

Energy Security Strategy of the European Union in the Background of the Russia-Ukraine War

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In the 21st century, the issue of energy security is an important challenge for many states. Energy independence is an important component of the country's national security. That is why its development is considered a priority of the country's economic policy. Along with the trends of globalization, international energy relations are increasing day by day. However, the issue of energy security and vulnerability is equally on the agenda, which in turn is related to the problems of access to energy resources and the aggressive appeal of industrialized states with this issue, which creates a destabilizing vulnerable environment in the state. This issue was clearly revealed in the background of the 2022-2023 war between Russia and Ukraine. The mentioned issue is one important part of this paper, along with which the issue of renewable energies is also discussed. Renewable energies, the so-called practical way to get rid of petroleum products is growing more and more. Accordingly, the mentioned work considers both issues equally on the example of the European Union's energy security strategy, within the framework of the Russia-Ukraine war. The paper discusses the European Union's energy security policy and current challenges.

Keywords: Russia-Ukraine war, European Union, energy independence, energy security, energy resources, renewable energy, military-political weapon, sanctions.

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Introduction

Energy security is a crucial consideration for all nations, as it has a direct impact on a state's military might, its economic growth, and the well-being of its citizens. The International Energy Agency defines energy security as "the uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price." Militaries, economies, and individual citizens depend on access to energy, and a state does not have freedom of action when other states control energy access and supply chains (Willis et al., 2023).

Globalization processes in the world and related trends, technological and economic development have led to an increase in energy consumption and dependence on the most demanding resources, oil and gas, which has a negative impact on the unequal distribution of energy resources in the world. Therefore, it is clear that a strong economy is directly related to energy independence. If a country depends on the energy produced by another country, it means that its independence is in danger. The basis of national security for all countries is less energy dependence on foreign energy resources. However, it often happens that due to energy deficit, states cooperate with countries that use energy as a political "weapon." The same is true of the European Union. The use of non-military means as a military-political weapon is a proven Russian strategy in relation to the European Union.

In this regard, the European Union is a structure that significantly regulates energy consumption issues. However, it is clear that the energy security in the EU is disturbed, which is caused by the high dependence on imported energy products in the EU states themselves. The identity of the supplier of energy products is particularly noteworthy. As you know, one of the major suppliers of gas in the European Union is Russia, which as of 2021, supplied about 34% of the European Union market with gas, which in turn gave Russia additional leverage to influence Europe and continues to do so even now, Russia uses these energy products as a political tool.

This image is a clear example of how energy dependence can violate security conditions. EU energy one of the ways to supply resources is the Black Sea region, which, despite the high financial costs compared to the Russian routes, is the most politically favorable decision.

The start of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022, the European energy crisis, and the international events running parallel to this conflict forced the world to be more careful in its political strategies, and especially to be careful in relation to the Black Sea and the Caucasus region. With Russia no longer considered either a reliable or desirable energy supplier, the EU member states had to rethink their energy policy priorities and seek alternatives as a matter of utmost urgency. In the unfolding energy-climate crisis, the phase-out of Russian fossil fuels and diversification of supply routes with a simultaneous acceleration of the energy transition is a major task that will prove both difficult and costly (Surwillo, 2023).

Europeanization of energy law

Guaranteeing security of supply is a particularly difficult task to achieve in a multilevel system such as the EU. On the one hand, the level of both physical and regulatory integration of Member States' energy systems means that a security-of-supply shock in one Member State is bound to have knock-on effects on other Member States. This seems to make legal and institutional arrangements at the European level for the guarantee of such security an imperative. However, the EU also needs to take into account considerable geographical, economic, and political differences between Member States when taking such measures. It

further needs to operate within the bounds of the legal competence conferred upon the Union by its foundational treaties (Munchmeyer, 2023).

In general, the process of globalization in the modern world has contributed more and more to the tendency of energy policy to spread across borders. Today, in this regard, the European Union in the field of energy. It is the main global legislator. It is because of this that the regulations and rules established by it are actively adopted by non-member countries of the union. In the paper, we directly discuss the role of Ukraine with participation in the European Union.

The mentioned process can be perceived as the process of Europeanization of energy law, which implies the “export” of European energy rules and principles. It is the echo of this process that the number of “third states” (Schimmelfennig & Lavenex, 2009) close to Europe is increasing in the world, which are slowly establishing European law in the national domestic space. Even in terms of energy. However, it should be noted that this is a rather long process. Although a number of steps have been taken in recent years, various reforms and legislative changes have been carried out. There is a long way to go before the complete renewal of the energy sector and compliance with European standards, which should primarily include the appropriate energy institutional, legislative and normative base promoting development.

In this process, the issue of modernization of the energy sector is directly considered, which implies the formation of less dependence on traditional energy resources and instead the promotion and development of renewable energy and green energy policy. This is what “paradigm change” (Helm, 2005) means in modern energy processes.

In general, energy is the main vital component for the functioning of each state, it is of such fundamental importance and its purpose is so indescribable in everyday life and in every detail that it is very difficult not to agree with the universal attitude that we often forget that energy even exists, while it is everywhere and in everything (Leal-Arcas & Wouters, 2017).

The fundamental and universal importance of energy is also indicated by the fact that energy has not only a public and daily household purpose, but it is also one of the big foundations in the issues of economy, industry, and politics. Nowadays, there are many social issues related to the consumption and management of energy resources. There is a problem that can be the main conflicting factor in relations with states. The problems are numerous and quite large-scale. In general, there is a lot of dispute and controversy about the terms of unequal distribution and unfair use, because today the industrialized countries are more direct users of the world's energy resources than the non-industrialized ones. The existing inequality creates certain political, economic or social problems confrontations. It has been so since the earliest times and continues to be so today. There are many cases in the periodization of world history. Manifesting such conflict, including the 1991 military intervention by the United States of America against Iraq in support of Kuwait, the so-called It was with the interest of Gulf countries (Federal Research Division, 1993) oil extraction due to. Although we actually have an article (The treaty was signed in Lisbon in December 1994) of the Energy Charter signed in 1994, which regulates issues of sovereignty over natural resources, at least in this regard. There are disputes in the modern period as well. International energy disputes include the sovereignty issues of China, Vietnam, and the Philippines regarding the alleged oil resource in the South China Sea. The long-standing dispute between Great Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands and other (Bradbrook, 1996).

Unfortunately or fortunately, at the modern stage, against the backdrop of the Russia-Ukraine war, energy security and energy independence have clearly become the need to revise

the issues in the agenda. The international community has well analyzed that energy resources cannot always be available, it is exhaustible and requires proper consumption and proper management planning, which depends significantly on the development of the overall system. Recent events in the world – the pandemic, environmental problems, Russia's declaration of a bloody war against Ukraine in February 2022 and the need to change the energy-dependent course – have significantly contributed to the deep analysis of this issue. West started as best as possible pursuing a course of efforts to reduce the degree of dependence on Russian gas and oil and to shift the main focus to non-conventional, i.e. renewable and alternative forms of energy on implementation and development. The West assumes that with such methods it will eliminate these important issues, which are directly related to the issue of energy and which are caused by the wrong distribution and consumption of energy:

1. Climate change and environmental problems – it is clear that energy projects cause serious damage to the environment. This mainly refers to the greenhouse gases released into the atmosphere by the burning of fossil fuels.
2. Energy security – security of energy supply and the degree of energy dependence is the main determining factor of national security, because nowadays the acts of blackmail, diversification, and terrorist attacks on the infrastructure of energy supply are increasing more and more, which creates a destabilizing and vulnerable environment in the state.
3. Growing nature of energy demand – as we know, global energy consumption has almost doubled since 1970. According to international calculations, the world's energy demand will increase by 2035. However, it should be noted that the Russia-Ukraine confrontation has changed attitudes regarding the quality of energy demand. Now there is clearly an increase in interest in renewable energy and a decrease in the need for nuclear power (International Energy Agency, 2010).
4. Inaccessible energy resources – this issue mainly refers to the unequal and unfair distribution of energy in the international community, which is mainly caused by the fact that the main consumers of energy resources are industrialized countries. However, there is still a large part of the world's population that does not have access to energy resources which creates energy poverty in specific regions.

This and many other reasons show us how energy resources are distributed in the regions, what the wrong use of resources causes. Consumption and how it is a matter of fundamental importance for the whole world, because it has a great influence on the internal situation in each state, it can be said that it is the main determining factor of national security. Therefore, it is necessary to search for such alternative ways that will reduce the degree of dependence on traditional energy resources and in difficult times (for example, in case of wars, conflicts, natural cataclysms) the security of the state will be ensured. It is a necessary step for that energy strategies should be reviewed, both at the international and local levels, to protect collective security in the face of global risks. The mentioned strategic actions will at least minimally prevent the states from an energy catastrophe.

Also, for this, it is important to regulate the functioning of the energy law in the states, which became particularly interesting for the whole world in the 1970s, when the Arab embargo and a sudden increase in the prices of oil products occurred. The "OPEC shock" (Heffron & Ronne, 2018) revolution in world oil prices and the events of that time affected the entire world with an energy deficit, the problem of world energy dependence became obvious. Which made

it necessary to implement some kind of regulatory policy. Energy law is a complex set of rules and regulations that determine the issue of energy resource exploitation, manage energy facilities and, as a result, affect the daily life of energy consumers.

Obviously, there are different opinions and attitudes regarding the exploitation of energy resources in different periods it is changeable. Even at the initial stage, the issue of utilizing renewable energies was not completely acceptable to the world, because it was considered that the development and full utilization of the mentioned issue was associated with very serious costs (Kanellakis et al., 2013), so this issue had opponents. However, at the modern stage, more and more states are analyzing the prospective importance of renewable energies, because the maximum use of energy resources of the state is an economic interest, which is also related to political interests. Energy is a highly politicized sector (Sadowski & Levenda²⁰²⁰).

Also, the issue of safety is important, because we remember a number of fatal stories related to nuclear power plants: Chernobyl power plant explosion on April 26, 1986 in Ukraine (Gulbatishvili, 1986), “Piper Alfa” (Macleod & Richardson, 2018) explosion on July 6, 1988 (Great Britain), “Deepwater Horizon – Accident” (Averill et al., 2022) April 20, 2010 (United States of America), Fukushima (World Nuclear Association, 2023) nuclear reactor explosion on March 11, 2011 in Japan.

Ukraine’s participation in EU projects

Since and because there is no one specific international energy Convention, the UN Sustainable Development Strategy for 2030 (Agenda 2030) can be considered as the only universal instrument, because it significantly obliges international actors to discuss sustainable energy issues. This is how the energy order, which is formed by transnational companies, is regulated.

Ukraine is a participant of the 1992 UN Convention on Climate Change. The Convention and its follow-up process (Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement) oblige Ukraine to comply with national legislation and fulfill the principles of energy regulation. Also, the 1985 “Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer” and the 1987 Montreal Protocol are important; the 1998 Aarhus Convention, 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. 1994 Energy Charter (ECT), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), International Energy Agency (IEA). It is also necessary to mention the development of principles of free trade on the part of Ukraine within the framework of GATT, which has significant effects on the international and national energy markets.

By participating in these and other projects, Ukraine made a number of commitments to reform the energy sector, including convergence with the EU’s internal energy market and energy legislation.

In general, it should be noted that Ukraine is one of the most energy-intensive industrial countries in the world. That is why increasing energy efficiency plays a vital role in Ukraine’s energy security. However, Ukraine’s electricity infrastructure is outdated and its condition requires modernization. Although old coal-fired power plants located in western Ukraine (for example, Barshtinskaya, Dobrovskaya) export electricity to EU member states, including Hungary, Slovakia and Romania, a large part of the electricity actually produced is wasted, and the level of energy efficiency is far below European standards. In addition, none of the coal-fired plants have controls for Sox and Nox pollution. In order to overcome the mentioned challenges, a single coherent policy is needed, which ensures the implementation

of environmental measures. At the same time, on the basis of this policy, large-scale and long-term investments should be attracted to the sector to ensure modernization, sustainability, security and competitiveness.

Russia-Ukraine war – the foundation of Euromaidan

It should also be noted that initially, the European Union was afraid of having a rigid attitude and tried to maintain partnership relations with Russia, this was due to the protection of energy security. However, after the Ukraine-Russia wars, the attitude of the European Union towards Russia has changed. After the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and against the background of Russia's brutal war in Ukraine in 2022, the EU's stance on Russia has been toughened and a number of sanctions packages have been imposed, including the EU imposing sanctions on over 1,240 individuals and 120 companies, freezing their accounts, and travel restrictions have been imposed. In addition, a regime of sanctions was established in various areas of the economy, including transport, financial sector, energy sector, defense; The broadcasting activities of five Russian media were restricted, etc (EU restrictive measures against Russia over Ukraine, 2014).

The military attack on Ukraine by the Russian Federation on February 24, 2022 created a prerequisite for changing strategic political and economic goals, highlighting new threats and challenges. Russia justifies the mentioned actions with the need to protect the Russian-speaking population on the territory of Ukraine, but in reality, Russia's goal is to prevent the European integration, which it carries out with irrational and violent actions, which poses an existential threat to Europe as a whole. Russia has always perceived the expansion of NATO as well as the expansion of the European Union as a threat to its own interests. This is evidenced as past period as well as modern events. It was because of this fear that the Kremlin put pressure on the former government of Ukraine, which led to the Euromaidan and ended with the removal of President Viktor Yanukovich in February 2014. In February 2014, Russia began a military intervention in Ukraine and first occupied Crimea and then part of Eastern Ukraine in order to stop Ukraine's rapprochement with the West, in particular with the European Union. These actions show that Russia has always tried to prevent Euro-Atlantic expansion and instead restore the glory of former Soviet Union in modern form.

Material support of European states to Ukraine

In response to the aforementioned Russian goals, the actions of Western society are directed towards that to manage the de-occupation of Ukrainian territories by Russia under defense conditions. For this purpose, a series of sanctions against Russia started from the day of the intervention in Ukraine in 2022. It was a disconnect from Swifti, stopping North Stream 2. Western countries also help Ukraine both politically and economically, they help to increase the fighting potential of the Ukrainian armed forces. For example, Self-propelled and towed artillery weapons were delivered to Ukraine, NATO standard weapons were also delivered to Ukraine. It should also be noted that so far in the arsenal of the Armed Forces of Ukraine there were BM-30, BM-21, BM-27, 2S1, 2S3, 2S5, 2S19, D-30, D-20, D-44, 2S7, 2A65, 2S22, 2A36 model jet and barrel of Soviet standards artillery systems, in the system structure and operational requirements of which the Ukrainians are well versed, but in addition here American HIMARS M142, M270, M777, M109, M101, Polish AHS CRAB, French CAESAR, German Pzh200, French VAB and Finnish AX185 type tracked and wheeled armored vehicles

(Aronia 2022), Slovak ZUZANA, appear. The need for calculations and crew training for the Czech DANA2, RM70, British L118 and Italian FH70, which puts very difficult requirements on the combat training system of the Ukrainian Army (Gibson, 2022). Due to the fact that the models of combat equipment received in the form of military aid differ from the models of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, all this requires the modernization or complete renewal of the logistics infrastructure. Although at this stage the process of calculating new artillery systems and training crews is provided by foreign partners, it is clear that sooner or later Ukraine itself will have to provide its own resources to meet the requirements for the operation of the mentioned modern equipment satisfaction.

European sanctions against Russia

European Union countries imported a total of 155 billion cubic meters of Russian natural gas in 2021, prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which was about 45% of the EU's total gas imports. Russia was also an important partner for Europe in supplying various other energy resources. In 2021, Europe bought 108 million tons of crude oil, 91 million tons of oil products and 51 million tons of coal from Russia. Dependence on Russian energy resources is particularly high in Central and Eastern Europe, where 18 nuclear power plants are operating, of which six are located in the Czech Republic, four each in Hungary and Slovakia, and two each in Finland and Bulgaria. They depend on Russian services and fuel elements supplied by the Russian state nuclear energy corporation "Rosatom" (Shatakishvili, 2023). However, in 2022, Europe has clearly reduced its energy dependence on Russia. This process was facilitated by the Kremlin's retaliatory sanctions against Europe, the suspension of gas supply through the "Nordstream 1" gas pipeline, and the obligation to pay the gas fee in rubles. The combination of these processes reduced Russian natural gas exports to Europe.

EU sanctions also played an important role in terms of Europe's energy independence. From 2014 to 2023, according to recent data, the European Union used eleven rounds of sanctions against the Russian Federation. These sanctions were imposed on various issues. For example, sanctions imposed an embargo on Russian coal and crude oil. Thus, the result of Western decisions is that at the current stage, the share of Russian energy products in the European market is at its lowest level in recent decades.

Also, sanctions were imposed on the import of Russian gold to the West. Also, further sanctions related to the ban on imports from Russia worth 7 billion euros to the European Union. This mainly applies to semi-finished products, plastics, textiles, leather, paper, wood, ceramics, chemicals and certain types of metals. In addition, the new restrictions include exports from European countries to Russia on certain categories of goods, which will limit Russia's access to military, industrial and technological components and damage the potential to restore its military capabilities. This includes metallurgical coal, which is actively used in industry, electronic devices, additional technological components necessary in the aviation industry, and certain types of chemicals.

Sanctions have been extended against individuals and organizations that support the authoritarian regime in Moscow and are exposed for holding illegal referendums and annexing the territories of the temporarily occupied regions of Ukraine – Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia. In addition, restrictions will affect both the defense industry operating companies and individuals that support the Russian armed forces in any way, as well as individuals involved in spreading Russian disinformation about the war. And the most recent 11th round

of sanctions in June 2023 focused on dual-use items, including computer chips, as well as an attempt to limit ship-to-ship transactions of sanctioned goods.

Conclusions

The Russian-Ukrainian war had a significant impact on the EU's energy security policy and presented it with many challenges. The European Union had to find a market for energy diversification, although it cannot give up on Russian energy carriers, because a number of countries in Europe and the European Union are significantly dependent on Russian gas and oil products. Solving the current energy deficit problem is a difficult issue and requires significant financial resources. The European Union should introduce a number of changes in its energy security strategy that will allow it to adapt more effectively to new threats. The role of renewable energy and focusing on it is quite important, however, before the EU countries can give up on Russian energy carriers, it is important to carry out a number of measures. The EU should have taken appropriate measures in terms of energy security and crisis management following Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. However, Russia's aggressive policy was not properly assessed, which led to more complicated processes and put the energy security of the European Union in front of new difficult challenges. Against the background of current events, it is important to have a common EU policy and a common vision to fight against new threats.

The sequence of these and other events clearly allows us to conclude that the 2022 Russia-Ukraine war has been put on the agenda the issue of energy independence and the importance of renewable energy sources in electricity production. Thus, reducing energy dependence on Russia, diversifying supply markets and by implementing a green energy policy, Europe strives to achieve long-term and sustainable energy sovereignty.

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