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PSC 108/INTR 108

**War in our time: the Russo { Ukrainian War**

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**Hein Goemans**

Harkness 337

Office Hours: Wed : 1:30{  
2:30

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**Course Information:**

Fall 2022

Tue. & Thurs. 16:50{18:05

Dewey 1101

This course examines the current 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 ongoing, 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 war is ongoing, the syllabus is likely to change during the semester, as developments on

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

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

- **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. Introduction: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bJczLIwp-d8>.
  2. The Genesis of Nations: <https://youtu.be/0LaEmaMAkPM>
- Branislav Slantchev (UCSD prof), provides insightful commentary on his blog: <https://slantchev.wordpress.com/category/russo-ukrainian-war-2022/>.
- <https://twitter.com/i/events/1483255084750282753>
- <https://wartranslated.com/>
- [https://twitter.com/Chris0\\_wiki](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki)
- <https://twitter.com/RALee85>
- <https://twitter.com/KofmanMichael>
- <https://twitter.com/MassDara>
- <https://twitter.com/TrentTelenko>
- <https://twitter.com/OSINTtechnical>
- <https://twitter.com/DefMon3>
- This guy is particularly fascinating: <https://twitter.com/kamilkazani>
- For maps of the war: <https://twitter.com/EdmapsCom>
- A video dairy? <https://twitter.com/OSINTua/status/1565388675545956353>
- BBC's Ukraine war in maps: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60506682>

## Course Outline

Tuesday September 13

4. **Some Russian history: Stalin and WW II**

Lecture on

Thursday September 29

9. **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>
  - { <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>

Tuesday October 4

10. **Who's to blame? Putin**

- Putin, June 2021: Because Voldomar, a Viking, (Vladimir/Velodomyr) was (supposedly) baptised in 988, the rest of the region's history is predetermined and thus Ukraine and Russia are the same nation.

Thursday October 13

12. **The causes of war**

- James Fearon, Rationalist Explanations for War, *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer, 1995), 379{390. Note the page range!

Tuesday October 18

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

- My assessment the day after the war started: <https://www.rochester.edu/newscenter/putin-russia-invasion-ukraine-explained-512642/>. (You might have to use Microsoft Edge, I know, an abomination.)
- Hein Goemans, *War and Punishment; the causes of war termination and the First World War*, Chapters 1 & 2, 3{52.

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- Russian expectations (03/02/2022):  
[https://nvo.ng.ru/reality/2022-02-03/3\\_1175\\_donbass.html](https://nvo.ng.ru/reality/2022-02-03/3_1175_donbass.html)
- Russian expectations: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2022/russia-fsb-intelligence-ukraine-war/?hpid=hp\\_hp-top-table-main-ukraine-war:live-updates-table-main-russia-dont-miss-world-ukraine-russia-dont-miss](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2022/russia-fsb-intelligence-ukraine-war/?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main-ukraine-war:live-updates-table-main-russia-dont-miss-world-ukraine-russia-dont-miss)

Thursday October 27

## 16. What are they thinking *now*?

- **Expectations and war aims in September/October**

- Russian war aims?: <https://slantchev.wordpress.com/2022/08/23/the-kreml-ins-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-perspective.html>

## Conduct of the War

Tuesday November 1

## 17. Blitzkrieg or attrition?

- 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>
- John Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, Vintage books, 1977. Chapter 4, The Somme, July 1, 1916, 204-280.
- <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](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1534168919245737991)

Thursday November 3



## 18. The soldier's perspective

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 o ended 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](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](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](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](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1561024849245573123).
- The fifth part, 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](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1561411957340659713).

- The final instalment highlights Filatyev's detailed comments on the Russian

Another account from Daniil Frolkin, 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](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1562874112707801088). Make sure you read #35.
- [https://twitter.com/Chris0\\_wiki/status/1563038520821702656](https://twitter.com/Chris0_wiki/status/1563038520821702656). Note

**Optional:** 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.

Thursday November 10

## 20. War Crimes

- Alexander B. Downes, "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures." *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), 152-195.
- Dara Kay Cohen, The ties that bind: How armed groups use violence to socialize fighters, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 54(5), 2017, 701-714.
- Bret Devereaux, What Makes Armies Commit Atrocities? The crimes in Ukraine stem from Russian military brutalities. *Foreign Policy*, April 6, 2022 (roughly 6 pages)
- 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

### Optional:

- 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,

- The difference pallets make!  
<https://twitter.com/TrentTelenko/status/1507056013245128716>
- On production of shells and materials:  
<https://theins.ru/en/politics/254573>

Thursday November 17

## 22. The Homefront

- Study on the homefronts in Ukraine and Russia

Tuesday November 22

## 23. The International Audience

- How it started: <https://twitter.com/i/status/1567479046061056000>

Thursday November 24

## Thanksgiving Recess

Thursday November 29

## 24. Refugees and displaced people

- Study

Thursday December 1

## 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](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-russia-land-warfare-conference>
- **How have expectations changed? October/November 2022**

Tuesday December 6

26. **How have war aims changed? October/November 2022**

Thursday December 8

27. **TBD**

Tuesday December 13

28. **Last day of classes**

Thursday November 28

## 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?