



The War in Ukraine

*Lessons Learned and the Future
Political Settlement*

February 24, 2023

The conflict in Ukraine marked the return of major interstate wars on the European continent. After one year of brutal battles and heavy losses, this conference takes stock of the main military lessons learned from the War in Ukraine and evaluates the possible future political settlements that may emerge from such conflict. To do so, it leverages the unique networks offered by the European Initiative for Security Studies (EISS), the Canadian Network for Strategic Analysis (NSA), and the Citadel's Department of Intelligence and Security Studies to bring together scholars and experts from the United States, Canada, and Europe, in a truly transatlantic endeavour. The conference is organized in two roundtables.

The first one focuses on the key military lessons learned from the analysis of Russian, Ukrainian, and NATO's military performances across a wide range of domains, including military operations, training, logistics, intelligence, and nuclear deterrence. It provides a fine-grained analysis of the main areas of strength and weakness of both Russian and Ukrainian armed forces on the battlefield as well of NATO's support in the war effort.

Building on the findings of such analysis, the second roundtable examines the prospects for a future political settlement between Ukraine and Russia and the role of US and European powers therein. The contours of such settlement will likely revolve around key issues such as the allocation of territories occupied by Russia, Ukraine's relation with NATO, security guarantees for Ukraine, the status of Russophile minorities in Ukraine, war reparations, and the lifting of Western sanctions on Russia, among others. Building on the scholarly literature on war termination, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction, this roundtable will evaluate the possible diplomatic settlements and scenarios that may emerge from this war.

Thereby, this conference hopes to enrich our understanding of the past war effort, its current trajectory, and the prospects for a peaceful political settlement in Ukraine.

Feb 24, 2023

8:00 am

Opening Remarks

8:15 am

- Larry Valero | *Director of the Citadel's Department of Intelligence and Security Studies*
- Hugo Meijer | *Sciences Po & Director of the European Initiative for Security Studies*
- Jonathan Paquin | *Laval University & Network for Strategic Analysis*

8:15 am

Keynote Speaker

9:00 am

Michael Kofman | *Center for Naval Analyses*

9:00 am

Roundtable 1: Military Lessons Learned

10:15 am

Chair: Eliza Gheorghe | *Bilkent University*

Panelists:

- Frans Osinga | *Leiden University*
- Hanna Shelest | *Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism"/ Ukraine Analytica*
- Alexander Lanoszka | *University of Waterloo*

10:15 am

Coffee Break

10:30 am

10:30 am

Roundtable 2: War termination and Post-War Settlement: What Does a Political Settlement Look Like?

11:45 am

Chair: Jack Porter | *The Citadel*

Panelists:

- Oxana Shevel | *Tufts University*
- Justin Massie | *University of Québec in Montreal*
- Maria Popova | *McGill University*

11:45 am

Closing Remarks

12:00 pm

- Jonathan Paquin | *Laval University & Network for Strategic Analysis*
- Hugo Meijer | *Sciences Po & Director of the European Initiative for Security Studies*

Biographies

in order of appearance



Opening Remarks

Hugo Meijer

Hugo Meijer is CNRS Research Fellow at Sciences Po, Center for International Studies (CERI, Paris) and the Founding Director of *The European Initiative for Security Studies* (EISS), a pan-European multidisciplinary network of scholars sharing the goal of consolidating Security studies in Europe. He is also Senior Fellow at the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy (CSDS), in Brussels, and Honorary Researcher at the Centre for War and Diplomacy, Lancaster University. His research interests lie at the intersection of International Relations, Security Studies and Foreign Policy Analysis. In particular, he is currently working on several research projects on: the reconfiguration of American hegemony through the prism of the US-led regional alliance systems in Europe and in the Asia-Pacific since the end of World War II; national defense and security policies in Europe; and European foreign and security policies in the face of a rising China in the post-Cold War period.



Jonathan Paquin

Jonathan Paquin is professor of Political Science at Université Laval and a lead researcher at the *Network for Strategic Analysis*. In 2022-2023, he is the Fulbright-Canada Visiting Scholar at the Citadel – The Military College of South Carolina. Paquin has written numerous articles on foreign policy and international security, including in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy Analysis* and *Cooperation and Conflict*. He recently co-edited *America's Allies and the Decline of US Hegemony*, Routledge, 2020 and he coauthored *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from McGill University. He was also a Fulbright visiting scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS, Johns Hopkins) in Washington DC.



Larry Valero

Dr. Larry Valero (Ph.D. Cambridge, M.A. King's College London, B.A. UCLA) is the Department Head and Associate Professor of Intelligence and Security Studies at The Citadel – The Military College of South Carolina. He served as the President of the International Association for Intelligence Education from 2014-2019. Dr. Valero's research and teaching interests focus upon U.S. intelligence and national security, strategy, and modern warfare. Dr. Valero has published articles in *Cryptologic Quarterly*, *the International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, *Intelligence and National Security*, and *Studies in Intelligence*. He was previously Scholar in Residence at the National Security Agency, Ft. Meade, Maryland and served on the faculty of the Department of International Security and Military Studies at the U.S. Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, Alabama. He was honored with the 2011 Outstanding Instructor Award by the International Association for Intelligence Education. Dr. Valero serves currently as an American Council on Education faculty evaluator for military programs in the field of intelligence studies.



Keynote Speaker

Michael Kofman

Michael Kofman serves as Director of the Russia Studies Program at the Center for Naval Analyses and a Fellow at the Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center in Washington, D.C. His research focuses on the Russia and the former Soviet Union, specializing in the Russian armed forces, military thought, capabilities, and strategy. Previously, he served at National Defense University as a research fellow, and subject matter expert, advising senior military and government officials on issues in Russia and Eurasia. Mr. Kofman is also a Contributing Editor at *War on the Rocks*, where he regularly authors articles on strategy, the Russian military, Russian decision-making, and related foreign policy issues. He has published numerous articles on the Russian armed forces, Russian strategy, and runs a personal blog on the Russian military.



Roundtable 1

Eliza Gheorghe

Eliza Gheorghe is an Assistant Professor in the International Relations Department at Bilkent University. She earned her doctorate in International Relations from the University of Oxford (Honors, 2014) and an M.A. in Security Studies from Georgetown University (Honors, 2010), on a Fulbright scholarship. She held research fellowships at the Institute for Peace Science and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Yale University, Harvard Kennedy School, Cornell University, SAIS-Johns Hopkins University, the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, and Université Paris 1 Panthéon – Sorbonne. Her research was also funded by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, and the University of Vienna. She is the recipient of the International Fellowship for Outstanding Researchers (2019-2022) from the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), with her project *The Globalization of the Atom: Nuclear Trade and the Spread of Atomic Weapons*. Her research focuses on nuclear proliferation and the evolution of the nuclear market; questions of grand strategy and nuclear alliances; nuclear dominoes; and illicit trade and trafficking networks. Her work has been published in *International Security*, *International History Review*, *European Review of History*, *Cold War History*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *Palgrave Macmillan*, and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. At Bilkent, she teaches International Relations, International Security, and Nuclear Proliferation and International Politics.



Alexander Lanoszka

Alexander Lanoszka is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Waterloo. His research focuses on military alliances and European security. He has published articles in *International Security*, *International Affairs*, *Security Studies* and the *Journal of Strategic Studies*. He is also the author of *Atomic Assurance: The Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Cornell, 2018) and *Military Alliances in the Twenty-first Century* (Polity, 2022). He received his PhD from Princeton University and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Dartmouth College. Prior to joining the Department of Political Science at Waterloo, he was at City, University of London. He has served as a consultant for Global Affairs Canada, the U.S. Department of Defense, and other organizations involved in defence policies.



Frans Osinga

Professor Dr. Frans Osinga (born 1963) holds the Special Chair in War Studies, which is sponsored by the KVBK (the Royal Society for war Studies) at ISGA of Leiden University since January 1st 2019. Professor Osinga was appointed Chair in War Studies in 2010, as well as Head of the Military Operational Art and Science Section at the Faculty of Military Sciences of the Netherlands Defence Academy. He is member of the Faculty

Board of the Faculty of Military Sciences of the Netherlands Defence Academy. As Chair he is responsible for the Ba program in War Studies and the Master Program Military Strategic Studies and directing the multidisciplinary research program of the War Studies Department. His previous assignments include a tour at NATO Allied Command Transformation (Norfolk, Va) from 2005-2007 as the Liaison Officer for the Germany based newly established Joint Air Power Competence Center. Prior to that he was the MoD Research Fellow at the Clingendael Institute of International Relations, the premier think tank in the Netherlands on international security, where he also completed his PhD. He was director of the Air Power and Strategy Department of the Netherlands Defence College from 1999- 2000 and lecturer in Air Doctrine at the same institute from 1997-1998. He has held a number of staff positions at the Netherlands Air Force Air Staff.



Hanna Shelest

Dr. Hanna Shelest is the Security Studies Program Director at the Ukrainian Prism: Foreign Policy Council. Editor-in-Chief of UA: Ukraine Analytica and Head of the Board of the NGO "Promotion of Intercultural Cooperation". Prior to this, she had served for more than 10 years as a Senior Researcher at the National Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine, Odessa Branch. In 2014 Dr. Shelest served as a Visiting Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome. Previously she had experience in PR and lobbying for government and business, as well as teaching at Odessa National University. She has more than 50 academic and more than 100 articles in media published worldwide. She is a regular presenter at the international conferences and commenter for the media. Dr. Shelest is a Rotary Peace Fellow 2010, Black Sea Young Reformer 2011, John Smith Fellow 2012, Marshall Memorial Fellow 2016, TUBITAK Visiting Research Fellow 2018, Think Visegrad Fellow 2019. She was recognized as "40 under 40 Ukrainian Emerging Leader 2013" by the US-Ukraine Foundation.



Jack Porter

Dr. Jack J. Porter is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at The Citadel where he teaches courses on international relations, comparative politics, U.S. national security policy, theories of peace and war and international law. Currently Dr. Porter is working on several projects that include: civil-military relations in the transition to democracy (with current research focusing on Afghanistan), counterinsurgency strategies and power, and religion in democratic militaries. Over the past few years, Dr. Porter has spent time in South Africa, Switzerland, Germany, France and Belgium conducting research related to the above projects. Dr. Porter received his Bachelors of Arts degree from Colgate University in 1988, a Masters of International Affairs (MIA) from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs in 1990, and an MA and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. Prior to his doctoral graduate studies at UC Berkeley, Dr. Porter was a Presidential Management Intern (PMI) with the Office of the Secretary of Defense, DoD (1991-1993).

Roundtable 2



Justin Massie

Justin Massie is Full Professor of political science at the Université du Québec à Montréal and Co-Director of the Network for Strategic Analysis. He was the 2019 Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Canada-U.S. Relations at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, DC. His research focuses on the global power transition, multinational military coalitions, and Canadian foreign and defence policy. His work has been published in several journals, including *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Relations*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Canadian Journal of Political*

Science, International Journal (winner of the best article published in 2017), *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* (winner of the best article published in 2008) and *Études internationales* (winner of the best article published in 2011). He is the author of *Francosphère : l'importance de la France dans la culture stratégique du Canada* (PUQ, 2013), and co-editor of *Paradiplomatie identitaire : Nations minoritaires et politique extérieure* (PUQ, 2019), *America's Allies and the Decline of U.S. Hegemony* (Routledge, 2019), and *Intelligence Cooperation in a Multipolar World: Non-American Perspectives* (UTP, forthcoming).



Maria Popova

Maria Popova is an Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University and the Co-Director of Jean Monnet Centre Montreal. She held the Jean Monnet Chair “Europe and the Rule of Law” in 2017-2021. Her work explores rule of law and democracy in the post-Communist region. She has written an award-winning book on politicized justice in Russia and Ukraine. Her recent work has focused on judicial reform in Ukraine, the politics of corruption prosecutions in Eastern Europe, conspiracies and illiberalism. With Oxana Shevel, she is completing a book on the root causes of the Russo-Ukrainian war, entitled “Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States



Oxana Shevel

Professor Oxana Shevel’s research and teaching focus on the post-Communist region surrounding Russia, and issues such as nation- and state-building, the politics of citizenship and migration, memory and religious politics, and challenges to democratization in the post-Soviet region. She is the author of *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), which examines how the politics of national identity and strategies of the UNHCR shape refugee admission policies in the post-Communist region, leading countries to be more or less receptive to refugees. The book won the American Association of Ukrainian Studies (AAUS) 2012 book prize. Professor Shevel's current research projects examine the sources of citizenship policies in the post-Communist states; church-state relations in Ukraine; the origins of separatist conflict in Donbas; and memory politics in post-Soviet Ukraine. Her research has appeared in a variety of journals, including *Comparative Politics*, *Current History*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Geopolitics*, *Nationality Papers*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Slavic Review* and in edited volumes.