

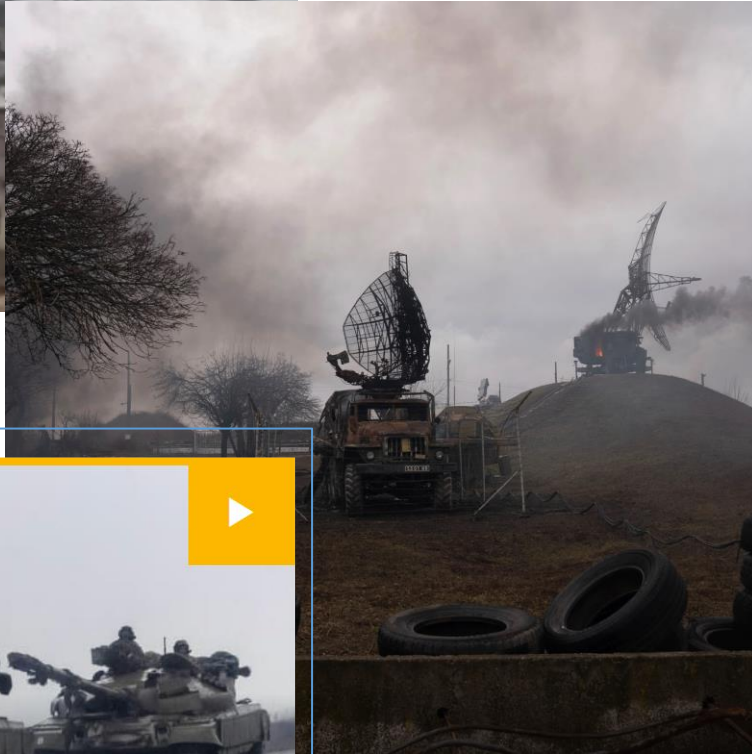
War returns to Europe: what happened & what does it mean



Andrea Ucini

Prof. Dr. Frans Osinga
Leiden University





VIDEO 01:11

Russian troops advance through Ukraine

Russia launched an unprecedented invasion of its neighbor Ukraine on Thursday, with military assaults on several key Ukrainian cities including its capital, Kyiv.

ALJAZEERA

OPINION
Opinions | Russia-Ukraine war

No, Russia will not invade Ukraine

A large-scale military operation does not fit into M... benefit calculus.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Last Updated: 25. Feb 2022, 8:31 pm GMT-5

[Live Coverage Feed](#)

25. Feb 2022, 9:21 pm ★

White House: Kyiv Falling to Russia Is a 'Real Possibility'

By Andrew Restuccia

Bloomberg [Subscribe](#)

Politics

Western Allies See Kyiv Falling to Russian Army Within Hours

- Ukraine's air defenses have been eliminated, official says
- Putin may plan to replace Ukraine's leader with puppet regime

Kiev to fall 'in DAYS' as Putin army cuts off entire city - Ukraine troops fully mobilised

KIEV is expected to fall to Russian forces in a matter of days, US security officials fear, with the Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy...

FOX NEWS [Watch TV](#)

UKRAINE

Gen. Milley says Kyiv could fall within 72 hours if Russia decides to invade Ukraine: sources

within 72 hours if a full-scale invasion occurs

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NEWS SPORT VOICES CULTURE LIFESTYLE TRAVEL PREMIUM

News > World > Europe

Kiev 'could fall to Russians within hours as Ukraine air defences eliminated'

FP

The West's Weapons Won't Make Any Difference to Ukraine

U.S. military equipment wouldn't realistically help Ukrainians—or intimidate Putin.

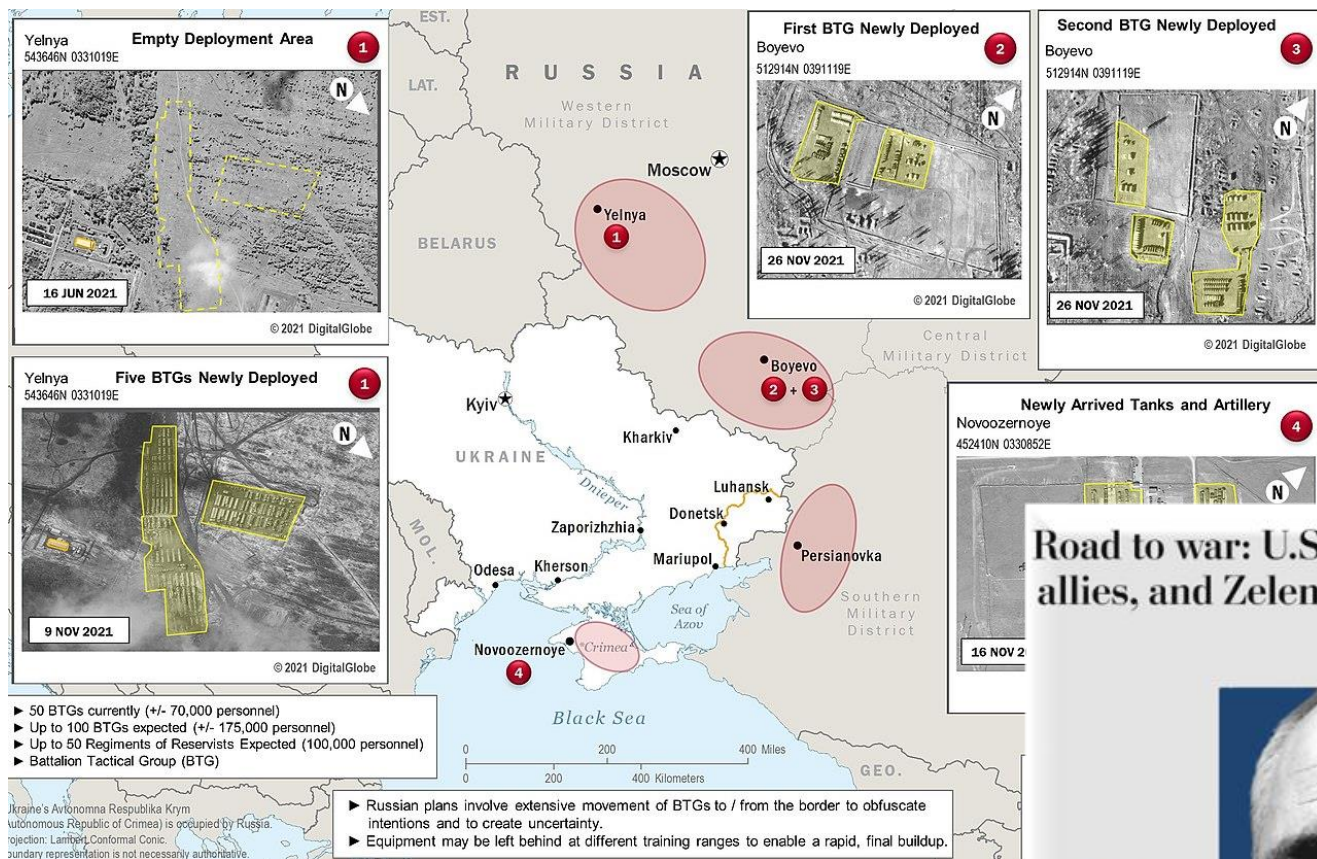
CNN politics [Audio](#) [Live TV](#) [Log In](#)

US concerned Kyiv could fall to Russia within days, sources familiar with intel say

By Jim Sciutto and Katie Bo Williams, CNN

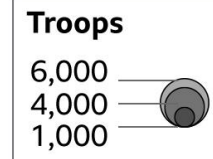
3 minute read · Updated 9:40 AM EST, Fri February 25, 2022

We should not have been surprised



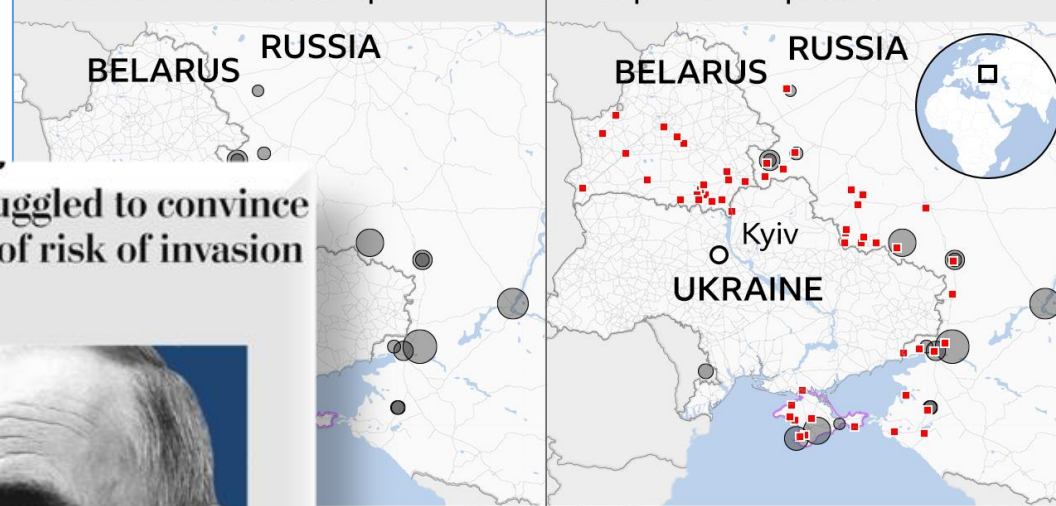
Russian troop build up around Ukraine

- Permanently stationed units
- Units moved into position during current build-up
- Russia annexed Crimea in 2014



Before current build-up

Troops now in position



Road to war: U.S. struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion



US says Russian invasion of Ukraine could come at any time

New US intelligence suggests Russia could attack Ukraine before the end of the Olympics next week. The news comes after the US and European nations told their nationals to leave the country.

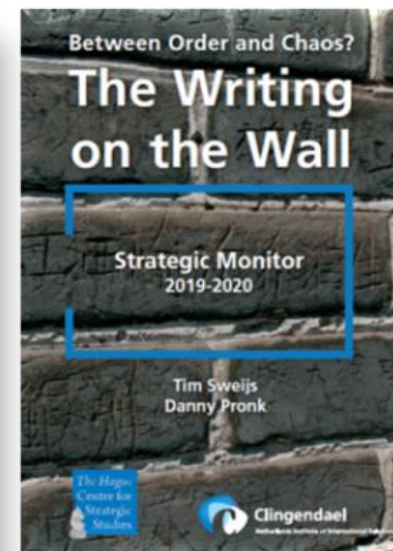
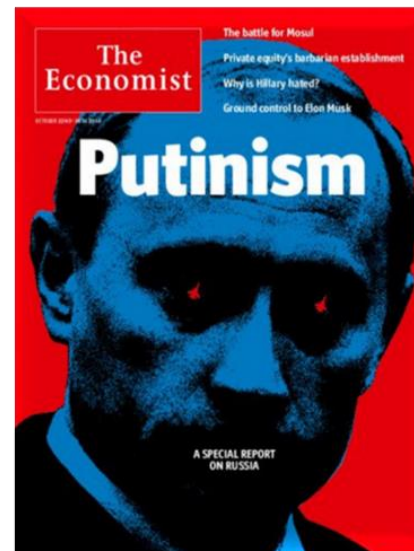
Locations in Belarus are approximate. Locations include presence as well as large assembly areas.

Reporting, Maxar, 23 February



Strategic errors of the West

- 2014-2022: multiple hybrid attacks on Europe: “existential threats” (EU 2016)
- Art 5 not credible (RAND 2016)
- Bad assessment of mindset of authoritarian regimes
- Excluding military support made Putin’s strategic considerations easier
- Deep divisions among European states
- Economics trumped security considerations
- Putin deterred the West, or was it self-deterrence?

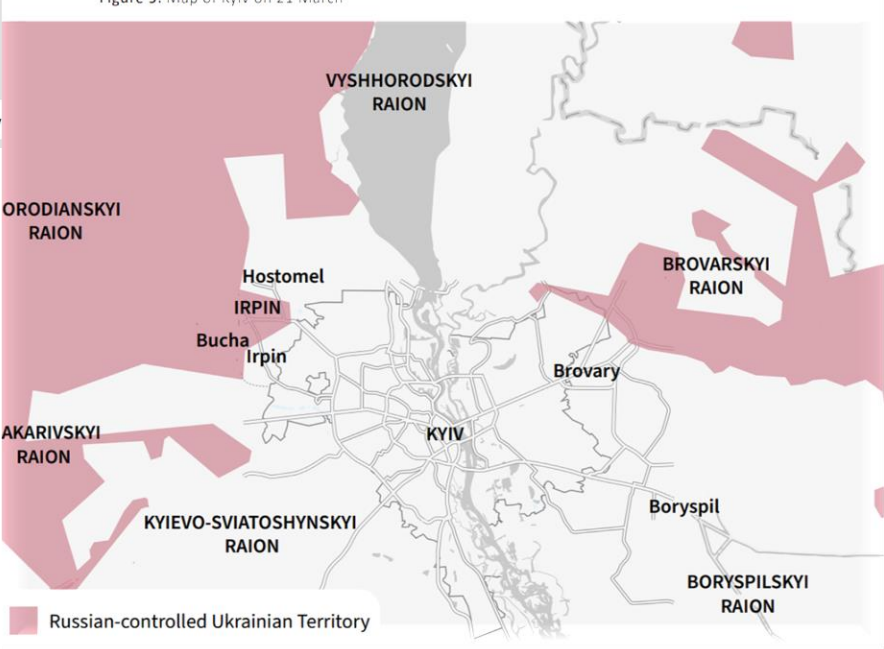


Putin nearly succeeded










Figure 3: Map of Ukraine on 27 February




- 10-day war plan: focus = Kyiv
- Speed of maneuver
- Too fast for timely western response
- Decapitate pol & mil leadership
- Defeat Ukrainian military



Military strength before Russia's invasion

	Ukraine 	Russia 
Troops	1,096,600	2,900,000
Active 	196,600	900,000
Reserve* 	900,000	2,000,000
Main battle tanks 	987	3,417
Combat aircraft 	124	1,391
Attack helicopters 	57	407
Armoured personnel carriers 	831	7,272
Artillery 	1,818	5,899

*Note: reserve includes people who have had military service within 5 years

Source: Military Balance 2022 

Putin's Strategic Errors

- Underestimated speed of Western coordinated multidimensional response
 - Unprecedented sanctions regime
 - Increasing Western military support
- Gambled on early Blitzkrieg style coup of Kyiv
- Overestimated own military capabilities
 - Flawed combined arms operations
 - Fails to achieve air superiority
- No preparations for long war
- 4-front war with low troop density
- Underestimated Ukraine

“The failure to destroy Ukraine’s modest air defenses was one of the most significant blunders of the war, foiling Russia’s mighty air force early on.” (NYT)



Russia's spies misread Ukraine and misled Kremlin as war loomed

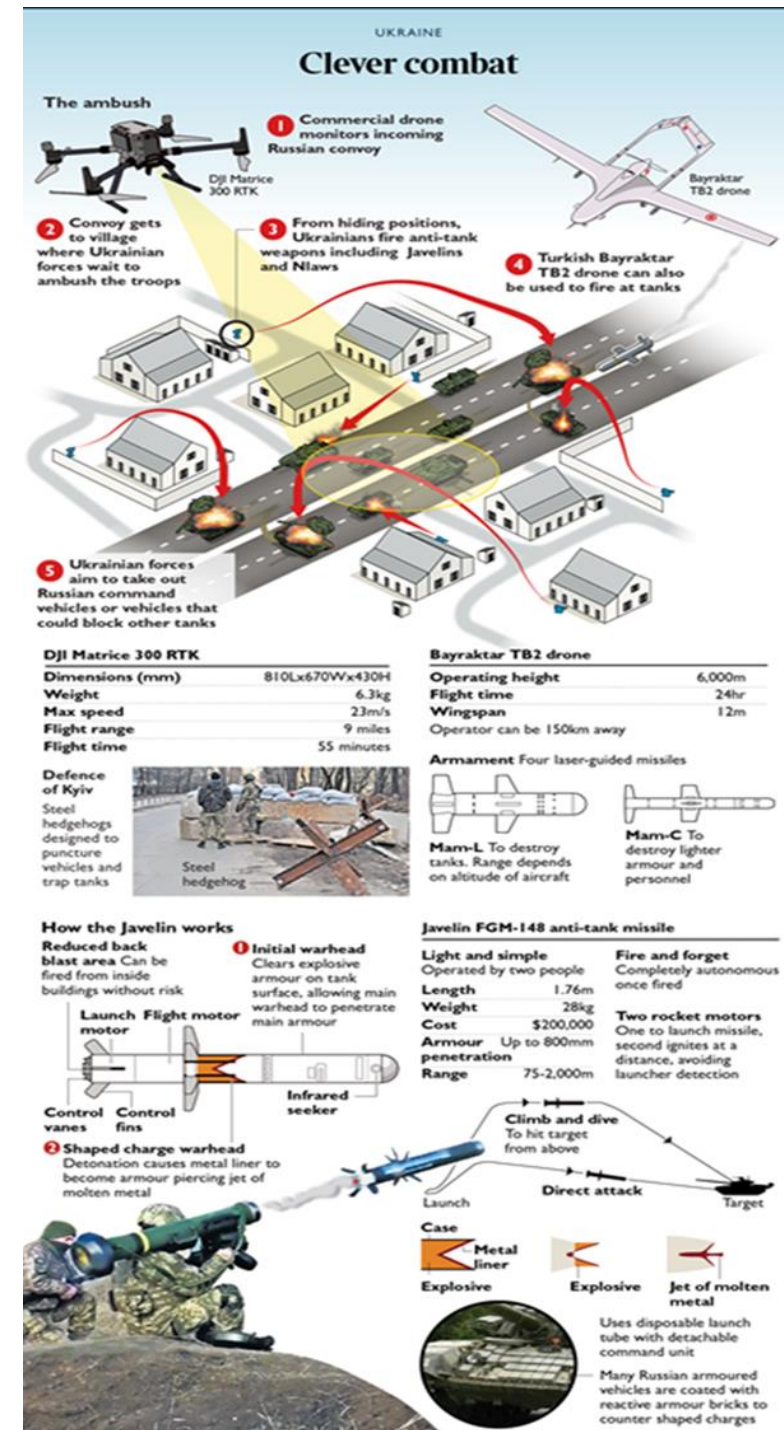


Battle for Kyiv: Ukrainian valor, Russian blunders combined to save the capital



Effective Ukrainian defence

- Strategy is not to lose, gain time, impose costs on RU
- Avoid decisive armored battles in open terrain
- Inundation, Urban defence & woods favor defender
- Mobile battalions & Spec Ops teams
 - “roaming interior lines”, dispersed, negate clear frontline
 - Hit & run strikes against convoys, focus on SSV, fuel trucks,
- Use of drones, AT, Stingers, SA-300, Migs, Massive art’y
- Zelensky unifies the nation and the West



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, a former TV actor, has posted videos nearly every day to his 1.1 million-subscriber Telegram channel, allowing him to quickly undermine the kinds of false-flag operations and



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky posted a video Feb. 25 in which the leader said he was among those who are continuing to defend Kyiv. (The Washington Post)



April 9: Retreat from Kyiv, end of “special operation”

- Massive losses: week 1 2000 casualties, 88 fighters/heli
- towards 2 front attrition war
- Slow expansion of south & eastern controlled areas
- RU brings in reinforcements, slow going
 - Conscripts untrained, not combat ready
 - Logistical & C2 challenges
- South: horrific Grozny-type siege tactics & urban warfare
- Massive civilian casualties: Bucha, Irpin, Mariupol
- Intense air & missile attacks on civil society



As Russia struggles in Ukraine, will Putin break the nuclear taboo?

Kristin Ven Bruusgaard

Russia knows how dangerous nuclear escalation is, but the president's statements give cause for concern

Russia intensifies attacks on railways, taking aim at Ukraine's lifeline to the outside world



By Ivana Kottasová, Petro Zadorozhnyy and Lauren Said-Moorhouse, CNN
Updated 11:04 AM EDT, Tue May 10, 2022





EUROPE

Biden confirms U.S. is sending advanced rocket systems to Ukraine

By Rachel Pannett and John Hudson

Updated June 1, 2022 at 8:56 a.m. EDT | Published May 31, 2022 at 9:56 p.m. EDT



EUROPE

A race against time in Ukraine as Russia advances, West sends weapons

By Liz Sly and Catherine Belton

May 5, 2022 at 6:38 p.m. EDT



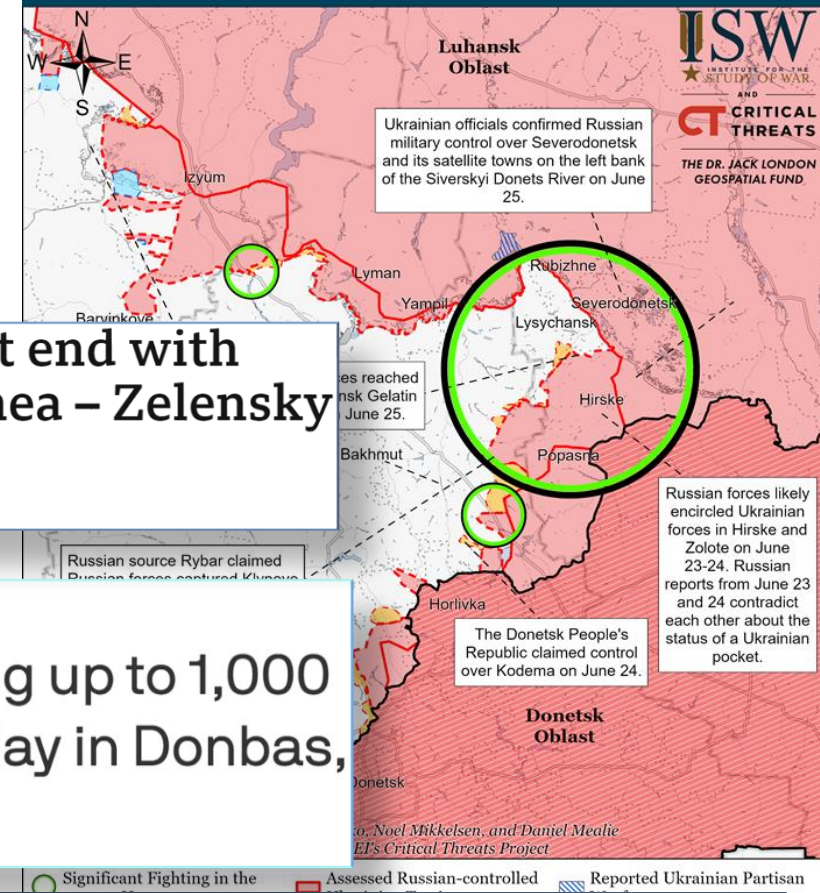
1:21 PM · Jun 23, 2022



Summer 2022

- Intense RU art'y barrages: 30000/day
- Ukr: we will attack soon
 - Kherson strategic city for Ukr & RU
 - Warning for Russia
 - Forces RU to divert troops to south
 - Eases pressure on Donbas front
 - Demonstrates effective use of Western weapons
 - Shows success
 - Motivates home front

Assessed Control of Terrain Around Luhansk as of June 26, 2022, 3:00 PM ET



Ukraine war must end with liberation of Crimea – Zelensky

By Francesca Gillett
BBC News
10 August · Comments

Jun 15, 2022 - World
Ukraine suffering up to 1,000 casualties per day in Donbas, official says

Fall of Severodonetsk is Russia's biggest victory since Mariupol

Fall of city after weeks of street fighting transforms the battlefield in the east of Ukraine to Moscow's advantage.

Russia's Repeat Failures

Moscow's New Strategy in Ukraine Is Just as Bad as the Old One

By Dara Massicot August 15, 2022

Strike on Crimea airbase suggests Ukraine has longer-range missiles

Nine Russian jets destroyed, sources claim



Videos showed flames and clouds of smoke rising from the airbase



Destroyed Russian troop depots

Strikes by the Ukrainian armed forces against Russian ammunition depots in the Russian-occupied territories of Ukraine 5-75 km from the front line

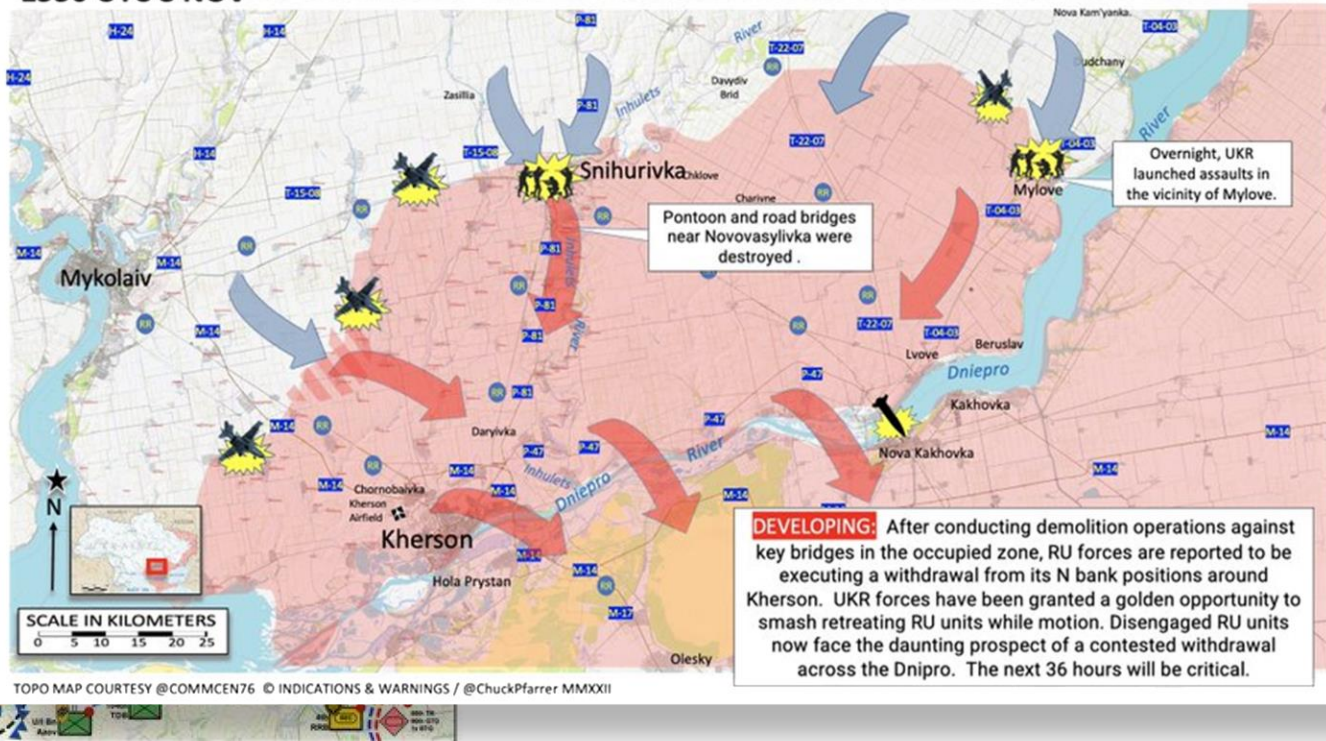
- | | | | |
|---|---|-------|---|
| 1 | 8 July, Nova Kakhovka , Kherson oblast, explosion of Russian Armed Forces ammunition depots | 8 | 5 July, Donetsk , Russian base explosion in "KAMAZ-Center" |
| 2 | 8 July, Shakhtarsk , explosion of Russian Armed Forces ammunition depots | 9 | 4 July, Snizhne , Donetsk oblast, Russian base explosion |
| 3 | 7 July, Donetsk , oil depot explosion | 10-11 | 3 July, Melitopol , Zaporizhzhia oblast, strikes on 2 Russian bases |
| 4 | 6 July, Kherson , explosion of Russian Armed Forces ammunition depots | 12 | 2 July, Popasna , Luhansk oblast, strike on Russian Armed Forces ammunition depot |
| 5 | 6 July, Makiivka , Donetsk oblast, Russian base explosion | 13 | 28 June, Perevalsk , Luhansk oblast, strike on Russian Armed Forces ammunition depot |
| 6 | 6 July, Velykyi Burluk , Kharkiv oblast, Russian base explosion | 14 | 28 June, Nova Kakhovka , Kherson oblast, strike on Russian Armed Forces infrastructure |
| 7 | 5 July, Kadiivka (Stakhanov), Luhansk oblast, explosion of Russian Armed Forces ammunition depot | | |



Sept-Nov 2022: Liberation of Kharkiv & Kherson



KHERSON AXIS SOURCES REPORT THAT RU COMMAND HAS ORDERED A GENERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTH BANK POSITIONS 1550 UTC 8 NOV



For Ukraine, Keeping the Lights On Is One of the Biggest Battles

This week's missile assault by Russian forces has hit at least 15 energy facilities — some for the fifth or sixth time — forcing controlled blackouts in every part of the country.



The Economist
@TheEconomist

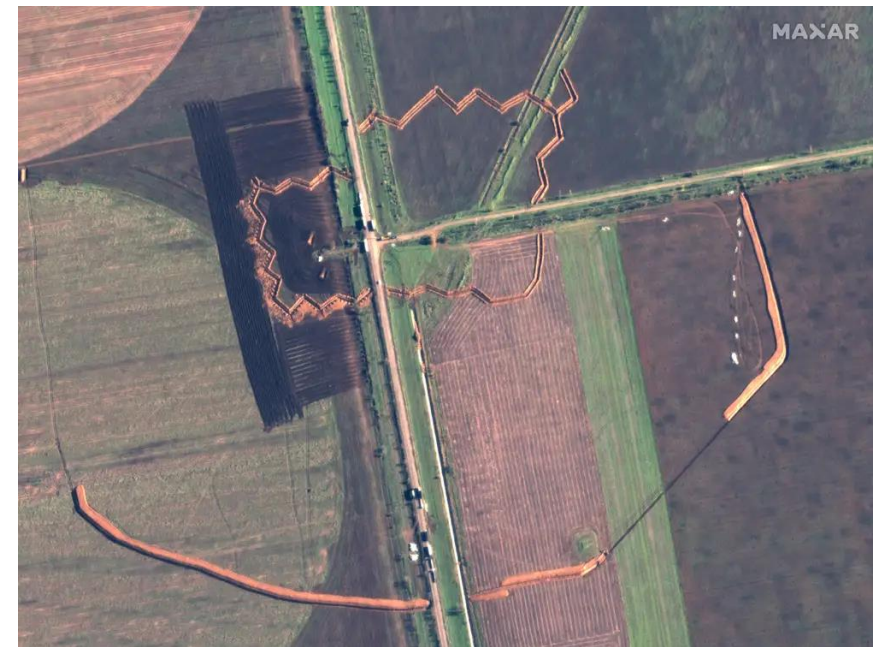
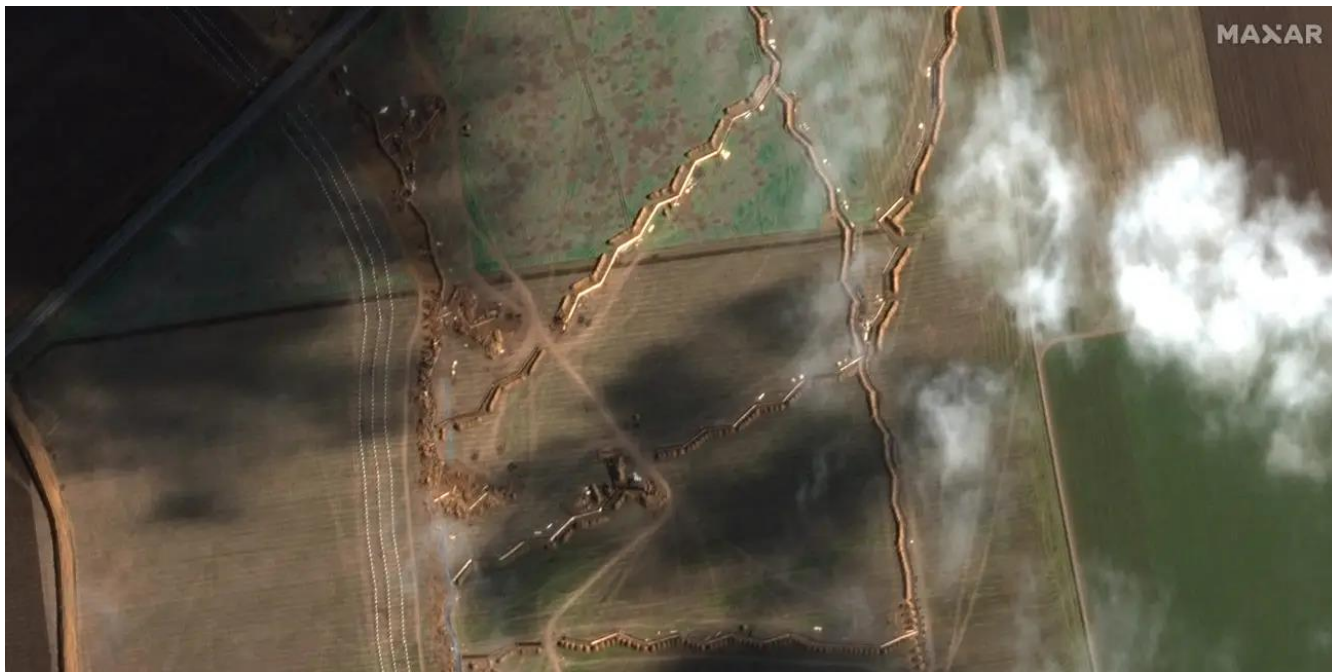
Engineers are now repairing Ukraine's energy system faster than it can be destroyed



economist.com

How Ukraine tamed Russian missile barrages and kept the lights on
As winter ends, Russia has lost this phase of the conflict





Patriarch Kirill calls Donbas "the front line of defence of the 'Russian world'"



pravda.com.ua

Patriarch Kirill calls Donbas "the front line of defence of the 'Russian world'"

Patriarch Kirill of the Russian Orthodox Church claimed that Donbas is "the front line of defence of the Russian world."

Into the Winter

Change in Russian-controlled territory during three turning points in the war

■ Reclaimed by Ukraine
 ■ Held by Russia
 ■ Russian advances



BEFORE THE INVASION

Territory held by Russia before the war

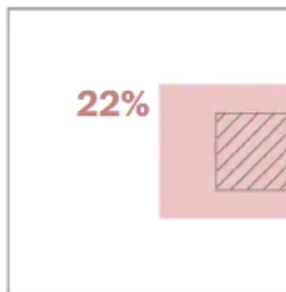
Maryland (for scale)



Ukraine
233,000
square miles

Before Feb. 24
17,000 square miles

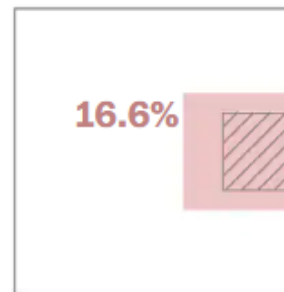
The most territory controlled by Russia



March 24
WEEK 4 OF WAR
51,400 square miles

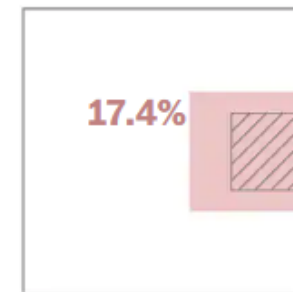
AFTER THE INVASION

The least



April 7
WEEK 6
38,800

Current



Nov. 17
WEEK 38
40,600

Kentucky (for scale)



Russia's failed Winter Offensive



Preparing the counter-offensive



Reported drone attacks on Russian targets

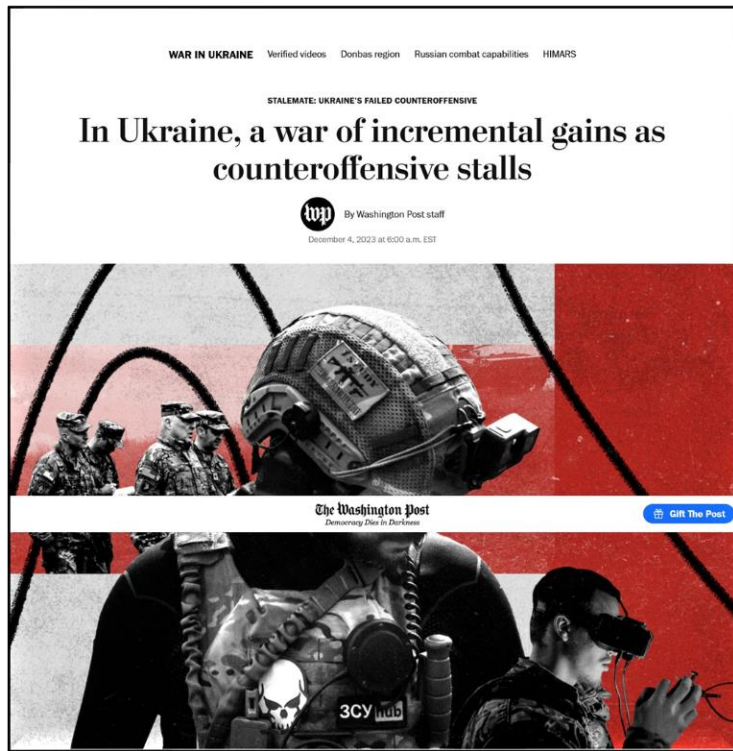


Konstantin Sonin @k_sonin · 7h
Night of attacks across central Russia. Airfields and fuel depots in Pskov, Bryansk, Tula... Putin brought the war deep into the Russian rear.

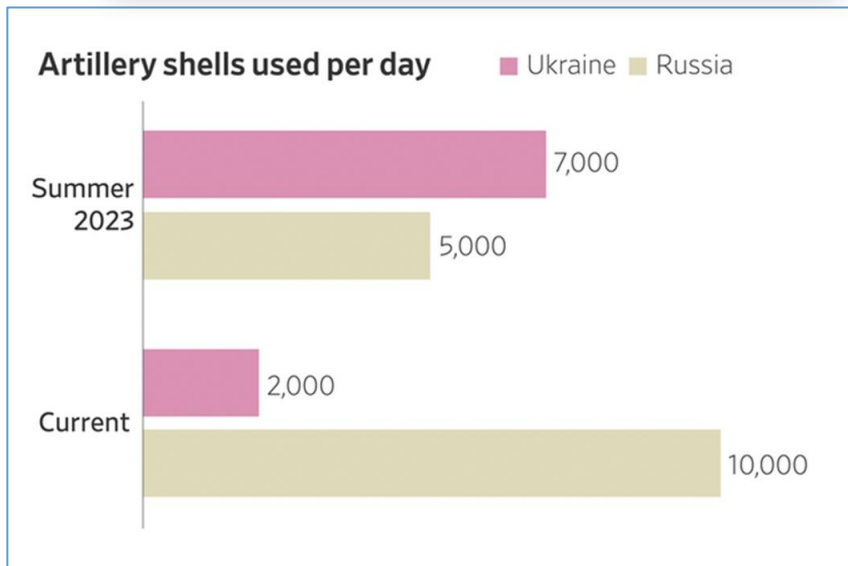
A collage of four images. The top-left image shows a night sky with a bright fireball. The top-right image shows a night sky with a bright fireball and the text 'ТЕЛЕГРАМ КАНАЛ ПОРСТУВ' and 'ТЕЛЕГРАМ КАНАЛ «Тула. Происшествия»'. The bottom-left image shows a night sky with a bright fireball. The bottom-right image is a map of Russia with a red dot in the central region. The collage is overlaid with the text 'Телеграм-Канал «Тула. Происшествия»'.

2 19 89 6,181

Locations have come under multiple reported attacks (date range from January to 23 August 2023) **BBC**



- Need to split in three frontal zones
- Lack of training & combat experience
- No air superiority & no air support
- Density of minefields
- Depth of defensive lines
- Transparency of battlefield: drones
- Ru coverage by art'y, AT & drones
- Insufficient Western materiel
- Insufficient art'y ammo
- Russia's willingness to suffer massive losses



LOSSES OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPIERS IN UKRAINE



from February 24, 2022 to February 16, 2024

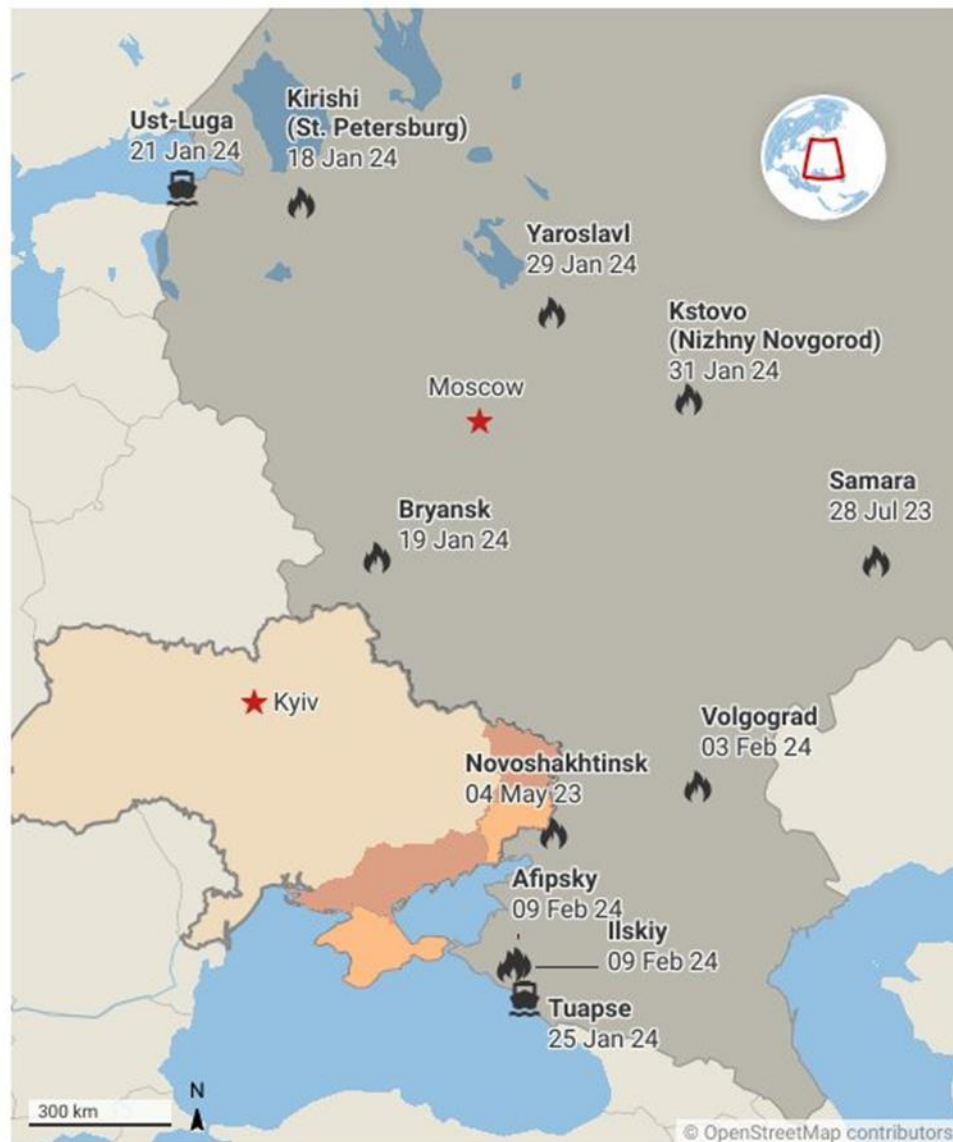
~400300 ⁺¹²¹⁰

Eliminated personnel

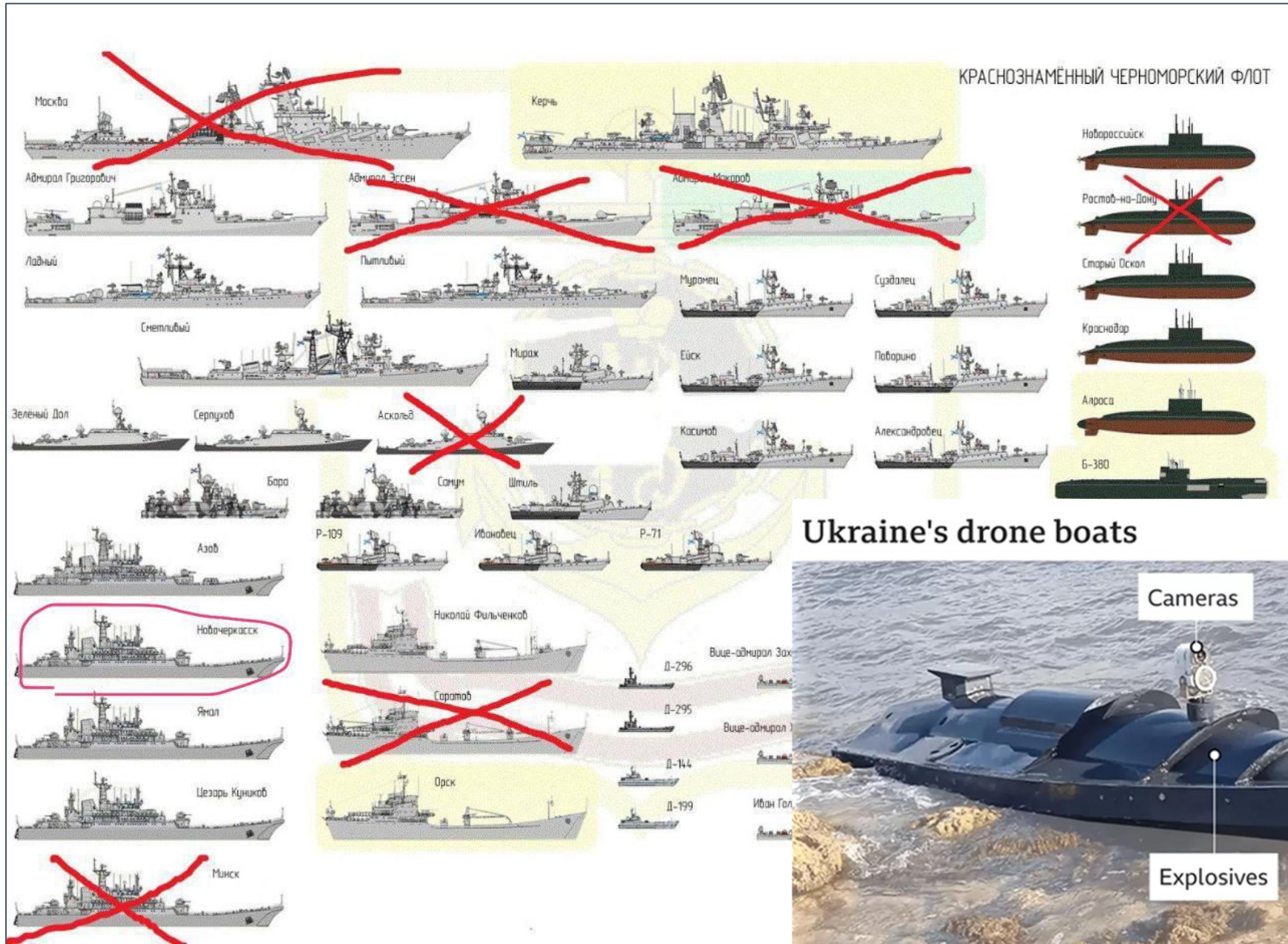
Tanks	6465 ⁺²³	Military jets	332
Armored combat vehicles	12129 ⁺³⁹	Helicopters	325
Artillery	9641 ⁺²¹	Cruise missiles	1895 ⁺¹³
Warship & boats	25	Submarines	1
Multiple Launch Rocket System	984	Vehicles & fuel tanks	12716 ⁺²⁵
Air defence system	671	Special equipment	1528 ⁺⁴
Drones	7408 ⁺⁴		

From the reports of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine

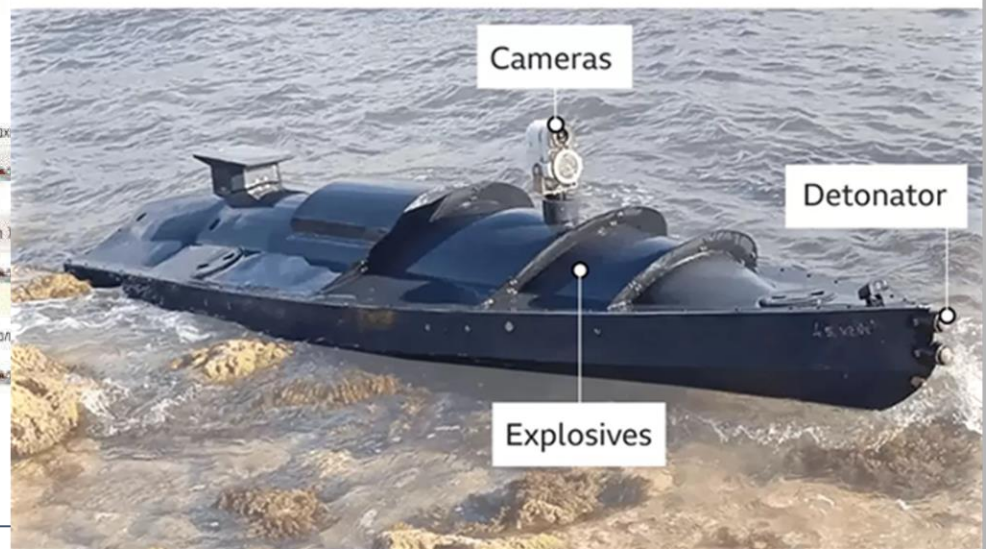
Ukraine strikes at Russian oil refineries



Map: Euromaidan Press • Source: ArmyInform • Created with Datawrapper



Ukraine's drone boats



Source: Rybar

29/12/23: 110 missiles



AVDIIVKA CITY UKR has shortened lines of defense W of the urban area of Avdiivka.
 1840 UTC 18 FEB Ukraine reports Russian losses at 47,186 troops killed in action.



TOPO BASE MAP COURTESY @COMCEN76 Overlays © INDICATIONS & WARNINGS MMXXIV / @ChuckPfarrer



What is it we are witnessing?

- A genocidal war against Ukraine
- An existential & civilizational war (says Russia) v the West
- A rediscovery of Russia's strategic culture: total war
- A rediscovery of industrial warfare



Europe | Lies wrapped in enigmas
France uncovers a vast Russian disinformation campaign in Europe
"Portal Kombat" also targets Germany and Poland



IMAGE: EPA
Feb 12th 2024 | PARIS



rusi.org

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COMMENTARY

The Return of Industrial Warfare

Alex Vershinin
17 June 2022

Main Image Credit / bublik_polina / Adobe Stock

Can the West still provide the arsenal of democracy?

The war in Ukraine has proven that the age of industrial warfare is still here. The

Geo-political outlook

- New Cold War but much more unstable
- NATO & West new lease of life
- US Mil contribution huge, essential & uncertain
- Strategic autonomy urgent for EU & NATO
- NATO SC 2022: Towards a new deterrence strategy
 - Prevent Russian limited fait accompli incursion
 - Prevent but also prepare for attritional warfare
 - Rediscover nuclear deterrence



Russia threatens 'full-scale nuclear war' as Putin furious with NATO

A TOP Russian official has warned that NATO has sparked outrage by helping Ukraine, which could trigger a "full-fledged nuclear war".

By **JACOB PAUL**

15:51 Fri, May 13, 2022 | UPDATED: 15:52 Fri, May 13, 2022

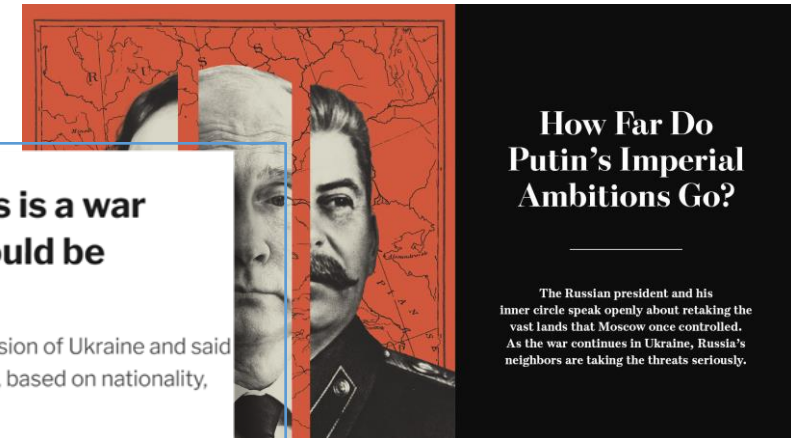
BREAKING NEWS

Sergey Karaganov, Putin's adviser: "This is a war against the West, the goals in Europe could be achieved"

In an interview with Corriere della Sera, he spoke of his country's invasion of Ukraine and said that they want to restructure Russian society: "It will be more militant, based on nationality, expelling non-patriotic elements from the ruling class"

Newsroom Infobae

April 8, 2022





NATO's Eastern Flank: STRONGER DEFENCE AND DETERRENCE

40,000 TROOPS UNDER DIRECT 120 ALLIED AIRCRAFT AT



CARRIER STRIKE GROUP



NORWAY

EXERCISE COLD RESPONSE
OVER 30,000 TROOPS FROM 27 COUNTRIES

AIR POWER
ALLIED TROOPS 4,000
HOST NATION

ESTONIA
LATVIA

AIR POWER
ALLIED TROOPS 2,000
HOST NATION 7,000

AIR POWER
ALLIED TROOPS

21. We will significantly strengthen our deterrence and defence posture to deny any potential adversary any possible opportunities for aggression.

To that end, we will ensure a substantial and persistent presence on land, at sea, and in the air, including through strengthened integrated air and missile defence.

We will deter and defend forward with robust in-place, multi-domain, combat-ready forces, enhanced command and control arrangements, prepositioned ammunition and equipment and improved capacity and infrastructure to rapidly reinforce any Ally, including at short or no notice.

We will adjust the balance between in-place forces and reinforcement to strengthen deterrence and the Alliance's ability to defend.

Commensurate with the threats we face, we will ensure our deterrence and defence posture remains credible, flexible, tailored and sustainable



Finland and Sweden submit applications to join NATO

18 May, 2022 - | Last updated: 18 May, 2022 09:08

English French Russian Ukrainian

Finland and Sweden on Wednesday morning (18 May 2022) simultaneously handed in their official letters of application to join NATO.



The letters were conveyed by the Finnish Ambassador to NATO Klaus Korhonen and respectively, the Swedish Ambassador to NATO Axel Wernhoff, to NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the Alliance's Brussels headquarters. Mr. Stoltenberg warmly welcomed the requests, saying "this is a good day, at a critical moment for our security."

> Read the Secretary General's remarks

Nato should 'prepare for Russian missile strikes in Europe'

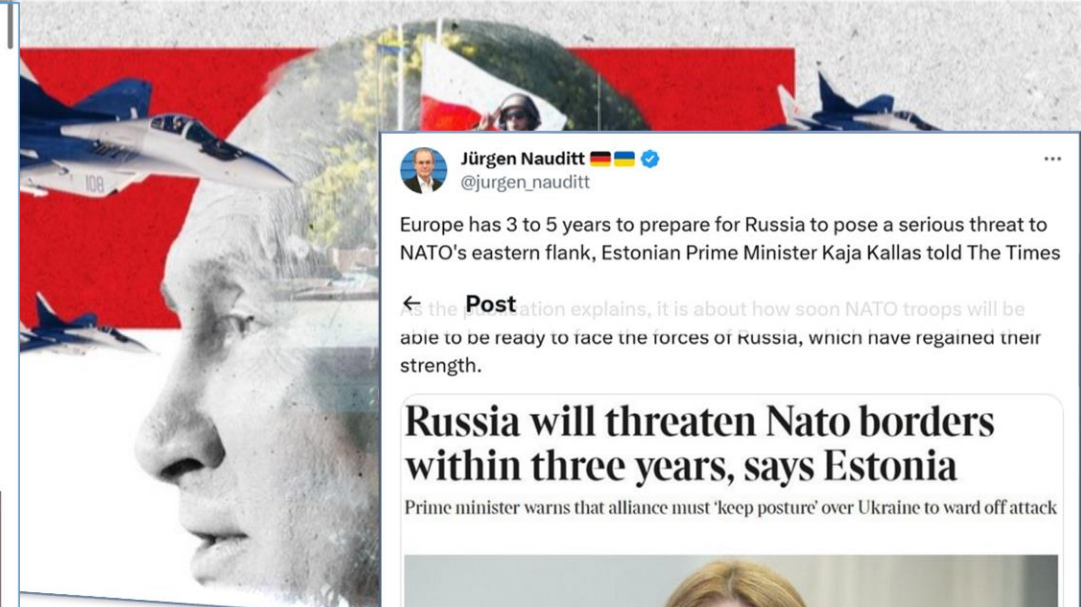
Alliance may have only three years before a possible offensive with Putin's forces targeting military infrastructure in Germany, senior generals warn



Nato has three years to prepare for Russian attack, warns Poland

Trump vowed he'd 'never' help Europe if it's attacked, top EU official says

'By the way NATO is dead,' the former (and potential future) US president added in private meeting.



Jürgen Nauditt   
@jorgen_nauditt

Europe has 3 to 5 years to prepare for Russia to pose a serious threat to NATO's eastern flank, Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas told The Times

← the **Post** ation explains, it is about how soon NATO troops will be able to be ready to face the forces of Russia, which have regained their strength.

Russia will threaten Nato borders within three years, says Estonia

Prime minister warns that alliance must 'keep posture' over Ukraine to ward off attack



Jan 15, 2024 · 45.8K Views

 358

 1.2K

 28



Europe | Shell-shocked

Can Europe arm Ukraine—or itself?

More weapons production is a hedge against a Trump presidency



IMAGE: AFP

The Next Global War

How Today's Regional Conflicts Resemble the Ones That Produced World War II

By Hal Brands



A war for the future of Europe

- **There is no one for whom the ongoing war in Europe does not pose a threat.**
- This war defines more than just the place of Ukraine or entire Europe in the world. This is Russia's war against any rules at all.
- **Please, everyone in the world, do not ask Ukraine when the war will end. Ask yourself – why is Putin still able to continue it.**
- Let's not fear Putin's defeat and the destruction of his regime. Let's instead – work together to destroy what he stands for. It is his fate to lose, not the fate of the rules-based world order to vanish.
- **And may our world, based on rules, never become the world of yesterday.**

Zelensky MSC Munich 16/02/2024



“

There is no such thing as 'this is not my war' in the 21st century. This is not about the war in Ukraine, this is about the war in Europe.

Volodymyr Zelenskyy
President, Ukraine