**TOPIC: RUSSIA - UKRAINE** - The society is historically Russian in Background- Stems form USSR - **Demographically shift in Ukraine from pro Russia to pro Europe:**A) Western, Central, South Western Ukraine: are all overwhelming majority (about 65%) is Pro Europe.B) Eastern & South Eastern Ukraine: Pro Russian - they want Good relations with Russia.

The same Divide is seen in the Parliament in Ukraine (Parliamentarians elected by citizens)- Majority In favor of Europe Zelensky and his government strongly support Europe and US and out rightly support RUSSIA.

**Ukraine increasing relations with European Union**

- Govt. signed trade deals with European Union (Free trade deal) It resulted in removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers.

- Increasing people to people contacts. Relaxing the Visa system by E visa, instant visa, free visa) this resulted in to increasing demographic population interaction between Ukraine and Europe. Tourism was promoted by Ukraine on one hand and Europe on the other. The repeated visits of business community. Educational Exchange programs increased.

- the most important Ukraine applied for the membership of EU (European union 27 countries except UK)

- Zelensky has formally applied in 2022

**Ukraine increased its relations with NATO: (**Nato is organization of 32 countries military alliance US, CANADA, Turkiye, Europe) First of all, Ukraine started purchasing weapons US, UK, France and other NATO members. And secondly Ukraine started participating in the joint military NATO exercises especially in Poland, thirdly it also applied for the membership of NATO.

**Russia's Strategic Culture:**1. **Strategic Partnership with China:** China the largest energy buyer, the largest chip provider, increasing investment in Russia, China and Russia have similar stance on the role of US and NATO in the global power politics and more specifically eastern Europe. Russia has become the major supplier of weapons (S-400 anti-ballistic missiles). China has bought SU -35 jet fighters from Russia.

2. **Maintain Strong hold on the Neighbors:** The neighbor for Russia is mainly Eastern Europe. Which comprise upon Baltic region (Estonia, Lithuania etc), Nordic region (Finland, Ukraine, Sweden), Eurasian region (Georgia, armenia, Turkey) – collectively these are called eastern Europe. Russia cannot afford the encroachment of NATO into the Eastern European Countries because it is the Russian hemisphere. Secondly Russia also want hold in the Caspian Region. (all the countries around the Caspian sea is known as Caspian region like central Asian republic., Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iran). All these regions and countries use to be the part of EX-USSR disintegrated in 1991. Russian hemisphere--- sphere of influence does not no one allowed in encroach. If anyone encroaches then Russia jumps into a war.

3**. Uninterrupted Access to the international waters/ seas:** Russia wants an uninterrupted access to the black sea because majority of its trade is through black sea. Majority of trade of Russia has been through the black sea. Furthermore, Russia has a naval fleet (warships, submarines, aircraft carrier) in the black sea. This access is provided by Crimea. It is autonomous part of Ukraine now annexed by Russia in 2014. Russia cannot afford the access of NATO into the black sea which could happen only if Ukraine becomes the part of NATO. This would happen through Odessa which is the coastal city of Ukraine with black sea. Secondly Russia wants an uninterrupted access to the warm water (Arabian Sea). Thirdly Russia has announced to become nuclear if NATO expands in the Baltic Sea.

4. **Strong Strategic Relations with India:** India is the largest purchaser of Russian weapons. Recently it has purchases S-400 missiles (Air defence system/ anti-ballistic missiles system). Secondly India the third largest market for Russian Hydrocarbons.

5. **East-China Sea & Pacific Ocean overall** are Strategic Backyard of Russia. China and North Korea and Vietnam are the strategic partners of Russia. If anything happened to these three, Russia will jump into the war.

6. **Do not allow NATO expansion into the immediate neighborhood.** Especially Eastern Europe Region & Baltic Region (Parts of Ex-USSR), Nordic and Eurasian Region.

**Cold War (1946-1991 Era):** It was a war between the Capitalist US and the Communist USSR. 1.US led alliances: NATO, SEATO, CENTO

2. USSR led Military alliances: Primarily WARSAW Pact. Warsaw is the capital of Poland.

3. Major Events of the cold war: Afghan Jihad (1979-1989), Vietnam War (1960’s), Korean War (1950’s) North Korea controlled by Russia and South Korea was controlled by US. Cuban missile crisis (1962).

**RESURGING RUSSIA: THE RISE AFTER THE FALL**

**In 1991** after the decades long cold war USSR war disintegrated into 13 states including Russia. Countries in the Baltic, Nordic, Caspian, Eurasian region got independence from USSR. Russia. Became second rate power and US became the sole hegemon power (the world became unipolar). But since the beginning of 21st century there is a strong revival of Russia under Putin.

**2008: Attack on Georgia** - Because Georgia was trying to become a member of EU & NATO. It started enhancing trade relations with EU and people to people contact on the other. Furthermore, it started enhance Defence relations with NATO. The NATO chief announced in 2008 that Georgia and Ukraine given membership in NATO but in the same year Russia attack on Georgia and within 3 days the majority of the strategic locations of Georgia was under the control of Russia. The country was vacated by Russia under two conditions that is Georgia would not join EU & NATO and would stay neutral in Russia and NATO Rivalry. Second Georgia also allowed Russia military bases in its soil

**2014: RUSSIA ANNEXED CRIMEA** - Crimea was Ukraine’s autonomous State. It was gifted by USSR. Ukraine continued Westward mobility. Russia decided to Annexed Crimea. The Prime Minister of Crimea was Pro Russia, announced referendum in the region. 96% voters voted in the favor of Russia. Russia Annexed it. US brought a resolution in the UN security Council (UNSC) against the annexation nut it was vetoed by Russia. Russia did this because of immense strategic importance of Crimea for Russia. Majority of the Russian trade is through black sea and Russia has strong majority power in the sea. This access is provided by Crimea.

**The Russia led military alliance dominated in Syria**

In 2011, civil war began in Syria. The Sunni rebels called free Syrian army and al-Nusrah, launched civil war against the govt of Bashar ul Assad in Syria. Two alliances emerged in the country, first was a US led alliance that comprised upon US, Gulf cooperation Council led by Saudi Arabia, the rebels called FSA and Al Nusrah. Secondly, Russia led alliance emerged in the country that comprised upon Russia, Iran, Bashar ul Assad govt in Syria, and non-state actor Hezbollah from Lebanon. The Russia led alliance dominated this war. Moscow sent ground troops, artillery, armored core to Syria to fight on the side of Assad govt against the rebels. Russia also launched areal strikes through missiles and its jet bombers on the training and recruiting centers of the rebels. Resultantly 2015 onwards, Russia led alliance dominated as more than 80% of the lost territories were regained by Bashar ul Assad govt.

**Attack on Ukraine**

Vladimir Zelensky won election in Ukraine. He increased the west mobility by enhancing relationship with EU on one hand and NATO on the other. It badly hurt the interest of Russia as NATO would encroach into the immediate neighborhood of Russia. It would also get an access into the black sea through Ukraine.

Therefore, Russia waged an all-out war against Ukraine. More than 200,000 Russian troops participated in the war. Airforce, Navy, artillery, armored core (tank) and ground forces participated. More than 50,000 Russian Mercenaries called Wagner’s participated in the wars. Russia attacked the eastern and south eastern part of Ukraine. It also attacked from its allied country Belarus.

Resultantly multiple areas of Ukraine specially in the east and south east like Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson being captured by Russia and declared as breakaway regions. Russia also captured the coastal areas with black sea especially the sea port of Odessa.

**FEAR IN EUROPE: WHO IS NEXT?**

After the Attack on Ukraine by Russia, there is increase in fear in the eastern European countries of the possible Russian attacks against them in future. Finland, Sweden, Poland. Lithuania, Estonia, etc all showing concern time and again. Once Russia consolidate its victory in Ukraine it would not spare these countries too.

**The Revival of NATO:**

**EXPANSION OF NATO**

- It was formed in 1949 there were 12 countries by then

- NATO expanded to 32 countries now and the recent additions are, Finland 2023, Sweden 2024

- NATO expanded with the passage of time, the major expansions were in 1982, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2017, 2023, 2024

**THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE - Article 5 of NATO charter**

Article 5 of the charter based on collective defense - An attack against one is considered an attack against all – if any NATO member nation is being attacked by Russia, or a non-state actor or any other outsider, the member nation has the power to invoke article 5 which means it can ask for the defense support from the member nation. Resultantly, all member nations are bound to retaliate in defense of that nation/country.

In 2001, US invoked article 5 and all the NATO member countries joined US in its war on terror launched against non-state actors in Afghanistan.

**RUSSIAN FEAR WAS THE MAJOR REASON FOR THE ENACTMENT OF NATO**

In 1949, the military organization was formed mainly to counter the expansion of USSR in the eastern and other parts of Europe. This fear was at the peak during the Cold War. But in 1991, USSR disintegrated and the fear was neutralized to a great extent. After the attacks on Georgia and Ukraine the fear has once again strongly revived among the eastern European countries.

This fear factor resulted in enactment of NATO in 1949. Now the fear of resurging Russia has once again compelled the NATO member countries to cooperate and expand to contain the resurging Russia.

**NATO INCREASING SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE**

All the 32 NATO countries have started to import weapons to Ukraine for free. The largest provider of weapons is the USA. It has provided F-16 jet fighters, stinger missiles, armored core etc. The second major provider of weapons is UK, third is Germany and then France. US and UK and European Union, Canada are the largest aid providers to Ukraine to fund its war against Russia. There are approximately 50,000 war mercenaries from US and Europe who are fighting against the side of Ukraine against the Russians. Resultantly, the resistance capacity of Ukraine have tremendously increased. The Ukrainian troops have been fighting hard against the Russian troops on its own soil. And Russia is unable to make major advancements.

**ADDITION OF NEW MEMBERS TO NATO AND THREATS TO RUSSIA**

The fear factor has pushed Finland and Sweden to apply and get the membership of NATO. The addition of new members means expansion of the NATO budget, number of troops and weapons. Secondly, Finland has a long-shared border with Russia as it has become the member of NATO it means there would be an increasing military deployment of NATO troops on the border of Finland with Russia. This would result in increasing insecurity of Russia which would compel Moscow to deploy more troops on the border with Finland.

**Q: War in Ukraine possibility for the revival of NATO and also an opportunity for the resurgence of Russia**

1. Russia attack on Ukraine
2. Resurgence of Russia (Russia attack on Ukraine) (the territories being captured)
3. Why it attacked Ukraine
4. The opportunity for the revival of NATO
5. Fear of Russia regarding the expansion of NATO into its neighborhood.
6. Intentions of Russia to resurge
7. Revival of NATO (support to Ukraine) (increasing membership of NATO) (threat to Russia)

**WAR IN UKRAINE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS**

1. Russia attack on Ukraine
2. The territories captured by Russia
3. The infrastructure loss to Ukraine

More than 20% of the Ukrainian territories being captured by Russia. Majority of the navy of Ukraine in the Black Sea being destroyed. Series of civil nuclear reactors being captured by Russia. A number of airports or highways either being captured or bombarded.

Ukraine has been primarily agrarian economy. It had been the 4th largest producer and exporter of grains. It is one of the largest producers and exporter of milk and wheat but since 2022, there has been a dangerous cut (less than 30% exports) in the agricultural production and export. On one hand the production declined, on the other hand Odessa sea port captured by Russia. Series of motorways, bridges, airports, air bases, urban centers, either being captured or bombarded by Russia. By the end of 2023, the total financial loss faced by Ukraine was more than 600 Billion dollars (State Bank of Ukraine).

1. Demographic implications

More than 3 million people of Ukraine have been forced to become refugees mostly fled into Poland, Finland, Lithuania and other parts of Europe. More than 4.6 million people are internally displaced. More than 100,000 have been injured and 10,000+ lost their lives. (recheck figures)

1. International price hike has been caused by the war in Ukraine

When Russia attacked Ukraine, European countries imposed sanctions on Russian hydrocarbons. Majority of the European countries have significantly cut down their oil import from Russia. (oil imports reduced by more than 60%) They started increasing imports from Middle East. The demand of the oil and gas was more and Middle East could not meet it. Resultantly the prices of hydrocarbons shoot up. The price of hydrocarbon is the major determinant of other commodities. When the price of oil and gas increase automatically the price of electricity, transportation costs, industrial and agriculture goods increase. Furthermore, Ukraine has been the 4th largest exporter of grains, milk and meat. But since war has begun there has been a dangerous decline in the export of these commodities which has caused the price hike of food items in the international market.

**International commodities super cycle : the role of war in Ukraine in it**

The world is faced with a highest ever price hike in the last four decades. Europe is facing highest ever price hike in last 48 years. US and other north American countries are facing the highest ever price hike in the last 40 years. Australia japan and ASEAN are facing the highest ever price hike in the last 49 years.

The first major price hike in the prices of hydrocarbons. In July 2020, the per barrel price is 23$,.in July 21 it was in 60’s $ + . in July 2022, it reached to 127$ per barrel.

Hydrocarbons is the major determinant that influence the prices of major commodities in the world. The first and the major effect is rise in the transportation cost. It also greatly effects the prices of electricity because a bigger chunk of electricity is still generated from oil, gas and coal.

When the prices of oil, transport and electricity increase, it has a trickledown effect on every commodity. All industrial products get expensive, because transport and electricity become expensive. All agriculture product get expensive. Domestic budget is badly affected. (36 major commodities electricity, gas, kitchen products, etc)

Pakistan has faced the worst ever price hike in its history.

One of the major reason for the price hike has been the war in Ukraine.

To bring the prices down, there is urgent need to end war and remove sanction from Russia. There is also a need to remove sanctions from Iran, Venezuela the major oil and gas producer which would help to decline the price of hydrocarbon and ultimately result in decline in global inflation.

**PAKISTAN'S STANCE ON RUSSIA - UKRAINE CONFLICT**

Pakistan understands the security concerns of Russia. Expansion of NATO resulted into the fear or concerns of Russia. Russia does not have the right of military invasion of Ukraine. The issue cannot be resolved through war. It could only be resolved through negotiation.

- Main Reason for Formation: fear of Russian Aggression. 1990’s:-Threat Declined- Due to USSR disintegration Since the beginning of 21st century:- Russia is Resurging - Under Putin Vladimir - 2008 when Georgia was attacked by Russia - US secretary of States in NATO conference in Brussel- Statement: Europe must end ‘Peace Holiday’ & focus on Defence - because Russia is resurging - 2013 & 2014: Crimea case - this previous Opinion further strengthened

Since the beginning of 21st century:- Russia is Resurging - Under Putin Vladimir - 2008 when Georgia was attacked by Russia - US secretary of States in NATO conference in Brussel- Statement(2008): Europe must end ‘Peace Holiday’ & focus on Defence - because Russia is resurging and becoming a threat- 2013 & 2014: Crimea case - this previous Opinion further strengthened- 2022: Poland, Moldova, Estonia etc - becoming Part of NATO - increasingly afraid of Russian Attack. - first the fear was the USSR - now it Resurging Russia. - These countries are causing the revival of NATO.- Due to these - Ukraine may not be given Membership -Article 5 - collective defense - Other NATO member countries are trying to avoid direct attack - As this would lead to Russia become Nuclear (leading to WW3)- At the present NATO members will not even provide Strategic Alliance to Ukraine. - Once again due to fear of Russia becoming Nuclear.However the Provision of weapons will continue - 26 NATO countries are providing weapons 1. US2.UK3. France 4. Germany5. Spain6. Canada7. Turkey etcPolicy of NATO:- Nato will continue to Finance Ukraine war Struggle againstRussia - through Proxy War - They will try to exhaust Russian resources. NATO Chief: The war may continue for years

**Q: Russia Attacking Ukraine & its Implication? Russia attacked Ukraine (Explain history)**Implication: 1. Humanitarian Crisis in Ukraine- More than 3 million refugees flee (Poland) 2. IDP’s3. Agricultural issues -Ukraine is the 4th largest exporter of Grains (maze)- Destruction of Agricultural productions 4. Infrastructure loss5. Food Crisis6. International Inflation - Russia attacked Ukraine - inreturn Sanctions on Russia - Increase in Hydrocarbon - Russia largest exporter of Oil and second largest of gas- Leading to a decline in the availability of Hydrocarbons in the international market. - Iran also has sanctions (hence no - Russia (Played smart) - It reduced it Hydrocarbon Prices by 35% -Petrol rates reacted 127$ - in June 2022 (reduced to 85$/barrel)- leading to other europeans countries to increase import from Russia. - Hydrocarbon Prices lead to Trickle down effect on the all products

Pakistan Policy: 1. Supported US Against USSR - Evidence Afghan Jihad - helped disintegrate USSR

2. Pakistan's Strategic Relations with China - China wants Pakistan to have smooth working relations with Russia.- Pakistan wants to diversify its defence imports in order to minimize dependency on US- PAK also started defence Imports from russia - Increase Recognition - SCO - Pakistan has to increase relations with Russia & others. Pakistan's Dependence on US & EU:1. PAK largest export market is US and 2nd largest is EU2. Loan dependency on IMF, WB-Imposition of sanctions 3. GSP plus status EU-Reduce exports 4. Defence:-Import of weapons from Us- F16 upgradation deal (with US)-UK & Germany – Weapons

Policy Options of Pakistan:1. Policy of Neutrality:- Awkward situation - PM (IK) visit to Russia at the time when Ukraine was attacked - This Antagonized US & EU - Further PAK refused to declare Russian attack as invasion- Pakistan realizes the compulsions & security concerns of Russia ——But attack on Ukraine is not the solution ——Negotiation is an option