

Contents

List of boxes, charts, photos and tables	9
Foreword	11
Introduction	21
Chapter 1: The difficult birth and development of the Ukrainian nation	31
The geographical openness and vulnerability of the country	32
The historically delayed emergence of national consciousness	35
Tragedies in the 20th Century: World War I, Holodomor, World War II and Holocaust	38
The political and national development after the dissolution of the Soviet Union	40
The socio-economic crash during the transformation process	42
Concluding remarks	47
Chapter 2: Western explanations and narratives on Putin's invasion of Ukraine ..	49
Clash of systems and cultures?	50
The insurrection in Eastern Ukraine as a 'new war'?	52
A historical 'turning point'?	54
The (neo-) realist theory of international relations	56
A pacifist illusion in Europe?	61
Russia as a persistent evil empire with a population submissive to authority?	64
Concluding remarks	70
Chapter 3: Immanuel Kant's theory of war and peace	73
The historical context and the reception of Kant's theory	74
Prerequisites and necessary conditions for peace	77
The class interest thesis	79
The Democratic Peace thesis	80

Excursus: Are democracies really more peaceful?	82
Publicity and the moral foundation of politics	83
Personalities as masters of war and peace	84
Peacemaking as a discrete and permanent task	86
Concluding remarks	88
Chapter 4: Putin's rise, his networks and Great Russian nationalism	91
Understanding Putin does not mean justifying his actions or taking side with his	
defenders in the west	92
Stalin as a more adequate object of comparison than Hitler	95
Origin and career: (Not so) mysterious rise, acclaimed start, authoritarian turn	97
The elimination of democracy: The attack on Ukraine as a preventive strike	104
Reconstitution of the Soviet empire or Great Russian nationalism?	107
The degradation of a grand power and its leader	111
Concluding remarks	117
Chapter 5: How a world-historical opportunity for	
lasting peace in Europe was missed	119
A realistic vision to create a peaceful Europe	
stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals	120
Reunification immediately - whatever the consequences elsewhere.	
A bull in a China shop	126
An alliance between enemies of Russia in Europe and America	129
Fatal splits about national identity of the Ukraine	132
Political trench warfare among Ukrainian political elites	139
Concluding remarks	141
Chapter 6: From a war of independence to a proxy war	
An outrageous imposition on the people of Ukraine	143
Types of wars and lessons from research on their continuation and termination	145
How the defensive fight of the Ukrainians became also a proxy war	149
The failures and devastating consequences of proxy wars	155
Military build-up and support for Ukraine as an imperial interest of the USA	160
The EU narrative: The Ukraine as defender of European values	166
The reserved attitude of the countries of the Global South	168
The main victims of the war: The country and the people of Ukraine	169
Concluding remarks	175

Chapter 7: War as a social catalyst	
Experiences and attitudes of the Ukrainians	177
War until victory over the Russians!	
Survey results on the uncompromising attitude of the Ukrainians	178
Fatalism, retreat to private life, courage of despair:	
Results from open-ended interviews	183
Behavioural indicators for attitudes towards war	186
How the war strengthened patriotism, support for democracy and confidence in the future	187
Attitudes and behaviours of the elites. An outstanding president	192
Reasons for people's support of wars	196
Concluding remarks	198
Chapter 8: Negotiations as a Way Out of the Impasse of a Military Stalemate	201
'Help us win!' – Why there were no serious peace efforts during the First World War ..	203
The failure of the peace negotiations in Minsk and its causes	207
Current calls for peace negotiations and their defamation	209
Necessity of negotiations in the face of the military stalemate	213
Supply weapons or abandon Ukraine? A false alternative	217
Eight conditions and steps for a sustainable ceasefire and peace	219
Could Russia agree to a ceasefire and peace negotiations?	231
Concluding remarks	235
Final conclusions and outlook	237
References	247
Notes	275

