



**Pekka Kallioniemi** @P\_Kallioniemi

Apr 9, 2024 · 19 tweets · [P\\_Kallioniemi/status/1777675262609518833](https://twitter.com/P_Kallioniemi/status/1777675262609518833)

In today's #vatniksoup, I'll introduce an American political strategist, Samuel Charap (@scharap). He's best-known for strongly arguing against the Western military support to Ukraine, and advising Ukraine to give up to imperialist Russia's demands.

1/18



Samuel Charap is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, an American think tank largely funded by the US government. He also studied in Kyiv and at MGIMO, an elite Moscow university with close ties to Russian intelligence.

2/18

**Samuel Charap** [@scharap](#) [✉ Samuel\\_Charap@rand.org](mailto:Samuel_Charap@rand.org)



**Senior Political Scientist**

**Education**

Ph.D. in political science, University of Oxford; M.Phil. in Russian and East European studies, University of Oxford; B.A. in political science and Russian, Amherst College

One Page Bio

Overview

Commentary

Publications

Multimedia

Samuel Charap is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation. His research interests include the foreign policies of Russia and the former Soviet states; European and Eurasian regional security; and U.S.-Russia deterrence, strategic stability, and arms control.

From November 2012 until April 2017, Charap was the senior fellow for Russia and Eurasia at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Prior to joining the IISS, he served at the U.S. Department of State as senior advisor to the undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security and on the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff, covering Russia and Eurasia. From 2009 to 2011, Charap was director for Russia and Eurasia at the Center for American Progress.

Charap's book on the Ukraine crisis, *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia* (coauthored with Timothy Colton), was published in January 2017. His articles have appeared in *The Washington Quarterly*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Survival*, *Current History*, and several other journals.

Charap was a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Moscow Center and the International Center for Policy Studies (Kyiv), and a Fulbright Scholar at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He is fluent in Russian and proficient in Ukrainian. Charap holds a Ph.D. in political science and an M.Phil. in Russian and East European studies from the University of Oxford, where he was a Marshall Scholar. He received his B.A. in Russian and political science from Amherst College. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

**The Moscow Times**  
30 YEARS INDEPENDENT NEWS FROM RUSSIA

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# Russian Spies Are Recruiting MGIMO Students – Proekt


Oct. 18, 2019



He's also member of the Valdai Discussion Club, a Moscow-based think tank that has been described as a "Russian equivalent to Davos", and Dutch sociologist Van Herpen wrote that the club is a soft power effort by the Kremlin in service of Russian foreign policy goals.

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### Samuel Charap

United States

Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation. His research interests include the political economy and foreign policies of Russia and the former Soviet states; European and Eurasian regional security; and US-Russia deterrence, strategic stability and arms control.

Samuel Charap was the Senior Fellow for Russia and Eurasia at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (2012–2017). Prior to joining the IISS, he served at the U.S. Department of State as Senior Advisor to the Undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security and on the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff, covering Russia and Eurasia.


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CLUB EVENTS

## Rethinking the Regional Order for Post-Soviet Europe and Eurasia. Expert Discussion. Speakers

VALDAI DISCUSSION CLUB CONFERENCE HALL, BOLSHAYA TATARSKAYA 42, MOSCOW, RUSSIA



*On April 25, at 11:00, the Valdai Club will host an expert panel discussion devoted to the Russian edition of a book by Samuel Charap and an international team of authors, titled "Rethinking the Regional Order for Post-Soviet Europe and Eurasia".*

**Speakers:**

- **Samuel Charap**, senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation (co-author of the book);
- **Alexander Iskandaryan**, Director, Caucasus Institute, Yerevan (via video link);
- **Yulia Nikitina**, Associate Professor at the Department of World Political Processes, Research Fellow at the Centre for Post-Soviet Studies at MGIMO University (co-author of the book).

**Moderator:**

- **Yaroslav Lissovolik**, programme director of the Valdai Discussion Club (co-author of the book).

# PUTIN'S PROPAGANDA MACHINE

SOFT POWER AND RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

16 МАРТА МЫ ВЫБИРАЕМ



MARCEL H. VAN HERPEN

Throughout the years, Charap has called for negotiations between Kyiv and Moscow. Of course there's nothing wrong with that, but time has shown that a) Putin is not negotiating in good faith, and b) any treaty between Russia and Ukraine (or anyone) doesn't hold.

ARGUMENT: **Why Ukraine Must Bargain for Peace W****ARGUMENT** *An expert's point of view on a current event.*

# Why Ukraine Must Bargain for Peace With Russia

The "let's make a deal" moment has arrived for Kiev and Moscow. But by pushing a hard-line agenda against Putin, the United States and Europe are only making things worse for Ukraine.

By **Samuel Charap**, a senior political scientist at the Rand Corporation.



Photo by SERGEI SUPINSKY/AFP/Getty Images

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NOVEMBER 26, 2014, 4:17 PM

## Ukraine invasion: how Vladimir Putin built his career on waging war

The Russian president's career is steeped in blood. But the invasion of Ukraine is more ambitious, and risky, than anything the Russian president has attempted before

- [Russia-Ukraine war latest news: follow live updates](#)
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**Simon Tisdall**

Sat 26 Feb 2022 18.10 CET

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📷 Chechen women cry in the ruins of their homes which were destroyed by Russian air strikes in Grozny on 2 October 1999. Photograph: EPA

Sam's naive attitude towards the Kremlin and their trustworthiness can be seen for example in his 2019 op-ed, in which he called for Ukraine to implement its obligations under the Minsk 2, an agreement that was largely ignored and broken by both Russia and Ukraine.

# POLITICO

## MAGAZINE

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

### **Opinion | The U.S. Approach to Ukraine's Border War Isn't Working. Here's What Biden Should Do Instead.**

An unsavory compromise may be everyone's best hope.





Table 1. Overview of the implementation of the Minsk II

Overview of the implementation of the Minsk II (European Parliament, 2018)	Agreement Status
1. Immediate, full bilateral ceasefire	Not implemented
2. Withdrawal of all heavy weapons by both sides, establishment of a security zone	Partially implemented
3. Monitoring of ceasefire by the OSCE	Partially implemented
4. Modalities for local elections under Ukrainian law on special status of the Donbas	Partially implemented
5. Pardon and amnesty of figures involved in the conflict	Not implemented
6. Release and exchange of all hostages and other illegally detained people	Partially implemented
7. Safe delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need, based on an international mechanism	Not implemented
8. Restoration of full social and economic links with affected areas	Partially implemented
9. Full Ukrainian control over its border with Russia throughout the conflict zone	Not implemented
10. Withdrawal of foreign armed groups, weapons and mercenaries from Ukrainian territory	Not implemented
11. Constitutional reform including decentralisation, special status for the separatist regions	Partially implemented
12. Local elections in Donetsk and Luhansk regions according to OSCE standards.	Not implemented
13. Trilateral working groups between the Ukrainian government, the separatists and Russia	Yes, but limited results

Where the United States does have significant leverage is with Ukraine — and this leverage is largely untapped. Rather than focusing only on coercing Russia, the Biden administration should also push Kyiv to take steps toward implementing its obligations under the Minsk II agreement, which Ukraine has shown little desire to do since the deal was brokered six years ago. Ukrainian steps toward complying with the agreement, flawed as it is, might actually invite de-escalation from Russia and reinvigorate the languishing peace process.

In addition, Russia has violated the UN Charter, Nuclear NPT, Helsinki Accords, Belovezha Accords, Budapest Memorandum, Black Sea Fleet Treaty, Friendship Treaty, Treaty on Azov Sea and Kerch Strait, Border Treaty of 2003, Minsk agreements, and the Kharkiv Pact.

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OPINION > INTERNATIONAL  
THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS ARE THEIR OWN AND NOT THE VIEW OF THE HILL

## History shows that no ceasefire or treaty with Russia can be trusted


BY MARK TEMNYCKY, OPINION CONTRIBUTOR - 02/05/24 7:00 AM ET

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Mark H. Gregoire, Sputnik, Kremlin Pool Photo via AP  
Russian President Vladimir Putin, foreground, visits an exhibition dedicated to the key events of the outgoing Year of Teachers and Mentors at the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, Wednesday, Dec. 27, 2023. (Cemil Grigorov, Sputnik, Kremlin Pool Photo via AP)

Charap's "peace at any price" stance is always easy to defend, since most people would love to have peace. But if we don't also talk about the costs of peace, the whole discussion is pointless.

REPORT

# The Children Russia Tried to Steal

Tens of thousands of Ukrainian children have been deported to Russia. Liza Batsura made it home.

By Amy Mackinnon



Liza Batsura and her mother, Oksana, walk in Kyiv on Oct. 11, 2023. ALINA SMUTKO/REUTERS

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FEBRUARY 23, 2024, 8:00 AM



# UKRAINIAN WORLD CONGRESS

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## INVESTIGATION REVEALS BELARUS BRAINWASHING UKRAINIAN CHILDREN IN SPECIAL CAMPS

#DEFEATRUSIA MARCH 4, 2024



At least 2,442 Ukrainian children have been taken to the territory of Belarus since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, according to data provided by the Yale School of Public Health's Humanitarian Research Lab in November of last year. This information comes from a joint [investigation](#) by the Ukrainian (Skhemy project) and the Belarusian service of Radio Free Europe.

Children from the occupied territories were sent to so-called recreation camps in Belarus, where ideas aligned with the political interests of Russia and Belarus were being promoted, say researchers.

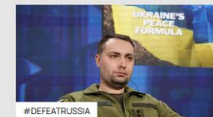
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News | Russia-Ukraine war

## 'Climate of fear': UN accuses Russia of abuses in occupied Ukraine

*In its first in-depth report on the situation in occupied Ukraine, UN says it found evidence of intimidation, arbitrary detention and torture.*



Russia says it has annexed Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia, the four Ukrainian regions it partly occupies [File: Dmitry Astakhov/Sputnik via Reuters]

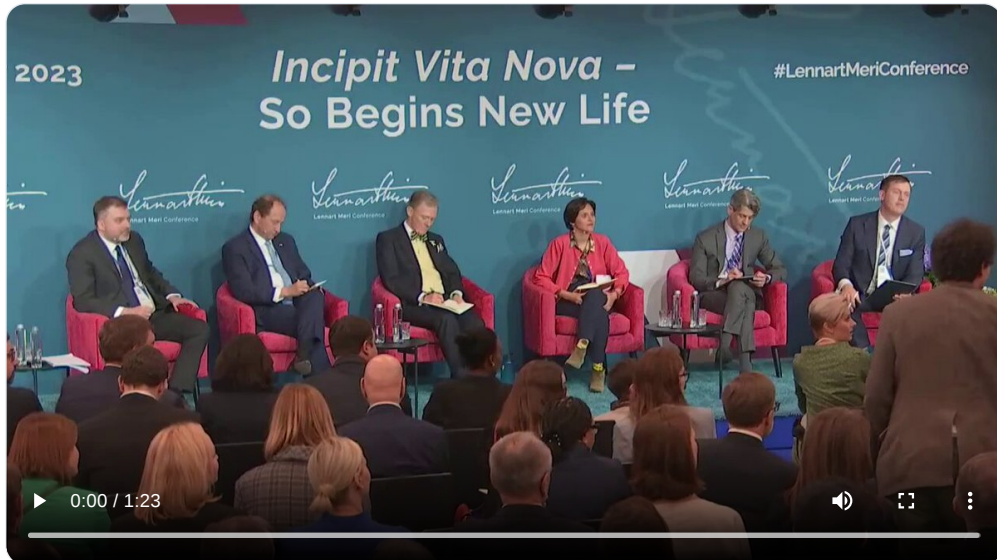
21 Mar 2024



Russia has tortured and arbitrarily detained people in the parts of eastern Ukraine it occupies, creating a “climate of fear” and suppressing Ukrainian identity, according to the United Nations.

The UN’s Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine (HRMMU) was denied entry to Russian-occupied Ukraine and based its report on remote and in-person interviews with more than 2,300 witnesses and victims.

At the 2023 Lennart Meri Conference, Ukrainian activist Olena Halushka asked Charap about the cost of Russia's occupation, referring to mass graves, filtration camps, and mass deportations of children. Charap stated that it's ultimately up to the Ukrainian leadership...



...to decide whether these consequences are worth the sacrifices in the battlefield. Interestingly, his op-eds and talks are always suggesting for Ukraine to "negotiate" with Russia, which would without a doubt lead to concessions and more of such horrible war crimes.

9/18

Earlier this year, Charap presented his position on the war at a security conference in the Estonian capital of Tallinn. During a hostile question-and-answer session, Edward Lucas, a former *Economist* editor, accused Charap of “Westsplaining,” and James Sherr, of the famed international think tank Chatham House, asked how he could be so sure Ukraine wouldn’t win the war outright. But the toughest question came from the Ukrainian activist Olena Halushka. “You are speaking a lot about the cost of fighting, the line of fighting here and there,” she said, in a strong but clear accent. “But what is your analytical perspective on the cost of occupation? Because if you take a look at what is happening, at all of the de-occupied territories, the patterns there are very similar. There are big mass graves, torture chambers, filtration camps, mass deportations—including the deportations of kids.” When Halushka concluded her remarks and sat down, the audience applauded.

Charap answered the other questions he’d been asked, but avoided responding directly to this one. When prodded by Halushka and the moderator, he said, “I don’t know exactly how to answer that question, except to say that of course I recognize there are horrible war crimes being committed under areas under Russian occupation. And it’s ultimately for the Ukrainian government to decide which is worse—the casualties that could occur as a result of the continued fighting,” or the brutality of the continued Russian occupation of Ukrainian land. Charap seemed uncharacteristically flustered. “I mean, I don’t know quite more what more to say to answer the question,” he said again.

I have previously written about the consequences of Russian victory in Ukraine, and most of us can probably agree that this would be a horrible fate for any Ukrainian who is left in these occupied regions:

 **Pekka Kallioniemi**   
@P\_Kallioniemi · [Follow](#)

In today's [#vatniksoup](#), I'll talk about what happens if Russia succeeds in their invasion and permanently holds the regions they now control. If this happens, there will be much more pain and suffering - without peace - for the Ukrainians in the future.

1/18



9:21 AM · Feb 13, 2024 

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Also, we should also remind ourselves that the Kremlin hasn't been willing to negotiate for a long time now. In Mar 2024, Putin himself stated that holding negotiations while Ukraine is suffering from ammunition shortage would be "absurd".

11/18



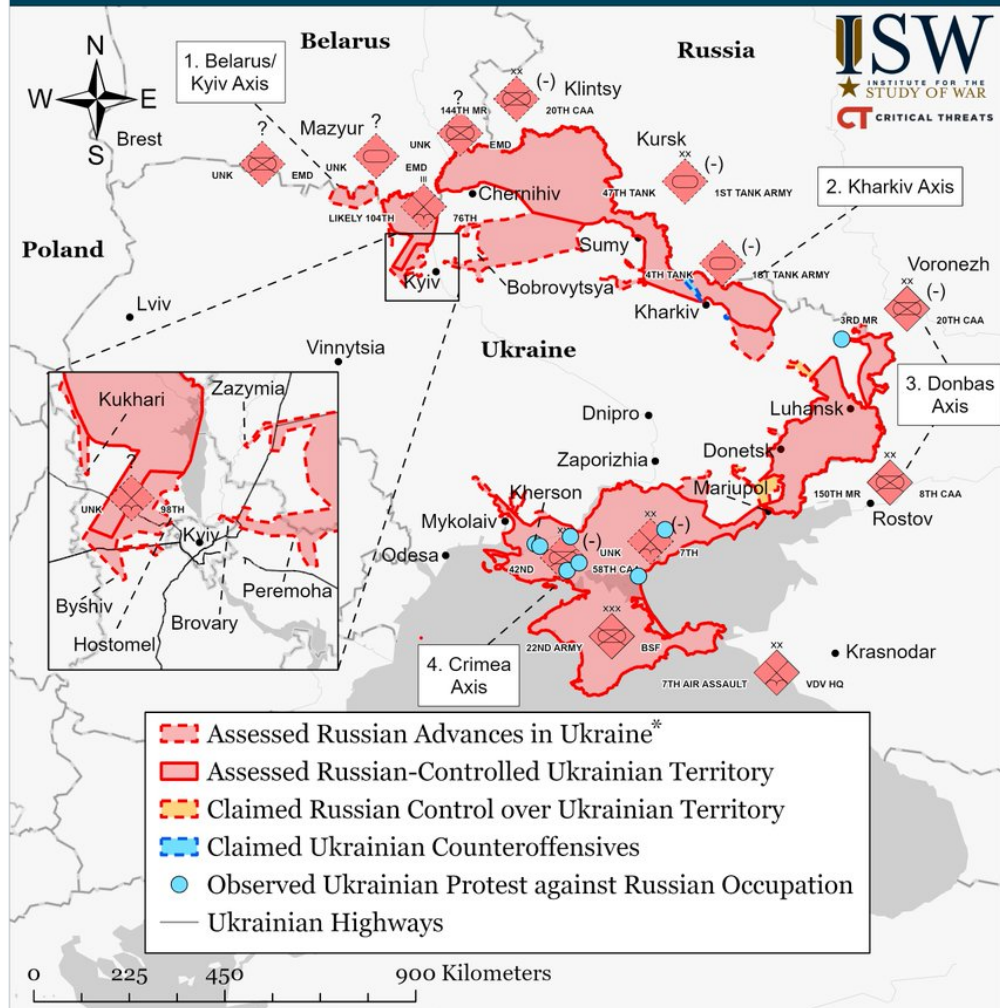
Charap has also been a strong opponent of military aid to Ukraine. In Jan 2022, he published an article on Foreign Policy titled "The West's Weapons Won't Make Any Difference to Ukraine". Take a look at

the maps below and tell me if you agree with Mr. Charap.

12/18



# Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of March 8, 2022, 3:00 PM EST



Map by George Barros, Kathryn Tyson, and Thomas Bergeron  
 © 2022 Institute for the Study of War and AEI's Critical Threats Project

\* Assessed Russian advances are areas where ISW assesses Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control.

# Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of April 7, 2024, 3:00 PM ET



In Jun 2023, Charap published another op-ed, criticizing the West for focusing more on providing military aid, intelligence and economic assistance to Ukraine rather than calling for the two parties to negotiate on peace.

# An Unwinnable War

## Washington Needs an Endgame in Ukraine

By **Samuel Charap** July/August 2023

Published on June 5, 2023



Diego Mallo



Download Article

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 was a moment of clarity for the United States and its allies. An urgent mission was before them: to assist Ukraine as it countered Russian aggression and to punish Moscow for its transgressions. While the Western response was clear from the start, the objective—the endgame of this war—has been nebulous.

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In his Aug 2023 New Yorker article titled "The Case for Negotiating with Russia", he suggested that Ukraine will have to make concessions to Russia, even though Ukraine has successfully liberated over half of the territories Russia occupied at some point.

ESSAY

# THE CASE FOR NEGOTIATING WITH RUSSIA

*Samuel Charap is asking Ukraine and its allies to consider how much worse the war could get.*

By Keith Gessen  
August 28, 2023



All this wouldn't worry me too much if Mr. Charap and his silly talks about negotiations and criticism of military aid were ignored. But they're not. Charap's a regular visitor to the White House's National Security Council (NSC), headed by Jake Sullivan.


15/18

 <span style="float: right;">Administration</span>									
LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MI	APPT START	APPT END	PEOPLE	VISITEE LAST	VISITEE FIRST	RELEASE	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	8/12/2022 13:00	8/12/2022 23:59	2	Vaddi	Pranay	11/30/2022	
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+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	6/3/2022 15:00	6/3/2022 23:59	3	Sloat	Amanda	10/4/2022	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	8/17/2022 15:00	8/17/2022 23:59	2	Vaddi	Pranay	11/30/2022	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	8/8/2023 15:30	8/8/2023 23:59	16	Bousquette	Elizabeth	11/30/2023	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	8/9/2022 13:30	8/9/2022 23:59	86	POTUS		11/30/2022	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	11/22/2022 17:00	11/22/2022 23:59	1	Green	Eric	2/28/2023	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	1/20/2023 13:00	1/20/2023 23:59	2	Green	Eric	4/30/2023	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	1/20/2023 13:30	1/20/2023 23:59	2	Green	Eric	4/30/2023	
+ CHARAP	SAMUEL	G	1/19/2023 11:00	1/19/2023 23:59	3	Vaddi		4/30/2023	
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According to Michael @McFaul, Sullivan and Biden recently "bought into" the idea that sending too much military aid to Ukraine would cause Russia to use tactical nukes against the US. This is just



speculation, but maybe Sullivan is actually listening to Mr. Charap?


16/18

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The New Voice of Ukraine

## Biden and Sullivan halt push for Ukraine aid amid concerns of Russian nuclear threat

The New Voice of Ukraine  
Fri, April 5, 2024 at 11:15 AM GMT+3 · 2 min read   1




Jake Sullivan

U.S. President [Joe Biden](#) and his National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan "bought into" idea that Russia could use nuclear weapons if the U.S. provides Ukraine with "too many" weapons, Head of U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, Michael McCaul, said in an interview with [Puck News](#) on April 2.

But there's nothing new with Russia's threatening with nuclear weapons & Putin's people have been doing it since at least 2007. Many people, including Musk & Sacks, use these empty threats as an excuse to let Russia do whatever they want in Ukraine:

17/18



**Nuclear Threats and Red Lines | Vatnik Soup**

#vatniksoup is a Twitter thread series (and a hashtag!) where I'll introduce pro-Russian actors and propagandists from around the world, be they so-called "independent journalists", politicians, mili...

<https://vatniksoup.com/en/nuclear-threats/>



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IDEAS

# What Russia Got by Scaring Elon Musk

The billionaire isn't the only one who's been frightened into holding back help for Ukraine.

By Anne Applebaum



Jordan Vonderhaar / Bloomberg / Getty

SEPTEMBER 11, 2023

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To conclude, of course there should always be room for diplomacy and back-channel conversations, but one should always remember the unreliability of the Kremlin.

And just a few days ago, Peskov said that Russia and NATO are already in "direct confrontation".

# How to Pave the Way for Diplomacy to End the War in Ukraine

No Negotiations Yet—but It’s Time to Talk About Talking

By Samuel Charap and Jeremy Shapiro March 5, 2024

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Ukrainian flags fly over Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, February 2024  
 Stringer / Reuters

Ukraine and its Western backers have precious little common ground with Russia. Yet all the key players seem to agree on one critical issue: the war in Ukraine will end in negotiations. As Russian President Vladimir Putin told the conservative broadcaster Tucker Carlson in a recent interview: “We are willing to negotiate.” A spokesman for the U.S. National Security Council, while casting doubt on Putin’s sincerity, retorted in a statement that “both we and President Zclensky have said

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Putin says Russia and Ukraine "will be reunited, at least at the spiritual level – it's inevitable," meaning Ukraine can't have an identity distinct from Russia's.

Then he says "nationalism poisons many peoples," which from him sounds like "Cocaine is a hell of a drug"



1:07

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World

## Kremlin says Russia and NATO are now in "direct confrontation"

By Reuters  
April 4, 2024 4:04 PM GMT+3 · Updated 5 days ago



Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov attends Russian President Vladimir Putin's annual press conference in Moscow, Russia December 14, 2023. Alexander Zemlianichenko/Pool via REUTERS/ File photo [Purchase Licensing Rights](#) 

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