AD ALTA

EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE: THE NEED TO UPDAT

^aVIACHESLAV KOLOTOV, ^bVOLODYMYR KUDRIAVTSEV, ^cVOLODYMYR TARANOV, ^dOLEKSANDR CHUMAK, ^cOLENA CHUMAK

^aAssistant Professor, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 64/13, Volodymyrska St., Kyiv, Ukraine, 01601. ^bAssistant Professor, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine named after Hennadii Udovenko, 2 Velyka Zhytomyrs'ka St., Kyiv, 01001.

^cAssistant Professor, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine named after Hennadii Udovenko, 2 Velyka Zhytomyrs'ka St., Kyiv, 01001.

^dCandidate of Technical Sciences, Associate Professor, National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute", 37 Peremohy Av., Kyiv, Ukraine, 03056. ^ePhD in Political Science, Associate Professor, National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute", 37 Peremohy Av., Kyiv, Ukraine, 03056. email: ^eviacheslav. 1970.^a gmail.com, ^bkvo1976.^aLua, ^cchik2467.^a gmail.com, ^da_chi@ukr.net, ^el_ch75_09.^a ukr.net

Abstract: The relevance of the topic is the need to transform the existing security model of Europe under the global geopolitical challenges associated with the war in Ukraine and the growing socio-economic problems for the European continent. The importance of this topic is determined by the need to ensure national interests and create a quality mechanism for their protection. The war in Ukraine shows that European countries have made a significant mistake in the implementation of their geopolitical vector of development and must radically change the approach to building a further security architecture. The issue of implementing an effective security model is explored in the article as a key task for the implementation of European countries have a significant mistake in the implementation of their an aradigm of security development and direct efforts to strengthen their own economic and armed sectors. The purpose of the article is to study the current principles of building an effective model of European security, eliminate negative factors influencing it and describe the further vector of development. The objectives of the study are to investigate the processes of factors influencing the European security model and key aspects of its implementation. The object of research is the architecture of European security and the possibility of its improvement in the modern strategic space. By using the methods of scientific research and applied analysis, the characteristics of the incapacity of the modern security anchitecture have been identified. The methodology of the study consists in identifying the factors that hinder the development of European countries to an effective security model and terriming key economic factors that shape the economic security model and terriming key economic factors that shape the economic security of the European continent. The results of the study can serve as a tool for further analysis of the development of European security and outline the key principles of its formation. Practica

Keywords: energy market, energy resources, hostilities, national interests, national security, security architecture, military alliance, modernized weapons, military conflicts.

1 Introduction

In today's conditions, the formation and development of a sound European security system can qualitatively improve the strategic development and socio-economic sector. The protection of national interests is the main priority of statehood, which is caused by the processes of development of human civilization. The issue of the formation of a quality architecture of Europe in the context of the war in Ukraine, stimulated a complete revision of the existing concept and model of European countries to operate in the modern geopolitical space. An important area for the formation of an effective security model is the financial sector of European countries because due to cooperation with the Russian energy market, European countries have become controlled and partially dependent on Russian influence. A sharp restructuring of the market orientation is impossible, so to implement policies for the transformation of the European security market, it is necessary to create qualitative formations to operate per the market. Nowadays, the issue of the quality of European security formation is the possibility of gaining competitive advantages following the global vector of the policy pursued by European countries. Through the restructuring of the financial market and the possibility of its improvement through the optimization of capital investments, the key direction is the formation of its energy market independently of the Russian Federation. An important direction in building a security architecture is the creation of our military-industrial complex,

which can neutralize the threat from the aggressor country. In addition, to build an effective military sector, it is necessary to improve its policy on the implementation and possibilities of its development under current requirements. Moreover, the involvement of international organizations and the unification of European countries in one direction of development can provide a significant advantage in the defense industry. Therefore, the issue of using the modern model of security architecture should be qualitatively developed in the scientific circle and aimed at solving global political challenges that create military conflicts taking place in continental Europe. In addition, an important area is the creation of an information complex that can ensure the effective development of digital technologies and create protection around key digital technologies. Scholars argue about the quality of the use of modern concepts of European security models, so it is necessary to explore key views on the prospects for the development of European security architecture.

2 Literature review

The problem of the study is the possibility of improving the current model of the European security architecture and the practice of its implementation in the context of global presentation and urgent restructuring of the energy and financial markets. European countries were not ready for the global conflict that is represented today. That is why it is necessary to improve the existing model about the consequences and develop the military-industrial complex. There is a debate among scientists about the reasons for the imperfection of the European security architecture and why it did not work. In addition, the issue of the formation of the European energy market and energy resources as a tool for gaining energy independence and the possibility of improving the internal socio-economic environment is widely studied in the scientific literature. The author Wiseman (2022) notes that the issue of forming a quality security architecture in European countries will be the possibility of using modern tools. These tools can ensure the effective formation of its development and stimulate the strengthening of qualitative features of the functioning of the internal financial, defense, and energy complex. This approach is expedient since the energy market is considered a complex system for the implementation of measures. It is aimed at improving the system of suppliers and excluding Russia from it, which will serve as a factor in shaping European security. The researcher Thomas (2022) determines that the key parameters for assessing the effectiveness of the security of the European continent will be modern modernized weapons and defense systems. With the help of high-tech developments, Europe can gain real advantages in continental warfare. Another scientist Daniel (2022), notes that today, there is no single model for the formation and development of architectural security. Therefore, it should be constantly improved and capable of using modern approaches to the development of the financial and defense sectors. Noteworthy is the opinion of Bigg (2022), who believes that the future war will be waged not by machines, but by technology. The issue of technological support and the development of digital infrastructure will help Europe to gain key advantages. The importance of building an effective digital environment and ensuring the protection of information that can create conditions for the protection of national interests is a priority. This is agreed by Cohen (2022), who believes that the prospects of continental war will be resolved based on two components: the use of digital technologies and their possible introduction to widespread use. Moreover, attention is focused on the fact that to qualitatively build a model of the European market functioning, it is necessary to introduce effective instruments of its political activity. Establishing diplomatic relations, according to Harris (2020), will become a new paradigm for the European Union. The author sees the need to create new treaties on the use and circulation of nuclear weapons, strengthening control over the military-industrial complex, as well as the creation of effective international bodies that will cooperate. Such measures, in the author's opinion, will provide prospects for further growth of the European market and will be effective in the long-term perspective of its development. High attention is paid to Ukraine's participation in the current war and its future role in shaping the architecture of the European Union. According to the scientist Romm (2022), Ukraine is and will be the main frontier of protection of the European continent from imperialism and totalitarianism movements caused by Russia. The conflict between European and barbaric cultures creates social shifts in the modern geopolitical environment and causes the need to revise the transformation of European security to the present. Thus, the analysis of literary sources prompts to set the goals and objectives of the study.

3 Research aims

The research aims to study the peculiarities of the transformation of the existing security architecture of the European continent to an effective model. An important area of research is the revision of the existing security archetype of both strategic and economic nature. The objectives of the study are to determine the key parameters and principles of building a modern model that can solve the problem of deterring the threat of the use of nuclear weapons and the spread of totalitarian regimes. Furthermore, it can restrain destructive fluctuations in the economy caused by the influence of aggressor countries.

It is essential to use the example of Ukraine as an argument for the ineffectiveness of the implementation of the current security model in Europe and outline the key prospects for its further development. The use of quality tools for the formation of national security with a differentiated nature of direction can ensure the protection of Europe's strategic interests.

The article contains an analytical study on the possibility of forming an effective methodology for national security and describes the key measures for its implementation. The reasons and factors for the inability of the modern model of European security to confront global challenges are highlighted and ways of their solution are proposed.

4 Materials and methods

The formation of a strategic vector for the development of the security architecture of modern Europe involves a whole range of research methods aimed at addressing these stages. Therefore, for the analysis, it is suggested to use methodologies aimed at solving the problem of the incapacity of the modern European security model and the possibility of its improvement following the key factors and principles of its development. With the help of analytical methods, it is possible to identify the key negative factors of the current system and prospects for the development of the future security architecture of the European continent. Scientific research methods have been used for the study. With the help of the induction method, the state of European financial markets has been revealed and the quality of the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war has been characterized. The application of the statistical method has made it possible to characterize the energy market and provide prospects for its development. The study of the consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war for Europe and proposals for ensuring economic stability were made using the analytical and search method. The methodology of the study is to be carried out in three stages: identification of factors and problems of the inefficiency of the modern security system of Europe, outlining of key measures for its optimization, and analysis of the energy market of the world and European countries as the main factor of manipulation by Russia. The issue of the use of energy resources and raw materials is of total importance for the socio-economic development of Europe. This becomes the first factor of impossibility to responding with real intervention in the conflict, the second is the threat of nuclear war spreading. That is why, using the synthesis method, it is proposed to study economic and military measures to deter and slow down the escalation of the conflict.

5 Results

Today, the issue of European security in the context of global geopolitical challenges should become a priority for the European Union and the European continent. The outbreak of war in Ukraine demonstrates the global ineffectiveness of the policy pursued by European countries. Moreover, according to the reviews of modern analytical assessments and publications, Europe was the key culprit in shaping the preparation of such a war by building diplomatic relations with Russia and financing key military-industrial complexes, and providing the energy market for Russian enterprises. The main goal of the security architecture is to create an effective financial and military mechanism that can overcome key global challenges (Scott, 2022). European countries prefer economic means of fighting. For example, in cooperation with the United States, they resolved problematic military conflicts that took place on the principle of civil war in Syria, which was supported by the aggressor country. In addition, most conflicts on a global scale follow a similar scenario. The Russian Federation finances and creates opposition groups inside the country, such as in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and stimulates the transition of power to temporary representatives. The difficulty of overcoming this conflict lies in the constant need to support the legitimate representatives of the authorities, and the supply of weapons, which with the intervention of Russia as a key source of energy is a global problem. The war in Ukraine shows that the policy pursued by the European model is completely ineffective and threatens the existence of the territorial integrity of most European countries. In addition, there is a nuclear problem that should be resolved through diplomatic negotiations, without the direct use of weapons of mass destruction. The nuclear issue is a deterrent in overcoming the aggressor country, which creates massive local conflicts around the world.

The conservative view of European countries on building a modern security model has led to the consequences of 2022. It indicates the need for a radical transformation of the security system with a vector of support for Ukraine as a key security frontier. It is offered to consider the architectural security system at two levels: military and financial. At these levels, it will be most expedient to build an effective model of influence on the current environment of functioning of European countries and the possibility of their further development in the face of geopolitical challenges.

Let us consider the main principles of building an effective European security architecture in Table 1.

These measures, shown in Table 1, are key to the possibility of creating an effective system of protection of European space. This requires qualitative improvement and optimization. In quantitative terms, Europe has a high share of equipment, but there is no readiness for a major continental war due to the weak internal energy and resource market. In terms of military measures, European countries need to develop qualitative methods to improve the quality of armaments, as well as the development of the military defense industry (Jiansuo, 2021). Air defense systems and special drones should become the paradigm of the development strategy of European countries. The issue of using information security in the modern world is important due to the possible paralysis of key official communication channels, failures in banking systems, and loss of information. Many processes in the modern life of society take place due to the development of digital technologies and infrastructure. Therefore, the construction should be based on the development of information protection, according to the following principles:

 Designing of information security systems should be carried out in low-level programming languages that work directly with the computer operating system, which is more difficult to damage than programs written in high-level programming languages; The creation of backup data centers, information encryption, and cryptography should be a key task to ensure the stability of the banking system and the possibility of transferring key servers of European countries to another continent. Development of a clear mechanism of legal protection and legal mechanism of citizens' access to technology and public information, which can play a key role in the modern world.

Finar	ncial measures	Military measures			
Overcoming energy dependence on Russia	Creation of an effective system of exit from Russian influence, termination of cooperation	Increasing the military levy to finance NATO	The importance of building a European army is a priority in modern conditions		
Search for alternative energy sources	Finding new markets and suppliers should become a priority to reduce dependence. Establishment of military training schools for high command		Can improve the quality of combat readiness and strengthen the role of officers' influence in the army		
An artificial decline in the Russian stock market	A decrease in the financial activity of the Russian market can strengthen the quality of security policy Social and economic protection of servicemen, the introduction of privileges		The use of benefits for servicemen should be a key task to motivate them.		
Introduction of radical sanctions packages	Sanctions should target the capital market of the aggressor country and disconnect it from the European payment network, SWIFT, PayPal, MasterCard, etc.		Artillery of high accuracy and range provides key advantages on the battlefield.		
Restriction of trade traffic and increase in customs tariffs	Restraining the development of economic supplies by raising duties and banning the import of goods or products from Russia	Introduction of modern air defense systems, following the example of the Israeli approach "Iron Dome"	Such approaches can qualitatively improve the security of the European state		
Closure of commodity markets	The closure of commodity markets stimulates a drop in the production of supply and demand	Conducting nuclear tests and training	The nuclear threat should not be excluded, as it is the key danger, therefore the issue of testing is the main one.		
Use of liquefied natural gas from the United States.	Although liquefied natural gas from the US is more expensive, this approach to building an energy market will be quite safe for Europe.	Use of robotic technologies, construction of drones, and high- tech weapons	The role of drones and the peculiarities of their use in modern European space can provide advantages on the battlefield.		
Exclusion of Russia from the UN and other international organizations	Radical measures should be aimed at excluding and rejecting the "veto" power of the aggressor country	Creation of information troops, involvement of programmers of low-level programming languages (– C, C++ Pascal) in the construction of cyber defense systems, work on cybersecurity of the country	In the modern information space, cybersecurity is key		

Source: compiled by the authors.

A more complicated issue is the modernization of the financial market of Europe and the transformation of the energy market since Russia was a key source of oil products and energy resources. Therefore, the issue of restructuring should become a key problem to be solved in the modern world.

The consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war have been felt in the global economic space of Europe since its beginning and will have an impact in the future. Destructive processes affected the financial markets of European countries, changed the macroeconomic situation, and caused destabilization in the world market. The need for research is to analyze the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the financial situation of European countries and to find optimal solutions to overcome the crisis. The imposed sanctions not only harm the economy of the Russian Federation but also reduce trade turnover in Europe. The problem of the study is the possibility of a new crisis in Europe and global turmoil. This will be a catalyst for economic transformation, change of conservative political forces, and building an independent Europe. The main reason for the rise in prices in Europe was the shortage of resources and the need to find alternative supply channels. In addition, the cost of energy

carriers and appliances has skyrocketed. Despite the shadow supply sector and the possibility of bypassing sanctioned sales channels, the level of fuel and energy supply is critical. Therefore, European countries should look for rational means to preserve the energy balance. Stocks on the financial markets suffered as a result of the withdrawal of commercial companies of the Russian Federation, which accounted for the lion's share in the energy and oil refining industries. The most vulnerable market is the German one, which was almost completely dependent on the Russian energy supply. The German example proves the need to find innovative channels of energy supply and implement reforms to restructure the macroeconomic sector. For financial markets in other European countries, the rise in prices for metals, banking products, and food products has exceeded the price level of 2008. This study will analyze the extent of the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on financial markets in Europe and suggest ways to address the energy shortage and economic stabilization plan.

Let us consider the global regional distribution of electricity demand in recent years and forecast indicators for 2023, more detailed information is presented in Table 2.

Terawatt-hour (TWh)	2020	2021	2022	2023	Growth rate 2020- 2021	Growth rate 2021- 2022	Growth rate 2022-2023
Africa	709	754	783	805	6,4%	3,9%	2,9%
Americas	6 0 3 6	6 180	6 295	6 325	2,4%	1,9%	0,5%
of which the U.S.	4 109	4 167	4 254	4 247	1,4%	2,1%	-0,2%
Asia-Pacific region	12137	13115	13558	14077	8,1%	3,4%	3,8%
of which China	7 471	8 222	8 479	8 846	10,1%	3,1%	4,3%
Eurasia	1 224	1 297	1 282	1 269	5,9%	-1,1%	-1,1%
Europe	3 648	3 805	3 827	3 866	4,3%	0,6%	1,0%
of which the European Union	2 625	2 740	2 762	2 774	4,4%	0,8%	0,4%
Middle East	1120	1162	1187	211	3,7%	2,2%	2,0%
In the world, in total	24874	26313	26933	27554	5,8%	2,4%	2,3%

Tab. 2: Regional distribution of electricity demand, 2020-2023

Source: compiled based on OECD materials «Europe energy market - 2022».

From the above table, it can be concluded that the global energy market has undergone a qualitative transformation as a result of the war in Ukraine and has rapidly redistributed the paradigms of its development. Therefore, based on this information, it is worth exploring the key means and tools for the development and formation of the modern energy market in the world. Europe, as the main sector of influence of the danger from Russia, needs to completely transform approaches to changing its policy (Wasum, 2022). The development of the European commodity and energy market should be a key measure for building an effective security system. Since this market is the cause of global socioeconomic fluctuations in the European Union. There is an increase in inflation and a rapid rise in prices for both industrial goods and utilities. Let us consider the key measures that can solve the problem of electricity and oil products in Europe:

- Attracting resources and raw materials and special technical equipment from the US market and the possibility of strengthening cooperation with the US market on mutually beneficial terms;
- Search for new suppliers of oil products and energy resources. The most typical suppliers can be representatives of Arab countries. The establishment of diplomatic relations and conclusion of new agreements and contracts should become the prerogative of diplomatic relations for the countries of the European Union;
- Use of alternative energy sources. The use of renewable and alternative energy can qualitatively improve the quality of energy resources in the European market.
- Stimulation and modernization of domestic production, creation of reserves. The issue of building technical infrastructure can be a key advantage for the European market. Therefore, for the effectiveness of such measures, it is necessary to implement technological projects for the development of energy infrastructure in Europe.

The proposed measures can qualitatively improve the overall environment of influence in European countries and stimulate its search for alternative means of formation and development of security. The problem of the formation of financial security in European countries is, first of all, an effective methodology of its implementation, which today plays a key role in the formation of the necessary factors and possible advantages in the analysis of European security.

The global problem of all European countries has become the widespread use of investment potential to finance energy enterprises of the aggressor country. Another issue is conducting diplomatic relations based on securing its energy market. Therefore, to overcome the global nuclear threat and build effective financial security, it is necessary to take some measures to transform the domestic energy market. In addition, the search for alternative and renewable energy sources will be a priority for European countries.

Moreover, as of today, the cost of using efficient means of the energy market can be exacerbated by competing policies of allocating available resources and shaping them on the global market. Thus, the results of the study indicate that the current security architecture of Europe is completely incapacitated, which led to a major continental war. Therefore, the European Union countries need to implement effective optimization tools at the financial and military levels. Rational allocation of resources and the use of modern systems of optimization of financial policy and the possibility of diplomatic relations will be key advantages in overcoming the problem of vulnerability of the European security system. Special attention should be paid to information and legal protection, which should form an effective digital environment in which the influence of the aggressor country will be minimal. The key priority for the development of European security is to establish its energy market and create effective means of its functioning, which can strengthen the quality of influence on the geopolitical environment.

6 Discussion

The results of the study indicate the need for a global transformation of the European security model and bringing it to an up-to-date state that can respond to global geopolitical threats and challenges. The need to overcome the conservative princes that dominate the political elite of Europe is the principle of ensuring the protection of national interests and the ability to deter global threats on the European continent. Further research should concern the possibility of technological improvement of the military-industrial complex and the implementation of qualitative measures to optimize existing weapons and their possible modernization. Another, no less important area is the solution to the problems of the energy market and oil products, through which Russia influences decision-making in European countries.

Security researchers of the European continent, namely Czułno (2022), determine that the peculiarity of forming an effective model of ensuring the protection of nominal interests and incentives for information protection should be developed regardless of Russian development vectors. The authors see the key prospects in getting rid of complete dependence on the influence of the industrial sector of the country sponsoring terrorism, and the possibility of building its modernized industrial complex. An important direction is to stop any technological supplies to the Russian market and to slow down the supply of information technology.

Foreign scientists, namely Daniel (2022), determine that the future of Europe depends entirely on the possibility of optimizing the internal market of energy resources and petroleum products. The authors see the main problem in the need for a qualitative formation of the implementation of the internal energy market and the search for new suppliers that can meet the needs of European countries. In addition, the further object of the study should be the directions of development and optimization of the energy market, stimulation to the development of innovative technologies in this area, and qualitative improvement of existing mechanisms for implementing key factors of gaining advantages in the market.

Ukrainian scholars, namely Kuchyk (2021), see prospects for the development of European security architecture through strengthening armed and economic support for Ukraine, as it protects the border from barbaric aggression and a totalitarian regime. The issue of strengthening Ukraine is of strategic importance for Europe. Since to occupy European territories it is necessary to capture transit routes in Ukraine, which is impossible with proper support from European countries. Therefore, through the implementation of international cooperation programs, Ukraine can gain competitive advantages in the military-industrial complex, gain tools to overcome Russian aggression and return to the temporarily occupied territories. Scientists see the priority of development in strengthening investment activities in the food industry and agricultural sector, which is of strategic importance for the global agricultural sector.

Prospects for further research lie in a wide range of studies and analyses of the possibility of gaining the advantages of the European continent through the use of security instruments by developing the military-industrial complex and improving the financial and energy markets. An important direction for further research is to outline the impact of sanctions on the Russian market and to study the quality of the impact of the raw material structure on Europe. Noteworthy is also the possibility of cooperation with Ukraine as a state that is a symbol of the protection of European values and culture.

7 Conclusion

Thus, several conclusions can be drawn from the study on the current state of the European content security architecture. The current model of protection of national and strategic interests does not work. Therefore, Europe needs to look for ways to build an effective model and conduct qualitative research. This research should concern the protection of Europe and the creation of modern means of influence on world space, termination of diplomatic and economic relations with Russia. Global security of the European continent should focus on two global vectors of development. The first one concerns the formation of a high-quality financial and energy market, which can ensure socioeconomic growth and deprive Europe of direct dependence on the Russian market. The second vector of development should concern the development and formation of an effective military-industrial complex, which will contain modern technologies of high-precision weapons.

The European security architecture, in its current form, is ineffective. It has led to the development of the military conflict in Ukraine, which began not in 2022, but in 2014. This has shown that long-term orientation towards the market of the aggressor country can lead to total consequences. Such positions call for the search for effective ways to solve this problem and the creation of modern mechanisms for the protection of European space in the context of the war in Ukraine.

The main principles of building a future model should be strengthening Ukraine and facilitating the solution to the issue of nuclear weapons trafficking and ways to deter the nuclear threat. However, diplomatic ways may not be effective enough. Therefore, European countries need to restore the militaryindustrial complex and encourage the corporate sector to invest in it. An important element remains the construction and development of digital technologies as a tool for the war of the future. Superiority in information technology can provide key advantages for European countries.

Thus, the study shows the need for transformation of the European security complex and the introduction of broad support for Ukraine as a key instrument of protection. A crucial direction for further research should be the implementation of measures to optimize the energy market and the development of the domestic military-industrial complex.

Literature:

1. Aloisi, S., & Daniel, F. J. (Eds.). (2022, March 1). Timeline: The events leading up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Reuters. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://www.reuters.com/w orld/europe/events-leading-up-russias-invasion-ukraine-2022-02-28/

2. Baerbock, A. (2022, March 16). Speech by Foreign Minister Baerbock in the German Bundestag on the situation in Ukraine in the light of Russia's illegal war of aggression and its impact on Germany and Europe, Federal Foreign Office. https://ww w.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/baerbock-bundestagukraine/2517778

3. BBC. (2022, May 3). EU divided over how to step away from Russian energy. https://www.bbc.com/news/business-6129 8791

4. Bhattarai, A., Romm, T., & Siegel, R. (2022, February 28). U.S. economy appeared ready to surge, but Russia's invasion of Ukraine could send shockwaves. The Washington Post. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://www.washingtonpos t.com/business/2022/02/25/economy-us-russia-ukraine-gas/

5. Bigg, M. M. (2022, February 18). A timeline of the tensions between Russia and Ukraine. The New York Times. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/18/wor ld/europe/russia-ukraine-timeline.html

6. Carrera, S., Vosyliute, L., & Brumat, L. (2022). The EU grants temporary protection for people fleeing war in Ukraine, Centre for European Policy Studies. https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/eu-grants-temporary-protection-for-people-fleeing-war-in-ukraineBosse, G. (2020). Ukraine and the European Union. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/https://doi.org/10.1093/a cref/9780190856427.001.0001/acref-9780190856427-e-1137.

7. Center for Strategic and International Studies, "9M729 (SSC-8)," Missile Threat, CSIS Missile Defense Project, March 31, 2022, https://missilethreat.csis.org/missile/ssc-8-novator-9m729/; Jane Vaynman, "Russia Questions INF, Again," Arms Control Wonk

8. Cohen, P., & Ewing, J. (2022, February 21). What's at stake for the Global Economy as Conflict Looms in Ukraine. The New York Times. Retrieved February 28, 2022, from https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/business/economy/Russia -Ukraine-economy.html

9. Czułno, P. (2022). The Eastern Partnership and its strategic objectives: A Polish–German compromise? *Comparative European Politics*. Advance online publication, https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-022-00300-w [Google Scholar]

10. David Scott, "Russian Naval Strategy For the Indo-Pacific," CIMSEC.org, April 14, 2022, https://cimsec.org/russian-naval-strategy-for-the-indo-pacific/.

11. Deutsche Welle, "Putin, Xi usher in partnership with 'no limits,'" News clip posted by DW News, February 4, 2022, https://www.dw.com/en/putin-xi-usher-in-partnership-wit h-no-limits/av-60668374.

12. Eckhard, S., Patz, R., & Schmidt, S. (2019). Reform efforts, synchronization failure, and international bureaucracy: the case of the UNESCO budget crisis. Journal of European Public Policy, 26(11), 1639-1656. doi:10.1080/13501763.2018.1 539116

13. Gudrun Persson et al., "Russian Military Capability in a Ten-Year Perspective—2019," eds. Fredrik Westerlund and Susanne Oxenstierna, Indian Strategic Knowledge (Swedish Defense Research Agency, December 2019), https://indianstra tegicknowledgeonline.com/web/2019_Russian_Military_Capabil ity_in_a_Te.pdf.

14. Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, "Russian nuclear weapons, 2022," Taylor and Francis Online (Bulletin of Atomic Scientists: Vol. 78, 2022), February 25, 2022, https://www-tandfonline-com.ceip.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/00963402.2 022.2038907

15. Harris, E. (2020). What is the role of nationalism and ethnicity in the Russia–Ukraine crisis? Europe-Asia Studies, 72(4), 593–613. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2019.1708865 16. Ibid.; Roger McDermott, "Russia's Northern Fleet Upgraded to Military District Status," Eurasia Daily Monitor, Vol. 18 (Issue 3), January 6, 2021, https://jamestow n.org/program/russias-northern-fleet-upgraded-to-military-distr ict-status/.

17. Kuchyk O. S. Systema yevropeiskoi bezpeky v umovakh hibrydnykh vyklykiv rosiisko-ukrainskoi viiny // Ukraina v umovakh transformatsii mizhnarodnoi systemy bezpeky». (Lviv, 13 travnia 2021). Lviv, 2021 – P. 78–81.

18. Malyarenko, T., & Wolff, S. (2018). The logic of competitive influence-seeking: Russia, Ukraine, and the conflict in Donbas. Post-Soviet Affairs, 34(4), 191–212. https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586x.2018.1425083

19. Mbah, R. E., & Wasum, D. . (2022). Russian-Ukraine 2022 War: A Review of the Economic Impact of Russian-Ukraine Crisis on the USA, UK, Canada, and Europe. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 9(3), 144–153. https://doi.org/10.14 738/assrj.93.12005

20. Newsweek. (2022, April 6). Bucha Killings Drive Russia Sanctions Forward in Divided EU. https://www.newsweek.com/bucha-massacre-russia-sanctions-eu-ukraine-1695504.

21. Panebianco, S., & Fontana, I. (2018). When responsibility to protect 'hits home': The refugee crisis and the EU response. *Third World Quarterly*, *39*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369035

22. Pei, Jiansuo, Gaaitzen de Vries, and Meng Zhang, 2021. "International Trade and Covid-19: City-Level Evidence from China's Lockdown Policy." Journal of Regional Science. Published ahead of print, August 22, 2021. doi:10.1111/jo rs.12559

23. Simon Pfeiffer and Randolf Carr, "Update Required: European Digital Sovereignty and the Transatlantic Partnership" Munich: Munich Security Conference, Munich Security Brief 3, July 2021, https://doi.org/10.47342/TBAA1644.

24. Sjursen, H., & Rosén, G. (2017). Arguing sanctions. On the EU's response to the crisis in Ukraine. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(1), 20–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12 443

25. Thomas, L., & Strupczewski, J. (2022, February 25). The Ukraine crisis will hit the economy but the EU is ready, officials say. Reuters. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://www.reute rs.com/markets/europe/eu-ready-take-economic-pain-imposing-sanctions-russia-2022-02-25/

26. United Kingdom Parliament. (2022, February 28). Economic update: Ukraine crisis adds to inflationary pressures. UK Parliament. Retrieved February 28, 2022, from https://comm onslibrary.parliament.uk/economic-update-ukraine-crisis-addsto-inflationary-pressures/

27. Van der Ploeg, F. and Rezai, A. 2020. "Stranded assets in the transition to a carbon-free economy". Annual Review of Resource Economics 12: 281–298. https://www.annualrevie ws.org/ doi/10.1146/annurev-resource-110519-040938

28. Wiseman, P. (2022, March 2). Economic dangers from Russia's invasion ripple across Globe. AP NEWS. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukrainevladimir-putin-coronavirus-pandemic-business-health-9478a9825c9abfde5f6505bd34b2998c

Primary Paper Section: A

Secondary Paper Section: AD