in 2022 alone. (Drenon, February 21.p:1).

These are highlights of the American assistance to Ukraine against Russia:

- **More than 2,600 power generators** delivered to more than 150 communities across Ukraine to support schools, hospitals, and critical infrastructure. USAID has delivered more than 200 of these generators to liberated communities in the Kherson region alone.
- **More than 70 kilometers of steel heating pipes** to repair and strengthen heating networks, including those damaged in Russia's attacks. USAID has also delivered 60 excavators to 48 cities across Ukraine to repair and strengthen heating networks. In total, USAID-provided energy repair equipment is helping ensure heat and hot water for up to seven million Ukrainians.
- **A 28 MW mobile power plant**, which is large enough to power more than 100,000 Ukrainian homes at any given time. The plant can be operated in different cities or regions across the country, depending on need, strengthening Ukraine's energy security amid Russia's continuing strikes against critical infrastructure.
- **More than 360 heating tents** to provide temporary shelter to Ukrainians when heat and power is knocked out by Russia's strikes. Nearly \$300 million in humanitarian assistance.

(U.S. Missions Russia, 2023.p:1).

#### **2.4. The US Integration of Proxy Warfare against Russia through Economic Assistance to the Ukrainian Government**

In order to help Ukraine's government continue to meet its people's basic needs and respond to Russia's ongoing aggression, the United States has already disbursed \$13 billion in grant financing and will soon start disbursing another \$9.9 billion that Congress recently approved. The United States has used it to provide financial support on a reimbursement basis through the World Bank's Public Expenditures for

Administrative Capacity Endurance mechanism, ensuring that money is only given to Ukraine after expenses have been confirmed.

The United States, which holds a leadership position in international financial institutions, has also collaborated closely with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank Group, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to support Ukraine, including by enhancing food and energy security as well as providing assistance to internally displaced people and vulnerable populations nationwide. In order to better coordinate our financial support for Ukraine's ongoing economic recovery and reconstruction activities as well as its immediate finance needs, the G7 and I have established the Multi-agency Donor Coordination Platform for Ukraine. (The White House (gov.),2023).

Energy infrastructure. Russia continues to strike and damage Ukraine's power system, a deliberate strategy of trying to break the will of the Ukrainian people and undermine the government's capacity to protect the safety and livelihoods of its citizens. Their will has not been broken—in part due to U.S. and Western support to quickly backfill damaged parts and equipment to keep homes warm and hospitals operating. The United States should continue to provide material and technical support to Ukraine in countering the impacts of these deliberate and reprehensible attacks on innocent Ukrainians. Rebuilding Ukraine's energy infrastructure is an opportunity to advance an inclusive and green economy to strengthen Ukraine's resilience.(President Joe Biden delivers,2022).

Russia has destroyed Ukraine's agriculture industry, which formerly provided food for more than 400 million people annually around the world. In addition to harming Ukraine's economy, the destruction of farms, the emigration of farming communities,

and the disruption of supply lines (including Russia's suspension of Ukrainian export capacity) will have a large and long-lasting effect on the world food market. Within a few weeks after Russia's invasion, the suspension of Ukraine's grain exports sharply increased food prices worldwide and put hundreds of millions of people at risk of hunger. The Biden administration released an unprecedented \$9 billion to be allocated to those most at risk of severe food hunger, particularly in Africa, to counter the worst effects of Russia's actions. (President Joe Biden delivers,2022.).

The findings appeared to provide firmer backing for U.S. President Joe Biden's policy of doing "whatever it takes" to assist Ukraine in recapturing territory that Russia seized in an initial assault in 2014 and its full-scale invasion 16 months ago. (Landay, 2023.p:1).

President Joe Biden maintains that U.S. aid to Ukraine will continue as long as it's needed. Yet public support for supplying Ukraine with weapons hovers at about 50%, according to a University of Chicago poll last month. And the debt-ceiling accord reached between the White House and Republicans in Congress to avert default last month leaves little hope for a special Ukraine funding package outside the \$866 billion budgeted for the Pentagon.(Brook and Chambers ,2023.p:1).

Prior to Russia's 2022 invasion, the United States had deepened its relationship with Ukraine since 2014, backing it in its eastern civil war against Russian-supported separatists for years. U.S. troops trained and equipped Ukrainian armed forces and provided over \$1 billion in Foreign Military Financing and Security Assistance between 2016 and 2022. From January to October of 2022, the United States has provided more than \$66 billion in financial, humanitarian, and military aid to Ukraine along with additional billions worth of weapons and aid pouring in from European countries.

*The New York Times* reported that the U.S. has provided intelligence to the Ukrainian military on Russian troop movements and concentrations that has allowed them to effectively devise Ukrainian counter-offensives, with U.S. planning assistance, and even target and eliminate multiple high-ranking Russian officers. Similarly, NBC reported that it was U.S.-provided information allowing Ukraine to sink the Russian Black Sea Fleet flagship *Moskva*.(Concerned for America foundation.n.d.p:1).

## **Conclusion**

The United States of America is waging a proxy war in the conflict, a new strategic variable, the Russian posture will shift as the objective is to undermine the Russian Federation. The United States of America worked with all its energy to support Ukraine in the military and economic field to stand firmly in front of the attacking Russian forces. As for Russia, it has claimed that the United States is engaged in a proxy war, The war in Ukraine is not just a conflict between Moscow and Kyiv. It is a “proxy war” in which the world’s most powerful military alliance, the United States, is using Ukraine as a battering ram against the Russia. Given that the US Secretary of Defense has stated that America's primary objective is to undermine Russia and keep it from posing a threat to Ukraine or its neighbors in the future. The Russian-Ukrainian war model brings the scenario of proxy wars back to life. Thus, the conflict in Ukraine takes on the characteristics of an attrition-based war. Particularly considering that the arms supply implies a longer war, Federal Russia is the target of American policy.



## **General Conclusion**

After Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, ties between Moscow and the West quickly deteriorated and a serious worldwide security crisis began. By charging Ukraine's western backers of waging a proxy war by providing military support to Kyiv back in April, Sergei Lavrov, the Russian foreign minister, has returned to Cold War-era language. However, the allegation made by the Russian government that the conflict in Ukraine is a proxy conflict is not the only thing being debated in scholarly circles.

Both the official Russian government narrative and some scholarly detractors emphasize the ostensible danger of Ukraine joining NATO. Prior to February 2022, however, Western military intervention was quite low. Although the Ukrainian armed forces did receive training missions from the United States, Britain, Canada, and other Atlantic Alliance nations, overall military aid was kept at a minimal level. The British government did provide Ukraine with short-range Next Generation Light Anti-Tank Weapons (NLAWs) prior to the Russian invasion, but other Western powers were hesitant to provide military assistance, either because they saw this as provocative or because they believed Ukraine's chances of defending itself against a Russian attack were hopeless.

The findings of the study, based on reviewing and analysing the existing literature relevant to Russia-Ukraine War, demonstrated that the US has used and is still using a proxy warfare against Russia in this international crisis. For instance, in response to the Russian invasion to Ukraine, NATO members and other Western arms donors increased their military aid, supplying heavy weaponry like the US's High

Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS). Additionally, intelligence support is provided to the Ukrainian military in order to facilitate planning and targeting.

The international world recognizes Ukraine as a sovereign, independent nation with the right to self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter. Even while there is a valid academic argument to be had regarding the effects of aid to Kyiv, assertions that Western powers are "fighting to the last Ukrainian" are ultimately derogatory to a country that seven months ago appeared to be on the verge of extinction. However, from a Russian standpoint, using the term "proxy war" offers a method to provide a solid justifications after losing. Instead of acknowledging that its once-proud armed forces have been humiliated by its erstwhile imperial subjects, Putin and his government find it easier to assert that Russia has been defeated by a global coalition led by a superpower.

This study is limited in several respects due to several challenges that faced the researcher in the course of conducting this study. Lack of reliable references relevant to the topic in hand is a crucial constraint that might affect the validity of the research findings. Besides, most of the academics viewpoints took the reverse vision. That is, attempting to prove that Russia is using a proxy warfare against Ukraine, America, and the Western World. In this respect, this study recommends researchers to investigate whether Russia, on its part, is adopting a proxy warfare strategy against the US and its allies in further researches.

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## ملخص

الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو تحديد ما إذا كانت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تستخدم روسيا كبندق في صراعها بالوكالة مع أوكرانيا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإنه يبذل جهداً لتحديد القوى الدافعة وراء قرار أمريكا باستخدام هذا التكتيك الدفاعي ضد خصمها الرئيسي، روسيا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، أحد الأهداف الرئيسية لهذا المشروع البحثي هو النظر في توظيف الولايات المتحدة للحرب بالوكالة في هذه المعركة العالمية. الهدف والهدف النهائي لهذه الدراسة هو دراسة آثار هذا الصراع العالمي على أمريكا وروسيا وبقية العالم. يستخدم الباحث منهج البحث النوعي ضمن إطار تحليلي في محاولة لسد الفجوة بين الاهتمامات العسكرية والسياسية. وباستخدام هذا التصميم البحثي، يأمل الباحث في إثبات أن الولايات المتحدة منخرطة في حرب بالوكالة ضد روسيا. وكشفت نتائج الدراسة أن الولايات المتحدة تشن حرباً بالوكالة ضد روسيا في الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية. وأظهرت نتائج الدراسة أن روسيا تقاتل أمريكا مع حلفائها الغربيين في هذا الصراع الدولي في أوكرانيا. في كثير من الأحيان، تبدأ القوى الكبرى حروباً بالوكالة لأنها تشعر بأنها معرضة للخطر الشديد أمام أنشطة الدول الأخرى. ومع نمو قوتهم، يبدأون عادةً بالمشاركة في المزيد من المعارك بالوكالة. تتطوي هذه المنافسة بالوكالة على خطر تطوير حلقة ردود فعل إيجابية. وأظهرت نتائج هذا العمل البحثي أيضاً أن العوامل الاقتصادية عادة ما تلعب دوراً أكثر تقييداً، خاصة بالنسبة لتلك القوى التي قد تتضرر علاقاتها التجارية والاستثمارية بسبب مثل هذه الصراعات. ولا يشكل التدخل الأميركي في أوكرانيا استثناءً في هذا الصدد.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الاستراتيجية الدفاعية، الحرب بالوكالة، الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية، السياسة

الخارجية الأمريكية، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

