
PSC 108/INTR 108 Fall 2025

War in our time: The Russo – Ukrainian War 2022 – 20??

Hein Goemans

Harkness 337

Wed. 12:30–1:30

henk.goemans@rochester.edu

Course Information:

4 Credit Hours

Mon. & Wed. 2:00–3:15

Gavett Hall Room 310

Section: Friday TBD

TA: SeongJu Kim

skim310@u.rochester.edu

Contact Information and Preferences

Feel free to address me with my first name, I go by **Hein**. The best way to communicate with me outside of class is by email. Please include the course number and your section in the subject line of the email (PSC/INTR 108). It can take me 1-2 business days to respond to email, so if you require more immediate assistance, please contact the TA.

Office Hours Office Hours are on Wednesday 12:30 to 1:30. In exceptional cases we can schedule an office meeting outside these hours. Harkness Hall 337. Office hours are an opportunity for you to ask questions and seek clarification on course material. Please complete the readings on a topic you would like to discuss.

If you need to communicate something of a personal or sensitive nature, please contact me directly via email at henk.goemans@rochester.edu to set up an appointment. I will be happy to meet with you.

Teaching Assistant Contact Information and Preferences

SeongJu Kim will be the Teaching Assistant this semester, you can reach him by email at skim310@u.rochester.edu.

Course Description This lecture course examines the ongoing war in Ukraine. This is a major war, with major implications for our lives and it is important for you to develop your own understanding of it in all its various aspects. Since this war is still in full swing, readings are going to be very different from other courses. There will be links to tweets, twitter threads, blog posts, articles, YouTube lectures and any other useful sources. You are required to do all the reading. A lot of important background information you need to have will be provided in the lectures. This includes historical background about Ukraine, the end of the Cold War, the causes of war and the causes of war termination, why soldiers fight, on logistics, etc.. Attendance to lectures is therefore mandatory. If you miss these lectures you will not be able to do well on the exams. Of which there will be two, a mid-term and a final exam. Since the circumstances of the war keep changing, the

syllabus is likely to change as well, as developments on the battlefield, on the negotiation table, or the availability of new information warrants.

For this class I feel it is necessary to warn that some of the readings will directly confront you with the horrors of war. And they are truly horrors. There is just no way around this, if we want to even begin to understand war. There will be some readings with images that you may want to skip, I fully understand that, and I will try to warn you beforehand.

Prerequisite Courses

There are no prerequisites for this course.

Credit Hours Credits allocated: 4 credits. This course will include 150 minutes per week of lecture time (two lectures at 75 minutes each), 50 minutes per week of time (one time per week) for the TA led Section, and 400 minutes per week of out-of-class student work (e.g., reading assignments, writing, research, problem sets, study time, and other unsupervised work).

Course Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, you will be able to:

1. Provide an overview of the historical background of the war in Ukraine
2. Offer potential explanations for the outbreak of the war
3. Offer a theoretically informed assessment of under which conditions this war can end.
4. Evaluate how events on the battlefield and in international relations in general affect the likelihood of war termination
5. Explain some of the most important factors in modern war fighting.

See Teaching Center website for more information about writing course learning outcomes.

Course Details

War in Our Time Schedule				
Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
2:00 – 3:15 Gavett 310 Complete: Reading		2:00 – 3:15 Gavett 310 Complete: Reading		TBD Harkness 112 Recitation

Academic Integrity

Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with severely, which means that your grade will suffer, and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

Historical background information:

As noted above I am likely to tweak the syllabus during the semester depending on developments. The background information which I will largely provide in lectures relies in part on the following books.

1. Paul D'Anieri. *Ukraine and Russia; From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. Second edition, Cambridge University Press, 2023.
2. Christopher Miller, *The War Came To Us: Life and Death in Ukraine*, Bloomsbury Continuum, July 18, 2023.
3. Michael Howard. *War in European History*., Oxford: Oxford University Press, Paperback, 1976.
4. Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton*. Cambridge University Press; 2nd edition, 2004.
5. Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, Princeton University Press, 2005.
6. Michael C. Horowitz, *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2010.
7. Alan Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941–45*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985.
8. R. J. Overy, *Russia's War*, Penguin Books, New edition, 1998.
9. Catherine Merridale, *Ivan's War; the Red Army 1939-45*, Faber and Faber 2006.
10. Christopher Browning. *Ordinary men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1998.
11. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, Basic Books; 1st Edition edition, 2012.
12. Anne Appelbaum, *Red Famine*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing group, 2018.
13. M. E. Sarotte, *Not One Inch; America Russia, and the making of the post-cold war stalemate*. Yale University Press, 2021.
14. Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Current web-based sources worth reading during the semester include:

- This site tracks the main developments of the war on an almost daily basis: <https://github.com/zhukovyuri/VIINA?fbclid=IwAR2e3AXuclyYPNiZvywbiFFCg0a-97EtqAeAmvcWJY>
- Here's a YouTube Channel: "Civ Div" who claims to be a veteran of the Marine Infantry and fought in Ukraine. (I haven't verified that yet.) His videos mainly cover the experiences of the 'average' Ukrainian soldier and he has some footage from his friends and himself from the conflict. His channel offers an interesting insight into the mindset of many Ukrainian soldiers and especially those who have come to fight from other countries. <https://www.youtube.com/@CivDiv/videos>
- Another YouTube channel called Lindybeige is run by a British history buff who covers a wide range of topics, but interestingly he has interviewed a couple soldiers who have volunteered to fight in Ukraine similar to the owner previous channel I shared. He has interviewed a Canadian and British man who both fought in the war, and again offers some insights into the mindset of soldiers fighting on the Ukrainian side. The interviews can be found on his channel here: <https://www.youtube.com/@lindybeige/featured>
- A third channel is called Perun: <https://www.youtube.com/@PerunAU>. He is an Australian who makes 1 hour long video essays covering military strategy, industry, and the War in Ukraine. I take his videos with a very large grain of salt, but he has some very interesting videos on the war which you may find interesting. He has a video titled "Exhaustion, Politics & The War in Ukraine - Public Support, Allied Endurance & the War in 2024."
- **Yale Professor Timothy Snyder's lectures for his class HIST 247 *The Making of Modern Ukraine*.** Professor Snyder has committed to post all lectures for this class on YouTube.
 1. Here's a link to the first of these lectures: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bJczLlwp-d8>.
 2. Here's a link to lecture #15 about the Famine, and Terror of the 1920s and 1930s: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1dy7Mrqy1AY>
- Branislav Slantchev (UCSD prof), provides insightful commentary on his blog: <https://slantchev.wordpress.com/category/russo-ukrainian-war-2022/>.
- On Ukrainian identity: <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/ukraine-identity-national>
- <https://twitter.com/i/events/1483255084750282753>
- <https://wartranslated.com/>
- https://twitter.com/ChrisO_wiki
- <https://twitter.com/RALee85>
- <https://twitter.com/KofmanMichael>

- <https://twitter.com/MassDara>
- <https://twitter.com/TrentTelenko>
- <https://twitter.com/0sinttechnical>
- <https://twitter.com/DefMon3>
- Tom Mitchell's list of people to follow (obviously, there's overlap): <https://twitter.com/evolutionplants/status/1577704441528074242>
- This guy is particularly fascinating: <https://twitter.com/kamilkazani>
- For maps of the war: <https://twitter.com/EdmapsCom> and also <https://www.scribblemaps.com/maps/view/Operational%20Map%20Ukraine/nBT8ffpeGH>
- A video dairy? <https://twitter.com/OSINTua/status/1565388675545956353>
- BBC's Ukraine war in maps: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60506682>
- A short clip on Cyberwarfare: <https://youtu.be/SooynsCB0r0>
- On the recruitment of prisoners: <https://twitter.com/i/status/1572141900051750915>
- On the Minsk II accords: https://twitter.com/neil_abrams/status/1583459564950724608

Course Outline

Monday August 25

1. Introduction: ideas, themes and hopes for this course

History

“The way that history is presented has an integral connection with the [HG: Putin’s] decision to make war.” Timothy Snyder.

Wednesday August 27

2. Some Ukrainian history: 1920–1945

Lecture on *Bloodlands* and *Red Famine*.

- Andrea Graziosi, Introduction to the Special Issue on the Soviet Famines of 1930-1933, *Nationalism Papers*, 48(3), 2020, 435–443.
- Andrea Graziosi, The National and the Social in Stalin’s Political Famines, *Contemporary European History*, 27(3), 2018, 470–475.

Monday September 1

Labor Day – No classes

Wednesday September 3

3. Some more recent Ukrainian history: The Maidan Revolution

- Andrew Higgins and Andrew Kramer, “Ukraine’s President was Defeated Even Before He Was Ousted,” *The New York Times*, January 3, 2015.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/04/world/europe/ukraine-leader-was-defeated-even-before-he-was-ousted.html>
- Serhiy Kudelia, “The Donbass Rift,” *Russian Politics and Law*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2016, pp. 5–27.
- Volodymyr Ishchenko, “Insufficiently Diverse: The problem of non-violent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine’s maidan uprising, 2013-2014.” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 11(2), 201–215.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363>

Monday September 8

4. Euromaidan and the Donbas

- Timur Kuran, Now Out of Never. *World Politics*, 44 (October 1991). 7 – 48.
- Debunking Russian myths about Ukraine, including the so-called “coup” in 2014: https://mkaradjis.com/2023/06/15/ukraine-myths-used-to-justify-putins-terror/?fbclid=IwAR1In09sduzlIgGj4cMSlSy2hPpPesDtSiK_bcrRynpqZu_azE0dQd7jZKK8

Wednesday September 10

5. Some Russian history: Stalin and WW II

Lecture on *Barbarossa*, *Russia's War* and *Ivan's War*.

Monday September 15

6. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and what came after

Lecture on Paul D'Anieri's *Ukraine and Russia*, second edition.

- Fyodor Lukyanov, “Perestroika 2014: The Reasons Behind Moscow’s Firm Stance on Ukraine,” Valdai Discussion Club, March 19, 2014.
http://valdaiclub.com/near_abroad/67520.html Original Russian:
<http://www.gazeta.ru/comments/column/lukyanov/5952017.shtml>
- Prigozhin – instigator of the mutiny and now dead – owned the infamous mercenary group Wagner. He told Russian media that, indeed, he created Wagner in 2014 to fight in Donbas, and that its fighters, masquerading as miners and tractor operators, were key in igniting the conflict and getting victories in Donetsk and Luhansk. So much for a spontaneous uprising of the locals. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IXR1vBwxLQk>

Wednesday September 17

7. Who's to blame? It's all NATO's fault

We'll be watching

- John Mearsheimer's lectures: Variation on the same theme.
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JrMiSQAGOS4>. Note the date!
 - “The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine War:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qciVozNtCDM>. Watch the interview, then watch the Q & A afterwards.
 - In debate format, Mearsheimer, Walt and McFaul:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EhgWLmd7mCo>

- For an interesting academic critique see Andrew H. Kydd, *You Can't Get There from Here: On the Gap between Realist Theory and "Realist" Foreign Policy*, in the readings folder.
- Andy Kydd's talk at MIT "On the gap between Realist Theory and Realist Foreign Policy." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=40w9IzONc4M>

Monday September 22

8. NATO and the end of the Cold War

Lecture on *Not One Inch* and *Ukraine and Russia*

- Was the Euromaidan a 'coup'?
https://twitter.com/neil_abrams/status/1573307576959512576
- Bucharest Summit Declaration:
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm

Wednesday September 24

9. Who's to blame? Putin

- Primary source material (e.g., from the horse's mouth):
 - Putin's July 12, 2021 article on the unity of Russia and Ukraine:
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>
 - Putin's speech of February 21, 2022:
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828>
 - Putin's speech of 24 February 2022:
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>.
 - Mistakenly published 26 February 2022 official op-ed:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20220226051154/https://ria.ru/20220226/rossiya-1775162336.html>, Google Chrome will translate.
 - 30 September 2022: Putin's speech on his purported annexation of Donetsk and Lugansk people's republics and Zaporozhye and Kherson regions to Russia.
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/69465>
 - A very short 1:19 clip of Putin saying first one thing, then another about Ukraine: <https://twitter.com/i/status/1574816034590265358>
- Russia always wanted Ukraine.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-66509180>
- Chapter 8, 9, 10 from Paul d'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, second edition.
- Press coverage of Putin's comments:
 - 21 February 2022: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/world/europe/putin-invading-ukraine.html>

- <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/world/europe/putin-ukraine.html>
- <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/putins-new-ukraine-essay-reflects-imperial-ambitions/>.
- Not (?) relevant to the start of the war, Putin’s address authorizing partial mobilization (English subtitles):
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J7QqSYBUhmY> To s
- the NYT perspective of 22 February 2022: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/world/europe/putin-invading-ukraine.html>
- Pundit analysis: <https://understandingwar.org/backgrounder/weakness-lethal-why-putin-invaded-ukraine-and-how-war-must-end>

Monday September 29

10. Analytics: What caused the war?

This is going to be an experimental class, where I solicit your explanations for what caused the war, point out strengths and weaknesses in these explanations, and together construct a couple (?) of plausible explanations.

- <https://novaramedia.com/2022/10/17/no-the-west-didnt-halt-ukraines-peace-talks-with-russia/?fbclid=IwAR2xUw2ZVYwRG-9mJcHonHmJ3bTR0bo6q8RCvJpWKg5vozlnQCvYk1VE0M0>

Wednesday October 1

11. The causes of war

- James Fearon, Rationalist Explanations for War, *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer, 1995).
- Jonas J. Driedger & Mikhail Polianskii. (2023). “Utility-based predictions of military escalation: Why experts forecasted Russia would not invade Ukraine”. *Contemporary Security Policy* 44:4, pages 544-560
- Işıl İdrisoğlu and William Spaniel, Information problems and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Special Issue: Symposium on the Russian Invasion of Ukraine. 2024.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/07388942241238583>
- James Fearon, “Game theory and explanations for armed conflict,” Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, April 26, 2022. (In the Readings folder.)

Monday October 6

12. Why do they keep fighting? The causes of war termination

An *informational* account:

- Hein Goemans, *War and Punishment; the causes of war termination and the First World War*, Chapters 1 & 2, 3–52.
- My early views: *The New Yorker*: <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/annals-of-inquiry/how-the-war-in-ukraine-might-end>
- Timothy Snyder: https://snyder.substack.com/p/how-does-the-russo-ukrainian-war?utm_campaign=auto_share

As evidence that I have been consistent in my arguments:

- My assessment the day after the war started: <https://www.rochester.edu/newscenter/putin-russia-invading-ukraine-explained-512642/>. (You might have to use Microsoft Edge, I know, an abomination.)
- An early assessment by a cohort of scholars of war termination: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/24/prospects-negotiated-peace-ukraine-are-bleak/>

Wednesday October 8

13. Why do they keep fighting? The causes of war termination

A *commitment problem* account:

- Alex Weisiger, *Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflict*, Cornell University Press, 2013. Chapters 1 & 5, pp. 11-53, 141-158. Available online from Rush Reese: https://rochester.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma9978111085105216&context=L&vid=01ROCH_INST:UR01&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine
- Jim Fearon's Tribute to Bob Jervis, "Robert Jervis and Perspectives on the Security Dilemma."
file:///C:/Users/hgoem/Downloads/Fearon_Jervis_Tribute_2022.pdf

Monday October 13

14. Fall Break

Wednesday October 15

15. Mid-term exam

In the War

Check out this fantastic site by Yuri Zhukov (Harvard)! It has maps and graphs and other information that tracks the whole war!

<https://github.com/zhukovyuri/VIINA?fbclid=>

[IwAR2e3AXuclyYPNiZvywbiFFCg0a-97EtqAeAmvcWJYCnUOLV0v9k8riCODg](https://github.com/zhukovyuri/VIINA?fbclid=IwAR2e3AXuclyYPNiZvywbiFFCg0a-97EtqAeAmvcWJYCnUOLV0v9k8riCODg)

Monday October 20

16. What were they thinking?!

• Initial expectations and initial war aims – 2022

- My assessment March 9: <https://www.rochester.edu/newscenter/how-to-end-the-ukraine-war-514522/>
- Thomas C. Theiner, former Italian military (28/01/2022)
<https://medium.com/@noclador/putins-plan-4652895de8ba>
- Russian expectations (26/02/2022):
<https://web.archive.org/web/20220226051154/https://ria.ru/20220226/rossiya-1775162336.html>, Google Chrome will translate.
- Russian expectations: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2022/russia-fsb-intelligence-ukraine-war/?itid=sf_world_ukraine-russia_dont-miss
- Explicit and implicit expectations of both sides are littered throughout this article: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/kyiv-battle-ukraine-survival/>
- Early warnings about too rosy Russian expectations. (31 January 2022) Col. General Ivashov, Chair of the All-Russia Officer's Assembly.
http://www.ooc.su/news/obrashhenie_obshherossijskogo_oficerskogo_sobranija_k_prezidentu_i_grazhdanam_rossijskoj_federacii/2022-01-31-79-0-1?fbclid=IwAR2W0566hu_RGKPMENXNt5HhgikEPXUTkxTH-8L0oGNGWGctvU_8C-SKZpI
- Another warning against too rosy expectations, Col. Mikhail Mikhailovich Khodarenok - ex-head of the group of the 1st direction of the 1st directorate of the Main Operational Directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. (03/02/2022):
https://nvo.ng.ru/realty/2022-02-03/3_1175_donbass.html

War aims:

The New York Times (16 June 2024) has documents of initial negotiations, February–April 2022

- The story: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/15/world/europe/ukraine-russia-ceasefire-deal.html>
- The documents: Russia-Ukraine negotiations, draft March 17, 2022 (In the readings folder)
- The documents: Russia-Ukraine negotiations, communique March 28-30I (In the readings folder)
- The documents: Russia-Ukraine negotiations March-April 2022 III (In the readings folder)

One quote: “After each military setback, a member of Ukraine’s negotiating team said, Mr. Putin “reduced his demands.””

More public information on war aims:

- Russian Ministry of Defence press conference (in Russian) by Rudskoy, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, where they seem to limit Russia’s war aims to the “liberation of “Eastern Ukraine.””
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KbGDcF4ziIg>
- Lavrov announces increased war aims, 21 July.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-62231936>
- Ukraine’s 10-point plan, March 29:
<https://meduza.io/en/slides/ukraine-s-10-point-plan>
- Summary of changes in Russian war aims, until 29 July <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-how-russias-war-aims-are-changing/a-62632099>
- General Sergey Surovikin, 18 October, Russia wants a “friendly” Ukraine independent of the West: <https://www.cnn.com/europe/live-news/russia-ukraine-war-news-10-18-22>
- Russian war aims?: <https://slantchev.wordpress.com/2022/08/23/the-kremlins-fairy-tales-duginas-assassination/>
- First week of September, 2022. Ukrainian General Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.
<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-ato/3566404-prospects-for-running-a-military-campaign-in-2023-ukraines-perspect.html>
- David R. Marples: “Russia’s war goals in Ukraine.” in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol 64, Issue 2-3. 07 September 2022. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00085006.2022.2107837>
- Ukraine’s war aims mid September 2022? <https://www.newsweek.com/ukraine-war-goals-demands-nato-russia-lines-collapse-kharkiv-counter-attack->

Wednesday October 22

17. What are they thinking *now*? – Fall 2025

- What experts got wrong. In other words, what was *new* information for the experts: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/05/what-the-experts-got-wrong-and-right-about-russian-military-power/>
- The “failed” Ukrainian offensive of 2023.
- Expectations and war aims in Winter 2024
- Expectations and war aims in the Summer of 2025

Conduct of the War

Monday October 27

18. From attempted Blitzkrieg to Attrition?

- This is a good overview of the crucial battle at Hostomel airport, where the Ukrainians stopped the Russians and prevented the fall of Kyiv.
https://warontherocks.com/2023/08/the-battle-of-hostomel-airport-a-key-moment-in-russias-defeat-in-kyiv/?fbclid=IwAR2qXaKiwix_FmDJtjc48JsVApVFipRMiq5RUXB80fKwMkCweiZBY_SanVs.
- Watch: “GoPro of Nlaw Gunner in Ukraine”, at <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=543461300938658>, what do you see/notice? What strikes you. Note, there’s no fighting and no death in this clip, but it still tells you a **lot** about this war.
- Michael Kofman, “The Russia-Ukraine War: Military Operations and Battlefield Dynamics,” Chapter Six in Hal Brands (ed.), *War in Ukraine: Conflict, Strategy and the Return of A fractured World*, 2024, 99–120.
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/kyiv-battle-ukraine-survival/>.
- Trench warfare in the age of drones:
<https://twitter.com/i/status/1565421193104166912>, or
<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1261158111360968>
- Artillery versus tanks and APCs:
https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1534168919245737991
- Seth Jones, Riley McCabe and Alexander Palmer, 2023. “Ukrainian Innovation in a War of Attrition,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, February 2023.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep47447.pdf>

- Drones

Optional:

- An interesting thread by Kamil Galeev, from 27 February 2022, where he describes why he think Russia will lose:
<https://twitter.com/kamilkazani/status/1497993363076915204>

Wednesday October 29

19. “Amateurs talk strategy, professionals talk logistics.” – Gen Omar Bradley

Lecture on van Creveld, *Supplying War*

- What tires can tell you:
<https://twitter.com/TrentTelenko/status/1499164245250002944>
- The difference pallets make!
<https://twitter.com/TrentTelenko/status/1507056013245128716>
- On production of shells and materials:
<https://theins.ru/en/politics/254573>
- Nadin Brzesinski, 17 July: <https://nadinbrzezinski.medium.com/logistics-collapse-945984f5d48e>
- Fighting in the mud:
<https://www.facebook.com/watch?v=828967234822652>

Monday November 3

20. The soldier’s perspective

- A video entitled “Attack deep into the defense of russia, a documentary film about the counter-offensive.” It occurred around early Spring 2024. This is as real as it gets. Don’t watch unless you are prepared to see some of the horrors of war up close: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FompoLbNB_8&rco=1
- John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, Vintage books, 1977. Chapter 4, The Somme, July 1, 1916, 204–280.
- Super intense first person video of combat. WARNING: This is graphic and extremely intense. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RcMohJAWPk>

Memoir of Russian soldier Pavel Filatyev. The full memoir – 144 pages – is in the readings folder, it’s entitled “ZOV.” I selected some memorable quotes, to begin with:

I don’t know how, but I wanted all those responsible for the fuck-ups and messes in our army to be to be punished. I wasn’t scared to die, I was offended to give up my life so ridiculously, I was hurt for all those who had given their lives and health for what, for whom?

- The first part of Filatyev's story, covering the six months he spent in training with the 56th Guards Air Assault Regiment in Crimea before the war, see https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1560022545356791810.
- The second part, covering the period immediately before and after the invasion was launched on 24 February, is here: https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1560355153441705984.
- For the third part, highlighting the haphazard and disorganised Russian takeover of Kherson in the face of even less well organised Ukrainian resistance, see https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1560725596765913089.
- The fourth part deals with Filatyev's experiences of the start of the occupation of Kherson and Russia's disastrous attempt to take Mykolaiv and Odesa: https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1561024849245573123.
- The fifth part, when Filatyev is injured, withdrawn from the front and reflects on the war.

it was at that point that I finally relaxed and thought about the last two months of my life, what it was all about, why I needed it, whether I'd done something good or bad, why I was part of it and how and why I was there in the first place.

https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1561411957340659713.

- The final instalment highlights Filatyev's detailed comments on the Russian military system, which provide an interesting insider's view of what's gone wrong with the Russian army and has led to its catastrophically poor performance in the war.

The system doesn't let the most promising, strongest and the smartest advance, but [prefers] those who can adapt to it, the higher up you go, the more you have to get dirty.

In all my time in the war I can't remember officers going to the trouble of leading soldiers, many getting drunk and sitting in normal fortifications while all the crap is done by regular contract soldiers.

https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1561785870163787780.

Another account from Daniil Frolokin, a different Russian soldier. He too expressed confusion about the war's purpose:

I don't know who we're fighting against. Maybe we're fighting against the Armed Forces of Ukraine. But the AFU are not Nazis.

- https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1562874112707801088. Make sure you read #35.
- https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1563038520821702656. Note this point about the officers, and their leadership:

So, he, the District Commander and the Army Commander were given rifles and the infantry was told: ‘These men will go first and you are to follow.’ And that’s when [Omurbekov] was wounded.

Living conditions of officers! Lieutenant Pavel Petrakov, member of the elite Military Space Academy:

- <https://twitter.com/i/status/1565080986177732608>

Here’s a Radio Liberty interview with Pyotr Danilov, a former sergeant of the 64th motorized rifle brigade from Khabarovsk. This is the unit that is accused of war crimes in Bucha:

- <https://www.svoboda.org/a/tupo-net-sil-nastupatj-intervjyu-s-byvshim-voennym-iz-64-y-brigady/32006060.html>

Medical care

Another very important issue for individual soldiers is of course medical care after they get wounded. Tanisha Fazal has a terrific article on this:

- <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/10/31/ukraine-military-medicine-russia-war/>

Optional: **Recruitment: Soldiers and Mercenaries**

- Elizabeth M. F. Grasmeder, Leaning on Legionnaires: Why Modern States Recruit Foreign Soldiers, *International Security*, 46(1), Summer 2021, 147–195.
- The September 2022 draft: <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2022/09/28/honestly-they-re-all-going-to-die-there>
- More on the newly mobilized Russian soldier: <https://twitter.com/MassDara/status/1587130213497978881>
- Anna Becker, *Shamed to Death: Social Image Concerns and War Participation*. This paper is a fascinating look at how UK men were “incentivized” to show up for World War I and join the UK army.

Wednesday November 5

21. Civilians

- We'll be watching the documentary, "Women: The Forgotten Face of War", by Susan Muska and Greta Olafsdottir.
- Here s a very interesting thread on Reddit, where everyday Ukrainians relay how they experience the war. (h/t Sunahra Tanvir)
https://www.reddit.com/r/AskReddit/comments/u9gfgt/ukrainians_of_reddit_how_did_you_find_out_that/
- How the war has affected Ukrainians, how many have family members or close friends who were killed or seriously wounded in the war. In Ukraine, about 70%, in Russia, about 20%.
<https://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=1254&page=1&fbclid=IwAR0CCZeBcTPGu4N1WwL02D-8rI92e2qpRMbW18Da0y-99TJ1ksoG62-16ak>
- Ukrainian attitudes on the war: Janina Dill, Marnie Howlett, Carl Müller-Crepon, At Any Cost: How Ukrainians Think about Self Defense Against Russia," *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming. (In the Readings folder.)

Monday November 10

22. War Crimes

- Timothy Snyder, "Russia's Genocide Handbook."
<https://human-rights.cmc.edu/2022/04/14/russias-genocide-handbook/?fbclid=IwAR2z1v9Mrsx5npA40JX7XFTCGD6wT1DFRXSp0BLgHzusiXYeD8DEmaJRKi8>
- Timothy Snyder on The War in Ukraine and the Question of Genocide: https://snyder.substack.com/p/the-war-in-ukraine-and-the-question?fbclid=IwAR2rBhVoHd80_aqiF1qvM9w8M3sm0kXEKjSHWt2EwsN_GTZqwFSm7VtKkKQ#details
- Yonatan Lupu, Geoffrey P. R. Wallace, "Targeting and Public Opinion: An Experimental Analysis in Ukraine." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, first published online 13 September 2022.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/eprint/2JTMDFVAZXUYECSXKDTV/full#.YyETKUnkzmo.twitter>
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027221121139>

- Julia Friedrich and Niklas Masuhr, Why is Russia being so brutal in Ukraine? *Political Violence at a Glance*, May 23, 2022. (4 pages)
- Masha Glessen, The Prosecution of Russian War Crimes in Ukraine, *The New Yorker*, August 1, 2022.
- The Guardian: Ukraine's true detectives: the investigators closing in on Russian war criminals.
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/20/ukraine-true-detectives-investigators-closing-in-on-russian-war-CMP=share_btn_tw
- A Frontline investigation into a prominent Russian General, Col. Gen. Alexander Chaiko, and his role in war crimes:
https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-kyiv-europe-middle-east-government-and-politics-utm_campaign=position_02&utm_medium=TopNews&utm_source=homepage
- Michael Gibilisco, Brenton Kenkel and Miguel R. Rueda, "Competition and Civilian Victimization", in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00220027211070621>
- Bret Devereaux, What Makes Armies Commit Atrocities? The crimes in Ukraine stem from Russian military brutalities. *Foreign Policy*, April 6, 2022 (roughly 6 pages)

Optional:

- Alexander B. Downes, "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures." *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), 152–195.
- Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Downes & Kathryn McNabb Cochran, It's a crime, but is it a blunder? Chapter 13 in *Civilians and Warfare in World History*, New York, Routledge, 2018, 288–312.

- Christopher Browning. *Ordinary men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the final solution in Poland*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1998.
- Jonathan Steinberg, “Types of Genocide? Croats, Serbs and Jews, 1941–45,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.175 – 193
- Christian Streit, “Wehrmacht, Einsatzgruppen, Soviet POWs and anti-Bolshevism in the emergence of the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution; Origins and Implementation*, pp.103 – 118
- Dara Kay Cohen, The ties that bind: How armed groups use violence to socialize fights, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 54(5), 2017, 701–714.

Wednesday November 12

23. The Domestic and International Audiences

- How it started:
<https://twitter.com/i/status/1567479046061056000>
- The changing faces and roles of the US

Monday November 17

24. Refugees and displaced people

- Statista.com with some basics: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1312584/ukrainian-refugees-by-country/>
- OECD report:
<https://www.oecd.org/ukraine-hub/policy-responses/the-potential-contribution-of-ukrainian-refugees-to-the-labour->
- Challenges arising: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2022/10/14/ukrainian-refugees-challenges-in-a-welcoming-europe/>
- Is the welcome running out:
<https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2022/08/04/Poland-Ukraine-refugee-concern-grows>

- UNHCR Report: <https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjojMWU3NjkzYmEtNDYzMCO0M2EyLTkwMjctMGIwZTA0MTQwMjU5IiwidCI6b9333061a0a2e93930ea>
- Internally displaced people:
[file:///C:/Users/hgoem/Downloads/IOM_Gen%20Pop%20Report_R9_IDP_FINAL%20\(1\)%20\(2\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/hgoem/Downloads/IOM_Gen%20Pop%20Report_R9_IDP_FINAL%20(1)%20(2).pdf)
- Russian indoctrination strategies: <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2024/03/11/they-could-start-to-resist>

Wednesday November 19

25. What are they thinking now?!

How have expectations changed? May/June 2022

- Isaac Chotiner, The New Yorker, (24/05/2022):
https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/putins-pivot-to-a-really-big-war-in-ukraine?mbid=social_twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter&utm_social-type=owned&utm_brand=tny&utm_campaign=cm_paid_social_tny_paid_content_ukraine_twitter&twclid=2-2favyhip0jq4z8vnwiwul2gw
- UK Chief of the General Staff, General Sir Patrick Sanders (28/06/2022): <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/chief-the-general-staff-speech-at-rusi-land-warfare-conference>

How have expectations changed? October/November 2022

- New York Times December 2022 overview of the war to date:
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html>
- On the conduct of the war, November 29 :
<https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/russia-firing-unarmed-missiles-deplete-ukraine-air-defense-says>

How have expectations changed? October/November 2024

- John Mearsheimer's view on the Summer-Fall 2023 Ukrainian offensive:
<https://mearsheimer.substack.com/p/bound-to-lose>
- New York Times assessment of Russian losses, December 2023:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/12/us/politics/russia-intelligence-assessment.html>.

How the war is going, June 2025:

- Riley McCabe, "Russia says it's winning. The data says otherwise." *Washington Post*, June 12, 2025.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/interactive/2025/russia-losing-casualties-ukraine-war/?pwapitoken=eyJ0eXAiOiJKV1QiLCJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiJ9.eyJyZWZzb24iOiJnaWZ0IiwibmJmIjoxNzQ5NzAwODAwLCJpc3MiOiJzdWJzY3JpW5sM6N_CUGpLJ8n8-4Go3cIORpYeBjUZpkv_YRARJHw&itid=gfta&fbclid=IwY2xjawK4L5pleHRuA2FlbQIxMQBicmlkETE1bmlSVkd1MjI4MU5TS1NYAR7794aem_dCHBe8zqT1vJlcTeXbeaGw
- TBD

Monday November 24

26. How have war aims changed? 2022–2024

Late 2022:

- John Mearsheimer on Putin's ambitions:
<https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/john-mearsheimer-on-putins-ambitions-after-nine-months-of-war>
- Ukraine's demand for territorial integrity:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/8/ukraine-says-talks-with-russia-hinge-on-territorial-integrity>
- Zelensky:
<https://twitter.com/i/status/1589736825634988033>
- <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/putin-acknowledges-russias-war-ukraine-could-be-long-one-2022-11-11/>

How have war aims changed? 29 March 2023:

- Spring 2023 <https://rtvi.com/news/v-mide-rasskazali-o-budushhem-rossijsko-ukrainskih-otnoshenij-p>

How have war aims changed? Fall 2025:

- TBD
- TBD

Wednesday November 26

Thanksgiving Break

Monday December 1

27. War Termination

- Anne Applebaum, “How the War Will End,” Chapter Five in Hal Brands (ed.), *War in Ukraine; Conflict, Strategy and the Return of A fractured World*, 2024, 85–98.
- Branislav Slantchev and Hein Goemans. “The Obstacles to Diplomacy in Ukraine.” *Foreign Affairs*, April 1, 2024.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/obstacles-diplomacy-ukraine>.
- Kirill Kazantcev, “Preferences over Borders in Militarized Conflicts: Experimental Evidence on Territorial Bargaining”, Third-year paper, the University of Rochester.

Wednesday December 3

28. What comes after?

Monday December 8

29. Last day of classes

Questions to consider in formulating and evaluating social science research

1. *What is the central question?*
 - Why is it important (theoretically, substantively)?
 - What is being explained (what is the dependent variable and how does it vary)?
 - How does this phenomenon present a puzzle?
2. *What is the central answer?*
 - What is doing the explaining (what are the independent variables and how do they vary)?
 - What are the hypotheses, i.e., what is the relationship between independent and dependent variables, what kind of change in the independent variable causes what kind of change in the dependent variable?
 - What are the causal mechanisms, i.e., why are the independent and dependent variables so related?
 - How do the independent variables relate to each other?
 - What assumptions does your theory make?
 - Is the theory falsifiable in concept?
 - What does this explanation add to our understanding of the question?
3. *What are the possible alternative explanations?*
 - What assumptions are you making about the direction of causality?
 - What other explanations might there be for the phenomenon of study, and to what degree do they conflict with the central answer?
 - Could the hypothesized relationships have occurred by chance?
4. *Why are the possible alternative explanations wrong?*
 - What is the logical structure of the alternative explanations (compare 2)?
 - What is the empirical evidence?
5. *What is the relationship between the theory and the evidence?*
 - What does the research design allow to vary, i.e., in this design are the explanations variables or constants?
 - What does your research design hold constant, i.e., does it help to rule out the alternative competing explanations?
 - How are the theoretical constructs represented empirically, i.e., how do you know it when you see it (measurement)?
6. *How do the empirical conclusions relate to the theory?*
 - How confident are you about the theory in light of the evidence?
 - How widely do the conclusions generalize, i.e., what might be the limitations of the study?
 - What does the provisionally accepted or revised theory say about questions of broader importance?