

Habib Badawi

Lebanese University

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6452-8379>

e-mail: habib.badawi@ul.edu.lb

Understanding the Roots of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict: Causes, Course, and Future Trajectories

1. Introduction

In the turbulent landscape following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine stood at a crossroads of history, grappling with newfound independence amid intricate geopolitical shifts. The roots of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict can be traced back centuries, woven intricately into the historical fabric of these nations. Ukraine's emergence as an independent state in 1991 marked a pivotal juncture, with echoes of its past entwined with contemporary aspirations.

Centuries of shared history, cultural ties, and territorial overlaps have shaped the complex relationship between Russia and Ukraine. Kyivan Rus, a medieval East Slavic state, served as the cradle of both Russian and Ukrainian civilizations, fostering a shared heritage. However, divergent paths emerged over time, solidifying separate national identities while maintaining deep-rooted cultural connections.

Throughout history, Ukraine has experienced waves of external influences and subjugation, including periods of dominance by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. These epochs left enduring imprints on the socio-political landscape, influencing linguistic, religious, and cultural identities. The struggles for autonomy, language preservation, and distinct national identities became defining narratives in Ukraine's journey toward independence.

The post-Soviet era witnessed Ukraine's quest for self-determination amidst geopolitical realignments. As the Soviet Union dissolved, Ukraine declared sovereignty, triggering aspirations for independent statehood while navigating complex ties with its powerful neighbor, Russia. This period set the stage for critical decisions, including Ukraine's stance on nuclear disarmament, territorial integrity, and alignment with global powers.

The historical backdrop leading up to the Budapest Treaty of 1994 was marked by a confluence of historical legacies, geopolitical maneuvering, and aspirations for self-

governance. Against this intricate historical tapestry, Ukraine's decisions were shaped by the weight of its past and the uncertainties of its future in a rapidly evolving global landscape.

2. Budapest Treaty of 1994: When Ukraine Abandoned its Nuclear Shield

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 sparked the birth of several independent states, ushering in a new era fraught with geopolitical uncertainties, none more palpable than the question of nuclear armament. Among the emerging nations, Ukraine held a unique status, stepping into statehood with the third-largest nuclear arsenal globally¹. Its cache included a formidable array of 176 intercontinental ballistic missiles, 44 heavy bombers, over a thousand long-range winged nuclear missiles, and an impressive stockpile of 1,240 warheads.

Ukraine's newfound sovereignty carried the weighty responsibility of managing a substantial nuclear arsenal. Although theoretically possessing control over these armaments on its soil, the ultimate authority to authorize their launch resided in Moscow, casting a shadow over Ukraine's complete nuclear autonomy. However, Ukraine's abundant uranium resources and sophisticated technological prowess underscore its inherent capability to maintain and advance nuclear capabilities. Notably, historical records indicate pivotal instances, such as the deployment of Soviet ballistic missiles to Cuba in 1962, tracing their origins back to Ukrainian bases and factories².

Amidst this complex nuclear landscape, the Budapest Summit of 1994 stood as a pivotal moment in global security discourse. A gathering of delegates from over 50 nations convened to address the critical issue of nuclear disarmament in Ukraine³. It was during this summit that the "Budapest Memorandum of Security Assurances" was tabled, aiming to orchestrate Ukraine's nuclear disarmament while securing assurances beyond mere verbal guarantees. However, in the fervent post-Cold War atmosphere, the nuanced significance of these commitments seemed diluted⁴.

The Ukrainian diplomatic approach to these accords with Russia demonstrated a pragmatic yet realistic stance. Ukraine, cognizant of Russia's historical sphere of influence, sought agreements that would potentially allow international intervention in the

¹ Mariana Budjeryn (2018, April 19). Denuclearization again? Lessons from Ukraine's decision to disarm. *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/denuclearization-again-lessons-ukraines-decision-disarm>, inf. 10 X 2022.

² S. Plokhyy, *Nuclear folly: A new history of the Cuban missile crisis*, London: Penguin 2021.

³ Steven Pifer, (2016, July 29). The Budapest memorandum and U.S. obligations. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/12/04/the-budapest-memorandum-and-u-s-obligations/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

⁴ Memorandum of Security Assurances in Connection with the Republic of Belarus Accession to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons, Budapest, (1994, December 5). *United Nations Treaty Collection*. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%203007/Part/volume-3007-I-52241.pdf>, inf. 10 X 2022.

event of Russian non-compliance. This diplomatic strategy, while grounded in pragmatism, reflected a poignant naivety about the intricacies of international geopolitics.

The Budapest Memorandum delineated Ukraine's commitment to eradicate all nuclear weapons from its territory within a stipulated time limit. In return, key global powers—Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom—pledged several assurances outlined in the Memorandum of Security Assurances:

- Affirming Ukraine's sovereignty, existing borders, and independence by the OSCE Final Document.
- Committing to refrain from weapon use that undermines Ukraine's political independence or territorial integrity, except in self-defense or under the UN Charter.
- Eschewing economic coercion aimed at manipulating Ukraine's sovereignty for personal gain.
- Guiding cases of disputes concerning these obligations.
- Restricting the use of nuclear weapons against Ukraine, unless in response to attacks by Ukraine or its allies.
- Urging prompt UN Security Council intervention in the event of nuclear threats or aggression against Ukraine⁵.

Regrettably, the head of Ukraine's National Security Council lamented the Budapest agreement's lack of pragmatic mechanisms for implementing safeguards. This lamentation echoed the general sentiment that Ukraine's disarmament had become a reality, while the guaranteed assurances remained mere words on paper. Additionally, the secretary of Ukraine's National Security Council underscored how the Budapest memorandum paradoxically highlighted the absurdity of disarmament, exposing the systemic breakdown in collective security systems, thus ushering in medieval-style threats to global stability.

3. Religious Underpinnings of the Conflict

The ongoing conflict in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions amid the Russian-Ukrainian war has witnessed Chechen leader Ramadan Kadyrov's declaration of support for the Russian war effort. Reports indicated the presence of numerous Chechen fighters in southern Ukraine, highlighting an unexpected alignment of Chechen and Russian forces in the conflict⁶. This convergence of seemingly disparate backgrounds—Chechens of Islamic faith and Russians predominantly of Orthodox Christian background—raises a compelling question: How do these groups, with historical tensions between them, unite in fighting Ukraine?

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Justin Ling (2022, February 26). Russia tries to terrorize Ukraine with images of Chechen soldiers. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/26/russia-chechen-propaganda-ukraine/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

Orthodox Christianity remains the prevailing religious doctrine in both Russia and Ukraine, with approximately 71% of Russians and 78% of Ukrainians identifying as Orthodox Christians, despite decades of Soviet repression. Orthodox churches historically operated on national foundations, with patriarchs enjoying autonomy within their churches, bound by a common faith—the Orthodox doctrine⁷. Unlike the Catholic Church, where the Pope serves as the supreme spiritual leader, the Orthodox Church comprises 14 independent and autonomous churches, with the Russian Church being the largest, followed by others like the Roman, Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian Churches, respectively.

The Ukrainian-Russian religious landscape has seen significant shifts. While historically, the Slavic people in Ukraine aligned with the Russian Orthodox Church (specifically the Moscow Patriarchate), efforts by Ukrainian nationalists in collaboration with the West culminated in the formation of the independent Orthodox Church of Ukraine, receiving recognition from several Orthodox churches, including Constantinople, Alexandria, Greece, and Cyprus, but not from Moscow or Orthodox churches in the United States (YiN). This move aimed to establish a separate national church, challenging Moscow's ecclesiastical authority and expressing spiritual independence.

The Ukrainian Church's separation dealt a blow to the Kremlin and the Russian Patriarchate, impacting 30% of Christians affiliated with the Moscow Church. In the current conflict, the struggle between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Kyiv Church becomes evident, with Putin emphasizing the spiritual unity of Russians and Ukrainians through a single church and opposing what he sees as threats to this unity from within Ukraine.

President Putin's positioning as a defender of conservative traditions and the Church, as evidenced by public speeches rejecting modern norms, echoes his symbolic attachment to religion, such as the cross necklace said to have been a gift from his mother on the day of his secret baptism in the early fifties during the Iron Curtain era⁸. The Patriarch of Moscow, Kirill, aligned with the Kremlin, expressed pride in the war and emphasized the Church's role in upholding spiritual unity and protecting Orthodox values.

In contrast, Ukrainian President Zelensky, of the Jewish faith, focused less on religious nationalism during the conflict, aiming for unity among diverse religious leaders and acknowledging the sacrifices made for Ukraine's defense. The Orthodox Church of Ukraine backed Zelensky, rejecting the "Russian imperial tradition" and asserting Ukraine's cultural distinctiveness, supporting its sovereignty and independence from Russia.

⁷ Principles of the Orthodox Faith (2011, December 29). *Orthodox Heritage*. <https://www.orthodox-legacy.org/?p=471>, inf. 10 X 2022.

⁸ Alexis Mrachek (2019, February 22). How Putin Uses Russian Orthodoxy to Grow His Empire. <https://www.heritage.org/europe/commentary/how-putin-uses-russian-orthodoxy-grow-his-empire>, inf. 10 X 2022.

This complex interplay of religious, political, and national identities underscores the multifaceted nature of the conflict, where religious institutions and leaders align with divergent political ideologies and national aspirations. The alignment of religious affiliation and geopolitical tensions highlights how historical, cultural, and religious elements intertwine in shaping the narrative and alliances in contemporary conflicts. This convergence of religious identity and geopolitical rivalry significantly impacts the geopolitical landscape, underscoring the depth and complexity of the ongoing conflict and its multifaceted implications.

4. Geopolitical Landscape Leading to the Russian Invasion

Amidst the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the fear of a cataclysmic third-world war, fraught with the specter of weapons of mass destruction, hangs heavy. Humanity, scarred by past wars, recognizes the futility of massive bloodshed, especially after the horrors witnessed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki⁹. However, geopolitical tensions and military prowess dictate a grim reality¹⁰.

Examining the conventional military capabilities of Ukrainian forces reveals a significant potential to withstand adversaries, particularly from the capital, Kyiv¹¹. Yet, this resilience faces challenges, notably due to Kyiv's proximity to the territory of the Republic of Belarus, often considered a mini republic under the influence of Russian President Vladimir Putin¹².

Analyzing the military might of the Russian Federation underscores its formidable strength¹³. With a substantial population, a significant available labor force, and a robust military apparatus, Russia boasts substantial defense capabilities and an imposing defense budget. The sheer numbers of warplanes, tanks, armored vehicles, and naval assets speak volumes about Russia's military prowess and underline its intent to exert dominance in the region.

Accordingly, Ukraine, with a notably smaller population and a fraction of Russia's military strength, stands as an underdog in this conflict. Despite a determined Ukrainian army and defense budget, the numerical superiority of Russian forces pres-

⁹ Justin Ling (2022, February 26). Russia tries to terrorize Ukraine with images of Chechen soldiers. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/26/russia-chechen-propaganda-ukraine/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹⁰ Yohann Michel (2022, April 22). War in Ukraine, where quantity as well as quality matters. *IISS*. <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/military-balance/2022/04/war-in-ukraine-where-quantity-as-well-as-quality-matters>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Becky Sullivan (2022, March 11). Why Belarus is so involved in Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *NPR.org*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/11/1085548867/belarus-ukraine-russia-invasion-lukashenko-putin>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹³ Global Firepower (2022). *Russia Military Strength*. 2022 World Military Strength Rankings. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=russia, inf. 10 X 2022.

ents an intimidating challenge¹⁴. Ukraine's military assets, including air and naval capabilities, pale in comparison to Russia's arsenal.

Recent events, however, have seen the once seemingly sturdy figures lose their relevance. The Russian invasion has turned the tables, casting a grim shadow over Kyiv. The capital, a symbol of Ukrainian independence and resilience, now finds itself a primary target, facing relentless bombardment and siege from invading forces¹⁵.

The geopolitical landscape is not merely about raw military numbers. It is a multidimensional power play where military strength, strategic targets, and symbolic locations dictate the ebb and flow of the conflict. Kyiv's siege reflects not just a military operation but a psychological and symbolic assault on Ukraine's identity and sovereignty.

This conflict transcends sheer statistics; it embodies a clash between aspirations for independence and ambitions for dominance. It is a tussle between the sovereignty of a nation and the expansionist visions of another, layered with historical and geopolitical nuances that extend beyond military might.

Accordingly, the conflict's dynamics extend beyond numbers and weaponry. It is a saga of resilience, identity, and the struggle for autonomy against the backdrop of geopolitical ambitions. As Kyiv faces the brunt of the invasion, it symbolizes a nation's unwavering spirit against overwhelming odds¹⁶.

5. Russian Determination to Employ Military Force

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine reflects a glaring imbalance in military capacities, with the Russian Federation significantly outweighing the Ukrainian resistance in quantifiable aspects such as infantry, armored forces, armed vehicles, and attack aircraft¹⁷. The legacy of the Soviet era has endowed Russia with advanced weaponry, much of which underwent rigorous evaluation during the Syrian conflict, augmenting its already formidable military prowess¹⁸.

However, despite this numerical advantage, Russian troops find themselves stalemated on the outskirts of Kyiv following weeks of an exhaustive invasion aiming to in-

¹⁴ Global Firepower (2022). *Ukraine Military Strength*. 2022 World Military Strength Rankings. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=Ukraine, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹⁵ Yohann Michel (2022, April 22). War in Ukraine, where quantity as well as quality matters. *IISS*. <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/military-balance/2022/04/war-in-ukraine-where-quantity-as-well-as-quality-matters>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹⁶ Becky Sullivan (2022, March 11). Why Belarus is so involved in Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *NPR.org*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/11/1085548867/belarus-ukraine-russia-invasion-lukashenko-putin>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹⁷ Jonathon Gatehouse, Albert Leung (2022, February 25). Ukraine has will, but Russia has might: How their military forces match up. *CBC*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/ukraine-russia-military-comparison-1.6365115>, inf. 10 X 2022.

¹⁸ Eugene Rumer (2019, June 5). The Primakov (Not Gerasimov) doctrine in action. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/06/05/primakov-not-gerasimov-doctrine-in-action-pub-79254>, inf. 10 X 2022.

stall a pro-Moscow regime in Ukraine. Russian forces have struggled to secure strategic positions within Ukraine, grappling with critical logistical inadequacies, including fuel shortages for military vehicles, insufficient rations for soldiers, and inadequate medical support for the wounded.

This battlefield struggle is compounded by a dire intelligence failure, as reports indicate a series of dismissals and resignations within the Russian security apparatus due to its inability to comprehensively analyze Ukraine's internal dynamics. Pre-war Russian assessments suggested discontent among the Ukrainian populace, leveraging their Slavic roots, Orthodox faith, and Soviet historical ties, presuming they were disillusioned with their government and apprehensive about aligning with NATO¹⁹. Consequently, Russia's invasion strategy was predicated on these surface-level assumptions, anticipating that Ukrainian resistance would be marginalized by certain far-right elements—a strategic miscalculation²⁰.

Traditionally, such conflicts demand the use of conventional “common weapons” like armored tanks, mechanized infantry, attack aircraft, and cruise missiles coordinated in a full-scale attack. However, faced with resilient Ukrainian defenses, Russia pivoted to employing more destructive tactics, including widespread bombardment of civilian areas, pivoting away from the initial narrative of a “surgical military operation”.

The Ukrainian forces, supported logistically by NATO countries and leveraging intelligence from the United States, displayed unwavering defense and fierce resistance, causing significant setbacks to Russian advances due to vulnerabilities in their supply lines. Despite initial Russian bombardments, Ukrainian air defenses have remained resilient, effectively challenging Russian air superiority, a key factor in achieving any decisive victory²¹. Additionally, the Ukrainians adeptly utilized Turkish Bayraktar drones to target and disrupt stretched Russian supply lines²².

¹⁹ Nick Reynolds, Jack Watling. (2022, February 25). Ukraine through Russia's eyes. *Royal United Services Institute*. <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/ukraine-through-russias-eyes/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

²⁰ Murat Sofuoglu (2022, March 7). Is the Russian army achieving its strategic goals in the Ukraine war? *trtworld*. <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/is-the-russian-army-achieving-its-strategic-goals-in-the-ukraine-war-55328>, inf. 10 X 2022.

²¹ Zob. Liz Sly, Dan Lamothe (2022, February 28). The war in Ukraine isn't working out the way Russia intended. *Boston.com*. <https://www.boston.com/news/world-news/2022/02/28/the-war-in-ukraine-isnt-working-out-the-way-russia-intended/>, inf. 10 X 2022; Abraham Mahshie (2022, March 8). Ukrainian resistance, logistics challenges slow Russian momentum. *Air Force Magazine*. <https://www.airforcemag.com/pentagon-ukraine-resists-russian-momentum-slows-but-kyiv-siege-continues/>, inf. 10 X 2022; Justin Bronk (2022, February 28). The mysterious case of the missing Russian Air Force. *Royal United Services Institute*. <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/mysterious-case-missing-russian-air-force/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

²² Brett Forrest, Jared Malsin (2022, February 26). Ukraine says it used Turkish-made drones to hit Russian targets. *Wall Street Journal*. <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/russia-ukraine-latest-news-2022-02-26/card/ukraine-says-it-uses-turkish-made-drones-to-hit-russian-targets-Drig-GO7vkGfDzbBuncnA>, inf. 10 X 2022.

Although Russia's initial advances have faltered, it is premature to declare Ukraine victorious. Armies adapt during conflicts, and Russia might adjust strategies to counter Ukrainian resistance, leading to the relentless tactical bombardment and sieges of Ukrainian cities.

On the geopolitical front, NATO has refrained from direct military intervention, affirming that Ukraine, as a non-member state, does not fall under Article V obligations²³. Instead, the West engages in a "proxy war of attrition" aimed at depleting Russian military resources, the economy, and state resilience.

At the military level, Ukraine received substantial support through defensive weaponry, particularly the portable Javelin anti-armor missiles and Stinger air defense systems from the United States, impeding Russian air sovereignty and the advance of armored corps²⁴.

6. The Ukrainian Attrition War and Future Scenarios

The strategies deployed by both sides in this conflict have undergone evolving dynamics. Initially, Russian forces emphasized concentrated efforts, logistics, and firepower, aiming for strategic advances despite slow territorial gains. While capturing a few key cities, these achievements have come at a substantial cost—attrition and significant losses. Ukraine, conversely, has embraced a decentralized approach, displaying resilient resistance through defensive and asymmetrical warfare²⁵. Both sides have endured losses, shifting the conflict from swift territorial gains to prolonged battles and attrition.

Humanitarian challenges: The conflict's toll on civilians and infrastructure has been severe. Displacement, damaged infrastructure, disrupted essential services, and humanitarian crises in affected regions characterize the fallout. Grave human rights abuses, including civilian casualties and the deliberate targeting of critical infrastructure like hospitals and schools, have exacerbated the suffering. The resultant displacement and refugee crisis, coupled with economic instability, pose significant challenges for humanitarian aid organizations striving to assist.

Potential implications: The protracted nature of this conflict bears vast implications, not merely for the immediate region but on a global scale. Geopolitically, it challenges established world orders and global power dynamics, stressing the significance of regional stability and security in Europe. Additionally, it strains international alliances and frameworks, influencing diplomatic relations between Russia, Ukraine, and Western countries. Economically, the conflict disrupts trade routes, energy supplies, and

²³ Josh Wingrove (2022, March 11). Bloomberg. Biden Says He'd Fight World War III for NATO But Not for Ukraine. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-03-11/biden-says-he-d-fight-world-war-iii-for-nato-but-not-for-ukraine>, inf. 10 X 2022.

²⁴ Craig Hooper (2022, March 8). Ukraine's use of stinger and javelin missiles is outstripping U.S. production. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/craighooper/2022/03/08/ukraines-use-of-stinger-and-javelin-missiles-is-outstripping-us-production/>, inf. 10 X 2022.

²⁵ Global Firepower (2022). *Ukraine Military Strength*. 2022 World Military Strength Rankings. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=Ukraine, inf. 10 X 2022.

markets, impacting not only Ukraine and Russia but also neighboring countries and global markets. The ongoing conflict fosters heightened tensions and increased militarization in the region, potentially triggering a broader security threat.

Future Scenarios: Numerous potential scenarios could shape the trajectory of this conflict. Maintaining the status quo might lead to increased casualties, economic hardships, and prolonged civilian suffering on both sides. A diplomatic resolution, while offering temporary respite, would necessitate extensive negotiations, compromises, and concessions from all involved parties. The most alarming scenario entails the escalation of conflict, resulting in heightened instability, increased arms proliferation, and regional chaos. This trajectory could potentially prompt a collapse of global institutions, escalate the arms race, and spur an upsurge in terrorism, leading to long-term destabilization and upheaval.

Addressing this protracted conflict necessitates diplomatic efforts, de-escalation strategies, humanitarian aid, and global cooperation to mitigate its far-reaching implications. Moreover, it demands an earnest endeavor to address the underlying grievances and geopolitical tensions between Russia and Ukraine, aiming for a lasting resolution.

Therefore, the Ukrainian Attrition War is a multifaceted conflict with far-reaching consequences, demanding a concerted international effort to seek a resolution that ensures stability, security, and peace for the region and the world at large.

7. Conclusion

I. Entwined Realities: The Multi-Layered Dimensions of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is an intricate tapestry woven from a myriad of geopolitical, historical, religious, and strategic threads. Understanding the dynamics leading to Ukraine's decision to relinquish its nuclear arsenal, the religious underpinnings fueling tensions, the geopolitical intricacies fostering the Russian invasion, and the ongoing implications of the war of attrition provides a glimpse into the intricate layers of this enduring struggle. Examining these facets illuminates a narrative woven with complexities, highlighting the delicate interplay between global politics, historical legacies, religious identities, and strategic ambitions, shaping a conflict with far-reaching implications both regionally and globally.

1. Why did Ukraine relinquish its nuclear arsenal in the Budapest Treaty of 1994?

Ukraine's decision to relinquish its nuclear arsenal under the Budapest Treaty of 1994 stemmed from a complex interplay of geopolitical, strategic, and security considerations. At the time, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine found itself in a precarious position. While possessing a formidable nuclear arsenal, it faced significant challenges maintaining and controlling these weapons independently.

The treaty offered assurances of territorial integrity and security in exchange for Ukraine's disarmament. The underlying reasoning behind Ukraine's decision was multifaceted.

- a. **Deterrence Against Potential Aggression:** While Ukraine initially retained its nuclear capabilities after independence, practical control over these weapons was largely under Russia's influence. The treaty provided a degree of security against potential Russian aggression by seeking guarantees from Russia and other signatories.
- b. **Economic and Strategic Stability:** Ukraine faced economic challenges in managing its nuclear arsenal and sought international support and investment. Relinquishing nuclear weapons allowed Ukraine to shift its focus towards economic stability and development, relying on international partnerships and economic aid.
- c. **Geopolitical pressures:** Ukraine, a newly independent state, sought recognition and security guarantees from major global powers. The Budapest Memorandum offered assurances from Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom about protecting Ukraine's territorial sovereignty. This was crucial for Ukraine's security, especially given its proximity to Russia.
- d. **Global Diplomacy and Non-Proliferation Commitments:** By disarming, Ukraine aimed to adhere to international non-proliferation norms outlined in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). It sought recognition as a responsible global actor committed to nuclear disarmament.

In essence, Ukraine's decision to relinquish its nuclear arsenal was a strategic move to navigate a complex geopolitical landscape, balancing security concerns, economic stability, and international recognition.

2. What were the religious underpinnings influencing the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation?

The Russian-Ukrainian confrontation has deep historical ties to religious underpinnings that significantly shape the complex dynamics between these nations.

- a. **Ecclesiastical Independence:** The pursuit of ecclesiastical independence by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the Moscow Patriarchate triggered tensions. Ukraine's bid for an independent, autocephalous Orthodox Church was a significant point of contention, challenging historical ecclesiastical control by Moscow.
- b. **Historical Legacies:** Centuries of historical, religious, and cultural ties between the two nations have influenced perceptions and narratives about national identity. These legacies, coupled with geopolitical factors, contributed to the complexities and tensions in the Russian-Ukrainian relationship.
- c. **National Identity:** Religious affiliations intertwine with nationalistic aspirations. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church's aspiration for independence reflected broader desires for national autonomy and identity separate from Russian influence.
- d. **Orthodox Christianity:** Religion, particularly Orthodox Christianity, plays a pivotal role in defining cultural, social, and national identities in both Russia and Ukraine. The Orthodox Church in Ukraine historically had ties to the

Moscow Patriarchate, leading to a close religious and cultural connection between the two nations.

The religious undercurrents in the confrontation highlight the intricate interplay between religious identity, national autonomy, and geopolitical aspirations, adding depth to the complexities characterizing their relationship.

3. How did geopolitical factors contribute to the lead-up to the Russian invasion of Ukraine?

Geopolitical factors significantly influenced the lead-up to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, contributing to escalating tensions and eventual conflict:

- a. **Economic and Energy Concerns:** Ukraine's economic and energy ties with Russia were significant factors. Disputes over gas prices, energy transit routes, and economic dependencies amplified the geopolitical tensions between the two nations.
- b. **Historical and Cultural Ties:** The historical and cultural connections between Russia and Ukraine, coupled with shared linguistic and ethnic ties, shape Russia's perception of Ukraine as part of its historical sphere of influence. The loss of Ukraine was seen as a diminishing of Russia's geopolitical influence.
- c. **NATO and EU Aspirations:** Ukraine's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union heightened geopolitical tensions. Russia perceived these moves as an encroachment on its traditional sphere of influence, leading to increased hostilities.
- d. **Security and Military Concerns:** Russia's strategic concerns regarding NATO's potential expansion and the establishment of military bases close to its borders drove its assertive actions in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine.
- e. **Strategic Interests:** Ukraine's geostrategic position, bordering Russia and Europe, makes it a critical geopolitical pivot. Russia views Ukraine's alignment with the West, particularly the prospect of NATO or EU integration, as a threat to its sphere of influence and strategic interests.

These geopolitical factors, including strategic, historical, economic, and security considerations, created a volatile environment that fueled the Russian invasion of Ukraine. They underline the complex interplay of interests that contributed to the conflict's escalation.

4. What were the indicators of Russian determination to employ military force against Ukraine?

Indicators of Russian determination to employ military force against Ukraine were evident in several ways:

- a. **Annexation of Crimea:** The swift annexation of Crimea in 2014 following a controversial referendum, accompanied by the deployment of Russian troops and the subsequent integration of Crimea into the Russian Federation, highlighted Russia's assertive military stance.
- b. **Escalating Rhetoric:** Heightened rhetoric from Russian officials, emphasizing the protection of Russian-speaking populations in Ukraine and portraying the

government in Kyiv as illegitimate, added to the tensions and hinted at possible military actions.

- c. **Military Buildup:** Russia's significant military buildup along the Ukrainian border, including the massing of troops, heavy artillery, and armored vehicles, signaled a readiness for potential military action.
- d. **Military Exercises and Maneuvers:** Large-scale military exercises conducted by Russia near the Ukrainian border and within its territory served as demonstrations of military capabilities and intentions.
- e. **Support for Separatist Movements:** Russia's support for separatist movements in Eastern Ukraine, providing both material and military aid to separatist groups, highlighted its involvement in the conflict beyond Crimea.

These indicators collectively underscore Russia's determination to employ military force to assert influence in Ukraine, protect perceived interests, and challenge Kyiv's alignment with the West. They marked crucial stages in the lead-up to active military engagement.

5. What are the ongoing dynamics and implications of the war of attrition in Ukraine?

The ongoing war of attrition in Ukraine is marked by several dynamics and implications:

- a. **Economic and Social Impact:** The war has had a profound economic impact on Ukraine, affecting industries, infrastructure, and livelihoods. Socially, it has stirred nationalistic sentiments and heightened societal divisions.
- b. **Global and Regional Implications:** The conflict has reverberated globally, leading to geopolitical tensions between Russia and Western nations, affecting international relations, and reshaping security dynamics in Europe. It has also influenced regional politics and alliances.
- c. **Humanitarian Challenges:** The conflict has resulted in humanitarian crises, including internal displacement, refugee flows, and significant civilian casualties. It has strained resources and created challenges in delivering aid to affected regions.
- d. **Military Strategies:** Both Ukraine and Russia have employed asymmetric warfare tactics. Ukraine has focused on defensive strategies, while Russia has utilized hybrid warfare, combining conventional military tactics with cyber warfare and disinformation campaigns.
- e. **Stalemate and Future Scenarios:** The war has reached a stalemate with intermittent escalations. Future scenarios include the possibility of continued low-intensity conflict, diplomatic resolutions, or potential escalations with broader consequences.

The implications of this protracted conflict extend beyond Ukraine's borders, impacting regional stability, global politics, and the security landscape, emphasizing the complexity and multifaceted nature of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

II. Concluding Remarks

The intricate tapestry of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is woven from a complex web of historical legacies, geopolitical ambitions, religious identities, and strategic imperatives. Ukraine's pivotal decision to relinquish its nuclear arsenal in the Budapest Treaty of 1994, a move influenced by a delicate balance of geopolitical pressures, economic stability, and international recognition, set the stage for a series of events reshaping the region's dynamics. The religious underpinnings, particularly Orthodox Christianity, intertwined with nationalistic aspirations and ecclesiastical independence, added depth to the complexities characterizing the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine.

Geopolitical factors played a pivotal role in shaping the lead-up to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Strategic interests, historical connections, economic dependencies, and security concerns created a volatile environment that culminated in significant military actions. The indicators of Russian determination to employ military force, ranging from military buildups to annexation, support for separatists, escalating rhetoric, and military demonstrations, underscored Russia's intent to assert influence and challenge Kyiv's alignment with the West.

The ongoing war of attrition in Ukraine has displayed the intricacies of military strategies, humanitarian challenges, and the broader implications of this protracted conflict. Asymmetrical warfare tactics employed by both Ukraine and Russia, humanitarian crises leading to displacement and civilian casualties, and the global reverberations affecting geopolitical tensions and regional alliances paint a vivid picture of the conflict's multifaceted nature. Economically and socially, the war has had profound impacts, disrupted industries, infrastructure, and societal cohesion while perpetuated a stalemate with intermittent escalations that pose potential scenarios ranging from diplomatic resolutions to heightened conflicts with broader consequences.

Finally, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict remains an intricate puzzle of historical, geopolitical, and societal intricacies. Its implications extend far beyond the borders of Ukraine, reshaping regional stability, influencing global politics, and emphasizing the complexities inherent in navigating religious, nationalistic, and strategic ambitions. As the conflict continues to evolve, understanding its multi-layered dimensions is crucial for addressing its root causes, fostering diplomatic resolutions, and working toward lasting peace and stability in the region.



Abstract: This study delves into the multifaceted dynamics of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, exploring its origins, geopolitical underpinnings, military implications, and global ramifications. Utilizing a comprehensive analysis of scholarly articles, governmental treaties, news reports, and military strength rankings, the research outlines the interplay between geopolitical interests, historical ties, religious affiliations, and military strategies that have shaped the conflict's trajectory. The methodology encompasses an extensive review of primary and secondary sources to elucidate the complex nature of the conflict, aiming to provide a holistic understanding of the crisis. The study highlights the significance

of nuclear disarmament treaties, religious tensions, military capabilities, and international alliances in shaping the ongoing war and its broader implications.

This academic study aims to comprehensively analyze the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, investigating historical events, geopolitical factors, and military dynamics. The study endeavors to provide a multifaceted understanding of this complex issue and contribute valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners involved in navigating and resolving the crisis.

Research Questions:

- Why did Ukraine relinquish its nuclear arsenal in the Budapest Treaty of 1994?
- What were the religious underpinnings influencing the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation?
- How did geopolitical factors contribute to the lead-up to the Russian invasion of Ukraine?
- What were the indicators of Russian determination to employ military force against Ukraine?
- What are the ongoing dynamics and implications of the war of attrition in Ukraine?

Hypotheses/Theses:

Hypothesis 1: Ukraine's decision to abandon its nuclear arsenal under the Budapest Treaty was influenced by assurances of territorial sovereignty, despite underlying skepticism about enforceability.

Thesis 1: Religious identities, particularly Orthodox Christianity, have historically shaped and influenced the confrontational dynamics between Russia and Ukraine.

Thesis 2: Geopolitical pressures and strategic interests, both regional and global, significantly contributed to the prelude to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Hypothesis 2: Indicators such as military build-up, diplomatic maneuverings, and geopolitical motivations signaled Russia's intent to escalate the conflict against Ukraine.

Thesis 3: The ongoing war of attrition in Ukraine involves asymmetrical warfare, humanitarian challenges, and extensive regional and global implications, impacting the course of the conflict.

These hypotheses and theses guide the study's exploration of the multifaceted nature of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, aiming to provide comprehensive insights into its historical, geopolitical, and military dimensions.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian conflict, geopolitics, nuclear disarmament, military strategy, religious tensions, international alliances, global implications, Budapest Treaty.

Zrozumieć źródło konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego:

Przyczyny, przebieg i przyszłe trajektorie

Streszczenie: Niniejsze studium zagłębia się w wieloaspektową dynamikę konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego, badając jego początki, podstawy geopolityczne, implikacje wojskowe i globalne konsekwencje. Wykorzystując kompleksową analizę artykułów naukowych, traktatów rządowych, doniesień prasowych i rankingów siły militarnej, badania nakreślają wzajemne oddziaływanie interesów geopolitycznych, powiązań historycznych, przynależności religijnych i strategii wojskowych, które ukształtowały trajektorię konfliktu. Metodologia obejmuje obszerny przegląd źródeł pierwotnych i wtórnych w celu wyjaśnienia złożonej natury konfliktu, mając na celu zapewnienie holistycznego zrozumienia kryzysu. Badanie podkreśla znaczenie traktatów o rozbrojeniu nuklearnym, napięć religijnych, zdolności wojskowych i sojuszy międzynarodowych w kształtowaniu trwającej wojny i jej szerszych implikacji.

Niniejsze studium akademickie ma na celu kompleksową analizę konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego, badając wydarzenia historyczne, czynniki geopolityczne i dynamikę wojskową. Badanie ma na celu zapewnienie wieloaspektowego zrozumienia tej złożonej kwestii i wniesienie cennych spostrzeżeń dla decydentów, naukowców i praktyków zaangażowanych w nawigację i rozwiązywanie kryzysu.

Pytania badawcze:

- Dlaczego Ukraina zrzekła się swojego arsenału nuklearnego w traktacie budapeszteńskim z 1994 roku?
- Jakie były religijne podstawy wpływające na rosyjsko-ukraińską konfrontację?
- W jaki sposób czynniki geopolityczne przyczyniły się do rosyjskiej inwazji na Ukrainę?
- Jakie były wskaźniki rosyjskiej determinacji do użycia siły militarnej przeciwko Ukrainie?
- Jaka jest obecna dynamika i implikacje wojny na wyniszczenie na Ukrainie?

Hipotezy/Twierdzenia:

Hipoteza 1: Na decyzję Ukrainy o porzuceniu arsenału nuklearnego na mocy traktatu budapeszteńskiego wpłynęły zapewnienia o suwerenności terytorialnej pomimo sceptycyzmu co do możliwości ich wyegzekwowania.

Teza 1: Tożsamości religijne, w szczególności prawosławie, historycznie kształtowały i wpływały na dynamikę konfrontacji między Rosją a Ukrainą.

Teza 2: Presja geopolityczna i interesy strategiczne, zarówno regionalne, jak i globalne, znacząco przyczyniły się do wstępu do rosyjskiej inwazji na Ukrainę.

Hipoteza 2: Wskaźniki takie jak rozbudowa militarna, manewry dyplomatyczne i motywacje geopolityczne sygnalizowały zamiar Rosji eskalacji konfliktu przeciwko Ukrainie.

Teza 3: Trwająca wojna na Ukrainie obejmuje asymetryczne działania wojenne, wyzwania humanitarne oraz rozległe implikacje regionalne i globalne, wpływające na przebieg konfliktu.

Te hipotezy i tezy kierują badaniem wieloaspektowej natury konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego, mając na celu zapewnienie kompleksowego wglądu w jego wymiar historyczny, geopolityczny i wojskowy.

Słowa kluczowe: konflikt rosyjsko-ukraiński, geopolityka, rozbrownienie nuklearne, strategia wojskowa, napięcia religijne, sojusze międzynarodowe, implikacje globalne, traktat budapeszteński.

Bibliography

Documents

Memorandum of Security Assurances in Connection with the Republic of Belarus Accession to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons Budapest, (1994, December 5). *United Nations Treaty Collection*. <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%203007/Part/volume-3007-I-52241.pdf>

Books

Plokhy, S. (2021). *Nuclear folly: A new history of the Cuban missile crisis*. London: Penguin.

Online Sources

Global Firepower (2022). *Russia Military Strength*. 2022 World Military Strength Rankings. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=russia

- Global Firepower (2022). *Ukraine Military Strength*. 2022 World Military Strength Rankings. https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=Ukraine
- Hooper Craig (2022, March 8). Ukraine's use of stinger and javelin missiles is outstripping U.S. production. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/craighooper/2022/03/08/ukraines-use-of-stinger-and-javelin-missiles-is-outstripping-us-production/>
- Gatehouse Jonathon, Leung Albert (2022, February 25). Ukraine has will, but Russia has might: How their military forces match up. *CBC*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/ukraine-russia-military-comparison-1.6365115>
- Wingrove Josh (2022, March 11). Bloomberg. Biden Says He'd Fight World War III for NATO But Not for Ukraine. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-03-11/biden-says-he-d-fight-world-war-iii-for-nato-but-not-for-ukraine>
- Bronk Justin (2022, February 28). The mysterious case of the missing Russian Air Force. *Royal United Services Institute*. <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/mysterious-case-missing-russian-air-force/>
- Ling Justin (2022, February 26). Russia tries to terrorize Ukraine with images of Chechen soldiers. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/26/russia-chechen-propaganda-ukraine/>
- Sly Liz, Lamothe Dan (2022, February 28). The war in Ukraine isn't working out the way Russia intended. *Boston.com*. <https://www.boston.com/news/world-news/2022/02/28/the-war-in-ukraine-isnt-working-out-the-way-russia-intended/>
- Budjeryn Mariana (2018, April 19). Denuclearization again? Lessons from Ukraine's decision to disarm. *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/denuclearization-again-lessons-ukraines-decision-disarm>
- Sofuoglu Murat (2022, March 7). Is the Russian army achieving its strategic goals in the Ukraine war? *trtworld*. <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/is-the-russian-army-achieving-its-strategic-goals-in-the-ukraine-war-55328>
- Reynolds Nick, Watling Jack (2022, February 25). Ukraine through Russia's eyes. *Royal United Services Institute*. <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/ukraine-through-russias-eyes/>
- Pifer Steven (2014, December 4). The Budapest memorandum and U.S. obligations. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/12/04/the-budapest-memorandum-and-u-s-obligations/>
- Rumer Eugene (2019, June 5). The Primakov (Not Gerasimov) doctrine in action. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/06/05/primakov-not-gerasimov-doctrine-in-action-pub-79254>
- Michel Yohann (2022, April 22). War in Ukraine, where quantity as well as quality matters. *IJSS*. <https://www.ijss.org/blogs/military-balance/2022/04/war-in-ukraine-where-quantity-as-well-as-quality-matters>
- Forrest Brett, Malsin Jared (2022, February 26). Ukraine says it used Turkish-made drones to hit Russian targets. *Wall Street Journal*. <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/russia-ukraine-latest-news-2022-02-26/card/ukraine-says-it-uses-turkish-made-drones-to-hit-russian-targets-Drig-G07vkGfDzbBuncnA>
- Mrachek Alexis (2019, February 22). How Putin Uses Russian Orthodoxy to Grow His Empire. <https://www.heritage.org/europe/commentary/how-putin-uses-russian-orthodoxy-grow-his-empire>

News Articles

Mahshie Abraham (2022, March 8). Ukrainian resistance, logistics challenges slow Russian momentum. *Air Force Magazine*. <https://www.airforcemag.com/pentagon-ukraine-resists-russian-momentum-slows-but-kyiv-siege-continues/>

Becky Sullivan (2022, March 11). Why Belarus is so involved in Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *NPR.org*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/11/1085548867/belarus-ukraine-russia-invasion-lukashenko-putin>

Dillon Douglas (2012, August). What happened to the Soviet superpower's nuclear Arsenal? Clues for the nuclear security summit. *Harvard Kennedy School*. <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/what-happened-soviet-superpowers-nuclear-arsenal-clues-nuclear-security-summit>

Principles of the Orthodox Faith (2011, December 29). *Orthodox Heritage*. <https://www.orthodoxlegacy.org/?p=471>

WSJ (2022, February 26). Ukraine says it used Turkish-made drones to hit Russian targets. *Wall Street Journal*. <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/russia-ukraine-latest-news-2022-02-26/card/ukraine-says-it-uses-turkish-made-drones-to-hit-russian-targets-DrigG07vkGfDzbBuncnA>