

The dangers of the Russian invasion of Ukraine for Europe

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Abstract:

The Russian invasion of Ukraine resulted in serious effects on the European Union countries, and those effects included the economic, political and military aspects, The Russian invasion led to a significant increase in the prices of basic commodities, food grains and energy, It also led to a high rate of inflation and the flight of capital flows from the markets due to the feeling of insecurity among investors, Perhaps one of the most prominent economic and political effects is the increase in migrant flows to European countries , As for the military effects, the Russian invasion of Ukraine resulted in the European Union countries feeling insecure, so they sought to search for new alternatives, such as increasing the rate of military spending or joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Sweden and Finland are perhaps the countries most affected by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, as they are Russia's direct neighbors.

Keywords: Risks ‘ Russian, invasion ‘ politically ‘ economically.

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1- Introduction :

The study importance: *The importance of the topic appears in shedding light on the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on European countries, from the economic, political and military perspectives, Especially those countries that depend entirely on importing gas and food grains from Russia, The research also deals with the political effects of the Russian invasion on European countries.*

On the military side, the study will address the alternatives offered to European countries to achieve internal security and to avoid the repetition of the scenario of the Russian invasion with another country.

It also appears the importance of research in addressing the devastating effects of sanctions imposed on Russia , Those sanctions, which led to a double increase in the prices of grain and energy, and were the direct cause of the high rate of inflation.

The study problems:

1- *The problem of the research lies in the fact that the Russian war on Ukraine is a political war waged by the USA by proxy in an effort to prevent the emergence of a new economic alliance between Russia, China and North Korea, and this alliance is likely to lead the world. In the future*

2- *The problem is compounded by the fact that Russia launched that war to prevent the countries of Eastern Europe from joining NATO, and to prevent the presence of NATO on the territory of the countries that became independent from Russia. In other words, Russia seeks to protect national security on its border with Europe.*

3- *Russia is a huge economic and military power that controls more than a third of natural gas exports to Europe, so stopping energy exports will negatively affect the entire European economy.*

4- *The allegations of the United States of America that it could compensate the European Union for the lack of its imports of Russian gas is a claim that is difficult to implement in practice, especially with the rise in energy prices and with the sanctions imposed.*

Research method :

The research will address the most important effects of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the European Union countries from an economic, political and military perspective, by reading the scientific references that dealt with the effects of the war on European security, with a statement of the most important alternatives for European countries to protect national security.

2- Russian invasion of Ukraine:

2.1- Reasons for the invasion :

A) Russia's desire to secure its borders with Europe and Asia by including many countries that had previously separated and independent after the collapse of the Soviet Union , President Putin believes that Russia is a great country, and in order to remain so, it must control the strategic region in Eurasia, In the past, it fought successive wars with the Polish, Lithuanian and Swedish kingdoms and achieved a crushing victory and controlled the Caspian Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, but the dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the loss of those gains. (¹)

B) Many Central and Eastern European countries have sought to obtain full membership in the European Union and NATO, with increasing interdependence between them and the European Union politically, economically and security , Hence, Russia felt the danger because most of those countries are adjacent to the Russian borders.

c) The control of the European Union over Ukraine would lead to the full European control of the trade lanes between Russia and between Europe and Asia.

D) Russia is in awe and dismay at the expansion of NATO to include the entirety of Eastern Europe, the three Baltic states and the Black Sea.

E) Russia realizes that Europe's success in including Ukraine means the presence of NATO on the Russian-Ukrainian borders, which threatens Russia's national security and impedes its economic and military interests.

F) Russia also realizes that the West's control of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea represents an impenetrable line of defense that stands in the way of Russia's ambitions to expand in the direction of Europe.

G) The European Union and NATO were keen to include Ukraine in the Union, in order to ensure control of the eastern gateway to the continent of Europe, in addition to achieving security, economic and political gains. (²)

3.- The effects of the Russian invasion militarily and security:

A) As a result of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, the European Union realized the military imbalance between Russia, which possesses a huge military arsenal, and the European Union with its economic formation, The Russian war on Ukraine alerted the European Union to the possibility of a wider invasion of Estonia and Latvia. ⁽³⁾

B) Finland has recorded numerous violations of its airspace, The NATO combat aircraft, which maintain security and order in the Baltic states, were also intercepted dozens of times.⁽⁴⁾

The West has become expecting a repeat of the Ukrainian scenario with other countries neighboring Russia, Russia's possession of a huge arsenal of weapons made the countries of Europe not exclude the possibility that the countries of Eastern Europe would be subjected to a Russian attack similar to the attack of Ukraine.

But the situation may be very different, because Ukraine is not a member of NATO, while most of the countries of Eastern Europe got membership in NATO.

Hence, according to politicians' expectations, Russia will not take such a step for fear of a reaction, as it is possible that NATO will launch a preemptive strike that will prevent Russia from undertaking a similar invasion. ⁽⁵⁾

European countries, despite their remarkable concern, are aware of NATO's enormous capacity, military superiority, and capabilities to fight Russia.

The question is: What if Russia used nuclear weapons?.

I think If Russia decides to attack Ukraine with nuclear weapons, NATO countries will likely respond on the grounds that the effect of nuclear weapons will cross the border and affect the countries surrounding Ukraine. NATO could respond by using conventional weapons against Russian strategic sites, or similarly with nuclear weapons as there are several options available to it.

The United States has about 150 B61 nuclear bombs — located in five NATO countries Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Turkey — and

the United States, the United Kingdom and France have long-range capabilities for NATO-sponsored nuclear attacks.

However, if Putin turns the Russo-Ukrainian war into a nuclear conflict, given the West's persistent tendency to damage the Russian economy, Europe may witness greater devastation than was seen in Japan, where nuclear weapons were used only once, in 1945.

About this moment and the possibility of Putin dealing with nuclear weapons, Haines told the US Senate Armed Services Committee yesterday that the United States does not believe there is any "imminent" threat that Putin will use nuclear weapons, even as concerns grow in Washington that increased Western support for Ukraine will provoke Russia.

She pointed out that - that is, Putin - may resort to nuclear weapons "if he believes that he is losing the war in Ukraine", especially if he believes that NATO is either interfering or is about to intervene , "But there are a lot of things Putin will do in the context of escalation before he uses a nuclear weapon, and he's likely to send some signals other than what he's done so far before doing that," she said. (6)

As a result of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, some Scandinavian countries such as Sweden and Norway sought to strengthen military cooperation with NATO, These two lengths are of great importance to NATO in the field of military defense (7).

It seems that the signing of the NATO support agreement by Sweden and Finland will allow the use of their weapons and equipment in any military activity carried out by NATO in the future.

The Russian-Ukrainian crisis resulted in dispelling Europe's dreams about including Ukraine in NATO and preventing NATO from deploying defensive missiles on the Russian-Ukrainian borders, and thus Russia ensured security with European countries.

Russia is aware, that if Ukraine joins NATO, this means a direct border threat to Russia, as it allows NATO to deploy medium-range missiles on the border with Russia, making it a military threat. Therefore, Putin's message was clear to stop the western advance towards his country's borders, Putin wants an eternal Western pledge not to accept Ukraine as a member of NATO, in addition to NATO's withdrawal from front countries, such as

Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. In other words, Russia is seeking to demarcate the security map in Europe, to protect its security and consolidate its influence.

Perhaps one of the most prominent results of the Russian war on Ukraine was that Finland and Sweden sought to seriously consider joining NATO, and there is no doubt that the accession of Finland in particular would pose an imminent danger to Russia, because Finland is located on the borders of the Russian city of Petersburg, which puts Russia in NATO's range of fire.

The Russian war on Ukraine has resulted in serious military and security consequences that directly threaten European countries. Russia does not stop its ambitions when invading Ukraine, but will seek to build medium-range missile bases to threaten Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.

Putin doubled his hostile rhetoric towards Western countries, threatening a quick retaliatory response, against any country that interferes in the Ukraine war, and interferes with a strategic threat to Russia.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has had very important results, which is that the capabilities of the Russian army will not resolve the conflict and will not achieve success in the short term, In the future, the European Union countries must increase their military expenditures to the degree that would enable them to confront the Russian presence on their borders.

Perhaps one of the most prominent military and security effects of the Russian war on Ukraine is to encourage China to launch an attack similar to the invasion of Taiwan, and China may believe that the United States will be limited to imposing sanctions and will avoid military confrontation. Furthermore, the Chinese would likely envision a successful invasion that would require the initial use of overwhelming firepower, but would be concerned about the potentially high cost of an amphibious invasion against a well-armed Taiwanese defense force.

Russia's war has strengthened the Western alliance in the immediate term, The longer and harder the Ukrainian resistance fights, the more likely Russia may deploy more aggressive tactics to try to achieve their aims. "This is what we would call a war of attrition.

Despite Russian forces launching heavy attacks and advancing across Ukraine, the Russian military overall performed poorly during the initial phases of the invasion, surprising many observers and analysts. ⁽⁸⁾

Reports indicated that Russia’s military and political leadership appeared surprised by the military’s lack of progress and the level of resistance from Ukrainian forces.⁽⁹⁾ As Director of National Intelligence Avril Haines stated to Congress in early March, “We assess Moscow underestimated the strength of Ukraine’s resistance and the degree of internal military challenges we are observing, which include an ill-constructed plan, morale issues and considerable logistical issues.⁽¹⁰⁾

During the initial phases of the invasion, the Russian military appeared not to use many of the systems and capabilities it had amassed prior to the invasion. Observers noted little evidence of Russia conducting electronic warfare or using advanced intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets, such as unmanned aerial vehicles. ⁽¹¹⁾ Additionally, despite having significant artillery, rocket artillery, and air capabilities, Russian forces appeared restrained in their use of these systems and capabilities during the initial phases of the invasion.⁽¹²⁾ Some analysts speculated that this occurred because the Russian military underestimated the level of Ukrainian resistance, and that it indicated an initial hesitation to inflict collateral damage on civilian targets.⁽¹³⁾

Many observers and analysts have been surprised and impressed by Ukraine’s military resistance. Despite having a smaller military than Russia, and a quantitative and qualitative disadvantage in equipment and resources, the Ukrainian Armed Forces (UAF) have proven resilient and adaptive, Analysts note the UAF has demonstrated greater flexibility than the Russian military and a willingness to adapt to changing conditions to exploit Russian missteps and weaknesses.⁽¹⁴⁾ The UAF also has been benefiting from high levels of motivation and recruitment.

Observers have been less clear on the state of Ukrainian losses, although most agree Ukraine has suffered significant personnel and equipment losses.⁽¹⁵⁾ Ukraine has operated air defenses that play a crucial role in the conflict, especially around Kyiv, but documented losses of strategic air defense systems have occurred. Other losses include tank, artillery, and

rocket artillery systems. Although Ukraine has effectively exploited person-operated weaponry and guerrilla tactics against Russia, Ukrainian officials have pressed other countries to supply needed armor, artillery, and rocket artillery systems to enable Ukraine to conduct larger-scale counteroffensives against the Russian military.⁽¹⁶⁾

In addition, Ukraine will likely need logistics and supplies not only to replace losses but also to sustain continued combat operations.

politically The latest source of vulnerabilities is related to European domestic politics. It is possible that Russia is trying to support instability in some countries, in particular Estonia and Latvia, which has large disaffected Russian-speaking minorities. In the far south, it faces Greece

Cyprus has severe economic difficulties, and the leadership of Hungary has shown some sympathy with Vladimir Putin. However, none of these countries is likely to risk challenging the EU or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in one of the issues of fundamental political importance such as Sanctions imposed on Russia. These countries may complicate the decision-making process

European countries differ on how to respond to the Russian threat, especially the Baltic states and Poland, some are discussing the deployment of combat forces and a permanent presence on the territory of the eastern Allies. Especially Italy, Spain, Greece and Slovakia, in addition to tightening sanctions on Russia while other countries would like to return to keep things as they are

The Russian invasion of Ukraine showed European weakness in all fields, especially the security and military field, and drew attention to what European countries need in the future to achieve European security and advance the military file.

What many northern European countries are seeking now is how to protect the borders of the European continent from Russian encroachment. Although the European countries realize that NATO is a striking force to be reckoned with, these countries still need to strengthen their forces militarily and protect the eastern borders bordering Russia

The practical reality confirms that some Eastern European countries such as Latvia and Lithuania will not be able to confront any possible Russian

attack on their lands, nor will they be able to confront the huge Russian arsenal.

What Russia currently fears is an increase in the extension of NATO's victory to all countries bordering its borders, and this could be achieved if Finland joined the alliance , That country that shares long borders with Russia, NATO can impose its control over it as soon as Finland joins it

Russia is the only country capable of threatening the security of the United States of America because it has the second largest nuclear and missile arsenal in the world, and on this basis, the United States of America designed the missile defense system to protect American soil from what it called ballistic missile attacks, which made it work to create a new missile shield project In Ukraine, after Poland and the Czech Republic (¹⁷)

3.1- Russia's threat to the security of Eastern and Northern European countries:

As far as Sweden's security is concerned, Russia's role and actions in the neighborhood are particularly important. Over time, military activity in Sweden's neighborhood has increased and Russia has strengthened its capability in the Arctic and along the country's western border. For the time being, however, the majority of Russian ground forces are deployed in Ukraine. Consequently, Russia's conventional military capability is temporarily weakened along Russia's western border. Russia's increased military presence in Belarus and the two countries' coordinated actions have security implications, including for the security environment of Poland and the Baltic countries. Gotland's strategic vulnerability has also increased. The military-strategic significance of the Arctic region has grown, and Russia has gradually built up its military capabilities there. Sweden actively contributes to peaceful, stable and sustainable development with respect for the regulatory framework under international law.⁽¹⁸⁾

In Finland, Russia's invasion of Ukraine has prompted the Government and Parliament to consider the issue of NATO membership. In mid-April 2022, the Finnish Government presented a report to the Parliament on the changes in the security environment. This report does not include a direct recommendation, but a Finnish NATO membership appears from the analysis as the primary option to best safeguard Finland's security. Denmark holds a

defence opt-out that excludes it from participation in the EU Common Security and Defence Policy. A referendum on abandoning this opt-out will be held in June 2022.

Like Sweden, many Western countries have suspended bilateral cooperation with Russian government representatives and institutions. In March 2022, Russia was excluded from the Council of Europe, and in April 2022 it was suspended from the UN Human Rights Council. Cooperation in the Arctic Council has been put on hold by the seven Western Arctic states, who unanimously agreed to refrain from taking part in meetings with Russia in that forum. The Barents Euro-Arctic Council, the Council of the Baltic Sea States and the Northern Dimension decided to suspend Russia (member) and Belarus (observer) from participation until further notice (¹⁹)

The aim of Sweden's security policy is to guarantee the country's independence and self-determination, safeguard our sovereignty and our fundamental values, and preserve our freedom of action in the face of political, military or other pressure. Non-participation in military alliances has historically served Sweden well.

4-Economic effects of the Russian invasion :

4.1-food security risks:

The Russian war on Ukraine had serious consequences in the field of food security, as Russia ranks first in the world in the field of wheat export, and Ukraine is the sixth exporter of wheat in the world. In addition to the above, Russia ranks first in the production of nitrogen fertilizers, and Russia directs its exports of food grains to the European continent, North Africa and Central Asia.

The international community has joined hands in support of the sanctions imposed on Russian exports to Europe and Asia, and the embargo includes food commodities, grains and many manufactured goods that are indispensable to the European market.

Major shippers, concerned about violating international sanctions or the safety of their crews, have halted or curtailed many of their services to and from Russia. The United States, United Kingdom, and European Union have banned Russian-flagged ships from entering their ports (with some exceptions, including for energy-related cargos). Meanwhile, sanctions have

taken much needed capacity out of the global air cargo market and significantly increased cargo rates. Russia has closed its airspace to airplanes owned, registered, or controlled by more than 30 countries in retaliation for sanctions. As a result, cargo carriers now have to divert flights while also avoiding wars one areas. Some suppliers will need to use slower or more expensive modes of transportation. The shipping industry, which plays a major role in international trade and global supply chains, was facing a shortage of vessels and containers when international sanctions drove up crude oil prices, which further increased shipping costs. The situation is exacerbated by a shortfall in shipping crews due to the war. Some analysts expect the surge in container rates and insurance costs to continue to drive up freight costs worldwide. ⁽²⁰⁾

the prices of crude oil, natural gas, fertilizers, and key minerals and commodities, including rare earths and grains, increased sharply. Russia and Ukraine together account for a significant share of global wheat, corn, and sunflower oil exports, and they are major suppliers to markets in Europe and the Middle East. In addition, a number of industries around the world depend on Russian and Ukrainian inputs for which there are limited alternative sources of supply, including neon , palladium , nickel (EV batteries), and titanium .

Russia and Belarus, also affected by many sanctions due to its support of Russia, are two of the world's largest potash producers, a key ingredient in agricultural fertilizers. Global fertilizer prices had already soared to multi-year highs in 2021, following a surge in natural gas and coal prices and export restrictions by a number of potash-producing countries.

The war-induced disruptions in fertilizer manufacturing will likely drive up prices further and put next year's agricultural supplies under stress by reducing crop yields and output quality.

4.2- The economic sanctions on trade to Russia :

More than 80 per cent of Russia's daily foreign exchange transactions and half of its commerce is in US dollars. The United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and Japan have declared intentions to target banks and rich individuals, while Germany has put a stop to a major Russian gas pipeline project. Russian central bank reserves abroad have been

frozen, and its banks have limited access to the international payments system SWIFT, though energy transactions and payment of gas bills will still be allowed. These sanctions, which are more severe than the ones imposed in 2014 following the Russian annexation of Crimea, have been deployed in a first tranche, targeting some of Russia's state-owned banks block it from trading in its debt on US, European and Japanese markets. The EU is also restricting access to European capital markets, preventing access to funds stored by EU banks, and prohibiting commerce between the EU and the two rebel-controlled territories. A partial closure of SWIFT to some Russian banks and the freezing of Russian central bank assets puts in the spotlight on Western bank claims on Russian entities where, according to the BIS, the largest exposures are for banks in Austria, France and Italy. Russian bank subsidiaries outside Russia are facing severe stress, according to the ECB, and may be forced to shutter ⁽²¹⁾

4.3- The impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on European energy imports:

The European Union is the most vulnerable of the major economies, not only to increasing costs, but also to the risk of energy shortages. Almost one quarter of the EU's crude oil imports from outside the EU, and almost half of the EU's imports for natural gas, come from Russia. The EU energy dependency rate, measured by the share of net imports (imports minus exports) in gross inland energy consumption (defined as the sum of energy produced and net imports), shows that the EU relies upon imports to meet more than 60 per cent of its energy needs. This means that the reaction to a surge in energy prices in the EU depends not only on the energy intensity of imports of EU Member States but also the share of imports from Russia. European reliance on Russian gas varies from zero in Spain to about 40 per cent in Germany and Italy but much higher in eastern Europe such as Czech Republic and Bulgaria. With summer coming, gas supply shortages in 2022 may not disrupt the economy too much, but the most crucial period if there are interruptions to gas supplies will be next winter. Rebuilding gas in storage over the summer will keep gas prices elevated. There is likely to be a significant investment in green energy in Europe and on port facilities to import LPG to reduce reliance on Russia, though this will take some time to

build up: this will further add to GDP. Were sanctions to be placed on Russia's energy exports (i.e., Western nations could refuse to buy oil and gas from the big Russian energy giants such as Gazprom or Rosneft) or were Russian gas exports used as a tool for leverage through lower supply, European energy prices would rise precipitously. If that happens, European energy prices will probably exceed the \$140 per barrel observed in 2008. ⁽²²⁾

Europe is largely dependent on Russian gas, whose imports have been halted under sanctions, and Unfortunately for Europe, alternative suppliers are limited. Diplomatic efforts from the US and the EU to have some contingency plans (the US reached out to Qatar, the EU had discussion with Algeria and Morocco – who have been having tensions disrupting supply to Spain etc.) appear mostly intended to send a signal to Russia and to reassure markets so that prices do not shoot up further. Practically, Norway does not have much leeway to increase supply, but Algeria could probably do so. Qatar, whose liquefaction capacities are already stretched, said through its energy minister that up to 15% of LNG exports tied to long-term contracts could be diverted to the EU. Other countries such as the US, Azerbaijan, Australia, Libya or Egypt could also increase deliveries to the EU. But adding up these hypothetical extra volumes would give the EU the equivalent of just three days of winter consumption ⁽²³⁾

Although some countries pledged to cover the shortfall in Europe's imports of oil and gas, and pledged to increase their exports to Europe to compensate for the European deficit in gas, these countries may hesitate because drilling in the reserve requires high costs that Europe will not contribute

Even if a volumes crisis can be averted, i.e. energy needs can be covered , a price shock is still to be expected. The European economy will feel the heat, given an expected sharp rise in global energy prices at a time when inflation is already registering around 5% y/y. A further notable increase in energy prices would add at least 1pp to our 2022 inflation forecast for the Eurozone. With the post-Covid-19 economic recovery far from complete, national governments would have to implement policies to limit the pain for the private sector ⁽²⁴⁾

4.4- The impact of the Russian invasion on European industry and commerce:

Beyond air cargo, merchandise trade will be affected globally. Rail transport linking Asia and Europe through Russia has been reduced, and the important Black Sea trade area is fully closed to maritime transport. Hence, already significant supply chain issues will likely be exacerbated and linger for longer.

The conflict and related sanctions will clearly reduce global trade, investment, and overall economic activity. Much uncertainty still reigns regarding the war, its potential reach, and its duration. From where we stand today, we can expect up to 1 percentage point of global GDP growth to be lost in 2022. Hence, a global recession is not currently in the cards, as the IMF forecasted global GDP to grow by 4.4% before the war. It is also worth noting that the world faced a Brent oil price in excess of USD 100 per barrel during 2011-2014, a period when global GDP growth averaged close to 3%.

Though Russia and Ukraine are important to the world economy as large exporters of energy, precious metals, wheat, and other commodities, the two together account for less than 2% of global GDP. Most major economies have only limited trade exposure to Russia. Only 0.5% of US trade is with Russia, and the latter represents 2.4% of China's trade. The economy of Russia, on the other hand, is likely to see a double-digit outright contraction in GDP this year, and for Ukraine the outcome will in all probability be worse still.

Longer term, Russia's war on Ukraine will almost certainly lead to increased military spending. Total global military expenditure rose to nearly USD 2 trillion in 2020, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), representing 2.4% of global GDP. Military spending adds to GDP growth but detracts from achieving development goals in a world already carrying record levels of debt. ⁽²⁵⁾

4.5- The impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on employment:

The current war will potentially affect labour markets, employment, and working conditions in Russia and Europe . Basic infrastructure and the provision of public services will also be affected , while the conscription and involvement of the population on the conflict will affect the rural and agricultural labour force in the country. These factors, among others, will

affect agricultural supply chains, both upstream and downstream, including through logistical and production risks ⁽²⁶⁾

FAO's recent notes on the impact of the conflict on food security have already stressed the potential threats to food security and agricultural markets through production risks [7,8].

Many of these production risks are tied to the impact of the conflict on the labour force. As of the end of March 2022, it is estimated that about 6.5 million persons were internally displaced and 4 million refugees fled Ukraine. By March 16, 2022, more than half of the adult internally displaced persons were aged 40 or younger: 21 percent aged 18-30 and 33 percent aged 30-40.

Most of the IDPs were also coming from the regions of Kyiv City 30 percent, Kharkiv 25 percent and the Kyiv region 15 percent.

Internal displacement, combined with the conscription and requirement for men aged 18 to 60 years to stay and join the fight [11], *has reduced the labor force availability in rural areas. Ukrainian farms have already reported experiencing labour shortages with many of their workers quitting their jobs, further stressing the lack of workers as a concern to resume work on the farms as well* ⁽²⁷⁾

4.6- The impact of the Russian invasion on European energy security:

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine inherited a huge network of energy pipelines linking Russia to Europe, and therefore Ukraine is the safe crossing for the passage of Russian energy to all European countries.

we can say that Ukraine is of geopolitical importance as a transit country in the transmission of energy, as 80% of the gas imported to the European Union from Russia passes through Ukraine, as it is a link between the main production areas and the large consumption markets, through the pipeline network for the transport of oil and gas passing through its territory, where Ukraine, like other countries such as Belarus and Turkey, is one of the most important transit countries for Russian oil and gas supplies towards the European Union. Among these countries, Ukraine enjoys a special position as it has the largest pipeline system for gas transportation, consisting of 35,000 km of gas pipelines.

It highlights the economic risks of the Russian-Ukrainian war in Russia's inability to operate the gas pipeline network that passes through Ukrainian territory to reach European markets. (28)

Hence, Russia realizes how dangerous it is for Ukraine to become an Atlantic state, because this would allow NATO to establish military bases on its territory, and this would represent an economic and military threat to Russian national security.(29)

Therefore, the American success in building a missile shield on Ukrainian soil would neutralize the Russian forces in the face of hostile offensive missiles, and for this, Russia would lose the deterrent advantage and its military balance would be disrupted in the face of external threats. In addition, Russia will not be able to achieve a sudden nuclear strike, because the NATO system has the ability to disable Russian missiles in the air, and this opens the way to complete US military domination of the world. (30)

5- CONCLUSION :

1-The Russo-Ukrainian war has had long-term negative effects on European and international security, as Russia's actions are a flagrant violation of international law and the European security system, which prohibits the violation of the sovereignty of an independent European state. In addition, the Russian invasion was accompanied by war crimes and other serious violations of humanitarian law.

2-The Russian invasion of Crimea in 2014 and the invasion of Ukraine in 2022 drew the attention of European countries to Russia's future ambitions to restore its old glory, which ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Hence, Russia's ambitions towards the European continent represent an imminent threat to European national security and require European countries to prepare for the worst scenario.

3-The war of Russia and Ukraine has demonstrated that the countries of Eastern Europe are victims of the conflict of two powers, the first being NATO, which includes most of the North Atlantic countries and aspires to control the European-Russian borders and trade outlets east of the European continent. Russia, which completely rejects the presence of NATO on its borders with Europe and Asia so that Russian security is not endangered ,

Hence, the war between Russia and Ukraine is a proxy war between Russia and America

4-the most dangerous military effect is Nuclear weapons that are a key component of Russia's strategic deterrence. , Russia has the world's largest, most diversified and most modern nuclear arsenal. Russia has nuclear weapons capability deployed in Sweden's neighborhood, including the Baltic Sea region. In 2020, for the first time, a policy document was published regarding Russia's basic principles of state policy on nuclear deterrence. The publication of this policy is part of Russia's security policy signaling and deterrence. According to this Russian deterrence policy, nuclear weapons can be used to respond to nuclear attacks or to attacks with the use of conventional weapons if the "very existence of the state" is in jeopardy. The decision to use nuclear weapons is made by the Russian president, in consultation with the General Staff.

5-It is noted that Eastern and Northern Europe are exposed to enormous security risks, and this confirms that, Russia has strengthened its military capacity in the Arctic and along the country's western borders, and Russia considers Sweden an integral part of joint and defense security. At the same time, Russia stated that it is in Sweden's interest to maintain a policy of non-participation in military alliances. Otherwise, there will be retaliatory measures if Finland and Sweden become members of NATO

6-The increased Russian military presence in Belarus and coordinated actions between the two countries confirm Russia's intentions to threaten the security of Eastern and Northern Europe, including the security environment of Poland and the Baltic states ,

7-The Russian war drew the attention of the world and the European Union to the importance of protecting international law and the European security system, and the need for diplomatic efforts to condemn Russian expansions in Eastern Europe, and to condemn the war crimes committed in the Ukraine .

8-The Russian invasion of Ukraine prompted the European Union to seek to change the European security policy, especially after the Russian regime proved that it does not respect international law and international norms. and The European Union so NATO have taken positive steps towards strengthening their defense forces to confront Russia , The countries of

Europe are reviewing their security policy, defense force and methods and the protection of their borders, and many European countries have raised the ceiling of the military budget, and the items of arms exports and imports in its budget have been reviewed.

9-The Russian invasion of Ukraine prompted the Finnish government to consider the question of joining NATO, and it seems that the Finnish authorities see this step as inevitable to preserve Finnish security and confront the potential Russian threat.

10-Another military effect is that the European Union joined forces with the United States of America and imposed sanctions on Russia with the aim of forcing it to stop the aggression, which resulted in severe damage to the Russian economy.

11-That war of aggression against the peaceful Ukrainian people played a major role in highlighting NATO's commitment to protect its members, and although Ukraine is not a member of NATO, NATO intervened to support it without getting involved in a direct war against Russia.

12-The Russian-Ukrainian war resulted in heavy economic losses for the European countries because the gas pipelines passing through the Ukrainian territory stopped pumping gas to European markets, and although some European countries are seeking other alternatives and trying to import from the Gulf countries

13-In the field of food security, the war has caused a massive food crisis because Russia and Ukraine supply the world with about a quarter of the world's wheat, and the war has led to a rise in its prices, and this matter threatens global food security, because there are countries that do not have sufficient stocks, and their food security is threatened, and Russia and Ukraine produces feed for poultry and livestock, which has led to an increase in meat prices. In other words, that war caused global inflation. Global inflation occurred. Europe was greatly affected by the war, because it gets 40% of energy and grain supplies from Russia.

14-This war also resulted in the complete halt of trade exchange between Russia and the European Union. The war caused a halt in aviation and ship movement to and from Russia, which caused a stagnation of trade, especially with the freezing of Russia's balances in some banks.

15-There are many expected results in the future, with an increase in the unemployment rate and the possibility that many European factories will stop working due to the dependence of those factories on Russian energy.

16-What I recommend is that decision makers in Europe and America take the diplomatic path to stop the war, because imposing sanctions, freezing assets and stopping gas exports will not lead to positive results.

17-Although the international community united around Ukraine and began to implement the sanctions seriously, the first victim of these sanctions is the European countries, which are still desperate to obtain alternatives to Russian energy to manage the wheel of European production.

18-What Russia aspires to and what it has announced since its occupation of Crimea in 2014 until now is to protect its national security, and therefore it wants to obtain a commitment from Ukraine not to join NATO in the future, so I think that stopping the war depends on the commitment of the two parties to achieve this condition.

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