

# The 2022 War in Ukraine

## Week 4

Spring 2022, Tuesdays 1:30 – 3:00 pm

Study Group Facilitators

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# Question for this week!

## **Discuss:**

**U.S. wants to see Russia weakened.** The United States toughened its messaging on the Ukraine war, saying the American aim was not just to thwart the Russian invasion but also to weaken Russia so it could no longer carry out such military aggression anywhere. Defense Secretary

Lloyd J. Austin III

# Weekly Theme Reminder

1. Timeline of conflict. Major events. Newspaper, journal, speeches, attacks, events.
2. Origins. Reasons for conflict. Past conflicts. Motivations for conflict. Alliances. Goals.
3. Leaders of the Nations in conflict. Military and Political figures.
4. Resources. Military strengths. Economies.
5. Military Tactics and Strategy. Use of Information and Cyber warfare
6. November through July significant events
7. Cost of conflict. Likely outcomes.

# Contributory investigations Reminder

1. The reporters: who are the ones providing the best articles on the different aspects of the conflict? Any volunteers?
2. Food, Fertilizer, Refugees: Who is being impacted by the conflict?
3. Who benefits from the war. Individuals, organizations, countries?
4. Leaders watch. Who is on the up and down. Who are the influential leaders?
5. Evolving strategic goals. How have the strategies of Russia, Ukraine, Nato changed?
6. Evolving tactics. What tactics are being employed this week?
7. Politicians: Republican, Democratic, Russian, Ukrainian. Which politician best formalizes the issues?
8. War Crimes? Who, what and when?
9. Battle watch. Who is winning what and where?
10. Peace Talks. Agreement versus disagreements?

# Agenda Week 3 (20 minutes per section)

1. Overview of week (E.g. see New York Times, Bloomberg News, BBC, Wikipedia, ... .) Discussion of the whole.
2. Updates from contributory investigations (Slide 5.) 2 minute update on your investigation.
3. Summary of Weekly Theme. Led by Roy and Norm.  
Resources. Military strengths. Economies.
4. Discussion of the whole.

Other topics/Better organization?

# 1a) Highlights of week

- **On the ground.** Russia renewed its attacks on Ukraine's infrastructure, [striking five railroad stations](#) with missiles just hours after Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III and Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken made a [risky and secretive visit](#) by train to Kyiv. (NYTimes)
- **Fears of a new front.** Explosions shook Transnistria, [a breakaway region of Moldova aligned with Russia](#) that occupies a strategically important spot on Ukraine's western flank. Ukrainian officials accused Russia of causing the explosions as a pretext to invade Ukraine from that direction. (NYTimes)
- **Diplomatic changes.** President Biden [nominated Bridget Brink](#), the current U.S. ambassador to Slovakia, as ambassador to Ukraine, a position that has remained empty for more than a year. The United States also said it would [reopen its embassy in the Ukrainian capital](#)

# 1b) Overview of week

- The war broadens and becomes a war of attrition. More powerful weapons supplied by the west.
- Supply lines are attacked (both Russia and Ukraine)
- Russia changes the goal post to include whole of southern coast
- Finland, Sweden to begin NATO application in May (Reuters)
- Russian forces likely conducted a false flag attack in Transnistria (Russia's illegally occupied territory in Moldova) to amplify Russian claims of anti-Russian sentiment in Moldova, but Transnistrian forces remain unlikely to enter the war in Ukraine.

20 April. The Russian Defence Ministry claimed that Russian forces had hit 1,053 Ukrainian military facilities overnight and destroyed 106 firing positions.

21 April. Vladimir Putin declared victory in Mariupol in spite of remaining Ukrainian holdouts at the Azovstal Iron and Steel Works. Putin ordered a blockade of the plant instead.

22 April. Major General Rustam Minnekayev, the deputy commander of Russia's Central Military District, admitted that the aim of the "second phase" of the country's invasion of Ukraine was to fully seize Donbas and Southern Ukraine, and to establish a land corridor with Transnistria, a Russian-occupied breakaway republic which is internationally recognized as being part of Moldova.

Ukrainian officials acknowledged that Russia had taken control of 42 small towns and villages in Eastern Ukraine.



# 1b) Overview of week (Discussion of the whole)

23 April. According to the Defense Ministry's Intelligence Directorate of Ukraine, Ukraine's Armed Forces hit a Russian command post near the occupied regional capital Kherson, in southern Ukraine, allegedly killing two Russian generals and wounding one.

A Russian missile strike hit Ukraine's southern port city of Odessa.

24 April. The Russian Defence Ministry claimed that its high-precision missiles struck nine Ukrainian military targets overnight, including four arms depots in the Kharkiv region where artillery weapons were being stored. The Ministry also claimed that its missile and artillery forces destroyed four more depots in the same region, and hit a facility producing explosives for the Ukrainian army in the Dnipropetrovsk region.

Ukrainian officials claimed that Russian forces had conducted airstrikes on the besieged Azovstal Iron and Steel Works factory in Mariupol to try to dislodge the Ukrainian troops present inside.[]

25 April. Russian forces conducted precision missile strikes against five Ukrainian railway stations in central and western Ukraine on April 25 in a likely effort to disrupt Ukrainian reinforcements to eastern Ukraine and Western aid shipments.

Local Ukrainian counterattacks retook territory north of Kherson and west of Izyum in the past 24 hours. Russian forces continue to make little progress in scattered, small-scale attacks in eastern Ukraine.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_the\\_2022\\_Russian\\_invasion\\_of\\_Ukraine\\_-\\_26\\_April](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_2022_Russian_invasion_of_Ukraine_-_26_April)

## Casualties

Further information: *Casualties of the Russo-Ukrainian War*

See also: *List of Russian generals killed during the 2022 invasion of Ukraine* and *List of journalists killed during the Russo-Ukrainian War*

Breakdown	Casualties	Time period	Source
<b>Civilians</b>	<b>24,332+</b> killed (estimated) <sup>[d]</sup>	24 February – 23 April 2022	Ukrainian government
	<b>3,818</b> killed, <b>4,000+</b> wounded (conf.) <sup>[383]</sup>	24 February – 24 April 2022	
	<b>2,665+</b> killed, <b>3,053+</b> wounded	24 February – 24 April 2022	United Nations <sup>[384]</sup>
<b>Ukrainian forces</b> (UAF, NGU)	<b>2,500–3,000</b> killed, <b>10,000</b> wounded	24 February – 15 April 2022	Ukrainian government <sup>[385]</sup>
	<b>2,000–4,000</b> killed	24 February – 9 March 2022	US estimate <sup>[386]</sup>
	<b>23,367</b> killed	24 February – 16 April 2022	Russian government <sup>[387]</sup>
<b>Russian Armed Forces</b>	<b>1,351</b> killed, <b>3,825</b> wounded <sup>[e]</sup>	24 February – 25 March 2022	Russian government <sup>[395]</sup>
<b>Donetsk PR forces</b>	<b>1,413</b> killed, <b>5,716</b> wounded	26 February – 21 April 2022	Donetsk PR <sup>[f]</sup>
<b>Luhansk PR forces</b>	<b>500–600</b> killed	24 February – 5 April 2022	Russian government <sup>[g]</sup>
<b>Russian and allied forces</b> (RAF, Rosgvardiya, PMC Wagner, DPR & LPR)	<b>30,000–40,000</b> casualties <sup>[h]</sup>	24 February – 23 March 2022	NATO estimate <sup>[400]</sup>
	<b>10,000+</b> killed	24 February – 30 March 2022	US estimate <sup>[401]</sup>
	<b>21,800</b> losses	24 February – 24 April 2022	Ukrainian government <sup>[402]</sup>



Sources: Verified imagery; witness accounts; Ukrainian and Russian officials; Institute for the Study of War with American Enterprise Institute's Critical Threats Project; Rochan Consulting - The New York Times

## Assessed Control of Terrain in Ukraine and Main Russian Maneuver Axes as of April 25, 2022, 3:00 PM ET



\* Assessed Russian advances are areas where ISW assesses Russian forces have operated in or launched attacks against but do not control.



# Legal proceedings

- **International Criminal Court**
- *Main article: [International Criminal Court investigation in Ukraine](#)*
- On 27 February, Ukrainian foreign minister [Dmytro Kuleba](#) called for the [International Criminal Court](#) (ICC) to investigate the Okhlyrka kindergarten bombing.<sup>[497]</sup> On 28 February, [Karim Ahmad Khan](#), the [prosecutor of the ICC](#), said he planned to investigate allegations of war crimes in Ukraine "as rapidly as possible" following the ICC's preliminary examination of the case.
- Thirty-nine states officially referred the situation in Ukraine to the ICC. On 3 March, Khan announced that evidence was being collected of alleged war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide committed by individuals of all sides during the invasion, and that a full investigation would be opened.<sup>[498]</sup> Russia is not party to the ICC's Rome Statute, or founding treaty, and therefore does not recognise its authority.<sup>[499]</sup>

# International Court of Justice

- Ukraine filed a lawsuit against Russia before the [International Court of Justice](#) (ICJ), accusing Russia of violating the 1948 [Genocide Convention](#) (to which both Ukraine and Russia are parties) by falsely claiming genocide as a pretext for invading Ukraine.<sup>[500]</sup> The [International Association of Genocide Scholars](#) supported Ukraine's request.
- Ukraine asked the ICJ to adopt [provisional measures](#), an order directing Russia to halt its offensive in Ukraine. The ICJ granted Ukraine's request to expedite the proceedings.<sup>[501]</sup> Russian representatives refused to appear at a court hearing at the [Peace Palace](#) in [The Hague](#).<sup>[502]</sup>

# International Court of Justice

- On 16 March, the ICJ ordered Russia, as a provisional measure, to "immediately suspend the military operations that it commenced on 24 February 2022 in the territory of Ukraine".
- The decision was taken after a 13–2 vote, with the Russian and Chinese judges in opposition.[\[503\]](#)[\[504\]](#) It is binding on Russia, but the ICJ has no means to enforce it.[\[505\]](#)

# Universal jurisdiction

- *Main article: [Universal jurisdiction investigations of war crimes in Ukraine](#)*
- Domestic [investigations of potential war crimes committed by Russian forces in Ukraine](#) were opened, under the principle of [universal jurisdiction](#), in countries including Estonia, Germany, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. [\[506\]](#)[\[507\]](#)[\[508\]](#)[\[509\]](#)

# Humanitarian Concerns

- Cluster bombs

<https://www.npr.org/player/embed/1094599599/1094599648>

Further Documentation (Bellingcat)

<https://www.bellingcat.com/news/rest-of-world/2022/03/11/these-are-the-cluster-munitions-documented-by-ukrainian-civilians/>



# Language Differences

- In a creative play on three different languages, Ukrainians identify an enemy: ‘ruscism.’
- In passing, the Mariupol council members referred to the Russian perpetrators by a term of condemnation that every Ukrainian knows, though it is not yet in the dictionaries and cannot (yet) be said in English: “рашизм.”
- Grasping its meaning requires crossing differences in alphabet and pronunciation, thinking our way into the experience of a bilingual society at war with a fascist empire. “Рашизм” sounds like “fascism,” but with an “r” sound instead of an “f” at the beginning; it means, roughly, “Russian fascism.” ([NYTimes](#))

# Little Russian

- It was long ago common for Russians to regard Ukrainian as just a dialect of Russian. “Little Russian,” it was called.
- If you ask some Russian nationalists like Pyotr Valuev, Russia’s interior minister, Ukrainian isn’t a language at all.” NyTimes  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/11/opinion/ukrainian-russian.html>
- Ukrainian is indeed closely related to Russian — they both use a Cyrillic alphabet and have similar grammatical patterns — but Russian it is not.

## 2) Investigations

- 2 minutes
- Send Slides or bring them
- Ongoing

# Contributory investigations by topic

Ann	Benefiel	#2	Food, fertilizer, refugees
Sharon	Hayes	#2	Food, fertilizer, refugees
Alice	Tiso	#3	Who benefits from the war?
Ann	Reid	#4	Leader's watch
John	McCord	#5	What is right with the Ukrainian military??
Marilyn	Resch	#5	What is wrong with the Russian military?
Richard	Helfrich	#6	Tactics of the week
John	Foltz	#7	Politicians - which best formalize the issues
Trisha	Crowley	#7	Putin - why did he do this?
Roy/Norm	Campbell/Miller	#8	War Crimes
Alan	Conrad	#9	Who is winning?
Jon	Liebman	#10	Peace talks
Joy	Thornton-Walter	#11	History of Ukrainians as a united people
Paula	Watson	#12	Impacts of conflict

# #2 UPDATE Ukrainian Refugees, April 16-18:

4.98 Million to Neighboring Countries

7.1 Million Internally Displaced

## > 4.9 M External

- **Poland** 2,800,713 refugees (Up 290K)
- **Romania** 750,693 (Up 88K)
- **Russian Fed.** 535,842 (Up 185K)\*
- **Hungary** 465,598 (Up 62K)
- **Moldova** 425,227 (Up 24K)
- **Slovakia** 339,680 (Up 35K)
- **Belarus** 23,609 (Up 6K)

## Internally Displaced Persons

Numbers very fluid as many refugees are returning from Poland, while others are leaving home cities for other regions of Ukraine.

*People traveling from Moldova into Romania included in both countries' totals.*

# Additional Notes, Refugee Crisis

## Impact on Migrant Rights

- 45 Migrants Detained After Attempting to Cross to Poland and turned over to Ukraine. Sentenced to 6-18 months detention.

\* Russian Federation reported 863,600 (incl. 158,170 children) crossed into its territory.

UN estimate 522K – 536K

## Reports of Humanitarian Aid Workers within Ukraine killed or injured:

- World Central Kitchen (Kharkiv): Restaurant hit by missile strike 4/16
- Caritas (Mariupol): 2 staff, 5 relatives killed in in March

# #2 Ukrainian Refugee Update April 25

## 5.2 Million to 7 Neighboring Countries

## 7.7 Million Internally Displaced

Neighboring Countries	# Refugees, April 8	# Refugees, April 18	# Refugees, April 25	% Increase April 8 –25
Poland	2,514,504	2,800,713	2,909,415	14%
Romania	662,751	750,693	777,602	17%
Hungary	404,021	465,598	492,976	22%
Moldova	401,704	425,227	433,895	8%
Russian Federation	350,632	535,842**	605,815**	73%
Slovakia	304,983	339,680	355,593	17%
Belarus	18,060	23,609	24,477	36%

Source: UN High Commission for Refugees

\* People may be included in totals for multiple countries upon arrival from one to another, e.g., Moldova to Romania

\*\* Movement across Russian border increased in mid-April as attacks intensified in Eastern Ukraine giving it the 3<sup>rd</sup> highest population of refugees after Poland and Romania. Russia reports much larger numbers than UN.

Other  
Countries  
Accepting  
>40,000  
Refugees

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Germany, 376K

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Czech Republic, 308K

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Bulgaria, 185K

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Italy, 101K

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Turkey, 58K

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Spain, 52K

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France, 49K

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Lithuania, 48K

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Austria, 42K



# U.S./Biden Admin Role in Refugee Crisis

- March 24 - Announced plan to admit 100,000 Refugees from Ukraine via various pathways; \$1B more in humanitarian assistance (prev. \$123M)
- April 21 – Announced **Unite for Ukraine** Plan to Expedite Immigration  
**Unite for Ukraine** is a “Humanitarian Parole” Program  
Includes/Requires:
  - Transportation to U.S. via 0-interest loan
  - 2-year work permits
  - Sponsorship from U.S. agencies or individuals; financial responsibilities

Of 100,000, 15K already admitted, many via Mexican border

18K in pipeline under asylum program for religious minorities from former Soviet countries

67K slots still open

# Additional Issues, Refugee Crisis

- Non-Ukrainian immigrants attempting to cross to Poland turned over to Ukraine; housed in detention centers
- Russian Federation reported approx. 864K (incl. 158,170 children) crossed into its territory. UN estimate 522K – 536K at same time (mid-April 2022)
- Ukrainian Foreign Ministry: 2,389 Ukrainian children abducted from Donetsk and Luhansk, and transferred to Russia, as well as "several thousand" residents of Mariupol. (Source: U.S. Embassy, Kyiv, March 22, 2022)

### 3) Introduction Resources. Military strengths. Economies.

1. Introduction
2. Russia
3. Ukraine

# Summary of Order of Battle

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order\\_of\\_battle\\_for\\_the\\_2022\\_Russian\\_invasion\\_of\\_Ukraine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order_of_battle_for_the_2022_Russian_invasion_of_Ukraine)

- Personnel
- Deaths of leaders
- Equipment
- Economies

## Senior Russian commanders for the 2022 invasion of Ukraine



General of the Army  
Sergei Shoigu, Minister  
of Defence



General of the Army  
Valery Gerasimov, Chief  
of the General Staff



General of the Army  
Aleksandr Dvornikov,  
Commander, Russian  
forces in Ukraine

## Senior Ukrainian commanders for the 2022 invasion of Ukraine



General **Valerii Zaluzhnyi**, Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces



Lieutenant General **Serhiy Shaptala**, Chief of the General Staff



Lieutenant General **Serhiy Nayev** [uk], Commander, Joint Forces Command

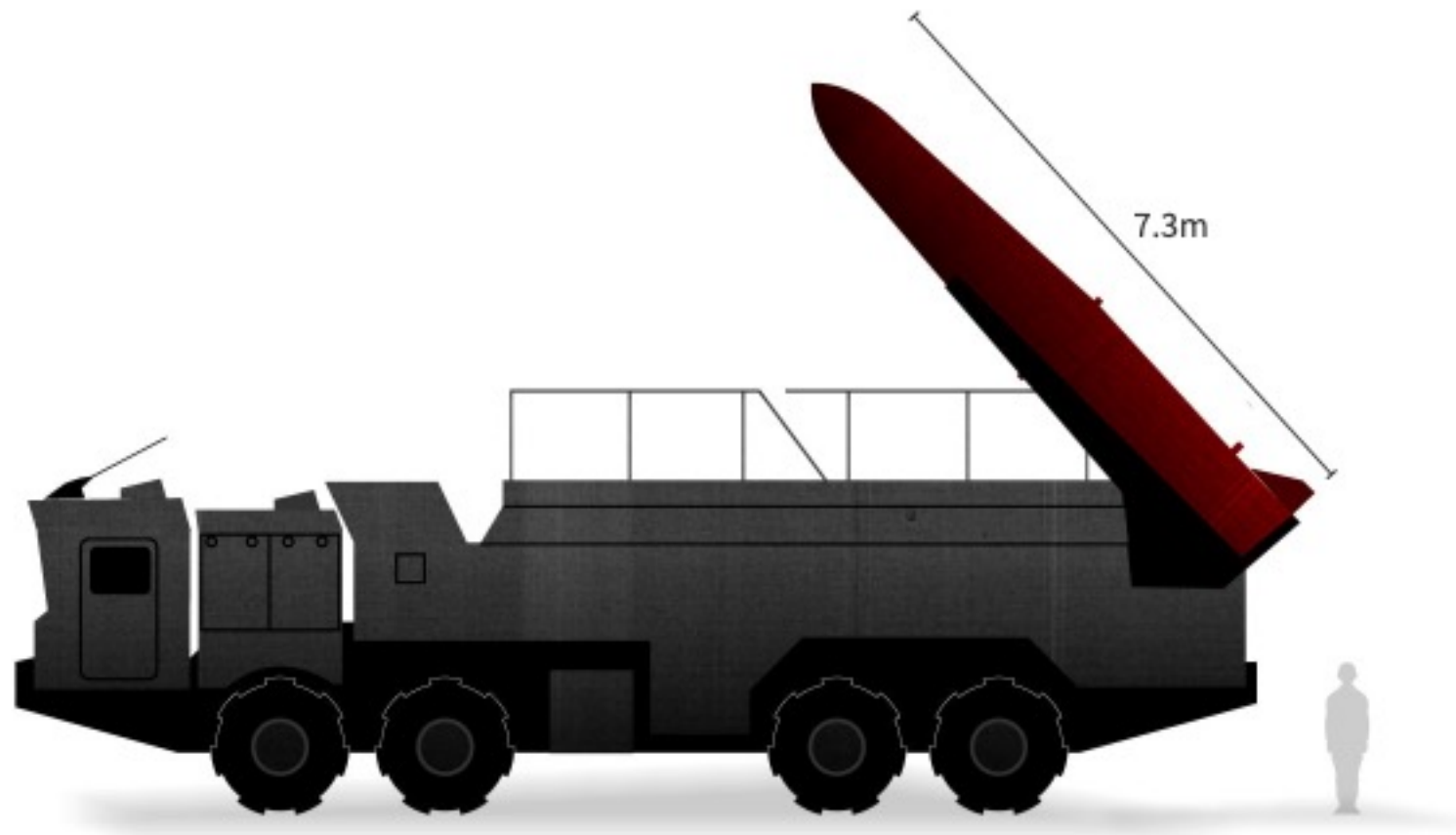


Magomed Tushayev	Major General	26 February 2022 <sup>[4]</sup>	Commander of the <a href="#">Chechen units</a> of the <a href="#">National Guard of Russia</a> ; ambush convoy <a href="#">Hostomel</a> , northwest <a href="#">Kyiv</a> . <sup>[5]</sup>
<a href="#">Andrey Sukhovetsky</a>	Major General	1 March 2022 <sup>[9]</sup>	Deputy commander, <a href="#">41st Combined Arms Army</a> . Shot by a sniper
<a href="#">Vitaly Gerasimov</a>	Major General	8 March 2022 <sup>[16]</sup>	Chief of staff of the <a href="#">41st Combined Arms Army</a> . Allegedly killed outside <a href="#">Kharkiv</a> .
<a href="#">Andrei Kolesnikov</a>	Major General	11 March 2022 <sup>[18]</sup>	Commander of the <a href="#">29th Combined Arms Army</a> . <sup>[14]</sup>
<a href="#">Oleg Mityaev</a>	Major General	15 March 2022 <sup>[14][19]</sup>	Commander of the Russian Army's <a href="#">150th Motorized Rifle Division</a> . <a href="#">Mariupol</a> . <sup>[14]</sup>
<a href="#">Andrey Mordvichev</a>	Lieutenant General	18 March 2022 <sup>[20]</sup>	
<a href="#">Yakov Rezantsev</a>	Lieutenant General	25 March 2022 <sup>[citation needed]</sup>	
<a href="#">Vladimir Frolov</a>	Major General	16 April 2022 <sup>[26]</sup>	Deputy commander of the <a href="#">8th Guards Combined Arms Army</a> of <a href="#">Southern Military District</a> .

# Updates

- **Russia has likely used 70% of its total stockpile of precision missiles to date. (Bellingcat)**

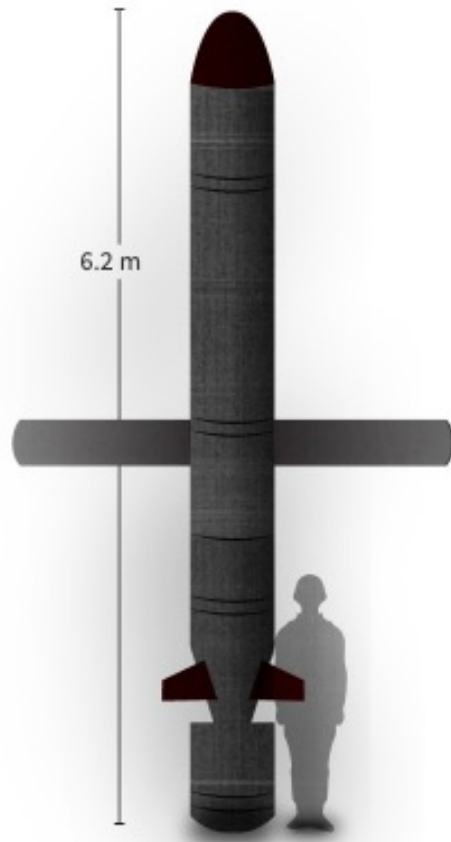




<https://graphics.reuters.com/UKRAINE-CRISIS/WEAPONS/lbvgnzdnlpq/>

## 9K720 Iskander

ORIGINATED FROM	Russia
IN SERVICE	2006
RANGE	400-500km
PAYLOAD	700kg
CAPACITY	2 ballistic or cruise missiles



## 3M14 Kalibr

ORIGINATED FROM	<b>RUSSIA</b>
IN SERVICE	<b>2015</b>
RANGE	<b>1,500km - 2,500km</b>
PAYLOAD	<b>450kg</b>
CLASS	<b>Sea and air-launched Land Attack Cruise Missile</b>



### **Guerrilla**

The population has been asked to remove road signs to make it difficult for Russian soldiers to orient themselves.



### **Molotov cocktail**

The Ukrainian government is using social media to share instructions on how to throw Molotov cocktails at vulnerable areas of Russian vehicles.



### **Barricades**

Ukrainians have made metal anti-tank barricades known as "hedgehogs", and smaller spiked barriers aimed at stopping wheeled vehicles.



### **MBT**

Main battle tank



### **BMP**

Infantry fighting vehicle

## NLAW

ORIGINATED FROM UK/Sweden

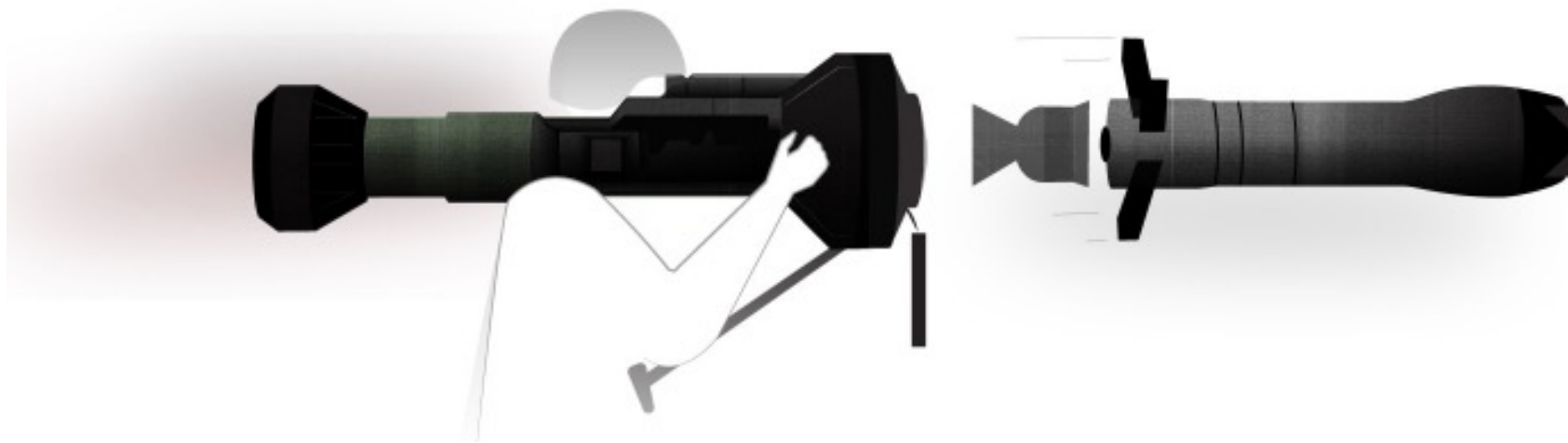
RANGE 20m – 800m

LAUNCH UNIT Disposable

CALIBRE 150mm

MISSILE LENGTH 1.02m

WEIGHT 12.5kg



# Javelin

ORIGINATED FROM US

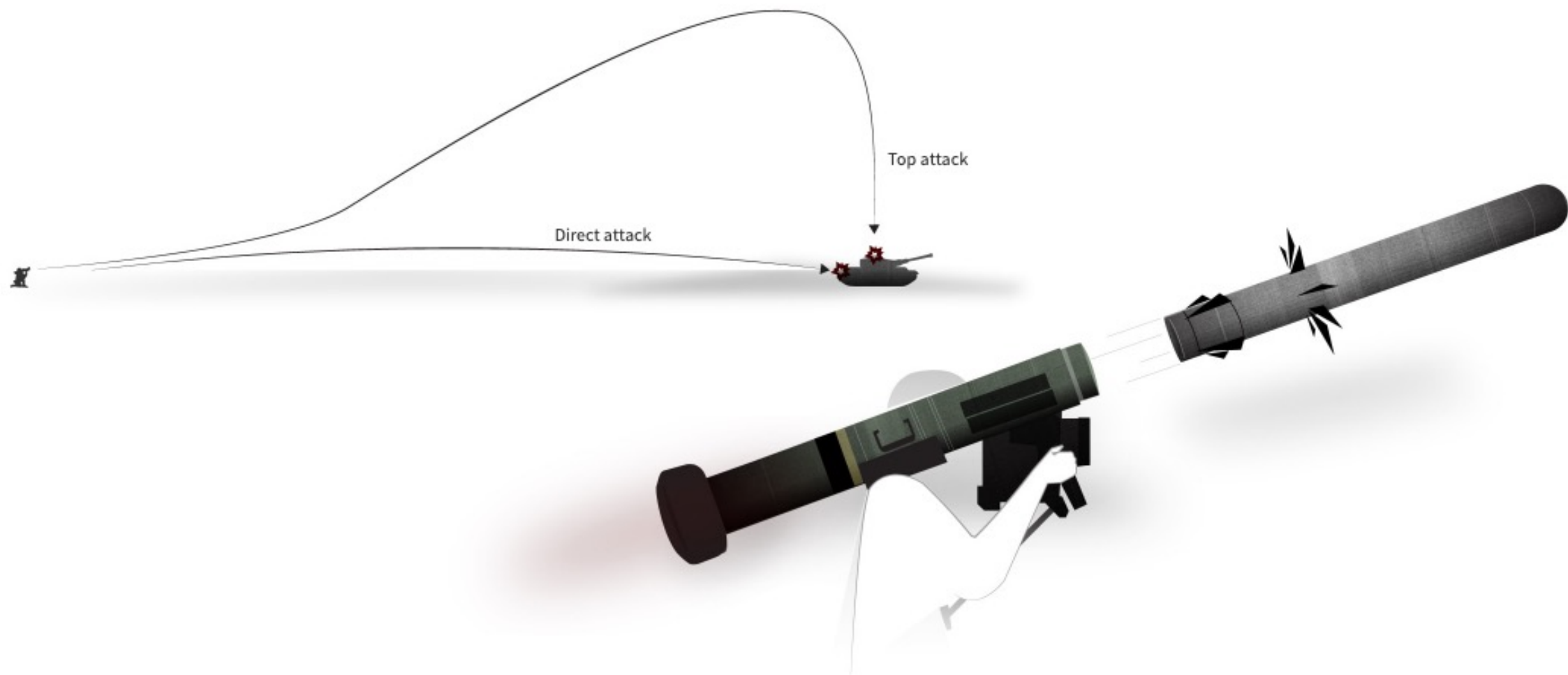
RANGE 65m to 4km in most operational conditions

LAUNCH UNIT Reusable

DIAMETER 14.2cm launch tube

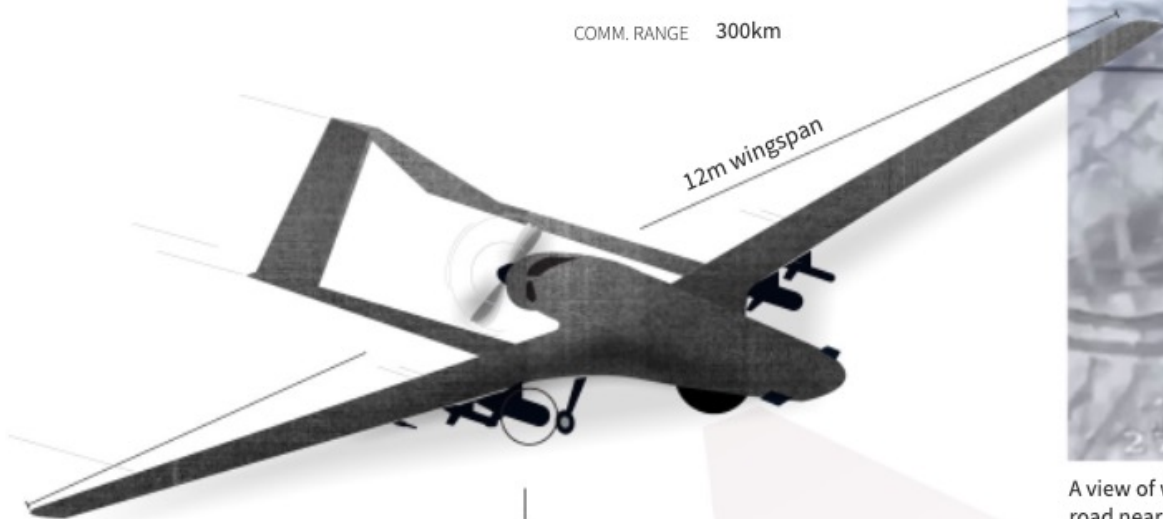
LENGTH 119.8cm launch tube

WEIGHT 15.5 kg all-up round

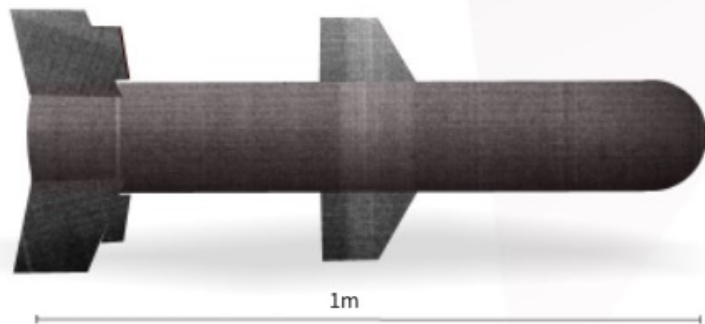


## Drone Bayraktar TB2

ORIGINATED FROM	Turkey
MAX ALTITUDE	25,000 feet (7,620m)
AUTONOMY	27 hour in the air
COMM. RANGE	300km



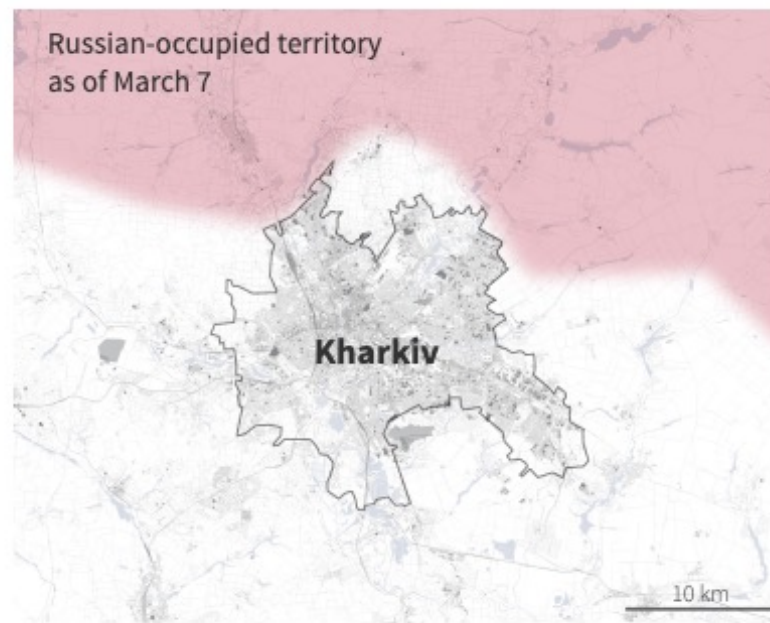
A view of what are:  
road near Malyn, ZI



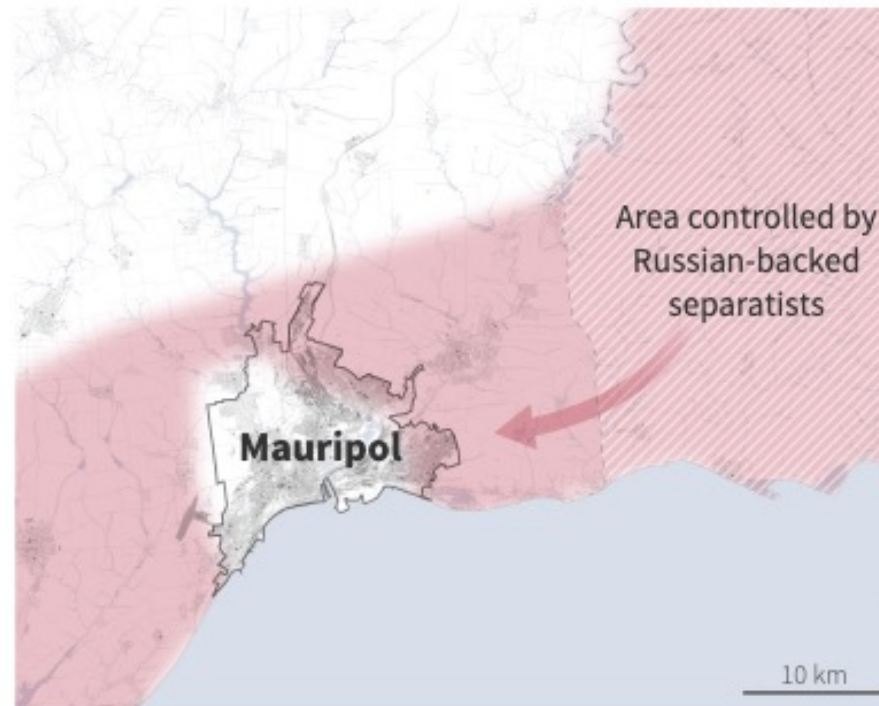
## MAM-L smart micro munition

DIAMETER	160mm
WEIGHT	22kg
RANGE	15km
GUIDANCE	Laser seeker

# Sieges



Shelling and air strikes have caused extensive damage and casualties in **Kharkiv**, Ukraine's second-largest city. Russian forces struck at the heart of the historic city, hitting the regional administration building in central Freedom Square.



For Russia, the capture of Mariupol would be a strategic link between the Russian-backed separatist territories to the north and the land route to the Crimean peninsula. Near-constant shelling by encircling Russian forces, has sent residents underground for days.



## Grad shelling

MLRS (Multiple Launch Rocket System)

## BM-21

ORIGINATED FROM Soviet Union

IN SERVICE 1963

ROCKET CALIBER 122mm

RANGE 40km

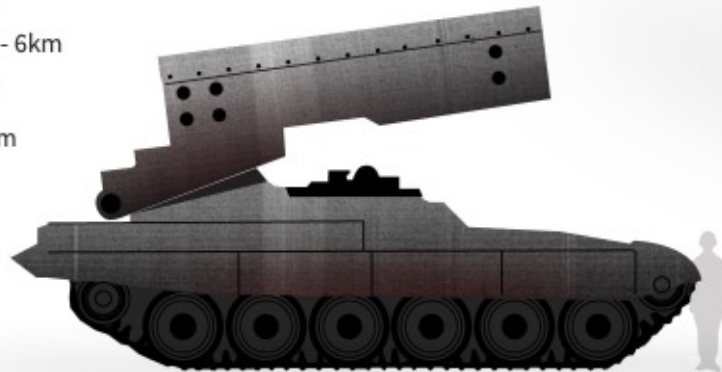




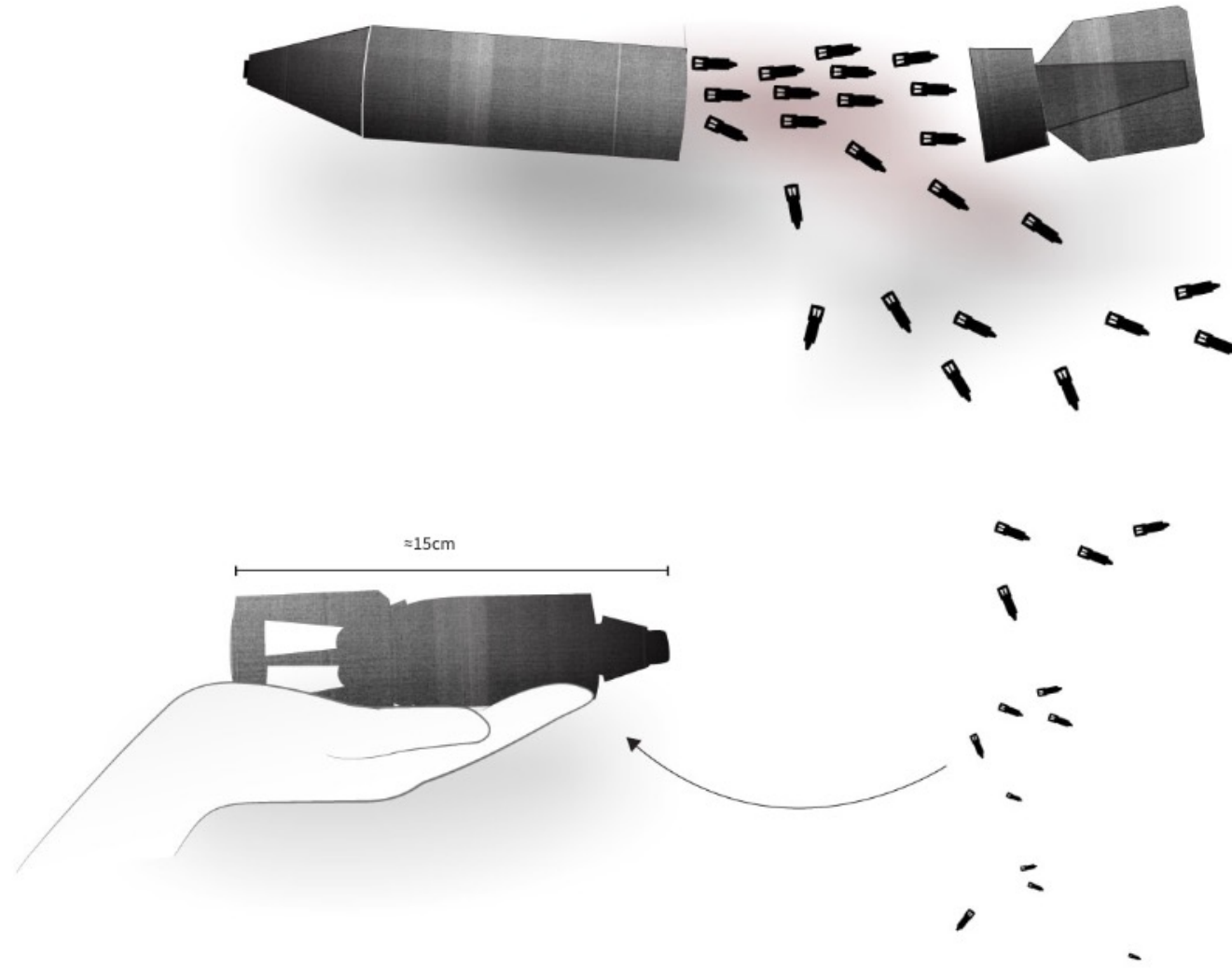
## TOS-1 Buratino

The TOS-1A heavy flamethrower system is a multiple rocket launcher mounted on a tank chassis. Unguided artillery rockets with thermobaric warheads are used for firing.

ORIGINATED FROM	Soviet Union
IN SERVICE	1980s
FIRING RANGE	400m - 6km
LAUNCH TUBES	24-30
CALIBER	220mm



# Cluster munitions



# French Caesar – self propelled howitzer



# US 155mm howitzers





# US Phoenix Ghost (?)



# UK Starstreak high velocity anti-aircraft missiles



- Poland sending 40 T-72 tanks and 60 BMP-1 armoured personnel carriers
- Czech Republic has donated military material worth 45.2 million euros, including small arms and missiles. Local media have reported that Prague sent over Dana self-propelled howitzers and RM-70 Grad rocket launchers, Soviet-made T-72 tanks and infantry fighting vehicles.

# Economies

- From the point of view of the combatants—with a population of 190 million all told—the war is an unmitigated disaster.
- Ukraine's economy [shrank](#) 16 percent in the first quarter of 2022 compared to last year's first quarter, and it could be down by 40 percent by the end of the year. To survive, it will have to rely on outside aid.
- Russia is reeling under dramatic economic sanctions. Though energy trade continues, Russia has been effectively cut off from global financial system. The ruble exchange rate may have nominally recovered to its prewar level. But the actual market value of the Russian currency is anyone's guess. There no longer is a free market in rubles or in Russian financial assets. The Kremlin will be lucky if output contracts by only 10 percent this year. The withdrawal of Western companies from Russia has compounded the shock. And even if a cease-fire is reached, the prospects for Russia's long-term development are dark indeed.



4) Discussion Time.

## 5) Next week

1. Overview of week (E.g. see New York Times, Bloomberg News, BBC, Wikipedia, ... .) Discussion of the whole.
2. Updates from contributory investigations (Slide 4.) Come prepared to make a 2 minute update on your investigation.
3. Summary of Weekly Theme. Led by Roy and Norm.  
Military Tactics and Strategy. Use of Information and Cyber warfare
4. Discussion of the whole.