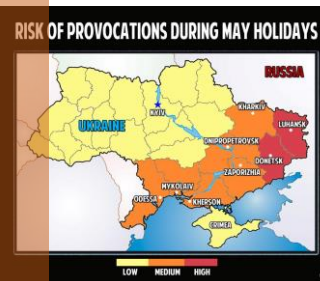




Integrated Intelligence, Defence and Security Solutions

UKRAINE WAR. WHAT NEXT? Alternative Scenarios

GEN (ret) ȘTEFAN DĂNILĂ



Gen Mark Milley's Recommendations

1. Don't have a kinetic conflict between the US military or NATO with Russia
 2. Contain war inside the geographical boundaries of Ukraine
 3. Strengthen and maintain NATO unity
 4. Empower Ukraine and give them the means to fight
- Owen Matthews, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/one-year-on-how-will-the-ukraine-war-end/>

SCENARIO 1. DEFEAT OF UKRAINE

Enabling Factors:

- Great human losses
- Physical and mental exhaustion of military
- Destruction of critical infrastructure
- Lack of military equipment and ammunition
- Inexperience of commanders
- The population majorly affected does not resist the pressure of war and deprivation.
- A significant breach in political leadership

Triggers:

- Progressive loss of positions on the front, until the surrender
- Strong movement of masses – popular uprising
- Liquidation of political leadership by Russian special forces

SCENARIO 1. DEFEAT OF UKRAINE

Consequences:

- Indefinite truce, accelerated peace negotiations
- Russia retains all territories annexed by pseudo-referenda within the boundaries of the regions
- Deployment of Russian bases, including in the "free" territory
- Ukraine withdraws applications for NATO and EU membership
- Ukraine revises Constitution and revokes the laws of education and minorities
- Ukrainians could become hostile to NATO and the EU
- The Republic of Moldova will return under the influence of Russia. Political leadership would be quickly changed to pro-Russians
- The Russia-NATO relationship would be that of the Cold War, with the maintenance of Western sanctions. The EU could be severely affected to the point of dissolution.
- China will be the main beneficiary by getting involved in reconstruction, being the only solution for an isolated Russia from the West

SCENARIO 2. RUSSIAN ARMY COLLAPSES

Enabling Factors:

- Great human losses
- Physical and mental exhaustion of military
- Lack of military equipment and ammunition
- Inexperience of commanders
- Lack of motivation to fight

Triggers:

- Commanders lose control of troops
- Progressive loss of positions on the front until the surrender
- Those who surrender benefit from humane treatment, perhaps even with the assimilation of transport in which country they want

SCENARIO 2. RUSSIAN ARMY COLLAPSES

Consequences:

- Rapid change of the front line, reconquest of lost territories in 2022
- Crimea and much of Donbas could remain under Russian occupation
- The Russian Federation will decree general mobilization but could accept a temporary truce and peace negotiations
- In Russia, it is possible to establish a more radical, nationalist government
- It would continue blows from the terror of Russia and the chair of Belarus
- The conflict remains open in the long-term. Russia will not declare itself defeated
- States supporting Ukraine would have time to strengthen Ukraine's defence capability and support Ukraine's reconstruction
- Sanctions against Russia will remain, with the same economic implications
- China would benefit from Russia's resources but would maintain a reserved attitude against conflict
- The Republic of Moldova could maintain the European path, and consolidate with EU support, GOTR could be put under pressure with the support of Ukrainian forces – it could be hatched or abolished
- Romania could contribute to strengthening defence capacity and rebuilding Ukraine

SCENARIO 3. “FREEZING OF THE FRONT LINE”

Enabling Factors:

- US and EU involvement in peace negotiations with the Russian Federation, Ukraine in the background
- high pressures from their own citizens
- depletion of Ukraine's resources to deal with the Russian offensive

Triggers:

- Obtaining a ceasefire agreement on a certain alignment
- Becoming a dividing line between the European Union and Russia
- Russia will maintain the conquered territories, and there is a possibility that Russia will no longer recognise Ukraine as a state, as a subject of international law
- The remaining territory of Ukraine could become part of the EU, recognised by almost all UN states except Russia, which could discuss any issue related to Ukraine only through EU representatives

SCENARIO 3. “FREEZING OF THE FRONT LINE”

Consequences:

- Disastrous for Ukraine
- Could mean restored economic relations between Russia and the EU
- For the US, it could mean a withdrawal from Europe to solve domestic problems and from the Asia-Pacific, but this probability is extremely low at the moment
- For the Republic of Moldova and Romania, the consequences would be similar to Scenario 2

SCENARIO 4. CESSATION OF MILITARY SUPPORT TO UKRAINE

Enabling Factors:

- High pressure from citizens
- US and EU involvement in peace negotiations with the Russian Federation, and Ukraine in the background
- Depletion of Ukraine's resources to deal with the Russian offensive

Triggers:

The same with Scenario 1:

- Progressive loss of positions on the front until surrender
- Substantial movement of masses – a popular uprising
- Liquidation of political leadership by Russian special forces

SCENARIO 4. CESSATION OF MILITARY SUPPORT TO UKRAINE

Consequences (Scenario 1):

- Indefinite truce, accelerated peace negotiations
- Russia retains all territories annexed by pseudo-referenda within the boundaries of the regions
- Location of Russian bases, including in the "free" territory
- Ukraine should withdraw its applications for NATO and EU membership
- Ukraine should revise its Constitution and repeal the laws on education and minorities
- Ukrainians could become hostile to NATO and the EU
- The Republic of Moldova will return under the influence of Russia. Political leadership would be quickly changed to pro-Russians
- The Russia-NATO relationship would be that of the Cold War, with the maintenance of Western sanctions. The EU could be severely affected, to the point of dissolution.
- China will be the main beneficiary by getting involved in reconstruction, being the only solution for Russia being isolated from the West

SCENARIO 5. „US DIRECT INVOLVMENT”

Enabling Factors:

- Depletion of Ukraine's resources to deal with the Russian offensive
- Direct US involvement in the conflict by building a coalition of will that effectively supports Ukraine in the fight with forces
- The existence of coalitions of states for military support – Rammstein
- The moral obligation of the US and Great Britain as guarantors in the 1994 Budapest Memorandum

Triggers:

- Direct involvement of the international coalition under the leadership of the US

SCENARIO 5. „US DIRECT INVOLVMENT”

Consequences:

- In a first stage, Russian forces in Ukraine could be relatively easily defeated
- could be liberated including Crimea in a matter of weeks and Ukraine's borders would be restored before March 2014
- Russia's reaction could be difficult to control, as it would invoke the situation of endangering the existence of the State and could use nuclear weapons against the participating States
- Mutual destruction would be extremely difficult to stop
- China is likely to openly position itself against a coalition against Russia, which could mean confirming the start of the Third World War
- Romania is in the range of short- and medium-range ballistic missiles, an easy target for Russia

SCENARIO 6. TEMPORARY TRUCE AND SEMI-FROZEN CONFLICT

Enabling Factors:

- Both sides realize that war means greater destruction and loss of life
- For Ukraine, it would imply accepting the loss of particularly important territories

Triggers:

- Truce and peace of circumstance, with a negotiated line of demarcation
- Keeping tensions and conflict at a low level, towards frozen between Russia and Ukraine
- Possible détente of economic relations between the EU and Russia

SCENARIO 6. TEMPORARY TRUCE AND SEMI-FROZEN CONFLICT

Consequences:

- Keeping tensions and conflict low towards ice cream
- The détente of economic relations between the EU and Russia
- Ensuring the transfer of energy, oil and gas from Russia to Ukraine through guarantees or contracts of the European Union
- Could mean an accelerated arms race and very likely the reopening of many conflicts worldwide on the principle of forceful imposition
- This could mark the bankruptcy of U.S. hegemony, its inability to lead the world on the principles set out in the UN Charter
- The UN could become obsolete, and the EU could experience violent unrest.

SCENARIO 7. NATO INVOLVEMENT – DEFENDING A MEMBER STATE

Enabling Factors:

- Mutually Hostile Messages
- The main reason for Ukraine's aggression is to stop joining NATO
- NATO states bordering Ukraine support Ukraine and transport war aid to Ukraine
- Stopping aid to Ukraine is essential for Russia

Triggers:

- Striking a communication path, port or aerodrome of a NATO state (Poland, Estonia, Lithuania or Romania) by Russia
- Shooting a plane in Ukrainian airspace or a ship of a NATO state in international waters
- NATO responds jointly by conducting an air and naval operation that aims to achieve an NFZ and/or a safe sea area

SCENARIO 7. NATO INVOLVEMENT – DEFENDING A MEMBER STATE

Consequences:

- NATO intervenes directly against Russian forces – air strikes on targets in the occupied territory
- Russia is likely to threaten with using of nuclear weapons
- Russia strikes a U.S. naval group (sixth fleet?) or another isolated target with a nuclear-laden missile
- Similar U.S. retaliation is possible, with the destruction of important Russian targets (nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers). The first response may not be nuclear
- If negotiations are not triggered amid a temporary truce, reciprocal nuclear strikes will be triggered
- States near Russia will be the most vulnerable, the most likely targets will be U.S. military facilities in Romania, Poland and the Baltics.
- Turkey could withdraw from NATO