

## The Multifaceted Impacts and Reasons of the Ukraine War: A Theoretical Analysis

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### Abstract

The armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine that began in 2022 has reached diverse effects and reasons in the system. But Russia deems Ukraine within her sphere of influence and has been infuriated at Ukraine's nearness with the West and her desire to join NATO or the EU. The main purpose of this article is to discuss the multiple effects of the conflict on the global powers and explain how states' national interests and goals have driven their responses in the foreign policy. The main driving point of this article is to focus on the several reasons and effects of Ukraine war that shakes the balance between the global powers in the world and how it disturbs the already existing order. This article will benefit from the perspectives of realism theory when deciphering the causes of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and the regional and global implications of this conflict in various ways. To reveal the increasing power race within the system, to be able to see the changing balances within the framework of the concept of national interest and to see the impact of the war within the system, the theory of neorealism has been included in the study. This article will focus on three levels of analysis such as individual, state, and systemic in examining the main driving forces behind of Russia and Ukraine conflict. This war was not only occurred between Russia and Ukraine, it has had also created a huge impact on the other regions or international organizations in a different area. Regardless of the outcome of the war in Ukraine, Russia remains the most dangerous, immediate, and long-term threat to the Euro-Atlantic community and rules-based world order. During this study, it will focus on the descriptive theory by using comparison methods and techniques.

Keywords: Ukraine-Russia War, European Union, USA, China, International System

### Introduction

The structure of the international system had changed at the end of the 1989. Soviet Union's impact and reputation along with its control over satellite states decreased dramatically which later led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. When the Cold War ended, Ukraine had gained its independence by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (SSCB) in 1991. Although Ukraine gained its independency in the system, Soviet ancestor state of Russia has tried to keep its already dominant position in the post-Soviet space with its demographic, social and economic politics. Russia's policies have played *a key* role in changing Ukraine foreign policy for a certain time. Tensions between Russian Ukrainian have taken shape over hundreds of years. The main concerns between two parties are not only ideological differences, also historical decoupling, and Ukraine's intermediary position in the Western and Eastern regions.

Ukraine that is a country in which Russia tries to maintain its control over the territory and seize its hegemony since it gained its independence status in 1991. Since its independence in 1991, Ukraine has mostly pursued foreign policy toward the US and the European Union (EU). On the contrary, Russian Federation (RF) hardly sees Ukraine as a separate and independent state, sees her as a part of Russia in terms of ethnics, historical and religious similarities, and common culture. Russia has a special interest on Ukraine because of the Ukraine's geopolitical status, historical ties and its good relationship with the Western countries. The research strategy is a *two-sided comparative study* with the same result on the dependent variable. The background of this conflict will be investigated in a historical assumption in which Russian invasion on Ukraine based on ideological or national ties.

The main question of the research is what are the effects and consequences of the 2022 war between Russia and Ukraine on the international system? The reason of Ukraine- Russian war is studied by the increasing role of the West on implementing the provoking policies on the Ukraine but there are several issues that waits to be studied. In other words, the discussion article intends to unveil the role of the individuals on the foreign policy, the impact of the cultural heritage or nationalist myths and changing the balance of power in the system. Russian's goal is to surrender Ukraine under its own control, to maintain the regional power and acquire its strong position against West in the system. The outcome of this war will define the future of transatlantic security, becoming a benchmark and a leading case globally for decades.

This article will be composed of following layers. In the first part of the study, it is divided into sections such as methodological, theoretical, and historical part that will lay down the different approaches of the study. During this research, qualitative data collection techniques will be used within the scope of historical developments. Russia and Ukraine conflict will be analysed through the component of realism theory by focusing on concepts such as power, survival, and war. Realism theory assumes that the permanence of power politics itself has become a goal. The main reason of focusing on the realism theory is since it fits with the Ukraine and Russian war in terms of defining the political object is the goal, war is the means of reaching it, and means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose. The second part of the section will focus on the reasons of the war in terms of three level of analysis such as individual, state and system level of analysis. From historical perspective, it mainly focuses on the analysis of the revival nationalism between Russia and Ukraine.

The third section of the study aims to emphasize the multi-faced effects of the Ukraine crisis on states. Firstly, it will pay attention to increasing role of European Union in the Ukraine and demonstrate that how dominant Western states react when they encounter the same threat in the system. Secondly, this part will touch upon the implications of the war on the transatlantic alliance. The section that follows for the article will examine the role of China and its attitude on the Ukraine crisis. Beyond European countries and USA's support on the Ukraine, China also plays a critical role in the system in terms of stabilization the relationship between Russia and Ukraine and finding the way to end the war in the system. China's unbalanced position in the conflict worth to be analysed in a detail.

Simply to say that status-quo preservation is a crucial element when it comes to stable development of a state. The last part of this section will discuss the domino effects of the war and focused on the extensive violations of human rights that have caused many casualties and terrible suffering. In the final section an interpretation of the results will be provided.

## Methodology

This article focuses on the realism theory to understand the underlying causes of the war between Russia and Ukraine. Analyses will be made on the data collected using qualitative data collection techniques and appropriate theoretical explanation will be given to the data obtained. The side hypotheses of the research that support the hypotheses also made an important contribution to the scope of the study. In the context of this article, dependent hypotheses that come to the fore in the formation of the hypothesis will be put forward. For this study, a qualitative and narrative research methodology was preferred to employ via scholarly studies and newspapers.

While several studies have been published on the effect of past Ukraine- Russia conflicts before the most recent crisis in 2022 examine the economic effects of the 2014 Russia-Ukraine conflict as trade exchange still took place between both nations despite the start of the conflict. Nevertheless, very little academic research compilation has been made on the 2022 Russia-Ukraine crisis given that is an ongoing crisis with constantly updated information flooding in via several news outlets. More so, a lot of attention is now given to the impact of the current Russia-Ukraine crisis on globe. Thus, the purpose of this study is to collate and analyse the most recent information on the reasons and current global impact of this Ukraine crisis.

This article, a holistic analysis will be carried out by paying attention to the events and facts, each of which is unique to it by inductive analysis method. In this article, qualitative study will be also conducted using methodological pluralism and historical comparative research methods. This paper outlines the systemic level of different factors (cost of war, changing balance of power, rising power of China in the system), the economic level including (economic sanctions, international trade, supply chain, food prices, energy prices,) the cultural level including (rise of migration or labour movement or changes in demography). The methodology includes an explanation of data collection process.

This research article will highlight the different responses from the international community towards the war, especially the opposing western countries, with emphasis on the reactions that includes imposing different sanction methods on Russia. In the current research, a qualitative method of explanatory, descriptive type and electronic and written sources have been used.

## Literature Review

This study tries to analyse the reasons of Russia-Ukraine War and its impacts in general perspective. The main purpose of this article is to understand why states implement hard power mechanism such as excessive use of military instruments and increasing military expenditures more than soft power mechanisms such as expanding cultural or identity issues on building diplomatic relationship. The answer to this question is how national identity and national interest concept that play a significant role in understanding the main reason of the conflict in the between Ukraine and Russia.

Scholars point out that countries are involved in conflicts to protect their resources or to maintain their regional influence, while other countries retain their rights. It states that it is struggling to manage more common resources or colonial resources, heritage, or values or evenly to do so. What makes this article different from others is making deeply analysis of reason and effects of the conflict by theoretical and conceptual framework. This article highlights the importance of analysing three level of foreign policy analysis to understand why conflict has started. This article contributes to the literature in terms of multiple data collections and different survey methods. It is a well-known fact that in the case of Russia and Ukraine, the reason for the war was not only to protect the Russian border also to maintain regional and global influence in the system. This articles not only focuses on

the reasons of the conflict also divides the effects into different sections such as regional, transnational, and global level analysis. In addition to historical analysis, comparative analysis methods are mostly used by detailing the cases in different perspectives.

The academic literature on foreign policy analysis is replete with different theoretical accounts, each of which tries to make sense of foreign policy decision from a different perspective. This reason behind of the war will be also deeply attached to three levels of analysis (system, individual, and state) and that were chosen to seek an answer to why the Kremlin chose to go to war. Systemic factors are distribution of material power capabilities among states, polarity, geographical location, and the nature of the terrain on which states are located. Whereas the individual and internal factors offer an inside-out analysis, external factors offer an outside-in analysis.

In this article, three level of foreign policy analysis will be conducted in evaluating the main reason behind of this conflict and then multiple effects of the war will be analysed in a different method. Recently, very little academic research compilation has been made on the 2022 Russia-Ukraine crisis given so that a lot of attention is now given to the impact of the current Russia-Ukraine crisis on Russia and Ukraine.

It is noteworthy that although there have been many studies in different languages about the reason and effects of the Ukraine- Russian war in the literature, many studies have focused on the direct effects and reasons of the Ukraine- Russian war by inserting three level of foreign policy analysis such as individual, state, and systematic level. For example, Demir has focused on the causes and effects of the Russia-Ukraine War by focusing on the historical and individual level of analysis. He categorized the war into four groups: strategic rivalry between the West (NATO, the US, the EU), geopolitical concerns, Putin's leadership role, and the disputes between Russia and Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> What is more, Sataary has analysed the evaluation of the Russia-Ukraine war only in terms of economic perspectives rather than political or social dimension.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the purpose of this study is to make a deeply analysis of the war by focusing on the most recent information on the crisis.

### **The Reason of Ukraine-Russian War: Three Level of Foreign Policy Analysis - Individual Level of Analysis**

Individual factors are about the role of leaders and statesmen in the formulation of foreign policy preferences. According to this view, foreign policy should be examined from the perspective of statesmen because foreign policy is a high politics activity immune to the infiltration of societal factors. Statesmen represent their countries and approach foreign policy from power perspective.

On the individual level, classical realism puts the main emphasize on individual factors and prioritizes the role of leaders and statesmen in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy decisions. Statesmen represent their countries and approach foreign policy from power perspective.<sup>3</sup> On individual level analysis, any foreign policy action would be deemed as moral so long as it serves to the survival, security, and power needs of states. Thus, individual factors or personalities of the leaders play an important role in the decision of foreign policy process. Putin has been ruling Russia through an autocracy in which the decision-making system is exercised via Putin and his close colleagues. Putin has overly criticized the Western type of liberal democracy and deemed it as one that is unfit to Russia. Putin is considered to exhibit a '*dark personality*.' A leader with such a personality is believed to have certain psychological traits, which include being manipulative, deceptive, and narcissistic. These leaders even display psychopathic tendencies such as being impulsive, aggressive, and lacking empathy. He is a risk taker and power-oriented leader in the system. The evidence shows that leaders with such military and agency backgrounds are more prone to start a war than leaders who have had military combat experience. Putin's military background explains the escalation of the

conflict easily. The role of Putin's character has never been disregarded in this war. Further evidence of the emergence of a realist dynamic can be found beyond Putin's revisionist behaviour in the system.

Most analysts identify states with their leaders and suggest that leaders speak on behalf of their countries. In this study, it is clear to mention that Putin's leadership has changed the way of the war. According to Rationality Act Model, leaders make cost-benefit analysis before taking foreign policy decision to pick the one that would yield the highest amount of benefit and least amount of cost. Leaders make a preference ordering based on the expected payoffs of available courses of action. Leaders try to achieve national interests of their countries in a rational way. Their fundamental foreign policy concerns are to maximize the material power capability of their countries and ensure the survival and territorial integrity of their states. The individual level of analysis is worth considering to understanding why Putin launched a war against the Ukraine. Putin's foreign policies are grounded in his *personality and identity*.

### **On the State Level of Analysis: A Historical Framework**

On the state level, liberal pluralist perspective values the role of societal and intra-state level factors in foreign policy analysis. States are not unitary actors, and their internal characteristics would decisively shape their foreign policy preferences.<sup>4</sup> Proponents of the individual level of analysis argue that Ukrainian nationalism that signifies an important role in Putin's agenda. Not only foreign affairs are shaped but also domestic affairs were also affected by the unfolding of the events. As regards the internal factors that play a role in foreign policy, the nature of political regimes, national role conceptualization of ruling elites, strategic culture, political ideologies, religion, interest groups, stand out the most. Nationalism is the most dominant layer of Putin's identity, which allows us to understand his motivations.

Strategic cultures of states do also matter in their foreign policy choices and behaviours. This culture is transmitted from one generation to another through education and other socialization processes. Past experiences of wars with others as well as how threats and the means adopted to deal with them were defined in the past decisively shape the contemporary security practices of state.<sup>5</sup> The story of two states lies down more than three decades since the Soviet collapse in 1990s. After the Cold War, The Soviet Union put the promotion of its socialist-communist ideology at the centre of its foreign policy and viewed relations with other countries from an ideological perspective. Ukrainian foreign policy makers may believe that strengthening their *national identity* will help to protect their country's interests and enhance its position in the international system. In addition to establishing good ties with the west especially Europe has been a part of Ukrainian policy makers' agenda. By prioritizing its national interests and identity, Ukraine seeks to maintain its position in the international system and protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Ukraine is ethnically, religiously, and linguistically divided country that faced multiple challenges by the Russian state. Ukraine is divided based on ethnicity with Ukrainian majority and Russian minority. The ethnic and linguistic differences were intensified by Ukraine's long dependence on the Soviet Union and Russia. Although Ukraine society preferred to build their Ukrainian identity free from Polish society in the West and Russian influence in the East, Ukrainian society was fed up with being dependent on Russia's foreign policy. Ethnic problems accelerate the national identity problems in the state. For example, in 2001, it was reported that there were 77.8 % Ukrainians and 17.3 % Russians. Moreover, 67.5% of the Ukrainian population spoke primarily Ukrainian and 29.6 % spoke Russian.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, the main reason for the Ukraine crisis lies in the historical ties between Russia and Ukraine and the national ideologies of its main groups rather than economic, political, and social factors. There are evolving power dynamics among the emerging regional

players who are supported by the Russian narrative of protecting the Russian-speaking population and preserving Russian culture. Kosovo minorities in Serbian society or Serbian historical ties with Russia are one of the examples of narratives. In the last years of the Soviet Union, Russian speakers were more than Ukrainian speakers in most of the Ukraine's eastern part of the region. In 2001, the numbers of Ukrainian speakers were higher than every part of the region except in Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk. In addition to that, Today, more than two thirds of Ukrainian people claim that Ukrainian as a native language in a state policy, education and in media.

On the other hand, Putin clearly states that Russians and Ukrainians are '*one people*', and the sovereignty of Ukraine depends on its relations with Russia in 2021. Putin wants to consolidate and take the control over its neighbour. For individual level analysis, Russian's war stems from Putin's aim to secure his position in the history, to keep its reputation on the world and to keep its control mechanisms on the Ukraine territory as before. According to individual level analysis, Russian aggression against the Ukraine related to his *historical linkages* with Ukraine, Putin's characteristics, or human behaviour.

National unity became a determinant factor in the foreign policies of Ukraine especially in the media, education, social services, and administrative areas in the region. Especially, In Ukraine, voting patterns support the national unity in the state. After the independence of Ukraine, Ukraine set up a rival Orthodox Church headed by its own patriarch in Ukraine.<sup>7</sup> After all, political outlook of two states is diverging in multiple areas. Ukraine tendency towards European Union and NATO have grown substantially. The increasing tendency to Western institutions has had triggered a big tension between Russia and Ukraine. Russian leaders have had an implication for Ukrainian foreign policy for a long time. It is clear to see the traces of Soviet tradition here and puppet state phenomena of the cold war period was still evident in some respects. Although significant developments of new regulations on deepening the national unity in the Ukraine, some leaders or policy makers from Ukraine aligned themselves with Russia such as Viktor Yanukovich and Aleksand Lukashenko who are both Russian speakers and favoured economic and political cooperation with Russia.

Besides the effects of the Westerns powers, the Orange Revolution that took place in Ukraine in 2004-2005 decried the influence of Russian politics on independent Ukraine and aimed at the desire to institutionalize Ukraine's democracy. Yushchenko was declared the winner with 52% of the vote and was subsequently sworn into office on 23 January 2005. In 2014, even the Kremlin recognized that Victor Yanukovich could not remain in power and participated in negotiations for a managed transition. Pro-European politician Petro Poroshenko won over 54 percent of the vote and took the seat in Ukraine between 2014 and 2019. Poroshenko's domestic policy was national unity oriented so that he promoted Ukraine language, nationalism, and administration decentralization. The partnership proposed by the EU in 2013 of the Russia pressuring Ukraine not to sign the agreement, Crimea, which is Ukrainian territory his annexation and pressure on Ukraine about the debt owed to him, the EU's Ukraine it led to the creation of an October aid program for Ukraine, and the EU has provided Ukraine with at least 11 billion The program, which covers loans and grants in Euros, was established on March 5, 2014.<sup>8</sup>

The annexation of Crimea where majority of population is ethnically Russian speakers caused Russia to ignore international law and self-determination right of states. Russia's' unjustified involvement to Crimea resulted in to be isolated in the international arena especially by Western countries in 2014. Ukraine's effective defence capacity and its quick response ability against military actions provided control of its borders and preventing uprisings spill over to other parts of the regions. On the other hand, the annexation of Crimea by the Russia and unilateral declarations of independence of separatist units in eastern Ukraine have led the EU to create flexible policies at the intergovernmental and bilateral level he guided it to its purpose.

In this part, this study has endeavoured to stress on the importance of national identity concept that proves states to undertake risks in their foreign policy. Despite multiple effects of the war on both states, the national question concept is still a problematic issue in states decision. If individual levels of analysis fail to provide a full account of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, then next part will approach the issue through the lens of state and systemic level analysis, which will be the focus of the following sections.

### **On the Systemic Level of Analysis: Theoretical Framework- Realism Theory**

Realism is one of the important theoretical approaches of international relations. It is a mainstream approach and quite useful when it comes to understanding the reasons behind why conflicts erupts and why states go to war with each other. The theory of realism considers the functioning of the global system and the ways of behaviour of states within this system in the discipline of international relations. Hans Morgenthau, a representative of classical realist theory, and Kenneth Waltz, a representative of structural realist theory, remove international relations from being a normative theory and explain the concept of the state more fully with the concepts of 'power', 'balance of power' and 'security dilemma'.<sup>9</sup> Anarchic structure of the system and lack of a supreme authority that can govern overstates are also among the phenomena's that realist thinkers take into consideration when it comes to trying to analyses wars.

In this study, realism will be main theory of this study to make a point that interest-oriented behaviour of states overcomes the value-oriented approaches in the foreign policy of states. Realism is mainly derived from *states' power maximization goal* meanwhile other theories such as liberalism or constructivism focus on common norms, ideas, and shared beliefs. To illustrate that, tension between Russia and Ukraine persistently keep going and hard power practices are the most used methods between states to reach desired outcome in the war. Ever since the ancient times through history we came across various armed struggles they emerged for the purpose of settling already existing conflicts.

The theory of realism comprehensively considers the ways of behaviour of states within this system in the discipline of international relations. According to realism theory, states are the primary actors and they have the right to wage war against one another if it serves for the national interests. For instance, Prussian General Carl von Clausewitz who was one of the founding figures of classical realist theory argued that wars can be used as a tool for reaching to political goals however war is more than useless bloodshed and wars should be waged for a purpose or else it would just lead to unnecessary loss of sources. *The anarchic structure of the international system* encourages states to increase their power because in a world where self-help is the only solution countries have no choice but to spend more on armament to protect their borders and ensure the safety of their people, yet this also makes the international system more insecure and unstable. *The balance of power within the international system* is being redefined by changing national interests, different state aspirations, leaders' behaviour patterns and structural conditions. The balance of power strategy followed by states to survive, and it is the most effective method and necessary for a peaceful and stable order. It serves for the continuation of already existing status-quo. The decisiveness of the state and its ability to continue its existence within the system are among the first priorities of the states. Durability of a state's existence is one of the main factors that shape the foreign policy strategies of states. The ongoing order and stability within the international system is being re-established because of changes in the power capacities of states.

Changing power dynamics, rise of new powers and fall of old powers are causing states to form new alliances. For instance, states may follow band wagoning strategy instead of balance of power. Balance of power means that states unite against a potential aggressor state meanwhile band wagoning occurs when a small state is threatened by a powerful one and to not be invaded the small one may join the powerful one. A tangible example of band wagoning is Belarus being pro-Russia during Russia-Ukraine War. To illustrate the concept better can give an example on balance of power disruption which was also evident before World War one. After Germany won the Franco-Prussian War unification of Germany took place and rapid rise of the country led to Great Britain being threatened by the sudden change and made other powers such as Austria Hungary, Russia, and France suspicious. The rapid development of a new power in the system leads to a change in the balance of power existing in the system and an increase in the likelihood of conflict. The fact that states are at war is not due to human nature, but to the anarchic nature of the structure of the system.<sup>10</sup>

On the system level of analysis, structural realism assumes that the international structure is basically anarchical and there is no authority over states that could potentially set the rules, provide order, and punish the ones which breach the rules. States can never be certain about the intentions of each other, and interstate trust is difficult to achieve. In this study, the most important theory of international relations, the realist tradition, has been tried to reveal the truth in all aspects. Due to the anarchic nature of international politics, all states will want to survive and will take the path of increasing their security.

Realism in this respect mostly focuses on traditional security approaches. For example, Ukraine war caused to consolidation of power relations of countries in terms of their national interest. Russia's recent invasion, and most importantly the stance it has adopted, foresees a possible resurgence of this approach. The language used by President of Russia seems to recall realist-specific themes such as "security", "survival", and "existential threat."<sup>11</sup> Russian President Vladimir Putin also wrote an article on how Ukraine is 'small Russia', and Belarus is 'white Russia' and they should be part of 'big Russia.' Realism theory implies the importance of hard power practices such as military tools, coercion, or threat rather than soft power methods such as cultural, political attraction or financial incentives. To illustrate that, states have applied military tools rather than economic, cultural mechanisms in the military confrontation between Ukraine and Russia. In other words, Ukraine crisis will be best attached by the theory of realism that focuses on the war issues and uses the military tools and hard power mechanisms excessively in the system. Especially in Eastern provinces of Ukraine Donetsk and Luhansk separatist movements and armed struggle took place.

Realism can be best summarized by the representatives of offensive realism by John Mearsheimer's remark: "States should maximize their power, and their ultimate goal should be hegemony, because that is the best way to guarantee their survival in the system"<sup>12</sup>. For Mearsheimer power is mainly obtained through military means. After the Ukraine war, the balance of power relationship has been shaken in the world; states followed their own policies in terms of keeping their own benefits and adjusting their new policies and to protect their own interest in the system. John Mearsheimer developed offensive realism theory in a book called the 'Tragedy of Great Power Politics' where he contends that great powers are opportunist, revisionist and that survival necessitates hegemonic power in the state. According to the theory of offensive realism, for states to ensure their own security, they must first build their hegemony on the regional plane.

According to Mearsheimer, there are some limits to how much a great power can expand its power in the system. He emphasizes that no single state can achieve global domination or hegemony due to geographic obstacles, but states can extend their own power to seize their regional hegemony.<sup>13</sup> For Mearsheimer, states behave accordingly to their own economic, military, and political interests in the system. Ukraine war has unveiled that offensive realism theory play a substantial role in the



analysis of this unjustified war. According to offensive realism, Russia's policies in the Ukraine are better analysed in the context of a great power's attempt to seize their regional hegemony. In terms of Ukraine war, Russia's aim is to get more regional hegemony, to increase its hegemony over the Ukraine and maximize the level of security in the region. Russia is also trying to re-gain its own prestige it once had during Cold War period.

Ryan Barrett identified ways to apply soft and hard power tools in terms of analysing Russia's offensive position in Ukraine. What is more, Russia's tools of hard power are military intervention, interference in elections and manipulating Ukraine's energy contracts.<sup>14</sup> Russia's soft power elements applied in Ukraine is Russian's propaganda activities or role of the media that emphasizes the importance of the historical ties between the two states. The complexity of the underlying causes of the conflict that makes it difficult to address the problems between Russia and Ukraine.

On the system level of analysis, from Russian perspective, the countries that lie to the west and south should never come under strong geopolitical influence and control of major powers that see Russia as a threat or rival. This seems to account for why Russia has vehemently argued against the enlargement of European Union and NATO to central and Eastern Europe following the end of the Cold War. The prospects of Ukraine and Georgia joining these two significant western organizations as member appears to have caused Russian military operations in these countries in 2008 and 2014 respectively. Hot conflict between states also illustrates classic realism concept: the idea of a "*security dilemma*," to which Putin has appeared to respond to by threatening the use of sanctions and military actions as well as applying the nuclear weapons.<sup>15</sup>

Realist theory stresses on that Russia's invasion of Ukraine because of the US backed expansion of NATO eastwards and discrediting of Russia's status as a great power. Irredentism is a policy of advocating the restoration to a country of any territory formerly belonging to it. Irredentist states try to expand to its former borders and keep its dominant position on the states. This concept can be best attached to Russia's rising offensive behaviour against Ukraine. To say differently, Russian irredentism is about establishing Greater Russia which means conquering former Soviet and Russian Empire territories Russia is seen as acting rationally to the chancing material reality.<sup>16</sup> For example, James Nixey, director of the Russia and Eurasia programme, says: '*There is no going back after this. The war now is as much about Russia's regime survival as it is about the survival of Ukraine.*'<sup>17</sup> Realism theory appears to have become a popular approach in understanding states behaviours in the system.

### **The Diverse Effects of the Ukraine- Russian's War on the System and Transformative Role of the West on the Ukraine Foreign Policy**

Enlargement policy had been effective in increasing the role of the EU in the international arena. Today, with its important foreign policy tools, diplomatic, economic, and military operations for peace keeping and peace enforcement, the EU is playing important roles in the international arena and gaining stature as a global actor. Ukraine in the EU, they have taken the partnership one step further by signing partnership agreements with EU. The privileges that EU offers to its neighbours are not only financial assistance, but also easy access to the EU territory. EU enlargement has political benefits on members of the community such as the extension of peace, stability, prosperity, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The pull of the EU has helped to transform its candidates and members into modern, well-functioning democracies with market economies. In this process, the European Union exercise impact on these candidate states through both soft power and smart power, however also through hard power from the economic perspective.

*Europeanization* as a new identity building, administrative innovation, and cultural change in a country. The EU supports the greater changes in neighbouring countries for the future. The great support that had been provided to Ukraine by the European Union has accelerated Russia's adoption of revisionist attitudes. An important aspect of Europeanization is improving efficiency in policy and decision making. The prospective EU membership has provided a strong incentive for adopting major political change in Ukraine. Ukraine's close cooperation with the European Union also accelerated the intervention of the Russia and the division of the country in Western Ukraine, pro-EU citizens of Russian origin are in the majority in the East Ukraine has taken a pro-Russian separatist position.

The Western vision of the reason behind the Russian invasion is that Russia is threatened from Ukraine being a liberalized country, out of the Russian influence, and seeks cooperation with the Western countries in trade, security, and politics. This is from the day the EU-Ukraine crisis began since then, economic sanctions have been imposed on Russia using soft power instruments and he reciprocated by increasing economic assistance to the Ukrainian government. To illustrate that, in the process, 15 billion-Euro financial aid package has been presented to Ukraine.<sup>18</sup> Further financial assistance for Ukraine in the EU budget 2020-2027, it is expected to be increased. After announcing that it will implement an Association Agreement with the EU, more pressure from Russia, Ukraine is difficult as Russia's annexation of Crimea makes Ukraine prefer the EU it remains the case. After the clashes, Donetsk and Luhansk declared their independence in the system. If Ukraine establishes closer relations with the EU, these regions of the Russia will also be independent recognition as republics will be instrumental in the further growth of the crisis.

As a matter of fact, Russia since the beginning of the 2017, it has temporarily accepted the passports suppressed by the separatist units.<sup>19</sup> To illustrate that, Ukraine and Georgia are short of the Schengen Area in 2017 they have had a visa-free travel regime for a period.<sup>20</sup> In general, within the scope of the Europe's neighbouring policy, the Eastern dimension of the EU countries with Ukraine when their relations are examined, it is seen that Ukraine is the largest trading partner of the EU.<sup>21</sup> The countries that have established the closest and integrated relationship with the EU within the scope of the Eastern Partnership are Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova.<sup>22</sup>

By the end of the 2021, when Zelensky came into power, he promised to pursue more pragmatic policy against Russia. Zelensky have pushed multiple policies to prevent the pillars of Russian influence in the state. Firstly, Zelensky closed Russian television networks to prevent the propaganda initiatives in the system. He also pushed to reform the security services to deprived Russian sympathizers who took a revisionist position in the takeover of Crimea in 2014.<sup>23</sup> .By the way, Russia also held a mock referendum, according to this people wanted Crimea to be a part of Russia this was used for giving the invasion a '*legal*' look .Before the Orange Revolution, Putin has claimed that citizens of Ukraine remain under the Russian nation but for years, the belief was disregarded and this campaign was also underpinned. Ukrainian national identity concepts have been emphasized by Zelensky in the foreign policy decisions. To illustrate that, for life leader Yuriy Boiko, perhaps the most prominent pro-Russian voice in post-Yanukovych Ukraine, threw his support behind Zelensky and declared that "*We have one country—Ukraine, and we must defend it!*"

It is a fact that Ukraine is an irreplaceable country for Russia so that it takes all the risks in states policy. One of the important factors that make Russia more irredentist is rise of nationalism in the state. The underlying causes of Russian revisionist policies in Ukraine based on its historical linkage with Ukraine. Russian continuous attack on the provinces of Ukraine is to gain more power over the Ukraine, to prevent increasing influence of Western forces over Ukraine and to gain more territory in the state. Russian attack on Ukraine provinces such as Donetsk and Luhansk in 2022 caused bloody conflict to be started. Despite economic, political, and normative price of the war, Russia has a determination to bring Ukraine back and remove its connections with western states and

western based international organizations. Ukraine had attempted on path of democratization like the Western model.

### **The Effects of the Ukraine -Russian War on the Transformation of Transatlantic Alliance**

While the foreign policy understanding of the leaders in the international system, which is carried out through the variables in the systemic structure, progresses within the framework of the concepts of interest and value, the concept of interest has been more prominent. After the 9/11 political crisis and the 2008 economic crisis, the United States lost its dominant position in the system and its hegemony started to be questioned more than before. The formations built in the face of the Western liberal order, the growing populist reactions to liberalism, and the rising nationalism have made the concept of the national interest became more important than value-oriented projects. The increasing practices of the Trump administration towards the “*America First*” discourse, the making of foreign policy decisions within the framework of cost-benefit analysis, and the prominence of discourses supporting realist theories have brought transatlantic relations to the breaking point.<sup>24</sup>

The importance given by the Donald Trump administration to cost-benefit policies that put forward national interests and increasing demands on countries within the EU have led to a great damage to the existing structure, which has been built on values for many years. As a result of interest-oriented policies of the Trump administration, transatlantic relationship had been affected harshly. The analysis clearly reveals his policy changing in the system. For example, his continuous support to Britain exit (Brexit) process, his close relationship with the far-right leaders of the Europe and his unilateral withdrawn from Paris Climate Agreement are vital evidence to show policy change in the USA. The developments that have shown that the West is no longer acting on the axis of common values, but in a monolithic manner under the roof of common interests. This part of the study aims to reveal the transformation in EU policies within the framework of international developments by addressing the character of the USA and EU relationship. In particular, the deceleration of the concept of liberal value, the increasing importance of the foreign policy understanding in the axis of the concept of national interest and the reconstruction of the balance of power between states trigger a change in the current order.

In this perspective, Russia sees NATO expansion toward the east a major geopolitical concern for her national security. But the political and military involvement in the NATO side have developed contrary to what Russia desired. Ukraine war have changed the balance of power relationship in transatlantic sphere. After all, European states started to move together in the face of Russian aggressive behaviour in the system. It is a well-known fact that the common threat perception of the states accelerated cooperation between states. To illustrate that, NATO which is a North Atlantic Security Defence organization first time provided all military support on the Ukraine territory which is not a member of the union to protect its members and borders against Russian invasion. Likewise, NATO had played a significant position in Western continent against Russia during the Cold War period. On the regional level, Russia treats Ukraine as a buffer state that separates it from the Western European countries and NATO, whose expansion is also perceived as a threat by the Russians. Especially, Western Ukraine is more connected to the EU ideologically and in terms of supporting democratic values, while Crimea and Eastern Ukraine relate to the post-Soviet tradition.

Ukraine is a country that has a desire to become a member of EU and willing to be part of the Western community rather than Russian sphere. Following the Russian unilateral attack on Ukraine on February 24, 2022, Ukraine has applied for EU membership on February 28, and Moldova followed this with its own application on March 3. The European Council has also granted both countries as candidate status on 23 June 2022. That, Ukraine, and Russian conflict has caused European countries

to be *in solidarity* against Russian imperialist attempts in the system. European countries which keep using excessive military and financial support to Ukraine changed the routine of war in the advantages of Ukraine.

The Russian government has claimed that Ukraine's ambition to join NATO military alliance represent a dangerous threat to Russia's national security, and this ambition will expand NATO to the east and bring NATO closer to the Russian borders and thus pose an existential threat to Russia.<sup>25</sup> Recently, the separatist policies that have been effective in NATO for a long time and the conflicting interests between states have started to move in a different line with the Ukraine crisis. In other words, the EU and NATO have almost found a "*second life*" for themselves. For example, a country like Germany, which has kept its defence expenditures below 2% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for years, puts this attitude aside and expresses a defence expenditure target of 100 billion.<sup>26</sup>

NATO member units have begun to process of upgrading their military expenditures so that they can defend their regions and borders against Russian aggression. It is important to mention that the war in Ukraine has established grounds for the further consolidation of the NATO alliance and revise their security strategies in the union. While Ukraine crisis led countries to act together on the western flank against Russia, it also enabled the rebuilding of the long-standing trust in the transatlantic alliance.

Although the Cold War ended, the strategic rivalry between major powers has never ended. Russia revived in the 2000s economically and resurgent Russia sought to reposition herself an equal power of the US and reclaimed its heydays. This has been one of the presumptions that facilitated the Russian attack on Ukraine. This conflict can be considered as a clash of two opposing ideologies represented by the West on one side (the EU, the UN, NATO), and Russia on the other side. John Mearsheimer have stressed on that the "*West's final tool for peeling Kyiv away from Moscow has been its efforts to spread Western values and promote democracy in Ukraine and other post-Soviet states, a plan that often entails funding pro-Western individuals and organizations.*"<sup>27</sup> The Western community which has acted jointly against Russia's invasion on the Ukraine region, tried to steer the crises in a harmonious way. While NATO continues to provide military support to the member states in the Eastern part within the scope of Article 5, '*the parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all*'<sup>28</sup> the EU has decided for the first time in history that it will finance the purchase and delivery of weapons and other equipment's to Ukraine at war.

It is unveiled that while the transatlantic alliance community acting under a single roof against Russia, the loss of trust in the alliance with the Ukraine crisis was regained, the harmony within the union was restored. The fact that Europe's security has been provided under the roof of NATO that shows the inadequacy of Europe's strategic military and defence mechanisms. For example, two states such as Sweden and Finland whose application put into practice in NATO to secure their borders against Russian offensive behaviour. In the Ukraine war, the EU and the US took *a united stance* and have taken important decisions by acting jointly in the field of military and security areas for the Ukrainian lands. After EU having provided three tranches of support totalling 1.5 billion this year, a fourth tranche will add €500 million to the resources already mobilized under the EPF for Ukraine.<sup>29</sup> The new sanctions target several front-line companies outside of Russia, their family members, relatives of members of the Russian National Security Council. To illustrate that, visa restrictions were also imposed by the USA on almost 910 Russian citizens.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, USA President, Joe Biden administration applied for additional security and military assistance package for the Ukraine. The EU and its allies, such as NATO, have adopted tough sanctions aimed at causing serious damage to Russia's economic situation. Ukraine war prevailed that European countries and USA responses are like each other in a way that they show a huge support to Ukraine by providing financial aid, isolating

Russia from international organizations and imposing multiple sanctions on Russia. To illustrate that, Russia has been expelled from the Council of Europe after 26 years of membership. It means that Russia is no longer bound to EU Human Rights standards. Russia has been condemned by international law and also been isolated in the international arena by withdrawing from international organizations.

Ukraine crisis has also induced important security problems in the Europe. For example, the Ukrainian authorities announced that they will not apply visas to those who want to come to Ukraine from foreign countries to fight, and they will send prisoners with combat experience from prison to the fronts. This issue may lead to other problems for the EU, which has opened its doors to Ukrainian citizens, as well as for Ukraine itself in the future. European members have faced huge *migration problems* after the mobilization of Ukraine citizens to European countries. This issue will have a spillover effect on economic, psychological, and social problems in the Europe.

Although the exclusion of Russia from international arena, the closure of airspace, the introduction of sanctions, all these are issues that were perhaps foreseen by the Russian state and measures were taken accordingly by them, businessmen, athletes, artists and ordinary citizens are being harmed. One of the most important reasons for the harshest and multifaceted application of sanctions is probably the desire to create a war opposition within Russia as well. However, western countries after showing their special interest to Ukraine have faced severe economic limitations or obstacles by Russia. For example, Russia has a future to reduce gas flows to Europe especially in the winter term. As a result of this, energy shortages and high prices will have a harmful effect on Europe's economy. European countries have also faced huge economic problems after excessive use of resources and harsh embargo policies applied by Russia.

As a result of blocking gas flow from the EU, European Union will be more addictive to USA energy in its production of units and other areas of the economy in the future. As two major suppliers of energy, food and commodities, Russia's conflict with Ukraine has caused disruption in supply for both developing and developed countries. '*Europe will never return to meaningful dependency on Russian fossil fuels,*' says Antony Froggatt, deputy director of the Chatham House Environment and Society programme.<sup>31</sup> The most fundamental change has been Europe's shift away from reliance on Russian gas and finding alternative routes for supplying renewable energy for their economy.

To conclude, the future effect of the war depends not only on the EU economy, but the conflict has also become Europe's worst security crisis since the end of the Second World War. Although the Ukraine crisis have had a positive impact on transatlantic relations, prevented disagreements between NATO allies and solved all question marks about alliance cohesion, it raised many questions in a different area of the state.

### **The Effects of Russian- Ukraine War on US-led Unipolar International Order: Cooperation of China and Russia Towards a Multi-Polar World Order**

Beyond the role of the Ukraine conflict in the European Union and its multiple effects on the transatlantic alliance, China's transformative role in the system deserves deeply analysis to understand the multiple dimensions of the battle in the international system. In a changing environment, the decrease in the influence of the possessive role of the United States within the system, the loss of the protective role of the liberal order and the abandonment of the concept of value in the continent in the face of the concept of interest have led to the expansion of the field of action of substitute forces within the system. China, which assumes more and more participatory roles in the international system every day, has been the country that has benefited the most from the changing conjuncture within the system. The emergence of China, which is one of the rising powers in the new world order, as a strong competitor to the United States has ensured that the balances of power established within

the system have been deconstructed. China's increasing efforts to transfer its superiority gained on the economic ground to the political ground are indicative of its attempts to change the system.

The important fact that China is at the centre of the global production, its increased active participation in international institutions such as BRICS, SCO, its developing soft power mechanism such as spreading Confucius institutions around the regions and its increasing humanitarian intervention role within the system guarantee its legitimacy position in the global structure. In the face of the developing Chinese power, the United States, taking a backward step towards becoming the owner of the system, has contributed to the start of a new hegemonic competition, while risking its position in the Western alliance. With the rise of emerging powers in the system, including Russia and China, Western dominant ruling position began to be questioned more and more. Among other efforts, Russia and China have decided to increase their bilateral relations and cooperate on multiple projects and launched various military operations in the system.

One of the most important organizations that both countries hold an important position and play an enormous role is Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) which is established in order to attain regional security, establish a new energy club and reduce US influence in the region.<sup>32</sup> The SCO was established in 2001 by the initiatives of Russia and China in order to provide mutual trust relationship, protect borders by enemies and creating alternative institutions against Western based organizations. Russia and China collaboration in SCO unveils that both countries have an ability to balance US hegemony by the soft power mechanisms.

With implementing soft power mechanism, both China and Russia are taking an important step in other regional organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN), Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa Organizations (BRICS) and One Belt One Road (OBOR) projects to establish a multi polar world system. BRICS organization was built to protect their economic interests and expand their influence as well as create an economic power to compete with the US.

China is a primary supportive force behind the Russian foreign policies in the system. China and Russia both are joining forces and cooperating in multiple organizations by using the soft power balancing strategies to build alternative routes and various projects against the unipolar world led by the United States. In the Post-Cold War, US unilateralism and convergent interests have pushed China and Russia to further their cooperation and become strategic partners. Their convergent interests have activated them to cooperate on several issues and increase their alternative regional integrations. During the Post cold war period, China and Russia tries to provide a secure environment, gaining more allies, increasing regional cooperation, and challenging US led international order in the system. Russia and China are among the countries that are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Both countries policies mainly adopted on shared resentment of USA hegemony in the system.

In addition to the SCO, BRICS is another vital project of Chinese and Russian cooperation aimed at strengthening their economic, regional, and social forces through the formation of blocs. BRICS is an important structure that represents the future of the global southern countries and welcome to other emerging countries in the system. BRICS represents the existing multicultural international system. Besides that, One Belt and One Road (OBOR) is one of the important Chinese based economic and politic projects that have a massive effect on the changing the balance of power in the system. OBOR is an ambitious economic development and commercial project focusing on improving the connectivity and cooperation between multiple countries spread across the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is also political and cultural strategy to reconstruct a Sino-centric regional order. This '*proactive*' initiative reflects the emerging shift in China's foreign policy towards supporting its arrival as a global economic player and a dominant regional player. Russia is a key player in this projects that enhanced the cooperation with China on different projects at regional level.

It is important to consider that Russia and China both keep strong ties in their economic, political, and military relationship in the system. They are strong supporter of each other in multiple issues on the international stage. China with its growing economy, its multi-regional projects and its rising soft power balancing strategies aimed at gaining its power status in the system. Recently, both had deep relationship in multiple projects so that they will enrich their position to counterbalance against the Western oriented international system. Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, China's position has been ambivalent. China have chosen to be a neutral country in terms of keeping its national interests and balanced position between Western and Eastern side. For example, United Nations Security Council made a declaration on stopping Moscow's military action immediately and withdrawing its troops but Russia blocs Security Council to take any action to Ukraine. While *11 of the Council's 15 members* voted on stopping Moscow's military action but China India, and the United Arab Emirates abstained.<sup>33</sup> For China, not only Russia, but also the West, especially the United States, will be responsible for what happened in Ukraine, because the West has constantly ignored Russia's security concerns.

According to the Chinese government, USA has used excessive sanctions on Russia to expand its influence on the system and expand its power on the geo economic level. That, both Moscow and Beijing have perceived NATO not as a defensive alliance but as an instrument of American expansionism. While, it has blamed enlargement of NATO, which Russia has stated as a reason for starting the war, it has stressed respect for Ukraine's territorial integrity. The expansion of cooperation networks between China and Russia in economic, diplomatic, and political fields in recent years, the fact that the two leaders can speak a common language, and they are often on the same front in global governance. The main driving force behind war is that ongoing war could reshape the *US-led unipolar international order*, advocating for a shift towards a *multi-polar order* that would reinstate Moscow's lost status following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

On the contrary, the war in Ukraine tests China's ability and last chance to gain global recognition in the world.<sup>34</sup> An important advantage for China is that a weakened Russia may drive Moscow away from the West and closer to Beijing as China's "*junior partner*". The war in Ukraine pushed China to be more active in expanding its influence in Central and South Asia, while confronting the US and the EU with their strict policies towards Russia and internal social and economic difficulties. For China to continue its "*remote diplomacy*" and pursue its "*strategy of peaceful development*", it is wary of Western sanctions and refrains from directly supporting Russia. China also used this situation as an opportunity for itself in expressing its certain behaviour on Taiwan issue.

Having looked at the advantages of conflict have made a big contribution to keep strategic alliance status of China to Russia, it also caused some challenges for China. It is fact that the clouded political situation due to China's close ties with Russia poses a risk for China that threatens China's reputation and image abroad, while the increase of political and ideological polarization in Southeast and South Asia due to China's war also adds complexity to China's relationship with Russia. At the same time, China's economy has also being affected harshly because of decreasing the demand on the Chinese products and goods during the war. It is known fact that China is Ukraine's largest trading partner in the international system. To illustrate that, the bilateral trade rate between China and Ukraine reached 18.97 billion dollars in 2021. While China's imports from Ukraine increased by 8 billion dollars, by 12.7% compared to the previous year, its exports to Ukraine increased by 31.9% compared to the previous year, by 10.97 billion dollars.<sup>35</sup>

On March 5, 2022, the Ukrainian government has banned the export of many important agricultural products, especially barley, corn, and buckwheat.<sup>36</sup> These developments might have a negative effect on China's agricultural cooperation in Ukraine and imports of agricultural products in the short term. The Ukrainian war has also created some risks for China to damage its economic

relations with European countries. European countries are biggest trading partners in the system. For example, more than half (52%) of the total 137 imported products that the sensitive economies of the EU depend on are products originating from China.<sup>37</sup> Because of China's mediator role in the system, China has to watch its steps carefully, keep its neutral position and protect its reputation in the system.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, China that has been buying the most weapons from Ukraine for many years. For example, according to research by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), China accounted for 31% of Ukraine's arms exports between 2015 and 2019.<sup>39</sup> Given that the import of weapons is of great importance in the development of China's military and defence industry, it seems unlikely that Beijing will easily spend on such an arms supplier as Kiev.

While China has economic and military linkages with Ukraine in multiple projects, China has a huge dependency on Russia's gas resources. For example, Russia plans to ship 38 billion cubic meters of gas per year to China when it starts operating at full capacity in 2025. China is now the equal largest importer of Russian oil and has signed a new 30-year gas deal. China is Russia's largest trading partner, given that the sanctions remaining in the grip of a possible decline in the growth rate of the Russian economy in the next period would affect its economic relations between China and Russia is obvious. For example, bilateral trade during the first nine months of this year reached 136.09 billion USD, an increase of 32.5 per cent over the same period one year earlier. China has also ramped up its imports of Russian oil and gas, purchasing more than 50 billion USD of Russian energy products since the war in Ukraine began.<sup>40</sup> Especially, power of Siberia 2 that is a pipeline transports Russian natural gas through Mongolia to China. In this conflict, China must keep its balanced position between Russia and Ukraine, also to protect its peaceful development strategy around the globe. It can be rational action for China to pursue a balanced policy in the coming periods according to the course of the war. At the same time, it should be noted that the shift of the focus of Western countries, especially the United States, from the Indo-Pacific to Eastern Europe due to the war is in the interests of China in the short term.

China is a *big supporter* of the Russia to achieve a favourable outcome in this situation. In a discourse analysis of the conflict, China in the SCO summit which was held in September in Uzbekistan refused to explain the questions and concerns about the war. Despite his obvious doubts about the effects of the war on China, Xi remains committed to his country's partnership with Russia.<sup>41</sup> At that point, Western countries has a little change to reach a consensus with China against Russia, but they still have tried to pull China on their own side and to limit the China's support for Russia. Another important meeting has been held between China and Russia on February 4 in Beijing and issued a joint declaration that their friendship has no limit.

Although China is unwilling to endorse the war between two countries, China also criticizes NATO allies and USA for provoking the conflict by rejecting to recognize Russia's security interests in the region. China's impartial position in the war is became clearer because it has provided little material support to Russia, abstained from the votes in the UN Security Council to condemn the invasion. Although the cost of alignment with Russia outweighs the benefits for China, foreign policy understandings of both states are like each other in the face of united West. Overall, the global competition between the US and Russia has been a long struggle and resulted in the decline of Russia. Ukraine has become *a new venue* of global competition.

### **The Domino Effects of the Ukraine and Russian War on the International System: The Energy, Economic and Migration Dimension**

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has global repercussions on the system. This conflict both shakes the current international system and created domino effects on the different states. Beyond



the economic and political consequences of the war, *death toll and humanitarian tragedy* are the main results of the conflict. Many people had to flee their country and move to other places which increased mobility and a refugee problem emerged upon this. For example, UN General Secretary Antonia Guterres said that the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights had documented dozens of cases of conflict-related sexual violence against men, women, and girls. In other words, this kind of violation is called as public disregard and private disdain. Human rights are universal, inalienable, and interdependent rights. Therefore, all states are obliged to protect its citizens from any arbitrary decision. However, this time Russia violated basic human rights and exploited for political gain. In addition to this, displaced Ukrainians may have an impact on the demographics of the host countries they would reside in. Especially, poor living conditions, the rise of food prices and limits on the transformation are the main challengers of the war.

In addition to human rights violations, *rising energy prices* has a spillover effect on the rising food and commodities' prices so that people are having a big trouble to reach them easily. Especially in Africa wheat is a much-needed product and due to war wheat exporter countries had trouble sending their productions to regions in need. *Food prices* also increased with the outbreak of the war due to both Russia and Ukraine being the largest producers of wheat and other products. Russia's war on Ukraine has led to disruptions in food exports from Ukraine, Russia, and several other countries implementing policies to preserve their national food security. Besides that, Russia has been largest supplier of coal, oil, and gas in the world. The war also caused energy prices go up because of Russia's restriction on supplying gas to member states in Europe. *Higher energy prices* are also a big challenge for industries, which consume Russian gas a lot. This may put economic growth and industrialization at risk. What is more, Russia has deliberately restricted some of its food exports in retaliation against the sanctions that have been imposed. To illustrate that, Russia is rich in natural resources such as nickel, coke, iron and steel. In 2021, it was the world's biggest nickel producer with 250,000 tonnes and EU has a dependence on the 81% nickel of Russia.<sup>42</sup> The reduced Russian and Ukrainian agricultural products mean that the countries who dependent on them will suffer directly because of the war unleashed by Russia.

It is not as a localized conflict between two countries that has domino effects such as economic, political, and cultural issues on the global community. The main driving force in creating domino effects on the system is because of they are biggest players in the energy, food, and fertiliser markets. To conclude this part, the conflict created multiple dimensions in analysing the effects of the war in the system in terms of *humanitarian, food, energy, migration, and demographic areas*.

## Conclusion

Ukraine-Russian war would have far-reaching consequences extending beyond Ukraine itself, impacting Europe and the rest of the world. The Russia-Ukraine war has unprecedented outcomes in terms of humanitarian tragedy since the Second World war, causing death and displacement of countless innocent people, the destruction of cities and individual properties. Firstly, this article aimed to analyse the reason behind Russia's decision to launch a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. To this end, three levels of analysis (system, individual, and state) were chosen to seek an answer to why the Kremlin chose to go to war.

*On the individual level* of analysis, Putin's misadventure in Ukraine has transformed the global actor's behaviours changed the mobility of the society and emphasized the importance of interest oriented foreign policies. Russian attack on Ukraine has resulted from the desire to gain '*renewed global power*' statuses based on imperialistic motives.

*On the state level*, the transatlantic link between the EU and the USA are increasingly flaccid when shaken and even when we go through a period starting in 2014 the Ukrainian war of bilateral relations between Russia and Ukraine has been a hope for the future. Russia's war against Ukraine is analysed by state level analysis, the crisis stems from the increasing role of the states and the international institutions on Ukraine. The state-level analysis focuses on political or economic models of states to understand their foreign policy orientations. State-level analysis argued that certain political or economic models are more likely to cause war, regardless of the behaviour of individuals. In this section, systemic level analysis will be examined in terms of understanding the transformation of system from bipolar structure to unipolar structure. The Ukrainian crisis has shown that while the allied countries are reuniting, they can be united again in common threats or de-confliction areas. The Ukraine crisis has enabled the countries on the Western members of the union to act together by pursuing their common interest against Russia, while also allows rebuilding the long-standing trust in the transatlantic alliance. Although NATO and the EU did not directly take a part in the conflict, they gave important morale to the Ukraine by sending their military technologies, showing that they are on the side of Ukraine and "*will not be an easy bite for Russia*". Not only technical assistance but also psychological and moral support was given to Ukraine. Public opinion or civil society of many countries has condemned Putin's actions and encouraged Ukraine while giving full support to their nationalistic struggle.

*On the systematic level*, the ongoing war could reshape the US-led unipolar international order, advocating for a shift towards a multi polar order that would reinstate Moscow's lost status following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Russia sees NATO expansion toward the east a major geopolitical concern for her national security. Russia believes that the NATO expansion toward the East is an existential threat to its national security. Ukraine has become a new strategic venue for global competition between the West and Russia.

Secondly, on the theoretical analysis, realism is one of the significant explanatory theories that states are prone to take decisions according to their national interests rather than value-oriented policies in the system. This study has multiple results, firstly it implies that states attempt to increase their power because of the security dilemma issues in the system, secondly, national identity issues still play an enormous role in states' decision and lastly, interest based foreign policy decisions are still mostly preferred methods than value based foreign policies in the system. Different interpretations are simply linked to the different trajectories and influencing the geostrategic outcomes and potential scenarios.

Thirdly, although Russia's unilateral attack on Ukrainian territory in violation of international law within the framework of hard power components has led to an unstable order in the international system, it has played an integrative role in the face of divisions and crises that have arisen on the flank of the transatlantic alliance and within the union. The current progress of war has displayed the Ukrainian resistance and determination to defend their country, therefore, the Russian occupation has hardly gained any physical territory so far. Western countries' continuous effort on withdrawing Russia from the Ukraine territories became more evident in the system. This implies that geo-political conflicts tend to have economic, political, and social effects on other countries. China's neutral position in the conflict turns to different level in the process of the war. While China wants to keep its relationship with Western states, pursue its peaceful improvement strategy in the system or trying to resolve this crisis, China strengthen its relationship with Russia by following bilateral agreements in many projects, by making reciprocal visits to each other and showing huge support from the behind of Russia.

Lastly, this article aims to show that states for their own will ignore other countries interests and values. This article concludes that the national interest policies come first then value oriented foreign policies of states. The main contribution of this article to show there are variety of interrelated reasons, but at the same time, which divides the community connects with a long history, strong and effective group opposing ideologies from countries with an extensive network of domains contributes to the complexity of this conflict, individuals with various interests. In the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the critical geopolitical position in which Ukraine is located, its close relationship with Europe, the violation of human rights on the territory of Ukraine and the multifaceted effects of the war on other states made the mediation role of states necessary and required international action.

To conclude that, human history, war is a necessary consequence of social, economic, or national interests. In this context, it seems that Russia's aggressive behaviour stems from the *perceived threats to this country from the West* (America and Europe), *to regain its control or superiority in the Ukraine* and *desire to shift from unipolar to multi polar international system*. The aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union continues to create unease in the international system. Russia-Ukraine war that has generated even more significant changes that are surpassing the impact of smaller, contained conflicts and their outcomes, as observed in certain European conflicts and the Caucasus. Ukraine war also resulted in instability in the different regions of states that empowered to use the military instruments overtly and maximizes the excessive use of economic resources in the system. There is no going back to the status quo ante. A war of territorial conquest, with a lot of losses, has again been initiated, and much will turn on how things unfold from here. The questions that governments around the globe should ask that what kind of strategies they have for the future of the world order or what kind of mechanism they should apply to secure the system and what are the cost and benefits of the wars on the globe. Because the stakes of their decisions during this conflict are extremely high—especially for Ukrainians but for the rest of us, as well. This crisis has affected the finance, energy, trade, and migration negatively in the globe.

To conclude that, the war has left thousands of Ukrainian civilians dead and injured, and cities partially razed to the ground. Ukraine and Russia's society who are the mostly effected from the war has been suffering losses economically, militarily and in terms of manpower. At this point, the Russian-Ukrainian war has not only been defined between two countries, but this conflict has also become a major regional and even global crisis in the system. Thus, China, mentioned in terms of their own interests in the face of crisis that would demonstrate how attitude while also is a strategic partner Russia, which on the one hand, the strategic importance of Ukraine, on the other hand, the attitudes and approaches of western countries including the USA must consider in this process.

Last but not the least, the 2022 Russian-Ukraine war can be best summarized in the words of Antony Blinken, the US Secretary of State as he stated, "*it's bigger than a conflict between two countries. It's bigger than Russia and NATO. It's a crisis with global consequences, and it requires global attention and action*".<sup>43</sup> This study reaches a point that, '*war winner is nobody, but peace winner is everybody*'. At this point, it can be concluded that one of the main destructive effects of wars on human psychology is the belief that the world is not a safe place, and that evil can come from anywhere at any time.<sup>44</sup>

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## Notes

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