

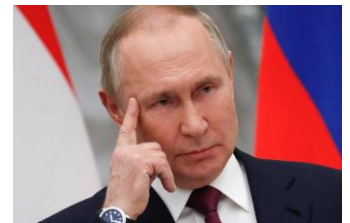
The Russian War on Ukraine

How did we get here?



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LATUFF
2014
OPERA
MUNDI

Things to consider (& agenda)

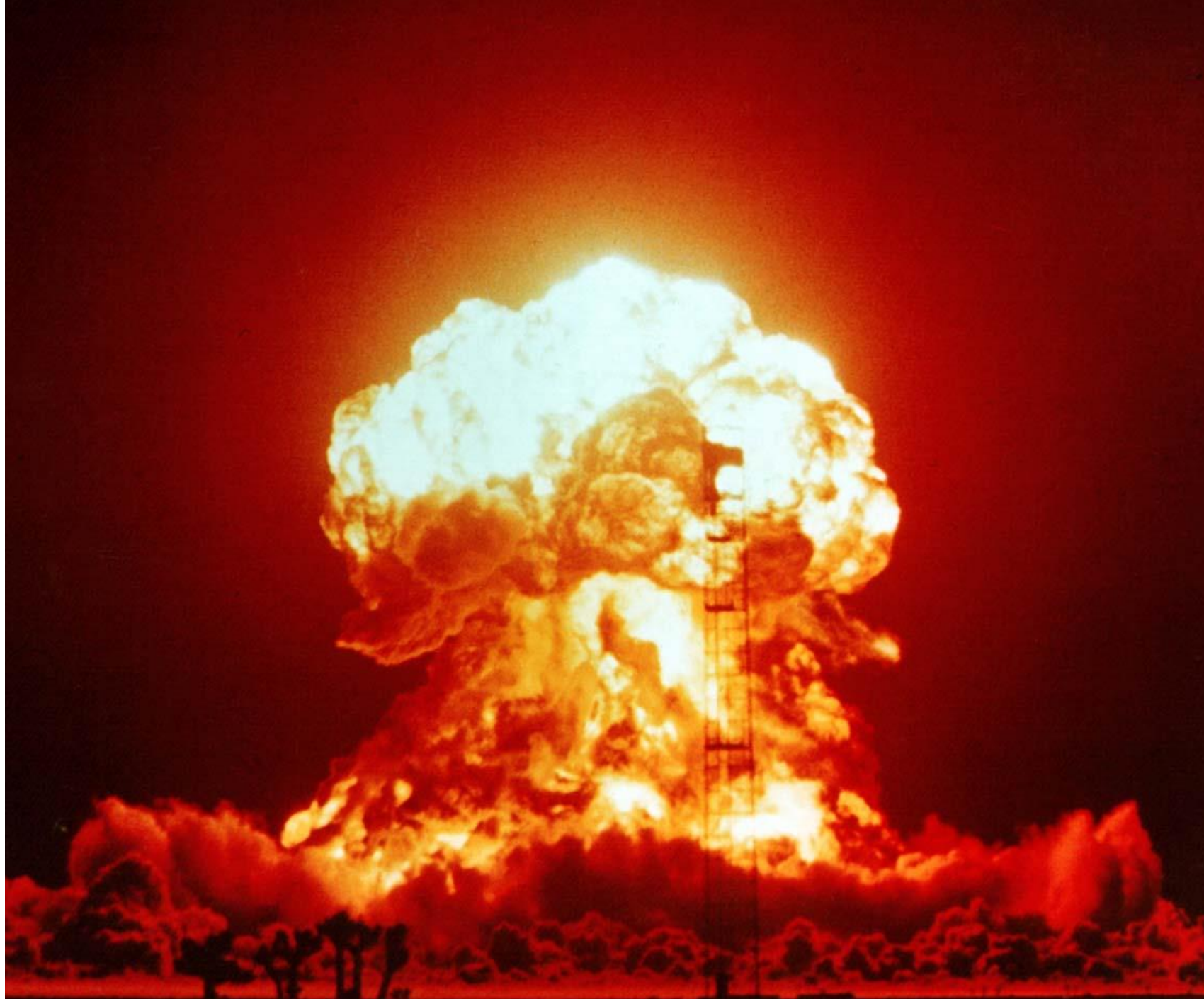
- We need to handle this war with care, some potential paths lead to nuclear annihilation
- Ukraine's geopolitical position in Europe & key dates in history.
- Russian invasion of Ukraine: **current status**
- From a Russian perspective/why does Russia care?
- What does Putin/Russia want?
- Why now?
- Further thoughts.

This is how we wanted to resolve this:



Not this!:







Key dates/events in Ukrainian History

- 1654: Pereyaslav Agreement-Ukraine submitted to Russian rule as a tool against Poland.
- 1991: Independence from USSR
- 2004: Orange Revolution
- 2013-2014: Revolution of Dignity-Maidan Protests
- 2014: Annexation of Crimea/Russian occupation/support to separatists in the Donbas region (Luhansk & Donetsk)
- Spring 2021: Russian troops movements near Ukraine
- Oct 2021-February 2022: build-up of invasion-level Russian forces on nearly all sides of Ukraine.
- February 24, 2022: Russian invasion of Ukraine

Current status of war using maps (Update)

- <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60506682>
- <https://www.understandingwar.org/background/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-november-5>



Why does Russia care?

History

- History counts. No matter what any analyst will tell you, Russia/Putin considers Ukraine part of its country. President Putin would say that Ukraine is a “made-up” country and really is part Eastern European and part Russian. (some truth in this, but conveniently and cleverly manipulated)
- The very word “Ukraine” is derived from the Russian word for “edge” or “border” and in this case meaning frontier lands or border lands. (The Russian word for “edge” is “kray” or in Russian “край”)
- Russia cannot stand the fact that Kyiv (in Russian Kiev) is not in Russia/Soviet Union/Russian Empire anymore since 1991.
- Part of that has to do with the Kievan Rus (Next slide)

Кієвська Ро́усть

Kievan Rus, First eastern Slavic state. It was founded by the Oleg, ruler of Novgorod from c. 879, who seized Smolensk and Kiev (882), which became the capital of Kievan Rus. Extending his rule, Oleg united local Slavic and Finnish tribes, defeated the Khazars, and, in 911, arranged trade agreements with Constantinople. Kievan Rus peaked in the 10th and 11th centuries under Vladimir I and Yaroslav, becoming eastern Europe's chief political and cultural centre. At Yaroslav's death in 1054, his sons divided the empire into warring factions. The 13th-century Mongol conquest decisively ended its power.



- 1 - Novgorod land (republic)
- 2 - Principality of Rostov-Suzdal (North-East Rus, Vladimir-Suzdal)
- 3 - Principality of Polotsk
- 4 - Grand Principality of Smolensk
- 5 - Volyn Principality
- 6 - Duchy of Turov and Pinsk
- 7 - Principality of Chernihiv
- 8 - Grand Duchy of Ryazan
- 9 - Principality of Kyiv
- 10 - Principality of Novgorod-Siversk
- 11 - Principality of Pereyaslavl
- 12 - Principality of Halych



Why does Russia care?

Security/invasion

- In my U.S.-Russia Relations course (shameless plug for my course!), I often talk about the 4 “great invasions” of Russia that have helped it define its security in hard terms:
 - Mongol invasion 13th Century (ended Kievan Rus state)
 - Time of Troubles (various invasions/wars with Poland and Sweden and various “usurpers” to the crown in late 1500s/early 1600s until the Romanov dynasty began in 1613).
 - Napoleon’s invasion of Russian Empire in 1812
 - Nazi Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941





Why does Russia care?

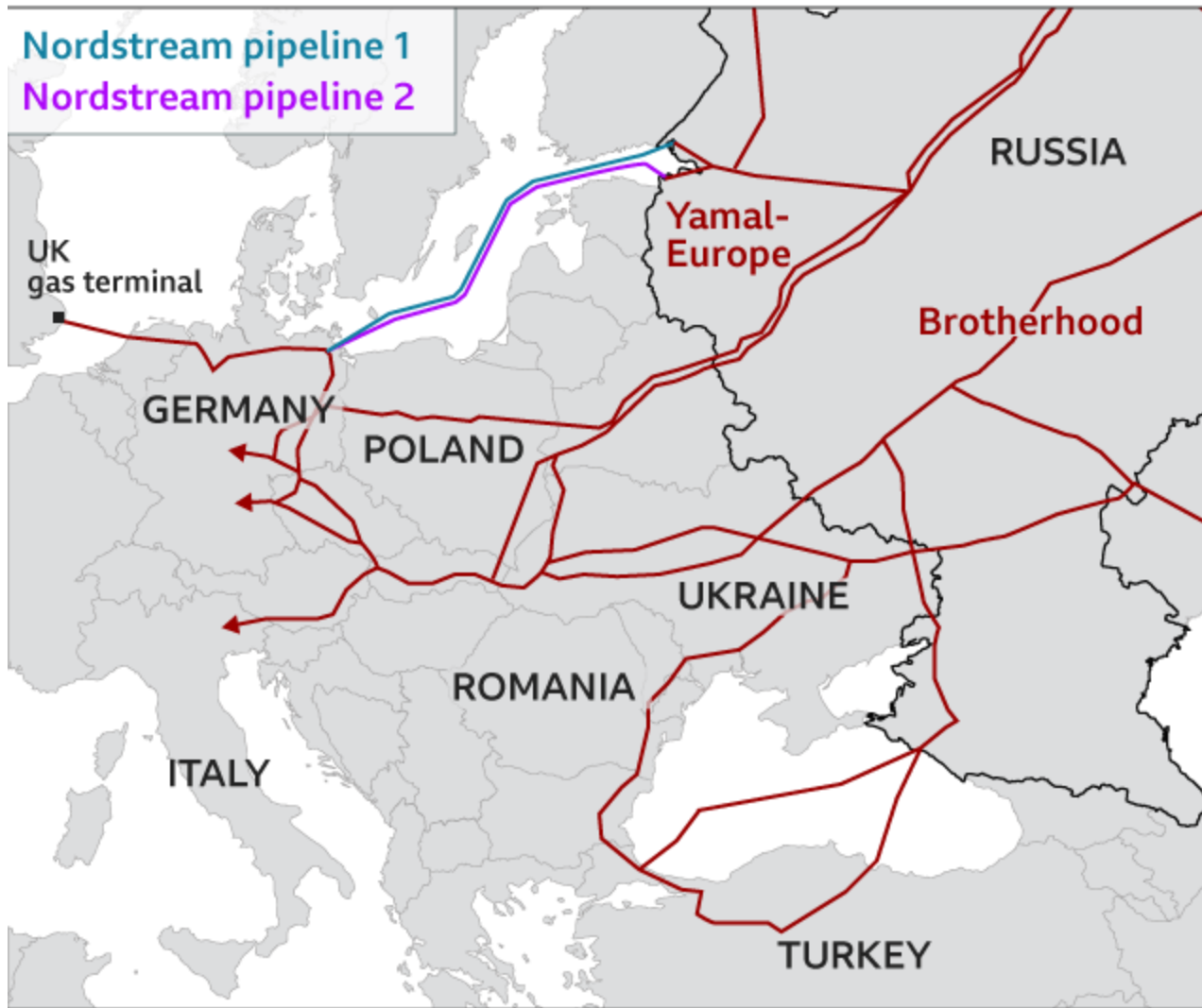
Energy weapon

- Natural Gas pipelines
- Control of those countries that the pipeline's transit remains a key goal of Russia.
- Russia threatens or will turn off gas to Ukraine, especially in winter, but is more hesitant to do so when it loses hard currency purchases from Europe from gas that transits Ukraine...one reason why it has built Nord Stream 1 & 2 to avoid Ukraine and can "cut off" Ukraine without cutting off Europe. Though, NS2 never became operational and NS1 has been shut off---and both damaged from some "mysterious" explosion.
- (Of course, Russia can and does use its energy "weapon" on Europe, especially Germany, to pursue its geopolitical goals as is feared in this current war).

UKRAINE'S GAS TRANSPORTATION NETWORK



Natural gas pipelines from Russia



Why does Russia care?

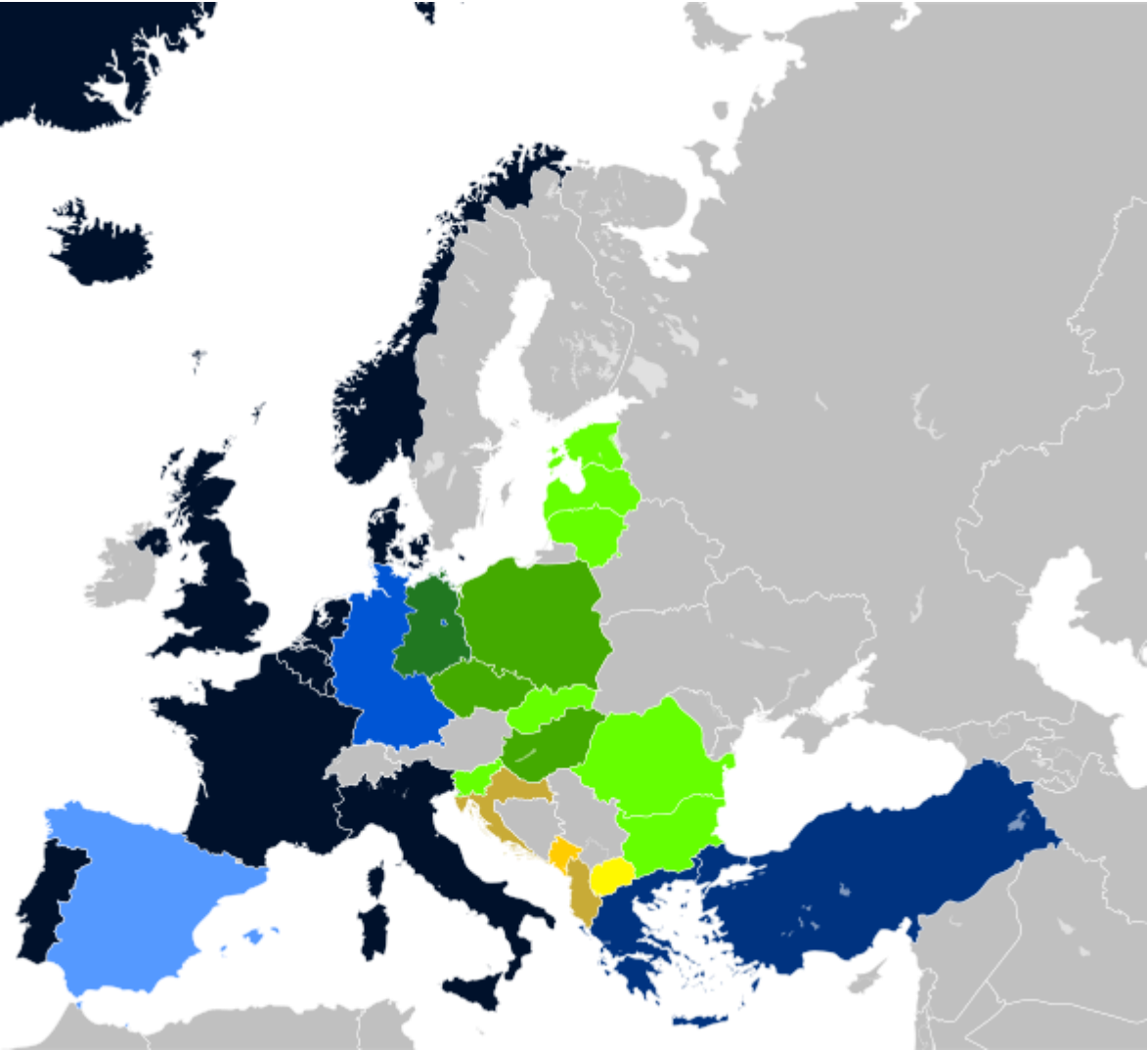
NATO is the enemy

- NATO Enlargement/Expansion/Encroachment
- At the end of the Cold War, there was a non-binding unenforceable “commitment” that NATO would “not one inch” expand to the east. Although the Soviet Union agreed/acquiesced that a unified Germany would be in NATO, no NATO troops or installations would go into former East Germany.
- While the expansion of NATO has driven the Russians nuts since 1999 with its first large post-Cold War enlargement of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, Russia was in no position to oppose it in any sense.
- The 2004 expansion absolutely infuriated them with the admittance of former Soviet SSRs (Baltic 3 or Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and Bulgaria/Romania/Slovakia/Slovenia.





Date	Country	Enlargement
18 February 1952	Greece	First
	Turkey 	
9 May 1955	Germany	Second
30 May 1982	Spain	Third
3 October 1990	German reunification	
12 March 1999	Czech Republic	Fourth
	Hungary	
	Poland	
29 March 2004	Bulgaria	Fifth
	Estonia	
	Latvia	
	Lithuania	
	Romania	
	Slovakia	
1 April 2009	Slovenia	Sixth
	Albania	
5 June 2017	Croatia	Seventh
	Montenegro	
27 March 2020	North Macedonia	Eighth



Why does Russia care?

No further NATO encroachment

- But it was the declaration at the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest that Ukraine and Georgia would become members of NATO (someday) that really pushed it too far for Russia. Directly attributable actions:
 - Invasion of Georgia in 2008 and formal occupation of South Ossetia and Abkhazia after then-Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili was provoked into attacking SO/Ab.
 - 2014 annexation of Crimea and occupation/support to Russian separatists in Eastern Ukraine area of Donbass (Donetsk and Luhansk) after pro-Russian President Yanukovich was forced from power. (Discuss Vilnius Summit of November 2013---which wasn't about NATO!)



Russia

Abkhazia

Georgia

S. Ossetia

● Tskhinvali

★ Tbilisi

Turkey

Armenia

Azerbaijan

*Black
Sea*

*Caspian
Sea*

0 100 Kilometres
0 100 Miles



What the heck does Putin want?

- To safeguard his billions, of course....but what else?
- Re-establish buffer with the West/NATO (why he wanted to go back to 1997)
- Respect as a great power (like U.S., China)-as much psychological as anything else
- (If war had gone quickly: Secure energy markets with Europe without pesky Ukraine in the middle)
- Domestic stability (dealing with disapproval)
- To secure his legacy; secure/expand “empire”. To show that he was handed a mess and that he corrected the post-Cold War weakness of Russia. Absorbing and controlling Ukraine makes Russia truly an “empire”

Why now this Ukraine business?

- *Could be Putin's/siloviki's thoughts on why doing this now:*
- **Russia's military had supposedly modernized** and was no longer the empty shell of the Soviet Red Army that it was at the end of the Cold War.
- **Ukraine's military is also getting stronger** since 2014; perhaps time to strike before it gets any stronger and any further aligned with West.
- **U.S. is distracted** by domestic divisions/political polarization; aftermath of Afghanistan withdrawal; Covid; etc.
- **European countries not united** (see Hungary; Germany's concern regarding energy)
- **China (other great power) supportive of Russia...**
- **Pushback NATO while he still can** and while Putin still has time to take care of "unfinished business."

Consequences of the war

- Deaths
- Refugees
- U.S. and Russia closer to war than at anytime during the Cold War, except for the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Post-WWII Security Architecture in Europe and around the world in jeopardy
- What effectiveness of organizations like the UN?
- What effect on world order?
- Economic/inflation/etc.
- NATO expansion (Sweden & Finland)
- Etc.

Further thoughts

- Does NATO really threaten Russia like Hitler/Napoleon? Or does it export stability to Russia's western borders?
- Ukraine of 2022 is not the Ukraine of 2014; true and proud nationalism now (that has existed in the past-but likely never as strong as it is now).
- **Don't trust what Putin/Russia says, trust what it does and what those actions mean!**
- How would I grade the Biden Administration's handling of the war?

Ending thoughts

- This is a 30-year reckoning and not just about NATO, it is about how Putin wants to reshape Euro-Atlantic security and ultimately get the U.S. out of Europe.
- There has not been a Russian stake in European security since 1990.
- Putin wants Russia back in European and Global Security.
- Putin wants U.S. to treat Russia like it did the USSR---respected and feared.

Soviet Union Administrative Divisions, 1989

The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

DEPOSITORY



Questions?

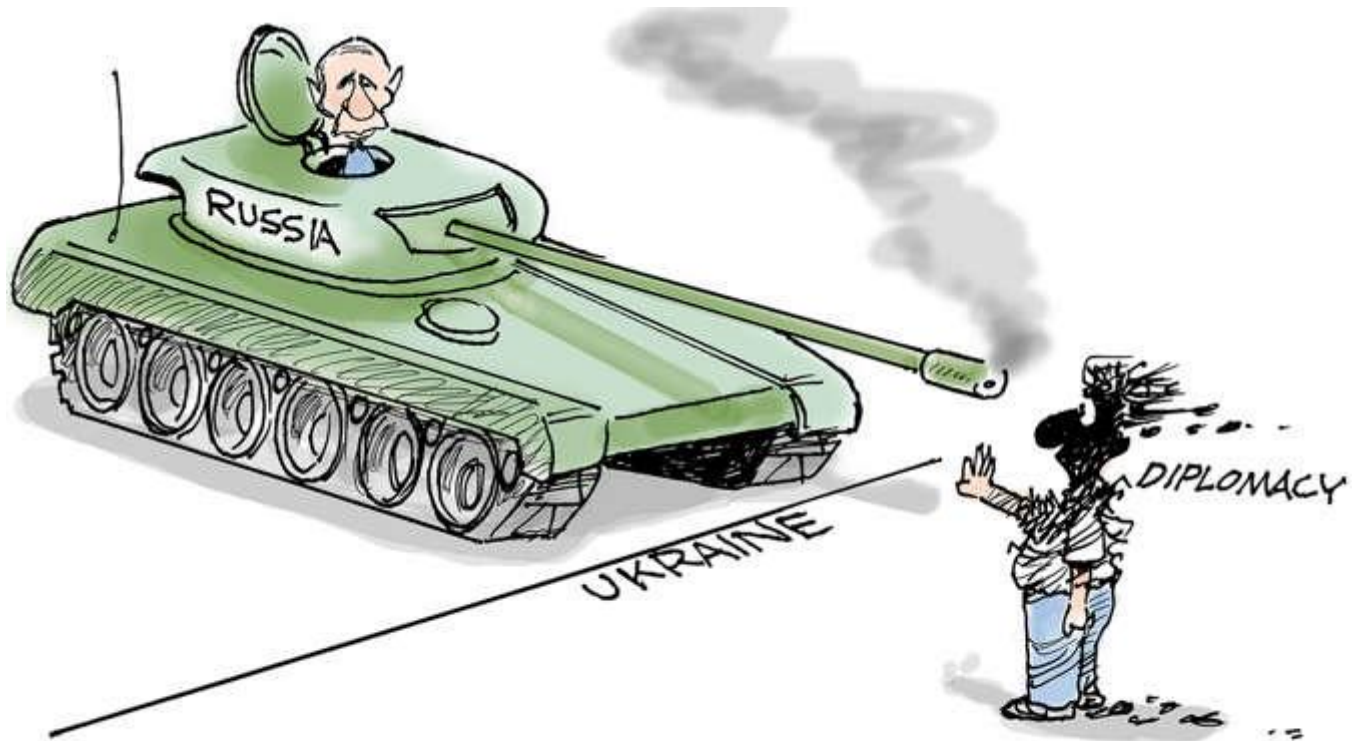


What we haven't discussed

- U.S. actions and what is the goal of the Biden Administration here?
- European actions...are they in sync with the Americans?
- Is there a “face-saving” off-ramp for Putin here to “get what he wants” and end the war?
- Indeed, how does this end?

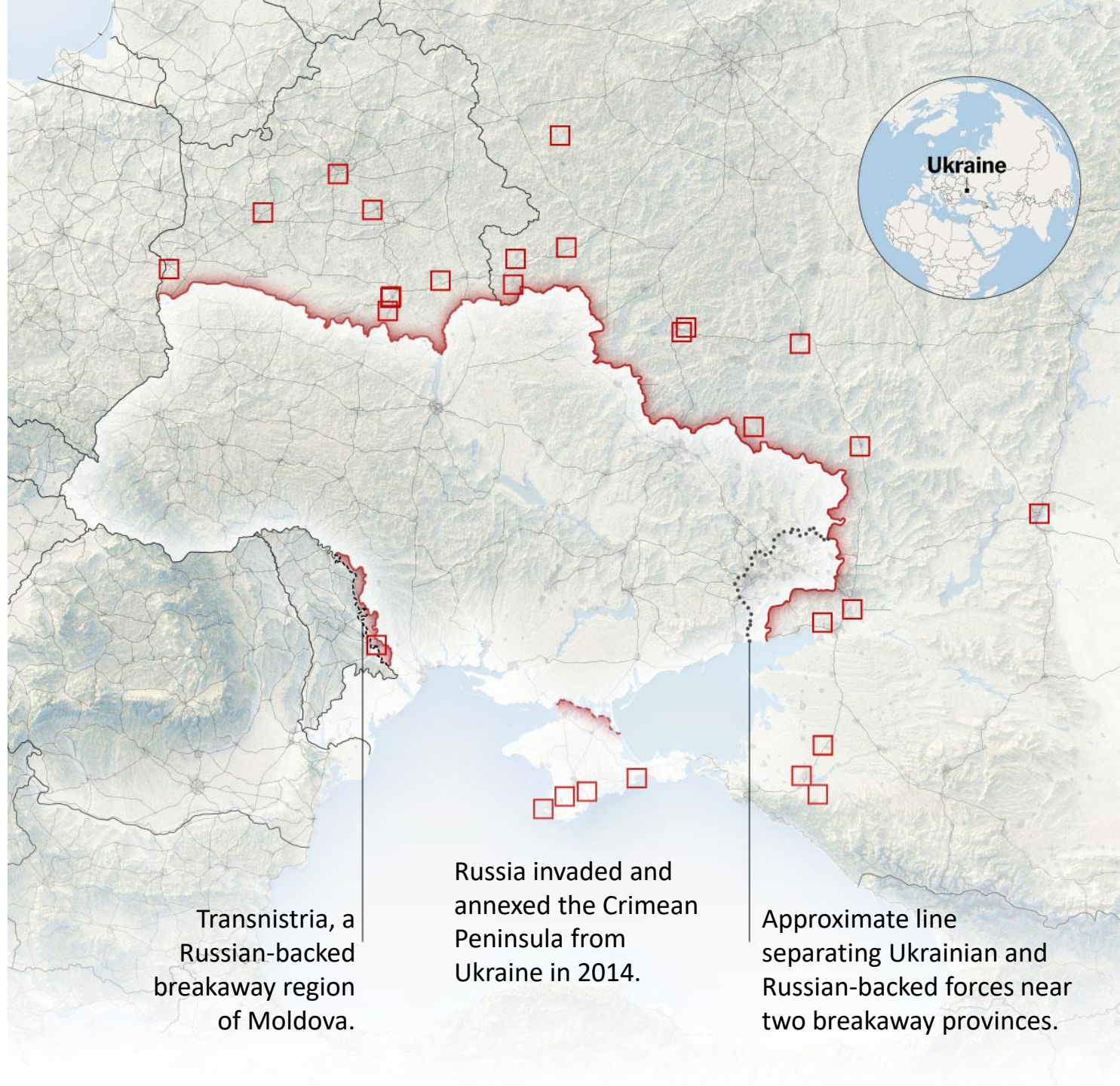
Back-up slides follow this page





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Ukraine

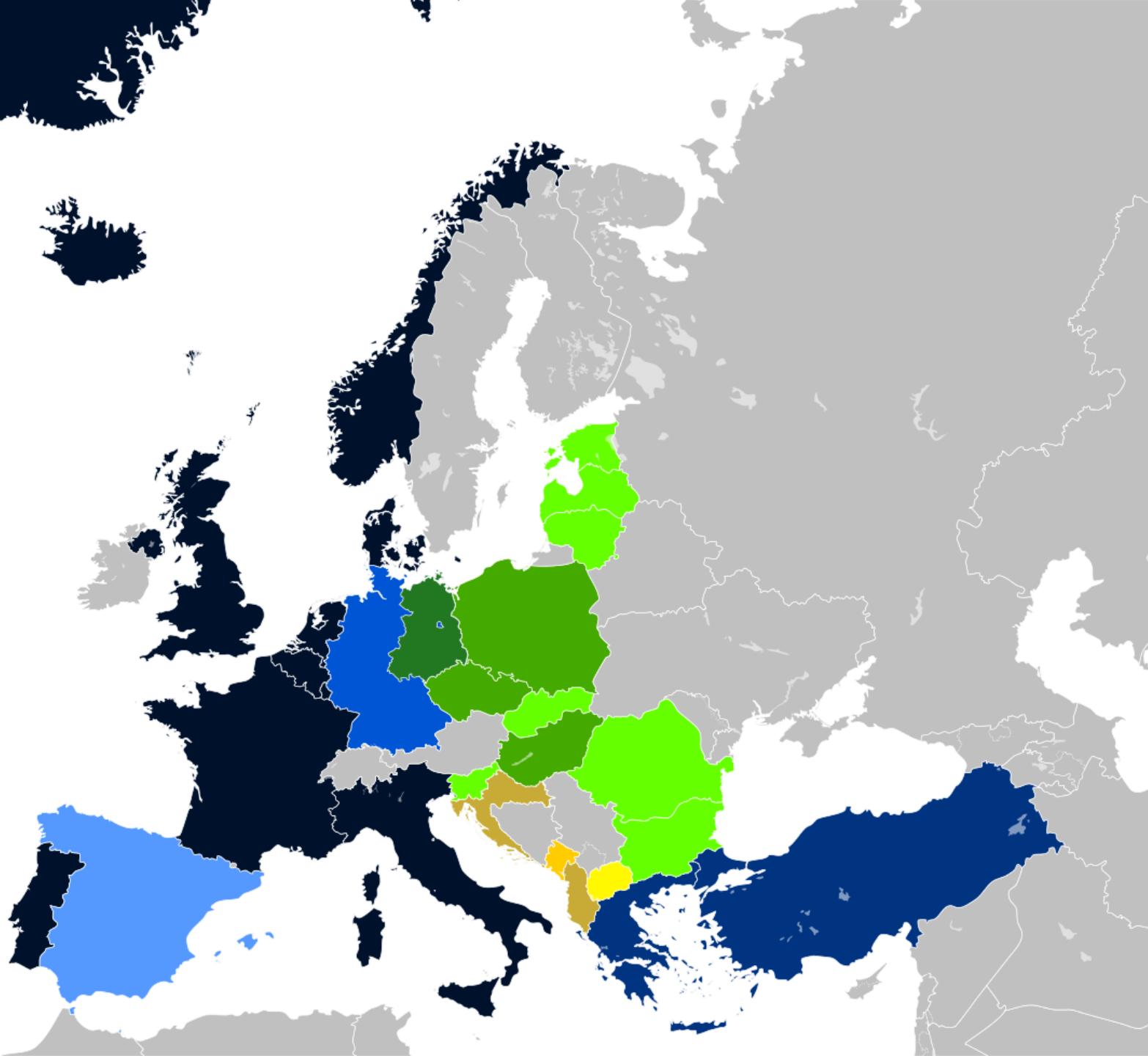
Transnistria, a
Russian-backed
breakaway region
of Moldova.

Russia invaded and
annexed the Crimean
Peninsula from
Ukraine in 2014.

Approximate line
separating Ukrainian and
Russian-backed forces near
two breakaway provinces.



1949
1952
1955
1982
1990
1999
2004
2009
2017
2020



Further reading on history of Ukraine

- <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2022/02/12/west-gets-ukraine-wrong-helps-putin-little-russia-00007977>

Short introductory video (update as needed)

- <https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-russia-and-ukraine-talks-european-leaders-seek-central-role-in-continent-fate-11644415509>
- <https://www.wsj.com/video/series/news-explainers/why-us-and-russia-are-sparring-over-ukraine/2E4DA892-AD2A-49B4-9B0C-CAECE7588C4B>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/02/01/world/russia-ukraine-news#putins-public-remarks-today-could-be-his-first-on-ukraine-since-december>



Why do U.S.-Russia Relations matter in this context of Ukraine and global security?

Because if we get this wrong...

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5U6j7WEMNA>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s4VlruVG81w>













