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The Future of the Russian Ukrainian War

In Light of Russia's Amendment to Its Nuclear Doctrine

And Its Impact on Global Security and Egyptian National Security

Introduction:

The current crisis is linked to the ongoing Russian Ukrainian war, which began in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation. The conflict escalated in early 2021, and in December 2021, the Russian Foreign Ministry announced several demands, including preventing Ukraine from joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and reducing the number of NATO troops and military equipment in Eastern Europe. The United States and other NATO members rejected these demands and warned Russia of increased economic sanctions in the event of an invasion of Ukraine. Bilateral security talks were held in January 2022.

In early February 2022, the Russian proposals received support from Chinese President (Xi Jinping). Russia and China issued a joint statement opposing NATO expansion. In response to the threat of a possible Russian invasion of Ukraine, NATO announced the expansion of its military presence in Eastern Europe. The United States began sending additional military aid worth (\$200 million) to Ukraine and redeployed several thousand troops to Poland and Romania. Other NATO member states also announced the supply of weapons to Ukraine.

In this context, in late January and early February 2022, several countries announced the evacuation of their diplomats and their families from Kyiv and urged their citizens to leave Ukraine. The actual invasion began on February 24, 2022, which has thus far led to Russia occupying four regions (Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson) and annexing them to Russian territory through a public referendum in addition to Crimea, which has been under Russian occupation since 2014.

However, in 2024, a fundamental shift occurred when Ukraine managed to penetrate Russian territory and occupy large parts of Russia's Kursk province, prompting Moscow to seek assistance from North Korean forces and to announce a change in its nuclear doctrine during a meeting of the Standing Committee on Nuclear Deterrence of the Russian Security Council on September 25, 2024.

Research Problem:

The research problem lies in developing a situational assessment of the future implications of the Russian Ukrainian war considering Russia's amendment to its nuclear doctrine, highlighting key regional and international reactions and their impact on global security in general and Egyptian national security in particular. The study also aims to formulate logi-cal proposals to confront potential challenges and risks in the event of a global war that may involve the use of nuclear weapons.



Research Objectives:

To develop a comprehensive situational assessment regarding the implications of Russia's amended nuclear doctrine and its impact on global security and Egyptian national security, reaching conclusions that lead to the formulation of actionable proposals.

Research Ouestions:

- 1-What is the nature of the Russian nuclear
- 2- What are the key features of the new Russian nuclear doctrine?
- 3- Why did Russia revise its nuclear doctrine, and what are its motivations?
- 4- What are the most prominent international and regional reactions to Russia's amendment of its nuclear doctrine?
- 5- How does the amendment of Russia's nuclear doctrine affect global security and Egyptian national security?
- 6- What are the study's findings and proposals for protecting Egyptian national security?

Research Methodology:

The study adopts a descriptive approach to outline the background and current state of the conflict between the two directly involved states (the Russian Federation and Ukraine), along with various reactions to the decision. Additionally, an analytical approach is employed to derive results and assess the impact on global security and Egyptian national security.

Research Contents:

- 1- The Current Situation of the Russian Ukrainian war.
- 2- The impact on global security and Egyptian national security.
- 3- Study findings and proposed countermeasures.

First: The Current Situation of the Russian Ukrainian War:

Current Situation:

1- On September 25, 2024, Russian President Vladimir Putin revealed a preliminary vision of the updated Russian nuclear doctrine during a meeting of the Permanent Nuclear Deterrence Committee of the Russian Security Council, indicating an expansion of nuclear deterrence tasks. This comes amid ongoing military escalation in Ukraine and increasing Western economic, political, and military pressure on the Russian Federation, both in

Ukraine and in other operational theaters involving Russian forces, particularly Syria, Africa, Central Asia, and the Caucasus.

- 2- On January 20, 2025, President Putin congratulated President Trump on assuming office, stating that he was open to dialogue with the new U.S. administration regarding Ukraine and nuclear weapons. He added, "The root causes of the crisis must be addressed. We welcome Trump's statements regarding the inadmissibility of a third world war. The goal of resolving the Ukrainian issue should not be a short term truce but a long lasting peace." This reflects the Russian Federation's desire to improve relations with the United States while maintaining its gains and working to expand its international influence, especially after the U.S. refused to vote against Russia at the United Nations on February 24, 2025.
- 3- On February 24, 2025, the U.S. President announced via the "Truth Social" platform that serious discussions were underway with his Russian counterpart to end the war in Ukraine, noting that major economic deals between the two countries were also being discussed.
- 4- During his meeting with the French President at the White House on February 24, 2025, the U.S. President affirmed that the conflict in Ukraine could be resolved within weeks if approached wisely. He rejected labeling the Russian President as a dictator and indicated that the negotiations might allow Ukraine to regain some of its territories.
- 5- French movements suggest an effort to secure a leadership role in European defense through a proposal to expand the nuclear umbrella. However, this has heightened tensions with the Russian Federation.
- 6- On March 13, 2025, President Putin visited the Kursk region for the first time since the Ukrainian attack on it in August 2024. Moscow announced that 86% of the territory occupied by Ukrainian forces had been reclaimed, and the full liberation of the region is expected soon. Putin also hinted at the possibility of establishing a security zone along the border to enhance stability and prevent future breaches.
- 7- Russian and American officials continue talks in Riyadh and Turkey, focusing on discussing a partial ceasefire in the Black Sea, protecting energy

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facilities and critical infrastructure in Ukraine, and the fate of Ukrainian children transferred to Russia. Moscow and Washington agreed on measures to halt attacks on Russian and Ukrainian energy facilities for 30 days starting March 18, 2025. However, monitoring of the field situation has shown violations by both sides, and neither party abided by the Easter truce declared unilaterally by Putin in April 2025.

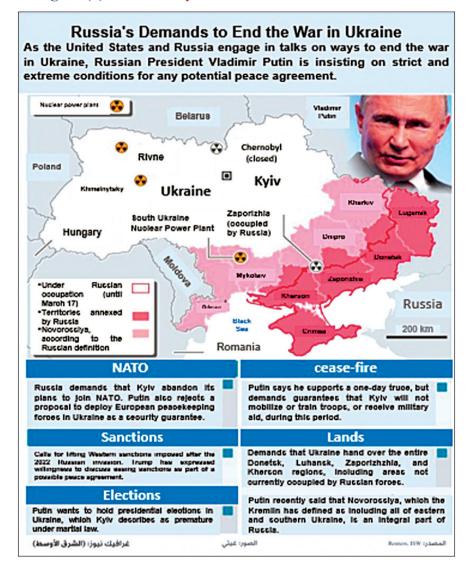
8- On April 11, 2025, President Putin announced that the proportion of modern weapons and equipment within the strategic nuclear naval forces had reached 100%, and that Russia would invest \$100.5 billion over ten years to develop its navy.

Figure (1) Areas of Russian Control Within Ukraine as of April 26, 2025 (Prepared by the researcher)





Figure (2) Russia's Key Demands to End the War in Ukraine⁽¹⁾



Key Historical Contexts and Variables Leading to the Current Situation:

- 1-On November 2, 1993, former Russian President "Yeltsin" issued a decree outlining the basic principles of Russia's nuclear doctrine marking the first official state initiative to regulate the use of the Russian nuclear arsenal. However, the document was not pub-lished(2). It was preceded by the (Gorbachev-Reagan) Treaty in 1987.
- 2-On April 21, 2000, the Russian Federation announced its first official military doctrine, which regarded nuclear weapons as a tool for

- deterring aggression and ensuring the military security of the Russian Federation and its allies(3).
- 3- The second military doctrine was issued on February 5, 2010, and signed by President (Dmitry Medvedev), followed by a third amendment to the military doctrine on December 25, 2014. The nuclear weapons clauses remained unchanged, continuing to emphasize their role in preventing nuclear and other military conflicts.
- 4- A revision occurred in 2020 when President Putin signed a decree separating the nuclear

- doctrine from the general military doctrine. included amendments specifying the scenarios and conditions under which Russia may resort to nuclear weapons. These included:
- A- Receiving reliable data confirming the intention of a party to launch ballistic missiles against Russian territory or that of its allies.
- B-Russia or one of its allies being attacked with any type of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical, biological, or any other non-conventional weapons.
- C- Russia may use its nuclear arsenal even if attacked with conventional weapons, provided the attack threatens the existence of the state
- D- If sensitive government or military sites are attacked by an enemy, the nuclear doctrine allows a nuclear response.
- 5-On September 25, 2024, President Putin warned that any attack carried out by a non nuclear state such as Ukraine but supported by a nuclear power like the United States could be considered a joint aggression, which might necessitate the use of nuclear weapons.
- 6-On November 19, 2024, Russia announced an amendment to its nuclear doctrine two days after reports emerged that U.S. President Biden had authorized Ukraine to use longrange American weapons to strike deep inside Russian territory. President Putin signed the updated 2024 version of the doctrine on the 1,000th day since the start of the Russian war on Ukraine. The Kremlin declared that Russia would theoretically ease restrictions on first use of nuclear weapons. The key publicly announced provisions were as follows⁽⁴⁾:
 - A- Any aggression against the Russian Federation or its allies by a non nuclear state, with the participation or support of a nuclear state, is considered a joint attack.
 - B- Russia may consider a nuclear strike if it or its ally Belarus is subjected to conventional aggression that threatens their sovereignty or territorial integrity.
 - C- Russia may use nuclear weapons if it is attacked with nuclear weapons by an enemy, or in the event of a conventional attack that threatens the existence of the state.

- D- Any large-scale aerial attack using aircraft, guided missiles, or drones crossing into Russian territory could lead to a nuclear response.
- E- Any aggression launched by a member state of an alliance or bloc against Russia or its allies is considered aggression by the entire alliance.
- F- The presence of weapons of mass destruction in enemy hands, with the potential for use against Russia, may trigger a nuclear response.
- G- The massing of forces near Russian territory or that of its allies for the purpose of delivering nuclear weapons may necessitate a nuclear response.
- H- The deployment of enemy missile defense systems in space constitutes a threat that may warrant the use of nuclear weapons.
- I- Planning and conducting large scale military exercises near Russia's borders or the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons of mass destruction may lead to a nuclear response

Key Reactions to Russia's Amendment of Its Nuclear Doctrine and the Resulting **Conclusions:**

1- United States of America:

Officials at the White House, the Department of Defense, and the State Department considered the announcement of the amended nuclear doctrine to be nothing more than unserious nuclear threats. However, precautionary measures were taken based on NATO's risk assessment, which also led to a reassessment of NATO's stance on the conflict in Ukraine (5). It is worth noting that following Donald Trump's inauguration as President of the United States on January 20, 2025, he decided to arrange a direct meeting with President Putin to discuss the future of the Russia–Ukraine war and ways to stop it (6).

2- European Union:

The EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs described President Putin's decision as "irresponsible" and questioned the timing of the Russian position, which coincided with the thousandth day of the attack on Ukraine. However, a review of the EU's conduct shows that it took several precautionary measures in coordination with NATO in anticipation of Russia possibly carrying out its threats. It is worth noting that Hungary adopted positions contrary to those of the European Union (7).



3- China:

China called for calm and restraint, advocating dialogue and consultation to deescalate the tension on one hand, while on the other, it significantly increased its economic cooperation with Russia, both bilaterally and through the BRICS organization (8).

4- France:

The French President strongly condemned the Russian Federation's escalatory stance in Ukraine and urged his Chinese counterpart to exert all possible influence on Moscow to stop the war in Ukraine. Meanwhile, the French Foreign Minister described the matter as "mere chatter that will not intimidate us" (9)

5- Germany:

The German Foreign Minister commented on President Putin's approval of nuclear retaliation by stating that it "will not intimidate the West." She added that President Putin had repeatedly attempted to spread fear since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, and said it was time to reestablish European security and defense on a new basis. continue to strengthen the transatlantic alliance, and ensure deterrence capabilities. In response, Russia escalated its smear campaign against the German Foreign Minister by broadcasting sexual scandals on TV and social media, which led to her reduced public presence and eventual divorce (10).

6- United Kingdom:

The British Prime Minister emphasized that the ongoing conflict in Ukraine is a pivotal battle to ensure Russia fails, describing it as a serious European security issue.

7- North Korea:

The North Korean President declared that Russia has the right to defend itself and afirmed that North Korea its military and people would always support the Russian Federation's policy to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity against Western hegemony. Notably, on June 19, 2024, the Russian Federation and North Korea signed a comprehensive strategic cooperation agreement. As a result, according to Western reports, North Korea deployed forces to support Russia in the Kursk region (11).

8- Japan:

The Japanese Prime Minister announced that his government remains committed to resolving the territorial dispute and concluding a peace treaty with Russia, despite the current difficulties in Japanese Russian relations.

9- Ukraine:

An advisor at the Ukrainian Center for Foreign Policy explained that the use of certain nuclear missiles and the media platforms that discussed the amendment had been anticipated, but the issue was not taken seriously by Ukraine.

10- Egypt:

Egypt has maintained a neutral stance since the beginning of the Russia Ukraine war to protect its interests. It made no official comment on the news concerning Russia's amended nuclear doctrine, except through a few strategic experts appearing on satellite channels. However, it is certain that Egypt will have its own position should Russia carry out its threat and use nuclear weapons against Ukraine, given the impact this would have on global security and, consequently, on Egypt's national security (12). It is also worth noting that Egypt voted in favor of a draft resolution at the UN General Assembly on February 24, 2025, calling for the immediate withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukraine.

11- United Nations:

On February 24, 2025, the UN General Assembly voted on a draft resolution demanding Russia's immediate withdrawal from Ukraine, supported by the European Union. The resolution was adopted by 93 countries, while 18 opposed and 65 abstained. Previous similar resolutions had received support from over 140 countries. In contrast, the American draft resolution which avoided labeling the Russian intervention as "aggression" failed to gain sufficient votes, receiving support from only 31 countries, despite U.S. pressure on Kyiv to withdraw its resolution. The voting outcome reflects waning international support for Ukraine as the number of neutral countries grows. Moreover, the failure of the American resolution marked a diplomatic defeat for Washington, while reaffirming the EU's consistent and firm stance against Russia.

Gorbachev–Reagan Treaty:

1- The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, signed in 1987 between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, was a historic step toward reducing the nuclear arsenals of

- both countries and marked the beginning of a new era in relations between the Eastern and Western blocs⁽¹³⁾.
- 2-Gorbachev, who came to power in 1985, adopted "the Perestroika" policies, which opened the door for dialogue with the United States, leading to the signing of the treaty after three summits between Gorbachev and Reagan between 1985 and 1987.
- 3- The treaty came in the wake of Cold War tensions and Reagan's labeling of the So-viet Union as an "evil empire." The conflict was linked to a new Russian missile, the "9M729," which the United States and NATO claimed had a range exceeding 500 km, constituting a violation of the treaty.
- 4-U.S. President Donald Trump previously spoke about this violation and threatened to withdraw from the treaty, which led the United States to initiate actual withdrawal procedures.
- 5- The treaty aimed to eliminate an entire class of intermediate range nuclear missiles and included verification procedures for their destruction by inspectors from other countries.

Secondly: Impact on Global Security and Egyptian National Security:

Based on the current situation and the resulting developments, and through monitoring various reactions, several general conclusions and impacts on global security and Egyptian national security have been reached following the Russian Federation's amendment of its nuclear doctrine (14).

- 1- Moscow has created an unstable environment on the international stage, with its new nuclear doctrine contributing to this state; traditional ballistic missile threats are now being integrated with nuclear deterrence. The risk of miscalculation or unintended escalation further complicates the situation.
- 2-Moscow seeks to influence the Trump administration, attempting to send a message through nuclear threats. Trump has expressed a desire to find a solution to the war in Ukraine, and the change in Russia's nuclear doctrine could undermine trust among major powers and hinder negotiations on the renewal or extension of the New START treaty aimed at nuclear arms control.

- 3- Russia possesses the largest number of nuclear approximately warheads. six and is one of nine nuclear armed countries. including the United States, France, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, Israel, and the United Kingdom which has neither confirmed nor denied possession of nuclear weapons. This has only been suggested through leaks or statements from Israeli officials. especially when calls were made to strike Gaza with nuclear weapons. Consequently, countries like Iran and North Korea may see this development as justification to expand their nuclear programs, and major regional powers like Saudi Arabia may demand an urgent peaceful nuclear program a demand previously made to the U.S. as a condition for normalizing relations with Israel which would directly affect Egyptian national security.
- 4- Russia's negotiating position with the West is strengthened, making it more difficult for the West to take escalatory steps without weighing the consequences. Western countries avoid providing Ukraine with long range weapons that could strike targets inside Russia, to prevent any escalation that might lead to a nuclear confrontation.
- 5-Russia is reinforcing its alliances with countries such as China, Belarus, Iran, Central Asian states, and the Caucasus. Cooperation with these nations adds a new dimension to the nuclear doctrine, as all parties seek to achieve strategic balance with the West and prevent Western military superiority. This is evident in efforts to strengthen the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. A prime example is the strategic partnership agreement signed between Russia and Iran in January 2025.
- 6-Ukraine could have maintained strategic balance with Russia by responding to the invasion with a counteroffensive in the Russian Kursk region, potentially improving its position during negotiations. Both sides could exchange territories under their control, forcing Russia to withdraw from Ukrainian territories it seized since the outbreak of the war in February 2022.
- 7- The timing of the release of this doctrine is significant, as it comes amid a tense international



context and heightened competition between major powers. This reinforces the notion that nuclear deterrence is not limited to direct attacks but includes all types of strategic threats. It also makes future nuclear disarmament discussions more difficult and casts a shadow over the goals and efforts of other nations, affecting Egyptian national security.

- 8- Recent global and regional developments indicate that this doctrine is crucial for maintaining Russia's internal stability and confronting external challenges. It reflects a shift in how Russia views the use of nuclear power and signals new trends in Russian strategy, affirming military Moscow's readiness to respond firmly to any threat to its security or vital interests which will undoubtedly impact global security.
- 9-The effects on global security will extend to Egyptian national security due to the interwoven interests. There will be increased political polarization and the use of coer-cive and persuasive policies in dealing with Egypt, especially after Trump's return to power and his desire to implement his election agenda, which includes ending the Russia-Ukraine war even at the expense of his European allies and Ukraine. This will heighten political tensions and influence inter-state relations, which in turn will affect Egyptian national security.
- 10- It is worth noting the failure of the Ukrainian parliament to pass a symbolic resolution affirming the legitimacy of President Zelensky during a session held on February 24, 2025, marking the third anniversary of the Russian war on Ukraine. The resolution received only 218 votes out of the 226 required. Notably, 54 deputies, including 38 from the ruling "Servant of the People" party, abstained from voting. It should be noted that Zelensky's official term ends in May 2025, but elections cannot be sched-uled due to the ongoing state of martial law in the country. This overall situation reflects internal political divisions in Ukraine, which weaken its negotiating position and reduce its capacity to maintain European support, especially as Trump appears aligned with Putin's ideas and intentions a dynamic that could threaten European security.

Potential Challenges to Global Security in Light of Russia's Nuclear Doctrine Shift:

- 1-Global security, according to the United Nations definition, refers to the set of military and diplomatic measures undertaken by states and international organizations such as the UN and the European Union to ensure mutual peace and security across the world $^{(15)}$.
- 2- Conflicts have become increasingly complex due to the trend toward regionalism and the spread of non state armed groups linked to criminal and extremist interests. It is worth noting that the UN Secretary General, during the Global Security Forum held from 13–15 March 2023 in Doha. Qatar, (16) highlighted several challenges facing global security, as follows:
 - A Terrorism.
 - B Military warfare and wars that may involve the use of weapons of mass destruction.
 - C Governments hostile to democracy.
 - D-Natural disasters and the spread of diseases.
 - E Cyberattacks or cyberterrorism.
 - F War crimes or human rights violations.
 - G Climate changes that affect food security and water security.
- 3- Areas of global security according to the United Nations' vision that are likely to be affected using nuclear weapons and which, upon analysis, are found to align with the areas of Egyptian national security:
 - A-Political security: Threats to the safety and security of communities and the protection of the governing systems within countries, and risks of the inability to enhance state authority and control over its territory and people, and to defend against any external military threats or economic ambitions(17).
 - **B** Economic security: Includes threats to the preservation of natural resources and economic wealth, protection of internal and external trade, and addressing economic problems such as low wages, poverty, and declining living standards.
 - C Energy and natural resource security: Represented by threats to the safe use of these resources without external interference, whether military, political, or economic.
 - **D Internal security:** Such as the security of airports and ports and border protection.

- The ability to enforce laws related to immigration and incoming individuals will decline according to international laws, criteria, customs, constitutions, traditions, and ideologies of each country.
- **E Human security:** There will be a decline in the ability to achieve sustainable development goals and the foundations of human security.
- F Cybersecurity: There will be a reduced capacity to defend against and secure against cyberattacks on a state's systems and satellites and to protect the infrastructure and data belonging to the state, its citizens, and its institutions.
- **G Environmental security:** The ability to preserve the environment from causes of extinction, ideological degradation, resource depletion, and to address climate change such as global warming, sea level rise, and increased carbon footprint will be affected.

- H Food security: The global ability to provide safe and sufficient food for all citizens within the state will decline, as well as to develop effective plans to deal with rising commodity prices, food safety, and the implementation of sustainability techniques in agriculture.
- I Doctrinal and religious security: The freedom of individuals to practice religious rituals will be affected due to the imposition of ideology by force.
- J Health security: The ability to provide health protection and prevent diseases resulting from the use of weapons of mass destruction will vanish.
- **K** Water security: The global capacity to provide water according to laws governing its fair and safe usage to ensure a clean life, while protecting and improving the environment, will collapse.

Figure (3) The Potential Impact of the Russian-Ukrainian War on the World (18)





Figure (4) Forces and Factors Shaping the Global Security Landscape (19)

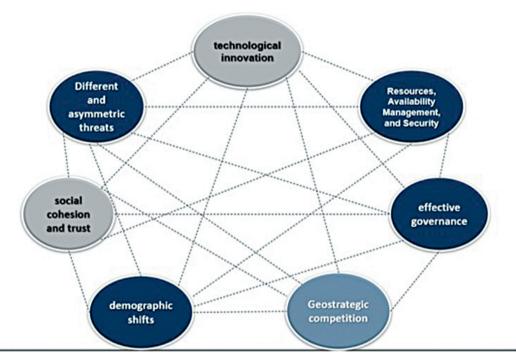
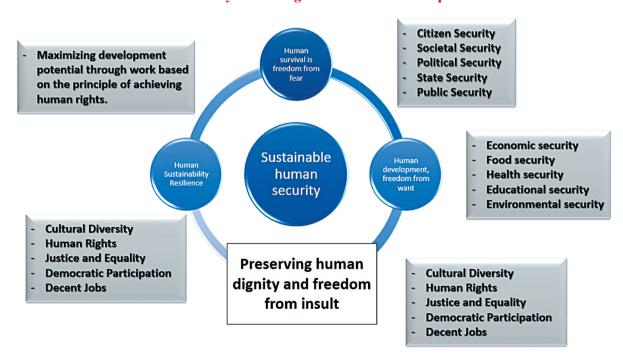


Figure (5) Human Security According to the 1994 UNDP Report (20)



4- Means of Maintaining International Peace and Security to Prevent the Proliferation and **Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction:**

Conflict prevention is, primarily, the most effective means of reducing human suffering in conflicts and the immense economic costs they entail, in addition to their consequences. The United Nations plays a vital role in conflict prevention through the following means (21):

- A- Diplomacy and negotiations.
- B- Mediation and good offices.
- C- Investigation and conciliation.
- D- International arbitration.
- E- International law, in accordance with The Hague agreements and treaties establishing the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court.
- F- Military intervention whether peacekeeping or peace enforcement prior to the stage of us-ing weapons of mass destruction.

Potential Impacts on Global Security and, Consequently, Egyptian National Security in the **Event of Russia Using Nuclear Weapons:**

- 1- If Russia uses nuclear weapons, there will be effects on human security related to survival, such as genetic deformities affecting the genetic engineering of humans, plants, and animals, as well as distorting the future of genome science⁽²²⁾.
- 2- Threats to state stability, such as environmental degradation, infectious diseases, and climate change.
- 3- Damage to the local and global economy and a halt in global trade movement, with impacts on the Suez Canal and other supply routes and chains, in addition to a complete halt in tourism.
- 4- Impact on energy sources and natural resources, and possibly the cessation and disruption of export and import activities.
- 5-Increased cyberattacks on state systems and satellites, along with the destruction of infrastructure and suprastructure related to national data, citizens, and institutions.
- 6-Food shortages and lack of healthcare protection as a direct negative consequence of nuclear weapons use.
- 7- Deepening international division polarization amid the ongoing Russia-Ukraine crisis and the failure of diplomatic efforts by some major powers in the international community to reach a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

Third: Study Findings and Proposed Countermeasures:

Based on the study, it is evident that the potential motives behind Russia's revision of its nuclear doctrine focus on the following:

- 1- The escalating tension between Russia and the West, especially the United States and NATO. due to economic sanctions and the alliance's expansion with the accession of Finland and Sweden bringing the total number of member states to 32 which the Russian Federation perceives as a threat to its national security. The revision of the nuclear doctrine serves to deliver a clear message to the West that Russia will not hes-itate to defend its interests using all available means.
- 2- NATO's military presence in the Baltic states, Poland, and Romania, as well as West-ern military support to Ukraine particularly in the domain of long and medium range missiles poses a direct security threat on Russia's borders, prompting it to develop its defensive strategy and bolster its armed forces, including its nuclear arsenal.
- 3- The need to maintain strategic deterrence. Russia seeks to ensure the continued effectiveness of its nuclear deterrent power not only against states possessing nuclear weapons but also against any conventional threats that may compromise its national security. This means that the use of nuclear weapons may not be limited to responding to a nuclear attack but could also extend to countering conventional threats that Russia deems dangerous to its national security.
- 4- Russia's introduction of these amendments regarding the use of nuclear weapons serves, in part, as justification for the freedom to carry out preemptive nuclear strikes even tactical ones. This indicates that Russia may not resort to nuclear solutions only in response to a nuclear attack but may use nuclear weapons to respond to strikes it considers existential. The decision to revise the nuclear doctrine is linked to the escalation path pursued by its Western adversaries (i.e., the conflict in Ukraine), as Ukraine attacked Moscow and breached its western borders in the "Kursk" region, and Moscow is still attempting to repel the Ukrainian assault.
- 5- Within a complex historical and political context, international relations today are characterized by tension and instability, especially between Russia, the United States, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Since the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed a decline in



the level of cooperation among major powers due to global changes, giving rise to a new arms race and a renewed strategic rivalry.

Assessment and Potential Scenarios Related to Russia's Nuclear Doctrine Revision:

It is likely that the coming period will witness a state of uncertainty among political and mil-itary leaders regarding confrontations between Russia and the West (NATO) and the use of new weapons by both parties on the battlefield particularly following Trump's statement on December 12, 2024, that he does not approve the use of American weapons to target Russian territory. In addition, on February 22, 2025, he declared that Ukraine had entered a losing war, describing the Ukrainian president as "an unelected dictator." In this context, "Trump" and his administration will continue mediating between the conflicting parties, whether through the Saudi or Turkish mediation tracks, and Ukraine may eventually request Chinese mediation. Generally, the terms will be unfair to Ukraine, especially after Russia's full restoration of its territories in Kursk on April 26, 2025. (The Houston Method and the French School) approach were employed to build and explore scenarios. The analysis resulted in the following assessment and potential scenarios:

First Scenario: Increased U.S. Pressure to End the War Amid the Growing Features of a New Cold War, Especially with Europe

(This is the most likely and optimistic scenario with more positive implications than negative ones for global security and Egypt's national security)

Justifications:

- A- Trump's overconfidence in his ability to make deals in the most difficult circumstances could lead him to exert maximum pressure on both parties to sit at the negotiation table, aiming to achieve a major foreign policy success during his second term. He also desires to halt U.S. military and financial support to Ukraine due to the economic losses incurred from this support. He might even be lenient in not objecting to granting Russia parts of Ukrainian territory in exchange for ending the war especially given Putin's alignment with and praise for Trump in clear media statements on January 24, 2025. This indicates a significant convergence in their visions and ideas due to their similarly charismatic personalities.
- B- According to the study of the behavior of EU countries, Ukraine will reject this proposal,

- considering it a defeat for Ukraine and a threat to European collective security. This could lead to the disintegration or weakening of the European Union, particularly with the rise of the farright in Europe and the presence of states acting unilaterally, most notably Hungary. It may also lead to attempts by opponents of Trump's policies to repeat an assassination attempt against him.
- C- There is a significant convergence between Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea through agreements, whether in joint defense or strategic cooperation. This reduces the like lihood of the U.S. or Europe escalating toward a nuclear war. Therefore, direct military escalation may be replaced by a cold and economic war.
- D- On February 23, 2025, the Ukrainian President announced his readiness to step down immediately in exchange for Ukraine joining NATO, stressing his desire for the U.S. President to be a partner to Kyiv and not merely a mediator with Moscow. However, he rejected Trump's statements regarding Ukraine's debt to the U.S. of \$500 billion in military aid, asserting that grants should not be considered loans. He also pointed to the near conclusion of an agreement between Kyiv and Washington granting access to Ukraine's natural resources in return for security support. This effort reflects the Ukrainian president's attempts to reach understandings with the West especially Washington seeking security guaran-tees, as well as trying to bring Ukraine under NATO's umbrella at any cost, though this remains unlikely.

Second Scenario: Increased Risk of a Nuclear Conflict

(Less likely and pessimistic, with highly negative impacts on global security and **Egypt's national security)**

A-The deliberate ambiguity in Russia's conditions for using nuclear weapons increases the possibility of unintended escalation due to miscalculations by intelligence agencies. This also leads to a new arms race as Western countries seek to bolster their military capabilities to confront Russian threats. Consequently, the conflict in Ukraine could be prolonged or even expand to other parts of Europe. Moreover, proxy wars could intensify in troubled regions around the world. Given the difficulty of any party offering concessions except in the case of Russia's use of weapons of mass destruction this could reshape the global order, as happened after World War II.

B- In light of President Trump's diplomatic openness toward Russia, U.S. protection of Eu-ropeans now appears increasingly shaky. This has led to growing calls for a European "nuclear umbrella," potentially utilizing the arsenals of France and the UK independently from the U.S.

Third Scenario: Direct Confrontation Between the U.S. and Europe Against Russia and Its Allies (Currently unlikely, with catastrophic consequences for global security)

- A- Despite the fact that the U.S. and the Russian Federation have not engaged in any direct wars and have no intention to do so because such a conflict could lead to World War III, potentially resulting in the deaths of millions and affecting all countries economically and socially, in addition to destroying food and health security both sides possess over 5,000 nuclear warheads. Their conflicts have historically been through proxies, such as the Soviet Union fighting the U.S. in Vietnam, and the U.S. fighting the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. What is happening now in Syria, Libya, and across Africa are all proxy wars, with an increasing reliance on private security companies to achieve state objectives. However, neither side truly desires a direct confrontation.
- B- U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe remain under American control and are carried by aircraft and crews under U.S. command. These weapons can be provided to non nuclear allies for use during wartime under NATO supervision. However, exchanging or securing nuclear protection among European countries faces significant obstacles. The UK can only launch its nuclear weapons from submarines, which require major upgrades and are based in Cape Canaveral under U.S. supervision, relying on U.S. designed nuclear warheads. French nuclear weapons would also need redesigning to be launched from non-French aircraft or submarines if France even agreed to such an arrangement in the first place.

Proposed Egyptian Action Plan:

1- Adopt scenario planning methodologies and tools starting now, with a strategic pivot southward towards African and South American countries as a potential and necessary alternative to reliance on Russia, the East, or the West for Egypt's market needs of basic commodities and raw materials essential for industry. This should include expanding agreements that allow Egypt to import meat and agricultural products based

on the theory of virtual water exploitation from countries with water abundance and strong agricultural and livestock production.

2- Relevant state entities should immediately begin developing precautionary plans in the event that major powers resort to nuclear weapons. This includes conducting studies on managing such complex and multifaceted crises and establishing clear, feasible implementation mechanisms in line with available human, technical, and financial resources to confront any military threats or economic ambitions. These plans should align with the concepts of national defense preparedness and continuity of operations.

3- Safeguard natural resources and economic wealth, protect domestic trade and navigation through the Suez Canal, and forge partnerships with key countries and multinational corporations involved in shipping agencies. Long term contracts should link their interests with Egypt.

- 4- Ensure the safe use of energy and natural resources, work towards Egypt's transition to clean energy, and advance the production of blue and green hydrogen and their derivatives. Implement electricity production projects utilizing wind, solar, and wave kinetic energy. Expand the construction of desalination plants even if costly and use desalinated water to reclaim land and develop new agricultural products reliant on desalinated and saline water.
- 5- Enhance the security systems of airports and seaports, secure borders, and enforce laws governing migration and incoming travelers in accordance with legal standards and international norms. This includes preventing the smuggling of raw materials that could be used in the production of weapons of mass destruction to avoid any future accusations of Egypt facilitating such actions for the Russian Federation through cooperation in the Dabaa Nuclear Power Plant project.
- 6- Increase defense and cybersecurity capabilities to counter cyberattacks on national systems, aiming to achieve sustainable digital operational excellence for Egyptian government institutions during crises, in accordance with the principles of Business Continuity Plans (BCP).
- 7- Develop effective strategies to manage rising commodity prices and food safety, and adopt sustainability technologies in the fields of food and health security.
- 8- Emphasize local manufacturing of ammunition, navigation systems, and guidance technologies.



- 9- Expand the use of artificial intelligence in enhancing food and health security by monitoring geological changes, plant growth stages, and animal movements through smart applications powered by machine learning. These systems should integrate with drones to support agricultural and livestock professionals in dealing with environmental and health risks affecting livestock and plants particularly those used in pharmaceutical industries.
- 10- Explore the possibility of integrating the East Mediterranean Gas Forum with Western Mediterranean gas schemes involving Morocco and Algeria and enhance cooperation with Nigeria in this field.
- 11- Consider establishing a Smart Domestic Front Command using business process reengineering (BPR) to rationalize expenditures. This should be modeled on successful experiences of other nations that have formed internal command structures to ensure domestic stability during wars and crises. It would also raise both individual and socie-tal security awareness, preventing impulsive or poorly calculated decisions during actual crises or wars, which could have negative consequences if made arbitrarily. Furthermore, it would contribute to the implementation of continuity of operations plans and coordination between various state agencies based on a timeline and clear metrics and indicators.

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Conclusion:

- 1. Despite attempts by Russia and Ukraine to reset the rules of war between them, it must be emphasized that there are no guarantees in warfare. The margin for error resulting from miscalculation or reactive measures could open the door to far worse scenarios, as long as the rules of the game cannot be controlled in a match where the specter of a third world war a nuclear war looms. Even if current realities suggest that the situation has not yet deteriorated to that extent, particularly following Trump's return to the White House.
- 2. Undoubtedly, the situation is becoming increasingly dangerous with the expansion of military operations, the growing role of nonstate actors and the use of mercenaries, and the lack of any prospects for negotiations to stop the war amid complete contradiction between both sides' demands. Thus, the question arises: could there be agreements to neutralize nuclear power plants and shield them from risks in order to prevent slipping into a nuclear disaster that would impact global peace and security and, by extension, Egyptian national security.
- 3. As the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the first of its kind to occur in regions that contain nuclear facilities, it has produced a set of important rules concerning how the international body responsible for nuclear safety and security namely the International Atomic Energy Agency should operate and implement safeguards. However, what remains most crucial is the commitment of the warring parties to these rules. At the same time, questions arise: what consequences follow for the party that violates these rules? What if all conflicting parties are committing breaches? And if sanctions are imposed on violators, what happens if these sanctions fail to affect the targeted state?
- 4. The study reveals that the world is heading toward significant transformations in the structure of alliances and the patterns of warfare, which may include new economic and cold wars. There have been increasing attempts by Russia to reshape the multibloc, multipolar international order to serve its own interests, by expanding its influence in various regions and establishing strong relations with China, Iran, North Korea, and African nations without neglecting the importance of the Gulf states. These efforts include the use of smart power, as well as military and economic inter-ventions.
- 5. According to international agreements, including the 1970 Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), command and control over French or British nuclear weapons must remain in the hands of Paris or London even when stationed on allied territories. While European acceptance of Washington's nuclear control was tolerable during the Cold War, Trump's rise to power and his anti Europe policies now compel European nuclear states to seek alternative options for a European nuclear security umbrella.

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The Future of the Russian Ukrainian War In Light of Russia's Amendment to Its Nuclear Doctrine And Its Impact on Global **Security and Egyptian National Security**

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This article sheds light on the political, economic, and strategic implications of the Russia-Ukraine war in light of Russia's revision of its nuclear doctrine. It addresses a central issue revolving around the extent to which this war affects the structure of the global order, the existing strategic balances, and their future trajectories especially amid the complexities of the international scene and the presidency of Donald Trump in the United States of America. The article also considers the multiplicity of state and non-state actors with differing goals and motives concerning global issues, most notably the Russia-Ukraine war. The article aims to provide a situational assessment of the potential shifts in Russian behavior following the amendment of its nuclear doctrine. This is pursued through a review of historical and political contexts, a discussion of the underlying motivations, and an analysis of the impact on Russian policy, the war in Ukraine, and how these changes influence the Russian Federation's relations with the West and the stability of the international system. It also examines the creation of an influential and interactive environment in global security. It is noteworthy that the world has recently witnessed debate surrounding the Russian Federation's revision of its nuclear doctrine, particularly in light of the war's developments and Ukraine's ability to breach Russian territory in the Kursk region. This reflects the pressures and challenges Moscow is facing in a complex and ever changing international environment. Russia's nuclear doctrine has long been a critical element of its deterrent capability and defense of its vital interests. However, the talk of such revisions signals a qualitative shift in Russia's perception of how to employ its nuclear power especially following France's call for European countries to focus on a nuclear security umbrella for Europe.

Keywords: Nuclear doctrine, Russian Federation, Ukraine, Global security, Egyptian national security, International system, State relations.

مستقبل الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية في ضوء تعديل روسيا عقيدتها النووية وتأثيرها على الأمن العالمي والأمن القومي المصري

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ـــالوستخلص: ـــ

تُسلط المقالة الضوء على تداعيات الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية سياسيًا واقتصاديًا واستراتيجيًا، في ظل تعديل روسيا عقيدتها النووية، ضمن إشكالية مركزية تتمحور حول مدى تأثير هذه الحرب على بنية النظام العالمي والتوازنات الاستراتيجية القائمة ومساراتها المستقبلية، في ظل تعقد المشهد الدولي، وتولى « ترامب» رئاسة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، علاوة على تعدد الفواعل من الدول ومن غير الدول، وتباين أهدافها ودوافعها تجاه مختلف القضايا العالمية وأبرزها الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية، كما تهدف المقالة إلى تقديم تقدير موقف بشأن التحولات المحتملة للسلوك الروسي عقب تعديل عقيدتها النووية، من خلال استعراض السياقات التاريخية والسياسية ومناقشة الدوافع الكامنة وراءها، بالإضافة إلى تحليل تأثيرها في السياسة الروسية، والحرب في أوكرانيا، وكيف تؤثر هذه التعديلات في علاقات روسيا الاتحادية بالغرب وفي استقرار النظام الدولي ككل وخلق بيئة مؤثرة وتفاعلية في الأمن العالمي، ونشير إلى أن العالم شهد أخيرًا نقاشًا بشأن قيام روسيا الاتحادية بتعديل عقيدتها النووية خاصة مع تطورات الحرب، وتمكن أوكرانيا من اختراق الأراضي الروسية في منطقة (كورسـك)، وهو يعكس الضـغوط والتحديات التي تواجهها موسكو في ظل بيئة دولية معقدة ومتغيرة، لطالما كانت العقيدة النووية لروسيا عنصرًا حاسمًا في قدرتها على الردع والدفاع عن مصالحها الحيويـة، غيـر أن الحديث عن التعديلات يشـير إلى تغير نوعي في الرؤية الروسـية لكيفية استخدام قوتها النووية، خاصة عقب مطالبة فرنسا الدول الأوروبية بالتركيز على مظلة أمان نووي لأوروبا.

الكلمات المغتاحية: العقيدة النووية، روسيا الاتحادية، أوكر انيا، الأمن العالمي، الأمن القومي المصري-النظام الدولي، العلاقات الدولية.