

there are even greater geopolitical consequences, which, who knows, may have been an underlying¹¹³ objective of Vladimir Putin all along¹¹⁴.

A report produced by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) maps out¹¹⁵ *Ten global consequences of the Ukraine crisis*, which echo¹¹⁶ the views of many other analysts. They contend that¹¹⁷:

The West, and Europe in particular, may start to question¹¹⁸ the efficacy¹¹⁹ of economic sanctions as a coercive¹²⁰ power tool. Countries, such as Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq and Iran, and Russia on numerous¹²¹ occasions have been sanctioned, yet they prevail¹²²; these measures have rarely changed the situation on the ground¹²³.

Russia's initial annexation¹²⁴ of Crimea¹²⁵ in 2014 and more recent invasion of Ukraine have thrown down the gauntlet to¹²⁶ the West, effectively¹²⁷ saying, "You will not determine¹²⁸ the world order." Furthermore¹²⁹, Russia is determined to¹³⁰ halt¹³¹ the expansion of NATO, particularly in its backyard¹³². Guarantees of this nature are possibly the only basis on which Russia would withdraw from the Ukraine conflict.

There also seems to be an end to the principles¹³³ of fair play and international rule, even in war, as atrocities¹³⁴ emerge¹³⁵ and accusations¹³⁶ of genocide¹³⁷ are levelled by the American president against¹³⁸ his Russian counterpart¹³⁹. The Western concept of democracy and boundaries¹⁴⁰ of acceptable¹⁴¹ behaviour¹⁴² no longer apply, and there are enough countries, including the large, powerful and influential, happy to go along with¹⁴³ an ends-justify-the-means¹⁴⁴ approach, or at the very least, turn a blind eye¹⁴⁵.

European weakness has been exposed: it became inward-looking¹⁴⁶ and dropped its guard¹⁴⁷. The Baltic and Nordic states, as well as Poland and Bulgaria, will be looking for EU and NATO military support¹⁴⁸, which many European countries have neglected¹⁴⁹ over the past decades. Some military experts argue that¹⁵⁰ national defence spending¹⁵¹ needs to be in the order of¹⁵² 3 percent of GDP¹⁵³. For example, according to World Bank Data, German defence spending stood at around 4.9 percent at the height of the Cold War in 1963 but fell as

low as just over 1 percent in 2005, rising to 1.4 percent by 2020.

However, the ECFR is concerned¹⁵⁴ that difficulty in finding consensus¹⁵⁵ between the perspectives¹⁵⁶ of the likes of France and Germany and those of the more easterly¹⁵⁷ members may lead to disunity¹⁵⁸ and vulnerability¹⁵⁹.

The West and the Rest

Perhaps the most concerning¹⁶⁰ conclusion of the ECFR is that the old world order of a belief in Western values with the USA as the policeman, has already changed. The USA, for all its bluster¹⁶¹ and undoubted¹⁶² economic and military power, may have lost some of its global influence and can no longer bank on¹⁶³ the support of the majority¹⁶⁴ of nations. Many Asian countries, including the mighty¹⁶⁵ China, are more comfortable doing business with Russia, while poorer countries in Africa and South America will not bite the hands that feed them¹⁶⁶. As a result, the line in the sand is being drawn¹⁶⁷ not just on the border between Ukraine and Russia, but between the West and the rest. ■

¹¹³ underlying *Anda'lainn* podstawowy, leżący u podłoża

¹¹⁴ all along *ɔ:l ə'lɒŋ* cały czas, od początku

¹¹⁵ to map sth out *tə məp 'sʌmθɪŋ aʊt* sporządzić plan/mapę czegoś

¹¹⁶ to echo sth *tə 'ekəʊ 'sʌmθɪŋ* powtarzać coś, zgadzać się z czymś

¹¹⁷ to contend that... *tə kən'tend ðæt* przyznać, że...

¹¹⁸ to question sth *tə 'kwɛstʃən 'sʌmθɪŋ* kwestionować coś

¹¹⁹ efficacy *'efɪkəsi* skuteczność

¹²⁰ coercive *kəʊ'zɪv* przymusowy, represyjny

¹²¹ numerous *'nju:mərəs* liczny

¹²² to prevail *tə prɪ'veɪl* brać górę

¹²³ on the ground *ɒn ðə graʊnd* tu: na miejscu

¹²⁴ annexation *ˌænek'seɪʃn* przyłączenie, aneksja

¹²⁵ Crimea *kraɪ'mi:ə* Krym

¹²⁶ to throw down the gauntlet *tə θrəʊ daʊn ðə 'ɡæntlɪt* wyzwąć kogoś (np. na pojedynek)

¹²⁷ effectively *ɪ'fektɪvli* w rzeczywistości, faktycznie

¹²⁸ to determine sth *tə dɪ'tɜːmɪn 'sʌmθɪŋ* wyznaczać coś, określać

¹²⁹ furthermore *fɜːðə'mɔː(r)* co więcej, ponadto

¹³⁰ determined to do sth *dɪ'tɜːmɪnd tə du 'sʌmθɪŋ* zdeterminowany, by coś zrobić

¹³¹ to halt sth *tə ɪt 'sʌmθɪŋ* wstrzymać coś, zatrzymać

¹³² in one's backyard *ɪn wʌnz 'bæk'jɑːd* na czyimś poletku, na czyimś podwórku (także w przenośni)

¹³³ principle *'prɪnsəpl* reguła, zasada

¹³⁴ atrocity *ə'trɒsəti* zbrodnia, okropieństwo

¹³⁵ to emerge *tə ɪ'mɜːdʒ* pojawiać się

¹³⁶ accusation *ˌækju'zeɪʃn* oskarżenie

¹³⁷ genocide *'dʒenəsəɪd* ludobójstwo

¹³⁸ to level sth against sb *tə 'levl 'sʌmθɪŋ ə'ɡenst 'sʌmbədi* wymierzyć coś w kogoś

¹³⁹ counterpart *'kaʊntəpaɪt* odpowiednik

¹⁴⁰ boundary *'baʊndrɪ* granica

¹⁴¹ acceptable *ək'septəbl* dopuszczalny, do przyjęcia

¹⁴² behaviour *bɪ'heɪvjə(r)* zachowanie (UK)

¹⁴³ to go along with sth *tə ɡəʊ ə'lɒŋ wɪð 'sʌmθɪŋ* przystać na coś, zgodzić się

¹⁴⁴ ends-justify-the-means *endz 'dʒʌstɪfaɪ ðə miːnz* który nie przebiera w środkach, w myśl którego cel uswiera środki (tylko przed rzeczownikami)

¹⁴⁵ to turn a blind eye to sth *tə tɜːn ə blaɪnd aɪ tə 'sʌmθɪŋ* przymknąć na coś oko

¹⁴⁶ inward-looking *'ɪnwəd 'lʊkɪŋ* skupiający się na własnych sprawach/problemach

¹⁴⁷ to drop one's guard *tə drɒp wʌnz ɡɑːd* opuścić/obniżyć gardę

¹⁴⁸ military support *'mɪlɪtri sə'pɔːt* wsparcie wojskowe

¹⁴⁹ to neglect sth *tə nɪ'ɡlekt 'sʌmθɪŋ* zaniedbać coś

¹⁵⁰ to argue that... *tə ɑːɡjuː ðæt* przekonywać, że...

¹⁵¹ defence spending *dɪ'fens 'spɛndɪŋ* wydatki obronne

¹⁵² in the order of X *ɪn ði 'ɔːdə(r) əv* w okolicach X (o sumie, kwocie)

¹⁵³ GDP (gross domestic product) *dʒɪ: dɪ: 'piː grɒs daɪ'mestɪk 'prɒdʌkt PKB (produkt krajowy brutto)*

¹⁵⁴ concerned *kən'saɪnd* zaniepokojony

¹⁵⁵ consensus *kən'sensəs* konsensus, zgoda

¹⁵⁶ perspective *pə'spektɪv* punkt widzenia

¹⁵⁷ easterly *'iːstəli* wschodni

¹⁵⁸ disunity *dɪs'juːnɪti* rozłam, brak jedności

¹⁵⁹ vulnerability *vʌlnərə'bɪləti* słabość, wrażliwość (na coś)

¹⁶⁰ concerning *kən'saɪnɪŋ* niepokojący

¹⁶¹ bluster *'blʌstə(r)* przechwałki, pozerstwo

¹⁶² undoubted *ʌn'daʊtɪd* niewątpliwy

¹⁶³ to bank on sth *tə bæŋk ɒn 'sʌmθɪŋ* liczyć na coś

¹⁶⁴ majority *mə'dʒɔːrɪti* większość

¹⁶⁵ mighty *'maɪti* potężny

¹⁶⁶ to bite the hand that feeds you *tə baɪt ðə hænd ðæt fiːdʒ ju* kąsać rękę, która cię karmi

¹⁶⁷ to draw a line in the sand *tə drɔː ə laɪn ɪn ðə sænd* wyznaczyć granicę, której nie należy przekraczać ►