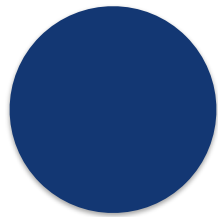


# **Política Internacional e Geopolítica a era da imprevisibilidade**

**INSTITUTO CULTURAL  
D. ANTÓNIO FERREIRA GOMES  
José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes**

**SESSÃO Nº 27**

**30 / 4 /2025**



## PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (1)

[MAPA: A Índia Colonial do Império Britânico.

FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (2)

[FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]





# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (3) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

**Head Of Government:** Prime Minister: [Narendra Modi](#)

**Capital:** [New Delhi](#)

**Population:** (2025 est.)  
1,398,885,000

**Currency Exchange Rate:** 1 USD equals 83.492 Indian rupee

**Head Of State:** President: [Droupadi Murmu](#)

**Form Of Government:** multiparty federal republic with two legislative houses (Council of Sta...[\(Show more\)](#)

**Official Languages:** Hindi; English

**Official Religion:** none

**Official Name:** Bharat (Hindi); Republic of India (English)

**Total Area (Sq Km):** 3,287,469

**Total Area (Sq Mi):** 1,269,292

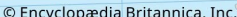
**Monetary Unit:** Indian rupee Rs<sup>2</sup>

**Urban-Rural Population:** Urban: (2018) 34% • Rural: (2018) 66%

**Life Expectancy At Birth:** Male: (2021–2025) 69.4 years • Female: (2021–2025) 72.7 years



[FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (5) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

**Head Of Government:** Prime Minister: [Shehbaz Sharif](#)

**Capital:** [Islamabad](#)

**Population:** (2025 est.) 255,749,000

**Currency Exchange Rate:** 1 USD equals 278.392 Pakistani rupee

**Head Of State:** President: [Asif Ali Zardari](#)

**Form Of Government:** federal republic with two legislative houses (Senate [100]; Nationa...[\(Show more\)](#)

**Official Languages:** English; Urdu

**Official Religion:** Islam

**Official Name:** Islamic Republic of Pakistan

**Total Area (Sq Km):** 796,096

**Total Area (Sq Mi):** 307,373

**Monetary Unit:** Pakistani rupee (PKR)

**Population Rank:** (2025) 5

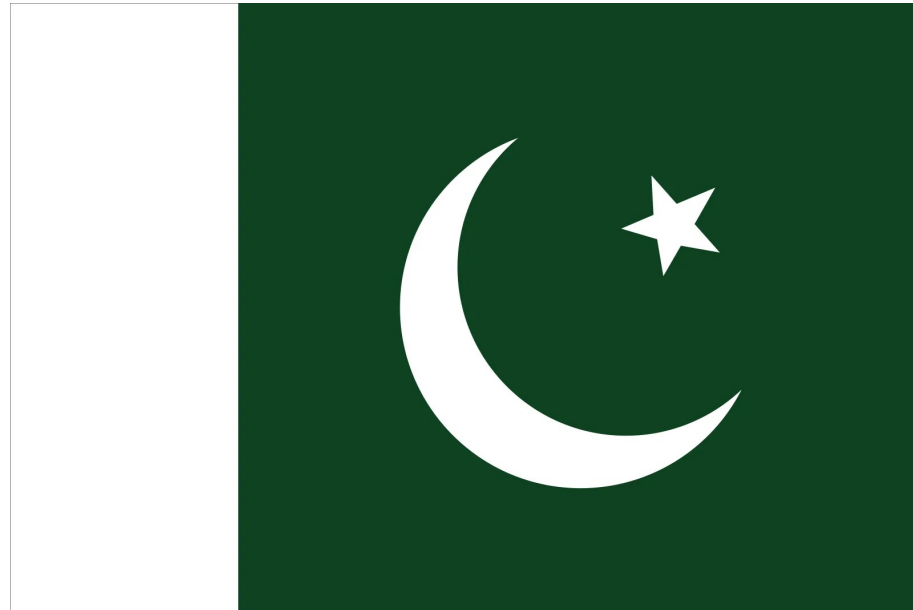
**Population Projection 2030:** 242,564,000

**Density: Persons Per Sq Mi:** (2025) 832

**Density: Persons Per Sq Km:** (2025) 321.3

**Urban-Rural Population:** Urban: (2020) 36.8% • Rural: (2020) 63.2%

**Life Expectancy At Birth:** Male: (2020) 64.5 years • Female: (2020) 65.5 years

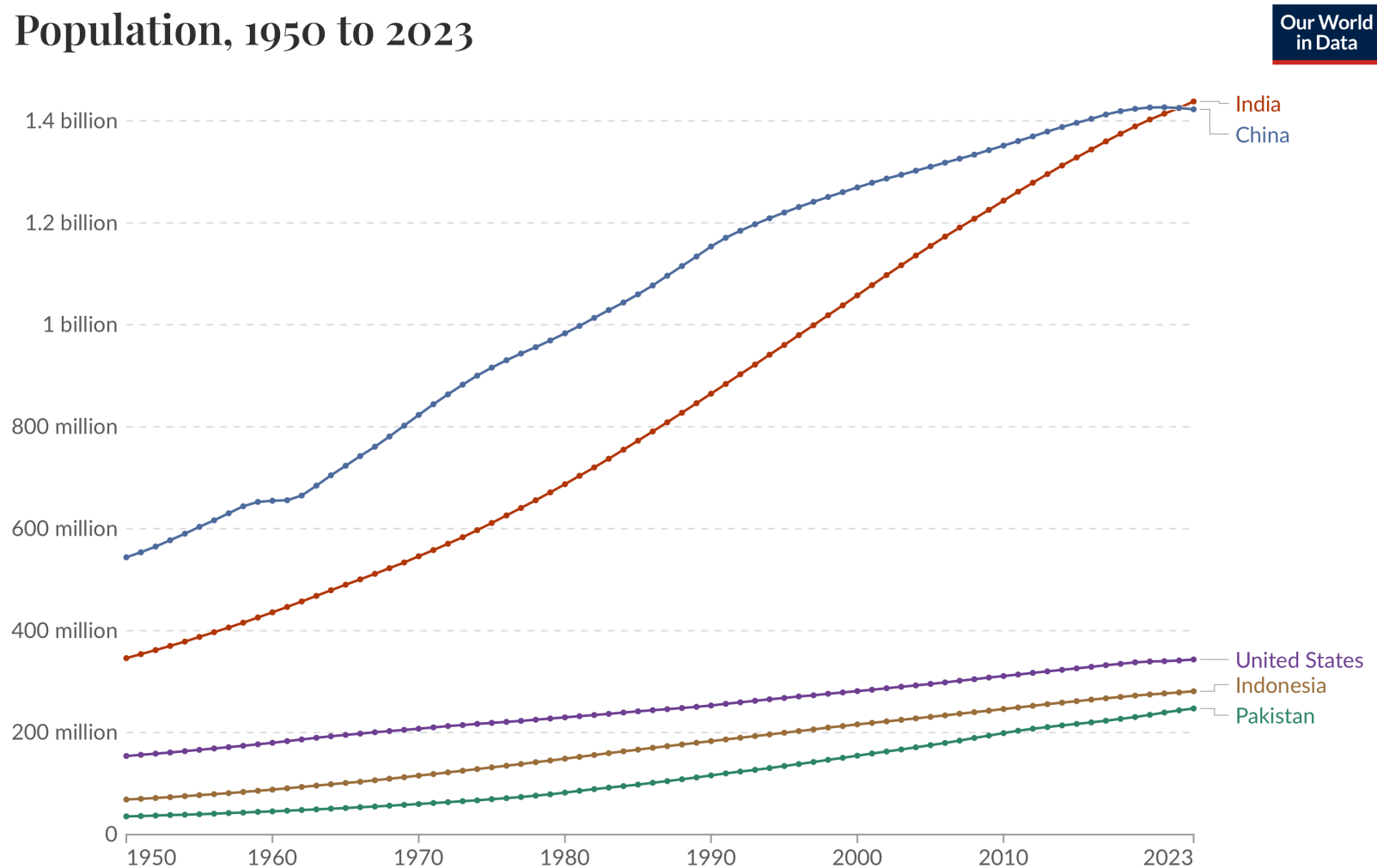


# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (6) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (7) [FONTE: Our World in Data]

## Population, 1950 to 2023



Data source: UN, World Population Prospects (2024)

OurWorldinData.org/population-growth | CC BY

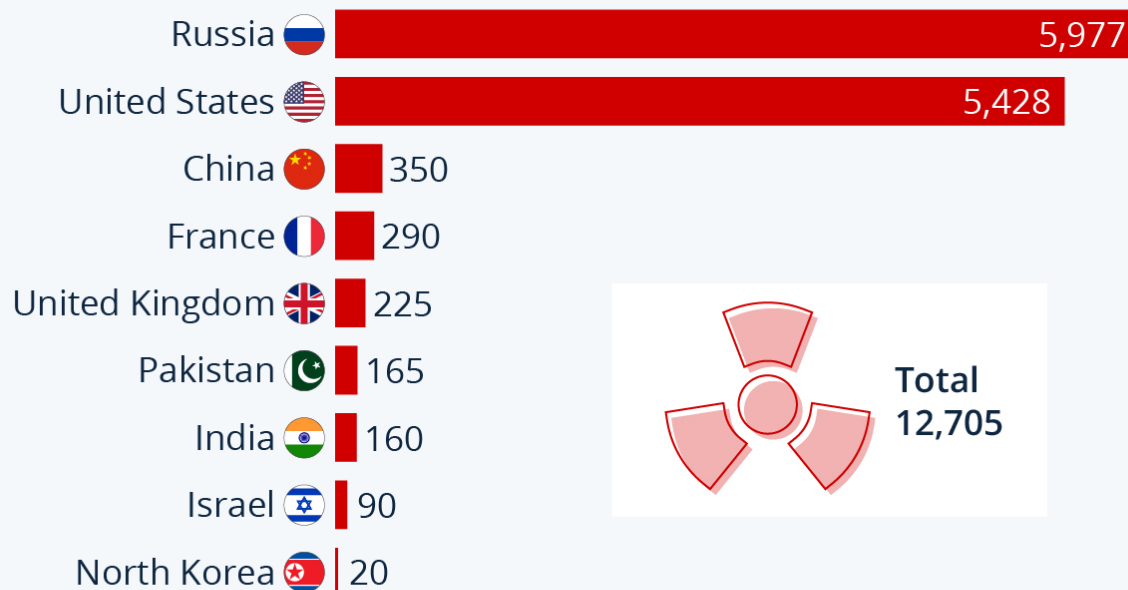
Note: Values as of 1 July of the indicated year.



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (8) [FONTE: Statista, 2022]

## The Countries Holding The World's Nuclear Arsenal

Estimated global nuclear warhead inventories (2022)\*



\* Includes deployed, stockpiled and retired warheads awaiting disarmament  
Source: Federation of American Scientists



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (9) [FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]

## India and Pakistan

The [history between India and Pakistan](#), both nuclear powers, is inextricably linked. The countries have fought a series of wars since gaining their independence from Great Britain in 1947, largely over the [Kashmir region](#), to which both countries lay claim.

India became a nuclear power in 1974, and Pakistan became a nuclear power in 1998.

Neither country has used nuclear weapons in conflict, but many experts fear that the ongoing crisis could escalate beyond conventional weapons use.

[India](#) has approximately 164 nuclear warheads, and has land-based, sea-based and air-launch nuclear capabilities. The state had declared a [No First Use](#) policy, which means they have vowed to never use nuclear weapons first in a conflict. However, as of August 2019, India said they are [reconsidering this policy](#).



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (10)

[FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]

[Pakistan](#) has approximately 170 warheads. This number exceeds the projection made by the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency in 1999 that Pakistan would have 60-80 warheads by 2020. If the current growth trend continues, Pakistan's arsenal could grow to 220 to 250 warheads by 2025. Pakistan keeps its nuclear warheads stored separately from its missiles and will only assemble one if it will be used. Unlike India, Pakistan has not declared a No First Use policy, and instead has opted to emphasize smaller battlefield or "tactical" nuclear weapons as a counter to India's larger and superior conventional forces.

Even a small nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan could kill 20 million people in a week. If a nuclear winter is triggered, nearly 2 billion people in the developing world would be at risk from death by starvation.

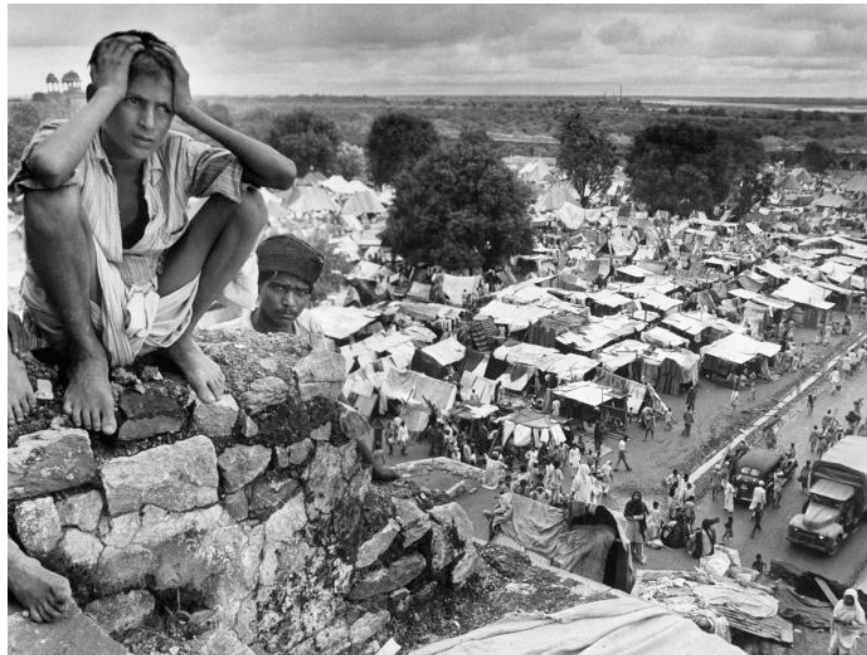
# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (11) [FONTE: New Yorker, 29/06/2015]

BOOKS | JUNE 29, 2015 ISSUE

## THE GREAT DIVIDE

*The violent legacy of Indian Partition.*

BY WILLIAM DALRYMPLE



*Partition displaced fifteen million people and killed more than a million.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE / LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION / GETTY

In August, 1947, when, after three hundred years in India, the British finally left, the subcontinent was partitioned into two independent nation states: Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Pakistan. Immediately, there began one of the greatest migrations in human history, as millions of Muslims trekked to West and East Pakistan (the latter now known as Bangladesh) while millions of Hindus and Sikhs headed in the opposite direction. Many hundreds of thousands never made it.

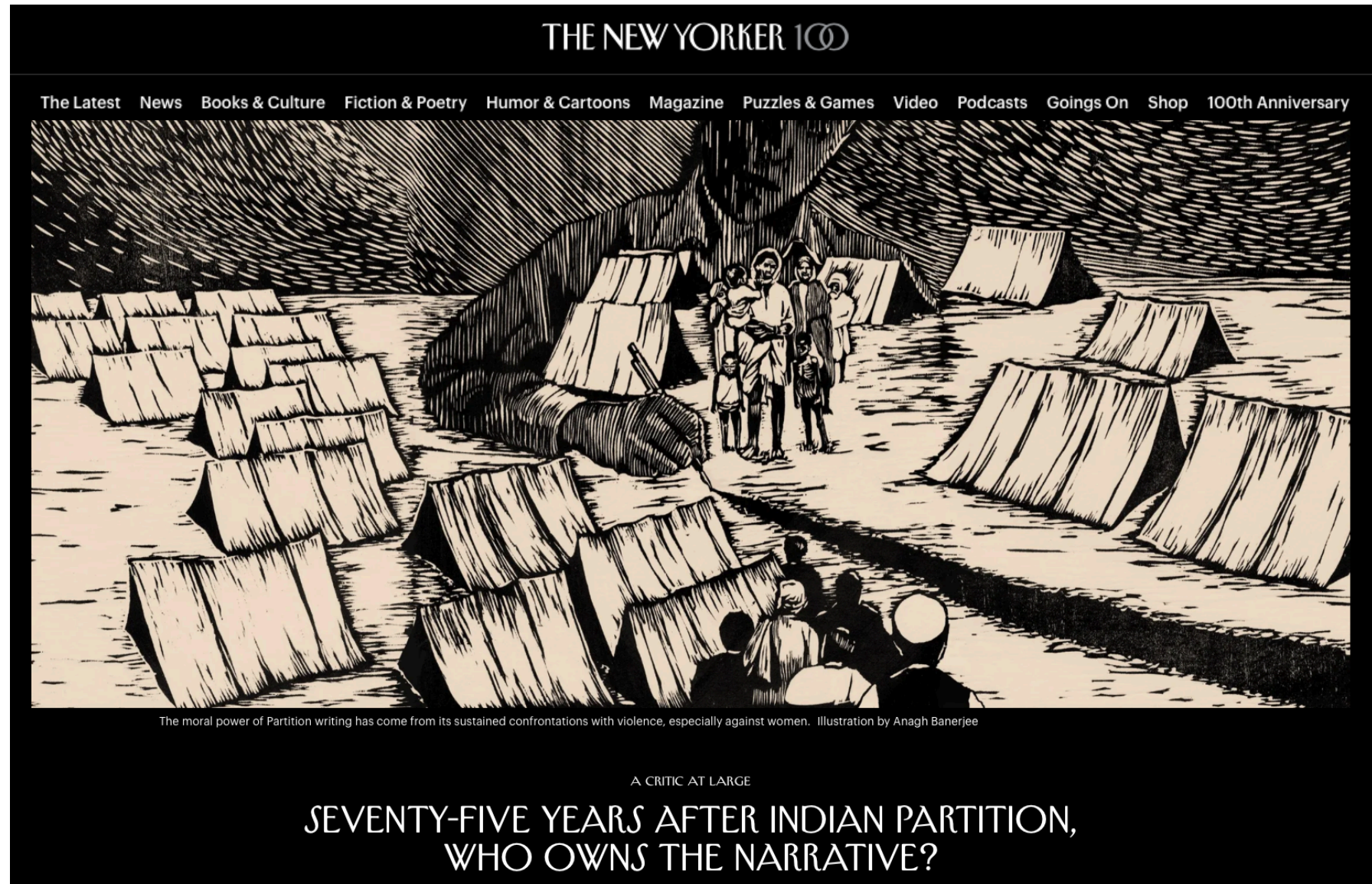
Across the Indian subcontinent, communities that had coexisted for almost a millennium attacked each other in a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence, with Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other—a mutual genocide as unexpected as it was unprecedented. In Punjab and Bengal—provinces abutting India’s borders with West and East Pakistan, respectively—the carnage was especially intense, with massacres, arson, forced conversions, mass abductions, and savage sexual violence. Some seventy-five thousand women were raped, and many of them were then disfigured or dismembered.

Nisid Hajari, in “Midnight’s Furies” (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt), his fast-paced new narrative history of Partition and its aftermath, writes, “Gangs of killers set whole villages aflame, hacking to death men and children and the aged while carrying off young women to be raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed Partition’s brutalities were worse: pregnant women had their breasts cut off and babies hacked out of their bellies; infants were found literally roasted on spits.”

By 1948, as the great migration drew to a close, more than fifteen million people had been uprooted, and between one and two million were dead. The comparison with the death camps is not so far-fetched as it may seem. Partition is central to modern identity in the Indian subcontinent, as the Holocaust is to identity among Jews, branded painfully onto the regional consciousness by memories of almost unimaginable violence. The acclaimed Pakistani historian Ayesha Jalal has called Partition “the central historical event in twentieth century South Asia.” She writes, “A defining moment that is neither beginning nor end, partition continues to influence how the peoples and states of postcolonial South Asia envisage their past, present and future.”



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (12) [FONTE: The New Yorker, 26/12/2022]



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (13) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

## The region to 1947

According to legend, an ascetic named Kashyapa reclaimed the land now comprising Kashmir from a vast lake. That land came to be known as Kashyapamar and, later, Kashmir. Buddhism was introduced by the Mauryan emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century BCE, and from the 9th to the 12th century CE the region appears to have achieved considerable prominence as a centre of Hindu culture. A succession of Hindu dynasties ruled Kashmir until 1346, when it came under Muslim rule. The Muslim period lasted nearly five centuries, ending when Kashmir was annexed to the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab in 1819 and then to the Dogra kingdom of Jammu in 1846.

Thus, the Kashmir region in its contemporary form dates from 1846, when, by the treaties of Lahore and Amritsar at the conclusion of the First Sikh War, Raja Gulab Singh, the Dogra ruler of Jammu, was created maharaja (ruling prince) of an extensive but somewhat ill-defined Himalayan kingdom "to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravi." The creation of this princely state helped the British safeguard their northern flank in their advance to the Indus and beyond during the latter part of the 19th century. The state thus formed part of a complex political buffer zone interposed by the British between their Indian empire and the empires of Russia and China to the north. For Gulab Singh, confirmation of title to these mountain territories marked the culmination of almost a quarter century of campaigning and diplomatic negotiation among the petty hill kingdoms along the northern borderlands of the Sikh empire of the Punjab.

Some attempts were made in the 19th century to define the boundaries of the territory, but precise definition was in many cases defeated by the nature of the country and by the existence of huge tracts lacking permanent human settlement. In the far north, for example, the maharaja's authority certainly extended to the Karakoram Range, but beyond that lay a debatable zone on the borders of the Turkistan and Xinjiang regions of Central Asia, and the boundary was never demarcated. There were similar doubts about the alignment of the frontier where this northern zone skirted the region known as Aksai Chin, to the east, and joined the better-known and more precisely delineated boundary with Tibet, which had served for centuries as the eastern border of the Ladakh region. The pattern of boundaries in the northwest became clearer in the last decade of the 19th century, when Britain, in negotiations with Afghanistan and Russia, delimited boundaries in the Pamirs region. At that time Gilgit, always understood to be part of Kashmir, was for strategic reasons constituted as a special agency in 1889 under a British agent.



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (14) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

## **The Kashmir problem**

As long as the territory's existence was guaranteed by the United Kingdom, the weaknesses in its structure and along its peripheries were not of great consequence, but they became apparent after the British withdrawal from South Asia in 1947. By the terms agreed to by India and Pakistan for the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the rulers of princely states were given the right to opt for either Pakistan or India or—with certain reservations—to remain independent. Hari Singh, the maharaja of Kashmir, initially believed that by delaying his decision he could maintain the independence of Kashmir, but, caught up in a train of events that included a revolution among his Muslim subjects along the western borders of the state and the intervention of Pashtun tribesmen, he signed an Instrument of Accession to the Indian union in October 1947. This was the signal for intervention both by Pakistan, which considered the state to be a natural extension of Pakistan, and by India, which intended to confirm the act of accession. Localized warfare continued during 1948 and ended, through the intercession of the United Nations, in a cease-fire that took effect in January 1949. In July of that year, India and Pakistan defined a cease-fire line—the line of control—that divided the administration of the territory. Regarded at the time as a temporary expedient, the partition along that line still exists.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (15) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

## Kashmir profile - Timeline

**1947** - End of British rule and partition of sub-continent into mainly Hindu India and Muslim-majority state of Pakistan.

**1947** - The Maharaja of Kashmir signs a treaty of accession with India after a Pakistani tribal army attacks. War breaks out between India and Pakistan over the region.

**1948** - India raises Kashmir in the UN Security Council, which in Resolution 47 calls for a referendum on the status of the territory. The resolution also calls on Pakistan to withdraw its troops and India to cut its military presence to a minimum. A ceasefire comes into force, but Pakistan refuses to evacuate its troops. Kashmir is for practical purposes partitioned.

**1951** - Elections in the Indian-administered state of Jammu and Kashmir back accession to India. India says this makes a referendum unnecessary. The UN and Pakistan say a referendum needs to take into account the views of voters throughout the former princely state.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (16) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**1974** - The Opposition Plebiscite Front in Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir drops demand for a referendum in return for extensive autonomy in an agreement with the Indian government. Sheikh Abdullah becomes chief minister, and his political dynasty continues to dominate the National Conference and state after his death in 1982.

**1984** - The Indian Army seizes control of the Siachen Glacier, an area not demarcated by the Line of Control. Pakistan makes frequent attempts to capture the area in the following decades.

## **Start of insurgency**

**1987** - Disputed state elections in Indian-administrated Jammu and Kashmir give impetus to a pro-independence insurgency centred around the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). India accuses Pakistan of fomenting the insurgency by despatching fighters across the Line of Control, which Pakistan denies.



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (17) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**1990** - The insurgency escalates after the Indian Army kills about 100 demonstrators at Gawakadal Bridge. Attacks and threats lead to the flight of almost all Hindus from the Kashmir Valley area of the state. India imposes Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in Jammu and Kashmir.

**1990s** - The insurgency continues, with Kashmiri militants training in Pakistan and India deploying hundreds of thousands of troops in Jammu and Kashmir. Violence against civilians by both sides is widespread.

**1999** - India and Pakistan go to war again after militants cross from Pakistani-administered Kashmir into the Indian-administered Kargil district. India repulses the attack, accuses Pakistan of being behind it, and breaks off relations.

**2001-2004** - Moves to boost relations between the two countries are punctuated by continuing violence, notably an attack on the parliament of Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir in Srinagar in 2001.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (18) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**2010** - Major protests erupt in the Kashmir Valley of Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir over the summer after a demonstrator is killed by the Indian army. The protests abate in September after the government announce measures to ease tension.

**2011** August - Chief Minister Omar Abdullah announces an amnesty for the 1,200 young men who threw stones at security forces during the anti-government protests in the Kashmir Valley the previous year.

Indian State Human Rights Commission confirms presence of more than 2,000 unidentified bodies in unmarked graves near the Line of Control. Activists say many may be people who disappeared after being arrested by security forces.

**2011** September - Indian forces kill three Pakistani soldiers in firing across the Line of Control. India accuses Pakistan of opening fire first.

**2013** February - Kashmiri Jaish-e-Mohammed member Mohammad Afzal Guru hanged over role in 2001 Indian parliament terror attack, prompting protests in which two young men are killed.

**2013** September - Prime ministers of India and Pakistan meet and agree to try reduce the number of violent incidents at their disputed border in Kashmir.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (19) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**2010** - Major protests erupt in the Kashmir Valley of Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir over the summer after a demonstrator is killed by the Indian army. The protests abate in September after the government announce measures to ease tension.

**2011** August - Chief Minister Omar Abdullah announces an amnesty for the 1,200 young men who threw stones at security forces during the anti-government protests in the Kashmir Valley the previous year.

Indian State Human Rights Commission confirms presence of more than 2,000 unidentified bodies in unmarked graves near the Line of Control. Activists say many may be people who disappeared after being arrested by security forces.

**2011** September - Indian forces kill three Pakistani soldiers in firing across the Line of Control. India accuses Pakistan of opening fire first.

**2013** February - Kashmiri Jaish-e-Mohammed member Mohammad Afzal Guru hanged over role in 2001 Indian parliament terror attack, prompting protests in which two young men are killed.

**2013** September - Prime ministers of India and Pakistan meet and agree to try reduce the number of violent incidents at their disputed border in Kashmir.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (20) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**2014** October - Pakistan and India exchange strongly-worded warnings, after a flare-up of violence across their common border leaves at least 18 people dead.

## **BJP joins government**

**2015** March - India's ruling BJP party is sworn into government in Indian-administered Kashmir for first time in coalition with local People's Democratic Party, with the latter's Mufti Mohammad Sayeed as chief minister.

**2015** September - Muslim separatist leaders in Indian-administered Kashmir close shops, businesses and government departments in protest at the enforcement of a colonial-era ban on eating beef.

**2015** November - One person dies in violent protests following a visit to Indian-administered Kashmir by Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

**2016** April - Mehbooba Mufti, the leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), becomes the first female chief minister of Indian-administered Kashmir following the death of her father and party founder Mufti Mohammad Sayeed.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (21) [FONTE: BBC, 6/08/2019]

**2016** October - The Indian army shoots dead three suspected militants as they try to enter an army camp in northern Kashmir.

**2016** November - Human Rights Watch appeals for an end to the burning of schools in Indian-administered Kashmir after the total set alight since a wave of pro-separatist unrest began in July reaches 25.

**2016** November - Thousands of villagers in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir are evacuated after violence escalates following the killing of seven Pakistani soldiers in an exchange of fire between India and Pakistan along the Line of Control.

**2017** May - Thousands defy a curfew across Indian-administered Kashmir to attend the funeral of top rebel commander Sabzar Ahmad Bhat.

**2017** July - Violent clashes take place in Indian-administered Kashmir on the anniversary of the death of militant commander Burhan Wani.

**2017** July - Militants attack Hindu pilgrims, killing at least seven and injuring 16, in the worst such attack since 2000.

**2019** August - Indian government strips Jammu and Kashmir state of the special status that gave it significant autonomy.



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (22) [FONTE: DW, 27/04/2025]

## India, Pakistan swap fire for third day after Kashmir attack

Timothy Jones with AFP, AP and Reuters  
22 hours ago

A deadly attack on mostly Indian tourists in Pahalgam in contested Kashmir has sparked rising tensions in the region. Indian and Pakistani troops exchanged fire for a third night, and India has held naval drills.



Indian security forces have been on even higher alert in Kashmir since the attack

Image: REUTERS

Troops from [India](#) and [Pakistan](#) have fired small arms along [Kashmir's](#) Line of Control (LoC) for a third night as [tensions grow](#) following [Tuesday's deadly militant attack on tourists](#) in the Indian-administered section of the contested region.

India said on Sunday that its troops had responded to "unprovoked" firing of small arms by Pakistani soldiers along the LoC, which separates the Indian- and Pakistani-controlled parts.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (23) [FONTE: DW, 27/04/2025]

## **Pakistan calls for neutral investigation into attack**

Islamabad has meanwhile rejected New Delhi's accusations of supporting "cross-border terrorism" following [the attack](#), in which 26 people were killed by gunmen in a tourist hotspot in Pahalgam.

Pakistan's Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif on Saturday said his country was "open to participating in any neutral, transparent and credible investigation" of the incident.

The Pakistani interior minister, Mohsin Naqvi, also told a press conference that Islamabad was "fully prepared to cooperate with any neutral investigators to ensure that the truth is uncovered and justice is served."

"Pakistan remains committed to peace, stability and the following of international norms but will not compromise on its sovereignty," he said.

## **India takes reprisal measures amid manhunt**

New Delhi announced a host of measures earlier this week following the attack by gunmen on tourists, the worst attack on civilians in years in the region.

Delhi has suspended a water-sharing treaty, announced the closure of the main land border crossing with Pakistan, [downgraded diplomatic ties](#) and withdrawn visas for Pakistanis.

As part of their manhunt for three suspected attackers, Indian soldiers on Saturday bombed the family home of one of them, while nine houses belonging to other suspected militants have also been bombed since the attack, AFP cited an unnamed police official as saying.

India's navy meanwhile said it had carried out drills to "revalidate and demonstrate readiness of platforms, systems and crew for long-range precision offensive strike." without detailing where the drills took place.

The *Indian Express* newspaper on Sunday quoted a top government source as saying "there will be military retaliation," with officials "discussing the nature of the strike."



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (24) [FONTE: DW, 27/04/2025]



## Kashmir a hotly contested region

Kashmir has been split between India and Pakistan since the countries obtained their independence from Britain in 1947.

However, both have always claimed the territory in full.

Since 1989, there has been an [ongoing insurgency in Kashmir by rebel groups](#) calling for independence or for the region to join Pakistan.

India and Pakistan, which both possess nuclear arms, have gone to war three times over the Kashmir issue, amid a host of mostly low-level skirmishes.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (25) [FONTE: Reuters, 28/04/2025]

## **Panic in Pakistan as India vows to cut off water supply over Kashmir**

For the first time, India on Wednesday suspended the World Bank-mediated [Indus Waters Treaty](#) of 1960 that ensures water for 80% of Pakistani farms, saying it would last until "Pakistan credibly and irrevocably abjures its support for cross-border terrorism".

India says two of the three militants who attacked tourists and killed 26 men in Kashmir were from Pakistan. Islamabad has denied any role and said "any attempt to stop or divert the flow of water belonging to Pakistan ... will be considered as an Act of War".

The [treaty](#) split the Indus and its tributaries between the nuclear-armed rivals.

Government officials and experts on both sides say India cannot stop water flows immediately, because the treaty has allowed it to only build hydropower plants without significant storage or dams on the three rivers allocated to Pakistan. But things could start changing in a few months.

"We will ensure no drop of the Indus River's water reaches Pakistan," India's water resources minister, Chandrakant Raghunath Paatil, said on X.

He did not respond to questions about the fears in Pakistan.

# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (26) [FONTE: Reuters, 28/04/2025]

Immediately, India will stop sharing data like hydrological flows at various sites of the rivers flowing through India, withhold flood warnings and skip annual meetings under the Permanent Indus Commission headed by one official each from the two countries, said Kushvinder Vohra, a recently retired head of India's Central Water Commission.

"They will not have much information with them when the water is coming, how much is coming," said Vohra, who was also India's Indus Commissioner and now advises the government occasionally.

"Without the information, they cannot plan."

And it is not just agriculture, a shortage of water will also hit electricity generation and potentially cripple the economy, economists say.

Vaqar Ahmed, economist and team lead with UK consulting firm Oxford Policy Management, said that Pakistan had underestimated the threat of India walking away from the treaty.

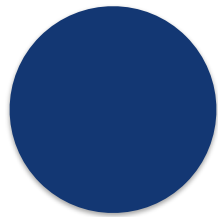
"India hasn't got the kind of immediate infrastructure to halt the waterflows, especially during flood times, so this period creates a crucial window for Pakistan to address the inefficiencies in its water sector," he said.



# Um conflito insolúvel: a Índia, o Paquistão e a questão de Caxemira (27)

[FONTE: Cartoon de Serhii Fedko, 2019]





## PARTE II – NOTAS BREVES

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (1)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

## Ukrainian and European peace deal counterproposals to US at talks in London

April 25, 2025 10:54 AM GMT+1 Updated 3 days ago



Servicemen of the 65th Separate Mechanized Brigade of the Ukrainian Armed Forces install an anti-drone protection on a YPR-806 PRBRG (Pantser-Rups Berging) armored repair and recovery vehicle, amid Russia's attack on Ukraine, in Zaporizhzhia region, Ukraine April 24, 2025. Andriy Andriyenko/Press Service of the 65th Separate... [Purchase Licensing Rights](#) Read more

LONDON, April 25 (Reuters) - Reuters has seen the text of a set of [proposals on how to end Russia's war in Ukraine](#) that were given to the U.S. side on Wednesday by Ukrainian and European officials at talks in London.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (2)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

## **OFFICIAL-SENSITIVE**

### Russia-Ukraine Deal Framework

#### Ceasefire:

- Commit to a full and unconditional ceasefire in the sky, on land and at sea.
- Both sides immediately enter into negotiations on technical implementation with the participation of the US and European countries. This is in parallel to preparation of the agenda and modalities for a full peace deal.
- Ceasefire monitoring, led by the US and supported by third countries.
- Russia must unconditionally return all deported and illegally displaced Ukrainian children. Exchange of all prisoners of war (the principle of "all for all"). Russia must release all civilian prisoners.

#### Security guarantees for Ukraine:

- Ukraine receives robust security guarantees including from the US (Article 5-like agreement), while there is no consensus among Allies on NATO membership.
- No restrictions on the Ukrainian Defense Forces.
- The guarantor states will be an ad hoc group of European countries and willing non-European countries. No restrictions on the presence, weapons and operations of friendly foreign forces on the territory of Ukraine.



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (3)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

-Ukraine pursues accession to the EU.

Territory:

-Territorial issues will be discussed and resolved after a full and unconditional ceasefire.

-Territorial negotiations start from the basis of the line of control.

-Ukraine regains control of the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant with US involvement, and also the Kakhovka Dam

-Ukraine enjoys unhindered passages on the Dnieper River and control of the Kinburn Spit.

Economics:

-US and Ukraine implement economic cooperation/minerals agreement.

-Ukraine will be fully reconstructed and compensated financially, including through Russian sovereign assets that will remain frozen until Russia compensates damage to Ukraine.

-US sanctions imposed on Russia since 2014 may be subject to gradual easing after a sustainable peace is achieved and subject to resumption in the event of a breach of the peace agreement (snapback).

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (4)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

## **Exclusive: Documents expose differences over U.S. peace drive for Ukraine**

April 25, 2025 3:43 PM GMT+1 Updated 2 days ago



An explosion of a ballistic missile lights up the sky over the city during a Russian missile and drone strike, amid Russia's attack on Ukraine, in Kyiv, Ukraine April 24, 2025. REUTERS/Gleb Garanich/File Photo [Purchase Licensing Rights](#)

LONDON, April 25 (Reuters) - Ukrainian and European officials pushed back this week against some U.S. proposals on how to end [Russia's war in Ukraine](#), making counterproposals on issues from territory to sanctions, according to the full texts of the proposals seen by Reuters.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (5)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

The primary areas of difference in the two texts are over the sequencing for resolving questions over territory, the lifting of sanctions on Russia, security guarantees and the size of Ukraine's military.

While some of the divergences have been highlighted by sources close to the talks, the documents seen by Reuters set out for the first time the differences in full and explicit detail.

The [first text](#) says its "terms represent the final offer from the United States to both sides". It contains proposals set out by Trump's envoy Steve Witkoff to European officials in Paris that were passed to the Ukrainians, according to sources close to the talks.

U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio described the proposals as a "[broad framework](#)" to identify differences between the sides, though U.S. Vice President JD Vance later said the United States had issued a very explicit proposal to both sides and it was time to agree or see Washington quit its peace efforts.

The [second text](#) emerged this week from talks between Ukrainian and European officials in London and has been given to the American side, the sources said.

President Volodymyr Zelenskiy said on Thursday that he thought a document with proposals that emerged from Wednesday's talks in London was now on Trump's desk.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (6)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

## DIFFERENCES

On territory, the Witkoff proposals called for legal U.S. recognition of Russia's control over Crimea, the Ukrainian peninsula Moscow seized and annexed in 2014, plus de facto recognition of Russia's hold on areas of southern and eastern Ukraine that Moscow's forces control.

In contrast, the European and Ukrainian document defers detailed discussion about territory until after a ceasefire is concluded, with no mention in the document of recognising Russian control over any Ukrainian territory.

Tensions over the Crimea issue became evident this week, as Trump criticised Zelenskiy after the Ukrainian leader reiterated that Kyiv would not recognise the peninsula as Russian.

Trump said in an interview with Time magazine published on Friday that "[Crimea will stay with Russia](#)" and that "I don't think (Ukraine will) ever be able to join NATO."

On Ukraine's long-term security, the Witkoff document states Ukraine will have a "robust security guarantee" with European and other friendly states acting as guarantors. It gives no further detail on this but says Kyiv will not seek to join NATO.

The rival document is more specific, stating there will be no limits on Ukrainian forces and no restrictions on Ukraine's allies stationing their military forces on Ukrainian soil -- a provision likely to irk Moscow.



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (7)

[FONTE: Reuters, 25/04/2025]

The counterproposals say that "US sanctions imposed on Russia since 2014 may be subject to gradual easing after a sustainable peace is achieved" and that they can be re-instated if Russia breaches the terms of the peace deal.

The European and Ukrainian document also proposes Ukraine receives financial compensation for damage inflicted in the war from Russian assets abroad that have been frozen. The Witkoff text says only that Ukraine will be compensated financially, without giving the source of the money.

## **PRESSURE**

Both Kyiv and Moscow are trying to show Trump they are making progress towards his goal of a rapid peace deal after the U.S. threatened to abandon its peace push.

Zelenskiy said on Thursday the talks in London had not been easy but were "constructive".

Three European diplomats voiced frustrations to Reuters, saying they initially thought the talks in Paris had been constructive, a basis to move forward and continue refining positions at the London talks before Witkoff returned to Moscow.

But in the following days there was a growing sense that the U.S. negotiators were being pressured to make headway on a deal, they said. This, they said, made them concerned that the Ukrainians and Europeans could be backed into a corner and rushed into an agreement.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (8)

[FONTE: BBC, 25/04/2025]

## Ukraine may have to temporarily give up land for peace, Kyiv Mayor Klitschko tells BBC



Watch: Mayor of Kyiv Vitali Klitschko says conceding land to Russia could bring 'temporary' peace

The mayor of Kyiv, Vitali Klitschko, has told the BBC that Ukraine may have to give up land as part of a peace deal with Russia, amid a growing pressure from President Donald Trump to accept territorial concessions.

"One of the scenarios is... to give up territory. It's not fair. But for the peace, temporary peace, maybe it can be a solution, temporary," he said in response to questions from the BBC.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (9)

[FONTE: BBC, 25/04/2025]

The Kyiv mayor and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky are political opponents. The mayor has repeatedly accused the president and his team of trying to undermine his authority.

Speaking to BBC Radio 4's Today programme from his office in central Kyiv on Thursday, Klitschko noted that he was "responsible for the capital of Ukraine", describing it as "the heart" of the war-torn country.

He said Zelensky might be forced to take a "painful solution" to achieve peace.

When asked whether Zelensky has been discussing with him any details of a possible settlement, Klitschko replied bluntly: "No."

"President Zelensky does [it] himself. It's not my function," he added.

Referring to a very public bust-up between Zelensky and Trump at the White House in February, the mayor suggested that key issues between top politicians would be better discussed "without video cameras".

Earlier this week, Trump accused Zelensky of harming peace negotiations, after the Ukrainian leader again ruled out recognising Russian control of Crimea, a southern Ukrainian peninsula illegally annexed by Moscow in 2014.

Trump has said "Crimea will stay with Russia", in an interview with Time magazine on Friday, having previously said the peninsula was "lost years ago".

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (10)

[FONTE: BBC, 26/04/2025]

## Trump questions Putin's desire for peace after meeting Zelensky at the Vatican



Donald Trump and Volodymyr Zelensky meet before Pope Francis' funeral

Donald Trump has questioned Vladimir Putin's willingness to end the war in Ukraine following his meeting with the country's leader Volodymyr Zelensky on the sidelines of Pope Francis's funeral.

Posting on social media after leaving Rome, Trump said he feared Putin was "tapping me along" after Moscow's strikes on Kyiv earlier this week, adding there was "no reason for Putin to be shooting missiles into civilian areas".



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (11)

[FONTE: BBC, 26/04/2025]

The White House described the 15-minute meeting with Zelensky as "very productive". The Ukrainian president said it had the "potential to become historic".

It was Trump's first face-to-face encounter with the Ukrainian president since February's acrimonious Oval Office showdown.

Writing on his Truth Social account, Trump said the Russian attacks on Ukrainian cities "makes me think that maybe he doesn't want to stop the war, he's just tapping me along, and has to be dealt with differently,

through 'Banking' or 'Secondary Sanctions?'".

Trump had previously said Russia and Ukraine were "very close to a deal" following three-hour talks between his envoy Steve Witkoff and the Russian president on Friday.

The Kremlin meanwhile said on Saturday that Putin had confirmed Russia's readiness to enter into direct talks with Ukraine "without preconditions" to Witkoff.

During their last face-to-face meeting at the White House, Trump had told Zelensky "you don't have the cards" and that he was not winning against Russia.

Trump repeated that message this week, saying the Ukrainian leader had "no cards to play". He has previously blamed Ukraine for starting the war and has accused Zelensky multiple times of being an obstacle to peace negotiations.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (12)

[FONTE: Sputnik, 27/04/2025]

## Russia's Kursk Region Completely Liberated From Ukrainian Forces - Kremlin



On Saturday, Russian Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov announced that the Kursk Region was fully liberated, as the last of the settlements had been cleared of Ukrainian military presence. North Korea has [officially announced sending troops to Russia](#) under the Russian-North Korean Strategic Partnership Treaty.

"Of course, we have an agreement in force and under this contract the parties are obliged to provide assistance if necessary," Peskov told reporters.

The experience of the special military operations has shown how effectively the treaty between Russia and North Korea works, the official added.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (13)

[FONTE: CNN, 28/04/2025]

**Trump's plan to give Ukrainian land to Russia 'a capitulation,' Germany warns, as Putin thanks North Korea for troops**



CNN —

Ceding large swathes of Ukrainian land to Russia under a peace proposal [suggested](#) by US President Donald Trump would be “a capitulation,” Germany’s defense minister warned on Sunday, as North Korea acknowledged for the first time it had deployed troops to fight for Moscow.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (14)

[FONTE: CNN, 28/04/2025]

Trump has been [frustrated](#) that his efforts to broker a peace deal between Moscow and Kyiv after three years of war have so far fallen short, and the White House has since mounted an increasingly urgent push to strike a deal.

A US peace plan includes American recognition of Russia's control over Crimea – the southern Ukrainian peninsula that Moscow illegally annexed more than a decade ago – and would grant Russia additional Ukrainian territory occupied since its full-scale invasion began in 2022, according to officials familiar with the plan.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky on Saturday conceded that Ukraine lacks the military might needed to retake Crimea by force but has long made it clear that making territorial concessions is a red line. Recognizing Crimea as Russian would also be illegal [under Ukraine's constitution](#).

"This [territory] is not my property. This is the property of the Ukrainian people," he said at a Friday briefing.

Following Trump and Zelensky's remarkable [face-to-face meeting](#) at the Vatican before Pope Francis' funeral on Saturday, the US president said they briefly discussed the issue of Crimea and that he believes Zelensky "wants to make a deal."

Trump also criticized President Vladimir Putin in some of his strongest comments against the Russian leader to date.



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (15)

[FONTE: CNN, 28/04/2025]

## **North Korean troops in Kursk**

On Monday, North Korea publicly acknowledged for the first time that it deployed troops to fight for Russia in its war with Ukraine, touting its combat sub-units' contributions to "precious victory" in the invaded Russian region of Kursk.

"The operations for liberating the Kursk area to repel the adventurous invasion of the Russian Federation by the Ukrainian authorities were victoriously concluded," North Korea's Central Military Commission said, according to state-run news agency KCNA.

Putin on Saturday claimed his country's forces have [recaptured Kursk](#), the border region where [Ukraine](#) launched a surprise offensive last year, though Kyiv insists its troops are fiercely battling to preserve their foothold in [the territory](#).

"Our Korean friends acted out of a sense of solidarity, justice and genuine comradeship," Putin said in a statement Monday.

"We pay tribute to the heroism, high level of special training and self-sacrifice of the Korean soldiers who, shoulder to shoulder with Russian fighters, defended our homeland as their own," he added.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (16)

[FONTE: CNN, 28/04/2025]

North Korea's Central Military Commission said leader Kim Jong Un ordered the deployments based on a [strategic partnership treaty](#) with Russia, KCNA reported.

Putin and Kim signed a landmark defense pact in Pyongyang last year, as the two autocratic nations [ramped up ties](#) to a "new level," and pledged to [provide immediate military assistance](#) in the event the other is attacked.

"They who fought for justice are all heroes and representatives of the honor of the motherland," Kim reportedly said, adding that a monument would be erected to commemorate his troops' actions.

Russia acknowledged the involvement of North Korean soldiers in its operations for the first time on Saturday. In a post on Telegram, Valery Gerasimov, chief of the Russian General Staff, thanked the North Korean soldiers, praising their "high professionalism, steadfastness, courage and heroism in battle."

As well as troops, South Korea's military [said in March](#) that North Korea has sent a "significant amount" of short-range ballistic missiles and hundreds of pieces of 170-millimeter self-propelled howitzers and 240-millimeter multiple rocket launchers.

The US Department of State said it was concerned by North Korea's direct involvement in Russia's war in Ukraine

North Korea's "military deployment to Russia and any support provided by the Russian Federation to (North Korea) in return must end," a State Department spokesperson told Reuters.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (17)

[FONTE: CNBC, 27/04/2025]

## Rubio says the coming week is 'very critical' in Russia-Ukraine war negotiations



U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio speaks to the media during a refueling stop at Shannon Airport in Shannon, Ireland, March 12, 2025, as he travels from talks with Ukraine in Saudi Arabia to attending a G7 Foreign Ministers meeting in Canada.

*Saul Loeb | Via Reuters*

U.S. [Secretary of State Marco Rubio](#) said [President Donald Trump](#) hasn't yet imposed [penalties on Russia](#) over its ongoing war with Ukraine because the White House is still hoping diplomacy can end the war.

"The minute you start doing that kind of stuff, you're walking away from it," Rubio said Sunday on NBC's 'Meet the Press.'

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (18)

[FONTE: CNBC, 27/04/2025]

Rubio said that the coming week will be “very critical” for the White House as it makes a “determination about whether this is an endeavor that we want to continue to be involved in.”

“There are reasons to be optimistic, but there are reasons to be realistic,” Rubio said, adding: “We’re close, but we’re not close enough.”

“Throughout this process, it’s about determining, do both sides really want peace and how close are they or how far apart they are after 90 days of effort here ... that’s what we’re trying to determine this week,” Rubio said of negotiations.

Rubio’s comments come as Trump is ramping up pressure on Russia and Ukraine to reach a peace deal. Trump met Saturday with Ukrainian President [Volodymyr Zelenskyy](#), just before floating the possibility of tougher sanctions against Moscow.

Rubio said that Trump has “made real progress” in nearing an end to the war, but “those last couple steps of this journey were always going to be the hardest ones, and it needs to happen soon.”

“We cannot continue, as I said, to dedicate time and resources to this effort if it’s not going to come to fruition,” he added.



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (19)

[FONTE: Anatol Lieven / Responsible Statecraft, 24/04/2025]

## Ukraine and Europe can't afford to refuse Trump's peace plan

It's actually common sense, including putting Crimea on the table

[Anatol Lieven](#) Apr 24, 2025



Most of the peace [plan](#) for Ukraine now sketched out by the [Trump administration](#) is not new, is based on common sense, and has indeed already been tacitly accepted by Kyiv.

Ukrainian officials have acknowledged that its army has no chance in the foreseeable future of reconquering the territories now occupied by [Russia](#). Vice President J.D. Vance's [statement](#) that the U.S. plan would “freeze the territorial lines...close to where they are today” simply acknowledges an obvious fact.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (20)

[FONTE: Anatol Lieven / Responsible Statecraft, 24/04/2025]

Even without a U.S. veto, NATO membership for Ukraine is not realistic, both because all existing NATO members have made clear that they will not fight to defend Ukraine, and because several European countries will also veto Kyiv's membership. Indeed, during the peace talks at the war's outset, President Volodymyr Zelensky himself said that since all the leading NATO governments (including the Biden administration) had refused to promise NATO membership within five years, a treaty of neutrality with security guarantees was the best way for Ukraine to go.

At the same time, the Trump plan contains one big surprise: the offer to recognize Russian sovereignty over Crimea. Unlike neutrality and de facto (not de jure) acceptance of Russian control over the other territories, this really constitutes a major concession to Russia. It is not, however, as big as the Western [media](#) is suggesting, since it does not cover the other four provinces in eastern Ukraine that Russia claims to have annexed.

Nor is it clear yet whether the Trump administration is simply offering formal recognition of Russian sovereignty over Crimea itself, or whether it — and Moscow — will also insist on Ukraine doing so, which is almost certainly politically impossible for the Zelensky government. White House press spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt has [said](#) that Trump's offer of recognition of Russian sovereignty over Crimea applies only to the U.S., and that he is not demanding that Ukraine follow suit.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (21)

[FONTE: Anatol Lieven / Responsible Statecraft, 24/04/2025]

Will this plan bring peace? Russia appears close to accepting it — though at least as revealed so far, the plan does not appear to address other Russian demands, including the rights of Russian speakers in Ukraine, limitations on the Ukrainian armed forces, and, above all, a bar on a European “reassurance force” in Ukraine, something on which the British, French, and other governments have been working intensively.

It is possible that the Kremlin will try to load additional and genuinely unacceptable conditions onto the peace plan (for example, radical reductions in the Ukrainian armed forces). In that case, Trump should blame Moscow for the failure of the peace process, and, while walking away from it, should also continue U.S. aid to Ukraine.

A key motive for Moscow’s acceptance is that the Putin administration is indeed extremely anxious that Trump should blame Ukraine and the Europeans, not Russia, for a failure of the talks, and therefore that if, as threatened, he “walks away” from the peace process, he will also cut off military and intelligence aid to Kyiv.

For that same reason, the Ukrainians and Europeans would be insane to reject this plan outright, as initial statements suggest they may. As already noted, the formal goals set by Ukraine, for NATO membership and the recovery of its lost territories, are practically impossible to achieve. In concrete terms therefore, Ukraine loses nothing by agreeing to Trump’s plan.

# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (22)

[FONTE: Anatol Lieven / Responsible Statecraft, 24/04/2025]

Assuming that the British government sticks to Prime Minister Keir Starmer's statement that a European "reassurance force" can enter Ukraine only if the U.S. acts as a "backstop," then this force is also not going to happen. Trump has no intention of providing such a guarantee, which would amount to Ukrainian NATO membership by another name. Key European governments including Poland's have also said that they would not participate in any such force.

At present and for a considerable time to come, the British and French armies simply do not seem to have the troops for such a deployment in a context of possible war with Russia. A former British army chief, General Lord Dannatt, has [said](#) that (given the need for rotation and training of troops) up to 40,000 British soldiers would need to be designated for such a force, and "we just haven't got that number available." Creating such a force for Ukraine would also mean ending British commitments to defend existing NATO members, notably the Baltic states and Poland.

At present, the likely response of Kyiv and most European governments to the Trump plan appears to be "no, but." In other words, they will reject the plan as it stands, but declare their readiness to negotiate on aspects of it. This, however, would be deeply unwise, if indeed Russia is ready to accept it. Trump is waiting on them and he is not a patient man. His administration's threat to leave Ukraine and [Europe](#) to their own devices could hardly have been clearer.



# As negociações para a paz na Ucrânia: as divergências entre os EUA e a Europa (23)

[FONTE: Cartoon de Paresh, 16/02/2025]



# Sugestões de leitura

