



Russia's War Against Ukraine - Trends and Lessons

12-13 FEB 2025

Program (Draft)

DAY 1	Wednesday 12 FEB 2025				
08.00-08.30	Morning coffee				
08.30-08.40	Day 1: Welcome and Admin remarks (Itälinnake)	Janne Pukkila (FNDU)			
08.40-08.45	Opening words	Mika Kalliomaa , Rector of FNDU			
	Keynote (Itälinnake)	Janne Pukkila (FNDU)			
09.00-09.30	The Russian military's lessons learned from the Ukraine conflict: What should concern NATO?	Rod Thornton and Marina Miron (Defence Studies Department of King's College, UK)			
09.30-09.45	Panel				
09.45-09.55	Break				
	SESSION I (Itälinnake) Military strategy and operational art	Katri Pynnöniemi (FNDU)		SESSION III (Riviera, 2nd floor) Russia's relations in contemporary world	Michael R. Rouland (EUCOM RSI, USA)
09.55-10.35	Full scale invasion of Ukraine and lessons learned for NGW theory	Olexander Hryb (HQ JFC NATO, Brunssum, Netherlands)	09.55-10.25	Changing the International Cooperation Vector of Russia to Achieve Goals in the War with Ukraine.	Valerii Hordiichuk and Nina Andrianova (NDU, Ukraine)
10.35-11.15	AI-Augmented Analysis of Russia's Self-Perceived Military Strengths and Weaknesses in the Russian-Ukrainian War (2022-...)	Stephan De Spiegeleire (The Hague Center for Strategic Studies, Netherlands) and Adam Stulberg (Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA, USA)	10.25-10.50	Tools and mechanisms of Russia's alliance-building strategy after the outbreak of war in Ukraine: major achievements and miscalculations.	Sergei Melkonian ; (Research Fellow APRI Armenia)
			10.50-11.15	The changing role of Russia in Central Asia	Marzia Cimmino (FNDU)
11.15-11.45	Panel		11.15-11.45	Panel	
11.45-12.15	Coffee break (30min)			Coffee break (30min)	
	SESSION II (Itälinnake) Russian military thought	Pentti Forsström (FNDU)		SESSION IV (Riviera, 2nd floor) Russia's relations and resources	Juha-Matti Lehtonen (FNDU)
12.15-12.45	What is new in the proposed changes in Russia's nuclear doctrine?	Kristina Melin (FOI, Sweden)		Russian economy on war footing - A new reality financed by commodity exports	Yuriy Gorodnichenko (University of California – Berkeley); Iikka Korhonen , (BOFIT, Bank of Finland); Elina Ribakova (Peterson Institute of International Economics and Kyiv School of Economics)
12.45-13.15	Russian Nuclear Deterrence Concept: Changes and Threats	Andrii Ivachenko and Tatiana Uvarova (NDU, Ukraine)		How Russian economy fuels its military capabilities?	Pakholchuk Vadym (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine)
13.15-13.45	Panel			Panel	

13.45-14.30	Lunch (45min)			Lunch (45min)	
	SESSION V (Itälinnake) Military strategy and operational art	Risto Kohonen (FNDU)		SESSION VII (Riviera, 2nd floor) Russian military thought and strategies	Juha Kukkola (FNDU)
14.30-15.00	Key Lessons of Russia's Ground Warfare in Ukraine	Leonid Nersisyan (APRI, Armenia)		Modern Methods of Hybrid Warfare in Russian Military Thought	Yevhenii Harkavyi (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)
15.00-15.30	Russia's Post-Ukraine Land Force Reconstitution and Future Operational Concepts	Clint Reach (RAND, USA)		Russia's hybrid operations in the West and their news coverage	Kari Liuhto and Hanna Mäkinen (Pan-European Institute, University of Turku, Finland)
15.30-16.00	Russian Railways: A case study in civil-military relations	Maria Engqvist (FOI, Sweden)		Russia's Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures (TTPs) in Achieving Cognitive Dominance through Media (NO on-line streaming)	Kseniya Piddubna (JFC, Joint Force Command, Brunssum, NATO)
16.00-16.30	Panel			Panel	
16.30-17:00	Coffee (30min)			Coffee (30min)	
	SESSION VI (Itälinnake) Military strategy and operational art	Sakari Soini (FNDU)		SESSION VIII (Riviera, 2nd floor) Russia's resources	Juha-Matti Lehtonen (FNDU)
17.00-17.30	Russian Military Strategy and Operational Art in the Black Sea War: Lessons from Experience, Theory Development, and Prospects. (ZOOM)	Stepan Yakymiak (Capt (Navy)(ret.), Ukraine)		Wartime expansion of Russian military-industrial complex – a new cornerstone of economy and the main driver of future conflicts?	Jussi Jalonen (Finnish Navy Command)
17.30 – 18.00	The War in the Black Sea –The character of naval warfare is undergoing a fundamental shift caused by drone technology	Tobias Kollakowski (German Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies, Germany)		Battling War Economies: Innovating and Adapting the Defence Industrial Base During Major Wars	Marc DeVore (University of St. Andrews, UK) and Kristen A. Harkness (University of St. Andrews / UK Foreign Office)
18.00-18.30	Panel			Panel	
18.35	Bus ride to the hotel				
19.30-21:30	Dinner at the Marina Congress Center	Marina Congress center, 2nd floor			
DAY 2	THURSDAY 13 FEB 2025				
08.30 – 08.45	Morning coffee				
	SESSION IX (Itälinnake) Military sociology	Katri Pynnöniemi (FNDU)		SESSION X (Riviera, 2nd floor) Military sociology	Jonna Alava (FNDU)
09-09.30	Russian and Ukrainian Approaches to Civil-Military Relations during Wartime: A Theoretical and Operational Perspective.	Fainberg, Sarah-Masha (Tel Aviv University (Israel) and Marangé Céline (Institute for Strategic Research, France)		"An Army with too many people and not enough soldiers": Russian military manpower system in flux	Oona-Maaria Hyppölä , (FNDU)

09.30-10.00	How have political and structural changes within the wartime Russian dictatorship since 2022 impacted civil-military relations?	Waller Julian Gordon, (Center for Naval Analyses; George Washington University, USA)		“Russia’s covert mobilisation: instruments, structures and risks for domestic stability”.	Margarete Klein (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany)
10.00-10.30	Panel			Panel	
10.30-11.30	Lunch				
	SESSION XI (Itälinnake) Future prospects	Juha Kukkola (FNDU)			
11.30-12.00	War Termination in the Russian-Ukraine War: Assessing Coercion Dynamics and Military Effectiveness	Finel Bernard (George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Germany)			
12.30-13.00	Military-Patriotic Education in Russia: From Lessons Learned to Future Prospects for Military Culture	Jonna Alava (FNDU/Helsinki University)			
13.00-13.30	Where do Russia’s mobilized soldiers come from? Evidence from regional bank deposits	Solanko Laura (BOFIT, Bank of Finland)			
13.30-14.00	Coffee				
	SESSION XII (Itälinnake) Future prospects	Juha Kukkola, Katri Pynnömiemi (FNDU)			
14.00-14.45	Panel discussion on Russia’s future prospects, resources and status	Fainberg, Marangé, Waller, Hyppölä, Klein, Finel, Alava, Solanko (tbc)			
14.45-	Closing remarks	Pasi Hirvonen (Chief of the Department of Warfare, FNDU)			
15.00	End of the Russia Seminar 2025				