

# A b s t r a c t s

## Russia's War against Ukraine Propaganda, War Crimes, Resistance

Karl Schlögel

Ukraine as Kairos

The Order in Our Minds and the Disorder in the World

Ukraine has become a battlefield. Ukrainians, men and women alike, are repelling neo-totalitarian Russia's attack and, by fighting for their freedom and independence, are also defending ours. The assertion that the dictator in Moscow is seeking to subjugate Ukraine and destroy the Ukrainian people's identity is not some invention made up by the West. Those who advise Ukraine to capitulate are also laying the groundwork for Europe's or the West's surrender. Whether Europe has a future will be decided in Ukraine.

Gerd Koenen

The Russian Spell Completely Broken

On the End of a German Complex

All notions of a special relationship between Germany and Russia, as had reared its head after German reunification and the collapse of the Soviet Union, have come to an end with Putin's war of aggression on Ukraine. Instead, the path chosen by Putin to re-establish a Greater Russian Empire has stirred fateful memories of those times when Berlin and Moscow hatched all kinds of revisionisms and totalitarian global designs. All of the enticing and creative ties that existed have been cut for now; whatever enchantment with Russia as an Other and an antipole to the world of the West has been settled. Putin does not care to see himself and his state loved nor understood, only feared.

## International Law

Christian Tomuschat

Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

The War and Basic Questions of Law

Under international law, Russia's invasion of Ukraine is an act of aggression. It is one of the most serious international crimes. Russia is obliged to make amends for all the consequences of this injustice. Admittedly, the United Nations'

Security Council is blocked by Russia's veto. By international criminal law, Russia's top commanders – with President Putin first among them – are personally guilty of serious war crimes, possibly even the crime of genocide. Nonetheless, prosecution by the International Criminal Court is unlikely to ensue. But because of the principle of universality, which applies to war crimes, it will also be possible to try the Russian generals in national criminal courts inasmuch as they can be apprehended.

Angelika Nussberger  
Breaking a Taboo with Advance Notice  
Putin's War and the Law

In two speeches immediately before the armed attack on Ukraine, Putin tried to explain his war. His arguments, which drew on history and international law, fell short, however. Nonetheless, neither the sweeping condemnation found in the UN General Assembly, nor the interim injunctions by various courts have been able to put a stop to the attack, which is in violation of international law. It is unclear what kind of effects this fundamental violation of the rules will have on the peaceful order established after the Second World War.

Otto Luchterhandt  
Genocide in Mariupol'  
The Russian Way of War in Ukraine

The Ukrainian port city of Mariupol' was separated from the Black Sea and driven into economic decline by Russia's annexation of Crimea and the de facto capture of the Sea of Azov. Encirclement by Russia's forces after the invasion of Ukraine has cut off Mariupol' from the outside world. As a result of the nonstop bombardment of residential areas, the destruction of water, electricity, and heating supplies, as well as Internet access, and the interdiction of outside supplies of daily necessities have killed thousands of citizens. The citizenry of Mariupol' is subject to attacks that fulfil the objective as well as the subjective elements of genocide.

Stefanie Bock  
War in Ukraine  
The Potential and Limits of International Criminal Law

Since 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague has been prosecuting crimes of aggression, war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. The legal requirements to constitute a crime of aggression may be very high under international criminal law, but they are likely to be met in the case of Russia's attack on Ukraine. However, in this case, the ICC can only exercise its jurisdiction if the act results from the aggressive act of a signatory state. But Russia has not signed the statute. The other three core crimes defined by international law, on the other hand, can be prosecuted before both the ICC and

German courts. The list of possible war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Russia's army in Ukraine is long. However, proving them is not easy. This is difficult in the case of genocide. Here, international jurisprudence basically requires proof that the perpetrator was striving for the physical, biological destruction of the group.

Simon Gauseweg

Law v. War

ICC Ruling: Russia Must Stop the War against Ukraine

In mid-March 2022, the International Court of Justice ruled that Russia must end its attack on Ukraine. The court followed arguments presented by Ukraine, which stated that Russia's allegations of genocide in the Donbas were unfounded and, accordingly, the military operation based on those allegations was contrary to international law. This decision is binding under international law. However, only the United Nations Security Council, where Russia has a veto, can decide on coercive measures to enforce the ruling.

## Course of Events, Scenarios, Consequences

Aleksandr Gol'ts

The Merciless Honesty of War

Like no other event, war tests the ability of political leaders to act calmly and rationally. It unrelentingly punishes those who do not bring their ambitions into line with their capabilities. One should start a war only when the vital interests of the state are actually threatened and all non-military means have been exhausted beforehand. Before making the decision to go to war, one must make sure one has complete political support at home and abroad. With his decision to launch a special military operation, Vladimir Putin disregarded all of these principles.

Andreas Heinemann-Grüder

Three Scenarios

Victory, Exhaustion, Regime Collapse

Wars end by a clear military victory, the exhaustion of the warring parties, or the collapse of a regime. A Russian military victory is a distant prospect. Only through weeks or months of terror against the civilian population can it still force Ukraine to surrender. Then, a negotiated peace will become more likely, but it will come at a high price. The scenario of regime collapse in Moscow is not very likely so long as the West continues to support Ukraine only half-heartedly.

Eliot A. Cohen

Ukraine Is Winning the War . . .  
And the West Doesn't Want to Recognize It

Contrary to what most professional observers expected, Russia did not achieve a lightning victory in its war of aggression on Ukraine. To the contrary, Russia's troops suffered enormous losses in just a few weeks, and the attack on Kyiv failed. The Ukrainian army is highly motivated and well led and is skilfully employing tactics. Combat groups of light infantry outfitted with anti-tank weapons, drones, and artillery have repeatedly defeated much larger Russian formations. This is due to tactical mistakes on the part of the Russian army, deficiencies in logistics and maintenance, and the lack of a competent NCO corps. Ukraine can win the war.

Thomas Bremer

Time of Troubles  
The Churches and the War on Ukraine

Russia's war against Ukraine is having a significant impact on Ukraine's ecclesiastical landscape. Since 1990, Orthodoxy there has split into three churches. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in communion with the Moscow Patriarchate (UOTs) has condemned the war. This has called into question its communion with Moscow. It must reassess its status and relationship with the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OTsU). The Moscow Patriarchate will lose a large share of its congregations in Ukraine, for the course chosen by the church leadership in Russia has made it impossible for most of Ukraine's Orthodox believers to remain under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Roland Götz

Sanctions and Reactions  
The Impact on Russia's Economy

In reaction to Russia's attack on Ukraine, the European Union, the United States and other countries imposed numerous economic sanctions on Moscow between late February and mid-March 2022. The most serious ones are those targeting Russia's commercial banks and central bank. The trade sanctions, on the other hand, have an effect only on special areas. Formal sanctions are being reinforced by many Western banks and companies that have of their own free will suspended their business activities, temporarily or permanently. Rating agencies expect that Russia will soon be unable to service its international debts. Share prices of Russian companies have plummeted on stock exchanges, and inflation has risen. Real consumer spending and gross domestic product will fall sharply in 2022. In the medium term, Russia's central bank assesses the country's prospects for economic growth as low. An oil embargo imposed by the EU could harm them further and would have fewer repercussions for EU countries than a gas embargo.

Farida Rustamova  
A Long, Drawn-Out F\*ck  
Russia's Political Elite and the Invasion

If you ask high-ranking civil servants and members of parliament off the record what they think of Putin's decision to invade Ukraine, their attitude is ambivalent. Some are intimidated or fatalistic, others find themselves in a state of shock, still others feel alienated and react with inner emigration.

Farida Rustamova  
We Will F\*ck Them All!  
Russia's Elites One Month after the Start of the War

The mood among high-ranking civil servants and members of parliament has turned. Western sanctions and state propaganda have led even those elites who were initially appalled by Russia's invasion of Ukraine to rally behind Putin. The hope that they will try to exert influence on Putin and persuade him to stop the war is said to be futile.

OVD info  
Repression, Censorship, Imprisonment  
Russia Struggles against Anti-War Protests

On February 24, 2022, Russia began its military attack on Ukraine. In the first three weeks alone, more than 15,000 people who publicly protested against the war were detained in Russia. Arrest warrants have been issued for more than 700 people. The private homes and offices of human rights organizations have been searched. Criminal proceedings have been introduced against 27 people. Dozens of publications have been blocked. In addition, sentences were imposed for "discrediting a deployment of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation."

Arkadiusz Łuba  
Putler, Putinna, and Death  
Russia's War in Ukraine in Caricature

The genre of political caricature has been busy with Putin's war in Ukraine. The cartoon represents a form of coping with violence and the threat of violence. Every caricature is also a political statement. With regard to Ukraine, Polish cartoonists tie into Poland's collective memory of war and occupation. In their drawings, they merge Putin and Hitler, or they fall back on living folk traditions, such as the expulsion of winter by burning the straw doll Marzanna: in tempore belli, she mutates into Putinna.

Frank Grelka  
Ukrainian Resistance  
History, Memory, Present

Vladimir Putin wants to destroy Ukraine. But in making his calculations, he left out the Ukrainians. Throughout the country, Russia's troops are facing fierce resistance. Not only the army and territorial guard formations, but broad swathes of Ukrainian society, women and men, young and old, townspeople and villagers are putting their lives at risk to defend their freedom and right to self-determination as well as their homeland's sovereignty. The memory of the prolonged struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against Soviet rule and the terror spread by the Soviet secret services and their military formations in western Ukraine is gaining relevance.

Fabian Baumann  
From War to War  
Historical Research on Ukraine since 2014

The Euromaidan in the winter of 2013/2014 and the annexation of Crimea brought to light the fact that among the German public, Ukraine hardly existed as a nation and sovereign state with its own history. It was also marginal in East European history as a discipline. Institutionally, the expansion of historical research on Ukraine has hardly advanced since then. But in terms of content, there has been intensive work on topics such as memory culture and history policy, Galicia, World War II and the German occupation, Jewish history and the Holocaust. Works on economic and social history are rare, and classic political history is lacking. And this even though Ukraine's archives offer a wealth of material to work with. Since the decommunization laws of 2015, the archives have been almost fully open to researchers. Putin's war against Ukraine could reverse all of this progress. And no one knows whether Ukrainian collections will survive the war.

André Härtel  
Fragmented, Unstable, Pluralistic  
Ukraine's Political System before the War

Since the 2000s, Ukrainian politics has been characterized by weak institutions and strong informal forces. The plurality of economic and regional interest groups has prevented the establishment of a stable authoritarian vertical of power. At the same time, it has prevented a stringent reform policy. President Volodymyr Zelens'kyi, who was elected in 2019, also ran up against this problem. He fell out with the country's most powerful oligarch, parts of the judiciary, influential local leaders, and numerous media outlets. Increasingly, he tried to exercise his authority by going around them, which led to accusations that he was establishing an authoritarian system. Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, conflicts over Ukrainian domestic politics have been set aside. The political class is united. The army and society are acting together to defend Ukraine's sovereignty, freedom, and right of self-determination.