

BRIEFING NOTES

Future Workshop – “War in Ukraine: Navigating the In-Between”

7-8 July 2023, Warsaw

Recent Developments

Over a year has passed since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. The challenge for policymakers is how to handle the “in-between” now and potential future peace negotiations. The situation remains evolving, and predictions about the immediate and long-term implications fall short.

Where will European countries hope to find themselves once, and if, the war ends? How is the Russian invasion of Ukraine shaping agendas and opinions across Europe? How are politicians across Europe handling difficult talks about the chance, or not, of future negotiations with Moscow? What negotiation models do they have in mind? What are the hardest political challenges they are facing in their parliaments as the war continues?

Wagner Group’s Rebellion

With the advancing Ukrainian offensive and the [recent Wagner Rebellion in Russia](#), the situation has additionally intensified. Yevgeny Prigozhin’s failed mutiny has left many questions unanswered, providing a sharpened context for the NATO summit, foreseen for the 11-12 July. For many, the failed mutiny has cast a cold light on the theory that it is possible for Ukraine and the West to reach a security equilibrium through negotiations with Moscow.

Destruction of Kakhovka Dam

The [destruction of the Kakhovka Dam](#) on June 6, 2023, showed that the war can escalate asymmetrically and highlights the increasingly unbounded impact of the war. This catastrophic event resulted in the destruction of nearby infrastructure, displacement of over 20.000 people, and [devastating effects on the nearby ecosystem](#).

Putin’s ICC Arrest Warrant

On March 17, 2023, the [International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant](#) for Vladimir Putin for his role in the alleged unlawful deportation of children and transfer of people from Ukraine to Russia. This is among the [alleged war crimes](#) to have taken place in Ukraine. Most notably, there is the case of Bucha, the town where occupying [Russian forces committed apparent war crimes killing hundreds of ordinary citizens](#) in an effort to secure a route to Kyiv.



Ukraine Holds Disaster Drills in the Fear Russia Could Sabotage a Nuclear Power Plant

With several nuclear power plants located in Ukraine, the fear of an accidental occurrence, or deliberate attack, on such infrastructure is considered great for the detrimental, long-term, and irreversible potential effects that would have on Ukraine and beyond. In the past days, Ukraine has been [holding drills to prepare emergency services](#) for how to deal with a potential radioactive disaster in the area of the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant. Similar exercises were conducted last year. The United States has so far not joined Ukraine in the warnings over the nuclear power plant.

The War in Ukraine and European Public's Views

Bertelsmann Stiftung – Ukrainian Trends March 2023

According to a poll conducted by the Bertelsmann Foundation in March 2023, support to provide Ukraine with weapons has begun to increase all over Europe (55%), following an earlier gradual decline in September 2022 (50%). Poles are those expressing the greatest support (more than 80%); Italians the least (around 40%). We also observe a clear majority of EU27 countries in favor of Ukraine becoming a member state in the coming years (65%): support is highest in Spain and Poland (85%) and lowest in Germany and France (60%).

The questions posed fall under three issue areas: the EU's role in the world and its capacity to strengthen its role; the policies aiming to support Ukraine in its war effort: weapons delivery, acceptance of refugees, energy independence, EU-enlargement and common European defense policy; personal concerns. The graphs contained in this resource show how intense the debate on energy security, energy saving measures, and efforts to support Ukraine in defending itself against Russian aggression have influenced views across Europe since March 2022. The data is updated on a quarterly basis.

Eurobarometer – Democracy in Action: One Year Before the European Elections

According to a recent Eurobarometer survey, 76% of EU citizens approve of the EU's support for Ukraine. While this may seem like a high percentage, the differences among countries are notable. While in the Netherlands and Denmark, over 90% of the population is in favor of the Union's support of Ukraine, only 51% of Greek and Slovakian citizens do so too.

Meanwhile, certain countries continue to prevent the European Union from agreeing upon additional sanctions. In Hungary, citizens were recently asked to vote in a national consultation on whether the government should continue sanctioning Russia, and an overwhelming 97% of respondents rejected EU sanctions, although [turnout was notoriously low](#).

Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB) – The Russian Invasion of Ukraine and the Day After the War: A View from Southern Europe

Following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, attention in Europe has shifted eastward, but there's a unique opportunity for the Union to come together and include the perspective of all its members. In this sense, southern European countries have an equally important role to play to



that of Eastern member states. In particular, the Southern European viewpoint raises some specific strategic questions that are fundamental to explore for the European Union in relation to the aftermath of the war and which are vital for the EU's future, policy thinking and action.

The Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB) has coordinated the work of a group of think tanks from France, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, providing unique insights into the perspective of Southern European countries useful for policymakers and for Europe to understand the multi-faceted dimension of this war and its long-term implications for the European Union on many levels.

Paradoxes of War: What's Left Unsaid?

[*European Council on Foreign Relations – United West, Divided from the Rest: Global Public Opinion One Year into Russia's War on Ukraine*](#)

In the European Union, the UK, and the USA, citizens prefer Ukraine to regain all its territory, even if that means a continuation of the war (around 40%). On the other hand, citizens in countries such as India, China, and Turkey (around 25% overall) prefer an immediate end to violence, even if that requires Ukraine to agree upon territorial concessions. Furthermore, in the West, an overwhelming majority of citizens view Russia as an adversary, while India, China and Turkey view Russia as an ally or necessary partner.

The data, coming from a poll carried out by the European Council on Foreign Relations, highlights the staunch divide regarding the war present worldwide. Is it possible to bridge the gaps between different perspectives and understandings? And what does that require? Once the war eventually ends, should the West focus on rebuilding ties with Russia, or has all trust been lost?

Imagining the Future: Scenarios for Ukraine and Russia

[*International Center for Ukrainian Victory – Endgame Scenarios for Russia's War in Ukraine*](#)

The International Center for Ukrainian Victory (ICUV) has collaborated with a consortium of Euro-Atlantic partner think tanks on forecasting scenarios for the evolution of Russia's War in Ukraine.

The work has been informed by considerations related to five main directives and focus areas: i) Strategic Interests and Policy Choices; ii) Group Psychology; iii) Economic Consequences; iv) Historical Data; v) DIME (Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economic) Potentials.

The scenarios suggest what policy options Moscow would choose and what best response strategies NATO and EU allies could follow. The conclusions were tested with opinion gathering from 32 independent respondents from the EU, UK, US and Ukraine with backgrounds in defense, finance, and sociology.



“In the aftermath of the full-scale Russian invasion in February 2022 and the initial Ukrainian counteroffensive of summer and autumn 2022, the first half of 2023 was defined by a static frontline. The Russian military is unable to achieve decisive battlefield success despite all the efforts and involvement of the Wagner Group. The Armed Forces of Ukraine – not fully transitioned to NATO-standard doctrine and equipment – hold the line in a relentless attritional fight attempting to build up decisive combat power for successive counteroffensive action. The choices driven by NATO members and the Russian Federation before the end of this summer fighting period will define the security landscape far beyond Ukraine across the entirety of Eurasia. ICUV with partners from Euro-Atlantic think tanks have forecast several scenarios and modelled possible outcomes.”

The [International Center for Ukrainian Victory](#) is an advocacy platform that was created by the Anticorruption Action Centre, the National Interests Advocacy Network "ANTS", and the Civil Network OPORA NGO.

What Next? Political Initiatives and Cooperation Opportunities

[German Marshall Fund of the United States – A Modern Marshall Plan for Ukraine](#)

The German Marshall Fund of the United States recently proposed a “Modern Marshall Plan” for Ukraine, adopting seven lessons from the original Marshall Plan. A unique aspect and foundation of this plan is that Ukraine must be in control of its own reconstruction. In other words, states and private donors alike should fund the reconstruction, but Ukraine should be the one in charge and owning the reconstruction process.

The “Modern Marshall Plan” draws an important lesson from the original Plan, namely the need to engage with civil societies. In this sense, an important question is: how can reconstruction ensure a stronger, more democratically resilient Ukraine?

[WiseEuropa – A Green Reconstruction](#)

Russia’s aggression against Ukraine has led to massive destruction of the country. When looking at the aftermath of the war and reconstruction efforts, it’s important to take into consideration how to rebuild the country in a way that secures its thriving, modernity, and future sustainability.

WiseEuropa presented a proposal suggesting a way for Ukraine to rebuild its infrastructure while adhering to policies aimed at tackling climate change, such as those presented in the European Green Deal. There is, in fact, an unprecedented opportunity to e.g., rebuild energy-efficient buildings at scale and invest in the decarbonisation of the agriculture sector. Such initiatives are expensive and difficult to implement but would signal forward thinking and provide the country with the chance to invest in an important and strategic collective effort towards sustainability.



Some Facts & Figures

- **693.5 Million:** The money that has been privately donated to the Ukrainian National Bank for defense purposes alone so far;
- **8 Million:** The number of people that had to flee Ukraine moving to neighboring countries since the beginning of the war;
- **1.6 Million:** The number of people who have reportedly been forcibly transferred to Russia;
- **-15.6%:** The percentage fall in Ukraine's GDP from 2022 to 2023. Russia's invasion has in fact caused Ukraine's GDP to fall to 29.1% in 2022 and 13.5% in the first quarter of 2023;
- **93%:** The number of Ukrainian people who see the future of their country as "rather promising";
- **15.5 Thousand to 17.5 Thousand:** According to leaked US documents, the number of Ukrainian soldiers estimated to have been killed in the war so far;
- **35.5 Thousand to 43 Thousand:** The number of Russian soldiers who have died over the course of the war;
- **1.4 Million:** The number of residential units reported as either damaged or destroyed in Ukraine;
- **35.7 Billion:** The estimated value of the damages to Ukraine's transportation sector calculated by the World Bank and the European Commission;
- **38% and 45%:** the percentage of Russian and Chinese respondents (respectively) who believe that the United States' support to Ukraine is motivated by wanting to defend Western dominance.



Additional Resources

>> **Data**

Poll | Hoffmann, I., & Schmidt, D. (2023). [Ukraine Trends March 2023](#). EUpinions.

A study outlining Europeans' changing views regarding support to Ukraine in its war efforts, weapons delivery, acceptance of refugees, energy independence, EU enlargement and common European defense policy.

Policy Notes | Sánchez Margalef, H., et al. (2023). [The Russian Invasion of Ukraine and the Day After: A View from Southern Europe](#). Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB).

A collective resource analysing the role and the perspective of Southern European countries on the debate about the war in Ukraine in the European Union.

Report | Trebesch, C. [Foreign Support to Ukraine: Evidence From a Database of Military, Financial, and Humanitarian Aid](#). VOX Ukraine.

Overview of military, financial and humanitarian aid to Ukraine during the war.

Monitor | [Ukraine Conflict Monitor](#). (2023). ACLED.

Overview of the current state of the fights in Ukraine.

Poll | European Parliament. (2023) [Eurobarometer – Democracy in Action: One Year Before the European Elections](#)

Eurobarometer monitors public opinion, both on the EU level and in the Member States, providing data to analyse the views of citizens on Russia's invasion of Ukraine and its consequences. DG COMM's Public Opinion Monitoring Unit follows the publication of surveys and polls, assembling them in comprehensive collections.

>> **Societal and Historical Background**

Opinion | Matuszak, S. (2023). [Ukrainian Oligarchs and Their Businesses: Their Fading Importance](#). OSW Commentary, 517.

Exploration of the impacts of the war on Ukrainian oligarchs' businesses and power.

Report | Milov, V. (2023). [From Bad to Worse: The Continuing Effects of Sanctions on Russia](#). Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies.

Overview of sanctions and their consequences for Russia.

Article | Portela, C. (2023). [The EU and the Transformed Nuclear Context Since the War in Ukraine](#). IAI – Istituto Affari Internazionali.

A paper exploring the impact of the war in Ukraine on the European security landscape and the changing nuclear context.



Report | White, O., et al. (2022). [War in Ukraine: Twelve Disruptions Changing the World](#). McKinsey & Company.

Exploration of trends in Ukraine and internationally resulting from the war.

Report | Zarembo, K. (2023, June 1). [The Resilience and Trauma of Ukraine's Civil Society](#). Carnegie Europe; Carnegie Europe – Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Exploration of the war's impact on Ukrainian civil society.

Report | [Impact of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine on the Markets: EU Response](#). European Council.

Overview of the ways the war in Ukraine impacts European markets and the measures taken by respective countries and the Union to counter them.

Directory | [Think Tank Reports On the Invasion of Ukraine](#). European Council.

Collection of the most recent reports and resources covering various angles of the war in Ukraine.

>> Scenarios for the Future of Ukraine and Russia

Report | Bogdan, T., & Jovanović, B. (2023). [Public Expenditure and Tax Policy for the Post-War Reconstruction of Ukraine](#). Policy Notes and Reports, 69.

Exploration of the role of public expenditure in the reconstruction of Ukraine, outlining possible scenarios.

Policy Paper | Creutz, K. (2023). [Pursuing Justice for International Crimes in Ukraine](#). Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

Overview of possible scenarios for pursuing justice for international crimes in Ukraine.

Policy Paper | Kovalski, M. (2023). [Endgame Scenarios for Russia's War in Ukraine](#). International Center for Ukrainian Victory

Scenarios suggesting what policy options Moscow would choose and what best response strategies NATO and EU allies could follow.

Opinion | Lough, J. (2023). [Ukraine's Recovery Depends on Security Guarantees](#). Chatham House – International Affairs Think Tank.

Exploration of different scenarios for reconstructing Ukraine and factors playing a role in its future security.

Opinion | Lutsevych, O. (2023). [Ukrainians Demand More Inclusion in Post-War Recovery](#). Chatham House – International Affairs Think Tank.

Exploration of proposals for better governance of post-war Ukraine.



Opinion | Rudolph, J., Eisen, N. L., & Berton, C. (2023). [Ukraine's Anti-Corruption Front](#). German Marshall Fund of the United States.

Exploration of paths to fight corruption in present and post-war Ukraine.

Opinion | Schmidt, H.-J. (2023). [How the Russia–Ukraine War Could End, and Its Impact on Conventional Arms Control](#). IAI – Istituto Affari Internazionali.

Exploration of the possible end scenarios to the war and the impact of these scenarios on conventional arms control.

Opinion | Shatz, H. J., Tarini, G., Ries, C. P., & Dobbins, J. (2023). [Reconstructing Ukraine](#). RAND Corporation.

Overview of possible measures and pathways to reconstruct Ukraine.

Opinion | Siman, B. (2023). [Ukraine: Perception Shapes Victory and Defeat](#). Egmont Institute.

Exploration of different narratives and perceptions in Ukraine and internationally and how they can impact the war.