

IBN WAR & POLITICS

POST US ELECTIONS: WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR UKRAINE



A NATIONAL MOMENT OF SILENCE

In Honor Of The Memory Of The Fallen Military and Civilians.
Adults and Children.
Heroes and Heroines.
Everyone.



ANDREW'S BIO

- Investor, Ukraine Business News (UBN) and UBN Network Founder
- 12 years of progressive experience in Investment Management
- A former investment banker with Goldman Sachs (NYC) and a financial analyst at Tishman Speyer (NYC)
- Founded Ukraine Business News in 2018 and is a Co-Founder of UBN Network
- Holds an MBA from Case Western Reserve University (USA) and is a Zhytomyr Polytechnic State University graduate





UKRAINE BUSINESS NEWS (UBN)

The Morning Economic Digest subscribers list has over 4500 unique subscribers:

• EC, EU parliament members, embassies, foreign/domestic businesses, etc.

UBN Website has over 1,000,000 visits monthly:

- Written in 7 languages (German, French, Spanish, Polish, English, Ukrainian, Russian)
- 65% of our readers are from the US, Canada, and the EU



THE UBN NETWORK MEMBERSHIP OFFERS

UBN Network membership is available to Ukraine Business News readers



4 LIVE EVENTS IN KYIV / YEAR

- Discussions with panelists from different sectors, with 80-100 attendees
- Macroeconomic, political, and business briefing, including best management practices
- Forum for in-person networking and live benchmarking of issues and expectations



RESEARCH REPORTS & SURVEYS

- 4 Benchmarking Surveys focused on Budgeting, Talent Management, Channel Management, Digitization, etc...
- 4 quarterly reports on Ukraine's political, economic, and business outlook
- Monthly reports with macroeconomic forecasts for Ukraine, as well as analysis for the broader region and global markets



NETWORK AND INSIGHTS

- Ad hoc webinars and two analyst briefings for your company with our in-house Ukraine expert
- Facilitation of introductions and relationship-building in the Ukraine business community

Feel free to reach out with any questions!

NETWORK@UBN.NEWS

TYPES OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

UBN NEWS

(INDIVIDUAL/CORPORATE)

- Everyday's Highlights
- Brief overview of 10-12 topics
- Hot Discussion Points
- Editor's note

\$9.99 / \$99
Individual
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UBN NEWS + UBN NETWORK 20 REPORTS

(INDIVIDUAL/CORPORATE)

- Everyday's Highlights
- Brief overview of 10-12 topics
- Hot Discussion Points
- Editor's note
- 12 Monthly Reports
- 4 Quarterly Reports
- 4 Benchmarking Surveys

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UBN NETWORK ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP

- UBN Morning Digest
- 12 Monthly Reports
- 4 Quarterly Reports
- 4 Benchmarking Surveys
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- 2 Live briefings in your office
- Ability to be a speaker at our event
- Two articles about your business/year
- · Access to our business community

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MARK'S BIO

- Former Managing Director of Europe at FrontierView, specializing in Eastern European Markets
- Published articles with Harvard Business Review, interviewed on TV/in print by the BBC, Bloomberg, Forbes, Wall Street Journal, MSNBC, etc.
- Taught courses on counterterrorism to CIA/FBI agents at the US Army Combating Terrorism Center
- Taught a course on Investing in Emerging Markets at the London Institute of Banking & Finance (LIBF)
- Interned for ex-US Secretary of State Madeline Albright
- MA in Eastern European & Eurasian Studies from John Hopkins SAIS;
 BA in History and Theology from the University of Notre Dame







URN WAR & POLITICS

POST US ELECTIONS: WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR UKRAINE

2025 OUTLOOK



AGENDA

Key Take-Aways

Global Impacts on Ukraine

The War in Ukraine: Scenarios & Implications

Ukraine Market Dynamics

KEY TAKE-AWAYS

- Dangerous Times: Putin in an epochal struggle against a leaderless West
- 2 Trump's foreign policy team supports a strong, active United States in the world
- 3 Increased likelihood of a ceasefire in 2025
- 4 An uncertain investment outlook amid a slowing economy is weighing on sentiment

GLOBAL IMPACTS ON UKRAINE

ESCALATION AND MAJOR SHIFTS LATELY

Leaderless West

• US/Germany/France/UK

Syria & Georgia destabilized

Sucks in Russian resources, discredits the Kremlin

Russian battlefield advances/losses

- Greatest gains since 2022 / 45k casualties in November
- Use of an IRBM after US approval of long-range strikes

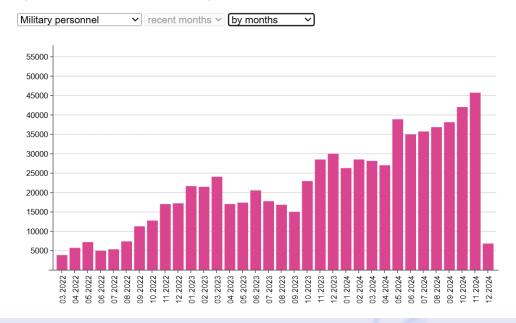
Russian economic/financial pressure is picking up

- Worst fall in the ruble since March 2022
- High inflation/interest rates, problems covering deficit
- Oil prices revised down





Dynamics of losses of the Russian army:





TRUMP'S POLICY TOWARDS UKRAINE

Reasons for optimism:

Personnel Appointments

- Special Envoy to the Russia-Ukraine War Kellogg
- National Security Director Waltz
- Secretary of State Rubio

Republican White House, Senate, & House

Accountable for the war now

Plans to Raise US Oil Output

Lower inflation by lowering energy prices

Trump's Personality – Putin isn't most unpredictable player

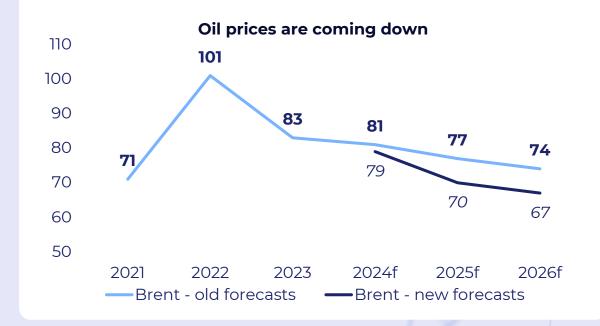
- Can't be seen as weak and having lost
- Business opportunities in Ukraine's reconstruction



Kellogg

"Peace from strength"

"You have to give more arms to them because you can't trust the Russians"





WAR IN UKRAINE SCENARIOS & IMPLICATIONS

POLLING: WILL TRUMP ABANDON UKRAINE?





What will Trump do?

Something in between/gradual support (like Biden)

56%

Provide Ukraine overwhelming support

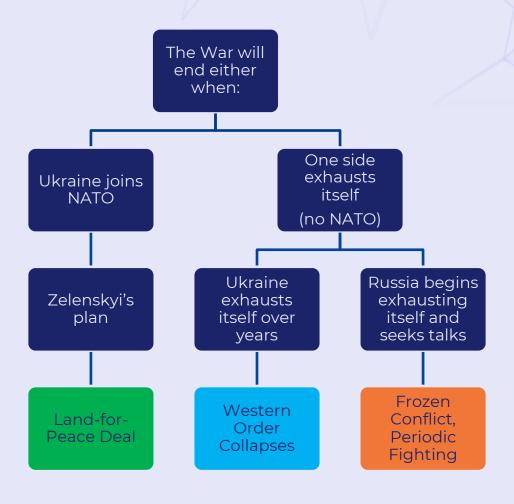
33%

Join at slido.com #2407 959

Abandon Ukraine

11%

THE WAR SCENARIOS DEPEND ON SECURITY GUARANTEES





LAND-FOR-PEACE DEAL REQUIRES SECURITY GUARANTEES

Need to consider domestic drivers

Will Ukraine agree to it?

Zelenskyi showed interest in a land-for-peace deal

Will Europe agree to it?

- Creating €500bn defense fund
- Greater interest in the seizure of Russia's fx reserves
- Talk of placing 40,000 European troops in Ukraine

Will the US agree to it?

- Is Trump the only US leader who could do it politically?
 - 1972 Nixon to China moment?



Nixon meets Mao in Beijing

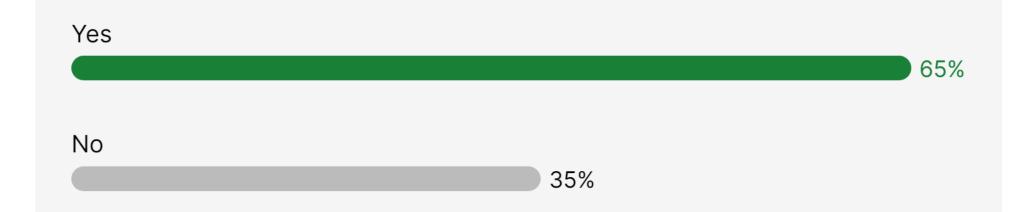


POLLING: LAND-FOR-PEACE DEAL





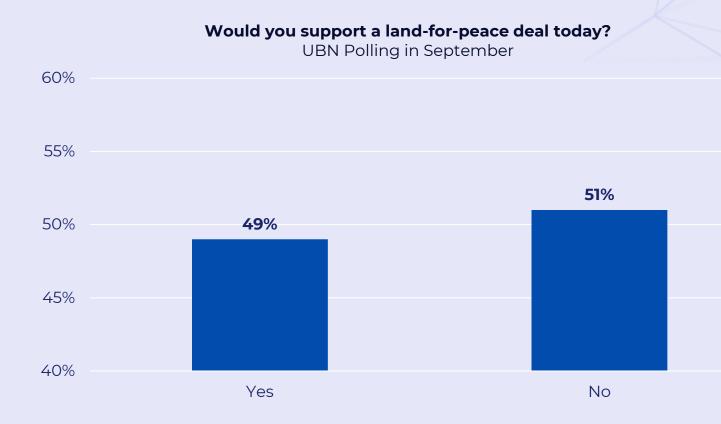
Would you support ending the war today in return for land concessions and NATO membership (a land-for-peace deal)?



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POLLING: LAND-FOR-PEACE DEAL

Recent Gallup poll: 52% open to land-for-peace, 38% against





WHY TALKS ARE DOOMED TO FAIL

- X Putin will never negotiate genuinely if he believes he is winning
- X Putin will never have terms dictated to him by Trump

Issue	Trump		
Status of Ukraine	Independent, Sovereign Nation		
Negotiation Participants	Zelenskyi, Putin, et al.		
Strikes on Russian territory	Continues		
Kursk Region	Under Ukraine control		
Western Military Support	Continues		
Foreign Troops	European Troops in Ukraine		
NATO membership	Delayed		



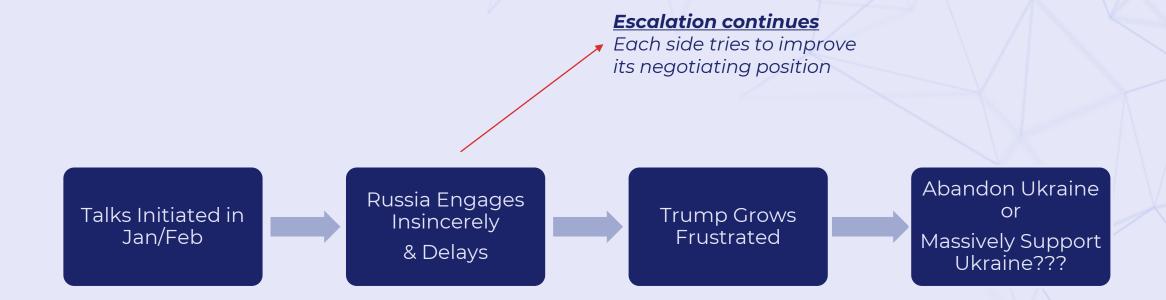
WHY TALKS ARE DOOMED TO FAIL

- X Putin will never negotiate genuinely if he believes he is winning
- X Putin will never have terms dictated to him by Trump

Issue	Trump	Putin		
Status of Ukraine	Independent, Sovereign Nation	Part of Russia		
Negotiation Participants	Zelenskyi, Putin, et al.	No Zelenskyi		
Strikes on Russian territory	Continues	Must stop before talks		
Kursk Region	Under Ukraine control	Ukraine withdrawal before talks		
Western Military Support	Continues	Demilitarized Ukraine		
Foreign Troops	European Troops in Ukraine	No Foreign Troops		
NATO membership	Delayed	Cancelled		



WHAT DO TALKS LOOK LIKE?



Who angers Trump first?

- Zelenskyi Likely for not mobilizing enough men fast enough
- Putin For stalling while escalating



RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR SCENARIOS THRU 2025

End point	Scenario 1: Russian 'victory' (Collapse of Western order)	Scenario 2: Ukraine 'wins', land-for-peace deal	Scenario 3: Frozen conflict, fighting persists at lower level	Scenario 4: Direct Russia- NATO confrontation
Likelihood	20% (was 15%)	50% (was 50%)	15% (was 30%)	15% (was 5%)
Likely timeline	Early-Mid 2025	Mid-2025 at earliest	Late-2025	Through 2025 and beyond
	 Trump cuts off US support Kyiv forced to negotiate a bad peace Russia seizes more territory; Ukraine turns war into an insurgency 	 Russia fails to win the war by early 2025 Neither side can shift the line of contact decisively Russia seeks a ceasefire to pause the war Zelenskyi offers land-forpeace West provides more aid and security guarantees 	 Neither side can strategically shift the war in its favor Western aid to Ukraine moderates Kyiv is forced to negotiate, while Moscow declare a "victory" The two sides get stuck in extended negotiations and fighting persists 	 NATO-Russian War instigated by a Russian attack on a NATO country or tactical nuclear strike in Ukraine The West responds with an overwhelming conventional response Potential for Russian nuclear retaliation in the West

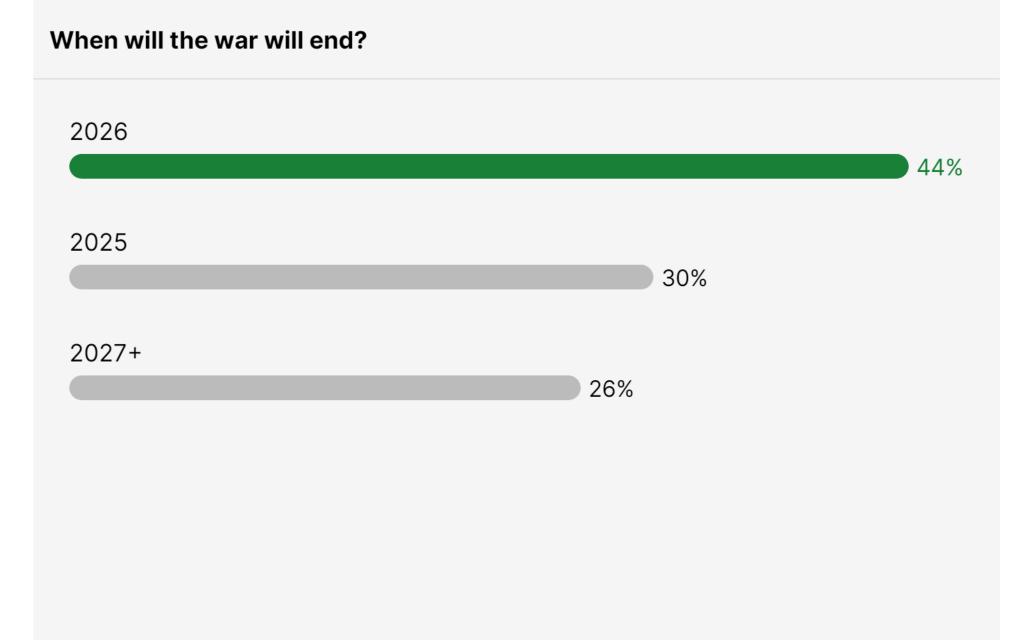


POLLING: WHEN WILL THE WAR END?



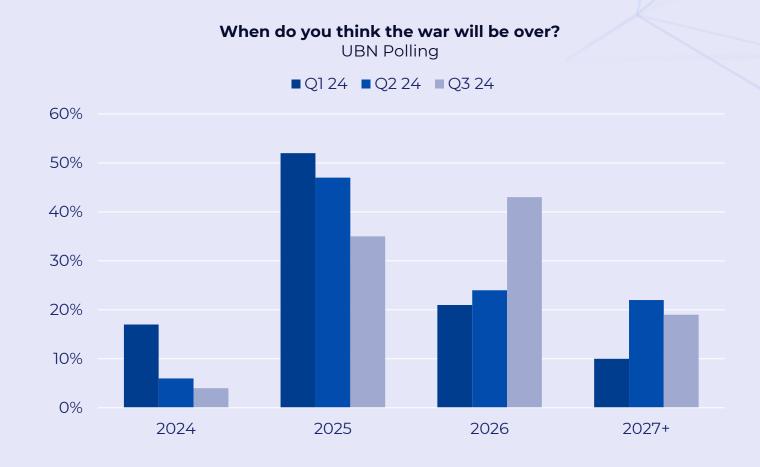


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POLLING: WHEN WILL THE WAR END?

AmCham Survey: ~80% of members expect the war to end in 2025





UKRAINE MARKET DYNAMICS

UKRAINE FORECAST SUMMARY

GDP consensus forecasts have all come down for this year and 2025

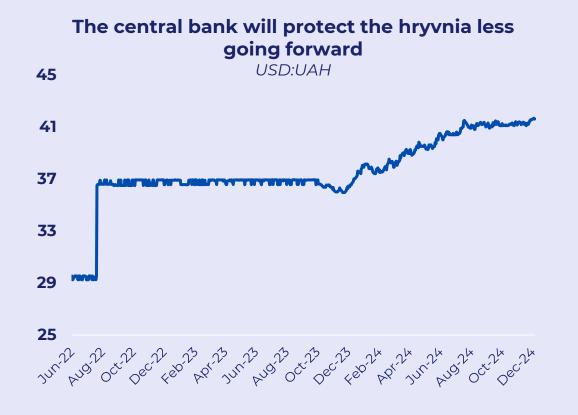
- GDP slowing: 1.3% YOY in October
- Business sentiment slowing for first time since June due to power outages, higher costs
- Inflation rising above expectations, hryvnia depreciating more lately

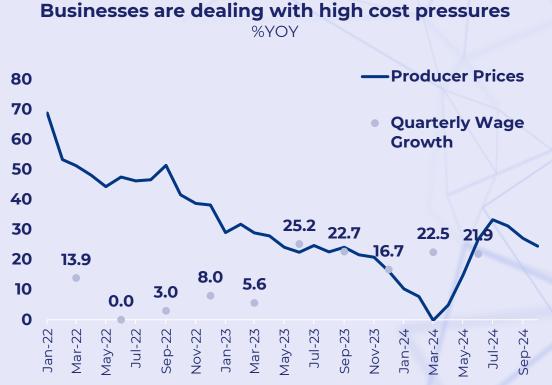
	2022	2023	2024f	2025f
GDP, %YOY	-29.1	5.3	3.7	3.9
USD:UAH (avg)	32.70	36.80	40.25	44.50
Inflation, %YOY	20.6	12.9	5.9	8.8
Consumer Spending, %YOY	-16.9	6.3	5.4	5.2
Investment, %YOY	-34.0	52.9	6.0	10.0



PRICES ARE RISING, BUT DEMAND CONTINUES TO GROW

Electricity prices, wage hikes, hryvnia depreciation, and higher food inflation are driving up prices



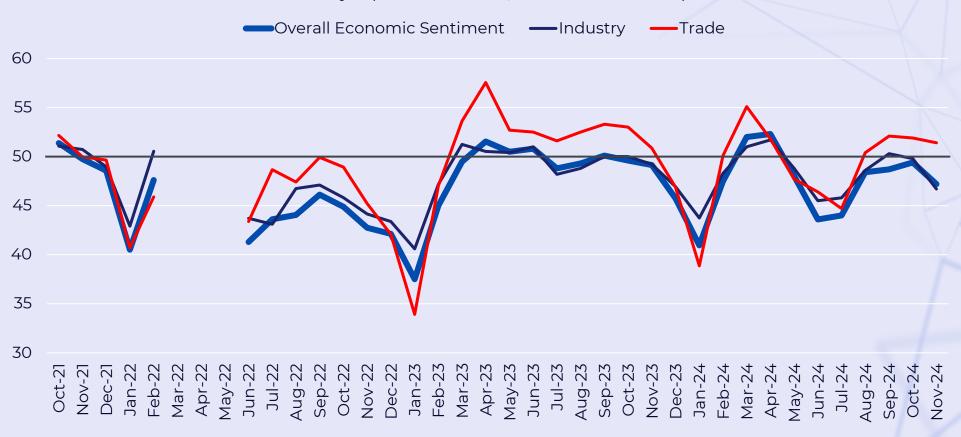




POWER OUTAGES & LABOR PRESSURES WEIGH ON SENTIMENT

Investor sentiment has fallen for the first time since June

Business Activity Expectations Index, above 50 indicates optimism





CERTAIN SECTORS ARE MORE RESILIENT THAN OTHERS







WHAT BUSINESSES ARE SAYING

"I'm taking the next month off!"

"I'm not worried about Trump. We've managed the last 3 years and we'll figure everything out" "When it comes to power outages, we have a Plan A, Plan B, and Plan C"

"There's been a clear fall in moods – top businessmen committed to Ukraine are now considering leaving"

"I need to make myself the top choice for a new employee, and so far we are"



WHAT TO WATCH FOR IN COMING MONTHS

Battlefield: Loss of Kursk and Major Setbacks in Donbas

Damage to Energy infrastructure

Mobilization in Ukraine (& in Russia)

Oil Prices & Ruble

Will Putin fire Nabiullina????

More escalation by the West

- Sanctions on shadow fleet, enforce oil price cap
- Momentum to take Russia's fx reserves
- More military support, strikes in Russia







BN WAR & POLITICS

FIRST SPEAKER





DMYTRO KANUPIER

Azov soldier. Azovstal Defender. Ukrainian POW. Survived the Olenivka massacre

URN WAR & POLITICS NETWORK FIRST SPEAKER







BN WAR & POLITICS

NETWORKING BREAK





JOHN E. HERBST

Ambassador, director of the Atlantic Council's Eurasia Center, a former US ambassador to Ukraine and Uzbekistan





STEVEN MOORE

Republican political strategist for over 30 years, Former Chief of Staff, and senior leadership aide in the US Congress



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PANEL SPEAKERS





OLEH SHAMSHUR

Ukrainian diplomat. Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States and France. Non-resident senior fellow, Atlantic Council



JOCK MENDOZA-WILSON

Director of International and Investor Relations at System Capital Management

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