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**Impacts of the Russian and Ukrainian Conflict
(2022- the Present)**

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Dedication

well, I could not do it myself and without help, thus I dedicate this dissertation to everyone helped me all these five past years each of family and friends especially my little sister “Ikram”, thank you.

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I want to start by saying a big thank you to my supervisor, Ms. Rezga. She helped me a lot with my dissertation. She was always there to guide me, was very kind, and gave me lots of encouragement. Without her advice, I would not have been able to finish it. I also want to thank Dr. Fetnaci Abdel Hakim and Dr. Abdel Hadi Nadia, who checked my dissertation. Thank you to all of them!

BOUDJENANE Adlane

Abstract

This study explores the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which began in February 2022, on the United States. Also, it delves into the economic, political, and security dimensions of this conflict and how they have shaped the United States of America's behaviour on the global stage. Economically, it examines how fluctuations in international trade and energy markets affect everyday life in the United States of America. Politically, it highlights the nation's efforts to build alliances, garner international support, and impose sanctions on Russia to maintain global stability and influence. In terms of security, the study considers how strategic alliances and friendships worldwide contribute to safeguarding American interests. Ultimately, this research illuminates the profound impact of the ongoing conflict on the United States of America's domestic policies and its role in the world.

Keywords: USA, EU, Russia, Ukraine, Putin, Zelensky

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General Introduction

The war began, and soon its results started to appear on Russia and Ukraine, and even on the whole world. It doesn't matter where you are, in the east or the west, the far north or the south, it doesn't matter your economic and political power; everyone is concerned with this war.

The popular belief worldwide was that the global financial sanctions unleashed on Russia, the seizure of assets and properties of the oligarch friends to President Putin for Russia's current attack on Ukraine could cripple the Russian economy and hinder any further attack on Ukraine. This was the logical reasoning; however, the impact of this war extended to the global economy.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to review the impact of the 2022 Russia-Ukraine war on one of the most global economic and political actors, who unleashed financial sanctions on Russia as punishment, the United States of America.

Evidence from reviewed literature, shows that although the consequences of this crisis have had a fatal impact on Russia's economy, the world economy has begun to feel the impact of this crisis. Inflation which is already ravaging most global economies is steadily rising due to the sharp increase in oil, natural gas, and food prices just a few days into this crisis. Experts expect a negative impact on household consumption, increase uncertainty, unpredictable stock swings, supply chain disruptions, bulging utility bills, decreased investment due to political risks, and economic growth impediments. It is therefore vital for policymakers worldwide to seek alternative means of survival if Russia decides to react by restricting its export of vital global commodities of which it is a significant export leader like oil, natural gas, wheat, neon, titanium, palladium, and ammonium nitrate.

I am going to try to explain with numbers and statistics on the economic, political and social effects of this war on the treasury of the American state and the pocket of the American citizen, as well as the prestige of the most powerful global economy, this leads us to numerous important questions:

- What is the extent of the impact of this war on the United States of America? How was the US economy affected and to what degree?
- How the response of the United States of America was?
- Is the United States of America benefiting or harmed from this war?

To answer these questions, I am going to try to collect various data and link them to current events trying to extract a specific pattern of US policy leads us to conclusions that may be sufficient to answer the previous questions. In the first chapter, my talk will be about the geopolitical and historical situation of Russia and Ukraine, and given the nature of this event, there is no way to delve deeply into it without understanding the real backgrounds and reasons, both apparent or hidden, reasons led to the outbreak of this conflict between the two neighbours and allies in the recent past, which ultimately made Russia decide to move its arsenal towards Ukrainian territory to invade it, for the first time in Europe since the end of World War II. In the second chapter, I am going to discuss in general the effects of this war on Russia and on one hand, and the whole world on the other hand, in particular, results that were not expected or taken into consideration at the beginning of the war. Perhaps because the war was surprising in the first place, or because the experts miscalculated the extent of its importance to the world, especially mentioning here the bipolarity between Russia and the United States of America that disappeared after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the extent of the seriousness of the Russians in their endeavour to defend their lands in the way they see effective even and If it was a war against its neighbour and its former dependent, Ukraine, and even against the entire Western world. In the third chapter, I am going to talk about the extent of the impact of this war on the number one power in the world, and how this conflict existing there in Asian lands will have an impact on the other side of American lands. The massive impacts and damage suffered by the US economy from the war (economic inflation, decline in purchasing power, damage to the value of the US dollar in the world, etc.) are going the focus of our discussion in this exciting chapter, supported by numbers, statistics

and charts that will make us understand more. Finally, In the fourth and final chapter, it is going to be divided into two parts. The first part is going to be devoted to talking only about America's general view toward the war, its policy, and the reactions it took or led at the internal (national) and external (global) levels. As for the second section, I will speak from a completely different perspective. The talk is going to be about the positive results of the war on the United States of America. It may be strange at first, but when we delve deeper into them, the vision will become clearer, and this will lead us to build a fair answer to our proposal. Is The United States of America benefiting or harmed from this war? The answer here, frankly, may not be enough for some, simply because it is going to open the context for us to a bigger talk that is difficult to deny or prove, which is did the United States of America really have a hand in the Russian-Ukrainian war in the first place? This study is going to review different types and is going to focus on the ideologies of some famous channels with high credibility in presenting such as Al Jazeera, BBC News and other European and American channels by highlighting their views towards the Russian-Ukrainian war. I used both the quantitative method through statistics, numbers, and tables from different official resources data and the qualitative method due to the controversial nature of the topic and its ideological differences starting from the statements of the famous political figures, arriving at what and why and how ordinary people believe and think, through content analysis and in-depth interviews in order to reach clear results

Chapter I

The Ukrainian Crisis:

The Geopolitical Tragedy of Russia and Ukraine

Introduction

The geopolitical situation between Russia and Ukraine before the 2022 war was complex and fraught with tension. Russia has long viewed Ukraine as part of its sphere of influence, and has been concerned about its growing ties to the West. Ukraine, for its part, has sought to move closer to the European Union and NATO, which Russia sees as a threat to its security.

1. Historical Ties and Soviet Legacy

Russia and Ukraine share a long and complicated history. There are significant cultural, linguistic, and economic ties between the two countries, but also deep-seated political and historical differences that have sometimes led to conflict.

Ukraine was one of the republics within the USSR¹ and the two countries were closely linked economically, politically, and culturally.

When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Ukraine gained independence, but its ties with Russia remained strong due to shared cultural and linguistic roots.

While Ukrainian is the official language of Ukraine the Russian language has always been widely spoken in Ukraine (13.5 million speakers and 18% of the population identified Russian as their first language according to the 2019 Ukrainian census) especially in the eastern and southern regions, which are closer to Russia geographically and culturally.

In 2012, Ukraine passed a law that made Ukrainian the sole language of instruction in schools, with exemptions for minority-language education in regions where the minority makes up at least 10% of the population. The law was seen as an attempt to promote Ukrainian national identity and reduce Russian influence in the education system, but this law was met with protests in the Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine, where many saw it as an attempt to marginalize their language and culture. Russia has also used the issue of language to sow division in Ukraine, portraying itself as the defender of Russian-speaking Ukrainians.

This divide between Ukraine's Ukrainian-speaking west and Russian-speaking east has been a source of tension between the two countries with some Ukrainians seeing the promotion of the Russian language as an attempt by Russia to exert its influence over Ukraine. In fact, many American politicians confirm that Ukraine is Russian because of the very clear language factor and what he published "Mike Cernovich"² on his account on "X"[ex-Twitter] (Figure 1) is one of these samples.

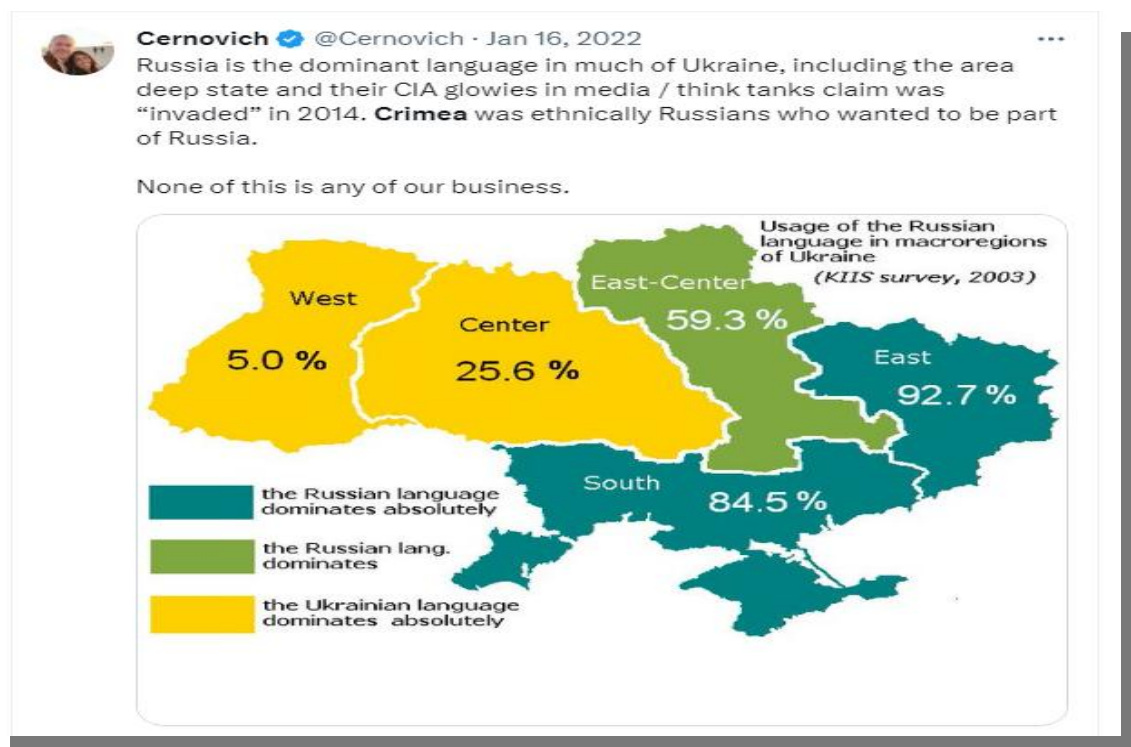


Figure 1 Usage of the Russian language in Ukraine by region (2003).

¹The Soviet Union, officially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), was a transcontinental country that spanned much of Eurasia from 1922 to 1991.

²Michael Cernovich (born November 17, 1977) is an American right-wing social media personality, political commentator, and conspiracy theorist

2. Political and Economic Interdependence

Despite their differences, Russia and Ukraine have remained interdependent economically and politically. Russia has been Ukraine's largest trading partner, providing it with natural gas and other resources, while Ukraine has been an important transit country for Russian exports to Europe. According to the World Bank, in 2019, Russia was Ukraine's second-largest trading partner after the EU, accounting for 9.8% of Ukraine's exports and 16.9% of its imports.

Ukraine, in turn, has also been an important transit country for Russian gas exports to Europe, with the Nord Stream and Yamal-Europe pipelines passing through its territory.

Russia has also been a major investor in Ukraine's economy, especially in the energy and infrastructure sectors.

According to IMF World³, Russian companies invested \$4.6 billion in Ukraine's economy in 2013 alone.

This investment has given Russia significant leverage over Ukraine, as it can use economic pressure to influence Ukraine's policies and decision-making.

According to IMF World too, Russian companies invested a total of \$11.4 billion in Ukraine between 2010 and 2021.

Sector	Amount of Russian investment(USD)
Manufacturing	\$4.6 billion
Energy	\$3.2 billion
Retail	\$2.6 billion
Other	\$1.0 billion
Total	\$11.4 billion

Table 1 Amount of Russian investment persector, Source: IMF World Economic Outlook database, April 2023

As you can see, in the table on the right, the Russian investment in Ukraine has been steadily increasing over the past decade. However, investment declined in 2021, likely due to the ongoing political and economic instability in Ukraine. The most popular sectors for Russian investment in Ukraine were manufacturing, energy, and retail.

Again, as you can see on the right, Table2 shows the amount of Russian investment in each sector between 2010 and 2021. Manufacturing was the most popular sector for Russian investment in Ukraine. The decline in Russian investment in Ukraine is a significant setback for the Ukrainian economy. Foreign investment is essential for Ukraine's economic growth and development. The loss of Russian investment will make it more difficult for Ukraine to attract the capital it needs to

Year	Amount of Russian investment (USD)
2010	\$1.4 billion
2011	\$1.5 billion
2012	\$1.6 billion
2013	\$1.7 billion
2014	\$1.8 billion
2015	\$1.9 billion
2016	\$2 billion
2017	\$2.1 billion
2018	\$2.2 billion
2019	\$2.3 billion
2020	\$2.4 billion
2021	\$1.2 billion

Table 2 Amount of Russian investment per year (USD); Source: IMF World Economic Outlook database, April 2023

rebuild its economy after the war.

It is important to note that the decline in Russian investment in Ukraine is not necessarily permanent. If the war ends and the sanctions on Russia are lifted, it is possible that Russian investment in Ukraine will resume. However, it is also possible that the war will have a lasting impact on the Ukrainian economy, making it less attractive to foreign investors.

³The International Monetary Fund (IMF) works to achieve sustainable growth and prosperity for all of its 190 member countries. It does so by supporting economic policies that promote financial stability and monetary cooperation.

3. Tensions over Crimea

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 was one of the biggest sources of tension and a major turning point in the relationship between Russia and Ukraine before the 2022 war. Crimea had been part of Ukraine since 1954, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it remained part of independent Ukraine, but its population was predominantly ethnic Russian. In 2014, after months of political turmoil in Ukraine, Russia annexed Crimea, citing the need to protect ethnic Russians and Russian speakers in the region.



According to the Ukrainian government, Crimea's population was 2.4 million people before the annexation. Since then, Russia has invested heavily in developing Crimea's infrastructure, with a total of 1.3 trillion rubles (\$17.7 billion) allocated for Crimea's development from 2015 to 2020. Russia has also stationed an estimated 30,000 troops on the peninsula.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 was widely condemned by the international community and was seen as a violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Following the annexation, Russia began supporting separatist movements in eastern Ukraine, leading to a conflict that has claimed over 13,000 lives. The conflict in eastern Ukraine has been marked by a series of ceasefires and peace talks, but has yet to be fully resolved.

4. International Sanctions

After the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014, a number of international sanctions were imposed on Russia by the United States, the European Union, and other countries like asset freezes and travel bans on Russian individuals and entities involved in the annexation of Crimea, restrictions on trade with Crimea, restrictions on the sale of arms and dual-use goods to Russia.

The sanctions were designed to pressure Russia to return Crimea to Ukraine and to deter further aggression; they have had a significant impact on the Russian economy like a big decline

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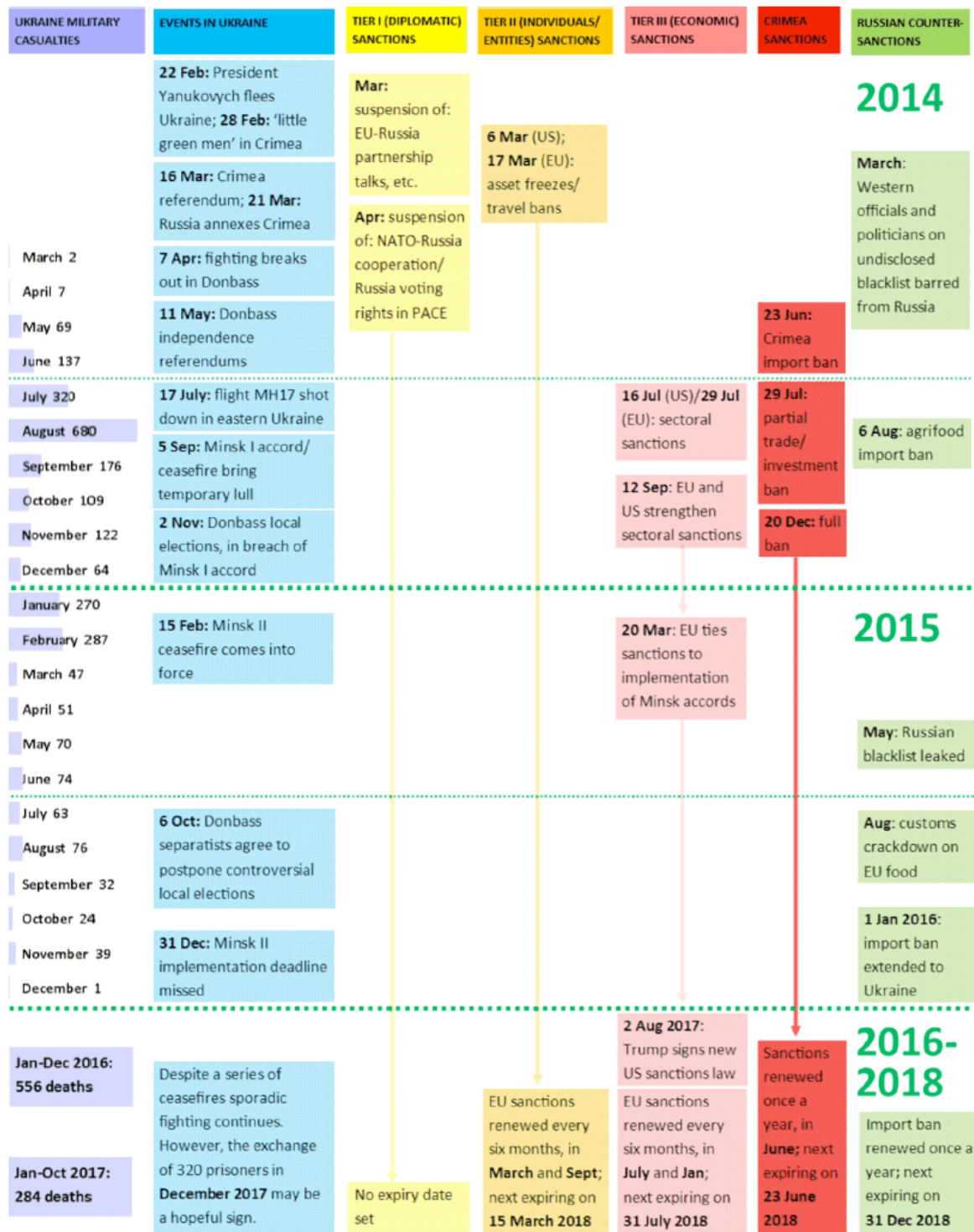
Figure 2 Annexation of Crimea

value
Ruble,

a slowdown in economic growth, and an increase in inflation. The sanctions have also made it more difficult for Russian companies to access international markets, and the most important they have led to a more deterioration in relations between Russia and the West, led us to the 2022 war later.

The picture below (Figure 3) shows the gradual increase in sanctions imposed on Russia by the European Union and the United States of America from 2014 to 2018.

Sanctions timeline, 2014-2018



Data source: Council of the EU, US Department of State; unless otherwise stated, the timeline refers to EU sanctions; data on Ukrainian military casualties vary significantly from one source to another; although these figures from the Ukrainian Military History Museum could not be independently verified, they give some idea of the changing intensity of the conflict.

Figure 3 Sanctions timeline 2014-2018

5. Conflict in Eastern Ukraine

In addition to the annexation of Crimea, another major source of tension between Russia and Ukraine was the ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine.

Starting in 2014, Russian-backed separatists in Donetsk and Luhansk declared independence from Ukraine, leading to a protracted conflict that has killed thousands of people.

Ukraine and Western countries have accused Russia of providing military support to the separatists, including weapons, financing, and troops, a charge that Russia denies.

The ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine has killed over 13,000 people and displaced millions since 2014. According to the Ukrainian government, as of March 2021, there were over 28,000 Russian-backed separatists in the Donbas region.



Figure 4 Towns targeted by separatists, April 2014. Source: BBC News

6. NATO and EU Membership

One of the major sources of tension between Russia and Ukraine if it was really not the real cause is Ukraine's desire to join NATO and the EU. Ukraine first expressed interest in joining NATO in the early 2000s, but it was not until 2014, following Russia's annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, that Ukraine formally applied for NATO membership. In 2014, Ukraine signed an Association Agreement with the EU, which included a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area. Since then, Ukraine's exports to the EU have increased significantly, from \$12.9 billion in 2013 to \$22.2 billion in 2019. Ukraine has also applied for EU membership, although its candidacy has not yet been accepted. NATO has

also increased its presence in Eastern Europe, including in the Baltic States and Poland, in response to Russian aggression in the region. Russia has strongly opposed Ukraine's efforts to join NATO, arguing that it would be a threat to Russian national security and a violation of Russia's sphere of influence. Russia has also opposed Ukraine's efforts to integrate with the EU, viewing it as a Western attempt to undermine Russia's influence in the region. In response to Ukraine's application for NATO membership, Russia has increased its military presence along its border with Ukraine and conducted military exercises in the region. Russia has also increased its propaganda efforts, portraying Ukraine as a fascist, anti-Russian state that poses a threat to regional stability.



Figure 5 NATO has 31 member countries, highlighted in dark blue, and is expected to have Sweden, in light blue, join the alliance. Source: CBS News

7. Energy Dependence

Ukraine is heavily dependent on Russia for its energy supplies, particularly natural gas. In 2020, Russia supplied 45% of Ukraine's natural gas, while Ukraine produced only 20% of its own gas needs. This dependence has given Russia significant leverage over Ukraine, as it can use the threat of cutting off gas supplies as a tool of political pressure.

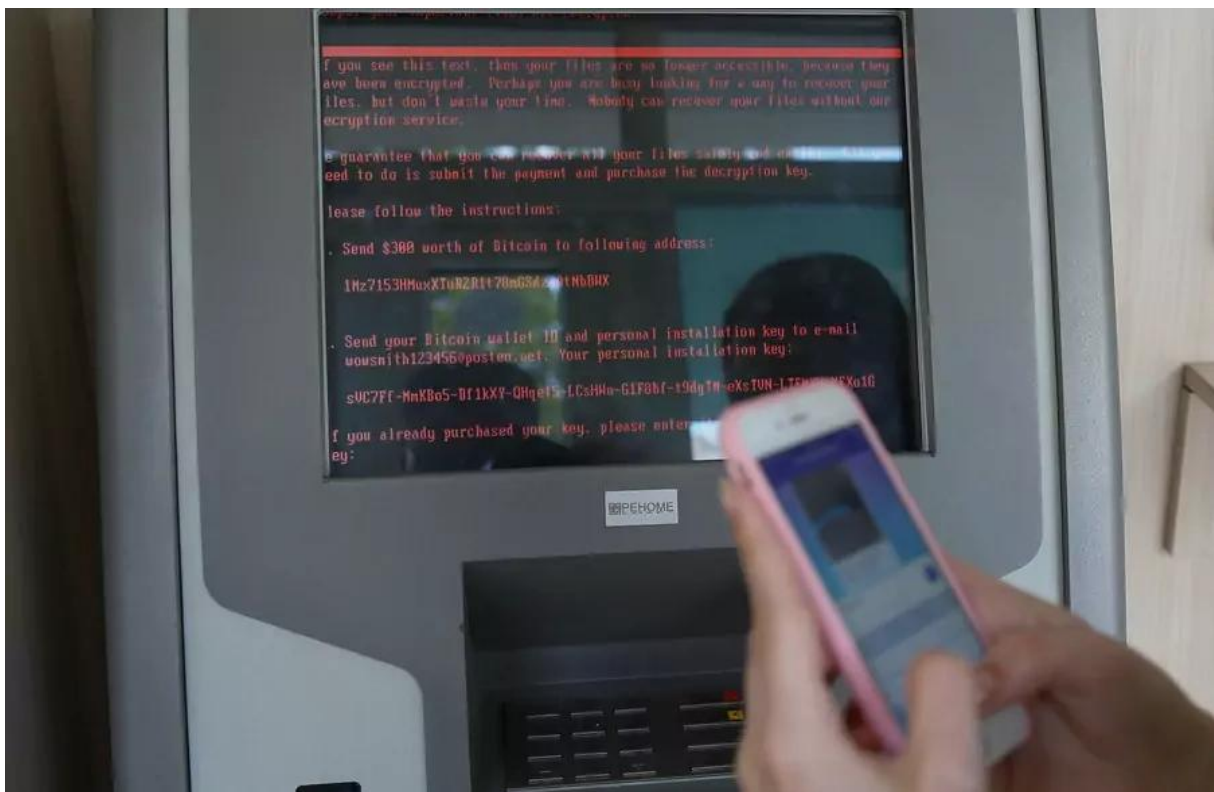
In 2014, Russia briefly cut off gas supplies to Ukraine, citing unpaid debts. The move caused widespread disruption and highlighted Ukraine's vulnerability to Russian energy pressure. In response, Ukraine has sought to diversify its energy supplies, including by importing liquefied natural gas from the United States.

8. Cyberattacks

Cyberattacks have been another source of tension between Russia and Ukraine. Since 2014, Ukraine has been the target of a number of cyberattacks, many of which have been attributed to Russian state-sponsored hackers. These attacks have targeted Ukrainian government and military organizations, as well as critical infrastructure, such as power grids and financial systems. The most notable of these attacks was the NotPetya⁴ malware attack in 2017, which caused widespread damage to Ukrainian and international businesses. The attack was attributed to Russian state-sponsored hackers and was seen as part of a larger effort by Russia to destabilize Ukraine. The Russian government was responsible for the NotPetya cyber-attack. The attack was carried out by the Sandworm hacking group, which is believed to be part of the Russian military intelligence agency. The attack caused billions of dollars in damage and disrupted businesses and organizations around the world.

The NotPetya attack was a destructive malware that spread through email attachments and infected computers by encrypting files and demanding a ransom payment. However, the ransom payment did not decrypt the files, and the attack was actually designed to destroy data. The attack was launched from a Ukrainian-based server, targeted Ukrainian businesses and organizations, and was timed to coincide with Ukraine's Independence Day.

The NotPetya attack was a major escalation in Russia's cyberwarfare campaign against Ukraine. The attack was also a wake-up call for the world, demonstrating the destructive power of cyberwarfare. In 2021, the United States and the United Kingdom imposed sanctions on several Russian individuals and entities in connection with the NotPetya attack. The sanctions were intended to deter Russia from future cyberattacks.



⁴NotPetya is a destructive and widespread ransomware-like malware that caused significant global cyber disruptions in 2017.

Figure 6A message demanding money is seen on a monitor of a payment terminal at a branch of Ukraine's state-owned bank Oschadbank after Ukrainian institutions were hit by the NotPetya malware in June 2017. Valentyn Ogirenko/Reuters

Conclusion

Russia has long viewed Ukraine as a buffer zone between itself and the West. The expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe has been a major source of concern for Russia, and it has led to increased tensions between Moscow and the West. The whole story started when Ukraine moved towards democracy and began to closer ties with the West in recent years. This has been met with resistance from Russia, which has accused Ukraine of being a Western puppet. The tensions between Russia and Ukraine came to a head in 2014, when Russia annexed the Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine. This was followed by a pro-Russian uprising in eastern Ukraine, which led to a civil war that has killed over 10,000 people. In the years leading up to the 2022 war, Russia had been amassing troops on its 1932 km border with Ukraine which led to the intervention of the United States and its allies by warning that Russia was planning to invade Ukraine, but Russia denied these claims. In February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine which has had a devastating impact on Ukraine, and destabilizing the entire region, and causes a global economic crisis, and rises energy prices to crazy levels. The Russo-Ukrainian war has led to a new era called by some the "new Cold War" between Russia and the West led by USA, and has raised tensions in other parts of the world, and honestly, I do not think I am exaggerating if I say it will continue to be a major focus of international attention in the years to come. In summary, the geopolitical situation between Russia and Ukraine before the 2022 war was complex and fraught with tensions. Historical ties, political and economic interdependence, the annexation of Crimea, conflict in eastern Ukraine, NATO and EU membership, energy dependence, and the cultural and linguistic divide between Ukraine's Ukrainian-speaking west and Russian-speaking east all had created a significant rift and contributed to the strained relationship between the two countries. While efforts have been made to resolve the conflict in eastern Ukraine through ceasefires and peace talks, previous factors set the stage for the escalation of the conflict in 2022, which ultimately led to a devastating war between Russia and Ukraine.

Chapter II

The Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on Russia & the world

Introduction

Russia is one of the main players in this war, and we want to understand how the fighting between Russia and Ukraine has affected Russia itself, and how things like money, politics, and people's lives have changed in Russia because of this war! This chapter is like a magnifying glass that helps us see the small details. We'll learn about how Russia's money changed, how its leaders made decisions, and how regular people felt the war's effects. By reading this chapter, we can learn more about what happened in Russia because of the war, and how it's different from before. It's like discovering the hidden story behind the big news, and we are here to explore it together.

1. Effects On The Russian Economy

In recent times, Russia has found itself at the center of a complex economic landscape characterized by significant challenges and disruptions. we will focus on nenerous various facets of Russia's economic situation, exploring the dramatic shifts in its financial flows, the repercussions of import losses on its technology sectors, the impact of sanctions on its crucial

export industries, and the broader implications for its long-term growth potential, Shedding light on the evolving economic landscape of Russia, highlighting the multifaceted issues that shape its present and future. Let's delve into these critical aspects one by one.

1.1. Russia's Financial Flow Takes A Steep Dive

Russia's war in Ukraine has now continued for more than one year, and responding to this war, the EU, the US and many other countries have imposed extensive economic sanctions on Russia to restrict its financial and technological capabilities for warfare. In this part of my study, I am going to discuss how these heavy sanctions were harming Russia's economy. The war and the sanctions have already affected the Russian economy. Russia has been largely isolated from the global economy and found new economic partners only to a limited extent, which made the financial sector in Russia exposed to a severe blow due to the war and sanctions. A large part of the country's currency reserves are frozen, access to international financing is limited, and international payment transactions are difficult.

In the initial days of the invasion, the Central Bank of Russia was obliged to resort to heavy restrictions on capital flows to support the ruble's exchange rate and prevent a financial crisis⁵.

In June 2022 (Four months after the invasion), Russia's government defaulted on external debt for the first time since 1918, as the sanctions prevented payment to international creditors⁶ (Figure 7).



Figure 7 Russia has defaulted on its foreign-currency sovereign debt for the first time since 1918. Su Keenan reports. Source: Bloomberg

⁵Mukhin D, and O Itskhoki (2022), "[Sanctions and the exchange rate](#)", VoxEU.org, May 16.

⁶Su Keenan (2022), "[Russia Slips Into Historic Default as Sanctions Muddy Next Steps](#)", Bloomberg June 26.

Russia's foreign financing has traditionally come mainly from countries that are now sanctioning it⁷. Available data suggest that Russia has been unable to locate significant new sources of foreign finance. Indeed, Russia's net foreign direct investment inflows plunged into historically deep negative territory after the invasion of Ukraine (Figure 8). Hundreds of foreign companies have decided to leave Russia, although Russian officials have severely complicated the exit process. Loss of foreign direct investment has been identified as potentially one of the most devastating consequences of sanctions for the Russian economy⁸.

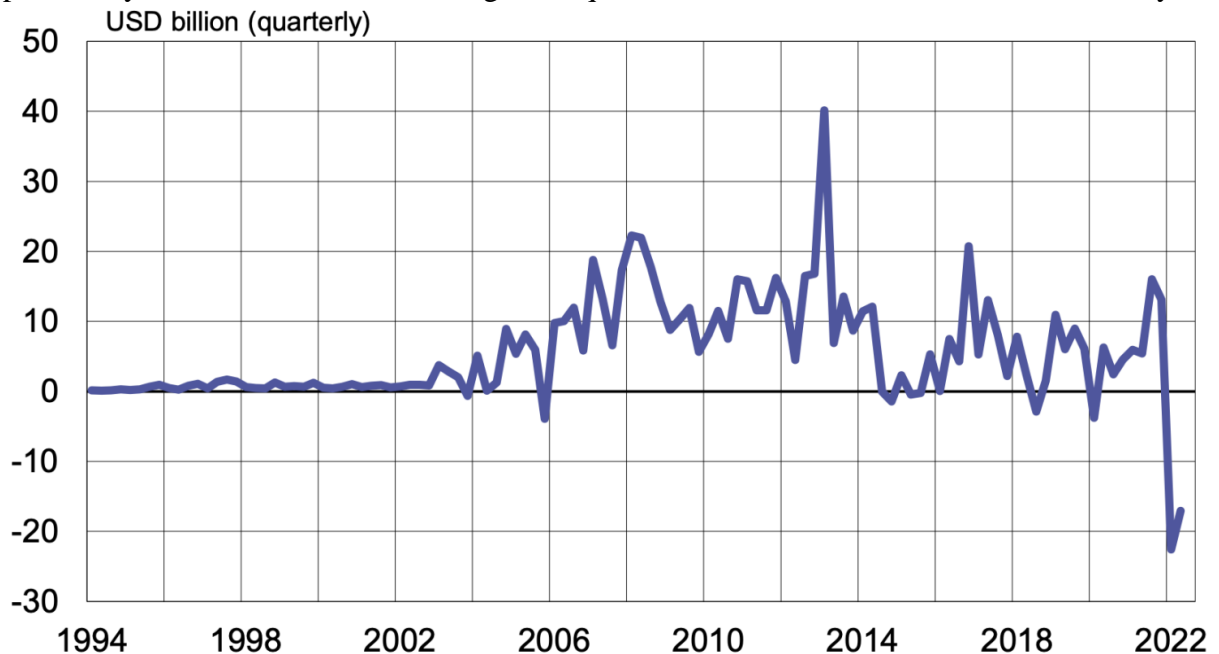


Figure 8 Net flow of inward FDI to Russia
(Sources: Macrobond and Bank of Russia)

1.2. Impact Of Import Loss On Russia's Technology Sectors

The numerous restrictions imposed on exports to Russia focus on high-technology goods, intending to weaken the production capacity of Russia's military industry. Russia has ceased publication of international trade statistics, but Russian imports are estimated to have contracted substantially due to the war and sanctions⁹. Imports of many technology products have fallen particularly sharply. An alternative indicator relying on mirror statistics – export data from key trading partners – suggests that Russian goods imports in September were down by 28% from pre-invasion levels (Figure 8).

⁷Simola 2022: "Can Russia reorient its trade and financial flows?", BOFIT Policy Brief July 2022

⁸Mahlstein, K, C McDaniel, S Schropp, and M Tsigas (2022), "[Potential economic effects of sanctions on Russia: An Allied trade embargo](#)", VoxEU.org, 6 May.

⁹Simola, H (2022), "Russian foreign trade after four months of war in Ukraine", BOFIT Policy Brief 5/2022.

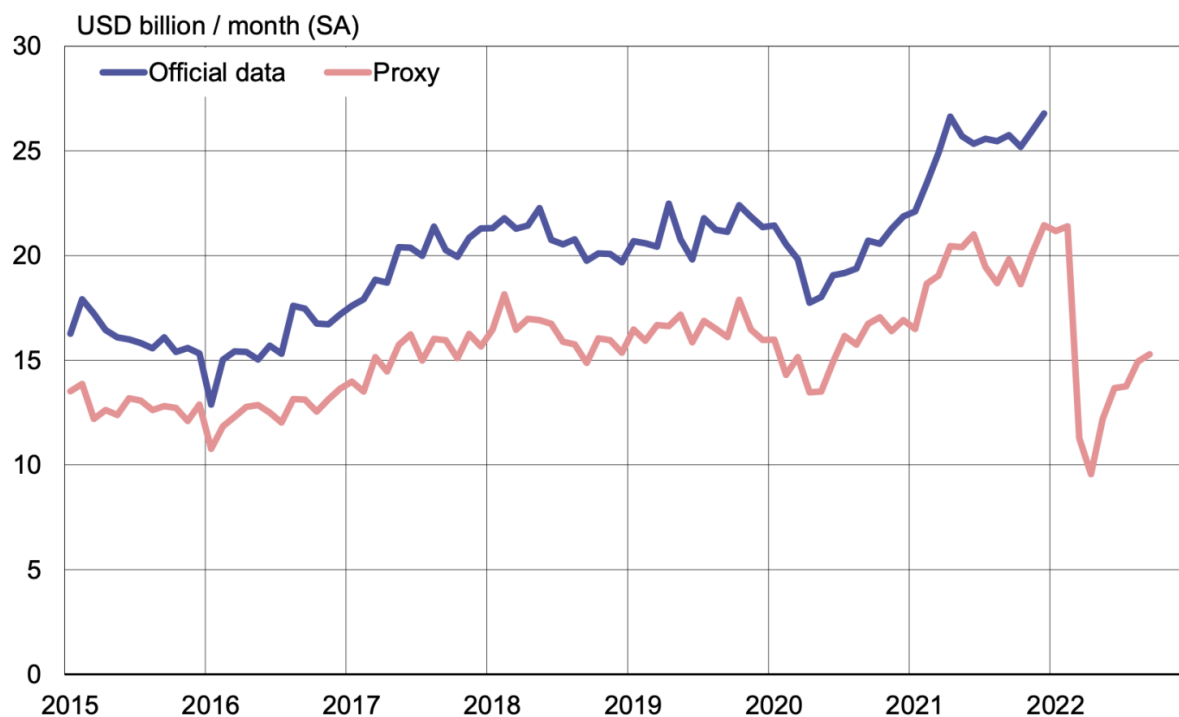


Figure 9 Russia's goods imports based on official data and proxy constructed from mirror statistics
 Sources: Macrobond, Eurostat and BOFIT
 (Bank of Finland Institute for Emerging Economies)

Despite years of trying to substitute imports with domestic production, Russia was highly dependent on imported high-technology goods and inputs before the war¹⁰. Russia's production structure remains, as it has for decades, dominated by mining and low-tech resource-intensive industries. With sanctions now limiting the availability of technology and financing, Russia's prospects for import substitution of technological products have become even more limited.

It appears that so far non-sanctioning countries have not provided Russia with substitutes for most technology goods in any substantial volume. Indeed, Russia's imports from many non-sanctioning countries have also contracted. While Russian imports from China and Turkey have exceeded pre-war levels in recent months, the share of technology products has remained unchanged. Technology imports from neighbouring countries such as Kazakhstan have grown substantially, but the absolute volume is quite modest¹¹.

Output of many goods in Russia's medium- and high-technology industries has contracted sharply. For example, in October the production of trucks was down on-year by 40%, TV receivers by 44% and excavators by 69% (December, 2022). As Russian companies deplete their inventories of imported inputs and the need for maintenance of imported machinery continues, the sting of sanctions will gradually intensify. The small share of these industries in Russia's total output, however, limits the effect on Russia's total manufacturing production.

1.3. Sanctions Already Impacting Key Russian Export Industries

¹⁰Simola, H (2022), "Made in Russia? Assessing Russia's potential for import substitution", BOFIT Policy Brief 3/2022.

¹¹Simola, H (2022), "Can Russia reorient its trade and financial flows?", BOFIT Policy Brief 7/2022.

Sanctioning countries have also imposed restrictions and tariffs on imports from Russia. The sanctions cover many of Russia's key export goods, including crude oil, refined petroleum products, coal, gold, timber, and various steel products. Many of these import restrictions have come with transition periods or other modifications, giving sanctioning countries and global markets time to adjust and soften the ensuing impacts (e.g. a price ceiling on Russian oil shipments instead of a total ban on related services).

Some of the import restrictions implemented earlier are already having a visible impact on Russian industry. For example, Russian wood and steel producers have been unable to find alternative export markets that offer profitable price levels¹². In these industries, output has declined sharply and companies have suffered heavy losses (Figure 9).

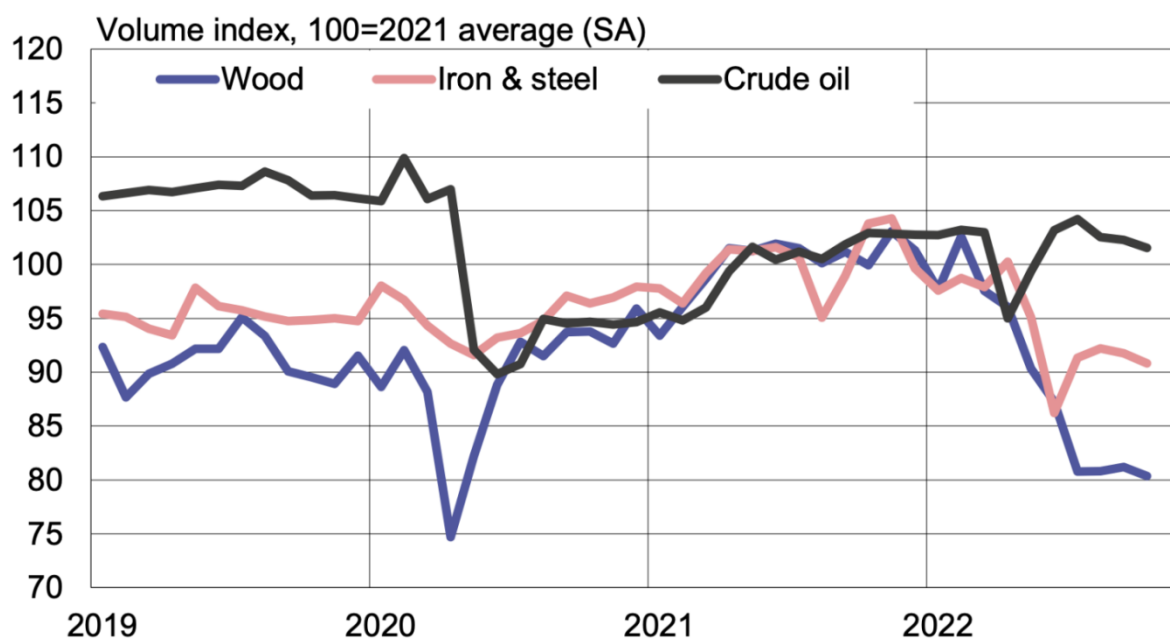


Figure 10 Seasonally adjusted change in monthly output of selected Russian export-oriented industries
Sources: Macrobond and Rosstat

1.4. Weakening Russia's Ability To Grow In The Future

Russia's potential growth already looked rather subdued before the war, with most estimates around 1.5% per year¹³. Russia's long-term growth is restricted by unfavourable demographic trends, low investment rates, and low levels of productivity. The demographic structure is now further darkened by casualties, permanent injury, mobilisation, and emigration caused by war. Investment is hampered by high uncertainty and severely restricted access to foreign financing. Increasing state involvement, an emphasis on military industries, and a lack of access to Western technology weigh further on productivity.

The five-year forecasts of the IMF World Economic Outlook provide a rough illustration of Russia's waning growth potential. Assuming that the fifth forecast year denotes approximate potential growth, the IMF forecasts show the magnitude of the effect of Russia's military aggression and sanctions on its long-term growth since Russia's illegal annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014. In the October 2013 World Economic Outlook, Russia's potential growth was estimated at 3.5% a year (Figure 10). By October 2022, it had fallen to just 0.7% a year. Comparing the 2019 and 2021 forecasts suggests that the COVID-19 pandemic only accounted for about 0.25 percentage points of the forecast decline.

¹²Simola, H (2022), "Russian foreign trade after four months of war in Ukraine", BOFIT Policy Brief 5/2022.

¹³Korhonen, I (2021), "Russia's growth potential post-COVID-19", BOFIT Policy Brief 9/2021.

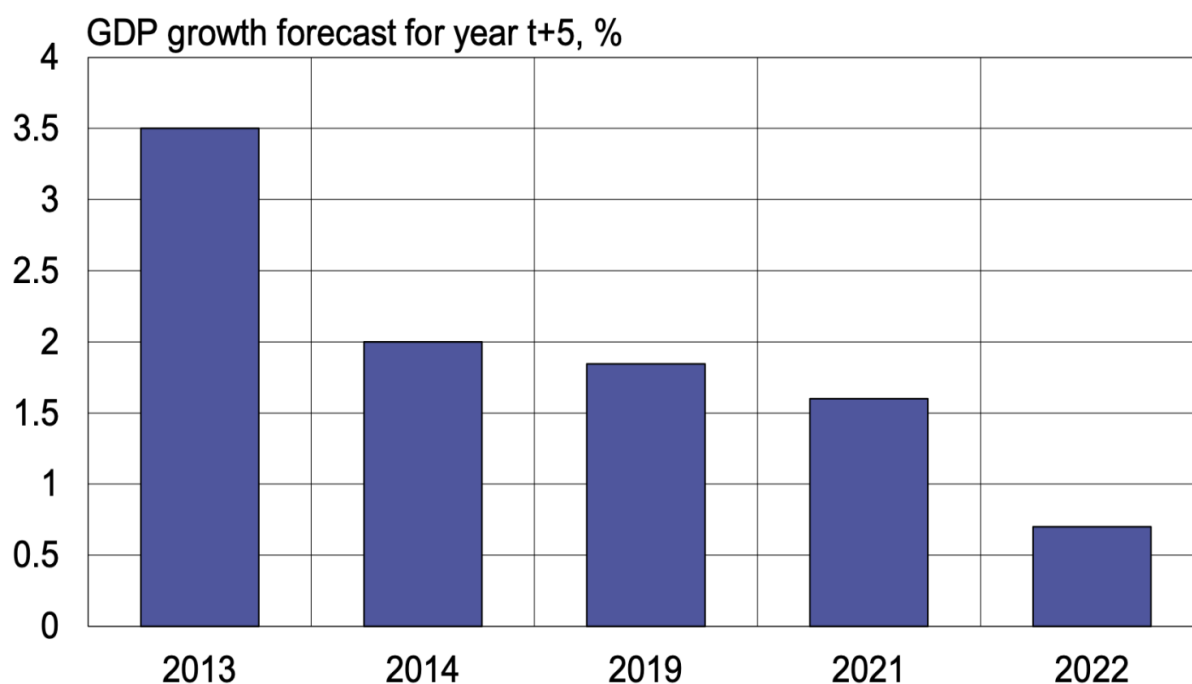


Figure 11 Russia's long-term growth estimate has been cut substantially in the IMF World Economic Outlook forecasts (Source: IMF October WEO from respective years)

2. Effects On The World Economy

The global economic landscape witnessed significant turbulence and challenges in recent times, with profound implications for both developed and developing economies. In this report, we delve into three critical aspects of this economic scenario, beginning by examining the multifaceted shocks that rocked the world economy in the year 2022. These shocks, stemming from various sources, have reshaped the economic landscape, leaving lasting impacts on nations and industries. Next, we delve into the sharp downturn experienced by the world's most advanced economies. Despite their inherent resilience, these developed nations faced unique challenges that disrupted their economic growth trajectories. Finally, we explore the deteriorating economic outlook in many developing regions. These areas, often considered engines of global growth, have faced their own set of obstacles, exacerbating the challenges of achieving sustainable development.

Together, these sections offer a comprehensive overview of the complex and interconnected issues affecting the world economy, shedding light on the uncertainties and opportunities that lie ahead.

2.1. Shocks Impacting The World Economy In 2022

A series of severe and mutually reinforcing shocks struck the world economy in 2022 as it approached the midpoint for achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). With the impacts of the COVID 19 pandemic still reverberating worldwide, the war in Ukraine ignited a new crisis, disrupting food and energy markets, and worsening food insecurity and malnutrition in many developing countries. High inflation unleashed an erosion

of real incomes and a global cost-of-living crisis that has pushed millions into poverty and economic hardship. At the same time, the climate crisis continued to impose a heavy toll, with heat waves, wildfires, floods and hurricanes inflicting massive economic damages and generating humanitarian crises in many countries.

Rapid interest rate hikes, particularly by the Federal Reserve in the United States of America, have had global spillover effects, triggering capital outflows and currency depreciations in developing countries, increasing balance of payment pressures and exacerbating debt sustainability risks.

Rising interest rates and diminishing purchasing power have weakened consumer confidence and investor sentiment, further clouding near-term growth prospects for the world economy. Global trade has softened due to tapering demand for consumer goods, the protracted war in Ukraine and continued supply chain challenges.

Against this backdrop, the world output growth forecast was revised down significantly from the May 2022 projection (Figure 12). The world gross product growth is projected to decelerate from an estimated 3.0 per cent in 2022 to only 1.9 per cent in 2023, marking one of the lowest growth rates in recent decades. Global growth is forecast to moderately pick up to 2.7 per cent in 2024 should, as expected, some of the macroeconomic headwinds begin to subside next year. Inflationary pressures are projected to gradually abate amid weakening aggregate demand in the global economy. This should allow the US Federal Reserve and other major central banks to slow the pace of monetary tightening and, eventually, shift gears to a more accommodative monetary policy stance. The near-term economic outlook remains highly uncertain, however, as a myriad of economic, financial, geopolitical, and environmental risks persist.

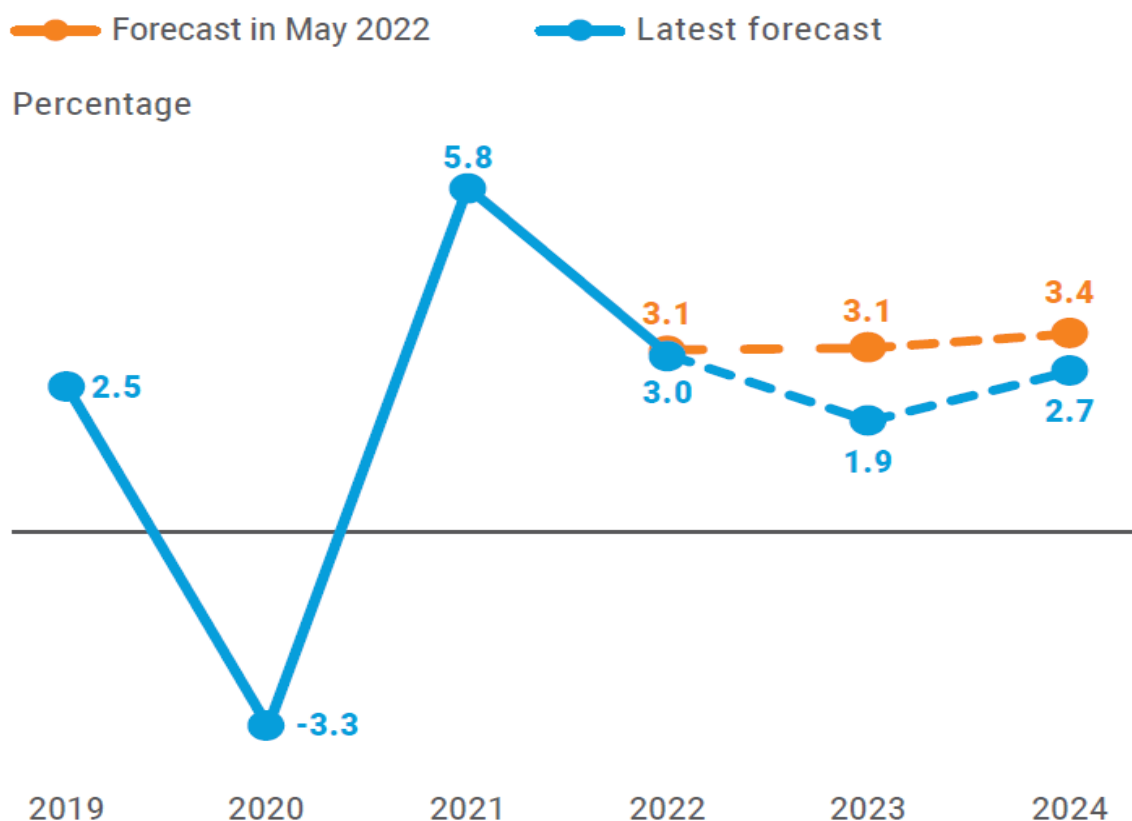


Figure 12 world gross product forecast, Source: UN DESA, based on estimates and forecasts produced with the world economic forecasting model, February 2023

2.2.A Sharp Downturn In Most Developed Economies

The current global economic slowdown cuts across both developed and developing countries, with many facing risks of recession in 2023. Growth momentum has weakened in the United States, the European Union, and other developed economies, adversely affecting the rest of the world economy. In the United States, GDP is projected to expand by only 0.4 per cent in 2023 after estimated growth of 1.8 per cent in 2022 (Figure 13). Consumers are expected to cut back spending amid higher interest rates, lower real incomes, and significant declines in household net worth. Rising mortgage rates and soaring building costs will likely continue to weigh on the housing market, with residential fixed investment projected to decline further.

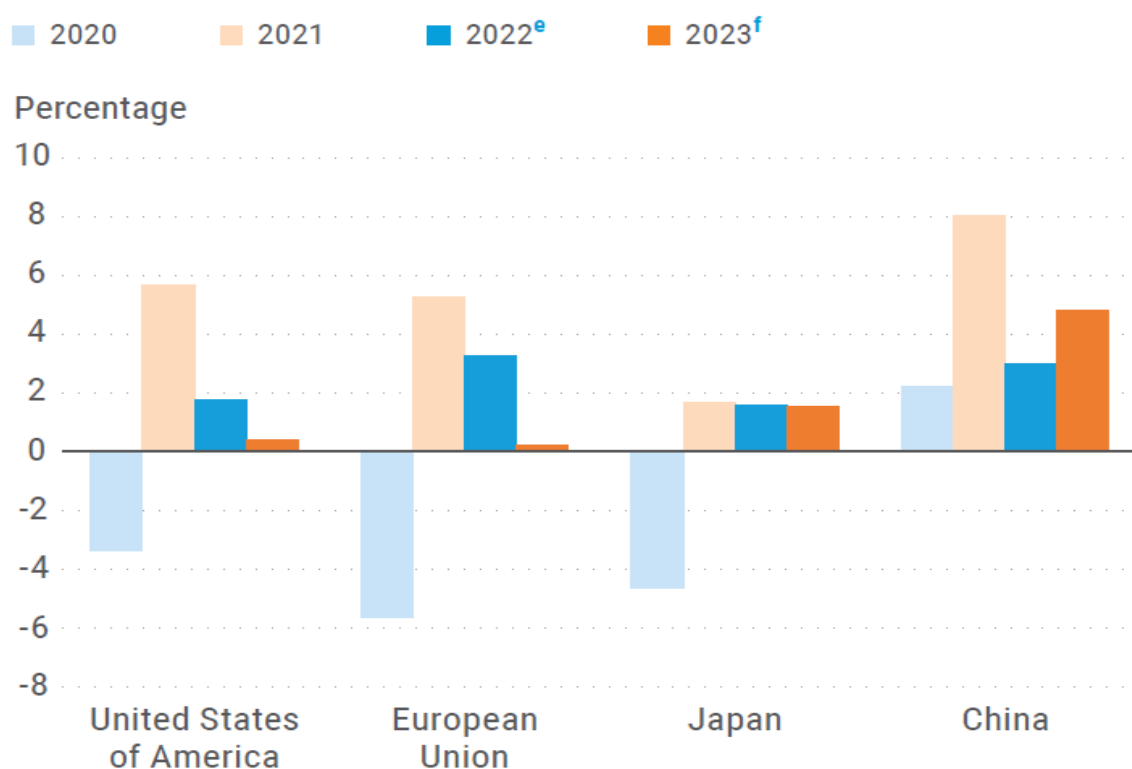


Figure 13 growth prospects of world's major economies Source: UN DESA, based on estimates and forecasts produced with the world economic forecasting model, February 2023, Note: e=estimate; f=forecast

The short-term economic outlook for Europe has deteriorated sharply as the war in Ukraine continues with no end in sight. Many European countries are projected to experience a mild recession, with elevated energy costs, high inflation, and tighter financial conditions depressing household consumption and investment. The European Union is forecast to grow by an estimated 0.1 per cent in 2023, down from 3.2 per cent in 2022 (Figure 13), when further easing of COVID-19 restrictions and release of pent-up demand boosted economic activities. As the European Union continues its efforts to reduce dependence on Russian fossil fuels, the region remains vulnerable to disruptions in energy supply and gas shortages. The prospects for the economy of the United Kingdom are particularly bleak given the sharp decline in household spending, fiscal pressures, and supply-side challenges, partly resulting from Brexit. After entering recession in the second half of 2022, GDP is projected to contract by 0.8 per cent in 2023.

Despite growing at a moderate pace, Japan's economy is expected to be among the better-performing developed economies in 2023. Prolonged chip shortages, rising import costs (driven by a weakening Japanese yen) and slowing external demand are, however, weighing on industrial output. But, unlike in other developed economies, monetary and fiscal policy is still accommodative. Gross domestic product is forecast to increase by 1.5 per cent in 2023, slightly lower than the estimated growth of 1.6 per cent in 2022 (Figure 13).

The war in Ukraine heavily impacts near-term economic prospects for the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Georgia, and neighbouring countries in South-Eastern Europe. The contraction of the economy of the Russian Federation, and the significant loss of output in Ukraine are having spillover effects on the rest of the region. Nonetheless, the Russian economy shrank less than initially expected in 2022, with GDP declining by only about 3 per cent due to a massive current account surplus, continued stability of the banking sector and

reversal of the initial sharp monetary tightening. Several of the region's economies benefited from relocation of businesses and residents and capital inflows, experiencing faster-than-expected growth in 2022. Growth in the region's energy exporters was supported by improved terms of trade. Overall, aggregate GDP of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia (excluding Ukraine) is expected to contract by 1 per cent in 2023, following an estimated decline of 1.6 per cent in 2022.

2.3.A Worsening Outlook In Most Developing Regions

Growth in China is projected to moderately improve in 2023 after weaker-than-expected performance in 2022. Amid recurring COVID-19 related lockdowns and prolonged stress in the real estate market, the economy expanded by only 3 per cent in 2022. With the Government abandoning its Zero-COVID policy in late 2022 and easing of monetary and fiscal policies, economic growth is forecast to accelerate to 4.8 per cent in 2023 (Figure 13). But the reopening of the economy is expected to be bumpy, and growth will likely remain well below the pre-pandemic rate of 6 to 6.5 per cent.

Economic recovery in East Asia remains fragile, although average growth is stronger than in other regions. In 2023, GDP growth in East Asia is forecast to reach 4.4 per cent, compared to 3.2 per cent in 2022, mainly reflecting the modest recovery of growth in China (Figure 14). However, many economies in the region (other than China) are losing steam amid fading pent-up demand, rising living costs and weakening export demand from the United States and Europe. This coincides with a tightening of global financial conditions, and countries adopting contractionary monetary and fiscal policies to curb inflationary pressures. Although the expected recovery of China's economy will support growth across the region, a surge in COVID-19 infections may temporarily create negative spillovers.

In South Asia, the economic outlook has significantly deteriorated due to high food and energy prices, monetary tightening, and fiscal vulnerabilities. Average GDP growth is projected to moderate from 5.6 per cent in 2022 to 4.8 per cent in 2023 (Figure 14). Growth in India is expected to remain strong at 5.8 per cent, albeit slightly lower than the estimated 6.4 per cent in 2022 as higher interest rates and a global slowdown weigh on investment and exports. The prospects are more challenging for other economies in the region, with Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka seeking financial assistance from the IMF in 2022.

In Western Asia, oil-producing countries have emerged from the economic slump, benefitting from high prices and rising oil output as well as the recovery of the tourism sector. Recovery in non-oil-producing countries, by contrast, has remained weak amid tightening access to international finance and severe fiscal constraints. Average growth is projected to slow from an estimated 6.6 per cent in 2022 to 3.5 per cent in 2023 amid worsening external conditions (Figure 14).

In Africa, economic growth is projected to remain subdued with a volatile and uncertain global environment compounding domestic challenges. The region has been hit by multiple shocks, including weaker demand from key trading partners (especially Europe and China), a sharp increase in energy and food prices, rapidly rising borrowing costs and adverse weather events. As debt servicing burdens mount, a growing number of Governments are seeking bilateral and multilateral support. Economic growth is projected to slow from an estimated 4.1 per cent in 2022 to 3.8 per cent in 2023 (Figure 14).

The outlook in Latin America and the Caribbean remains challenging, amid unfavourable external conditions, limited macroeconomic policy space, and stubbornly high inflation. Regional growth is projected to slow to only 1.4 per cent in 2023, following an estimated expansion of 3.8 per cent in 2022 (Figure 14). Labour market prospects are challenging, and reductions in poverty across the region are unlikely in the near term. The region's largest economies – Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico – are expected to grow at very low rates owing to tightening financial conditions, weakening exports and domestic vulnerabilities.

Conclusion

The direct effect of sanctions on the Russian population is limited, as they are primarily aimed at degrading Russia's military capabilities. Nevertheless, all Russians will suffer for many years from a deteriorating standard of living from Russia's ill-conceived war. But there is plenty of evidence that war and sanctions have affected the performance of the world, both in terms of its immediate effects and its longer-term implications.

In the immediate term, the war has caused a humanitarian crisis in Ukraine, with millions of people displaced from their homes. The war has also had a devastating impact on the Ukrainian economy, which is now in freefall.

The war has also had a significant impact on the global economy (Energy prices have skyrocketed, and there are concerns about a global food shortage. The war has also disrupted supply chains and led to rising inflation) and on the global security (the threat of nuclear war has increased, and there are concerns about the spread of instability to other parts of the world)The full impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War is still unfolding and unclear, but it is obvious that it will have a lasting impact on the world for years to come. In short, the Russian economy is slowing. Foreign investment is drying up. Trade and revenues are shrinking. Available civilian manpower is down. When machines break, they cannot be restored. And Russia is expected to spend even more on the war this year. In December, Vladimir Putin announced his plans to expand the army, creating 17 new divisions¹⁴and adding half a million soldiers¹⁵.Russia survived this first year of the war, but they relied on oil and gas revenue, plus a certain amount of savings, as well as inventories of raw materials and imported products on hand. Those reserves will be running out now. With little new money coming in, the second year of the war should be much more painful for Vladimir Putin's economy

Chapter III

¹⁴John Psaropoulos (2022), "[Ukraine expects key offensive as Russia plans to expand army](#)", Al Jazeera Media Network December 22.

¹⁵The associated press (2022), "[Russian military announces plan to expand, create new units](#)", APNEWS, December 21.

*The Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on
The United States of America*

Introduction

Days after the start of the war, Supply chains have been disrupted at the source, in transit, and at destination, this is why numerous policymakers have predicted that the Russia-Ukraine conflict will hugely affect the US economy.

It is being said that the US economy will be hit in different ways, ranging from the prices of gasoline to general household wealth, therefore it becomes important to measure the impact of these disruptions on the U.S economy, and determine which commodities are likely to be in short supply as a result. But first, we have to understand that quantifying the impact is a huge challenging because of the intricate and interconnected supply chains at the trans-national level influencing supply, distribution, and demand.

Here are a few ways this Russo-Ukrainian conflict impact can be felt

1. The Impact on America: Political, Economic, Security & Military Implications

1.1. Political implications

Russo-American relationship was at their best before the Ukrainian crisis, Russians were aware of the seriousness of terrorism after they have experienced it in the years of fighting against Chechnya, hostage-taking operations, explosions in public places in Moscow and other cities which made them not hesitate to open airports in neighbour Asian countries to American planes during the operations in Afghanistan. This cooperation became a feature in the years before Ukraine crisis. It did not change until 2009, when the signs of the crisis began. The Americans were at high level of restraint in their political stances, the Russians tried to match that even at the United Nations and through diplomatic channels of communications. Both sides were not ready for escalation, but both agreed that what is happening is nothing but an internal crisis in Ukraine which the government must take the necessary measures to contain it.

The escalation on political side began with the intensification of the strength of the Ukrainian opposition to the Ukrainian president, who was supported by the Russians. The Americans found that the strength of the oppositions, its hegemony over Ukrainian streets, and its overrun of the security forces is an opportunity to create change in the geostrategic map of eastern Europe in their favour. Therefore, political interests began to collide and reconciliation and flexible diplomacy language no longer existed. We see that Russians have employed the same factors to create a new political reality, they were more fearful and motivated to deal with the Ukrainian crisis, especially since they almost lost this country as a friend that can be relied upon, had it not been for the fact that the European union had decided to postpone the annexation of Ukraine to it. As soon as the crisis escalated, Russia seemed more decisive and stricter in its stance towards the United States and European countries politically, and did not hesitate to deal in equal terms with the United States, indifferent to the decisions taken by the Pentagon and the white house with the cancellation of the meeting of the eight that was supposed to take place in Sochi, Russia, in June. Hence, the US-Russian relations witnessed their worst stage in the spring of 2014 since the end of the cold war, when the Russians were determined to proceed with their policy towards Ukraine under the pretext of “protecting Russian speakers”. At the same time America supported the Ukrainian opposition under another similar pretext of violating human rights and disrespectful international laws.

The situation did not stop at this, as the Crimean Peninsula which returned to the arms of Russia, was likened to the procession of the popular referendum, which caused the political rhetoric between Russia and America to rise, and the it became impossible to fix the situation until the matter came to the exchange of black lists by the two parties to prevents the entry or admission of citizens and companies from both sides. Finally, the Kremlin recognized the annexation of Crimean Peninsula to Russia which will enable it once again to dominate the black sea, as it is the view that leads to the Russian bases on the Russian coasts, and thus to return again to the mediterranean sea.

1.2. Economic implications

The US economy is closely linked to its Russian and Ukrainian counterparts, and the volume of trade between the two parties was small, and the cessation of trade between them did not leave any significant effects on the consumer or the US markets, according to experts. (article from al Jazeera).

Sherif Othman, an economist at Poise Investment, pointed out that the United States is self-sufficient in the field of food and energy, and does not depend on Ukrainian and Russian grain or food, unlike many third world countries, nor does it depend on Russian oil or gas. Unlike many European countries, therefore, the US economy was not greatly affected by what the European battlefield is witnessing in the first place.

On the other hand, the Economic Information Unit of the "Economist" magazine stated that the Russian war on Ukraine has an important impact on US economic expectations and said that the continuation of the war will lead to a rise in global commodity prices, which fuels inflation and affects US economic growth, as resulted from the imposition of Extensive sanctions on the Russian energy sector, both gas and oil, prompted the United States to increase its production of fossil fuels and strengthen its position as a major source of energy, especially liquefied natural gas, to help meet demand in Europe.(article from al Jazeera).

The response of the United States and its allies to Russia's start of the war came by imposing unprecedented economic sanctions, as a result of which the oil price rose to about \$120 a barrel for several weeks before it returned and settled at \$100 a barrel. As a result, the price of motor gasoline in the United States has soared, reaching record levels of a national average of \$4.45 per gallon, and exceeding \$7 in parts of California. US President Joe Biden blamed the Russian war in Ukraine, and said that what we are currently witnessing is "Putin's price hike." The rise in gasoline prices prompted President Biden to withdraw up to 180 million barrels of US oil reserves and pump them into the US market. Some experts believe that the war fueled already high inflation and slow growth in consumer spending, and the Ukraine war came at a time when inflation in the United States reached its highest level in 40 years. This percentage had reached 7.9% before the start of the war, and it exceeded 8% during the six months of the war. Historically, since 1948, every time the GDP has fallen for at least two consecutive quarters, the country has entered a recession.

Russia and Ukraine also play an important role in exporting oil, natural gas, coal and wheat, and it is reported that both countries produce 70% of global neon in the global market, which is a vital commodity in the production of semiconductors, which caused a crisis for car manufacturers. Which is already experiencing a scarcity of computer chips, both countries are responsible for 13% of the world's supply of aircraft-grade titanium. 30% of global palladium (palladium is in the platinum family of metals, and experts consider it an alternative to gold or platinum³⁰, as well as jewelry experts) it is also used in the manufacture of mobile phone, cars. This crisis has negative effects not only on Russia and Ukraine but all European union and United states of America. Among the most important expected effects of Russia's war on Ukraine is the rise in inflation rates due to the increase in oil prices, the increase in food prices, and the rise in raw material prices all over the world.

American businesses depend on Russia and Ukraine for a plethora of commodities. According to data from the Observatory of Economic Complexity (Figures 12&13), four critical ones— neon gas, palladium, platinum and pig iron — will be in huge short supply.

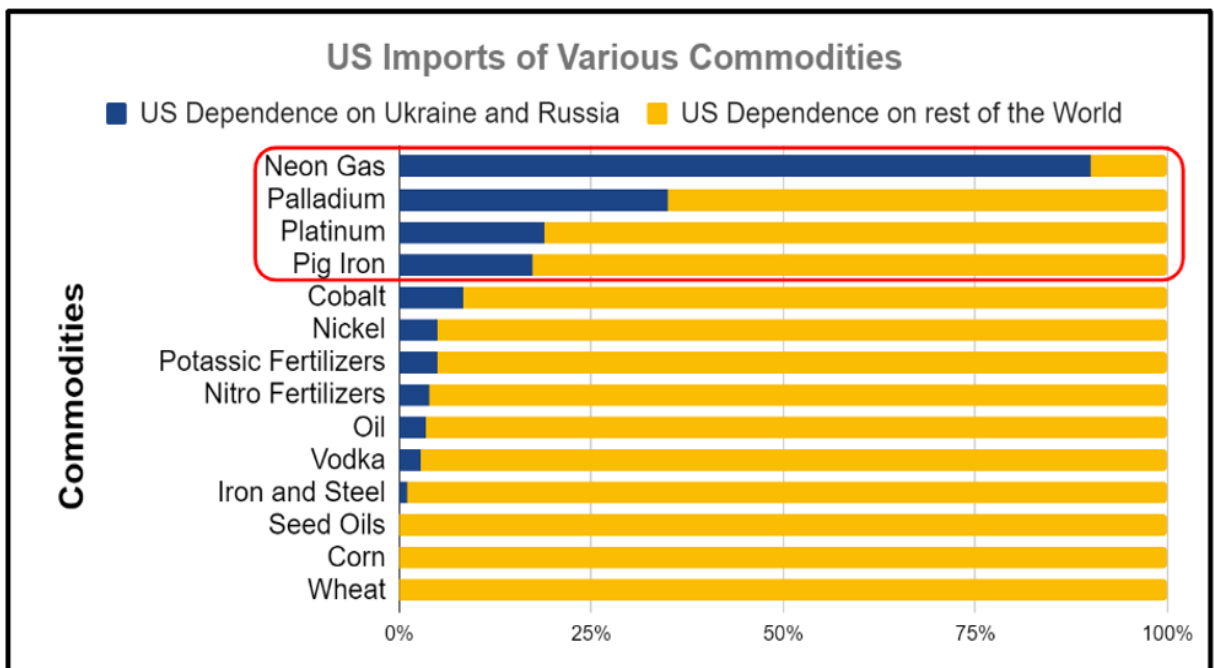


Figure 14 Commodities where the U.S. is highly dependent on Russia and Ukraine

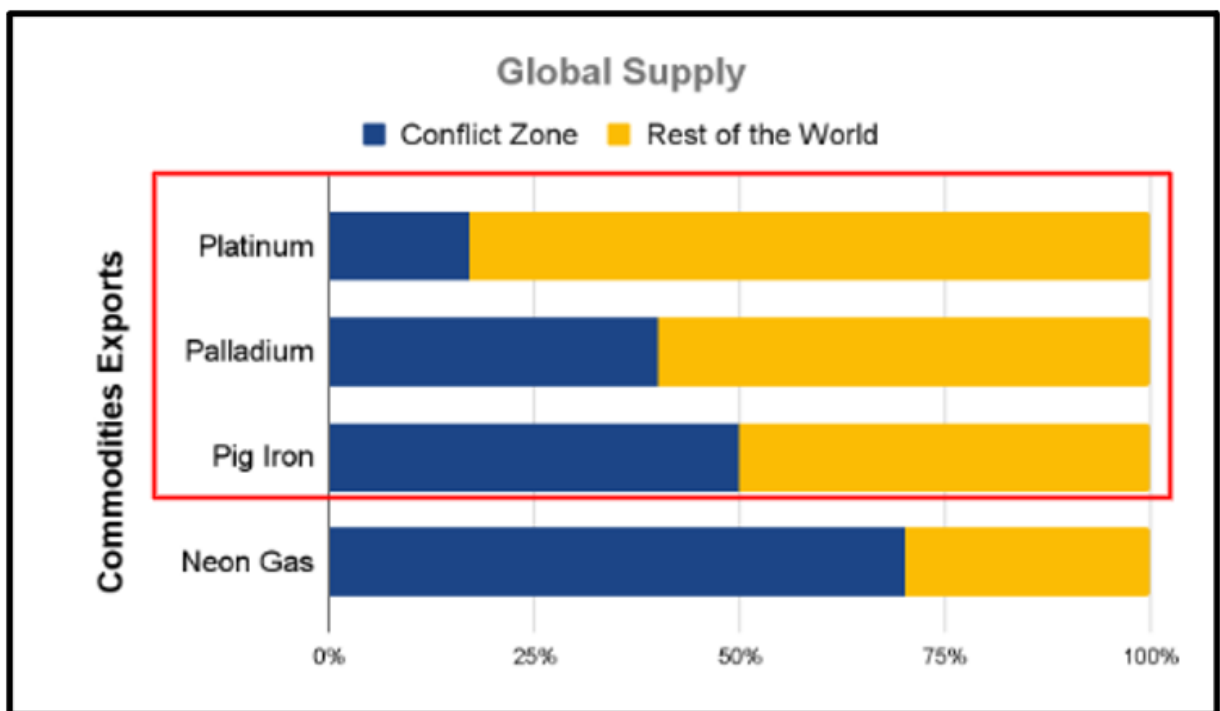
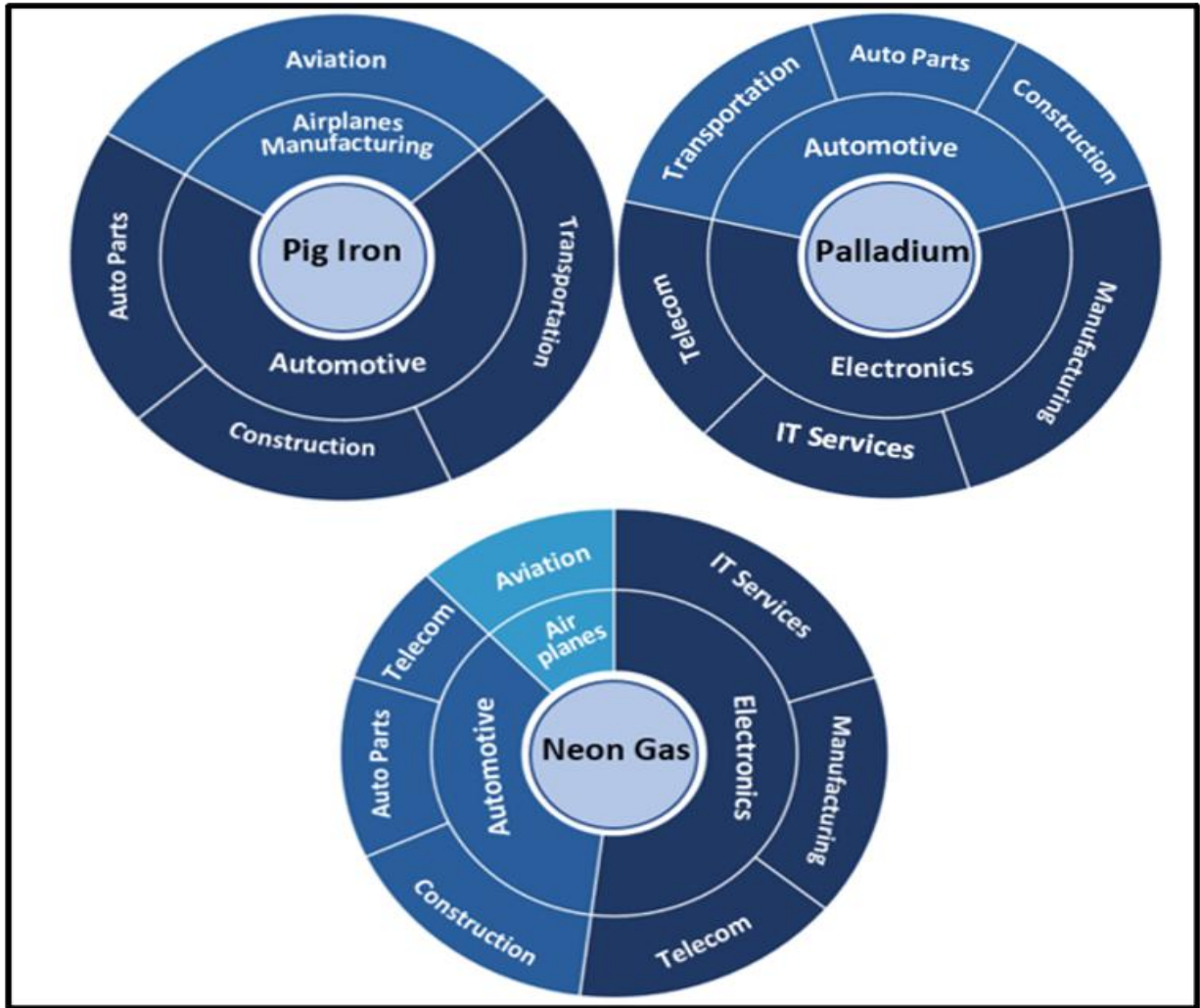


Figure 15 Contribution of Ukraine and Russia to the global supply of these commodities



While these commodities seem relatively niche, my analysis revealed that the shortages will have a direct impact on approximately 12% of the U.S. economy. I based my conclusion on a subjective analysis of the industries that are dependent on these commodities. I identified a direct impact on manufacturing, electronics and automotive industries. Further dependencies of these industries are captured in Figure 14.

Figure 16 Downstream impacts across various industries

1.3. Security and military implications

Both powers, and before the escalation of the Ukrainian crisis, were racing to enhance their military capabilities in the world through arms contracts or presence in the form of military bases in some countries with strategic links with other international parties. The Ukrainian crisis, especially in its critical stages, was characterized by distancing from military escalation as much as possible, especially for the United States of America and Russia. Both of them found, through careful extrapolation of the geostrategic reality at the level of the region in which the conflict is taking place, that any escalation leading to a military confrontation in which there was no loser or winner but both losers, especially since the nature of the crisis and its repercussions do not deserve such an escalation, which may portend in the future a return to the pre-Cold War world.

Ukraine, the country that took Georgia with it to go towards entering the military alliance, they were hoping to win the affection of the Americans and the support of the Europeans, but the US State Department was fully aware that there were many obstacles standing in the way of Ukraine and Georgia joining the alliance, especially the mother of the senior members of the alliance (Germany, Italy, France and Spain) against this desire.

The effects that followed the escalation of the crisis were most evident in the hard-line statement that Putin made when he said, "It is better not to mess with us. I want to remind you (while addressing the Americans and Europeans) that Russia is still and will remain one of the most powerful nuclear countries." (Russia has the most confirmed nuclear weapons, with 5,997 nuclear warheads. The United States follows behind with 5,428 nuclear weapons, hosted in the US and 5 other nations: Turkey, Italy, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. Total nuclear warheads owned by these 2 countries alone counts for 90% of nuclear weapons in the world, Figure 15).

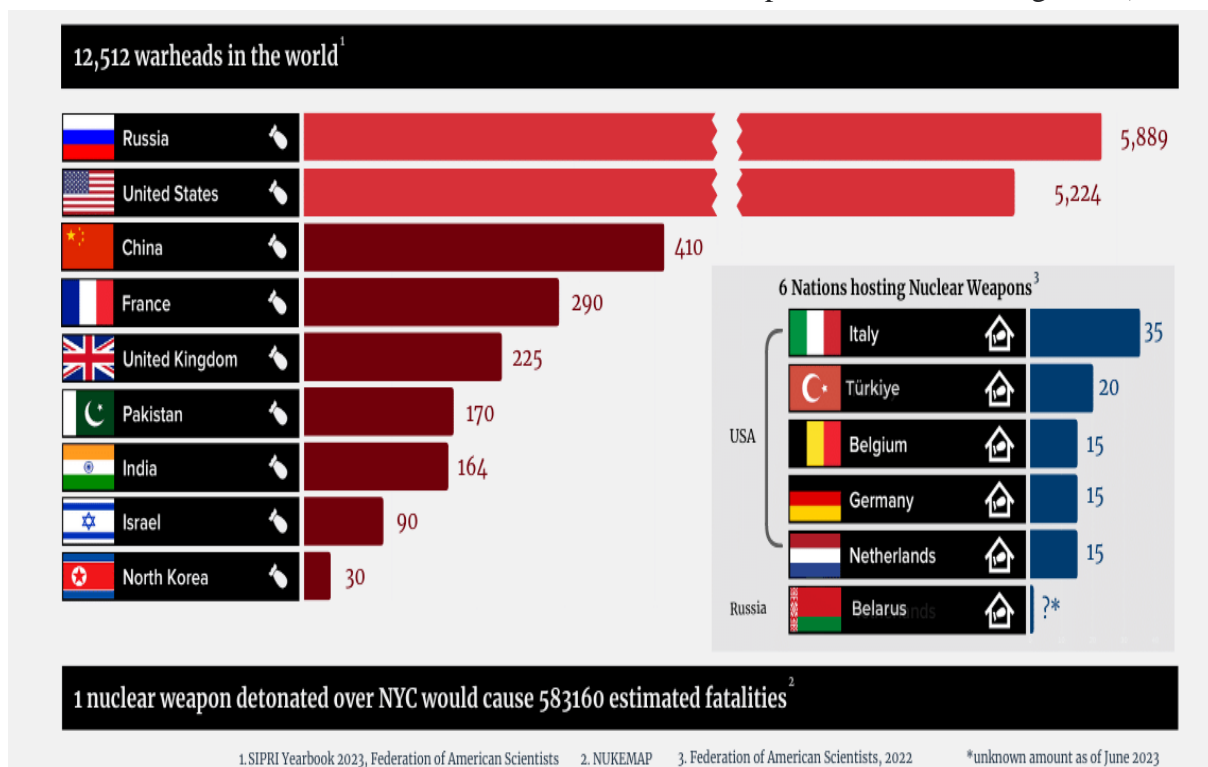


Figure 17 world nuclear arsenal, The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)

Total number of warheads for North Korea and Israel is unconfirmed. However, it has been estimated that North Korea has enough fissile material to develop between 40-50 individual weapons, whilst Israel has material for up to 200, with an estimated 90 existing warheads. This was accompanied by military manoeuvres from by the two parties, at a time when the US Navy conducted its manoeuvre with naval forces from other European countries in front of the Ukrainian coast in the Black Sea, the Russian bombers armed with nuclear warheads carried out more than 16 sorties near the Canadian and American coasts, while the number of sorties of the same planes exceeded the British waters over 100 sorties.

Conclusion

the U.S have been involved in the Russo-Ukrainian war relating to NATO security, military and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, and the imposition of sanctions on Russia. Less prominent is a clear perspective on the war's impact on the U.S. itself.

Chapter Four

American policy towards the Russo-Ukrainian war

Introduction

Before talking about how the United States of America deals with the Russo-Ukrainian war, we must understand what does mean Ukraine to United States of America, and what is the reason that makes the United States of America provide this huge amount of political support represented by mobilizing European countries to stand on the side of the Ukrainians and the material represented by humanitarian help to Ukraine and economic sanctions on Russia on the other hand, and the military through weapons and equipment provided free of charge to Ukraine? Or let's say what the strategic importance of Ukraine is in the American perspective?

1. The strategic importance of Ukraine

Ukraine which became independent from the Soviet Union occupies an important and sensitive position for Russia and NATO members.

Importantly, the American and European point of view is that the existence of a strong and independent Ukraine is part of building a "whole, free and secure Europe", which has been accelerating since the 1990s, and requires completing the processes of securing Europe.

The operation of Reducing Russia's influence on European lands was by expanding the scope of NATO and the European Union and its surroundings, and reaching the last possible point that touches Russian lands by integrating Ukraine into the umbrella of participation economic and security, enabling the West to tighten its control over the eastern gate to a large extent.

The location of Ukraine represents a strategic and geopolitical axis of great importance. For the United States of America, Ukraine is of vital and geostrategic importance that begins with besieging the Russian sphere of influence. Ukraine's ports are also important to NATO when it enters the Black Sea.



Figure 18black sea and its countries surrounding

Some military and strategic analysts agree that the war in Ukraine will not be resolved soon, and that the conditions of the battles taking place in eastern Ukraine between the Russian and Ukrainian armies indicate the possibility of these battles reaching a state of military stiffness so that the military conditions on the ground remain without major changes, and the military balance remains balanced between Both sides without being able to impose its military will on the other.

This state of no-win or defeat is due to several factors, the most important of which is Russia's determination to achieve military and political gains from the war and its success so far in benefiting from some of its strategic relations with some influential countries in regions other than Europe. On the other hand, Ukraine's determination, supported by its people, to defend its entire territory. In addition to the insistence of the United States¹⁶ of America and NATO members in Europe to support Ukraine in its defensive war without getting involved in a direct confrontation with Moscow and the tendency to isolate Russia diplomatically and block it economically in Europe and work to gradually dispense with its oil and natural gas.

The US support for Ukraine was reflected in the visit that US President Joe Biden made to Kiev on February 20, 2023.

These factors in their entirety may prolong the war nation to years because of which it will be difficult according to the military battles, as some expect this war to turn into the model of the Korean War that broke out in 1950 and ended with a cease-fire only in 1953 without reaching a political settlement between the accelerating parties.

Therefore, the current situation in the war and its persistence in this situation has certainly led to the victory of the United States of America after several strategic gains. These gains are based on the assumption that Washington does not need Ukraine to achieve a crushing military victory over Russia to benefit from those gains. The two sides are on the front without one side achieving a military victory over the other, in the sense that Russia's lack of victory without its military defeat has already achieved its gains for Washington.

This hypothesis justifies the United States' refusal to send military forces to Ukraine to defend it, or its refusal to establish a no-fly zone over Russia, and its reluctance to supply some offensive weapons to Kaif so as not to use them in attacking the Russian depth, knowing that Ukraine has not historically been one of the countries of importance. The strategy of the United States of America, as the latter and its ally Britain turned a blind eye to the Soviet Union's acquisition of eastern Europe, including Ukraine, after World War II. In these countries, it pushes it to confront Moscow compared to countries such as Germany.

Thus, even a Russian military victory over Ukraine in this war may not threaten the security of the United States of America and does not change the balance of international power or Washington's hegemony over the international system in the current period. The American strategic gains from the war can be divided into three interrelated gains, all of which strengthen the position Washington International and its geopolitical competition with China:

Firstly, weakening Russia and isolating it, although the responsibility for the war lies with Russian President Vladimir Putin, because the United States of America found in the war an opportunity to weaken his regime, isolate Europe, distract it, and limit its intervention in some strategically important regions. Washington's military support and its European allies for Ukraine is a drain on Russia and exhaustion for its capabilities, thus weakening its international role and trusting many of its elements as a major country.

This is not new in the history of US-Russian relations if it happened before when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in 1979, when the United States of America seized the opportunity at the time, with the support of some of its allies, to drain Moscow militarily by

¹⁶The US support for Ukraine was reflected in the visit that US President Joe Biden made to Kiev on February 20, 2023.

supporting the Afghan mujahideen with weapons and money in their war against the Soviet occupier in that time.

To strengthen its position towards Russia in the Ukraine war, Washington supported its military presence in Europe, especially Eastern European countries such as Poland, and raised the number of its forces from 80,000 to 100,000 soldiers. Perhaps the United States believes that the circumstances of the war in Ukraine, due to its prolongation and its exposure of Moscow's weak military capabilities so far, may impose internal conditions in Russia that allow changing its political system and excluding President Putin from power, even if that seems to be the case until now.

Secondly, NATO's bloodshed was unintentionally renewed. The Russian attack on Ukraine revived NATO once again, bolstered its defensive goals and response, and demonstrated its strategic necessities for European security, which Washington benefited from, especially after the increasing voices of some political wings in the Republican Party questioning the feasibility and importance of the alliance.

Because of its ferocity and the extent of the destruction it caused in Ukraine, the number of wars caused many historical concerns regarding the security of Europe and Moscow's expansionist policies in Eastern Europe and the legacy of its military and political interventions in the internal affairs of those countries. Those days are over and wars no longer have a place in the relations of European countries with each other, including Europe's relations with Russia because of their common economic interests.

The state of war led Finland and Sweden to abandon their strategic neutrality and the NATO leadership formally demanded that they join the alliance, hoping to obtain its security umbrella in the face of Russia. Thus, NATO increases its direct borders with Moscow by joining Finland, and also some members of the alliance, such as Germany, began to increase their military budget and raised it to more than two percent of the size of the gross domestic product of their economy, which was demanded by Washington and its allies in the dream before the war.

The alliance also raised its civilian budget by 27.8%, to reach more than 370 billion euros, and increased its military budget by 25.8%, to reach nearly 2 billion euros.

Finally, the war showed that Europe still needs Washington's security umbrella and deterrence from European-European conflicts and its leadership of the alliance. Therefore, Washington has benefited greatly from this conviction in the recent period and has worked to increase the pace of military coordination and exchange of experiences between members of the alliance in Europe and its allies in East Asia such as Japan, South Korea and Australia. This strategic coordination leads to expanding Washington's influence and increasing its capabilities in confronting Moscow and Beijing.

Thirdly, limiting China is weakening Russia and exhausting its power in the war. It is also weakening China, and this is something that Washington benefits from. Because of the war in Ukraine, China may lose an important ally to it that supported it internationally and coordinated diplomatic positions with it. Thus, President Putin's miscalculation in the war led to China's involvement with him. Somewhat in the quagmire of Ukraine, and therefore in China it has an interest that Russia not be defeated militarily and its forces collapse, and therefore it must support and support it in the war, but this may weaken China's resources in the medium and long term, and more than that, it increases the tension in its relations with the United States of America and Europe, which still needs them to reach their markets, obtain their investments, and benefit from their advanced technology.

Although the United States of America and its main allies in Europe, such as Germany and France, do not fully coincide with their visions and interests regarding China, if China is determined to make a qualitative change in its support for Russia from mere diplomatic fatigue to military support, as is frequent in the news from Washington these days, then the European countries will inevitably move towards more confrontational policies with China, especially in the economic field, in terms of limiting Chinese investments in Europe, especially in projects of a strategic nature, especially in eastern, central and northern European countries that are directly affected by the war in Ukraine.

Perhaps China's willingness to support Moscow militarily is a great risk, but that support will inevitably lead to an increase in the convergence of visions between the United States of America and Europe about China, in addition to Beijing entering a state of international isolation with Moscow, which is considered a strategic victory for the United States of America.

Accordingly, all these international developments are strategic gains acquired by the United States of America because of the war in Ukraine and its entry into the second year, and Washington will inevitably exploit them in its attempts to maintain its leadership of the international system, which it has mainly contributed to defining its features and values since World War II and continued to do so after the end of the Cold War.

Although these developments place the United States of America in a privileged position in its current conflict with Russia and its strong competition with China, there is a possibility that is not simple to dissipate those gains in the event of the limits of internal political changes in the United States of America and the return of the conservative right-wings in the Republican Party to power in The White House and the Congress after the 2024 elections, where these forces want to end the United States of America's involvement in the world, cancel its international commitments, and return once again to its isolationist policy as it was in a long period of its political history.

RUSSIA'S INVASION of Ukraine in February 2022 has produced an outpouring of international support for Kyiv. The United States has led these efforts. Even before Russian forces surged across the border, the United States and many of its allies signaled their opposition to Moscow's predatory ambitions by warning of a range of potential sanctions Russia would incur, working to mobilize a potential diplomatic coalition against Moscow, and bolstering Ukraine's military forces. Since the invasion, the United States has taken the lead in providing Ukraine with military equipment and training, economic aid, a near-blank check of diplomatic support, intelligence of use for stymying Russia's offensive, and threatening draconian consequences should Russia use nuclear weapons in its campaign.

Increasingly fervent bipartisan calls to penalize Russia, Ukraine's lobbying efforts for additional aid, mounting calls from many think tankers and pundits to do more on Kyiv's behalf, and the Biden administration's gradual increase in support for Kyiv since February all suggest the American commitment may only grow in the future.

Nevertheless, the Biden administration and other proponents of current U.S. policy have so far failed to offer a strategic argument on behalf of the costs and risks that current U.S. policy incurs in the Russia-Ukraine War. To be sure, many have defined specific objectives vis-à-vis Ukraine itself. Still, definition and discussion of how U.S. efforts in Ukraine contribute to overarching U.S. national objectives and interests are broadly lacking, reduced primarily to gesticulations toward broad principles that might justify the American response in Ukraine so far. Amid the continuing war and ongoing calls for the United States to "do more," the

question remains: what, if any, are the United States' strategic interests in Ukraine—and how might the United States best service them?

ALTHOUGH OFTEN lost amid the rush of events, policymakers and pundits have been quick to imply an abiding American interest in Ukraine. Without fully elaborating on the argument or issues at hand, these claims broadly fall into two camps.

One line holds that the United States cannot tolerate Russian aggression in Ukraine because it will only encourage further aggrandizement and expanding threats to the United States. This claim comes in two forms. The narrow version holds that the danger of future aggression is from Russia specifically—that is, if Russia goes unchallenged in Ukraine, then Moscow will simply expand its ambitions, challenge the United States' North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, and ultimately threaten European security writ large. Along these lines, former ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul argues that “we have a security interest in [helping Ukraine defeat Russia]. Let's just put it very simply: if Putin wins in Donbas and is encouraged to go further into Ukraine, that will be threatening to our NATO allies.” Likewise, former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley asserts that the United States has an abiding concern in deterring Russian president Vladimir Putin “from thinking he can in the next five or ten years repeat this performance.” This particular concern helps explain why at least some in the Biden administration call for “weaken[ing] Russia” by bleeding it in Ukraine: as a National Security Council spokesperson put it, “one of our goals has been to limit Russia's ability to do something like this again” by undercutting “Russia's economic and military power to threaten and attack its neighbours.”

The broad version links the Ukraine War not to Russia per se but to potential aggrandizement by other actors, especially China. President Joe Biden himself advanced a version of this argument, writing in March that, “If Russia does not pay a heavy price for its actions, it will send a message to other would-be aggressors that they too can seize territory and subjugate other countries”; elsewhere, he asserts that “Throughout our history, we've learned that when dictators do not pay the price for their aggression, they cause more chaos and engage in more aggression.” Nor is this concern Biden's alone: suggesting its bipartisan appeal, Representative Michael McCaul of Texas offers that failing to act in Ukraine would “embolden Vladimir Putin and his fellow autocrats by demonstrating the United States will surrender in the face of saber-rattling,” concluding that “U.S. credibility from Kyiv to Taipei cannot withstand another blow of this nature.”

Distinct from concerns with future aggrandizement, a second set of arguments holds that the United States has an abiding interest in Ukraine because it affects the so-called “liberal international order.” As Secretary of State Antony Blinken asserts, “the international rules-based order that's critical to maintaining peace and security is being put to the test by Russia's unprovoked and unjustified invasion of Ukraine.” The logic here looks to be two-fold. First, failing to back Ukraine would call into question American support for democracies worldwide, thereby undermining the viability of democracy as a way of organizing any society's political life. As Biden explained, Ukraine was part and parcel of an ongoing “battle between democracy and autocracy, between liberty and repression”; by implication, not aiding Ukraine would set the United States back in this contest. Second, Russian aggrandizement is itself a challenge to key principles—mostly unspecified, but seemingly notions that powerful states should not use force to impose their will on weaker actors and that violations of state sovereignty should not be tolerated—upon which the liberal order supposedly rests. To ignore Russian aggression would call into question the future operation of the U.S.-backed system. As Anne Applebaum argues, the United States must be invested in the conflict since the realistic, honest understanding of the war is an understanding that we now face a country that is revanchist, that seeks to expand its territory for ideological

reasons, that wishes to end the American presence in Europe, that wishes to end the European Union, that wishes to undermine NATO and has a fundamentally different view of the world from the one that we have.

In the end, we are not sure yet what will happen because of the war. Will Russia get what it wants from the war and stop fighting at some point? Or can Ukraine keep going with the war, supported by Western countries, while making things harder for Russia, so that Russia might agree to a compromise to end the war? Are there surprises that could change everything? These are questions that the future will answer as we see what happens in the war over the next months or even years, the only sure thing is that the world will never be the same again.

2. American policy toward Russian intervention in Ukraine

Since Russia mobilized its military forces on borders with Ukraine on October 2021, and its military intervention in Ukrainian territory on February 24, 2022, the United States of America is facing an international crisis that is one of the most difficult since the end of the cold war. The Russian military intervention in Ukraine is a challenge to American domination, so this intervention has given to the United States of America the opportunity to present a negative image of Russian president Putin that he leads a rogue system, and the United States of America aims to deter Russian's long-term attempts to challenge American unilateralism.

Several months after the Russian military intervention in Ukraine, still Russia unable to achieve remarkable breakthrough in the field. On September 30, 2022 Russia announced its annexation of regions within four provinces of Ukraine: Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporozhzhia, Kherson, however, Russia did not fully control it. This annexation is the largest in Europe since World War II as it included the equivalent of 15% of the territory of Ukraine. The Russian ground attack is facing a stiff resistance that prevents its progress and this can be explained by the support provided by the United States of America and its allies to Ukraine.

The administration of United States president Joe Biden has identified a set of determinants that achieve the strategic goals of protecting US interests from the repercussions of that crisis, and they include the following:

2.1 Avoid entering into a direct military confrontation with Russia

in its management of the Ukraine crisis, Washington set a red line represented in not facing Russia directly in a military manner for any reason related to the crisis. In this context the white house has repeatedly pointed that the US will not send military forces to Ukraine, and president Biden reaffirmed this in his speech on February 24, 2022; and said that his country will not send troops on the ground of Ukraine, but at the same time he confirmed that the united states will intervene if an attack occurs against any country in NATO, and it will activate its commitment under article 5 of the NATO charter. (Article 5 stipulates that if a NATO country is the victim of an armed attack, each member of the Alliance will regard this act of violence as an armed attack directed against the whole of the members and will take the measures deemed necessary to come to the assistance of the attacked country.)

2.2 Attempting to deter Russian military intervention against Ukraine

based on two main interests of Washington, the first is related to American interests in Europe and negative repercussions that the Russian military intervention scenario could

have on these interests, and the second is related to China. There were American assessments that this military intervention would encourage Peking to repeat the scenario in Taiwan.

2.3 Ensure Global energysecurity

Russia is one of the largest oil and gas exporters to the European continent, and therefore any escalation or tension with it will affect the global energy markets and will also lead to rise in oil prices, which will be directly reflected on the American citizen and on American economy which is suffering from a wave of inflation. As a starting point, one of the crises was to ensure the security of global energy and the flow of oil and gas. In this context, Washington held consultations with its allies, especially in the middle east countries to ensure work on finding alternatives Russian oil and gas.

2.4 Preventing the fall of the central government in Kiev

Us information confirmed that part of Putin's goals in his military move against Ukraine is to control Kiev, overthrow the system of president "Vladimir Zelensky", and try to install a pro-Moscow government in Kiev, considering Ukraine one of the important countries surrounding Russia.

2.5 Not responding to Russian security guaranties

In December 2021, Russia presented to the US and European allies an initiative called "Russian security guaranties" which is the main reason it moves militarily to control parts of Ukraine.

General Conclusion

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In the end, we are not sure yet what will happen because of the war. Will Russia get what it wants from the war and stop fighting at some point? Or can Ukraine keep going with the war, supported by Western countries, while making things harder for Russia, so that Russia might agree to a compromise to end the war? Are there surprises that could change everything? These are questions that the future will answer as we see what happens in the war over the next months or even years, the only sure thing is that the world will never be the same again.

The Russo-Ukrainian War is a major turning point in world history. It is a reminder that peace and security cannot be taken for granted, and that the international community must work together to prevent future conflicts.

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