

*Ukraine's Quest for Mature Nation Statehood Roundtable XXIV:
Forging A Strong Yet Forbearing National Identity – Future Initiatives
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**THIRD PANEL DISCUSSION SESSION
UA & THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY
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Ukrainians are sincerely grateful to the democratic countries for the incredible support and comprehensive help. However, little attention is paid to the fact that Ukraine is not only a recipient of financial and military aid. I would like to focus on what Ukraine has already given to the West, what it is already helping it with, and what it can help with.

1. As a result of effective resistance to Russian aggression, Ukraine stopped the Horde and took the blow. According to their conviction, the Russians are indeed fighting against the West - but so far exclusively mentally, because they are deprived of the possibility of frontal physical contact with it as long as Ukraine stands;
2. Ukraine, with its resistance to Russian aggression, proved not in words, but on the battlefield, that it defends fundamental European values: freedom, justice, rule of law;
3. The failure of the Russian "blitzkrieg" made it possible for the Western countries to take decisions that ensured the resuscitation of their defense capabilities, loading and a significant increase in the production capacity of weapons, military equipment, energy equipment, which ensured an increase in the level of employment and security;
4. The Russian-Ukrainian war more than ever in recent history united the countries of the Euro-Atlantic area, restored the unity and capacity of NATO, proved, despite the crisis of 2016-2019, its viability and perspective;
5. The West has stopped engaging in military and technological assistance to Russia, which is dangerous for itself, in particular, supplying it with even the latest weapons (for example, in 2015, France terminated the contract for the supply of Mistral helicopter carriers to Moscow)
6. Ukraine's intransigence and Russia's aggressiveness led to positive changes in public opinion in the West, which allowed governments to begin cleaning the information space from excessive Russian influence (closing RT and other media resources), the Russian embassy from spies with diplomatic passports. A simple and unmistakable criterion for the evaluation of politicians and parties by voters has been determined: Eurosceptics and enemies of European unity are, as a rule, those of them who are supported by Moscow. Therefore, in a number of countries (France, Italy, the Czech Republic, Montenegro, Moldova, Latvia, Austria, etc.) during the election campaigns, the threat of their coming to power was eliminated. The result of all this was both the stabilization of societies in the West and the strengthening of its sustainability;
7. The policy of Russia and China since the beginning of the large-scale invasion of Ukraine proved the closeness of their anti-Western aspirations, the falsity of the course of some Western politicians to cooperate with Russia against China.

8. Ukraine's resistance to Russian energy blackmail, its transition to other gas and oil suppliers contributed to the diversification of Europe's energy supply sources, its removal from the gas and oil "needles" of the Russian Federation;

9. Russia's actions caused the decision to reorient Western consumers of Russian strategic products to other suppliers for security purposes. Example – in the spring of 2022, the American Boeing corporation refused to use Russian titanium. Other leading aviation concerns of the planet - Airbus, Rolls-Royce and Safran Aircraft Engines - are also on this path;

10. The Russian-Ukrainian war allowed the West to conduct:

- comparative testing of their weapons and tactics with the Russian ones, their improvement based on the experience of real battles with the Russian army without the participation of their own military personnel and, accordingly, without human losses on their part,

- adoption of new combat tactics developed and successfully implemented by the Ukrainian Armed Forces,

- approbation of logistical support projects for NATO's eastern flank in conditions of a real war with the Russian Federation.

11. In July 2016, at the Warsaw NATO Summit, the Ukraine-NATO Platform for countering hybrid warfare was introduced, which provides a mechanism for more effective detection of hybrid threats and development of the ability to identify vulnerabilities and strengthen the resilience of states and societies,

12. NATO especially noted Ukraine's contribution to the "DEXTER" program aimed at developing an integrated system for detecting explosives and firearms in public places.

13. Ukraine's victory in the war with Russia will open the way to solving two important security issues of the US and the West as a whole:

- preserving the system of international law, in particular, the inviolability of the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, agreements on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

- diversification of sources of supply of strategically important products, i.e. maximum possible replacement of unfriendly countries-suppliers of such products (Russia and China) with a partner - Ukraine. There are good reasons for this, as Ukraine currently ranks:

4th place in the world in terms of the total value of natural resources;

1st place in Europe for reserves of uranium ores;

2nd place in Europe, 10th place in the world in terms of titanium ore reserves;

2nd place in the world in terms of explored reserves of manganese ores.

14. For a truly final solution to the "Russian imperial question", the project of coordinated and controlled defragmentation of Russia, which we - the Center for Strategic Studies and our Ukrainian non-governmental partners - have been supporting since April 2022, is extremely important for the West.

And I would like to explain this topic in more detail.

It is obvious, that Western help for Ukraine is thwarted by two major constraints: the fear of the Kremlin using nuclear weapons, and the fear of the disintegration of the Russian Federation.

The fear of disintegration comes from concerns about the fate of Russia's nuclear potential, the possible rise to power in newly formed states of Islamist and other radical forces, and about ethnic and/or territorial conflicts between newly established states.

These fears are constantly and successfully fuelled both by the Kremlin, and by anti-Putin "Moscow-Petersburg" opposition groups: "Russia of the Future", "Free Russia Forum", "Open Russia" and "Free Russia".

Western policy toward Russia relies on reacting to Moscow's actions. It consists of refraining from action that the Kremlin could interpret as a direct attack and thereby as a pretext for military conflict between Russia and the West, or as an existential threat to Russia that would be manipulated by the Kremlin to justify the use of nuclear weapons.

This policy gives Moscow the strategic upper hand which it exploits through the extensive use of nuclear blackmail. It also inevitably leads to one of two dire outcomes: either Western loss of world leadership arising from humiliating concessions to Russia; or Moscow's use of nuclear weapons. Both outcomes would be catastrophic for the free world.

Moreover, Western Russia policy fails to take into account new realities in Russia and its emigrant communities since February 24, 2022. In addition to the above-mentioned opposition groups who aim to "replace Putin with a democratic leader," ethnic and national groups with anti-imperial objectives have emerged.

Helping these groups achieve their pro-democracy, anti-imperialist goals should become the cornerstone of a new strategy with the goal of the controlled decolonization of the Russian Federation.

The international legal basis for supporting Russia's decolonization is the principle of self-determination of nations enshrined in the United Nations Charter, as well as the 1960 U.N. General Assembly "Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," which declared the need put an end to colonialism and affirmed the inalienable right to full independence and freedom of the peoples of all colonial countries and other non-self-governing territories.

The policy objective of controlled decolonization of Russia will benefit the democratic world in the following ways:

1. A radical change in the global balance in favour of democracy with the "global South" realigned from the anti-western orbit to the democratic camp.
2. The disappearance of the Russian Federation's direct military threat to neighbouring nations and other states.
3. A radical reduction of China's capabilities to escalate its confrontation with the democratic world, because:
 - a) it will halt the current trajectory of totalitarian and economically weak Russia - with its resource base and additional nuclear and military arsenal - to become a vassal of China,
 - b) it could potentially set a model of decolonization for China that would free the Uyghurs, Tibetans and other enslaved peoples.

4. Disintegration of Russia will eliminate Moscow's nuclear blackmail. The decolonized nations of the Russian Federation can be persuaded to declare their non-nuclear status as former Soviet states did after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some anti-imperialist opposition groups in Russia, for example, the "Forum of the Free Peoples of Post Russia", already proclaims the goal of the nuclear free status for newly free states.

5. It will reduce the likelihood of territorial conflicts between newly independent states. The "Forum of Free Peoples of Post-Russia" has declared that new borders will be set based on the current administrative boundaries. The newly independent states will commit to negotiated settlements of any territorial disputes.

Therefore, the mission of the global democratic community should be to replace the passive doctrine of deterring aggressive Russia with an active strategy, consisting of three main elements. The first is maximum assistance to Ukraine in providing weapons, organizing its own production of weapons, carrying out actions and reforms necessary for the fastest possible entry into NATO. Changing the philosophy of aid to Ukraine from the vague thesis "We will help Ukraine as much as necessary" to the clear principle "We will help Ukraine as much as it is necessary for our joint victory."

The second is the neutralization of the Kremlin's nuclear threats. They cannot be treated lightly, because the nuclear gun has already been brought to the global political stage by Putin. Therefore, the West must urgently ensure its readiness for instant mirror use in case of need of any force, including nuclear. And for this, it is necessary to carry out without delay the resuscitation of the entire nuclear security complex of North America and Europe of the 50s and 60s of the last century, the Ronald Reagan program "Star Wars", the development and implementation of a set of new programs that are guaranteed to make it impossible to launch, depart from the territory of the Russian Federation, or arrive to the territory of responsibility of NATO of Russian nuclear missiles.

And the third element of this strategy should be aid to national and regional movements in the Russian Federation seeking independence: organizational, methodical and informational assistance, assistance in the organization of effective protest initiatives and negotiations, in the creation of proto-state transitional administrations/governments in exile, etc.

Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania could become hubs for such movements. The 54 nations of the Ukraine Defence Contact Group, supporting Ukraine's military defence against Russian aggression, could become natural partners of the nations in the Russian Federation seeking decolonization and democratization. This will ensure the integration of new states into the democratic world, and prevent them from aligning with totalitarian and extremist regimes.

This is a winning strategy towards Russia - not be the fear of its disintegration, but consciously and systematically bring it closer.

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