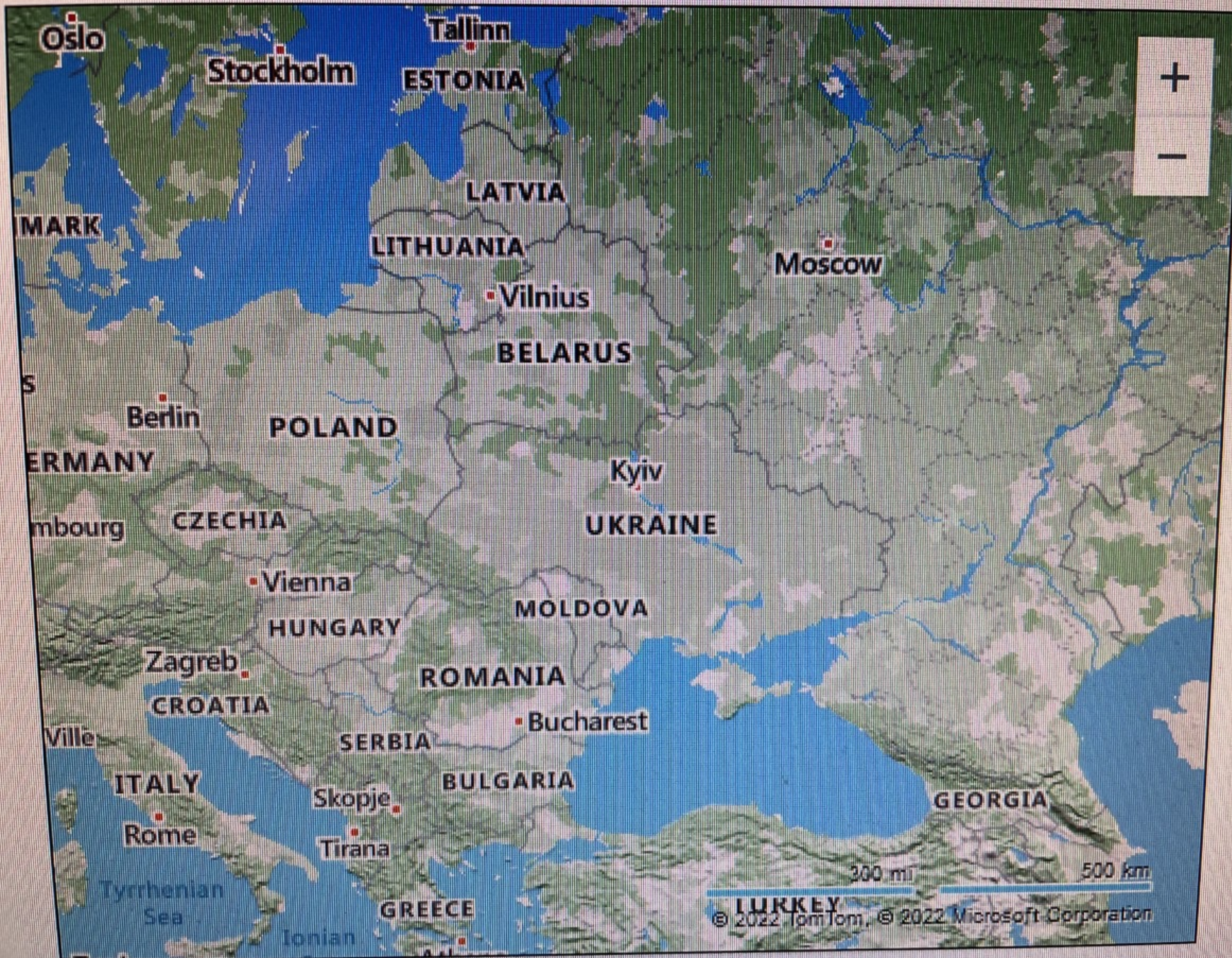


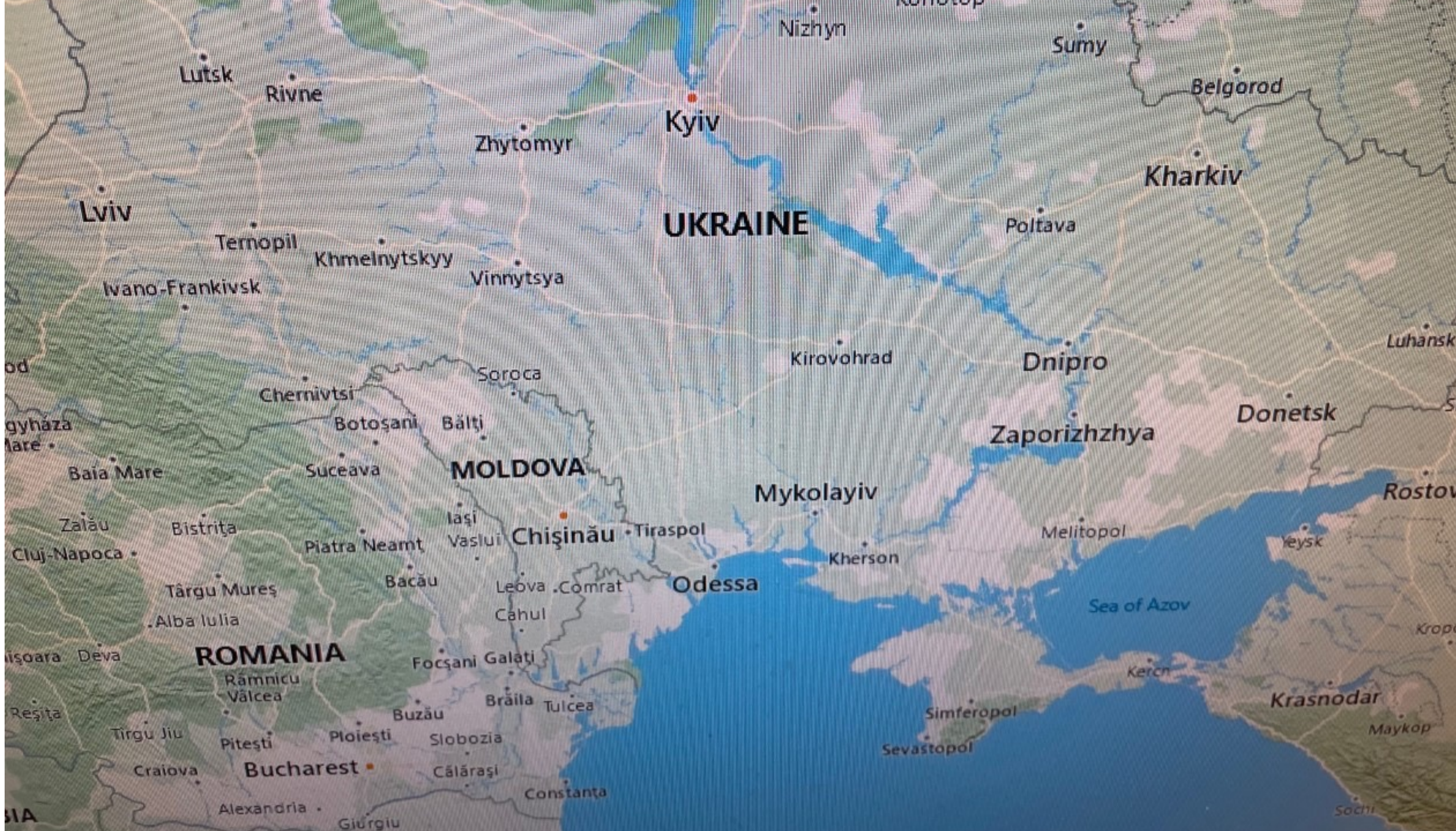
Russia & Ukraine

*The Historical Relationship, Putin's
Objective, & Possible Outcomes*

24 May 2022



TURKEY
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UKRAINE

MOLDOVA

ROMANIA

Kyiv

Zhytomyr

Lviv

Lutsk

Rivne

Nizhyn

Sumy

Belgorod

Kharkiv

Poltava

Temopil

Khmelnytskyy

Vinnytsya

Ivano-Frankivsk

Kirovohrad

Dniro

Luhansk

Chernivtsi

Soroca

Donetsk

Botoşani

Bălţi

Zaporizhzhya

Mykolayiv

Rostov

Baia Mare

Suceava

Chişinău

Tiraspol

Melitopol

Yeysk

Gyháza
Mare

Zalău

Bistriţa

Piatra Neamt

Iaşi

Vaslui

Odessa

Kherson

Sea of Azov

Cluj-Napoca

Târgu Mureş

Bacău

Leova

Comrat

Alba Iulia

Şoara
Deva

Râmnicu
Vâlcea

Focşani

Galati

Kercn

Krasnodar

Reşiţa

Tîrgu Jiu

Piteşti

Ploieşti

Slobozia

Brăila

Tulcea

Simferopol

Sevastopol

Maykop

Craiova

Bucharest

Călăraşi

Constanţa

ASIA

Alexandria

Giurgiu

Sochi

Historical Relationship

- **Early Ukrainian history** – *Swedes, Poles, Cossacks, Austrians & Russians*
- **Russian Empire** -- *absorbed people on the “edge” (Russification)*
- **Ukraine provided critical buffer & naval access** – *warm water port*
- **Soviet Union** -- *WWII & the post-war expanded defensive buffer*
- **Post Cold War** -- *free of Russian domination at last?*

Putin's Concerns & Red Line

- **Breakup of USSR was a catastrophe – *loss of buffer zone***
- **NATO expansion eastward poses a threat -- *paranoia***
- **Russia is exposed to undesirable western (*EU*) influences**
- **Losing Ukraine to NATO must be prevented!**

Source: Produced by TSO



Putin's Goals

- **Protect Russia and his leadership position**
- **Prevent Ukraine from joining NATO**
- **Prevent Kiev's westward leaning from infecting eastern Ukraine & neighboring Russian areas**
- **Demonstrate that Russia will use military force against perceived (*or contrived i.e. Nazi*) threats!**

Putin's Challenges & Uncertainties

- **Unexpected NATO solidarity & support/strength of Ukrainian resistance**
- **Strong (*nearly universal*) international support for Ukraine**
- **Severity & consequences of international sanctions**
- **Possible growth of internal dissent & opposition**
- **Uncertain military response from NATO**

Putin's Nuclear Threat

Posturing or Real?

Nuclear Weapon Use Policy

- **Nuclear weapons are not for battlefield use except in extreme situations**
- **Deterrence against surprise strategic attack & country's existence**
 - *(e.g. US vs. USSR, NATO-Warsaw Pact, Israel vs. Arabs & Pakistan vs. India)*
- **Once used, it is difficult to control escalation**
- **Higher alert status increases risk of accidental use**
- **Does Russia under Putin adhere to a similar use policy?**

Recent Nuclear Threat

- **Surrounded by nuclear weapon states** (*US, France, UK & China*)
- **Posturing in response to sanctions & NATO support to Ukraine**
- **Important distinction** (*strategic vs. theater & tactical weapons*)
- **Could he use nuclear weapons without damaging Russia?**

Ukraine's Nuclear Reactors

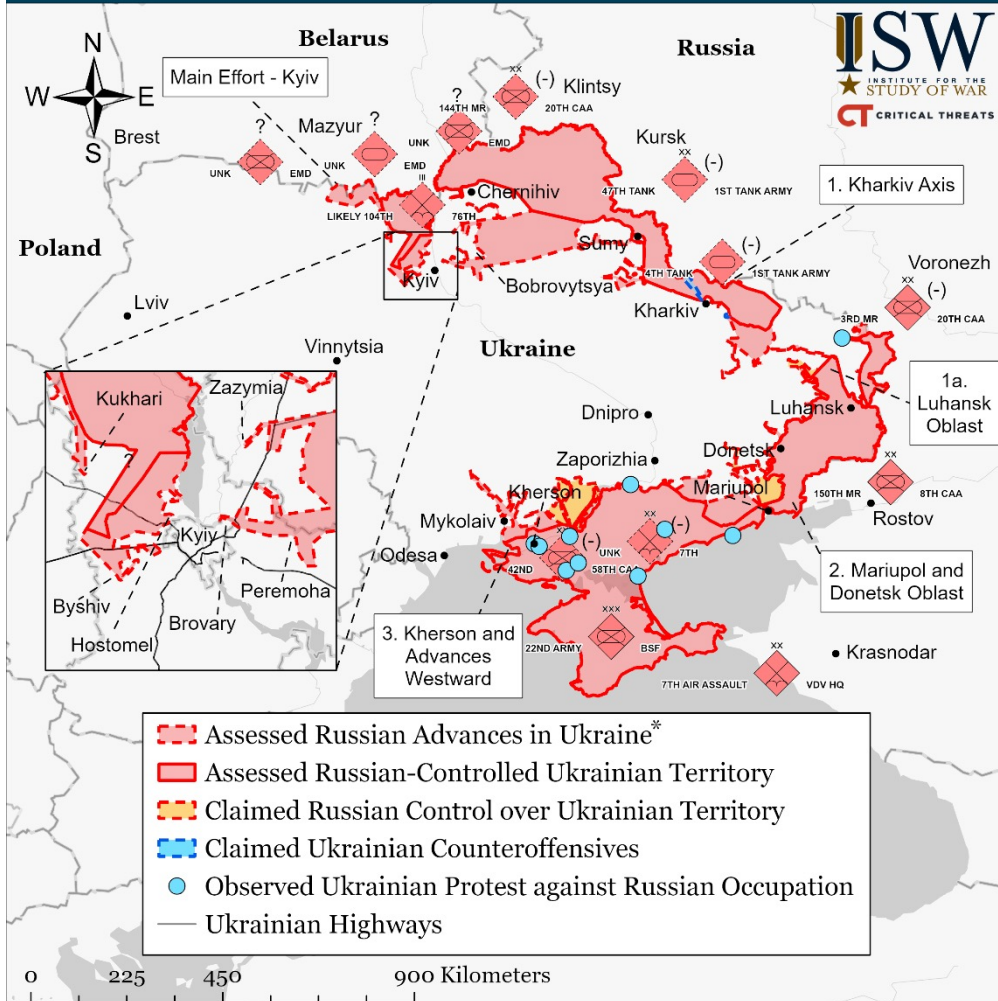
- **What is Putin's goal with regard to these facilities?**
- **Running afoul of the IAEA & international standards**
- **Trying to control Ukraine's power grid & spent nuclear fuel?**
- **Concerned about radiological attacks against Russian troops?**

Potential Outcomes

Putin's Options

- **Occupy parts of eastern & southern Ukraine – *most likely***
- **Successfully negotiate a deal with Zelensky - *maybe***
- **Occupy all of Ukraine – *less likely***
- **Withdraw military from Ukraine except Crimea – *least likely***

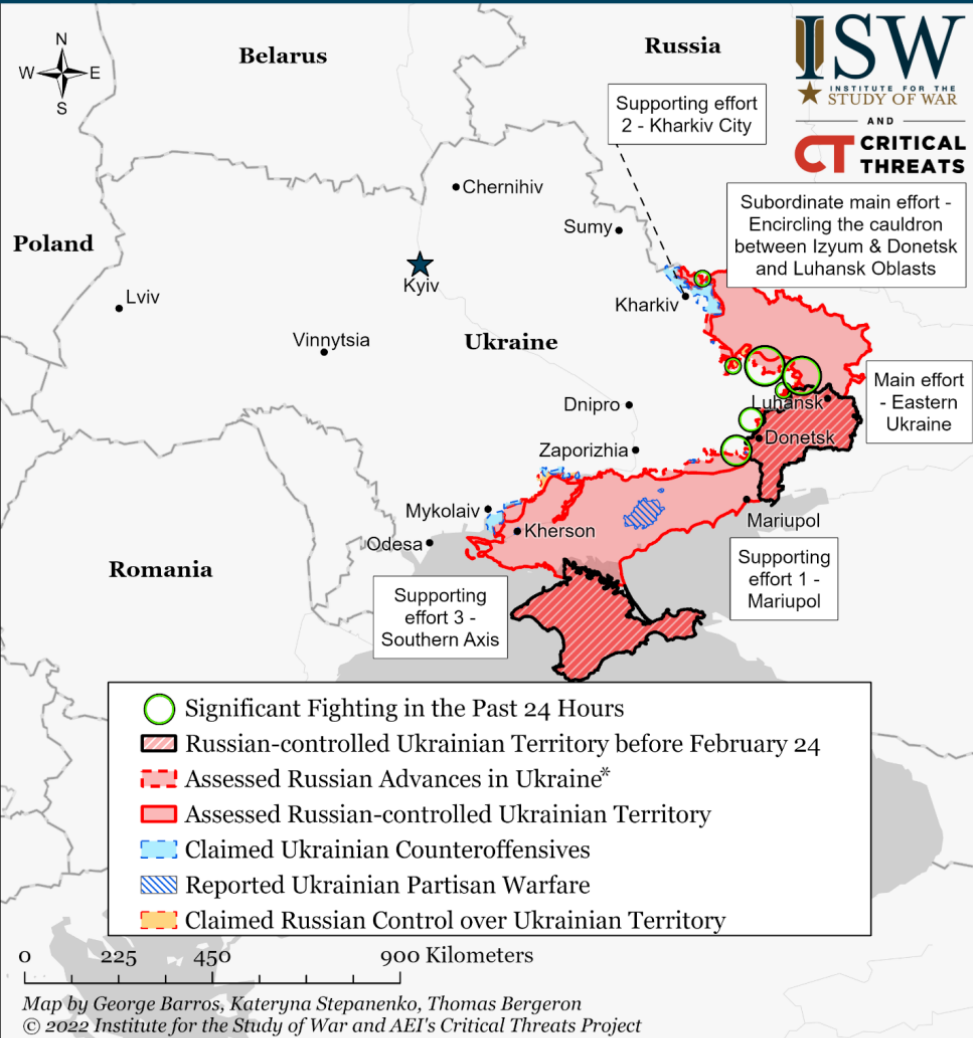
Assessed Control of Territory in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of March 16, 2022, 3:00 PM ET



Map by George Barros, Kateryna Stepanenko, Brian Carter, and Thomas Bergeron
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* Assessed Russian advances are areas where ISW assesses Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control.

Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of May 18, 2022, 3:00 PM ET



* Assessed Russian advances are areas where ISW assesses Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control.

Alternative Ukrainian Futures

- **Remain independent, but not join NATO - *likely***
- **Join EU - *likely***
- **Accept Russian control & military forces in Crimea & Donbas - *likely***
- **Join Russian security & economic systems – *unlikely***

Conclusions

- **Uncertainties, unintended consequences & stalemate**
- **Russia will maintain military forces in Crimea & Eastern Ukraine**
- **Anti-Russian feelings & resistance in Ukraine are stronger than ever**
- **Ukraine will further integrate with EU, but not NATO**
- **Russia will try to limit Ukrainian westward leaning influence**

Resources

- **“Ukraine Has Already Won the War”, Anatoli Lieven, *Responsible Statecraft*, Mar 18**
- **“The Weakness of the Despot”, David Remnick & Stephen Kotkin, *New Yorker*, Mar 11**
- **“Putin’s Foreign Policy”, Fyodor Lukyanov, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016**
- **“The End of Russia’s Empire?”, Walter Mead, *Wall Street Journal*, April 18.**

Questions?