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Topics:

- Ukraine – European Union
- Foreign and Defense Policy of Ukraine
- The course of the Russian-Ukrainian war



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(01.11 – 15.11.2022)

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■ *THEME ANALYSIS: The G20 summit and “peace formula” for Ukraine*



*Photo: President of Ukraine video address at the G20 summit
Source: CNN*

On November 15-16, 2022, the G-20 summit was held in Indonesia. Ukraine was also invited to take part in this year's event and was represented in Bali at the level of ambassador, while President Volodymyr Zelenskyy made a video address. This year's Group of 20 summit took place against the background of the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, and therefore the event became, among other things, the fight for the mind, of the so-called global South, which mostly tried to remain neutral and not support Ukraine in its fight against the Russian aggressor. The majority of non-Western countries spoke in favor of negotiations and a diplomatic solution to the conflict, which in the current conditions is actually equivalent to the capitulation of Ukraine. Russia also played on these sentiments, whose official representatives declared their alleged desire and readiness for a peaceful settlement and lied about Ukraine's reluctance to end the war. That is why Ukrainian diplomacy quite successfully placed the emphasis in speech of Volodymyr Zelensky who did not try to persuade the participants to join the anti-Russian coalition, but focused on the way to end the war. **The President of Ukraine proposed a Plan for achieving peace, which consists of 10 steps:**

- Radiation and nuclear safety.
- Food security.
- Energy security.

- Release of all prisoners and deportees.
- Implementation of the UN Charter and restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity and the world order.
- Withdrawal of Russian troops and cessation of hostilities.
- Justice.
- Immediate protection of the environment from ecocide.
- Preventing escalation.
- Confirmation of the end of the war.¹

In response to the speech of the President of Ukraine, and in his speech, the Russian side has traditionally justified itself, hiding behind propaganda clichés, in particular, about the fight against neo-Nazism in Ukraine and the "war unleashed by the West." Russia was represented by Foreign Minister Lavrov, who left the summit on the first day. It was the only G20 state that was not represented by the country's leader. Immediately after Lavrov's departure, on the very first day of the summit, the international community witnessed a large-scale missile attack on the territory of Ukraine, as a result of which one of the missiles fell on the territory of Poland. In connection with this situation, an emergency meeting of the G7 was held in Bali, also inviting the prime ministers of the Netherlands and Spain. The participants adopted a joint statement condemning "Russia's barbaric missile strikes" and reaffirming "unwavering support for Ukraine."

Vladimir Putin thus demonstrated his attitude towards the countries of the Group of 20 and the leader of Indonesia personally. First, when he did not come to the summit, perhaps because of fear of being killed. But the President of Russia did not speak online either. Then - when he attacked Ukraine. In such circumstances, it is difficult for neutral countries to call for peace in discussions with Western countries. Contacts of the Russian minister at the summit were limited, which demonstrates the diplomatic isolation of the Russian Federation. Russia is becoming more and more toxic in the international arena and is losing its international influence. Even China, which is considered to be Russia's main partner, does not share the methods used by the Russian leadership and politically distanced itself from Moscow.

Before the summit itself, a meeting was held between the leaders of the United States and China. As a result of the talks, the American side stated that President Biden and President Xi reiterated their agreement that a nuclear war should never be fought and can never be won and underscored their opposition to Russia's use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.² However unlike the White House report on the talks, the Chinese report did not mention the agreement of Xi Jinping and President Biden to oppose the Russian nuclear threat in its war against Ukraine. According to the Chinese version, Xi Jinping said that "China is highly concerned with the current situation in Ukraine". Xi also said that "a complicated issue does not have a simple solution," and that "confrontation between major

¹ 10 кроків Зеленського до переговорів про мир з РФ. Виступ на саміті G20, 15.11.2022, URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2022/11/15/7150645/>

² Байден заявив про готовність до співпраці на зустрічі з Сі Цзіньпіном, 14.11.2022, URL: <https://ukrainian.voanews.com/a/biden-xi-bali/6833279.html>

powers must be avoided.”³ The United States of America and China are looking for common ground in the new geopolitical conditions. *The Russian Federation can no longer claim an equal dialogue with the two world leaders, because with the reduction of Russian power in the new configuration, Russia will have less and less influence on global processes.*

In his video message, Volodymyr Zelensky also called on the G19 countries to **exclude Russia from this club of the most powerful countries**. There is a rational basis for such a decision, since Russia, *firstly*, violates the norms of international law and by its war not only destroys its own economy, but also hinders the development of other states. *Secondly*, there is already a precedent for the exclusion of the Russian Federation from the G8. *Thirdly*, there are other countries in the world that remain outside the G20 format, but have ambitions to become a member. At the same time, setting a precedent may call into question the participation of other states in the future, which reduces the desire of the G20 countries to support the idea of excluding Russia.

Before the G20 summit on November 15-16, there were doubts about the adoption of a joint communiqué on the results of the event, as Western countries insisted on a harsh condemnation of Russian aggression, and states such as Indonesia, India, Brazil, South Africa, Mexico and Saudi Arabia wanted to abstract. In the end, the countries found a compromise and adopted a "declaration of the leaders of states", which contains a mention of the UN General Assembly resolution condemning the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and demanding its complete and unconditional withdrawal from the territory of Ukraine. However, some countries defended the wording regarding the existence of "other views and assessments of the situation." The declaration enshrines the following position of the G20 countries regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war: “Most members strongly condemned the war in Ukraine and stressed it is causing immense human suffering and exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy – constraining growth, increasing inflation, disrupting supply chains, heightening energy and food insecurity, and elevating financial stability risks. There were other views and different assessments of the situation and sanctions. Recognizing that the G20 is not the forum to resolve security issues, we acknowledge that security issues can have significant consequences for the global economy”.⁴

The summit in Indonesia was an opportunity for Ukrainian diplomacy to advance its position in an important diplomatic forum, where countries from all continents were represented. This event is a harmonious embodiment of the strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in promoting the Ukrainian position in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, since Ukrainian representatives had the opportunity to maintain a dialogue with various regional leaders. Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speech proposing a peaceful settlement was an important step in advancing the Ukrainian agenda where Russia was still

³ Biden and Xi condemn Russian nuclear threats; Zelenskiy visits liberated Kherson – as it happened, 14.11.2022,

URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2022/nov/14/russia-ukraine-war-live-news-race-to-restore-power-and-water-in-kherson-murdered-civilians-found-zelenskiy-says>

⁴ G20 Bali Leaders' Declaration, 11.16.2022,

URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/11/16/g20-bali-leaders-declaration/>

trying to seek support. Ukraine's plan contrasts sharply with the arguments of Russian diplomacy, divorced from reality, brought about by the Russian large-scale missile attack. **Although the non-Western states of the G20 did not change their position overnight, Ukraine's participation at the summit is of strategic importance and opens the prospects for a gradual change in the views of non-Western countries on the Ukrainian-Russian war and ways to achieve victory**, in case they work consistently and methodically on this direction together with partner countries.

- *THEME ANALYSIS: The lack of clear strategic vision of future relations with the Russian Federation in the event of its defeat is forcing West to talks with V. Putin*



*Photo: General Milley
Source: Voice of America*

During the 8 months of the war, Ukraine managed to repel the most powerful military force of the continent and switch from defense to offensive actions. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation, the Armed Forces of Ukraine have already returned more than half of the occupied territories, including the only administrative center that the Russians managed to capture since February - Kherson.

Each successful stage of Ukraine's strategic defense operation was accompanied by a rise in morale and faith of Ukrainians themselves in their own ability to liberate the occupied territories. This, in turn, encouraged partner countries to increase military aid. Over time, belief in the capabilities of the Armed Forces and the support of partners converted into a number of significant victories on the battlefield.

At the same time, in contrast to the Ukrainian leadership, the people of Ukraine, politicians and scientists, who call for increased aid and ensuring the complete victory of Ukraine over the aggressor state, after each victory of Ukraine, some government officials and experts consistently advocated the beginning of negotiations to end of the war through diplomatic means. At the same time, every serious defeat of the Russians was used as an argument about the danger of further successes of the Armed Forces, because they could allegedly lead to an uncontrolled escalation. On the other hand, each such success was accompanied by skepticism about the possibility of further advancement of the Ukrainian

army, and therefore, further military assistance, from the point of view of such commentators, is inappropriate.

In addition to the pro-Russian part of the so-called "peacebuilders" *there are several reasons that force partners to talk about negotiations*. One of the main problems of those partners who urge Ukraine to negotiate is **the lack of a clear strategic vision of future relations with the Russian Federation in the event of its defeat**. From this point of view, a weakened Putin regime will no longer pose a fundamental threat to the North Atlantic Alliance. However, the *possible uncontrolled disintegration of the largest nuclear power can become such a threat*.

Another fear of the Western elites is the **possible use of nuclear weapons by the Kremlin regime**. Within the expert community, one can most often hear the intimidation of a potential nuclear war and the subsequent apocalypse. This option is unlikely, but ultimately the threat of Russian use of tactical nuclear weapons remains. Such a move will not give the Russian Federation a strategic advantage and will not solve any problems in Ukraine. So, **in this context, the main danger is the lifting of the taboo on the use of nuclear weapons, which is fraught with the destruction of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and possible emergence of new nuclear states**. In this case, armed conflicts between the United States and states trying to acquire nuclear status cannot be excluded.

The next factor justifying the calls of a number of partners for negotiations is the fact that at the domestic political level, political parties use the question of assistance to Ukraine in their own interests, playing on the sentiments of the electorate. The ruling elites, in turn, in the face of economic turmoil caused by the Russian invasion, believe that a short-term freeze of the war can help them stabilize the situation in the country, and therefore their own position, and redirect resources from military assistance to Ukraine for other needs and priorities.

There is also another group of countries that do not join the sanctions against Russia and flirt with the Kremlin, or hope for economic preferences, further cooperation, etc. This is a number of Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American and African countries. Among the leaders of these states, there are many who want to become mediators in the Russian-Ukrainian war and end the war in any way. As President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky noted, Russian diplomacy lies to these leaders about the alleged desire of Vladimir Putin to negotiate directly with Volodymyr Zelensky, thus shifting the responsibility for the war to Ukraine.

A number of senior NATO members are also trying to avoid escalating the conflict in order to prevent its possible expansion into NATO territory. More modern offensive weapons, such as modern tanks, as well as Western-made aircraft, are considered the element that could push Vladimir Putin to strike Alliance territory, thus leaving the Allies no choice but to go to war. Thus, as an alternative to armed confrontation, the option of searching for a diplomatic settlement is proposed. However, as analysts of the American analytical centre CSIS¹ note,

¹ Seth G. Jones, The End of the Beginning in Ukraine, 17.11.2022, URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/end-beginning-ukraine?fbclid=IwAR3V6JPDCty6Ag89tME-bzTe4B0zquRE2oyIaQdmPIHZYjzHaTwmjUDAAWc>

negotiations at this stage and an agreement with Putin would be a reward for aggression. Analysts also argue that most of the forces of the Russian Armed Forces are already involved in Ukraine, and the arsenal of precision-guided missiles that could be used in a war with NATO has already been significantly reduced.

Thus, **Russia does not have enough resources to fight the North Atlantic alliance and probably mobilization will not create such capabilities for the next few months.** Up to this point, Vladimir Putin has not behaved like an irrational actor, despite all the miscalculations associated with launching a full-scale invasion. So, probably, the transfer of modern tanks and aircraft will not lead to an uncontrolled escalation. On the contrary, such a step would have positive consequences. A clear US goal of supporting Ukrainian sovereignty could help deter Moscow from renewed attempts to change its neighbours' borders by force or coercion. The weakening of the Russian army by Ukrainian forces and the weakening of the Russian military-industrial complex will reduce the threats to NATO countries on the Russian periphery - at least in the near future. This will allow the US to focus scarce defense dollars on China's standoff in the Indo-Pacific. The weakening of the Russian army may also be a factor that will make it clear that Russian politics must move away from the Putin era. In addition, it may serve as a warning to other dictators who are trying to conquer countries by brute force.

Ukraine's main partner in the war is the United States, which formed the Rammstein Coalition. There are officials in Washington who share the aforementioned vision and advocate increased military assistance to Ukraine, primarily Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin and State Department head Anthony Blinken. At the same time, there are those who call for negotiations with the Kremlin.

After the liberation of Kherson, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, said that the Ukrainians had achieved about as much as they could reasonably expect before winter sets in on the battlefield, and therefore an attempt should be made to secure their achievements at the negotiating table.² Jake Sullivan, National Security Advisor to the President of the United States, according to The Wall Street Journal, in turn, in negotiations with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, suggested to think about "realistic requirements" for starting negotiations.³

Thus, in the United States of America, competition and discussion continues on the issue of supporting Ukraine. At present, **the United States is ready to continue assistance at the current level, which will allow the Armed Forces of Ukraine to continue to resist and liberate the occupied territories. Negotiations are possible only after the liberation of the entire territory of Ukraine.** This position was taken by the leadership of the state. **Freezing the conflict will not lead to a final settlement, but will turn the war into a**

² У США виникли розбіжності щодо того, чи варто тиснути на Україну у питанні переговорів з росією – NYT, 11.11.2022,
URL: <https://www.slovoidilo.ua/2022/11/11/novyna/polityka/ssha-vynykly-rozbizhnosti-shhodo-toho-chy-varto-tysnuty-ukrayinu-pytanni-perehovoriv-rosiyeyu-nyt>

³ Салліван пропонував Зеленському задуматися про «реалістичні вимоги» для початку переговорів – WSJ, 13.11.2022,
URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-wsj-pro-perehovory-sallivana-z-zelenskym/32128939.html>

ticking time bomb.⁴ Now the Kremlin's interest in the negotiations lies in the desire to restore strength and resume aggression, being in better conditions. In order to force negotiations, the Russians resort to terrorism at the state level. The fact that Russia is destroying Ukrainian critical infrastructure in order to force Ukraine to negotiate was confirmed by Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov.⁵ At the same time, the conditions offered by the Russians are actually an ultimatum.

At the G20 summit, Ukrainian leader Volodymyr Zelensky proposed his ten-step plan for peace, but in response, the Russian Federation launched the most massive strike on Ukraine since the start of a full-scale invasion. This was a Russian response to the proposals of Volodymyr Zelensky and those partners who are pushing Ukraine towards negotiations, or at least the beginning of a dialogue. Thus, **as of today, negotiations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation have no prospects.** Russia understands only force, therefore the optimal negotiating strategy of the West is to arm Ukraine to such an extent that would allow all the occupied territories to be liberated as quickly as possible and with less losses. In particular, Ukraine's partners should begin deliveries of more modern tanks, infantry fighting vehicles and aviation. This will not only help the Armed Forces of Ukraine liberate the occupied cities more effectively, but will also be a signal to the Putin regime that the current Kremlin policy has no future.

⁴ Путін перетворить заморожену війну в Україні на бомбу уповільненої дії – Кулеба, 18.11.2022, URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2022/11/18/7150970/>

⁵ МЗС порівняв Росію з ІДІЛ після зізнань Пескова про обстріли заради переговорів, 17.11.2022, URL: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2022/11/17/7376855/>



Source: Army FM

■ *Changes at the front*

The main event at the front was the liberation of the city of Kherson and the entire Right Bank by the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Now Ukrainian troops maintain fire control of three important roads, in particular to Crimea, from where the Russians supply equipment and ammunition. Control over Kherson opens the way to the future liberation of Crimea.

In the first half of November, the dynamics of battles at the front remained unchanged.

Russian troops are beginning to strengthen their defensive positions in the occupied Luhansk, Donetsk, and eastern Zaporizhia regions with personnel from the Kherson region and mobilized servicemen.

Fierce fighting continues on the *Svatove-Kreminna line*. On November 13, the Armed Forces liberated the village of Makiivka. Russian sources note that the fighting is affected by worsening weather conditions. According to Serhii Gaidai, the head of the Luhansk OVA, the command of the Russian army is transferring the remnants of the best troops to the Luhansk region.

In the Bakhmut, Avdiivka, and Novopavlivka areas, the enemy is concentrating its main efforts on conducting offensive operations. Enemy conducts shelling from tanks and the entire range of artillery. The enemy had partial success in the direction of the settlement of Opytne, which is located directly in front of Avdiivka. Analysts of the Institute for the Study

of War (ISW) believe that the transfer of part of the troops to the Donetsk region from the right bank of the Kherson region will probably lead to the intensification of operations around Bakhmut and in the west of the Donetsk region.

In the Zaporizhzhia direction, the occupiers are defending at captured borders.

Russian troops continued to shift part of their forces from the right bank of Dnipro to other operational directions, but still maintain a significant presence of forces in the south of the Kherson region.¹

In the Kryvyi Rih and Kherson directions, the enemy is conducting positional defense, improving fortification equipment and logistical support of advanced units, and does not stop artillery shelling of Ukrainian positions and settlements on the right bank of the Dnipro River.

■ *Military assistance*

In the first half of November, it became known about the transfer of the following weapons to Ukraine:

Spain:

- the battery of the Aspide anti-aircraft missile complex
- four Hawk air defense systems
- anti-tank missile complexes, as well as guns and shells for them

United Kingdom:

- 195,000 thousand units of winter equipment
- 12,000 sleeping sets and 150 heated tents
- 6 CVR(T) armored vehicles (purchased with the funds of the "Poroshenko Foundation")
- 1,000 surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles

FRG:

- 17 bridge systems
- 22 protected cars Grenzschutzfahrzeuge
- multipurpose crawler excavator "Caterpillar 336-08"
- 30 Dingo armored vehicles
- missiles for Iris-T
- 18 systems of protection against drones and the creation of obstacles
- 18 reconnaissance drones
- 5 M1070 Oshkosh heavy tractors
- 3 loaders.

¹ Війська РФ перекидають сили на донецький напрямок, щоб відволікти він невдач на Херсонщині – ISW, 15.11.2022, URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-isw-rf-donbas/32131366.html>

Greece:

- BMP-1 (Up to 30 announced units)

Finland:

- Mortars 120 KRH 92

Latvia:

- Up to 15 sets of Atlas PRO drones from the Latvian company Atlas Aerospace and 15 cars

Bulgaria:

- ATGL-L grenade launchers
- MG-1M machine guns

Poland:

- high-explosive fragmentation projectiles UO-365-KW

Sweden:

- "Minröjningsorm" demining complexes

USA:

- M58 MICLIC demining complexes
- ATGM BGM-71 TOW

Lithuania:

- 10 self-propelled 120 mm Panzermörser mortars
- marine kamikaze drone (funds collected by citizens of Lithuania)

A number of aid packages were also announced: The US aid package provides funding for the modernization of HAWK air defense missiles and their future supply; 45 updated T-72B tanks with improved optics, means of communication and armor packages; 1,100 Phoenix Ghost tactical unmanned aerial systems; 40 armored river boats; Funding for the modernization of 250 M1117 armored vehicles; Tactical protected communication systems and surveillance systems; training, maintenance and support funding. The restoration of 45 Czech T-72B tanks for a total amount of approximately 90 million dollars will be financed by the Netherlands (the funds are a part of aid in the amount of 120 million euros). Thus, in total, Ukraine should receive 90 such tanks. In addition, the Netherlands will allocate 20 million euros to Ukraine through the NATO trust fund and 250 million euros, jointly with Norway, as contribution to the International Fund for Ukraine, which will be led by Great Britain.

Also at the Group of 20 summit, Canada announced the allocation of \$500 million in additional military aid.

Source: Mil.ua.

■ *Russia: internal and external challenges*

On November 11, 2022, the Armed Forces of Ukraine liberated the city of Kherson, the only administrative center that was under the occupation of the Russian Federation. The

possible offensive actions on the right bank with the aim of capturing the Black Sea coast and access to Transnistria, and also symbolically - as a city that the Russian propaganda called originally Russian.

An important point is that some experts and government officials who previously did not support the idea of liberating Crimea by military means argued that, according to Russian legislation, Russia considers the peninsula as its own territory, and therefore can use nuclear weapons in the event of its liberation. As the example with Kherson showed, this argument can no longer be relevant.

The liberation of Kherson was a real shock for Russian propaganda and caused hysteria in the Russian information space. Aleksandr Dugin even wrote an ambiguous publication that can be interpreted as a call for the assassination of Vladimir Putin. Dugin blamed the Russian authorities for "surrendering a Russian city, the capital of one of Russia's regions" and declared that the ruler (V. Putin) may face the fate of the "rain king". According to Fraser, if the "rain king" does not live up to the expectations of the people, he will be stoned to death.² The publication was later deleted.

The liberation of the city of Kherson created a crack in the political power of the President of Russia and lays the foundation for the further collapse of the Putin regime. Russian society, convinced of the power of its state and the ultimate "joining" of Ukrainian territories, witnessed the surrender of what they consider to be a Russian city. This is happening against the background of mobilization to the ranks of the Russian army, great human losses and in conditions of poor provision of Russian servicemen. Thus, **the morale of the Russian army will keep falling, along with faith in the “wise and powerful Tsar”, while failures at the front will lead to an escalation of the struggle between various influential groups.**

Currently, among the centers of power in Russian politics, Yevgeny Prigozhin, the head of the "Wagner" PMC, has taken the first roles. With Putin's permission, he actually got the opportunity to create a parallel force structure, his own army, which is not subordinate to the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. After recruiting militants in prisons, instructors associated with "Wagner" began to teach residents of Belgorod and Kursk regions how to handle weapons and tactical medicine. Prigozhin's political influence is evidenced in particular by the attacks of the head of the Wagner Group on Russian elites, statements about the mobilization of the children of oligarchs³, and appeals to the Prosecutor General's Office and the FSB with the demand to check the activities of the governor of St. Petersburg, Oleksandr Beglov, regarding treason. Currently, Prigozhin does not pose a threat to Putin's regime. Rather, on the contrary, it is part and protection of it.

² Звільнення Херсона: Дугін розкритикував владу РФ та видалив пост. Радник голови МВС України вважає, що це був «заклик вбити Путіна», 11.11.2022, URL: <https://nv.ua/ukr/world/countries/dugin-zaklikav-vbiti-putina-chi-ce-pravda-i-pro-shcho-buv-vidalenyi-post-ostanni-novini-50283346.html>

³ Пригожин вважає, що російська еліта перешкоджає повній мобілізації у рф – ISW, 01.11.2022, URL: <https://www.slovoidilo.ua/2022/11/01/novyna/bezpeka/pryhozhyn-vvazhaye-rosijska-elita-pereshkodzhaye-povnij-mobilizacziyi-rf-isw>