Old Dominion University ODU Digital Commons

Graduate Research Conference (GSIS)

2023 Rising Uncertainty in World Politics

Feb 10th, 12:00 AM - 12:00 AM

Global Security: Russia, Ukraine, and What Comes Next

Kateryna Koval Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University

Ekaterina Kravchenko (Editor) Regent University

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gsis_studentconference

Part of the Eastern European Studies Commons, International Law Commons, International Relations Commons, Social Justice Commons, and the Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Commons

Koval, Kateryna and Kravchenko, Ekaterina (Editor), "Global Security: Russia, Ukraine, and What Comes Next" (2023). *Graduate Research Conference (GSIS)*. 6. https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gsis_studentconference/2023/ukranianresilience/6

This Conference Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Program in International Studies at ODU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Research Conference (GSIS) by an authorized administrator of ODU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@odu.edu.

Global Security: Russia, Ukraine, and What Comes Next

Author: Kateryna Koval | Translation/Editor: Ekaterina Kravchenko

Introduction

February 24, 2022, changed the lives of all Ukrainians. People throughout the country woke up to the sounds of bombings in the cities, and all soon knew that the full-scale war had begun.¹ That morning Ukrainians realized that Russians could never become "brothers and sisters" again. Russia is a terrorist state that is continuing to commit war crimes.² Crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity. Russia has now challenged the entire world with bombings, murder, and acts against civilians - including women and children.³ However, these unthinkable circumstances now allow Ukraine to change the situation together with the rest of the liberal world by creating a new model of defense and security.

Ukraine and the liberal democracies can only withstand emerging threats by implementing a global security system with the capability to stop the transnational terrorism of the Russian Federation. Where the United Nations includes all states, regardless of their beliefs, this security order would include those with similar values to secure freedom and democracy. In other words, where NATO focuses on Europe, this new order would join the free world regardless of geographic location. As a start towards this future, I propose a global security program that highlights the risks of autocratic states like Russia, both near and far.

Building Security During War

Ukraine is faced with the difficult task of creating a new security reality while trying to win a terrible war. There are currently signs of new and positive trends – both on the local battlefield and international frontlines. In addition to demonstrating success at the front, Ukraine is actively working on security guarantees and receiving military assistance from allies (Figure 1). It is important to note that, for example, the United

¹ Aditi Sangal, Meg Wagner, Adrienne Vogt, Melissa Macaya, Rob Picheta, Lauren Said-Moorhouse, Ed Upright, Maureen Chowdhury and Fernando Alfonso III, CNN, "February 24, 2022 Russia-Ukraine News," CNN, February 25, 2022, https://www.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-news-02-24-22-intl/index.html.

² United Nations, "War Crimes Have Been Committed in Ukraine Conflict, Top UN Human Rights Inquiry Reveals," UN News, September 23, 2022, https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/09/1127691.

³ Jack Guy, Richard Roth, and Laura Ly, "UN Warns of Rape and Sexual Violence against Women and Children in Ukraine," CNN, April 12, 2022, https://www.cnn.com/2022/04/12/europe/ukraine-sexual-violence-united-nations-intl/index.html.

States of America is supplying Ukraine with more than military assistance packages. The US Treasury Department imposed new sanctions against individuals associated with the Iranian drone manufacturer, which were used by Russia against Ukraine.

Those sanctions were also imposed on the director of the organization, which is responsible for overseeing Iran's ballistic missile programs. The United States and many other allies are applying multiple elements of national power - diplomatic, informational, military, and economic.⁴

Additionally, statements such as those made in January of this year at Davos by Henry Kissinger, Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin, and many others regarding the support of Ukraine for joining NATO indicate a growing awareness of the threats to global security. Kissinger, after all, formally opposed Ukrainian entry into NATO, but now says "the idea of a neutral Ukraine under these conditions is no longer meaningful".⁵ Russia's actions are increasing the support to soundly defeat the invader, which continues its

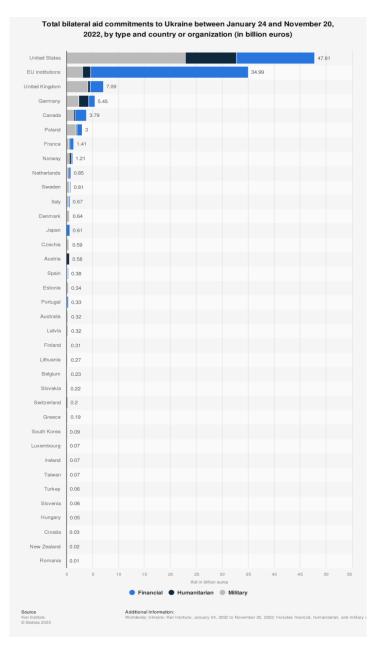


Figure 1 - Total Support to Ukraine by Type. Courtesy of Kiel Institute

⁴ Atlantic Council, "All Elements of National Power: Moving Toward a New Interagency Balance for US Global Engagement," *Atlantic Council* (blog), July 22, 2014, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/all-elements-of-national-power-2/.

⁵ Jack Dutton, "Henry Kissinger's Shifting Views on Ukraine," Newsweek, January 18, 2023,

https://www.newsweek.com/henry-kissingers-shifting-views-ukraine-1774710.

aggression against Ukraine, as well as all democratic foundations. The blatant attacks from the Russian Federation are becoming more cynical, openly barbaric, and confirming the grounds for the world-famous #RussiaIsATerroristState. Even the usually mild European Union declared Russia a state sponsor of terrorism.⁶

The Future of NATO is Ukraine

The aggressor state demonstrates to the whole world that it does not plan to stop. This creates challenges throughout Europe, the arctic, the Middle East, Africa, and around the world. Russia continues to mobilize, regroup troops and transform within the framework of the leadership of the so-called "special operation".⁷ Massive rocket attacks on Ukrainian settlements led, among other things, to the tragedy in the Dnieper (in January of this year), once again confirming that the Russian Federation will not stop unilaterally.⁸ Therefore, we are witnessing not only relevant statements from our Western partners but also real support that strengthens Ukraine and weakens Russia – in the name of global security. Ukraine, which increases its likelihood for membership in NATO in the foreseeable future, has every chance to unite the whole world for the sake of a new model of global security, becoming its flagship.⁹

One of the main conclusions that Ukraine demonstrated during a full-scale war is the realization that our army is modern, professional, and successfully implementing NATO standards.¹⁰ Ukrainian forces continuously master both new weapons and new thinking, unlike the Russian army, which is supposedly considered the second-best

⁶ Reuters, "European Parliament Declares Russia a State Sponsor of Terrorism," *Reuters*, November 23, 2022, sec. Europe, https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/european-lawmakers-declare-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism-2022-11-23/.

⁷ Politico, "As Second Mobilization Looms, Russian Men Are Staying Put (for Now) – POLITICO," February 4, 2023, https://www.politico.eu/article/second-mobilization-russia-men-vladimir-putin-ukraine-war/.

⁸ Siobhan O'Grady and Anactacia Galouchka, "In Dnipro Missile Strike: Nine Floors of Random Death and Destruction," Stars and Stripes, January 20, 2023, https://www.stripes.com/theaters/europe/2023-01-20/dnipro-missile-strike-ukraine-8826733.html.

⁹ Rachel Oswald, "US Must Back Ukraine Joining NATO in 2023, Say European Delegates," Roll Call, 2022, https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/us-must-back-ukraine-joining-nato-in-2023-say-european-delegates/ar-AA172a07.

 ¹⁰ Ukrinform, "Ukraine's Defense Ministry, Armed Forces Already Implement 292 NATO Standards and Documents
 | Defense Express," Defense Express, February 3, 2021, https://en.defence-

ua.com/news/ukraines_defense_ministry_armed_forces_already_implement_292_nato_standards_and_documen ts-1786.html.

army in the world.¹¹ The Russian army is not just losing, but also demonstrating the lack of at least elementary preparation for a new type of war in the modern world.¹² Monitoring of the information environment indicates that the Russian army is not only inadequately equipped but also that its soldiers and leaders are lacking intrinsic motivation regarding the desire to fight in Ukraine.¹³

In turn, thanks to Ukrainian professionalism, as well as a modern and fundamental approach to the implementation of reforms, Ukraine shows high results not only on the battlefield but also in the foreign policy sector. It is important to note that the President of Ukraine and representatives of the Office of the President are actively voicing the concept of a new global security system. President Zelensky and his cabinet have already announced that a summit dedicated to the Peace Formula proposed should take place soon.¹⁴

Ukrainians are convinced that more and more countries will support Ukraine's vision of a truly functioning global security system, which implies both security guarantees for Ukraine now and the cessation of wars once and for all. These security guarantees are important not only for Ukraine but for the entire civilized world. Ukraine is becoming the cornerstone of the new security order, within the framework of which in the foreseeable future any attempts to show aggression would be prevented. That is why many experts predict that Ukraine will defeat the enemy not only on the battlefield but also on the international front. Foreign policy and diplomatic processes in the context of a full-scale war are integral parts of the processes on the way to peace and the creation of a new mechanism for global security. At the same time, the liberation of territories and the strengthening of defense capability is the main goal of Ukraine. But

¹¹ Phillips Payson O'Brien, "How the West Got Russia's Military So, So Wrong," The Atlantic, March 31, 2022, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/russia-ukraine-invasion-military-predictions/629418/.

¹² Charlie Sykes, "General Mark Hertling: Russia's Army Is Terrible. But It's Not Over.," September 15, 2022, https://morningshots.thebulwark.com/p/general-mark-hertling-russias-army.

¹³ Marek N. Posard and Khrystyna Holynska, "Russia's Problems with Military Professionalization," March 21, 2022, https://www.rand.org/blog/2022/03/russias-problems-with-military-professionalization.html.

¹⁴ Reuters, "Explainer: What Is Zelenskiy's 10-Point Peace Plan?," *Reuters*, December 28, 2022, sec. Europe, https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/what-is-zelenskiys-10-point-peace-plan-2022-12-28/.

given that for the "question of peace," Ukraine needs security guarantees and support from across the world.

It is important to accept that now every NATO member country is faced with a choice regarding the adoption of political decisions from the perspective of the Russian-Ukrainian war. A war that is inherently much larger than the war on the territory of Ukraine because of the attack of the Russian Federation. Thus, Russia's aggression challenged the foundations of global security. The Russian federation's attack on Ukraine is not only about Ukraine, but also about Europe, and the world. Environmental and economic problems, numerous crises (including food), the fall of a rocket in Poland, and energy shortages in Moldova - these are all echoes of the war unleashed by Russia. Russia is also trying to "ring" nations with nuclear weapons. This increases threats to global order, not just local security. In other words, the Russian Federation involved the entire civilized world, including NATO states, in the war. That is simply a factor that the world should not agree upon within a global security framework.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg regularly emphasizes in his statements the need to make a choice: to defend democratic values, aiding Ukraine and thereby taking care of his future, or not taking any action - which equates to direct or indirect support of the aggressor.¹⁵ A neutral position at the moment is very alarming. For its part, Ukraine believes that NATO allies will make the right choice regarding the decisions taken, increasing support for Ukraine, and participating in the creation of a new effective security system for the whole world.

The World Outside of NATO

In parallel with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the situation between North Korea and South Korea grows increasingly tense¹⁶. In October 2022, the DPRK launched ballistic missiles, as well as conducted other tests, including simulating the

¹⁵ Jens Stoltenberg, "Remarks by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the CHEY Institute during His Visit to the Republic of Korea," NATO, accessed February 5, 2023,

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_211296.htm.

¹⁶ United Nations, "DPRK Missile Launch 'Latest in a Series of Alarming Activities' – UN Political Chief | UN News," UN News, November 21, 2022, https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130907.

use of nuclear weapons against South Korea. North Korean leader Kim Jong-un stressed that South Korea is the enemy and that he will not talk about any issue with him. He also said that the tactical nuclear forces of his country have demonstrated a high probability to act accordingly in a difficult geopolitical situation. In addition, the head of North Korea accused South Korea of growing instability in the region and the readiness of North Korea to take appropriate military measures.

Like Ukrainians, South Koreans also woke up last year to the roar of sirens when North Koreans violated their airspace, including with drones.¹⁷ In addition, official Pyongyang has repeatedly made statements about supporting Russian policy in general and aggression against Ukraine – in particular, mirroring the Kremlin's narrative.¹⁸ After all, based on official statements from the Russian Federation, our Euro-Atlantic European integration choice "provoked" the Russian Federation to retaliate "in the name of its security." In turn, the leadership of South Korea made it clear that a false, unjust peace in Ukraine would not only do nothing to end the war but would also shake the foundations of global security (already shaken by Russian aggression). As in our case, South Korea is not ready to remain silent in response to the aggression of a neighboring state just because the neighboring state is unclear. Moreover, official Seoul has declared its readiness to give a tough response to any aggression.

It is noteworthy that the actions of North Korea concerning the South resemble the actions of the Russian Federation toward Ukraine. Provocations, false propaganda, "saber-rattling".That is why the democratic world needs to support Ukraine in order not only to survive but also to win. And in parallel with this, we all need to unite to create a new model of global security, since we are talking not only about Ukraine but about the entire modern system of international security.

¹⁷ Al Jazeera, "Why Are North Korea's Drones Spooking the South?," Al Jazeera, December 27, 2022,

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/27/why-are-north-koreas-drones-spooking-the-south.

¹⁸ Alessandra Scotto di Santolo, "North Korea Declares 'we Stand with Russia' in Terrifying NATO Threat," Express.co.uk, January 28, 2023, https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1727423/north-korea-russia-ukraine-war-kim-yo-jung-abrams-tanks.

Sī vīs pācem, parā bellum

At the moment, the entire civilized world is facing a challenge regarding the creation of such a mechanism for security and the prevention of wars, which will be impossible to disable, especially motivating its aggression with propaganda clichés, historical phantom pains, imperial ambitions, or without motivating anything at all. The so-called "neutral" position of individual states during the current full-scale war in Ukraine will be forever engraved in the history of these states. The "neutral" position today means only one thing: support for aggression, support for the destruction of civilians, and support for the encroachments of a terrorist state on the global security of the entire civilized world.

Thus, a "neutral" position is always a choice, a choice to support a state that brings death and devastation, and a choice to be on the opposite side of global security. For example, Ukrainian deminers are now undergoing training in Cambodia, but at the same time, the Prime Minister of Cambodia said that the country is ready to teach demining to any other country if the country asks for it. "Cambodia did not provide any military support to Ukraine. Cambodia does not have such an opportunity. Cambodia's technical assistance to Ukrainian sappers is a purely humanitarian act," said Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen.¹⁹

Likewise, every country in the world is challenged with a decision whether to contribute to the new model of world security or not. The so-called "neutral" position of individual states during the current full-scale war in Ukraine will be forever engraved in the history of these states. The "neutral" position today means only one thing: support for aggression, support for the destruction of civilians, and support for the encroachments of a terrorist state on the global security of the entire civilized world.

Sī vīs pācem, parā bellum, or "If you want peace, prepare for war," wrote Publius Vegetius Renatus. Similarly, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg called for military support for Ukraine as it is the best way to achieve a peaceful negotiated

¹⁹ <u>Sok Sereyrath, "PM: Cambodia No Ability to Provide Military Support for Ukraine," January 26, 2023,</u> <u>https://www.cpp.org.kh/en/details/337604.</u>

solution to the war. "We see that the Russians are preparing for a new offensive, that they are mobilizing more soldiers, more than 200,000 people, and maybe even more. That they are actively building up weapons and ammunition," Stoltenberg said. "And most importantly, we see no sign that President Putin has changed his overall goal of this invasion, which is to control the neighbor, to control Ukraine. So, if this is the case, we must be prepared for a long journey," Stoltenberg said.²⁰ Thus, military assistance to Ukraine from many international partners remains one of the main components of the support of both the state of Ukraine and the possibility of creating a new model of Global Security.

While the Russian Federation justifies its crimes on the territory of Ukraine with false calls for peace and the alleged liberation of our country from the Nazis, the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, offered the world community the Formula for Peace. "To liberate all our land from the Rashists, we will have to fight for some time ... Fight! But if the victory will still be ours, and we are sure of it, is it not worth trying to implement our formula for peace to save thousands of lives and save the world from new destabilizations? That's why I want to present our vision of the path to peace – how it can be achieved. And not only for us but also for all of you, your allies, and partners," Volodymyr Zelenskyy said. "We should not offer Ukraine compromises with conscience, sovereignty, territory, and independence. We respect the rules, and we are people of our word. Ukraine has always been the leader of peacekeeping efforts – and the world has seen it. And if Russia says it wants to end this war, let it prove it with action." ²¹

Unfortunately, a strong defense and fighting until the war is complete are the only antidotes to aggression, neutrality, and appeasement. Zelensky goes on to say "Russia's words cannot be trusted, and there will be no "Minsk-3" that Russia will violate immediately after signing. If there is no response to restore peace, it means that Russia simply wants to deceive all of you, deceive the world, and freeze the war just when its

²⁰ Anastasia Pechenyuk, "We See That Russia Is Preparing for a New Attack on Ukraine - NATO Secretary General," Ukraine Today .org, January 30, 2023, https://ukrainetoday.org/2023/01/30/we-see-that-russia-is-preparing-for-anew-attack-on-ukraine-nato-secretary-general/.

²¹ Volodymyr Zelenskyy, "We Continue to Fight, We Will Protect Our State and Liberate Our Land Thanks to Our Heroes - Address by the President of Ukraine," Official website of the President of Ukraine, March 4, 2022, https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/mi-prodovzhuyemo-borotisya-mi-zahistimo-nashu-derzhavu-i-zvi-73357.

defeats have become especially noticeable. Ukraine will not allow Russia to wait it out, build up its forces, and then start a new series of terror and global destabilization. I am sure that now it is necessary and possible to stop the destructive Russian war."

Winning the War, Securing the Peace

To close the gate on Russia, while opening the door for a better peace, it is necessary to first adequately close out the current Russian aggressions. The ten points of the Peace Formula proposed by Vladimir Zelensky are as follows:

- 1. Radiation and nuclear safety
- 2. Food security
- 3. Energy security
- 4. Release of all prisoners and deportees
- 5. Implementation of the UN Charter and restoration of territorial integrity and world order
- 6. Withdrawal of Russian troops and cessation of hostilities
- 7. Return of justice
- 8. Counteracting ecocide
- 9. Prevention of escalation
- 10. Fixing the end of the war²²

Therefore, to call for peace, uniting the whole world, and hiding behind slogans about peace, while committing murders at the same time after an attack on a supposedly "brotherly" country is a choice. The choice to go down in history as a murderer who forever perpetuated in chronicles the hatred of his country... or a President who united the entire civilized world for the sake of peace in his country and the sake of a new model of global security.

"Every war ends diplomatically. Each war ends as a result of actions on the battlefield and at the negotiating table," said Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Dmytro Kuleba. And besides the fact that the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky proposed the "Formula of Peace", which consists of ten points, Ukraine announced the holding of the Global Peace Formula Summit until the end of February 2023. At the

²² "Kyiv Security Compact: что это такое и являются ли гарантии безопасности заменой HATO," LIGA, September 14, 2022, https://www.liga.net/politics/opinion/kyiv-security-compact-chto-eto-takoe-i-yavlyayutsyali-garantii-bezopasnosti-zamenoy-nato.

same time, UN Secretary-General António Guterres is considered a mediator. "He has established himself as an effective mediator and an effective negotiator, and most importantly - as a person of principle and honesty," Dmytro Kuleba explained.

"The United Nations could be the best place to hold this summit because it's not about doing a favor to a particular country. We are talking about involving everyone in the initiative," the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine added.²³ Thus, Ukraine is not only the initiator of the creation of a platform for discussing the global formula for peace, but also the flagship of a new model of global security, which is based on peace and the creation of appropriate conditions for it. Last year, the Office of the President of Ukraine established the International Working Group on Security Assurances for Ukraine, cochaired by the Head of the Office of President Andriy Yermak and former NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen. Last autumn, the above-mentioned working group presented to the head of state Volodymyr Zelensky the recommendations developed by the group on future security guarantees for Ukraine, which should become the basis of the document called the Kyiv Security Compact.

This document should become the basis for future agreements between Ukraine and the guarantor countries of our security. "The idea of the Kyiv Security Treaty developed jointly with former NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, can provide a solution. It should be a joint document on strategic partnership, which unites Ukraine and the guarantor countries. The principle is simple: Ukraine's security depends primarily on its ability to defend itself. To do this effectively, Ukraine needs long-term contributions from its allies.

Although the United Nations might be recommended by Ukrainian leadership, for long-term security, there are issues with this forum. Member nations in the UN, like Russia, demonstrate they do not adhere to the UN Charter or the role demanded of them in the security council. Security guarantees – not assurances but guarantees – must come from a core group of Ukraine's allies with significant military capabilities, who

²³ Associated Press, "Ukraine Aims for a Peace Summit by the End of February, Foreign Minister Says," NBC News, December 26, 2022, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/ukraine-russia-peace-summit-united-nations-foreign-minister-rcna63259.

share similar values. They must be prepared to make both political and legal commitments. Along with military assistance commitments, a wider group of international partners should support a set of sanctions-based non-military safeguards. We must ensure that the price of aggression is too high for Russia. Helping Ukraine protect, survive and win is an investment in a safer future for the world," said Andriy Yermak, Head of the President's Office, at the Halifax International Security Forum in November 2022. Dubbed the "Kyiv Security Treaty," the plan aims to provide legally binding security guarantees for Ukraine from a coalition of Western countries to enhance its ability to repel Russian attacks by conducting large-scale joint exercises, providing advanced defense weapons systems, and supporting the development of the country's defense-industrial base.²⁴

Further, Ukraine has already put in an application for accelerated acceptance to the North Atlantic Alliance, and the President of Ukraine, in turn, called on Western partners to implement the proposals of security guarantees prepared by Ukraine, outlined in the Kyiv Security Compact. However, freedom is challenged across the world by countries like North Korea, Iran, and Syria. Africa may yet become a zone of additional threats seeded by countries like Russia. Therefore a pathway toward a global democratic security order is needed.

The Global Security Project

Much of the conflict, from uniforms to drones, came from "grassroots" efforts amongst the population. The ubiquity of technology and social media makes it possible for individuals, both inside and outside of the country to contribute to collective security. The democratization of security at the individual level can be a powerful tool if aggregated in a thoughtful and meaningful way. While the Ukrainian government focuses on many of the lateral and vertical means of organizing security, Ukrainians and democratically-minded people throughout the world can organize to educate, fundraise, and organize in unique and useful ways. Ideally, these approaches would meet in the middle toward a common direction.

²⁴ Foreign Policy, "Украина Разработала Новое Соглашение о Безопасности Со Стороны Запада – СМИ," Pravada Ukraine, October 11, 2022, https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2022/10/11/7371353/index.amp.

As a reserve infantry officer, politician, diplomat, and security expert, I am looking to take the lead in just such a scenario. I participate in the "Ukraine-NATO" Program, founded #USAStandsWithUkraine and #GlobalSecurity Project together with Mike Robinson (Former US Army Special Forces counterterrorism officer, Nuclear Field Artillery, and USA Hispanic Businessman of the Year). #USAStandsWithUkraine is an American-Ukrainian group supporting Ukraine and the Global Security Project is part of our initiatives. The Global Security Project aims to unite professionals for sharing experiences, supporting Ukraine, and strengthening our defensive capacity. I believe our topical project could strengthen Ukraine on national and international levels, including the Global Security Forum we would like to perform in the USA.

In the spring of 2022, I and the team conducted an interview for the Ukrainian media "Ukrinform" with retired U.S. Army Special Forces Lieutenant Colonel and founder of AFGfree.org Perry Blackburn. Together we discussed supporting Ukraine, military experience of the United States of America that could be used by Ukrainians, as well as effective tactics, techniques, and procedures for defending Ukraine.

Our teams are also creating #Cadet2Cadet and #Warrior2Warrior *Hostomel Case Study* concerning the Ukrainian defense of the Hostomel Airport in Kyiv Oblast, for use in the self-development of cadets, emerging leaders, and young academics. The honorary "VIP mentors" of the project are retired U.S. Army General and former CIA Director, David H. Petraeus and retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General Mark P. Hertling. Together with Mike Robinson, I interviewed General (R) Petraeus and LTG (R) Hertling about the Ukrainian defense of Hostomel Airport and the mistakes of Russian forces. Alongside the *Hostomel Case Study*, we have integrated the "Ukraine Crucifixion " War Exhibition Project making a tour of the artifacts from the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in the Second World War to the United States. Through these organizations, I became acquainted with Lieutenant Colonel (P) Nathan M. Colvin who is a Ph.D. student at Old Dominion University. Through this relationship, I am presenting this very paper and sitting on a panel on Ukrainian affairs at the 26th Annual Old Dominion Graduate Research Conference. This represents another step towards realizing the

goals of a formalized Global Security Project and our forum, which leverages the "bottom-up" approach to security.

Conclusion

For many years, Russia's malign influence and gray zone activities hid the scope of its strategic planning. However, with the 2014 and 2022 invasions, Russia lays bare their true intentions. The threat of its autocratic aims reaches far outside of Ukraine in Transnistria, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Syria, and multiple African countries. Russia supports authoritarian regimes in Iran, Venezuela, North Korea, and beyond. The threat of Russia must be stopped today, but it is also likely to endure for some time. However, with parallel work of government and people, we can build better security institutions, such as ones designed specifically around freedom and democracy. Whether at the individual or national level, this sort of cooperation is the best way forward for Ukraine, the west, and other democratic nations.

Bibliography

- Aditi Sangal, Meg Wagner, Adrienne Vogt, Melissa Macaya, Rob Picheta, Lauren Said-Moorhouse, Ed Upright, Maureen Chowdhury and Fernando Alfonso III, CNN. "February 24, 2022 Russia-Ukraine News." CNN, February 25, 2022. https://www.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-news-02-24-22-intl/index.html.
- Al Jazeera. "Why Are North Korea's Drones Spooking the South?" Al Jazeera, December 27, 2022. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/27/why-are-north-koreas-drones-spooking-the-south.
- Anastasia Pechenyuk. "We See That Russia Is Preparing for a New Attack on Ukraine NATO Secretary General." Ukraine Today .org, January 30, 2023. https://ukrainetoday.org/2023/01/30/we-see-that-russia-is-preparing-for-a-new-attack-onukraine-nato-secretary-general/.
- Associated Press. "Ukraine Aims for a Peace Summit by the End of February, Foreign Minister Says." NBC News, December 26, 2022. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/ukraine-russia-peace-summit-united-nations-foreign-minister-rcna63259.
- Council, Atlantic. "All Elements of National Power: Moving Toward a New Interagency Balance for US Global Engagement." *Atlantic Council* (blog), July 22, 2014. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/all-elements-of-nationalpower-2/.
- Dutton, Jack. "Henry Kissinger's Shifting Views on Ukraine." Newsweek, January 18, 2023. https://www.newsweek.com/henry-kissingers-shifting-views-ukraine-1774710.
- Foreign Policy. "Украина Разработала Новое Соглашение о Безопасности Со Стороны Запада – СМИ." Pravada Ukraine, October 11, 2022. https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2022/10/11/7371353/index.amp.
- Jack Guy, Richard Roth, and Laura Ly. "UN Warns of Rape and Sexual Violence against Women and Children in Ukraine." CNN, April 12, 2022. https://www.cnn.com/2022/04/12/europe/ukraine-sexual-violence-united-nationsintl/index.html.
- LIGA. "Kyiv Security Compact: что это такое и являются ли гарантии безопасности заменой HATO," September 14, 2022. https://www.liga.net/politics/opinion/kyiv-security-compact-chto-eto-takoe-i-yavlyayutsya-li-garantii-bezopasnosti-zamenoy-nato.
- O'Brien, Phillips Payson. "How the West Got Russia's Military So, So Wrong." The Atlantic, March 31, 2022. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/russia-ukraineinvasion-military-predictions/629418/.
- Oswald, Rachel. "US Must Back Ukraine Joining NATO in 2023, Say European Delegates." Roll Call, 2022. https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/us-must-back-ukraine-joining-natoin-2023-say-european-delegates/ar-AA172a07.
- Politico. "As Second Mobilization Looms, Russian Men Are Staying Put (for Now) POLITICO," February 4, 2023. https://www.politico.eu/article/second-mobilization-russia-menvladimir-putin-ukraine-war/.
- Posard, Marek N., and Khrystyna Holynska. "Russia's Problems with Military

Professionalization," March 21, 2022. https://www.rand.org/blog/2022/03/russias-problems-with-military-professionalization.html.

- Reuters. "European Parliament Declares Russia a State Sponsor of Terrorism." *Reuters*, November 23, 2022, sec. Europe. https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/europeanlawmakers-declare-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism-2022-11-23/.
 - ——. "Explainer: What Is Zelenskiy's 10-Point Peace Plan?" *Reuters*, December 28, 2022, sec. Europe. https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/what-is-zelenskiys-10-point-peace-plan-2022-12-28/.
- Santolo, Alessandra Scotto di. "North Korea Declares 'we Stand with Russia' in Terrifying NATO Threat." Express.co.uk, January 28, 2023. https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1727423/north-korea-russia-ukraine-war-kim-yojung-abrams-tanks.

Sereyrath, Sok. "PM: Cambodia No Ability to Provide Military Support for Ukraine –" January 26, 2023. https://www.cpp.org.kh/en/details/337604.

- Siobhan O'Grady and Anactacia Galouchka. "In Dnipro Missile Strike: Nine Floors of Random Death and Destruction." Stars and Stripes, January 20, 2023. https://www.stripes.com/theaters/europe/2023-01-20/dnipro-missile-strike-ukraine-8826733.html.
- Stoltenberg, Jens. "Remarks by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the CHEY Institute during His Visit to the Republic of Korea." NATO. Accessed February 5, 2023. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_211296.htm.
- Sykes, Charlie. "General Mark Hertling: Russia's Army Is Terrible. But It's Not Over.," September 15, 2022. https://morningshots.thebulwark.com/p/general-mark-hertlingrussias-army.
- Ukrinform. "Ukraine's Defense Ministry, Armed Forces Already Implement 292 NATO Standards and Documents | Defense Express." Defense Express, February 3, 2021. https://en.defenceua.com/news/ukraines_defense_ministry_armed_forces_already_implement_292_nato_ standards_and_documents-1786.html.
- United Nations. "DPRK Missile Launch 'Latest in a Series of Alarming Activities' UN Political Chief | UN News." UN News, November 21, 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130907.

———. "War Crimes Have Been Committed in Ukraine Conflict, Top UN Human Rights Inquiry Reveals." UN News, September 23, 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/09/1127691.

Zelenskyy, Volodymyr. "We Continue to Fight, We Will Protect Our State and Liberate Our Land Thanks to Our Heroes - Address by the President of Ukraine." Official website of the President of Ukraine, March 4, 2022. https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/miprodovzhuyemo-borotisya-mi-zahistimo-nashu-derzhavu-i-zvi-73357.