



RUSSIA SEMINAR 2026

11-12 FEBRUARY | NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, HELSINKI

Wednesday 11 February 2026

08.30-08.45

Welcome and Admin remarks
(Auditorium Itälinnake)

Simo Pesu (FNDU)

08.45-09.00

Opening words

Jaro Kesänen, Rector of FNDU

09.00-09.45

Keynote: The Fog After War -
Determinants of Future Russian Military
Capabilities

Tor Bukkvoll (Norwegian Defence Research
Establishment)

09.45-10.00

Break

10.00-17.00

Parallel sessions (see below)

10.00-11.30

SESSION 1.1.

Security policy in contemporary world

Auditorium Itälinnake

The limits of adhocracys: Domestic politics, foreign policy and state transformation in wartime Russia

Victor Violier & Maxime Audinet, (IRSEM, France)

The Great Power Orchestra. Continuity and Change in Russian Power Repertoire under Putin

Godzimirski Jakub M., (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

From great power to survivalist state: the intentionality of Russia's security policy through a resilience-identity lens.

Astukevičs Armands & Vroblevska Elina (Centre for East European Policy studies, Rīga Stradiņš University)

12.00-13.30

SESSION 1.2.

Economic resources and regions

Auditorium Itälinnake

The economic impact of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on its regional economies

Ilkka Korhonen (BOFIT, FIN)

Russian regional war and mobilization spending: shifting priorities

Sinikka Parviainen (BOFIT, Finland)

Home Front: The Impact of the War in Ukraine on the Political and Economic Situation in Russia's Regions

Milosz Bartosiewicz (Centre for Eastern Studies, OSW, Poland)

14.30-16.00

SESSION 1.3.

Military management

Auditorium Itälinnake

Evolution of C2/C4ISR during the Russo-Ukrainian War

Nersisyan Leonid (APRI, Armenia)

The Russian military's multi-domain operations: How far down the line towards effective integration?

Thornton Rod & Miron Marina (King's College London)

The concept "Fire destruction of the enemy": A key to understand Russian tactical development in the Russo-Ukrainian War?

Osflaten Amund (Norwegian Defence University College, NDUC)

10.00-11.30

SESSION 2.1.

Narratives and instruments

Riviera, 2nd floor

Russia hybrid warfare: strategic use of agents of influence and resources in the pursuit of objectives

Derkach, Oleksandr (Military Academy, Kyiv)

The Discursive Construction of Nuclear Coercion: An Analysis of Russian Strategic Narratives and Their Impact on Western Decision-Making

Fedoriienko Vitalii (NDU, Ukraine)

Who Is (Not) Deterred? The Operational Consequences of Conflating Deterrence and Compellence in Ukraine

Kurnyshova, Yuliia (Taras Shevchenka National University of Kyiv)

12.00-13.30

SESSION 2.2.

Human resources

Riviera, 2nd floor

Beyond Hardware: The 'Human Factor' in Russian Military-Strategic Thought

Nicolò Fasola & Camilla Valle (University of Bologna, Italy)

Irretrievable losses: Casualties in the Russo-Ukraine War

Alexander Grable (King's College London)

Personnel shortages in Russia's military-industrial complex (OPK): assessing current education and employment strategies

Charlie Walker (University of Southampton, Britain)

14.30-16.00

SESSION 2.3.

Military thought

Riviera, 2nd floor

Dialectics in Russian thinking about war and peace and why Russia perceives the world the way it does?

Heidi Pietilä & Konsta Taanila (Tampere University, Finland)

V.A. Makhonin - the methodological foundations of Russian military science

Engqvist Maria (Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI)

The significance of the war in Ukraine for Russian military thinking

Krisztian Jojart (Swedish Defense University, FHS)

16.30-17.00

End-note for Day 1

Auditorium Itälinnake

The Components of Russia's Undeclared War Against the West

Oleksadr Danylyuk (Associate Fellow, RUSI)

Thursday 12 February 2026

08.30-09.00

Michael Kofman's wake-up-note
(Auditorium Itälinnake)

09.00-09.15

Break

09.15-12.45

Parallel sessions (see below)

9.15-10.45

SESSION 1.5.

Military development

Auditorium Itälinnake

Reform, Development, and Adaptation of Russian Armed Forces from Peter the Great to Vladimir Putin – The Historical Drivers of Russian Military Change and their Future Relevance

Juha Kukkola (Russia Research Group, FNDU)

China-Russia Alignment: Assessing 'Dual-Use' in the Economic and Technological Cooperation in the Russian Arctic

Sasu Katajamäki (NDU, Finland)

Russia's "Peoples' VPK" – the evolution of private military industry supporting Russia's war in Ukraine

Samuel Bendett (CNA, USA)

11.15-12.15

SESSION 1.6.

Services of the Armed Forces

Auditorium Itälinnake

Violence outside the norms warfare within the Russian military

Amelie Tolvin & Katri Pynnöniemi (Helsinki University and NDU, Finland)

Russian military thought; Russian thinking on and measures to shape the battlefield.

Katri Pynnöniemi (Helsinki university and NDU, Finland) and Carolina Vendil Pallin (Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI)

09.15-10.45

SESSION 2.4.

Civil-military relations

Riviera, 2nd floor

From Society to the Battlefield: The Hybrid Militarization of Civil Life in Russia during the War against Ukraine

Olha Meloshyna (Armed Forces of Ukraine)

Leavers and Remainers: Analyzing the Relationship between Social Logic and Cognitive Responses during Military Mobilization

Kimberly Metcalf (King's College London)

Civil-Military Relations and Societal Mobilization in Wartime Russia: Institutional Dynamics and the Reconfiguration of Power

Francisco Manuel Villegas Cara (University of Granada, Spain)

11.15-12.15

SESSION 2.5.

Geopolitics and strategy

Riviera, 2nd floor

The Third "Muscovian empire": future threats to Europe and international security at sea

Stepan Yakymiak (The Center for Defence Strategies)

The Evolution of the Russian Federation's Strategy in Warfare: From Chechnya to Ukraine – A Forecast of Approaches to Resolving Military Conflicts in the 21st Century

Pavlo Slisar (NDU, Ukraine)

12.30-12.45

End-note for the Seminar

Auditorium Itälinnake

Closing words and invitation for Russia seminar 2027 (17.-18.2.2027)

Jussi Viinamäki, Chief of the Department of Warfare of the FNDU

