## **Table of Contents**

List of Figures, Illustrations and Tables	9
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene  Lonneke Peperkamp, Maarten Rothman, Sebastiaan Rietjens, & Eline Stevens	11
Section I. Narratives and Intelligence	19
Chapter 2. The War on Ukraine: A Warning from History Floribert Baudet	21
Chapter 3. Caught by Surprise: Warning for Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Michelle Hogendoorn, Bram Spoor, & Sebastiaan Rietjens	41
Chapter 4. Open-Source Intelligence in the Russia-Ukraine War Hannah van Beek & Sebastiaan Rietjens	57
Chapter 5. 'The Wise Man Will Be Master of the Stars'. The Use of Twitter by a Military Intelligence Service in Wartime: The Case of the GUR Peter Schrijver	77
Chapter 6. Morale and Moral Injury among Russian and Ukrainian Combatants $\it Tine\ Molen dijk$	97
Section II. Warfighting	121
Chapter 7. Putin's War, a European Tragedy: Why Russia's War Failed and What It Means for NATO  Frans Osinga	123

Chapter 8. Putin's Miscalculation: The Effectiveness of Russia's New-type Warfare in Ukraine	147
Han Bouwmeester	14/
Chapter 9. Russian Military Logistics and the Ukraine Conflict: Analyzing Dynamics of Multilevel Alignment Thijs Cremers, Sieds Haitsma, Gert Schijvenaars, Armand Soeleman,	165
& Paul van Fenema	
Chapter 10. Explaining Stalemate from a Corbettian Maritime Perspective Henk Warnar	189
Chapter 11. All Quiet on the Northern Front? Limited War and Covert Action in the Russian-Ukrainian War Maarten Rothman & Martijn Rouvroije	211
Chapter 12. Assessing the Dogs of Cyberwar: Reflections on the Dynamics of Operations in Cyberspace during the Russia-Ukraine War Kraesten Arnold, Peter Pijpers, Paul Ducheine, & Peter Schrijver	231
Chapter 13. The Space Domain and the Russia-Ukraine War Lonneke Peperkamp & Patrick Bolder	257
Section III. International Involvement	275
Chapter 14. Does the Russia Sanctions Revolution Bring About Change?  Esmée de Bruin, Joop Voetelink, & Jeroen Klomp	277
Chapter 15. NATO Members' Burden Sharing Behaviour in the Aftermath of Russia's Annexation of Crimea, 2014-2021  Marion Bogers & Robert Beeres	293
Chapter 16. Contraband of War at Sea: Interference of Arms Support to the Enemy  Martin Fink	319
Chapter 17. Between Multilateralism and Great Power Competition: The Future of European Indivisible and Comprehensive Security Sabine Mengelberg & Floribert Baudet	335

Chapter 18. The Russia-Ukraine War and the Changing Character of the World Order Theo Brinkel & Carel Sellmeijer	351
Chapter 19. The West versus the Rest? A Pluralist English School Perspective on the Ukraine War Jörg Noll & Sonja de Laat	367
Section IV. Rules and Norms	383
Chapter 20. Fighting Justly: The Russia-Ukraine War and the Usefulness of Morality  Peter Olsthoorn	385
Chapter 21. The 'Technology War' and International Law: A Legal Perspective on New Technologies Used in the Ukraine Conflict Steven van de Put & Marten Zwanenburg	397
Chapter 22. Russian Commercial Warriors on the Battlefield Thijs Cremers & Han Bouwmeester	415
Chapter 23. A Military Oath for Russian Private Military Security Contractors? Wagner, Putin and the Death of Prigozhin Allard Wagemaker & Karishma Chafekar	439
Chapter 24. Collecting Evidence of International Crimes in Ukraine: The Role of the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee Monica den Boer, Marieke de Hoon, Jan Roede, & Joris van Wijk	457
Section V. Lessons and Ending	473
Chapter 25. Lessons from Ukraine: Benchmark or Significant Exception?  Martijn van der Vorm & Gijs Tuinman	475
Chapter 26. Revisiting the Synthetic Organisation: Multi-level Bricolage in Turbulent Environments  Eric-Hans Kramer, Guido van Os, Stefan Soeparman, & Robbert Verhulst	495

## 8 TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 27. War Diplomacy in Ukraine: Causes and Endings of Russia's	
Military Invasions	513
Berma Klein Goldewijk	
Chapter 28. When Will It End? Assessing the Duration of Putin's War	
with Ukraine	537
Robbert Fokkink & Roy Lindelauf	
Index	551

## List of Figures, Illustrations and Tables

Figure 5.1: A screenshot of a social media post on the Twitter account of	
the GUR, which contains an intercepted phone call in which a Russian	
military member complains about his 'cowardly command' and 'deserters	3 86
Figure 6.1: The role of narratives in morale among Russian and Ukrainian	
combatants	101
Figure 6.2: Risk factors of moral injury in war	107
Figure 6.3: Societal narratives of war	113
Figure 8.1: Graphic from Andrey Kartapolov's article "Lessons of military	
conflicts and prospects for the development of resources and methods	
of conducting them: direct and indirect actions in contemporary	
international conflicts"	151
Figure 9.1: A framework for systematic military logistics analysis	169
Figure 9.2: Systematic military logistics analysis of two historic cases	171
Figure 10.1: Number of NATO non-Black Sea States' warships that visited	
the Black Sea, since the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991-2021)	194
Figure 10.2: Per Capita GDP at current price of world-index: Russia,	
Belarus and Ukraine	201
Figure 11.1: Russia and all of Ukraine battles event data map	215
Figure 11.2: Russia & Crimea event selection map	217
Figure 11.3: David Kilcullen's conceptualisation of 'Liminal Warfare'	222
Figure 12.1: Operations in the information environment	234
Figure 12.2: Manoeuvring in the Information Environment	235
Figure 12.3: Effects of cyber operations	237
Figure 12.4: (Discovery of) Nine wiperware-families deployed around the	
Russion invasion	246
Figure 12.5: Cyber & electomagnetic attacks in the Russia-Ukraine war	247
Figure 14.1: Effectiveness of arms embargoes	282
Figure 15.1a: Defence Expenditures as a percentage of GDP (%) 2021	307
Figure 15.1b: Delta Defence Expenditures as a percentage of GDP 2014-2021 (%)	308
Figure 15.1c: Average contribution EFP 2017-2021	308
Figure 15.1d: Total contribution to Baltic Air Policing 2014-2021	309
Figure 15.1e: Import gas from Russia as a percentage of total gas import 2021 (%)	309
Figure 15.1f: Delta gas import from Russia 2014-2021	310
Figure 15.1g: Import oil from Russia as a percentage of total oil import 2021 (%)	310
Figure 15.1h: Delta oil import from Russia 2014-2021 (%)	311