

Centre for Defence Strategies

defence.org.ua

Centre for Defence Strategies (CDS)

CDS is a Ukrainian **security and defence think-tank**.

We impact the security environment by providing high-quality **research, analysis, advisory and advocacy**.

We join the efforts of leading Ukrainian and international experts to identify key challenges, develop adequate solutions, assist in **improving capabilities and policies**

We collaborate with **domestic and international government agencies, independent experts and media**.

We are an independent, non-partisan, non-government and non-profit organisation. We pursue no political goals of our own.

Ongoing situational monitoring

CDS experts conduct ongoing **situational monitoring** of the security environment around Ukraine.

We do threats analysis, scenarios projections and government recommendations.

We analyse developments **7 days a week**.

Assuming the current level of threats this is currently our **utmost priority**.

We actively communicate with Ukrainian and international governments, experts, media and the public on those topics.



Security situation as of Feb-22

It is a decisive moment for Ukrainian sovereignty and European security

Russia continues waging war against Ukraine for almost eight years. It openly denies future of an independent Ukraine as a European democracy and a member of the Euro-Atlantic community.

After years of unsuccessful attempts to coerce Ukraine, Russia now threatens a full-scale military invasion and builds up forces at Ukrainian borders.

Ukraine has developed substantial military capabilities. However, it is still at a significant disparity with Russia. Ukrainian defence measures must be asymmetric.

The international position must be firm and resolved. **The threat level as of 08/02/22 remains high.**

Key components of comprehensive defence of Ukraine

**Capabilities of security
and defence forces**

**Citizen readiness for
resistance***

**International political
support**

**Domestic defence
industry**

**Institutional and
society resilience****

**International security
assistance**

National unity

* incl: territorial defence, resistance and civilian (citizen) support of the military, civil/local governments defence input

** incl: abilities of government, municipal institutions and society to withstand incursion and hybrid attacks

Factors impacting Ukraine's security and defence

- Armed forces (AFU) key capabilities development
- Building territorial defence forces within AFU
- Defence reform (incl. planning, organisation, procurement)
- Civil society strength and readiness
- Resistance movement readiness
- Defence industry and technology
- Strategic communication in Ukraine and internationally
- Budget allocations for defence
- International military cooperation and security assistance
- Cyber defence capabilities improvement
- Critical infrastructure protection
- Information warfare (incl. countering disinformation)
- International support of Ukraine, diplomacy
- International sanctions policy
- Minsk/Normandy processes
- Maritime security in a Black Sea region
- Crimean platform activities
- Neighbours relations: MD, TR, RO, HU, GE
- BY risks. Border enhancements
- Energy security
- Nord Stream 2 case
- Law enforcement, intelligence and security agencies
- Internal security, including counterintelligence
- Cultural and religious impact on security
- Litigations with RU and damages compensations

A role of CDS

CDS role is instrumental in Ukraine's defence during these challenging times

1. Situational awareness and analysis

Building awareness, interpreting events, estimating scenarios and mitigating strategies. Thorough research, independent opinions.

2. Dealing with Ukraine's government

We work with key government authorities and deliver our information directly to decision makers, advising them and advocating certain solutions. We provide an independent opinion on government actions (oversight)

3. Dealing with allied governments

We have a unique opportunity to reach key allied governments' representatives, bringing our opinions via direct contacts, embassies and partner organisations

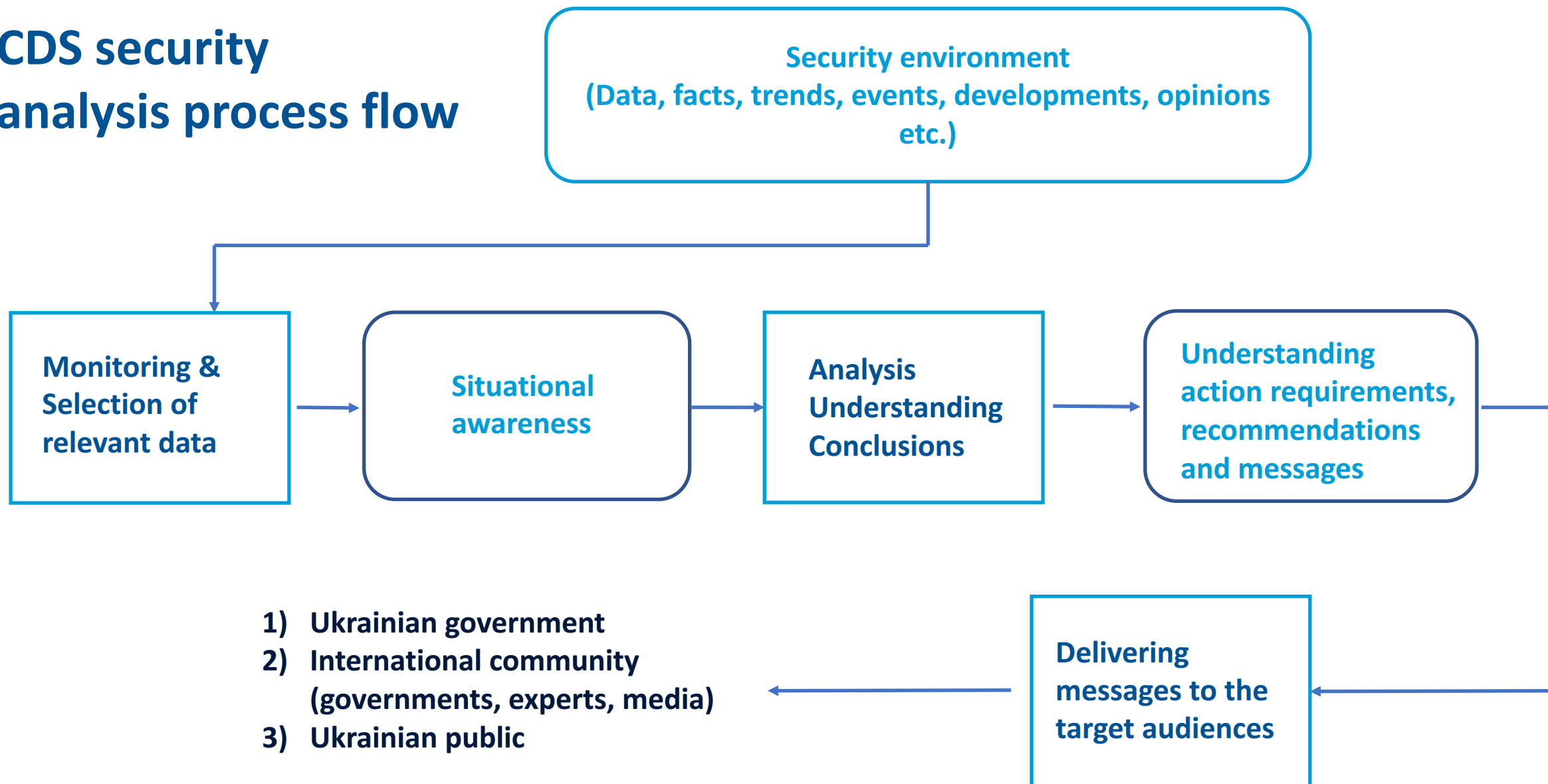
4. Public communication (domestic and international)

CDS extensive media activity in 2021 provided us with high visibility in 2022. With the professional, informed, impaired and balanced view, we play a unique role in Ukrainian society and have earned public trust. We effectively impact public opinion on a number of important topics.

5. Dealing with independent expert groups

CDS enjoys collaboration relations with leading Ukrainian and western experts and think tanks. It helps us to refine and advocate our position.

CDS security analysis process flow



Confidential. Not for distribution

Our outputs

Awareness and understanding

Facts monitoring,
research and
analytics

Defence advice and advocacy

Direct
communication with
governments

Public communication

Domestic and
international press:
interviews, media
appearances,
messaging via
popular TV
programs, original
articles, press
briefings, social
media content

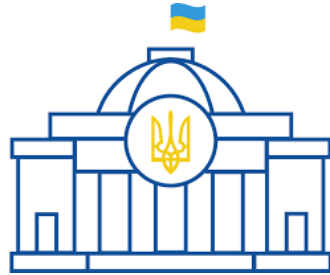
Detailed research

Research reports
publications for
specialised
audiences

Expert messaging

Delivering our
messages at online
and offline events,
in policy briefs and
publications

**Ukrainian
government
agencies we
directly
communicate
with**



**Verkhovna Rada of
Ukraine**



**National Security
and Defence
Council**



**УКРАЇНА
ЄВРОПА**
**Office of VPM
Euro integration**



**Ministry of Foreign
Affairs**



**Ministry of Defence
and Armed Forces
of Ukraine**



**Ministry of Internal
Affairs and its
defence forces**

Selected Board members and experts

Executive Board members:

Andriy Zagorodnyuk – Chairman, Minister of defence (2019-20)

Alina Frolova – Deputy chairperson, Deputy Minister of defence (2019-20)

Oleksiy Martsenyuk – executive director, Deputy Minister of defence (2019-20)

Non-executive Board members include Ambassador William Taylor, Minister Volodymyr Ogryzko, General Wesley Clark and UK defence expert Phil Jones, OBE.

More detailed information is at:

<http://old.defence.org.ua/en/portfolio/personalities/>

Alexander Khara – experienced diplomat, internationally renowned political and security analyst, graduate of the Royal College of Defence Studies (UK)

Capt. 1st rank (ret.) **Andriy Ryzhenko** – former deputy commander of Ukraine's Navy Command, one of the top maritime security experts, graduate of the U.S. Naval War College

Colonel (ret.) **Oleksii (Alex) Pavliuchyuk** – defence policy and strategic planning expert, manpower system analyst, graduate of the Canadian Forces College and the Naval Postgraduate School (US)

Olesya Favorska – analyst in defence management and foreign policy, former Ukrainian frontline volunteer, graduate of the Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (US)

Hans Peter Midttun – retired navy officer, former Norwegian attaché in Ukraine, analyst in strategic security and hybrid warfare

CDS in press

In 2021 and beginning 2022 CDS has been very active in media communication both in Ukraine and internationally. We had **over 450 media appearances**, the full list is on the link below.

In Ukraine we have been present on all top platforms, including popular TV programs with millions of views and leading newspapers. Some of our publications have produced a substantial impact (see next slide).

Our balanced and professional position has built us an established reputation as a **trusted opinion leader**.

We maintain an active presence in local and international media during times of potential invasion crisis. CDS interviews in **Dec-Jan 22** included:



The Guardian



The Telegraph



REUTERS



TIMES
RADIO

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

The New York Times

FP EL PAÍS

The Atlantic

THE NEW YORKER

euronews.

NIKKEI Asia



Das Erste

NEWS



ALJAZEERA



Atlantic Council

CDS most influential media publications (so far)

July-21 article "**Putin aims at Zmiiny island**" caused a wave of media attention, thousands of reposts, followed by unprecedented government activities to protect an island. The President of Ukraine personally visited the island multiple times to ensure its defence.

Atlantic Council **Nov-21 blog article** on threats of Russia invasion got in Top 4 of all AC articles of 2021.

Dec-21-Jan-22 articles in Ukr Pravda commenting on **Prospects of the Russian invasion** have impacted a large part of Ukrainian society and are among the most quoted publications.

Atlantic Council **Jan-22 blog article** on possible ways to effectively resist Russian aggression is highly referenced among defence experts and has made an influential impact.

Jan-Feb-22 **interviews in the Guardian** on potential invasion have made its headline stories, gained multiple views and attracted wide international attention.

ЦЕНЗОР.НЕТ

Резонанс • Агрессия России против Украины

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**Путін націлився на острів
Зміїний**

UkraineAlert

November 27, 2021

**Vladimir Putin's
Ukraine obsession
could spark a major
European war**

UkraineAlert

January 9, 2022

**How to make a
Russian invasion of
Ukraine prohibitively
expensive**

pravda.com.ua

**Які перспективи
великої війни в
Україні?**

АНДРІЙ ЗАГОРОДНЮК, АЛІНА ФРОЛОВА, ОЛЕКСІЙ
ПАВЛЮЧИК — ПОНЕДІЛОК, 24 СІЧНЯ 2022, 05:30

КОЛАЖ АНДРІЯ КАЛІСТРАТЕНКА



326031

**Russia has enough troops
ready to take Kyiv, says
former Ukraine defence
chief**

International advocacy

Preconditions

International political support and military assistance are critical pillars for our defence strategy (slide 5). Support level is dynamic, differs from country to country and needs constant attendance. Russia actively works to decrease political support for Ukraine.

Objective

To increase an understanding of the environment by international policymakers, increase assistance to Ukraine, understanding favourable and unfavourable courses of action.

CDS potential

We have a high credibility with international audience, an ability to meet key decision makers, we have a positive track record and a potential for making impact.

What we do

international publications, speaking at online/offline events, meetings with foreign officials arriving to UA, communicating to embassies, communicating with key international expert groups, traveling internationally for those meetings.

Trips in 2021

Washington, D.C. (July)

25 meetings, including with officials from Congress, State, WHA, DOD, think tanks, journalists, support groups.

Berlin (Dec)

delivered messages to newly elected parliament members, Crimea conference, briefing of German think tanks on the latest security situation

Bucharest (Nov)

meeting top leadership of Romanian MOD, promoting UA agenda

Washington, D.C. (Dec)

Supporting Verkhovna Rada members parliamentary delegation with advice and on-site support in multiple top-level meetings

London (Dec)

promoting the Black Sea initiative, speaking at a House of Parliament conference, meeting MPs and other members of government and experts

Vilnius (Oct)

Speaking at the top level Armed forces conference, aired on national TV, promoting UA agenda.

Stockholm (Dec)

Participation in OSCE summit in support of UA governmental delegation. Organization (with MFA) of a side event on Crimea and BAS security. Interviews with EU, meetings with local think tanks and national military university

Project: Crimean platform support and research



CDS is an active supporter of the Crimean platform initiative as an advisor to MFA Ukraine and research institution. This project is funded by the British government. Within a project (continues in 2022), CDS has accomplished:

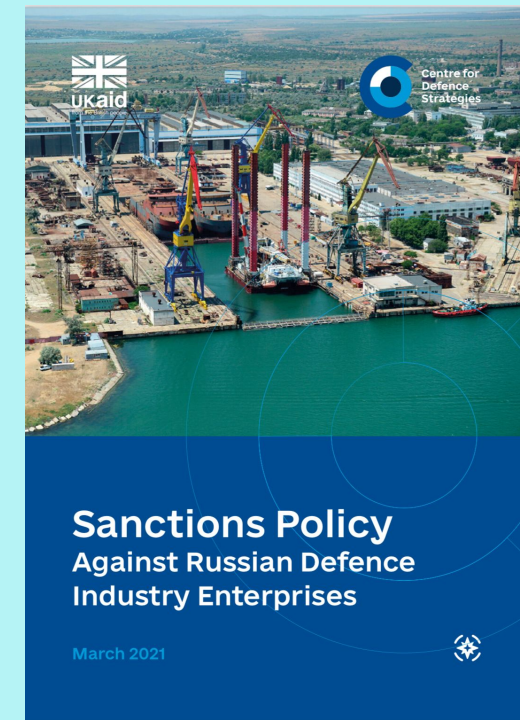
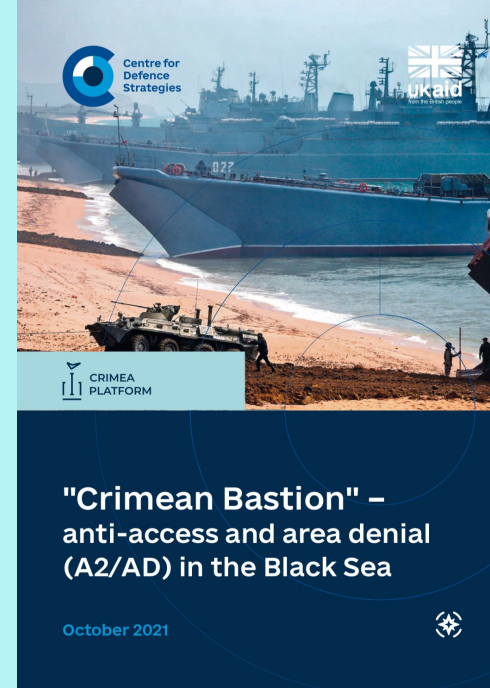
1. **Research of 10 important study areas** within the platform initiative. Five more topics are being studied in Q1 2022. (see next page).
2. Series of offline and online **promotion events** for reports, including local expert community, the international community and MFA specialists.
3. Assembling and coordinating Crimean **security/defence expert network**.
4. Organizing and hosting a **security panel** during the Crimean platform launch summit (speakers included NATO dep. Gen sec, two ministers of defence of European countries, Secretary of Ukraine's NSDC)
5. Preparation of an upcoming large scale Black sea and Crimean **security conference** in August 2022.



Crimean platform research papers

Link to
download

https://defence.org.ua/gallery_category/



Black Sea region security

We have been long-time initiators of Ukrainian and international policymakers' increased attention towards Black sea region security. At the end of 2020, we published a highly esteemed report on the importance of the Black sea region security issues, outlining risks and potential mitigation strategies.

In 2021 we continued our studies and actively provided advice to various government branches, experts, media, and target audiences.



CRIMEA
PLATFORM

Role of NATO and NATO nations in securing the Black Sea

October 2021



Ukrainian storm warning:

A Grave Danger to Europe
in the Maritime Domain

defence.org.ua



CRIMEA
PLATFORM

Maritime Security and Freedom of Navigation Issues in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov

November 2021



Situational Awareness as a Component of Maritime Security

March 2021

Policy research: Euro-Atlantic integration and defence reform

Since 2021 we have been advising ad-hoc our government regarding various aspects of **NATO integration**. In 2021, the Office of Vice Prime minister (VPM) on European and Euro-Atlantic integration invited us to advise on the Ukraine-NATO Annual action programme and other matters. In December 2021, CDS received the formal status of VPM's Office consultant.

During 2021 CDS fellows have actively participated in the Verkhovna Rada working group on upcoming law on **enhancing civilian control**. This fundamental reform is to be introduced in 2022.

We have followed the progression of the defence reform and development of Armed forces capabilities closely. We have written and extensively commented on this matter, including the published report addressing achievements/gaps of the defence reform and rebutting false narratives, which has appeared in 2021*.

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/is-ukraines-reformed-military-ready-to-repel-a-new-russian-invasion/>



Policy research: national resistance

CDS has been considering Ukraine's **comprehensive defence** response to potential full-scale Russian invasion well before these threats became publicly discussed. We worked on citizen participation component in various dimensions:

Working on the **Law on national resistance** (adopted in '21).

Developed a **cyber reserve concept** (policy paper).

Jointly with **Chatham House (UK)** did a study of expert opinions regarding the readiness of Ukrainian people for organised resistance. We plan to continue partner collaboration on resistance and citizen participation in 2022.

Research study of the **future model of the Territorial defence**. Project partner: Ukrainian institute of the future. In Dec-21, the findings were presented to the public and military leadership. The report has been endorsed and is used by territorial defence command.



Policy research: Military justice reform

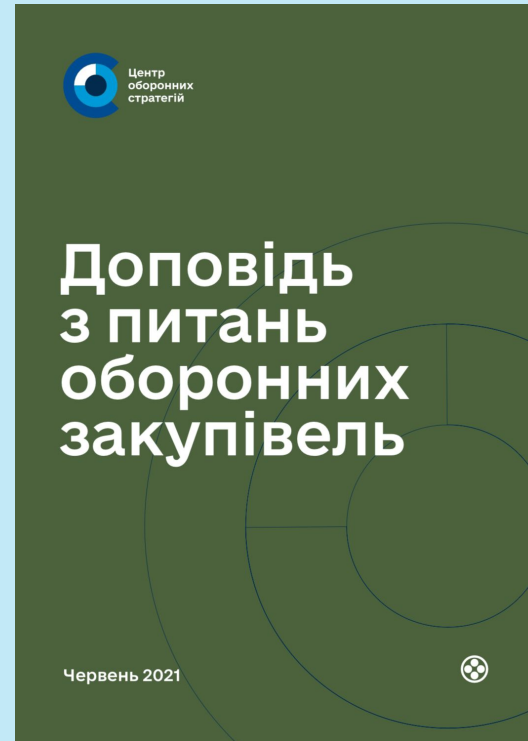
With the support of the National Endowment for Democracy in 2021, we have initiated a study of the most pressing issues related to military justice, particularly the concept of **combat immunity**. These issues require a thorough reform. A specially assembled team became the pioneers of some of those concepts for the Ukrainian legislative and legal system. The results of the policy paper were presented at the expert conference in December 2021. The Ukrainian government has eagerly picked up on them and plans to implement some of our recommendations this year. The work continues.



Policy research: Procurement and assistance

The core CDS team has been promoting **defence procurement reform** for years. While in MOD, we have initiated and advocated a new Law on defence procurement adopted in 2020. The Law is based on the vision of the future procurement system, which CDS has outlined in the policy report. In Jan 2022 we have received an invitation from the new MOD leadership to advise them on completing the procurement reform.

In 2021 we developed a concept of improving the **methodology of international military assistance** to increase its efficiency and motivate the partners to provide more in input and capability development. Assistance is part of the equipment acquisition and is one of the main factors in deterring aggression. This methodology will be provided to MOD in 2022 as part of our advisory work.



CDS policy work (alone or as part of the larger expert groups) practical results cases

Line of effort	Before (-2020)	Now (end of 2021)	After (2022 -)
Black sea security (political)	No policy yet	A set of practical policy tools to ensure UA interests	Implementation of those tools by UA government and allied governments leading to higher security of the region
Black sea security (military)	Not enough government attention, critical underfunding	Navy capabilities receive more investment and attention than ever before	Enhanced capabilities, correct government actions
<i>Zmiiny island case</i>	<i>Security of this critical spot is overlooked</i>	<i>An issue receives highest government attention</i>	<i>Further enhancement of this critical area</i>
Crimea platform (security component)	Not enough knowledge for shaping government policy	A large set of data to form a policy on Crimean security	Recommendations are implemented on policy level. UA has a stronger position to pursue Crimea strategy goals.

CDS policy work (alone or as part of the larger expert groups) practical results cases (2)

Line of effort	Before (-2020)	Now (end of 2021)	After (2022 -)
Territorial defence	Outdated system, inadequate for current challenges	New system vision and draft law are prepared. Law adopted. New system starts.	Territorial defence becomes powerful capability deterring aggression
Civilian control	Control is weak leading to highly visible problems between Cabinet and Mil command.	Draft law, which sets a new system and meets western criteria	The new law sets out robust civilian control increasing defence sector functionality
Military justice	Misbalanced and demotivating system. Some high profile negative cases.	Developed new concepts. Securing government and mil endorsements	New concepts introduced to laws making massive difference
Defence procurement	New law is passed but no vision how to implement it.	The new target model is written out and presented to new MOD leadership	New procurement system finally works becoming a robust capability