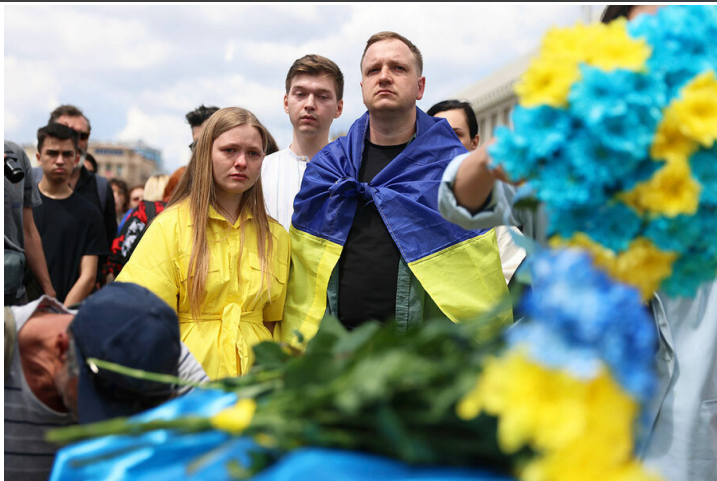


# Lecture Six Conclusions in an Overwhelming Present and Uncertain Future



Conclusion 1: Birth of a Nation-State



## Conclusion 2: Russian Aggression in the Guise of Grievance



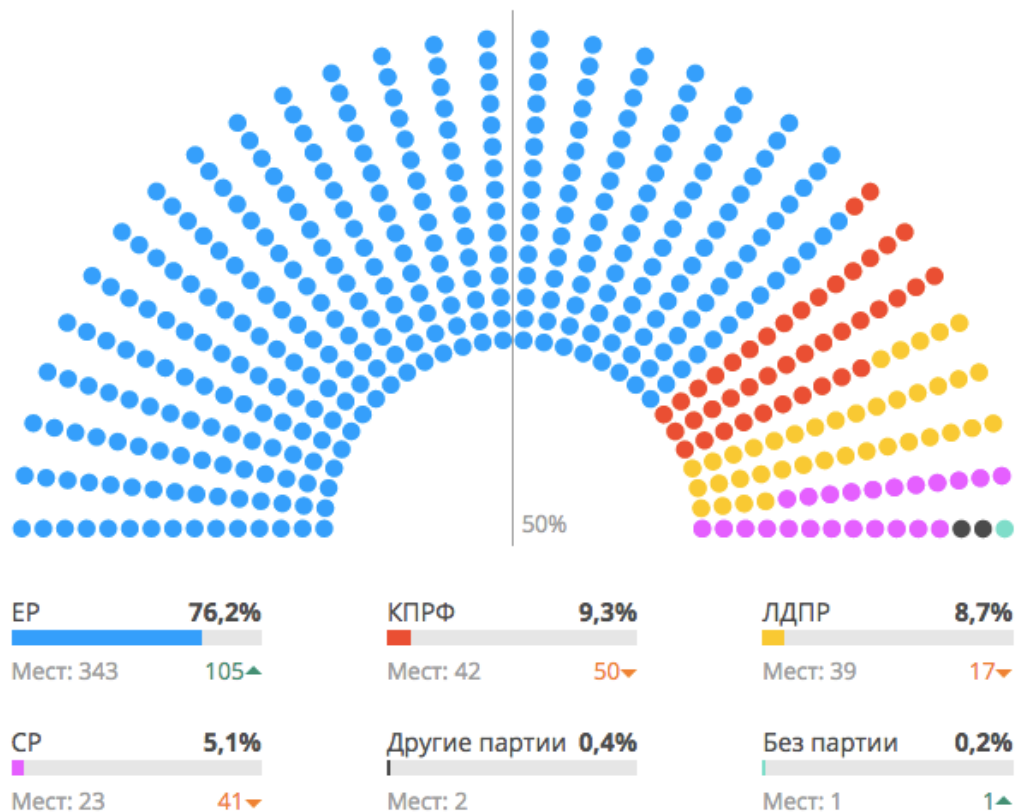
Boris Yeltsin, second presidential campaign, 1996 [1991-1996, 1996-1999]



Vladimir Putin 2000-2004, 2004-2008  
Dmitrii Medvedev, 2008-2012  
Vladimir Putin, 2012-2024

The Putinist System  
Presidential Power and Authority

# Parliamentary One-Party Politics



Feb 2018 State Duma elections



Deputies of the Russian State Duma, November 2007

100%



ROSATOM

Corporatized State  
[% of state stockholding]



RUSNANO  
Russian Corporation of Nanotechnologies



100%

38.9%



ПЕРВЫЙ КАНАЛ  
CHANNEL ONE RUSSIA

100%



ROSNEFT

50%



50.23%

GAZPROM

# State Violence and War on Terror



Grozny, c.2000



First (1994-1996) and Second (1999-2009) Chechen Wars



Beslan School Siege, 2004



Theater Nord-Ost, Moscow, 2002



Georgia [Abkhazia, South Ossetia, 2008



envisioned demilitarized zone, Minsk Protocols, 2015  
 Eastern Ukraine, 2014-  
 Donetsk People's Republic  
 Luhansk People's Republic  
 "New Russia"

# Superpower Nostalgia in the "Near Abroad" and Abroad



Intervention in Syrian civil war, 2015-

Crimea, 2014



Kerch Strait-Crimea  
 Road and Rail Bridge  
 May 2018 (road)  
 December 2019 (rail)



# Political Authoritarianism, Putin-style: A Cultural Characterization

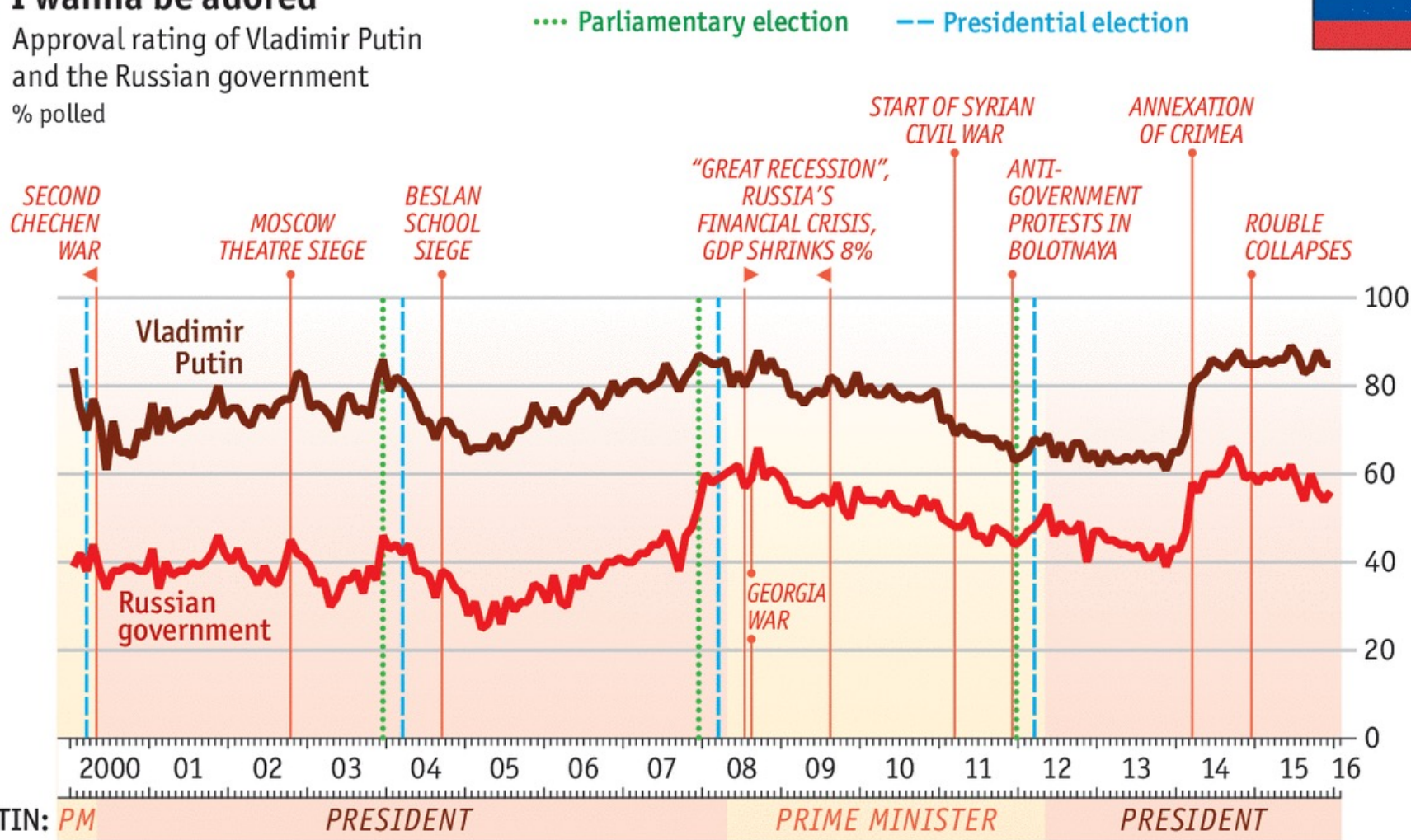


Marie LePen, Donald Trump, Putin;  
Moscow pub  
Election Night 2016

- strong executive presidency and the primacy of state interests [security services; armed forces; legislatures]
- the trappings of mass democratic institutions and rituals
- political authority in a strong leader personality [high levels of corruption and inefficiency]
- social welfare state, cradle to grave, with private services
- international power
- civilizational claims for a Russian world in Eurasia
- a conservative political and business elite that supports and acts as agents for the regime
- control over mass and social media, via censorship and corporate control, to manipulate and mobilize public opinion
- discriminatory use of state power to tax and police opponents, alternate sources of authority, and expertise
- globalized state capitalist economy funded by oligarchic and state capital

### I wanna be adored

Approval rating of Vladimir Putin and the Russian government  
% polled



### 3) The Tolerance of the Russian Population for War

Sources: Levada Centre; The Economist

September 2022 77% approve 21 % disapprove 2% no opinion

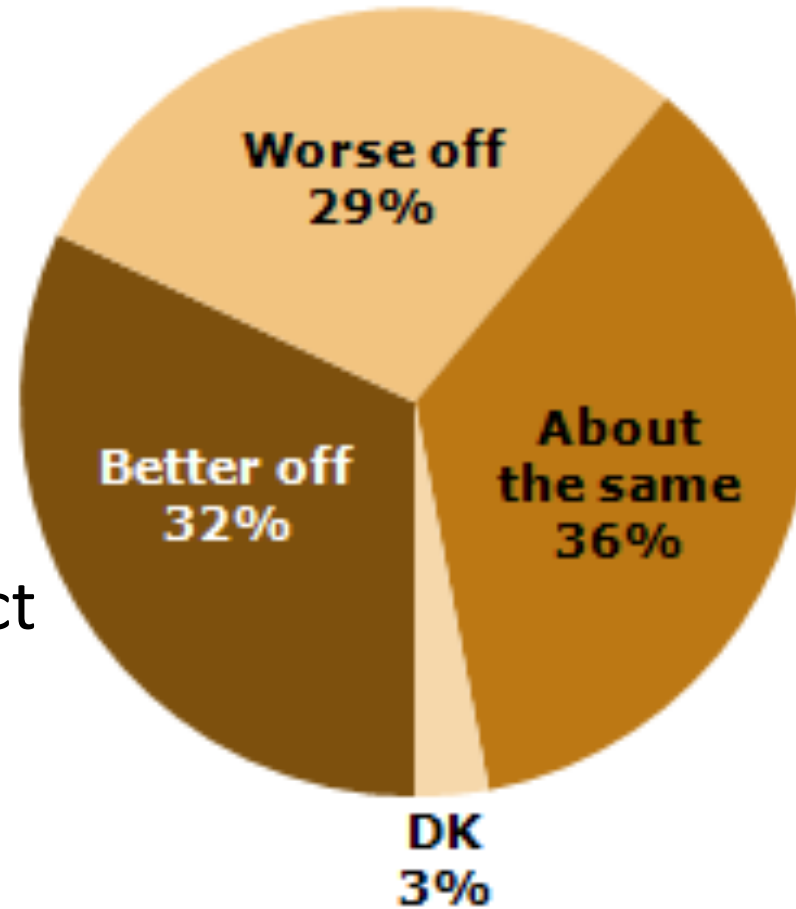
Statista.com



The Quid Pro Quo

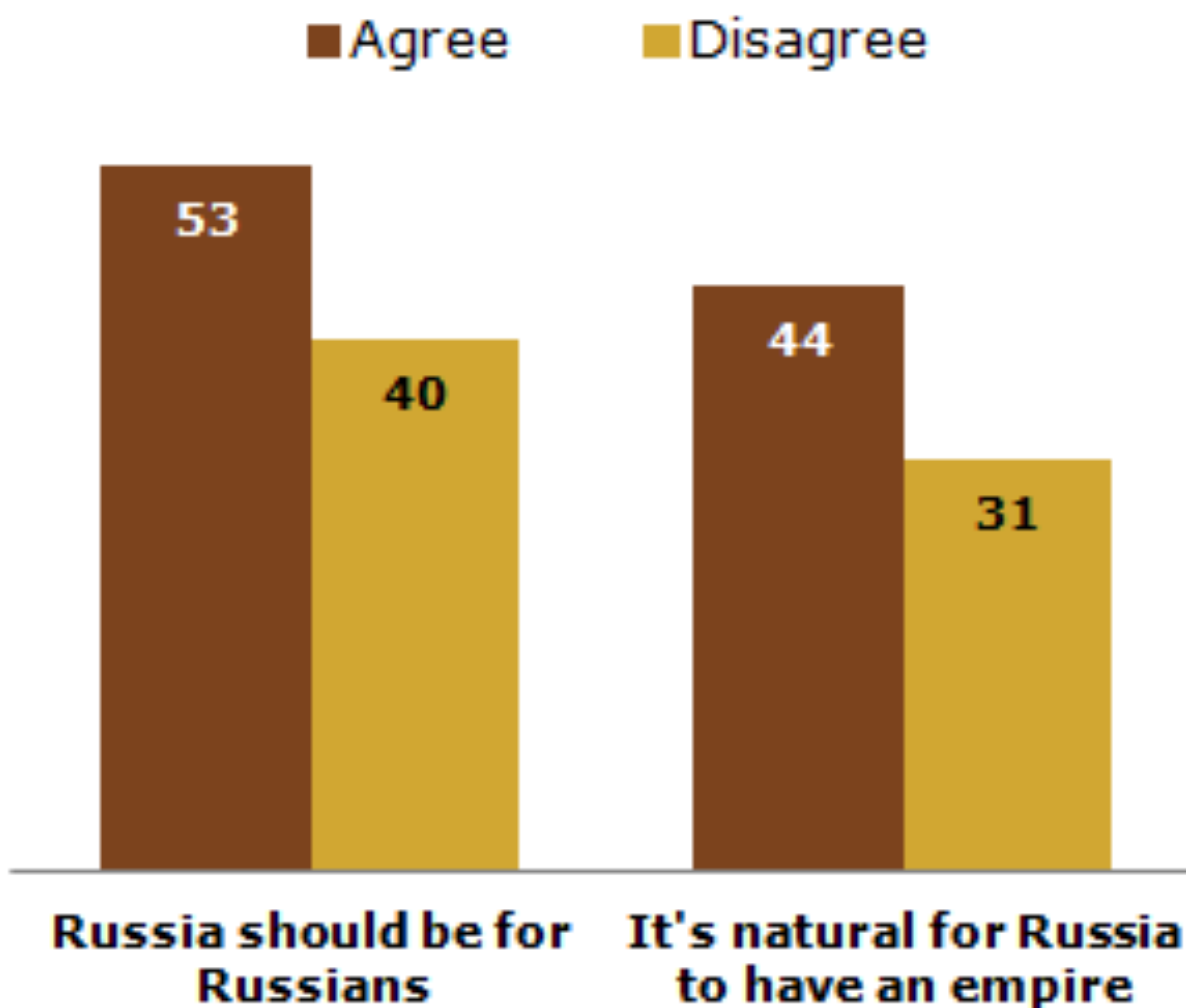
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## Compared to Five Years Ago, Are You Financially...



Pew Research Center  
Pew Global Attitudes Project  
May 23, 2012

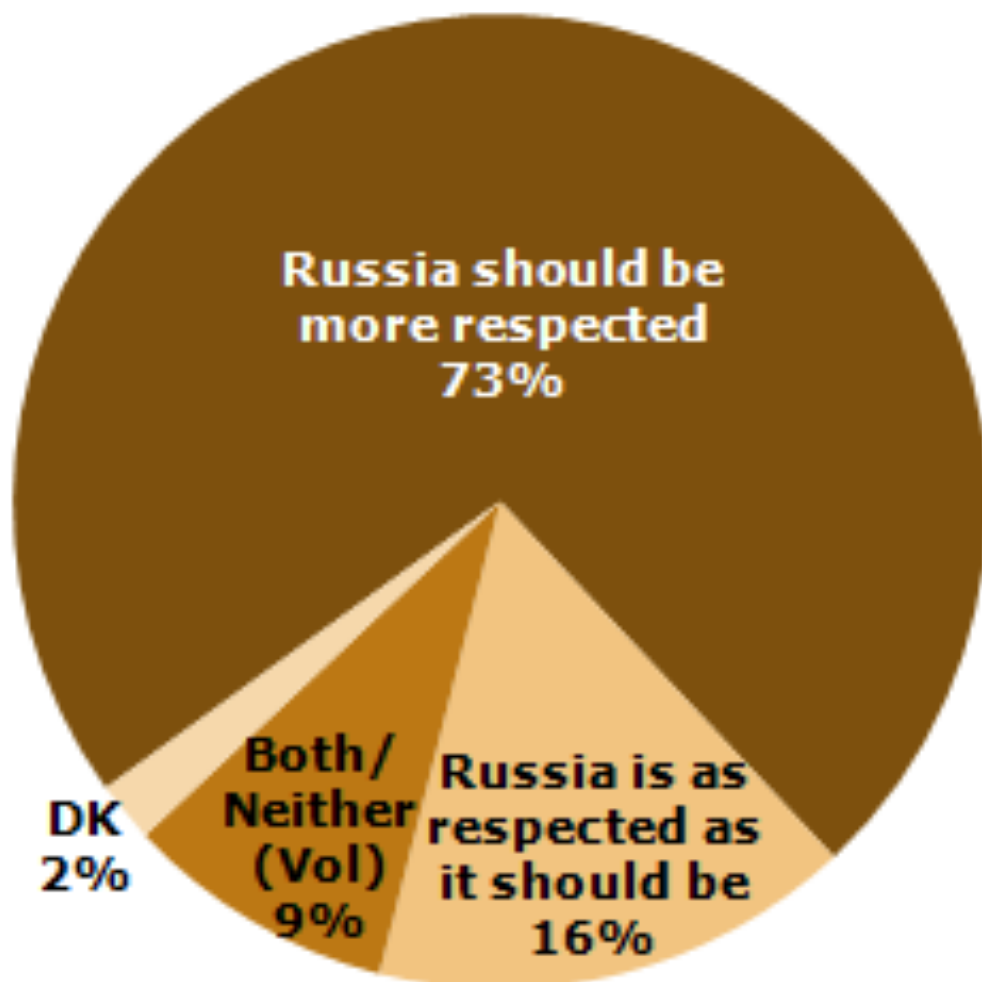
## Russian Nationalism: Alive and Well



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## Russians Feel Lack of Respect

*Around the world...*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER QRU54.

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## A Wide Democracy Gap

Political enervation

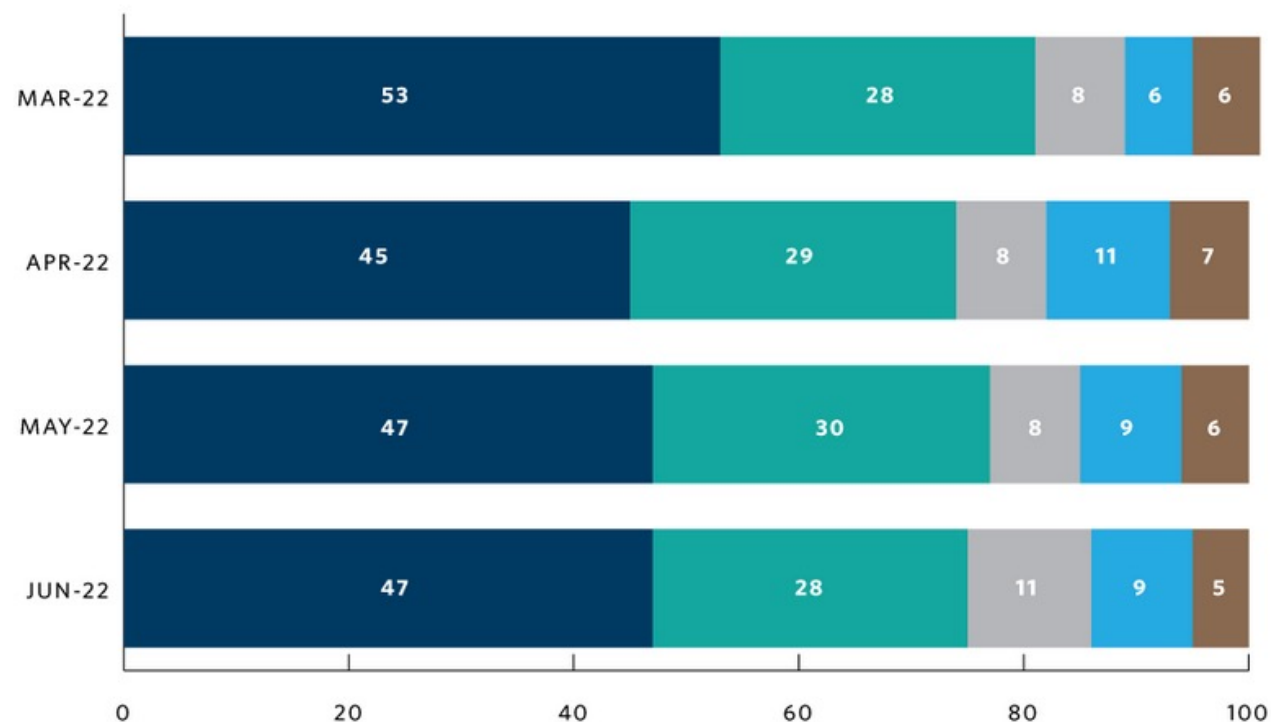
	<i>Important?</i>	<i>Describes country...</i>	
	<b>Very important</b>	<b>Very Well</b>	<b>Diff.</b>
	%	%	
Fair judiciary	71	17	-54
Honest elections	52	16	-36
Uncensored media	49	15	-34
Civilian-controlled military	41	14	-27
Free speech	44	28	-16
Religious freedom	52	46	-6
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>-34</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-f & Q70a-f.

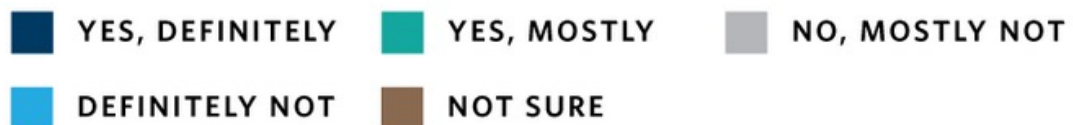
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FIGURE 1  
**Support for the Russian Armed Forces**

*Do you personally support the actions of the Russian Armed Forces in Ukraine or not?*



AS A PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS

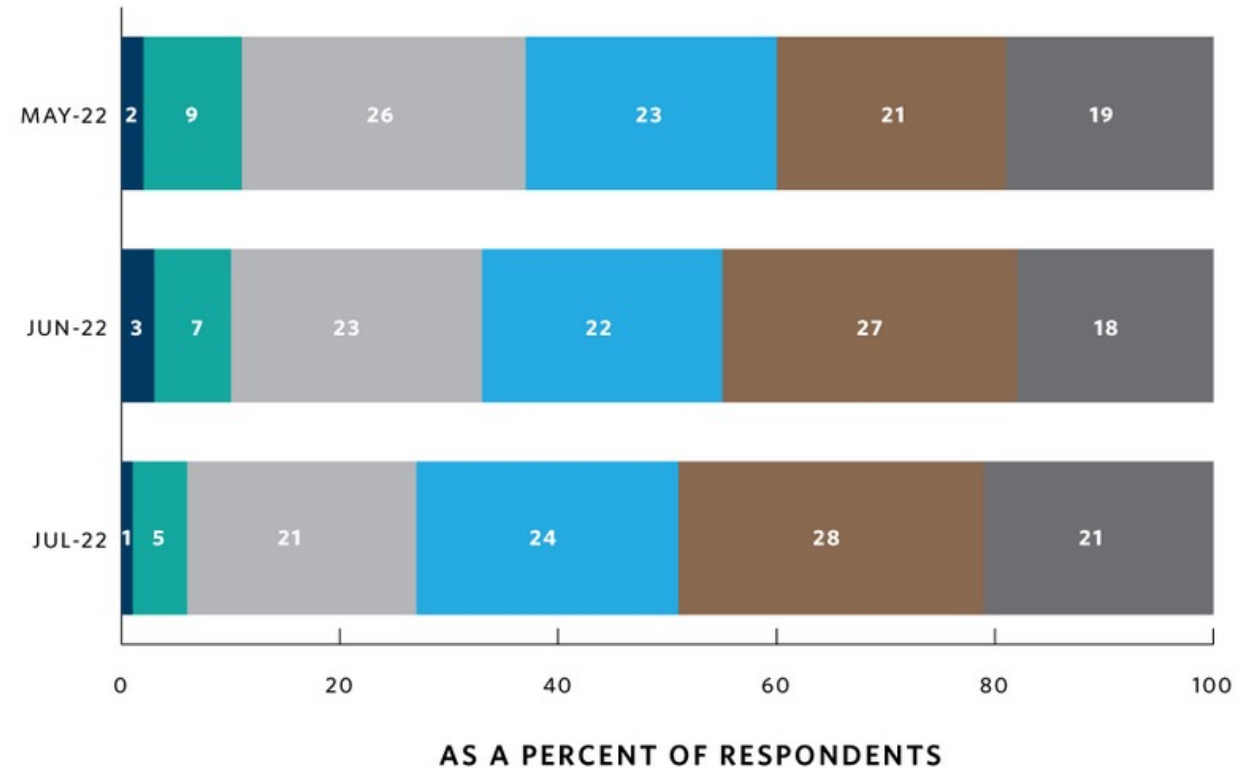


Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Working Paper, Denis Kozlov and Andrei Kolesnikov, "My Country Right or Wrong: Russian Public Opinion on Ukraine" [Sept 2022]

SOURCE: "The Conflict With Ukraine" (in Russian), Levada Center, June 30, 2022, <https://www.levada.ru/2022/06/30/konflikt-s-ukrainoj-3>.

FIGURE 3  
**Russian Expectations for How Long the Conflict Will Last**

*How long will the "special military operation" in Ukraine last?*

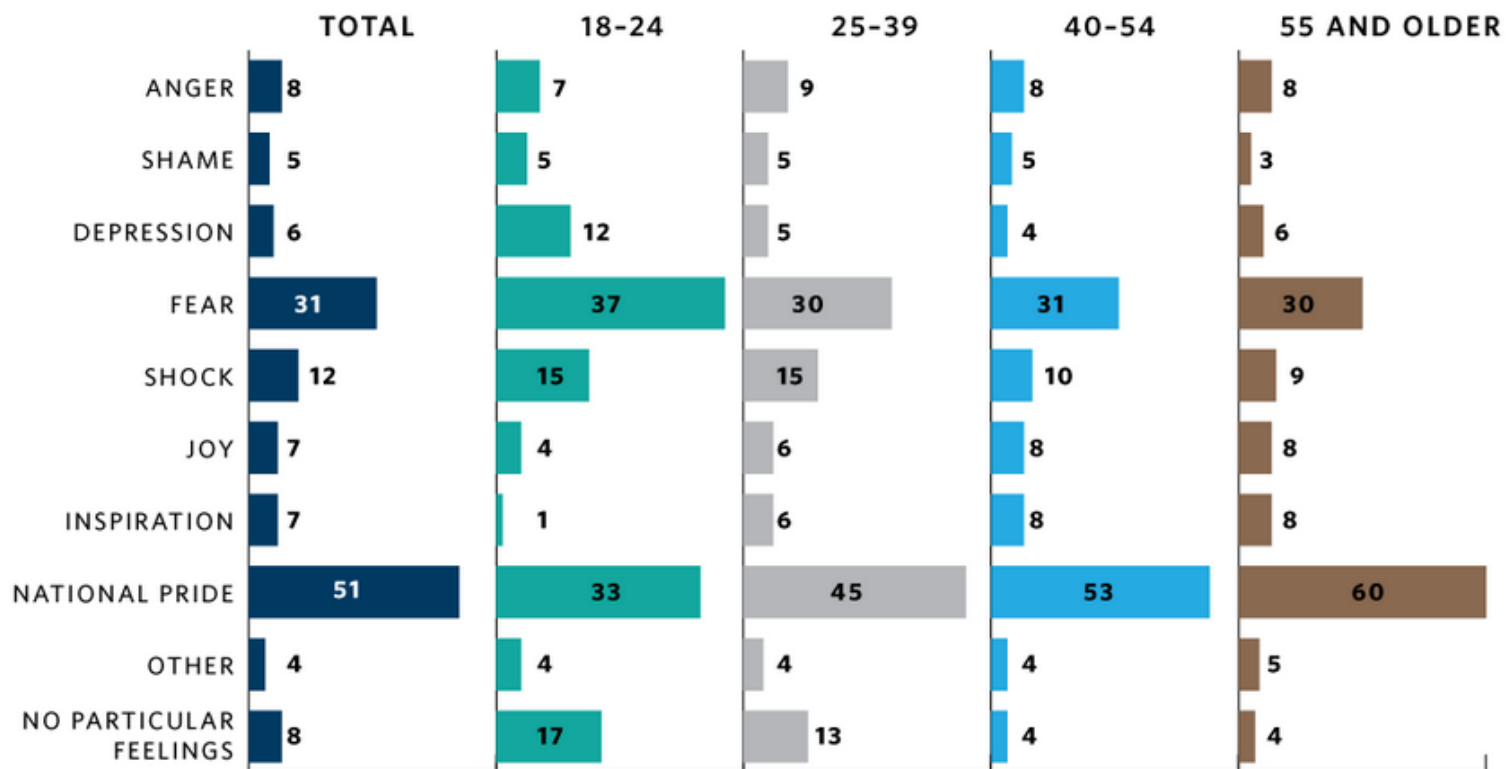


- NO MORE THAN A MONTH
- FROM ONE TO TWO MONTHS
- FROM TWO TO SIX MONTHS
- FROM SIX MONTHS TO A YEAR
- MORE THAN A YEAR
- NOT SURE

SOURCE: "Conflict With Ukraine: July 2022," Levada Center, August 17, 2022, <https://www.levada.ru/en/2022/08/17/conflict-with-ukraine-july-2022>.

FIGURE 2  
**Russians' Feelings About Military Action in Ukraine**

*What feelings do Russian actions in Ukraine cause you?*

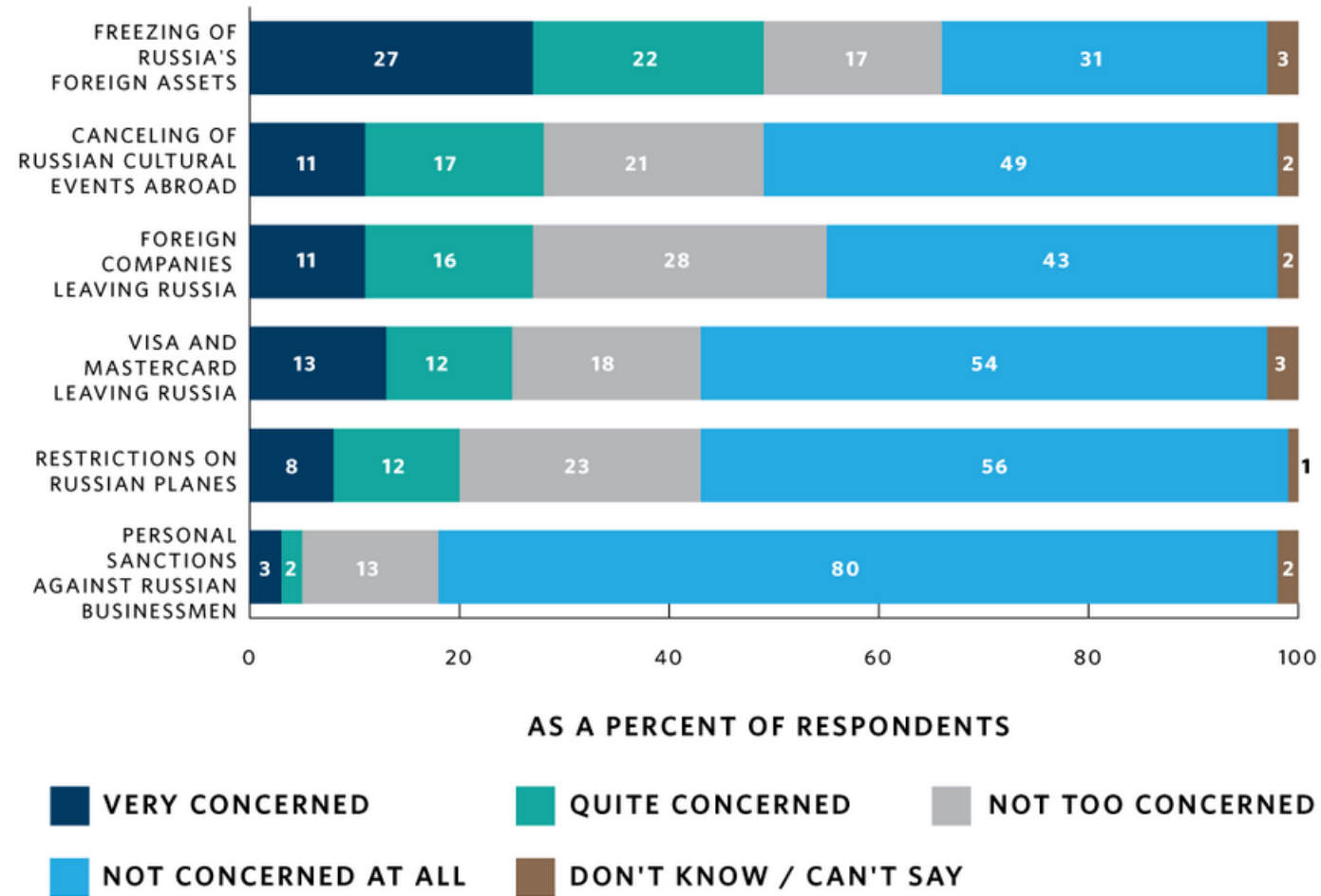


AS A PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS PER AGE GROUP

SOURCE: "The Conflict With Ukraine" (in Russian), Levada Center, March 31, 2022, <https://www.levada.ru/2022/03/31/konflikt-s-ukrainoj>.

FIGURE 4  
**What Concerns Russians**

*Are you concerned about...?*

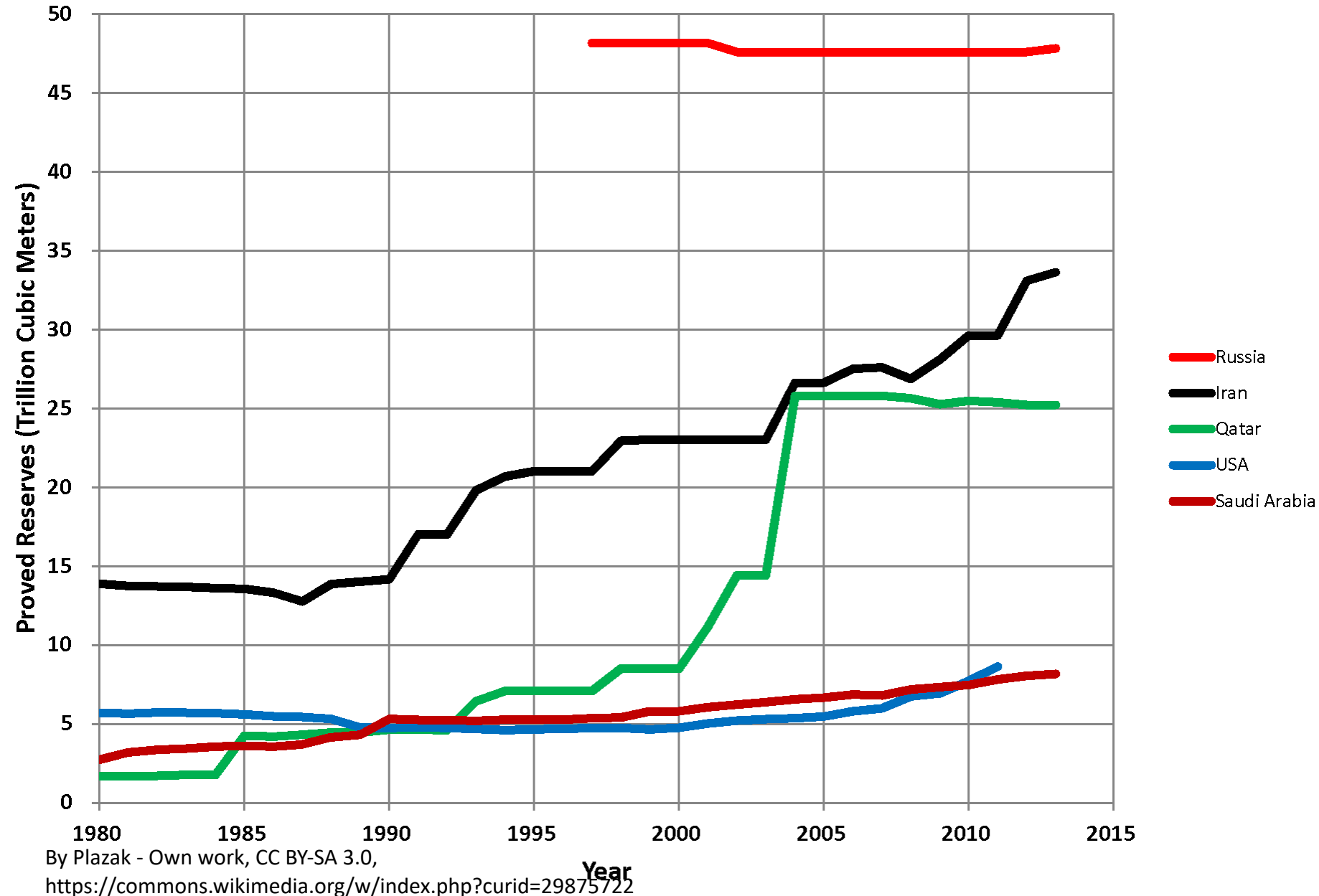


SOURCE: "Sanctions," Levada Center, June 10, 2022, <https://www.levada.ru/en/2022/06/10/sanctions-6>.

NOTE: Data are as of May 2022.



# Proved Gas Reserves in the Top Five Countries, 1980-2013 (US EIA)



EXPORT RANK	PRODUCT	VALUE	SHARE OF GLOBAL EXPORTS
• 1	Asbestos	\$178 million	60%
1	Pig iron	\$1.3 billion	28%
• 1	Nuclear reactors	\$870 million	26%
1	Iron reductions	\$944 million	24%
2	Linseed	\$230 million	24%
• 1	Raw nickel	\$2.3 billion	20%
• 1	Wheat	\$10.1 billion	20%
• 2	Nickel mattes	\$1.2 billion	19%
1	Semi-finished iron	\$4.5 billion	19%
2	Seed oils	\$2.5 billion	18%
2	Railway passenger cars	\$194 million	17%
• 2	Platinum	\$10.5 billion	17%
2	Ammonia	\$1 billion	16%
3	Coal briquettes	\$14.5 billion	15%
2	Lignite	\$458 million	15%
• 3	Potassic fertilizers	\$2.1 billion	14%
• 3	Mixed mineral or chemical fertilizers	\$2.9 billion	13%
2	Carbon	\$481 million	13%
3	Asphalt mixtures	\$216 million	13%
3	Sunflower seeds	\$589 million	12%
• 3	Radioactive chemicals	\$1.3 billion	12%
2	Barley	\$905 million	12%
3	Other metals	\$149 million	12%
2	Crude petroleum	\$74.4 billion	12%
2	Nitrogenous fertilizers	\$2.6 billion	12%
2	Sawn wood	\$4.2 billion	11%
1	Aluminium wire	\$416 million	11%
1	Non-fillet frozen fish	\$2.6 billion	11%
3	Calcium phosphates	\$325 million	11%
2	Refined petroleum	\$48 billion	11%

←2020 Russian Commodity Exports  
 NYT, 31 October 2022

## The Commercial Space of Eurasia

Map of Trans-Siberian Railways



Source: Guide to Russia.com

# Areas of Russian military control in Ukraine



## 4. Ukraine's Overwhelming Present and Uncertain Future

- Russian military control
- Held or regained by Ukraine
- ▨ Limited Russian military control
- Russia annexed Crimea in 2014



PRESS RELEASE | SEPTEMBER 9, 2022

# Ukraine Recovery and Reconstruction Needs Estimated \$349 Billion

## September 9

**BRUSSELS, September 9, 2022**—In a joint assessment released today, the Government of Ukraine, the European Commission, and the World Bank, in cooperation with partners, estimate that the current cost of reconstruction and recovery in Ukraine amounts to \$349 billion (€349 Billion). This figure is expected to grow in the coming months as the war continues.

The Rapid Damage and Needs Assessment (RDNA) presents the first comprehensive evaluation of war impacts across twenty different sectors following the Russian invasion. It also lays out the financing needs for a resilient, inclusive, and sustainable recovery and reconstruction and provides a roadmap for planning.

### RELATED

[The World Bank in Ukraine](#)

[Download the Full RDNA Report \(English\)](#)

[Download the Full RDNA Report \(Ukrainian\)](#)

[Download the Executive Summary Report \(English\)](#)

[Download the Executive Summary Report \(Ukrainian\)](#)



# Ukraine sees post-war reconstruction costs nearing \$750 billion - PM

October 24

Reuters



Ukrainian Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal takes part in a news conference after an EU-Ukraine Association Council, in Brussels, Belgium, September 5, 2022. REUTERS/Yves Herman/File Photo

KYIV, Oct 24 (Reuters) - Ukraine estimates the cost of post-war national reconstruction at nearly \$750 billion so far, Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal said on Monday.



The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

The escalation of the international armed conflict in Ukraine has caused civilian casualties and destruction of civilian infrastructure, forcing people to flee their homes seeking safety, protection and assistance. Millions of refugees from Ukraine have crossed borders into neighbouring countries, and many more have been forced to move inside the country. They are in need of protection and support. In light of the emergency and the scale of humanitarian needs, an inter-agency regional refugee response is being carried out, in support of the efforts of refugee-hosting countries. The Regional Refugee Response Plan brings together UN, NGO and other relevant partners and focuses on supporting host country governments to ensure safe access to territory for refugees and third-country nationals fleeing from Ukraine, in line with international standards. It also prioritizes the provision of critical protection services and humanitarian assistance.

### Countries featured in the Refugee Response Plan

Country	Data Date	Refugees from Ukraine registered for Temporary Protection or similar national protection schemes	Refugees from Ukraine recorded in country	Border crossings from Ukraine*	Border crossings to Ukraine**
Bulgaria	11/1/2022	144,018	55,016	Not applicable	Not applicable
Czech Republic	10/31/2022	455,539	455,731	Not applicable	Not applicable
Hungary	11/1/2022	31,290	31,290	1,670,028	Data not available
Poland	11/1/2022	1,469,032	1,469,032	7,274,050	5,249,292
Republic of Moldova	11/1/2022	Not applicable	95,473	678,326	321,634
Romania	10/30/2022	78,323	87,853	1,460,854	1,149,964
Slovakia	11/1/2022	99,195	99,393	900,724	638,326
<b>Total</b>		<b>2,277,397</b>	<b>2,293,788</b>	<b>11,983,982</b>	<b>7,359,216</b>

### Other countries neighbouring Ukraine

Country	Data Date	Refugees from Ukraine registered for Temporary Protection or similar national protection schemes	Refugees from Ukraine recorded in country	Border crossings from Ukraine*	Border crossings to Ukraine**
Belarus	10/31/2022	Not applicable	16,195	16,705	Data not available
Russian Federation	10/3/2022	Not applicable	2,852,395	2,852,395	Data not available
<b>Total</b>		<b>Not applicable</b>	<b>2,868,590</b>	<b>2,869,100</b>	<b>Data not available</b>

### Refugees from Ukraine recorded across Europe

JSON

7,786,195

Source - UNHCR, Government

Last updated 01 Nov 2022

### Refugees from Ukraine registered for Temporary Protection or similar national protection schemes in Europe

JSON

4,459,647

Source - UNHCR, Government

Last updated 01 Nov 2022

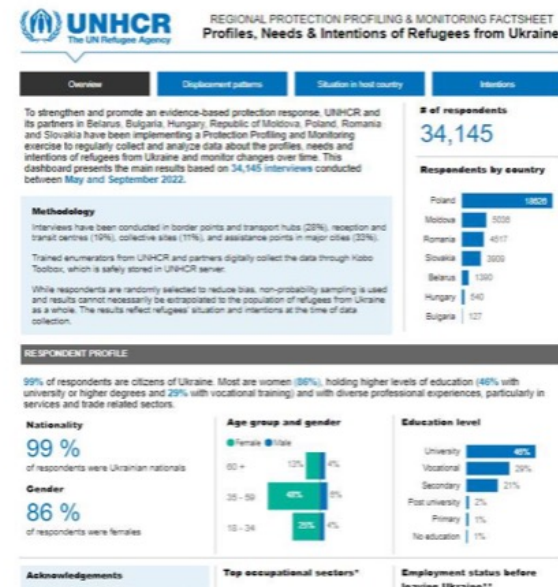
Data is updated weekly on Wednesday by 12:00 CET.

Statistics are compiled mainly from data provided by authorities. While every effort has been made to ensure that all statistical information is verified, figures represent an estimate. Triangulation of information and sources is performed on a continuous basis. Therefore, amendments to figures may occur, including retroactively.

### Explanatory Note

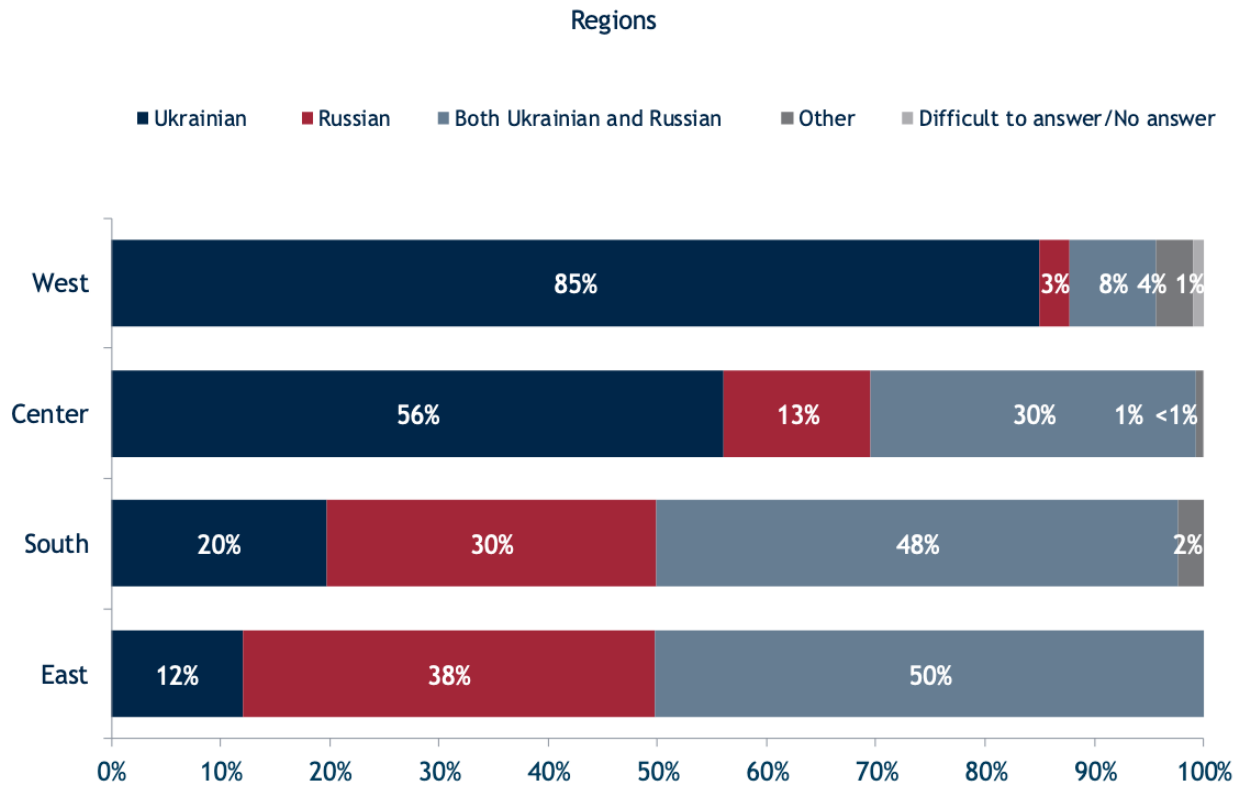
Before using the information in this portal, please read this [Explanatory Note](#).

### Regional Protection Profiling & Monitoring



# European Refugee Crisis

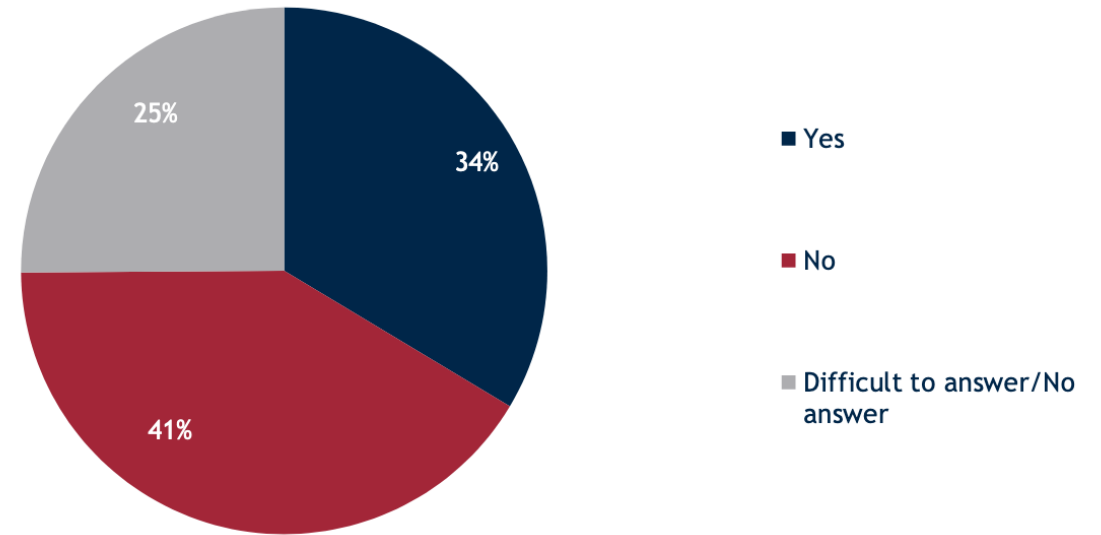
## Which language do you usually speak at home?



52

## Do you think that your relatives support Russia's military operation in Ukraine?

%, among those who have relatives in Russia, n=952

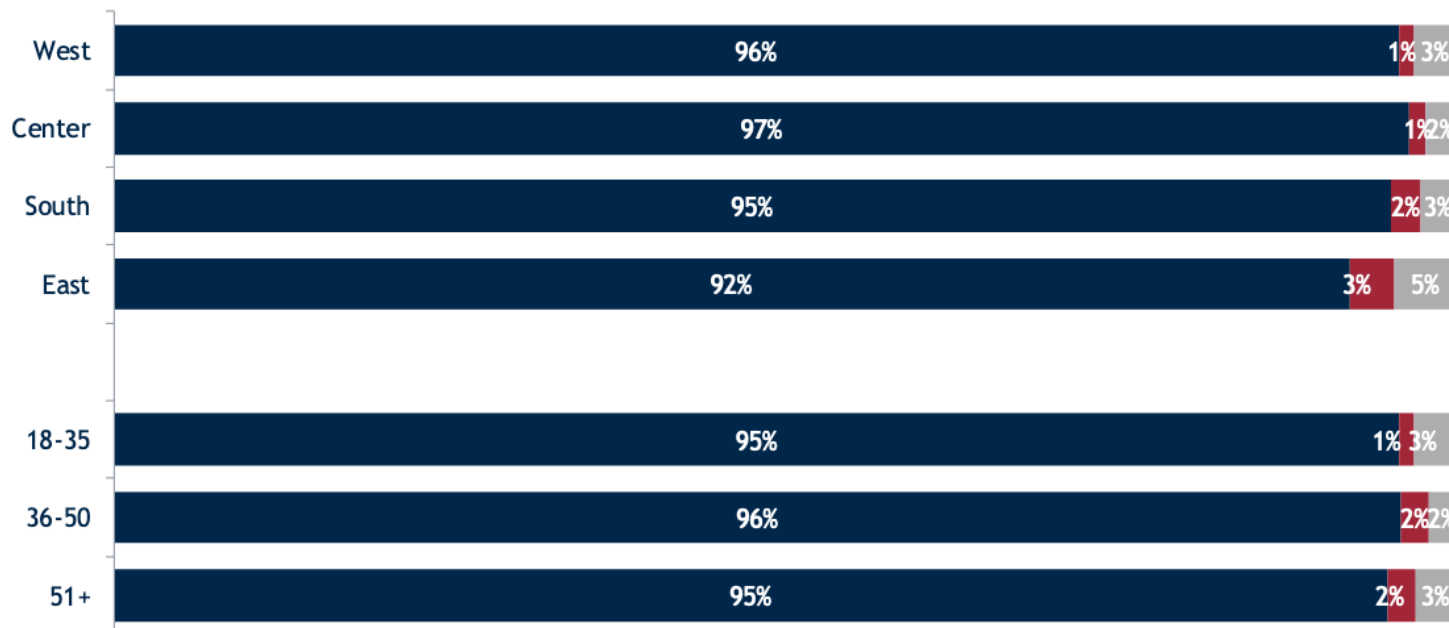


30

## How do you see the future of Ukraine?

Regions - Age

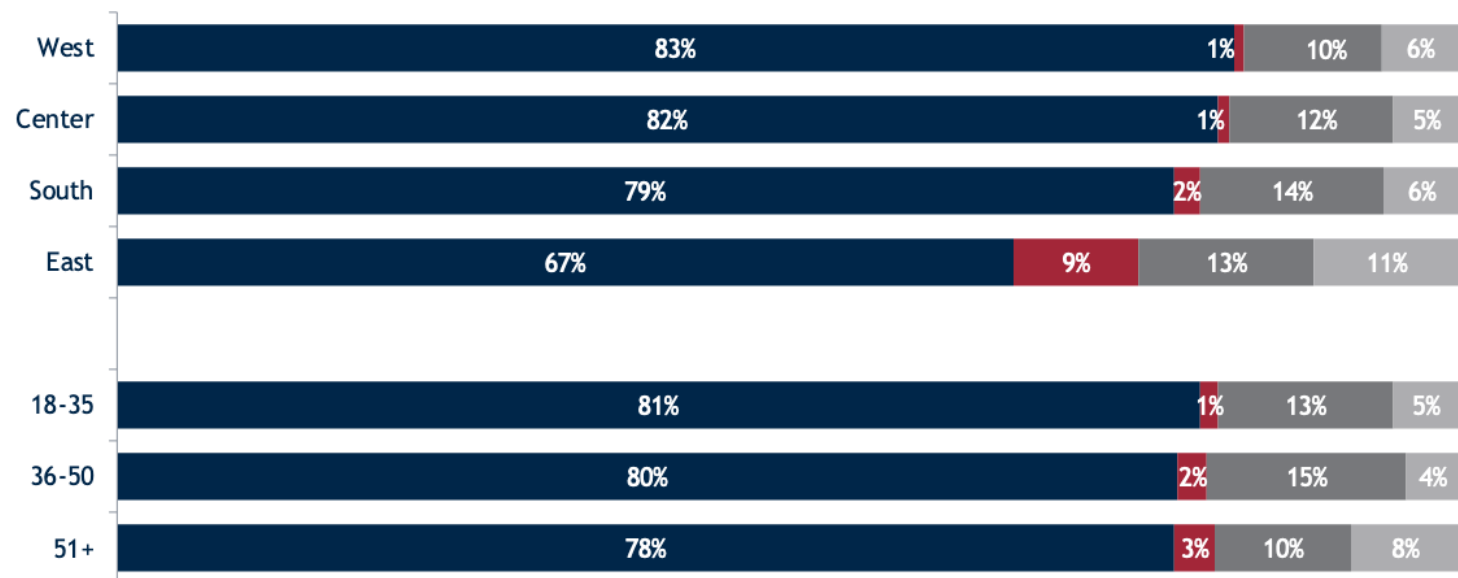
■ Rather promising   ■ Rather hopeless   ■ Difficult to answer/No answer



## If Ukraine was able to enter only one international economic union, which one of the following should it be?

### Regions ~ Age

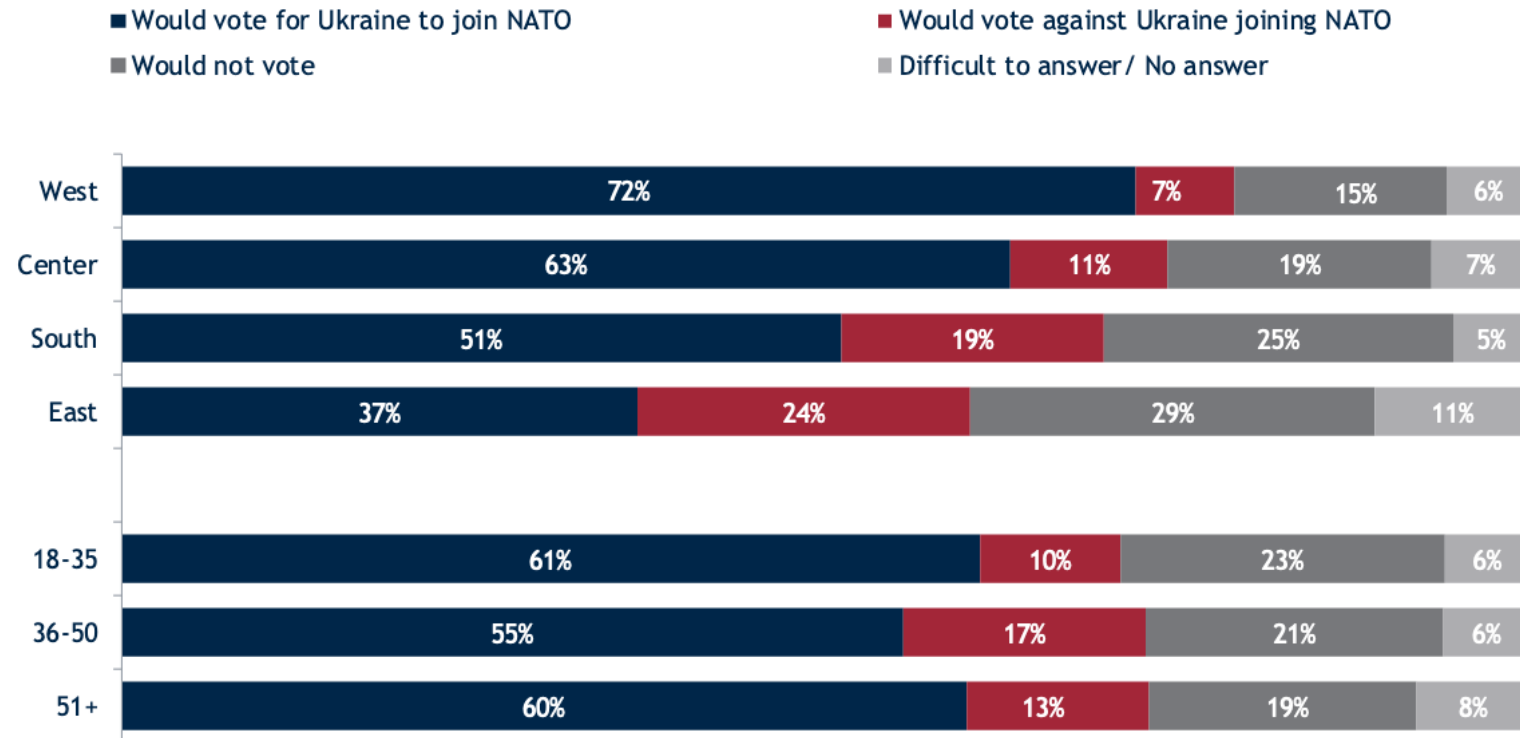
■ European Union ■ Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan ■ Other ■ Difficult to answer / No answer





# If a referendum was held today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?

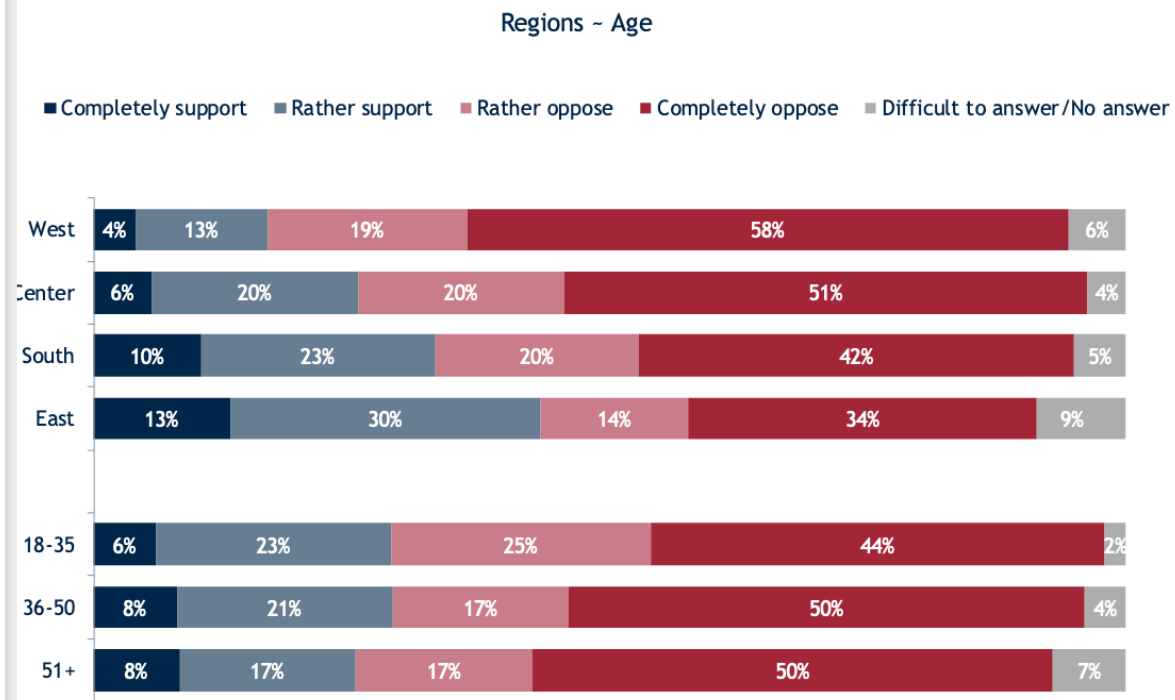
## Regions ~ Age



## What will be the territorial boundaries of Ukraine as a result of this war?

	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Ukraine will maintain all territories from within its internationally recognized borders defined in 1991	52%	55%	52%	60%	55%	49%	37%
Ukraine will regain territories in the border that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February	24%	21%	20%	15%	20%	26%	32%
Ukraine will regain the Donbas and Luhansk regions but not Crimea	16%	16%	16%	15%	17%	16%	13%
Ukraine will lose some territories after the war	3%	5%	4%	3%	3%	4%	9%
Ukraine will regain Crimea but not territories of the so-called DNR and LNR	3%	1%	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%
Ukraine will be under total Russian occupation	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other	<1%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	2%	5%	3%	2%	2%	6%

## Would you support or oppose the idea that Ukraine should recognize Crimea as a part of Russia if this would stop the war?



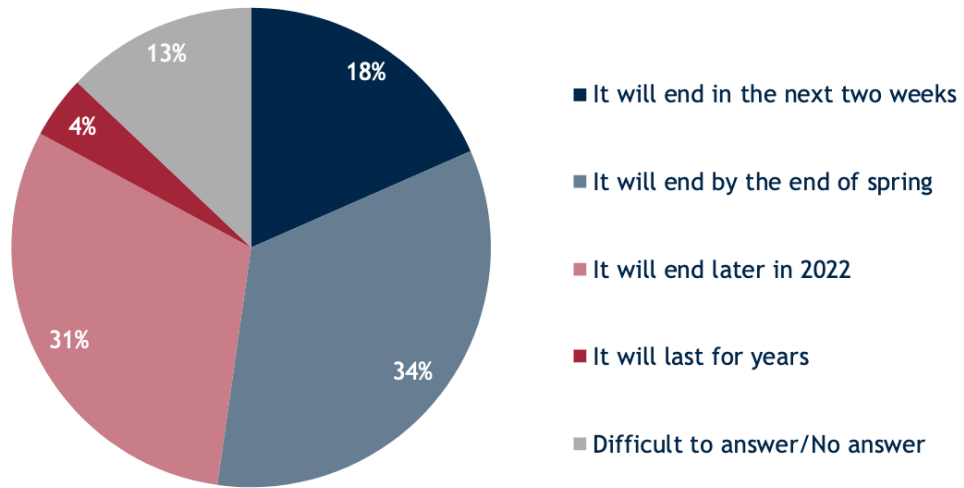
## Areas of Russian military control in Ukraine



Source: Institute for the Study of War (21:00 GMT, 27 October)



In your opinion, how long will the war last?



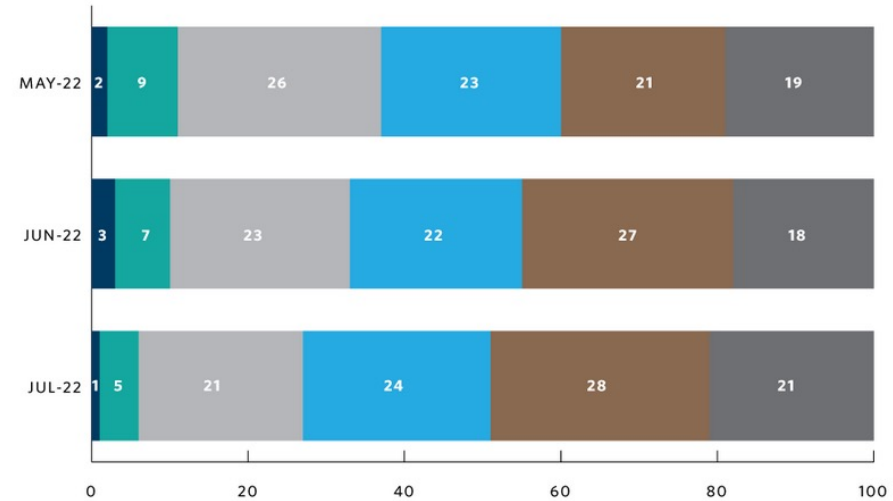
March 30-April 2, 2022

10

FIGURE 3

**Russian Expectations for How Long the Conflict Will Last**

How long will the "special military operation" in Ukraine last?



AS A PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS



July  
2022

SOURCE: "Conflict With Ukraine: July 2022," Levada Center, August 17, 2022, <https://www.levada.ru/en/2022/08/17/conflict-with-ukraine-july-2022>.

# Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?

Regions ~ Age

■ Yes      ■ No      ■ Difficult to answer/No answer

