

Tadeusz Zieliński*

TRANSFORMING ATTITUDE TOWARDS SECURITY AND DEFENSE: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S STRATEGIC RESPONSE TO THE 2022 RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

Abstract

The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine has led to a significant reassessment of the European Union's security and defense policies, shifting from a historical reliance on soft power to autonomous defense strategy. This article aims to analyze the EU's adjustments in response to the conflict, focusing on the evolution of its security and defense policies and their implications for future EU-Ukraine relations. Employing qualitative analysis of policy documents, official statements, and scholarly articles, the study examines the EU's sanctions, military support, and strategic reorientation. The findings reveal that the EU has implemented comprehensive economic sanctions against Russia, provided unprecedented military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine, and reoriented its defense policies towards deterrence and territorial defense. The study also identifies significant internal disparities among EU member states regarding strategic priorities. Enhanced coordination with NATO, increased defense spending, and investments in advanced military technologies are key aspects of the EU's strategic shift. The potential long-term changes in EU security policy point towards greater strategic autonomy and an enhanced global security role. The future of EU-Ukraine relations will be shaped by these strategic shifts, with scenarios ranging from deepened integration and reconstruction support to continued humanitarian and diplomatic efforts under various conflict outcomes.

Keywords: European Union, security policy, NATO, Russia-Ukraine war, sanctions, military support

Introduction

The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine has prompted a significant reassessment of the European Union's (EU) security and defense policies. Historically, the EU has prioritized soft power, leveraging econom-

*Akademia Sztuki Wojennej, e-mail: t-zielinski@akademia.mil.pl, ORCID: 0000-0003-0605-7684.

ic and diplomatic tools for crisis management and humanitarian aid. However, the unprecedented scale and nature of Russian aggression against Ukraine necessitated a shift towards a more robust and autonomous defense strategy. This article aims to analyze the EU's strategic and operational adjustments in response to the conflict, focusing on how its security and defense policies have evolved and the implications for future EU-Ukraine relations.

The immediate EU responses to the invasion included the implementation of comprehensive sanctions against Russia and the provision of extensive military and humanitarian support to Ukraine. These actions marked a departure from the EU's traditional reliance on non-military measures and underscored a commitment to deterrence and territorial defense. The EU's sanctions targeted key sectors of the Russian economy, aiming to cripple its ability to sustain military operations. In parallel, unprecedented levels of military aid, coordinated through mechanisms like the European Peace Facility (EPF), were provided to support Ukraine's defense capabilities.

Moreover, the conflict catalyzed early adjustments in EU defense policies, emphasizing enhanced coordination with NATO and a strategic reorientation towards deterrence. The EU's increased defense spending, investment in cutting-edge military technologies, and the development of rapid reaction forces reflect a strategic shift aimed at bolstering its defense posture. This reorientation also involved significant efforts to improve military mobility and logistical support across Europe, ensuring rapid deployment capabilities in response to emerging threats.

In addressing the challenges and criticisms faced by the EU, this paper explores the internal disparities among member states regarding defense spending and strategic priorities. It also examines the complex task of balancing the EU's enhanced defense role with NATO's primacy in European security. The paper further considers the EU's defense industrial base and the necessity of developing a more integrated and competitive defense market.

Ultimately, this article evaluates the potential long-term changes in EU security policy, including the pursuit of strategic autonomy and the enhancement of its global security role. By analyzing these dimensions, the study provides insights into how the EU's evolving defense strategies are likely to shape its future relations with Ukraine and its overall approach to regional and global security.

Immediate Responses of the EU to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine (2022)

In response to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the EU implemented an extensive package of economic sanctions aimed at crippling Russia's ability to sustain its military aggression and exerting significant economic pressure. These sanctions represent one of the most comprehensive and coordinated efforts ever undertaken by the EU against a single country.

The sanctions imposed by the EU encompass a wide array of measures targeting various sectors of the Russian economy. These include restrictions on financial transactions, trade embargoes, asset freezes, and travel bans on individuals and entities linked to the Russian government and military operations. The EU has implemented a SWIFT ban on several major Russian banks, effectively cutting them off from the international financial system. Additionally, the EU has banned transactions with the Russian Central Bank and prohibited the supply of euro-denominated banknotes to Russia¹.

The EU has also imposed extensive import and export restrictions targeting key sectors of the Russian economy, including crude oil, coal, steel, iron, and various industrial goods. The aim is to hinder Russia's industrial and military capabilities by denying access to critical technologies and materials. A phased ban on seaborne crude oil and refined petroleum products took full effect by early 2023². A price cap on Russian oil has also been established to limit Russia's earnings from oil exports³.

The EU has targeted numerous individuals and entities with asset freezes and travel bans, including Russian officials, oligarchs, and businesses involved in or supporting the invasion of Ukraine. The sanctions extend to entities responsible for atrocities committed during the conflict, such as the Wagner Group and various military and paramilitary organizations.

The implementation of these sanctions has been carried out in coordination with other Western allies, including the United States, Canada,

¹ A. Caprile, A. Delivorias, *EU sanctions on Russia: Update, economic impact and outlook*, Strasbourg 2023.

² J.F. Adolfsen [et al.], *The impact of the war in Ukraine on euro area energy markets*, "Economic Bulletin Boxes", 2022, v. 4.

³ K. Meissner, *Caught up by Geopolitics: Sanctions and the EU's Response to Russia's War Against Ukraine*, "The Economists' Voice", 1.12.2023, v. 20, No. 2, pp. 275-283.

and the United Kingdom, to maximize their effectiveness. The combined efforts have significantly restricted Russia's economic activities and access to global markets. The sanctions have had a substantial impact on the Russian economy, leading to a contraction in GDP, a decrease in industrial production, and a significant reduction in foreign investment. The restrictions on oil and gas exports have been particularly detrimental. The financial sanctions have also led to a depreciation of the Russian ruble and increased inflation, further straining the Russian economy. While effective, these measures have posed challenges, including increased energy prices and supply chain disruptions within the EU⁴.

The EU's military support to Ukraine following the 2022 invasion marked a significant shift in its defense policy. Historically, the EU had focused on diplomatic and economic measures rather than direct military assistance. However, the scale and nature of Russia's aggression necessitated a robust and immediate response.

The European Peace Facility (EPF) was activated to support Ukraine by financing the provision of military equipment, including lethal arms, ammunition, and protective gear. Individual EU member states also played crucial roles, with countries like Poland, Estonia, and Latvia supplying arms and military equipment⁵. Germany's decision to provide lethal military aid, breaking with its long-standing policy of not sending arms to conflict zones, was particularly notable.

The EU facilitated the training of Ukrainian forces and enhanced intelligence-sharing mechanisms. Member states with advanced military training facilities, such as the United Kingdom and France, provided programs focusing on combat readiness, tactical planning, and the use of advanced military equipment. These efforts were closely coordinated with NATO to ensure a unified and effective response⁶.

In parallel with military assistance, the EU launched extensive humanitarian support programs to address the immediate needs of the Ukrainian population affected by the conflict. This support aimed to provide relief to civilians and stabilize regions experiencing significant displacement and infrastructure damage. The European Commission's Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid

⁴ C. Kuzemko [et al.], *Russia's war on Ukraine, European energy policy responses & implications for sustainable transformations*, "Energy Research & Social Science", 2022, v. 93, p. 102842.

⁵ *European Peace Facility*, European Commission, <https://fpi.ec.europa.eu> (23.07.2024).

⁶ *EU response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine*, Consilium, <https://fpi.ec.europa.eu> (23.07.2024).

Operations played a pivotal role in coordinating the delivery of food, water, medical supplies, and temporary shelter.

The conflict triggered a significant refugee crisis, with millions of Ukrainians fleeing to neighboring countries. The EU activated the Temporary Protection Directive, allowing Ukrainian refugees to receive immediate protection and access to housing, healthcare, and employment within the EU⁷. Member states, particularly those bordering Ukraine, established reception centers and coordinated efforts to provide comprehensive support to refugees. Recognizing the psychological impact of the conflict, the EU funded programs aimed at providing psychosocial support and trauma care⁸.

While the immediate response focused on emergency relief, the EU also initiated long-term humanitarian projects aimed at rebuilding and stabilizing Ukrainian society. The EU committed funds for the reconstruction of critical infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and public buildings. To support Ukraine's economy, the EU provided financial aid packages aimed at stabilizing the economy and supporting small and medium-sized enterprises. These efforts were designed to prevent economic collapse and create conditions conducive to recovery and growth. The EU invested in educational programs to ensure that children and young adults could continue their education despite the disruption caused by the war. Additionally, social services were strengthened to support vulnerable populations, including the elderly and disabled.

Early Adjustments in EU Defense Policies and Coordination with NATO

The onset of Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2022 catalyzed a fundamental reassessment of the EU defense strategy. This reassessment was necessary to address immediate security threats and enhance the EU's long-term strategic posture. Historically, the EU's defense policy emphasized crisis management and peacekeeping operations outside its borders. However, the invasion of Ukraine prompted a shift towards prioritizing territorial defense and deterrence. The updated EU Strategic Compass, adopted in March 2022, underscored this shift, highlighting

⁷ J. Yeo, O. Pysmenna, *Lives on Hold Between the European Union and Ukraine: Ukrainian Migrants' Return Before and After the War*, [in:] *Return Migration and Crises in Non-Western Countries*, ed. J. Yeo, Cham 2024, pp. 103-119.

⁸ T.A. Börzel, *European Integration and the War in Ukraine: Just Another Crisis?*, "JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies", 2023, v. 61, pp. 14-30.

the need for robust capabilities to protect EU territory and citizens from direct military threats. Member states committed to substantial increases in defense budgets to bolster military capabilities⁹.

To support this strategic shift, the EU focused on enhancing its military capabilities across various dimensions. The EU prioritized investment in cutting-edge military technologies, including cyber defense, artificial intelligence, and unmanned systems. The European Defence Fund (EDF) played a crucial role in funding research and development projects aimed at these advanced technologies. The EU increased the size and readiness of its rapid reaction forces, such as the EU Battle-groups, designed to be deployable on short notice to respond to emerging threats. The EU also undertook significant initiatives to enhance military mobility across the continent, involving upgrading infrastructure, simplifying cross-border military transport procedures, and improving logistical support systems¹⁰.

The EU's defense adjustments were closely coordinated with NATO to ensure a unified and effective response to the security threats posed by Russia. This included joint exercises, shared intelligence, and coordinated operational plans

The objective was to create a seamless integration of EU and NATO capabilities, ensuring a robust collective defense posture. Enhancing interoperability between EU and NATO forces was a critical focus area, involving standardizing equipment, communication systems, and operational procedures. Joint military exercises, such as the Defender-Europe series, played a vital role in testing and improving interoperability.

Recognizing the growing threat of cyber-attacks, the EU and NATO enhanced their collaboration in cyber defense, including joint exercises, information sharing, and coordinated responses to cyber incidents. The EU's Cyber Rapid Response Teams (CRRTs) were developed to work alongside NATO's Cyber Defence Center of Excellence, ensuring a comprehensive approach to cybersecurity¹¹. Beyond military adjustments, the EU and NATO worked closely on political and diplomatic fronts to present a united stance against Russian aggression as well¹².

⁹ D. Fiott, *The Fog of War: Russia's War on Ukraine, European Defence Spending and Military Capabilities*, "Intereconomics", 2022, v. 57, No. 3, pp. 152-156.

¹⁰ R. Nizhnikau, A. Moshes, *The war in Ukraine, the EU's geopolitical awakening and implications for the "contested neighbourhood"*, "Policy Studies", 2024, v. 45, No. 3-4, pp. 489-506.

¹¹ T. Tardy, *The New European Defence and Security Agenda*, ELF, <https://liberalforum.eu> (23.07.2024).

¹² T. Yıldız, *The European Union–Russia–Ukraine Triangle: Historical Background of Relations, Russia–Ukraine War, and Future Prospects*, [in:] *The European*

Strategic Reorientation

The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine prompted a comprehensive reevaluation of the EU security priorities. Historically oriented towards crisis management and peacekeeping, the EU shifted its focus towards deterrence and territorial defense in response to the direct military threat on its eastern borders. Deterrence has become a central tenet of the EU's defense strategy, involving the development of military capabilities and the integration of political, economic, and technological measures to deter potential aggressors. The updated EU Strategic Compass reflects this strategic shift, highlighting the importance of a credible deterrence posture¹³.

The strategic reorientation also involved redefining the EU's role in relation to NATO. Recognizing NATO's primacy in territorial defense, the EU aimed to complement and support NATO's efforts while enhancing its own capabilities. The EU and NATO sought to maximize their synergies through coordinated defense planning and capability development, ensuring that their efforts are complementary rather than duplicative. Joint exercises, shared intelligence, and integrated command structures have been emphasized to improve interoperability and operational effectiveness¹⁴.

The EU has positioned itself to support NATO's deterrence and defense efforts through non-military means, leveraging its economic power to impose sanctions, its technological capabilities to advance defense innovation, and its political influence to unify member states and global partners against common threats. By focusing on areas such as cyber defense, military mobility, and strategic infrastructure, the EU enhances NATO's operational capabilities¹⁵.

In response to the evolving security landscape, the EU introduced several new defense initiatives aimed at bolstering its strategic autonomy and enhancing its defense capabilities. PESCO facilitates deeper defense cooperation among EU member states, including projects focused on

Union in the Twenty-First Century: Major Political, Economic and Security Policy Trends, eds. A. Günar, D. Saygin, Leeds 2023, pp. 195-210.

¹³ S. Knezović, D. Duić, *The EU's Strategic Compass—Anything new for the EU's CSDP?*, „Zeitschrift für europarechtliche Studien”, 2023, v. 26, No. 2, pp. 219-238.

¹⁴ F. Kramer, B. Pavel, *NATO priorities: Initial lessons from the Russia-Ukraine war*, Atlantic Council, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org> (23.07.2024).

¹⁵ A.P. Stone [et al.], *A New Vision for the Transatlantic Alliance: The Future of European Security, the United States, and the World Order after Russia's War in Ukraine*, CEPA, <https://cepa.org> (23.07.2024).

enhancing military capabilities¹⁶. Recognizing the importance of rapid troop and equipment movement across Europe, the EU has prioritized the Military Mobility Initiative¹⁷.

The strategic reorientation involves not only immediate responses but also long-term planning to ensure sustained security and stability. The EU has adopted an integrated approach to defense and security planning, aligning military, economic, and political strategies. While maintaining close ties with NATO, the EU aims to enhance its strategic autonomy, reducing dependencies on non-EU countries for critical defense technologies, increasing defense spending among member states, and fostering a robust European defense industry¹⁸.

Political and Diplomatic Shift

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 significantly altered the EU's foreign policy and diplomatic strategies. These changes were necessary to address the immediate security threat and to reinforce the EU's global stance against aggression and for international law. The EU intensified its diplomatic engagement with Eastern Partnership countries, such as Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova. This included political support, economic aid, and security cooperation. The EU provided substantial financial assistance to stabilize these countries' economies and enhance their resilience against external threats¹⁹. As a result, Georgia was granted candidate status for EU membership in December 2023.

The EU engaged in extensive diplomatic efforts to build a global coalition against Russia's actions, including outreach to non-EU countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to garner support for Ukraine and isolate Russia diplomatically. The EU's diplomatic corps worked to secure statements of condemnation from international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Co-

¹⁶ S. Rutigliano, *Ukraine Conflict's Impact on European Defence and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)*, 2023, pp. 765-777, European Papers, <https://www.europeanpapers.eu> (23.07.2024.).

¹⁷ M.S. Chihaiia, *Advancing military mobility in Europe: An uphill battle*, EPC, <https://www.epc.eu> (23.07.2024).

¹⁸ N. Helwig, *EU Strategic Autonomy after the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Europe's Capacity to Act in Times of War*, "JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies", 2023, v. 61, No. S1, pp. 57-67.

¹⁹ R. Ivančik, *On Some Aspects of European Security and Defence in the Context of War in Ukraine*, "Security Science Journal", 2024, v. 5, No. 1, pp. 60-73.

operation in Europe (OSCE). The EU reaffirmed its commitment to promoting democratic values and human rights globally, supporting civil society organizations, providing aid to human rights defenders, and advocating for democratic reforms in countries affected by Russian influence. The EU also increased its efforts to counter disinformation and propaganda, particularly those emanating from Russian state media²⁰.

The applications of Finland and Sweden for NATO membership represented a significant shift in the security landscape of Northern Europe, reflecting broader changes in EU-NATO dynamics. Finland and Sweden's applications to join NATO were a direct response to the increased security threat posed by Russia. Their accession to NATO was seen as a critical move to enhance the security of the Baltic Sea region. This shift required the EU to reassess its own defense and security strategies, particularly in terms of its northern member states' defense infrastructure and readiness. The accession of Finland and Sweden to NATO was expected to strengthen EU-NATO cooperation, as both countries have been closely aligned with EU security policies²¹.

The EU focused on strengthening its alliances and partnerships both within Europe and globally to enhance collective security and resilience. The EU reinforced its transatlantic partnership with the United States and Canada, involving coordinated actions on sanctions, joint military exercises, and enhanced intelligence sharing. Recognizing the global nature of security threats, the EU increased its engagement with countries in the Indo-Pacific region, including Japan, South Korea, and Australia. This included strategic dialogues, joint military exercises, and collaborations on security issues²².

The EU continued to support and engage with multilateral institutions such as the United Nations, the OSCE, and the World Trade Organization. The EU advocated for stronger international norms and legal frameworks to address aggression, human rights violations, and other global challenges. By strengthening these institutions, the EU aimed to enhance global governance and promote international peace and security²³.

²⁰ K. Raik [et al.], *EU Policy towards Ukraine: Entering Geopolitical Competition over European Order*, "The International Spectator", 2024, v. 59, No. 1, pp. 39-58.

²¹ A. Walker, *The effects of the war in Ukraine on European defence: deeper EU integration?*, UK in a changing Europe, <https://ukandeu.ac.uk> (23.07.2024).

²² A.P. Stone [et al.], *op.cit.*

²³ C. Håkansson, *The Ukraine war and the emergence of the European commission as a geopolitical actor*, "Journal of European Integration", 2024, v. 46, No. 1, pp. 25-45.

Challenges and Criticisms

One of the primary challenges faced by the EU in enhancing its defense capabilities is the disparity among member states regarding defense spending and strategic priorities. While some countries have committed to substantial increases in their defense budgets, others have been more reluctant due to economic constraints or differing threat perceptions. This inconsistency hampers the EU's ability to present a unified and robust defense posture²⁴. Member states often have different strategic priorities based on their geographical locations and historical experiences. For example, Eastern European countries prioritize deterrence against Russian aggression, while Southern European countries may focus more on issues such as migration and regional stability in the Mediterranean.

The EU faces the complex task of enhancing its own defense capabilities while acknowledging NATO's primary role in European security. This balance poses several challenges and criticisms. Critics argue that the EU's efforts to develop its own defense mechanisms may lead to duplication of NATO's roles, resulting in inefficiencies. Ensuring that EU and NATO roles are clearly delineated and complementary remains a significant challenge. Effective coordination and interoperability between EU and NATO forces are crucial but challenging to achieve. Differences in command structures, operational doctrines, and equipment standards can hinder seamless cooperation²⁵.

The EU's defense industrial base faces significant challenges in scaling up production and addressing capability gaps. The COVID-19 pandemic and geopolitical tensions have highlighted vulnerabilities in global supply chains, affecting the defense sector. Ensuring a resilient supply chain for critical defense components is essential but challenging. The EU's defense industrial capacity varies significantly among member states. Some countries have advanced defense industries capable of producing sophisticated military equipment, while others lack such capabilities. Promoting innovation and industrial capacity across the EU is crucial to ensuring a balanced and capable defense sector. Initiatives such as the European Defence Fund (EDF) aim to address

²⁴ H. Aries, B. Giegerich, T. Lawrenson, *The Guns of Europe: Defence-industrial Challenges in a Time of War*, „Survival”, 2023, v. 65, No. 3, pp. 7-24.

²⁵ G. Bosse, *The EU's Response to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Invoking Norms and Values in Times of Fundamental Rupture*, „JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies”, 2023, v. n/a, No. n/a, pp. 1-17.

these disparities, but their effectiveness depends on sustained investment and collaboration²⁶.

Achieving consensus among 27 member states on defense and security issues is inherently challenging. Political will varies significantly across the EU, affecting the implementation of cohesive defense policies. Member states are often hesitant to cede control over national defense policies to EU institutions, fearing a loss of sovereignty. This reluctance can impede the development of a unified defense strategy and the pooling of resources necessary for large-scale defense projects. The EU's complex institutional framework can slow decision-making processes, particularly in the realm of defense and security. Streamlining these processes to enable rapid and effective responses to emerging threats remains a critical challenge.

Potential Long-term Changes in EU Security Policy

One of the most significant potential long-term changes in EU security policy is the pursuit of strategic autonomy. This concept revolves around the EU's ability to act independently in defense and security matters without undue reliance on external powers, particularly the United States. The EU aims to reduce its dependency on non-EU countries for defense capabilities and strategic decisions. This includes investing in indigenous defense technologies, enhancing military capabilities, and developing robust decision-making frameworks.

The EU is working towards creating a more integrated and competitive defense market, involving standardizing defense procurement processes, promoting cross-border defense collaborations, and reducing regulatory barriers²⁷. Enhancing capabilities in cyber defense and space security is a critical component of the EU's strategic autonomy. The EU is investing in advanced cyber defense technologies and establishing dedicated cyber units to protect critical infrastructure. Similarly, the EU is developing its space capabilities, including satellite communication and surveillance, to ensure independent operational capabilities.

The EU is positioning itself as a more proactive player in global security, expanding its influence and capabilities beyond its immediate

²⁶ M. Nones, *The Russia-Ukraine War and Implications for the European Defence Industry*, IAI Istituto Affari Internazionali, <https://www.iai.it> (23.07.2024).

²⁷ L. Simón, *The Ukraine War and the Future of the European Union's Security and Defense Policy*, Centre for Strategic & International Studies, <https://www.csis.org> (28.07.2024).

neighborhood. The EU aims to enhance its role in international crisis management and peacekeeping operations, increasing its contributions to United Nations peacekeeping missions and developing its rapid deployment capabilities. Strengthening partnerships with non-EU countries, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region, Africa, and Latin America, is a key aspect of the EU's long-term security strategy. However, with regard to African and Latin American countries, these actions have not produced the intended positive results. Recognizing the security implications of climate change, the EU is integrating climate security into its defense policy, preparing for climate-induced conflicts and disasters, and providing humanitarian aid to affected regions.

To effectively implement these strategic changes, the EU is likely to undergo significant institutional and structural reforms²⁸. Centralized defense planning and coordination are being strengthened, including the role of the EDA and the establishment of permanent military headquarters for EU operations. Sustained increases in defense spending across member states are crucial for the EU's long-term security strategy. Developing a comprehensive security framework that integrates various aspects of security, including military, economic, cyber, and human security, is essential for addressing complex and interconnected threats.

Scenarios of Relations Between the European Union and Ukraine

Scenario 1: Relations During the War Between Ukraine and Russia

During the ongoing war between Ukraine and Russia, the EU has maintained a multifaceted approach to support Ukraine while managing its own security and economic stability. The EU has significantly increased its military and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, including the provision of arms, training for Ukrainian forces, and substantial humanitarian aid. The EPF and the EDF have been instrumental in financing these efforts. The EU has imposed comprehensive sanctions on Russia, targeting key sectors such as finance, energy, and technology. The EU has coordinated these sanctions with the United States and other international partners to maximize their impact. The EU has provided strong political and diplomatic support to Ukraine, recognizing its sovereignty and territorial integrity and advocating for Ukraine in international forums.

²⁸ C. Hoefler, S.C. Hofmann, F. Mérand, *The polycrisis and EU security and defence competences*, "Journal of European Public Policy", 2024, v. 0, No. 0, pp. 1-25.

Scenario 2: Relations After the End of the War with Ukraine's Victory

In the event of a Ukrainian victory, the EU's relations with Ukraine would likely deepen, focusing on reconstruction, integration, and long-term security. The EU would provide extensive aid for the reconstruction of Ukraine, including rebuilding infrastructure, housing, and industry. The EU would work towards integrating Ukraine into its economic structures, potentially accelerating its accession process. The EU would likely offer security guarantees to Ukraine, possibly including a pathway to NATO membership or similar security arrangements. Enhanced military cooperation, joint exercises, and continued support for modernizing Ukraine's armed forces would be critical. The EU would support Ukraine in strengthening its democratic institutions, governance, and rule of law, ensuring that Ukraine emerges as a stable, democratic, and prosperous state within the European community.

Scenario 3: Relations After the End of the War with Russia's Victory

In the hypothetical scenario where Russia emerges victorious, the EU's relations with Ukraine would face significant challenges and adjustments. The EU would likely continue to provide humanitarian aid to Ukraine, focusing on assisting the population affected by the conflict and potential occupation. The EU would refuse to recognize any territorial changes imposed by Russia and maintain or possibly increase sanctions against Russia. The EU might support resistance movements within Ukraine, providing covert aid and maintaining a stance against the occupation.

Conclusion

The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine has precipitated a profound transformation in the European Union's security and defense policies, marking a significant departure from its historical reliance on soft power and diplomatic measures. The EU's immediate response, characterized by the implementation of comprehensive economic sanctions and unprecedented military and humanitarian support for Ukraine, underscores its commitment to defending international law and supporting nations facing aggression. These actions reflect a new strategic orientation towards deterrence and territorial defense, driven by the urgent need to address the direct military threat posed by Russia.

The evolution of the EU's defense policies has been multifaceted, involving substantial increases in defense budgets, investment in advanced military technologies, and enhanced coordination with NATO. The EU's strategic reorientation has focused on improving military mo-

bility, logistical support, and the readiness of rapid reaction forces, ensuring that it can respond swiftly and effectively to emerging threats. Despite these advancements, the EU faces significant challenges and criticisms, particularly regarding the disparities in defense spending and strategic priorities among member states. Balancing the EU's enhanced defense role with NATO's primacy remains a complex task, requiring clear delineation of responsibilities and robust coordination mechanisms.

Looking ahead, the potential long-term changes in EU security policy point towards a greater pursuit of strategic autonomy, enhanced global security roles, and comprehensive institutional reforms. The EU's commitment to developing indigenous defense capabilities, fostering strategic partnerships, and integrating climate security into its defense strategy demonstrates a holistic approach to addressing multifaceted security challenges. These efforts aim to build a robust and adaptable defense posture capable of maintaining regional stability and contributing to global peace and security.

The future of EU-Ukraine relations will be significantly shaped by these strategic shifts. Scenarios range from deepened integration and reconstruction support in the event of a Ukrainian victory, to continued humanitarian and diplomatic support under adverse conditions. Regardless of the outcome, the EU's responses to the Ukraine crisis will likely redefine its security and defense policies for years to come, underscoring its resolve to uphold international norms and support allied nations in times of crisis. By reinforcing its defense capabilities and strategic autonomy, the EU is positioning itself as a stronger and more proactive actor on the global stage, capable of addressing both immediate and long-term security challenges.

Bibliography

- Adolfson J.F. [et al.], *The impact of the war in Ukraine on euro area energy markets*, „Economic Bulletin Boxes”, 2022, v. 4.
- Aries H., Giegerich B., Lawrenson T., *The Guns of Europe: Defence-industrial Challenges in a Time of War*, „Survival”, 2023, v. 65, No. 3.
- Börzel T. A., *European Integration and the War in Ukraine: Just Another Crisis?*, „JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies”, 2023, v. 61.
- Bosse G., *The EU's Response to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Invoking Norms and Values in Times of Fundamental Rupture*, „JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies”, 2023.
- Caprile A., Delivorias A., *EU sanctions on Russia: Update, economic impact and outlook*, Strasbourg 2023.
- Chihaiia M.S., *Advancing military mobility in Europe: An uphill battle*, EPC, <https://www.epc.eu> (23.07.2024).

- European Peace Facility*, European Commission, <https://fpi.ec.europa.eu> (23.07.2024).
- Fiott D., *The Fog of War: Russia's War on Ukraine, European Defence Spending and Military Capabilities*, „Intereconomics”, 2022, v. 57, No. 3.
- Håkansson C., *The Ukraine war and the emergence of the European commission as a geopolitical actor*, „Journal of European Integration”, 2024, v. 46, No. 1.
- Helwig N., *EU Strategic Autonomy after the Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Europe's Capacity to Act in Times of War*, „JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies”, 2023, v. 61, No. S1.
- Hoeffler C., Hofmann S.C., Mérand F., *The polycrisis and EU security and defence competences*, „Journal of European Public Policy”, 2024, v. 0, No. 0.
- Ivančik R., *On Some Aspects of European Security and Defence in the Context of War in Ukraine*, „Security Science Journal”, 2024, v. 5, No. 1.
- Knezović S., Duić D., *The EU's Strategic Compass—Anything new for the EU's CSDP?*, „Zeitschrift für europarechtliche Studien”, 2023, v. 26, No. 2.
- Kramer F., Pavel B., *NATO priorities: Initial lessons from the Russia-Ukraine war*, Atlantic Council, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org> (23.07.2024).
- Kuzemko C. [et al.], *Russia's war on Ukraine, European energy policy responses & implications for sustainable transformations*, „Energy Research & Social Science”, 2022, v. 93.
- Meissner K., *Caught up by Geopolitics: Sanctions and the EU's Response to Russia's War Against Ukraine*, „The Economists' Voice”, 2023, v. 20, No. 2.
- Nizhnikau R., Moshes A., *The war in Ukraine, the EU's geopolitical awakening and implications for the “contested neighbourhood”*, „Policy Studies”, 2024, v. 45, No. 3-4.
- Nones M., *The Russia-Ukraine War and Implications for the European Defence Industry*, IAI Istituto Affari Internazionali, <https://www.iai.it> (23.07.2024).
- Raik K. [et al.], *EU Policy towards Ukraine: Entering Geopolitical Competition over European Order*, „The International Spectator”, 2024, v. 59, No. 1.
- Rutigliano S., *Ukraine Conflict's Impact on European Defence and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), The Russian War Against Ukraine and the Law of the European Union*, European Papers, <https://www.europeanpapers.eu> (23.07.2024.).
- Simón L., *The Ukraine War and the Future of the European Union's Security and Defence Policy*, Centre for Strategic & International Studies, <https://www.csis.org> (28.07.2024).
- Tardy T., *The New European Defence and Security Agenda*, European Liberal Forum, , <https://liberalforum.eu> (23.07.2024).
- Walker A., *The effects of the war in Ukraine on European defence: deeper EU integration?*, UK in a changing Europe, <https://ukandeu.ac.uk> (23.07.2024).

Transformacja podejścia do bezpieczeństwa i obrony: strategiczna odpowiedź Unii Europejskiej na rosyjską inwazję na Ukrainę w 2022 roku

Streszczenie

Inwazja Rosji na Ukrainę w 2022 roku doprowadziła do znaczącej rewizji polityki bezpieczeństwa i obrony Unii Europejskiej, przesuując akcent z historycznej zależności od miękkiej siły na autonomiczną strategię obronną. Artykuł ten ma na celu analizę dostosowań UE w odpowiedzi na konflikt, skupiając się na ewolucji jej polityki bezpie-

czeństwa i obrony oraz ich implikacjach dla przyszłych relacji UE-Ukraina. Wykorzystując analizę jakościową dokumentów politycznych, oficjalnych oświadczeń i artykułów naukowych, badanie to analizuje sankcje UE, wsparcie militarne oraz strategiczną reorientację. Wyniki pokazują, że UE wprowadziła kompleksowe sankcje gospodarcze przeciwko Rosji, zapewniła bezprecedensową pomoc wojskową i humanitarną Ukrainie oraz zreorientowała swoją politykę obronną na odstraszenie i obronę terytorialną. Badanie identyfikuje również znaczące wewnętrzne różnice wśród państw członkowskich UE dotyczące priorytetów strategicznych. Zwiększona koordynacja z NATO, zwiększenie wydatków na obronę oraz inwestycje w zaawansowane technologie militarne są kluczowymi aspektami strategicznej zmiany UE. Potencjalne długoterminowe zmiany w polityce bezpieczeństwa UE wskazują na większą autonomię strategiczną i zwiększoną rolę w globalnym bezpieczeństwie. Przyszłość relacji UE-Ukraina będzie kształtowana przez te strategiczne zmiany, z możliwymi scenariuszami obejmującymi pogłębioną integrację i wsparcie dla odbudowy, aż po kontynuację wysiłków humanitarnych i dyplomatycznych w zależności od różnych wyników konfliktu.

Słowa kluczowe: Unia Europejska, polityka bezpieczeństwa, NATO, wojna rosyjsko-ukraińska, sankcje, wsparcie wojskowe