

Looking for Patterns in a Random Dataset: An Annotated Russo-Ukrainian Playlist (24 February 2022 – 24 February 2024)

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Abstract

A playlist of over 300 songs to do with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 is examined in an attempt to establish in what way, if any, it correlates with the opinion polls about the pro- and anti-invasion support levels in Russia and elsewhere. The list's compilation, formatting and categorization principles are explained. Within each of the constituent song groups (anti-invasion Ukrainian, Russian and international, as well as pro-invasion Russian and Ukrainian), a brief general survey and a more detailed sample content analysis are carried out. The playlist in its entirety can be found in the video/discographical Appendix to the article.

The rationale

Since Russia's full-scale invasion in Ukraine in February 2022, more than 300 songs, many of them brand new,¹ have emerged directly from both warring sides, as well as their sympathizers. It would be curious to see if a song list like this, compiled as impartially and comprehensively as possible and treated as a kind of dataset, can fill a knowledge gap in the absence of reliable information on what people, especially those in Russia, think and feel about the current Russo-Ukrainian war.

¹ Among (re)issues of older material, it is worth mentioning a self-cover, on 12 March 2022, with updated lyrics, of his 2003 hit "Ia soldat" (I am a Soldier) by Serhii Babkin from the reggae duo 5'nizza; and a song called "Heroi" (Heroes) by the rock band Meri, composed by its leader Viktor Vynnyk eleven years prior to its eventual release on 8 April 2022. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

Even though pollsters, both independent and pro-Kremlin, still do their work, the response rate in Russia for the past few years, as far as the war attitudes are concerned, has hovered around 6%: “Most Russians are reluctant to speak to sociologists, and this makes surveys entirely unrepresentative of popular opinion. [...] The implication is that the focus of these surveys should shift from revealing the ‘opinions’ of particular demographic segments to uncovering intriguing patterns or phenomena” (Pachikova & Kolobaeva 2023).² As popular music reflects and groups people’s preferences and opinions (*inter alia* when it comes to songs containing politically and socially engaged lyrics),³ it can and should be used as an alternative material in search of less obvious societal trends.

In her 2019 doctoral thesis, Iryna Shuvalova argues convincingly that “songs are uniquely positioned to reflect the often swift and unpredictable changes taking place during [an] ongoing armed conflict. They are relatively short-form cultural texts; it does not take long to create, perform and record them” (Shuvalova 2019: 6). In the same year, in parallel with Shuvalova’s research yet without any connection to it, a book by Hansen et al came out, which analysed several high-profile case studies of popular songs dealing with Russian and Ukrainian attitudes to the 2014 annexation of Crimea and the hybrid war in Donbas. Against the background of other similar songs of the time, the book has identified four distinct groups, in accordance with the songwriters/performers’ pre-2014 citizenship and stand on the Crimea/Donbas issue: “A1: Ukrainian anti-separatist, A2: non-Ukrainian anti-separatist, B1: Ukrainian pro-separatist, [and] B2: non-Ukrainian pro-separatist” (Handen et al 2019: 92). Given that “songs are prone to evolve along with the conflict” (Shuvalova 2019: 6), it would make sense to take a look at what if anything, since the full-scale invasion, has changed in the group configuration, and whether a numerical value for each group can help us shed light on the pro-/anti-Ukraine and pro-/anti-Russia support levels, both inside and outside the two countries.

Compiling and formatting the playlist

The list in the Appendix has been put together in chronological order on the basis of the video links found on YouTube, as well as (occasionally) other social media and music-sharing platforms, e.g. Instagram, Bandcamp, Twitter and Telegram.⁴ My

² Meanwhile, in Ukraine the low response rate is not an issue. On what Ukrainians thought about the war in February 2022 – February 2024, see, for instance, Hrushetskyi 2024.

³ While analysing the role of resistance songs in the Polish protest movement of the 1970s and 1980s, Payerhin 2012 emphasises their function of social mobilisation. Attempting to mobilise society through popular songs is obviously just as important for the powers-that-be.

⁴ For more on how songs about the Russo-Ukrainian war are being spread online, see Wickström 2024.

predilection for YouTube has been determined by the fact that it is the world's largest video hosting platform, whose monthly reach in Russia between January 2022 and June 2024 has increased from 73.3% to 78.5% of the country's population, leaving behind YouTube's closest local competitor VK Video.⁵ By the same token, in early 2023 YouTube's reach in Ukraine was equivalent to 74% of its total population, having decreased by 4.6% between early 2022 and January 2023 (Kemp 2023). It is entirely possible, though, that this drop can be explained by the war-induced population outflow, i.e. Ukrainian war refugees still continue to use YouTube in their new countries of residence.

24 February 2024, the full-scale invasion's second anniversary, has been chosen as a cut-off point. I make no claim that my playlist is in any way complete, yet I would like to think that it is fairly representative of the trending reactions to the full-scale phase of the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian war, manifested through songwriting and song-performing. I have felt that unmistakably clear patterns have emerged in the course of two years and the dataset has reached a saturation point, hardly adding anything substantially new to the tendencies already observed in the designated two-year period.

The list in the Appendix has been divided into segments, according to the songs' dominant message, which since late February 2022 has altered from pro- or anti-separatist to pro- or anti-invasion. There are now five, not four, of those segments or groups (see **Fig. 1**), encompassing 1) anti-invasion sentiments expressed in a song form by Ukrainians (nearly 170 songs, or 54% of the total song list); 2) anti-invasion sentiments expressed by the international (neither Russian nor Ukrainian) community (35 songs, or 11% of the total); 3) anti-invasion sentiments expressed by Russians in Russia (over 40 songs, or 14% of the total); 4) anti-invasion sentiments expressed by Russians abroad (many war objectors ended up in exile; also over 40 songs, or another 14% of the total); and 5) pro-invasion sentiments expressed by Russians, as well as Ukrainians with links to the Ukrainian territories currently occupied by Russia (over 20 songs, or 7% of the total, labelled here as Z-pop). In the narrative below, each group's prevailing topics and messages are briefly characterised, before proceeding to the overall conclusions.

The information in the Appendix typically contains the performers' stage and real names, if known; the song's original title as recorded on YouTube; the YouTube link; and the date it was posted on (if available). At times, composers and lyricists are mentioned separately, especially when the lyrics were written without a tune in mind and got set to music later.

⁵ See Mesiachnaia 2024. VK Video is part of the VKontakte social network service, banned in Ukraine since May 2017 and removed from the Apple App Store in September 2022 in the wake of the antiwar sanctions.

If an album was issued as one conceptual whole, without any constituent singles dropped prior to its release, and all songs on it are invasion-related, it counts as one video/discography entry (e.g. *Bogrukinog* by Boris Grebenshchikov, aka BG, of the cult St Petersburg band Akvarium, now a London dweller; *Pis'ma B.V.* by Leonid Fedorov of the experimental St Petersburg rock band Auktsyon; and *Dlitsia fevral'* by the rapper Vladi, formerly of Rostov-on-Don, now in the Czech Republic).⁶ Also, if an album comes out after the release of some of its singles (as it happened with e.g. *Muzychna oborona* by SPIV BRATIV and *Volki v tire* by DDT⁷), and includes other songs, not necessarily pre-released as singles and not necessarily invasion-related, it counts as one video/discography entry, too. Otherwise the number of both pro- and anti-invasion releases may become distortedly inflated.

If a song released in the designated time period spawns many cover versions (e.g. Sich Riflemen's tune "Oi u luzi", revived in an a cappella format by Andriy Khlyvnyuk aka Boombox, on 27 February 2022, and later performed by a wide range of acts, from an Estonian choir to a Kazakh instrumental arrangement for the dombra), such versions as a rule are not counted as separate entries.

If a song is a co-production by artists from several countries, only one country (known to be the main abode of an individual presumed to be leading the co-production initiative) is registered in the video/discography entry. Similarly, if an artist is known to have held several citizenships (which are not necessarily identical with that artist's actual country of residence), only one of these is used for the purposes of video/discographical description. (These two provisos are particularly relevant for song groups 2 and 4.) Establishing a separate category for mixed nationality songs does not make much sense, however, as it would be rather small, most likely all anti-invasion and therefore effectively little more than an overlapping subset of groups 2 and 4.

A few songs – such as Egor Krutogolov's update of the 1976 superhit "Hotel California" by the Eagles – had been removed following users' complaints but got reinstated at a later date, often with a new link and under a different title. In such instances, it has not always been possible to establish either songs' (or covers') original dates of release or exact online audience measurements.

⁶ For reviews, see, for example, Troitskii 2022, Kan 2023 and Gorbachev 2023.

⁷ For a review, see Gavrilov 2023.

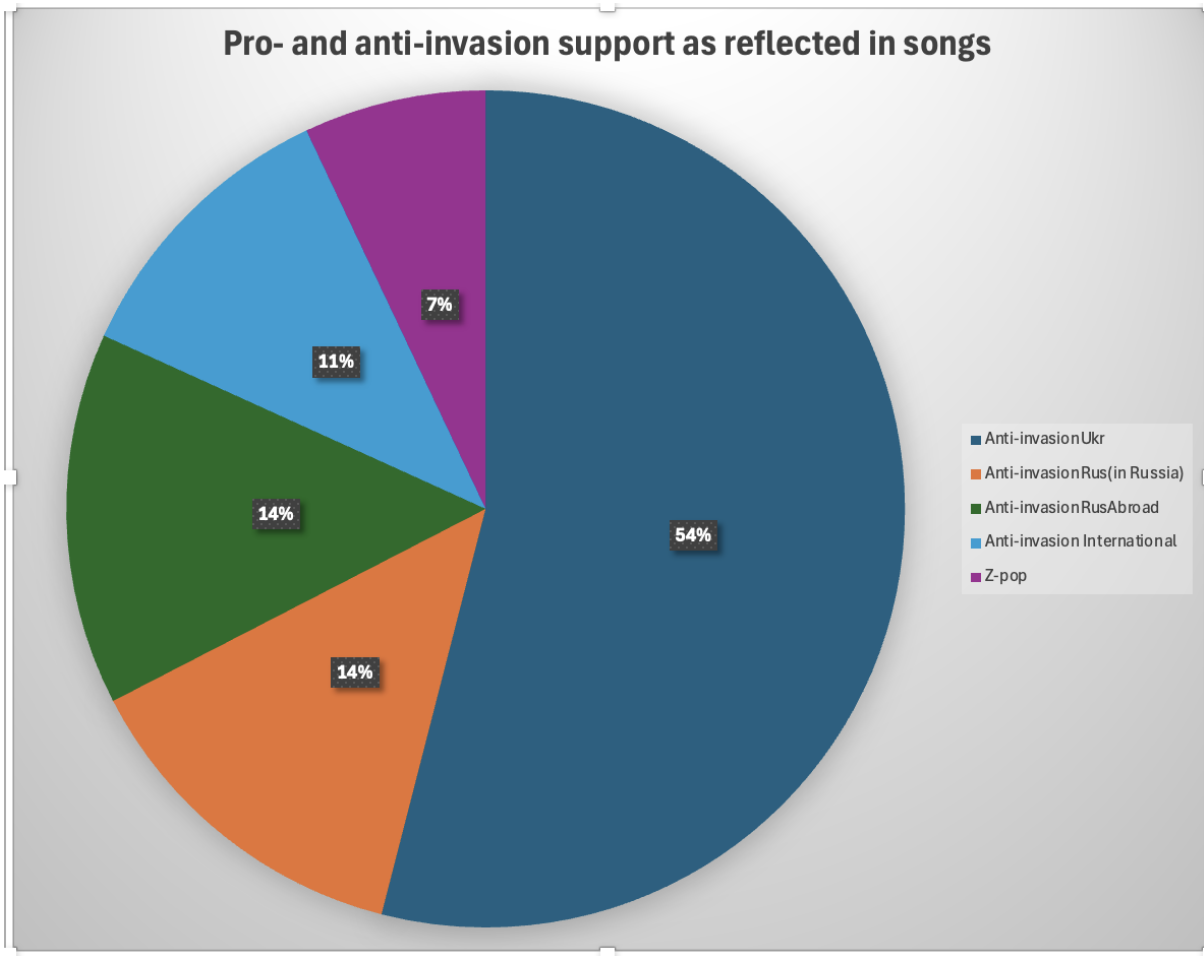


Fig. 1

Group 1: Ukrainian anti-invasion songs

This group – an heir to group A1 from the Hansen et al 2019 classification – is predictably the largest and takes up the bulk of the dataset. As one would expect, it is full of praises, in various popular music genres, to the efficiency and resilience of ZSU (the Ukrainian Armed Forces, or UAF; see e.g. the “Dopomozhe ZSU” (UAF Will Help) hardbass hit by the male duo Chico and Qatoshi of 14 May 2022, watched 8.3m times) and Teroborona (aka TRO, or Civil Defence; see e.g. the rap flow “ZSU/TRO” by another male duo, Kos Kastianych and Keb, of 25 April 2022), as well as personally to the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky (see e.g. the hip house record by Miusli UA feat MC PAPA of 26 March 2022, which samples an impassionate plea addressed to the President by Oleksandr Povorozniuk, head of the Inhulets FC, to deal decisively with foreign invaders and domestic traitors; this record has garnered nearly 7 700 000 viewings).

Conversely, wishing evil and death to the Russian aggressors,⁸ with President Putin as a main personalized target of musical attacks, is probably just as common a theme, which can be exemplified by SPIV BRATIV's (Cherkassy) jazz-rock pop tune "V gorodi Khersoni" (In the City of Kherson, 13 March 2022) and the "Rave on Putin's Grave" by Paat feat Nata Teva (31 March 2023). The ultimate Ukrainian victory over Russia is expected to be achieved thanks to the efforts of entire Ukrainian society, including women (see e.g. Ternopil region-based Natalia Falion's and her female Cyclist Corps choir's folk electro swing track "Zybralis' babon'ki" / Women Have Gathered, of 26 March 2022), who, when necessary, can even resort to witchcraft to defeat the enemy (see "Vrazhe" /Enemy by the indie pop band Angy Kreyda from Rivne and the EDM track "Vid'my z Konotopu" by Slyzexx, the latter inspired by a 1833 story by Hrygorii Kvitka-Osnov'ianenko "A Witch from Konotop" – and a real-life occurrence in the occupied Ukrainian city of Konotop in early March 2022, when a Ukrainian woman was filmed as saying to a Russian soldier: "Do you have any idea where you are? [...] Every other woman here is a witch. You'll turn impotent tomorrow").⁹

A more technologically advanced weaponry, used by ZSU to counter the Russian invaders' overwhelming man- and firepower, has been deemed worthy of a song subject, too (see, most notably, Andrianova 2023 on Taras Borovok's "Bayraktar" of 18 March 2022 and its multiple cover versions, serenading a Türkiye-manufactured drone, which played an important role at an early stage of the full-scale invasion).

Various battle locations of note have also been commemorated in a number of songs. The sinking in the Black Sea of the Russian flagship cruiser Moskva by Ukrainian missiles on 14 April 2022 has been celebrated e.g. in a ska track "Goryt' Moskva" (Moscow Burning) of 28 April 2022 by DITY Fristaila (Poltava) and in the song "Moskva" of 25 June 2022 by an alternative rock band with a telling name Kheitspich (i.e. Hate Speech).¹⁰ Kherson's international airport in the village of Chronobaivka, a place of many successful Ukrainian strikes against Russian military forces between late February and early November 2022, was immortalized in the eponymous songs by Alcohol Ukulele (a bluesy track of 9 May 2022) and Vovk (a disco tune of 4 June 2022), to name but a few. The heroic defence of Mariupol and Bakhmut were hailed in

⁸ That is, Russian passport holders irrespective of their actual ethnicity. Threatening to kill was already manifest in the hybrid phase, e.g. in Piriatin's song "Arta" from 2018, in the country music style, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YCMjyRtNEc>).

⁹ See NRJ Ukraine, <https://www.instagram.com/tv/CapoXGEAvPR> (3 March 2022).

¹⁰ At the start of the invasion, the same ship was famously told, via radio, to get lost, by the Ukrainian defenders of Snake Island, which the ship threatened to assault (for more details, see Harding 2022. The event has turned into a widespread meme and engendered several remarkable songs, Bakun's sampling of the actual radio communication (superimposed onto an instrumental deep house rendering of "Oi u luzi") being one of them (it has now reached over 4,5 million viewings).

the rock ballads “Misto Marii” by Lviv-based Okean Elzy (Maria’s City, 22 April 2022, listened to over 6 million times) and “Fortetsia Bakhmut” by Antytila from Kyiv (The Bakhmut Fortress, 10 February 2023, listened to at least 24 million times).

Another rock ballad, however (“Zavtra”/Tomorrow by the metal band Surface Tension, released on 31 December 2022), chooses to focus on war fatigue, while the song “Poslukhai” by the ska ethno punk band Khrin (formerly based in St Petersburg and known then as СВОБОДА, now in Kyiv) – placed on YouTube ten months later and unpretentiously arranged for an acoustic guitar, an accordion and a pair of maracas – calls the Russo-Ukrainian war “a genocide of Slavs” and accuses Ukrainian elites of draft dodging and war profiteering. A singer-songwriter called Ramzes, accompanying himself on an acoustic guitar in a military camp setting, criticizes the parliamentarian Maryana Bezuhla (from Zelensky’s Servant of the People party) for demanding a war plan for 2024 from the then Ukrainian commander-in-chief, General Valerii Zaluzhnyi (dismissed from his post in early February 2024, two months after the song’s release), see Mukhin 2023. These three tracks can serve as an indication that, two years into the invasion, Ukrainian society feels somewhat less united than it perhaps could have been.¹¹

However, the Ukrainian unanimity seems to remain unshaken in its determination to part with the joint Russo-Ukrainian Soviet legacy, in particular by mocking Soviet musical hits from or about WWII (see, e.g., “Netlenochka” / The Immortal One, a parody of “Smuglyanka” / The Dark-skinned One, a well-known 1940 pseudofolk song by Anatoly Novikov and Yakov Shvedov). Notably, ridiculing Russophone Soviet songs often comes with their Ukrainization, i.e. replacing the original Russian text with alternative lyrics in Ukrainian (cf., e.g., “Nich v Irpeni” / A Night in Irpen by the Kapranov brothers, which reworks satirically a famous sentimental number from 1943, “Temnaia noch” / Dark Night, by Nikita Bogoslovsky and Vladimir Agatov).

In a parallel development, Ukrainian folk traditions have become somewhat more pronounced in the song material at my disposal: cf. the *kolomyiki* by Maks Shoom and the Ukrainian Border Guards Ensemble; the solo voice epic dirges by Oleksiy Zaets’ (about the assault on Bucha) and Tetiana Loboda (on the siege of Kyiv), the latter accompanied by a *kobza* and the former a cappella; and Jerry Heil’s (Yana Shemaeva from the Kyiv region) hit dance tune “Moskal’ nekrasivyi”, using the late XVII-century anonymous «Oi na hori ta i zhentsy zhnut’» as a sample and base song and reaching a multimillion audience.

An orientation towards the Anglophone listener (as opposed to the Russophone one) gains a considerable traction, with songs performed either in English (such as Beton’s “Kyiv Calling”, inspired by the punk band Clash’s 1979 single “London Calling”) or

¹¹ For an authoritative Ukrainian opinion poll of mid-March 2024, see Gonik & Chiramella 2024.

in a Anglo-Ukrainian mix (such as Max Barskih's rap track "Don't F@ck with Ukraine") and English subtitles to Ukrainian lyrics not only autogenerated by YouTube but sometimes also specially designed for the occasion, such as in e.g. "Losing Our Home" by Yuriy Gurzhy and Grigory Semenchuk. English must have been chosen as a *lingua franca* of the West, the quickest and surest way of getting messages across when looking for understanding and support.¹²

Russian language is nevertheless still used as a communication method, although predominantly not on its own but in the songs that combine both Russian and Ukrainian lyrics. Yet almost no attempt are being made any more (like it used to be done before, by some Ukrainians during the hybrid war stage) at persuading the imaginary Russophone audiences to try and stop the military action. Instead, Russian is mostly employed to convey comprehensibly the Ukrainian insults of, and death threats to, the enemy, e.g. in BURLA's ("Rus'kyi korabl'" / Russian Warship) and GRRRA's ("OKPNT") hip hop tracks. One of the few songs that exceptionally utilizes Ukrainian, Russian AND English (in the subtitles) is "My deti voiny" / We Are the Children of War by Natalia Zozulins'ka from Oleksandriia, recorded with the help of an amateur children's theatre, Apel'sin (Orange), and aiming at maximizing the empathy from English and Russian speakers everywhere in the world towards the war-suffering Ukrainian children (when Russian mothers are named among the song's addressees, the song performers switch from Ukrainian to Russian).¹³

Group 2: Anti-invasion songs by the international (neither Russian nor Ukrainian) community

This group, which can be classified as an A2 subcategory in accordance with Hansen et al 2019, has actually been almost under the radar until late February 2022. It is not that the hybrid phase of the Russo-Ukrainian war did not attract international interest in, or sympathy to, Ukraine's plight. However, song-wise, the international support for Ukraine has most memorably been expressed in a video of Ukraine-accredited foreign diplomats (representatives from the UK, Canada, Denmark, Spain, Norway, Lithuania and Latvia among them) singing (together with Ukrainian ambassadors in European countries, as well as various public figures) the Ukrainian national anthem, as a gesture of moral encouragement, on the occasion of the Ukrainian Independence Day

¹² On this, see also Biasioli & Drew 2024.

¹³ An extremely rare case of a pro-invasion song addressed to Ukrainians in Ukrainian (as a symbolic gesture of language appropriation) is "Plyve kacha" (May 2022) by a rap artist from Mariupol (now residing in the occupied Donetsk), Akim Apachev (assisted by Dar'ia Frei). On the New Year's Eve of 2023, it was even played on the Russian Channel 1's most popular New Year TV show, Goluboi ogonek (Little Blue Light). For reactions to the airing, see Ponomareva 2024.

in 2015.¹⁴ This impressive group of amateur performers did not denote automatically that, back then, the pro-Ukrainian songwriting at an international level (discounting Russia) was a force to be reckoned with. Only the full-scale invasion finally served as a powerful impetus for non-Russian and non-Ukrainian songwriters to produce more than 30 anti-invasion songs between February 2022 and February 2024.¹⁵

I do not include in this number the recycled old hits, such as Sting's "Russians" (1985), kitted out with a new video clip, which has been filled with images of the invasion's consequences, and made available on the YouTube channel "totallyMashedUp with Vegasking" (it is unclear if Sting, or someone else on his behalf, has authorized this).¹⁶ Neither deem I eligible the 2021 song by Billie Eilish, "Your Power", sending a message that "power isn't pain" (about underage sex, not war) and obviously repurposed when performed live by the singer herself at a Ukrainian refugee relief concert.¹⁷

A special case is a series of cover versions of Mykola Leontovych's famous carol tune "Shchedryk" (aka "Carol of the Bells") at the 2023 Leopold Jazz Fest in Lviv, in four different piano arrangements (by Kathrine Windfeld from Denmark, Adrien Brandeis from France and Lars Danielsson and Jan Lundgren from Sweden), as well as a cappella (by a US vocal quartet led by Bobby McFerrin). Since all of these performances cover the same work, they are listed in the Appendix as one entry, while the musicians' various countries of residence are lumped together under the Other category, to avoid a distortion of these countries' respective proportional contribution to the musical backing of Ukraine.

Another special case is "Hey Hey Rise Up" by Pink Floyd, which "samples" (Petridis 2022) the above-named "Oi u luzi" in Andriy Khlyvnyuk's version from an instrumental rock ballad perspective, which the original melody does not easily lend itself to. The musical end result (harvesting almost thirteen million viewings, with monetary proceeds donated to several Ukrainian charities) goes well beyond simply covering Khlyvnyuk's interpretation of "Oi u luzi" – after, as Pink Floyd's David Gilmour himself put it, "writing another section that I could be [...] the rock god guitar player on" (ibid.). In my opinion, the "Hey Hey Rise Up" rendering does earn Pink Floyd's single a place in group 2 as a separate video/discographical entry.

¹⁴ See "Ukrainian Anthem Performed by European Diplomats", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AkCRQxqAdo> (25 August 2015).

¹⁵ I could not find a single pro-invasion song composed or performed by international (non-Russian and non-Ukrainian) artists during this period.

¹⁶ See "Sting Russians 2022 Ukrainian Version", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nA7knkPkKuM>, 9 March 2022.

¹⁷ See "Your Power (Live for Stand Up For Ukraine)", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hp_-wvwABpA, 10 April 2022.

Pink Floyd's is not the only British entry on the group 2 list. There are four more, which looks a little unexpected, given that Poland, one of Ukraine's bordering countries and no friend of Russia, has apparently been responsible for merely three anti-invasion songs, two of which are first and foremost anti-Putin (who is believed to be personally liable for the Russian invasion). This may have something to do with a steady, wide and cross-partisan support for Ukraine, observed in the UK, while Poland's attitudes to one of its two eastern neighbours are significantly more nuanced.¹⁸

Poland's other eastern neighbour, Belarus, spearheads the international expression of the anti-invasion sentiment, with fourteen entries overall, several of these provided by the nation's most famous rock star Lavon Volski (currently in exile in Poland). This is because Belarusians in opposition to the self-proclaimed President of their country Aliaksandr Lukashenka (who is believed to have rigged the 2020 presidential elections) tend to agree that currently Belarus is Russia's client state indirectly involved in the war of aggression against Ukraine, yet the country may regain its independence from Russia if Ukraine wins the war and Lukashenka is ousted.

To help the Ukrainian military effort, a volunteer Belarusian battalion (later, regiment) has been established, named after Kastus Kalinouski (Konstanty Kalinowski, 1838-64), a leader of a failed rebellion against the Russian control over the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Also, some Belarusians have been fighting for Ukraine in other military units. Naturally, Yuri Stylski's rock anthem "Praz vyzvalenne Ukrainy" ([Belarus Will Be Set Free] Through the Liberation of Ukraine) sets to music a poem by Radion Batulin, a Belarusian fighter in Ukraine's Azov battalion, while Siarhei Kosmas's march "Himn Peramoha" (A Victory Anthem) uses a poem by Viktor Savich, a Kalinouski regiment member.

In addition to Poland and Belarus, Russia's other neighbours, such as the Baltic republics, contributed to the pro-Ukrainian song count, too. Thus, shortly before assuming the post of Defence Minister, the liberal Estonian politician Hanno Pevkur, sang in Ukrainian, at a TV show called "Masked Singer" (May 2022), the Shablia band's song "Brattia Ukraintsi" (2014), which had become a symbol of Ukrainian resistance to the Russian aggression. Approximately two months earlier, the Latvian singer of Ukrainian origin Katrina Gupalo wrote a power pop ballad, titled "Resistance" (mixing English and Russian lyrics and quoting the Ukrainian folk song "Oi ne shumi, luzhe") and recorded with the help of, among many others, the

¹⁸ See Nuspliger 2024 and Pikulicka-Wilczewska 2024.

Lithuanian electropop band Deeper Upper and the Russian musician Dmitry Lansky.¹⁹

Further afield, Austria and the US have contributed three entries each, presumably because North America boasts a large Ukrainian diaspora and Austria had to tolerate the post-WWII Soviet military presence on its soil until October 1955, an experience that has not been forgotten. On behalf of Africa, while on a field trip to Ukraine, subsidized by Brenthurst Foundation,²⁰ two solidarity songs were recorded by the Ugandan singer and oppositional politician Bobi Wine, with the help of Sofia Grabovets'ka and String Mockingbird, a Lviv cover band. One of the two tracks, the power ballad "Brothers in Freedom", fuses reggae and Irish folk elements and keeps repeating the phrase "their bombs, their bullets, their shame" (pointing at Russia), while the other, the reggae tune "Alone But Altogether", sends the message "don't be a victim, be a solution" and includes a chorus line "Africa [and] Ukraina [are] together".

Togetherness on the Ukrainian issue remains beyond reach for many Africans, however. Opinion polls and the UN voting records for 2022-23 demonstrate that both ordinary Africans and their governments have been divided by the Russo-Ukrainian war. Bobi Wine's native Uganda, for instance, consistently abstained from voting for the war-related UN resolutions between 2 March 2022 and 23 February 2023. In May-June 2023, only 50% of the canvassed Ugandans said they supported the Ukrainian side in the war. Attitudes in other African countries are far from unanimous, too, partly because of the historical sense of gratitude to the USSR (and, by extension, to the RF) for its assistance in Africa's anticolonial struggle, and because of the failure to see that the Ukrainian struggle is also anticolonial (See How 2023 and African 2023).

South America is represented by a single entry: a cover version of the 1988 song "Ishli selom partizany" by Sergiy Samoliuk and Iaroslav Nudik, dedicated to UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from WWII), arranged to include South American string and wind instruments, such as charango and quena, and performed by the Colombian band Los Iankovers, at a square in Prague, on the Ukrainian Independence Day in 2022. The band's leader, Ianko Bogdan Peñafort, is half-Colombian, half-Ukrainian, who learnt Ukrainian after the Revolution of Dignity. Given that South American countries passed a joint declaration condemning the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine only in October 2023 (at the América Libre forum in Mexico, see

¹⁹ Lansky seems to be the only Russian citizen involved in the musical projects in support of Ukraine initiated by international artists. Russia, of course, has had its own musical reaction to the invasion, which will be analyzed in some detail in the next two sections of the present article.

²⁰ The Brenthurst Foundation, established in 2004 and based in Johannesburg, finances initiatives to do with the African development. Ukraine is a major supplier of corn and wheat to several African countries, see Martin 2023.

Khmilevskaia 2023), Los Iankovers' pro-Ukrainian crusade appears to be a purely private initiative of its members that has taken the band on a successful tour of Europe to promote Ukrainian folk and popular musical culture. It remains unclear, though, how well, if at all, the band is known and appreciated at home in Colombia.

The overall breakdown of pro-Ukrainian musical effort per country (excluding Ukraine and Russia) can be observed on this pie chart:²¹

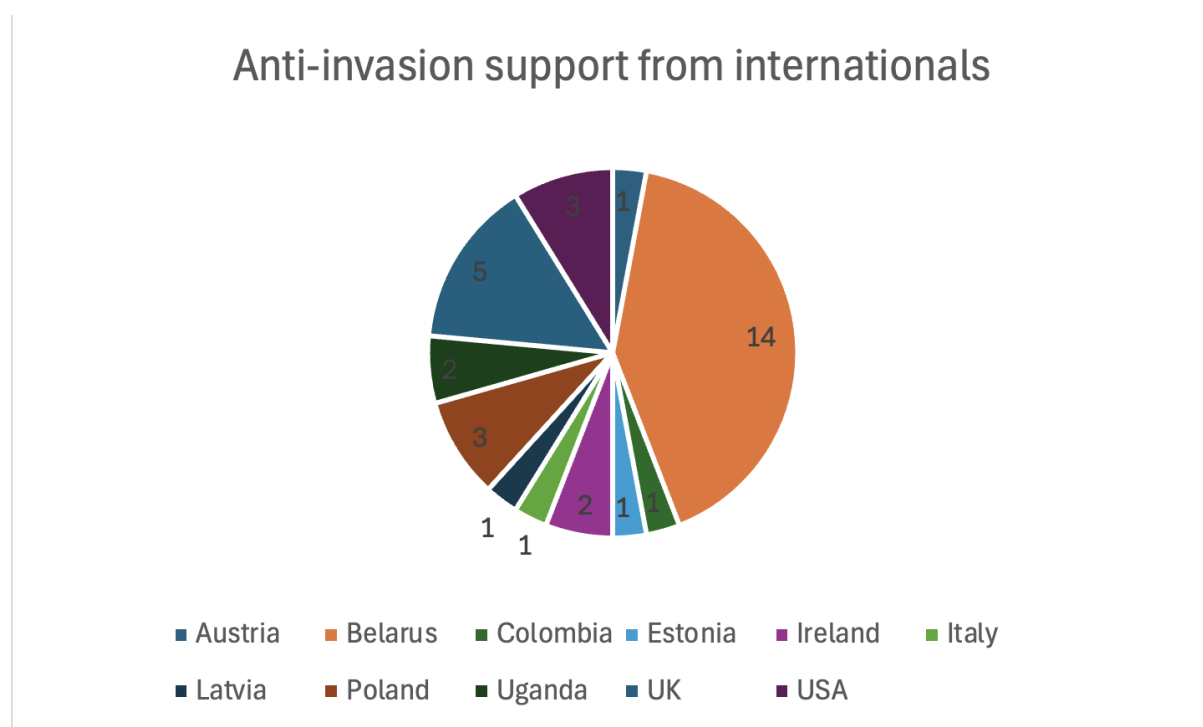


Fig. 2

Groups 3 and 4: Anti-invasion songs by Russians in Russia and Abroad

This section deals with additional song groups classified as A2 subcategories (in accordance with Hansen et al 2019). There are two of these, encompassing a) pro-Ukrainian songs by Russians in Russia (group 3), and b) pro-Ukrainian songs by Russians abroad (group 4). Many Russian artists had to leave Russia after the full-scale invasion, owing to their anti-invasion stance (expressed not only through creative

²¹ The data from Germany are missing from my playlist. However, I am aware that some German reaction, in particular among the German-language rappers of Ukrainian origin, has indeed been expressed through song making. For details, see section 4.3 in Tikhonov (in press).

activity but also on social media) and retaliatory court cases, blacklisting and performance cancellations by the Russian authorities (concerts are musicians' largest source of income); see Fontanka 2022 and Otmeniat' 2023. However, as the two groups' views on the issues to do with the war are very similar, they are discussed together here.

Curiously, the only artist who could have been in both groups, the influential pop rock diva Zemfira (Ramazanova, originally from Ufa), in my playlist features only among the anti-invasion Russians abroad. On 26 February 2022, her 2008 hit "Ne streliaite" (Don't Shoot; about a shy and vulnerable love relationship), performed at a concert in Moscow, suddenly acquired a pacifist meaning. Another line in the same song, "ne molchite" (don't be silent), now looked like a plea for anti-invasion rallies. Zemfira gave a boost to this new interpretation by re-recording "Ne streliaite" with the Uchpochmack band (formed by her and her two nephews) and including in the song's video (where the soundtrack's instrumental bridge is) some footage of the full-scale invasion and the suppression of Russian anti-war protests.²² The video was uploaded onto YouTube on 17 March 2022 and has had over 1.3m viewings since. Regardless, it has not made it to this article's video/discography, for the same reasons as the repurposed "Russians" by Sting and "Your Power" by Billie Eilish could not (for explanations, see section 2 above).

Nevertheless, Zemfira's new song "Miaso" (Meat, placed on YouTube on 19 May of the same year and attracting 1.7m viewings), about the war's carnal horrors (with a specific reference to the siege of Mariupol) – illustrated by the spine-chilling black, red and white drawings of her partner, the Muscovite filmmaker Renata Litvinova – is duly included in group 4, as the track was released after Zemfira and Renata's move to Paris. An accomplished singer in her own right, Litvinova herself circulated, one month prior to "Miaso", an arthouse video of her enunciating in dramatic recitative a word for word Russian translation of Marlene Dietrich's German-language recording of Pete Seeger's 1955 antiwar song "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" Filmed in the same disturbing black, red and white palette, the video "Kogda zhe vy nakonets poimete?" (When Will You Finally Realise [That Wars Shouldn't Be Waged]?) gathered well over 1m viewings on YouTube, too.

A desire to take heart from classical antiwar songs has also been noticeable in the song list for group 3. Thus, in early October 2022, the anarcho-punk band from St Petersburg, Elektropartizany, dropped online a Russian version of Pete Seeger's 1971 anti-Vietnam war song "Last Train to Nuremberg" (a city in which some of the high-profile WWII war criminals had been tried). It may seem anachronistic now, as the International Criminal Court has been residing in the Hague. Still, the song's message

²² See Zemfira, "Ne streliaite (The Uchpochmack Version)", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rynqvi4tS0>

of collective responsibility for the war (unnamed in Electropartizany's version yet easily identified thanks to the lines missing from Seeger's original, about members of parliament, whose children dodge the military draft) remains potent and relevant, when every adult, from ordinary voters to the unspecified "Minister of Defence" and "people's President", is said to have blood on their hands.

Several bands from groups 3 and 4 (siding here with groups 1 and 2) apportion the blame for starting the war directly to President Putin, and see his death or removal from post (and possible subsequent imprisonment) as key to ceasing the atrocities on the battlefields. Among such bands, there is a comedy rock act NOM from St Petersburg with a track named "VP (Vozle parashi)", the abbreviation standing for (in prison slang) "next to an in-cell toilet", being identical to Putin's initials and implying that he would end up in jail during his lifetime; Seif (Palekh-based veterans of the Soviet/Russian indie scene) with a single entitled "Vystrel Karakozova", referencing an unsuccessful assassination attempt on a Russian Emperor in 1866 as a historical parallel to Putin's anticipated violent demise; and The Tagil (of which little is known, except that its name is reminiscent of an industrial city in the Urals) with a no-frills rock song simply called "Putina net" (No More Putin).

For his part, the rapper Noize MC (who grew up in Belgorod, studied and worked in Moscow and in 2022 emigrated to Vilnius) came up with a record "Koopervativ Lebedinoe ozero" (The Swan Lake Co-operative), seen on YouTube over 3m times since late January 2023. The song title alludes to two "lakes" at once: 1) a Leningrad region summer house cooperative known as "Ozero" (Lake), formed in the 1990s by Putin and members of his inner circle, and 2) Tchaikovsky's ballet Swan Lake, shown on Soviet television during state funerals at the times of gerontocracy (early to mid-1980s), as well as the abortive anti-Gorbachev putsch of 1991. By amalgamating the two cultural references, Noize MC amplifies his wish to see Russia's recent usurpers, Putin in particular, dead and buried.

Some songs accuse the majority of population in Russia of putting up with the war. Among those from group 3, there is NOM's "Rodina" (Motherland) with a refrain "Motherland, you have lost your mind", as well as "Rodina, vernis' domoi" (Motherland, come home [i.e., back to your senses]) by DDT, another rock band from St Petersburg (initially established in Ufa). If anything, similar songs from group 4 are even more radical towards Russia, claiming that Russians are militant by nature (cf. a remake by a Russian immigrant to the US, Grigoriy Yablonsky, of the 1961 Soviet hit "Khotiat li russkie voiny" by Eduard Kolmanovsky and Evgeny Evtushenko, whose rhetorical question whether Russians want a war receives an unequivocal answer in the affirmative from Yablonsky, "oni vseгда khotiat voiny"); and that the so-called

“russkii mir”²³ (or Pax Russica), operating under the slogan of uniting Russians and promoting Russian values (whatever they may be) across the globe, pursues imperialist objectives in the process and brings more harm than good (cf. “Russkii mir eto voina” by Relocationer, an underground Russophone musician from Seattle, WA; as well as “Sdelano v Rossii” by the rapper OXXXYMIRON, aka Miron Fedorov, born in St Petersburg and now living in London). With such an attitude, it would not be a great loss if something major in Russia – e.g. the Ostankino TV tower poisoning minds and souls with Putin’s propaganda – would burn to the ground (cf. the track “Swan Lake” by the punk band Pussy Riot, whose current principal members have recently been given Icelandic citizenship).

Some representatives of group 3 may harbour similarly negative feelings towards Putin and Russia but they are rarely so outspoken, for fear of repercussions²⁴ – unless they hide their identities, as Kerosinov and Ded Arkhimed do. The pseudonym Kerosinov derives from the 1941 Soviet comedy film *Anton Ivanovich serditsia* (Anton Ivanovich Is Getting Angry), which has a fictional hack composer by that surname. Ded Arkhimed (the author of more than half a dozen anti-invasion songs on the eponymous YouTube channel with well over 400,000 subscribers) is believed to be a *nom de guerre* of an Ivanovo dweller called Dmitrii. Nothing else is known about Kerosinov and Ded Arkhimed at present.

Those who do not use pseudonyms tend to veil or ambiguate their critical utterances. Thus, the Moscow punk band Diktofon’s track “Russkii” could be seen as expressing either a post-invasion depression or an existential Russian ennui, or both.²⁵ The song “Bud’te schastlivy” by the Omsk hip-hop band 25/17 is a carpe diem appeal before death gets you – yet its philosophical message, underscored by the chorus “coffins, coffins, coffins”, is contextualized specifically by the everyday reality of the Russo-Ukrainian war. Other group 3 songwriters opt for allegory. For example, in Horus’s rap track “Mars nash” (Mars is Ours; visualized by skillful Manga-like animation sequences) the Russo-Ukrainian war is transformed into a war between Mars and Earth.

As even the use of the word “war” in relation to the Russian invasion of Ukraine became criminalized by the Russian authorities (see e.g. Genprokuratura 2022), antiwar activists had to be very inventive to make their point and get away with it. Some of them display inscriptions in public spaces that say “Net voble” (No to

²³ For more on this concept and institution, see e.g. Wawrzonek 2022.

²⁴ In August 2022, the DDT frontman Yuri Shevchuk was fined 50,000 roubles for publicly criticising the invasion at a concert in Ufa. This did not stop him from producing anti-invasion songs, over half a dozen in total in the two years between February 2022 and February 2024 – but may have served as a warning to other musicians.

²⁵ “French *ennui* (which came into English usage in the late seventeenth century) [...] derives from *inodiare*, associated with hatred of life itself” (Meyer Spacks 1995: 14).

Caspian roach), instead of “Net voine” (No to war), which in Russian differs by two letters only (see e.g. Avtoru 2022 and Net 2023). For this, the police can detain you temporarily but cannot punish you severely. The singer-songwriter Semen Slepakov (originally from Piatigorsk, now living in Israel) even wrote a satirical number about such a protest practice. This song has been watched over 3m times on YouTube since its release in October 2022.

Those artists who openly express their negative attitude to the invasion in so many words can find themselves in trouble. Diana Arbenina, the lead singer of the St Petersburg rock band Nochnye snaipery, performed her song Snegiri (Bullfinches) about having to “fight someone else’s war, unasked”, at a concert in Cheliabinsk in April 2022. Afterwards, she was denounced to the State Prosecutor’s office for allegedly discrediting the Russian military (see Nochnye 2023). The case against her was not pursued but some of her concerts got cancelled. To stop cancellations, Arbenina had to atone for her anti-invasion views. By way of apology, at a concert in Novosibirsk in October 2023, she sang one of her songs in duet with the wife of a Russian soldier fighting in Ukraine on the Kremlin’s side (see Diana 2023). Nevertheless, this was not enough to appease the warmongers, whoever they were. Arbenina’s concert in Tomsk in November that year got cancelled anyway (see Kontsert 2023).

In the atmosphere of silencing the opponents of the invasion, it is hardly surprising that the topic of silence, whether as traumatic speechlessness (cf. “Net slov” / No Words by the rapper Stervell), or a result of gagging (cf. “Ne khodi na ploshchad’, ne khodi!” / “Don’t You Dare Coming to the Square!” by the psychedelic quintet Gromyka from Petrozavodsk), or a fear of speaking up (cf. “Iz nashego okna” / From Our Window by a Moscow-based female indie duo Komsomol’sk), occupies notable space in the song groups 3 and 4.²⁶ The ex-Muscovite, now an Israeli, Andrei Makarevich (of the Mashina vremeni fame) even claims in his guitar poetry piece “Molchashchie” (The Silent Ones) that keeping silent is a pivotal feature of Russianness, necessary for survival in an oppressive state. The two-hundred-year old concluding line from Pushkin’s historical tragedy *Boris Godunov* (1825) comes to mind: “Narod bezmolvstvuet” (The people are silent).²⁷

Group 5: Pro-invasion songs by Russians and Ukrainians

²⁶ The band got blacklisted in early 2024. Soon after its February 2024 charity concert in the occupied city of Melitopol (in an attempt to curry favour with the Russian authorities) Komsomol’sk stopped performing altogether.

²⁷ For a more detailed analysis of Russian anti-invasion songs, partially overlapping with my own findings and video/discography in the Appendix, see Shnitman-McMillin 2023.

There does exist, however, a vocal pro-invasion segment of the population (from both Russia and Eastern Ukraine, a modified amalgamation of groups B1 and B2, as per Hansen et al 2019) – but how large is it? When it comes to the popular music scene, it seems that the number of pro-invasion songs could have been larger, given how much money the Russian government has poured into organizing musical concerts across the country to rally Russian society behind the invasion cause. In April-May 2022, at the behest of the Presidential Administration, free gala events (consisting of various musical performances and poetry readings) were staged in more than thirty Russian cities. The concert series was called *Za Rossiю* (For Russia), with the first letter spelled as a Latin “Z” and not as a Cyrillic “З”. The concerts cost the federal budget a whopping 95,3m rubles (approximately a million USD), the highest ever state expenditure on such an item.²⁸

The bands that took part in these and similar concerts (as well as those that did not but expressed their solidarity with the invasion elsewhere, sometimes by non-musical means) are referred to collectively here as Z-pop. Such bands do not necessarily always compose and/or perform new pro-invasion songs. Their standard (sometimes old familiar) repertoire, together with a public verbal expression of support for the Kremlin’s policies in Ukraine, are usually enough to get them on stage at government-sponsored politicized gigs. Thus, Shaman (Iaroslav Dronov), the most popular Russian artist of 2023, considered to be the musical voice of invasion,²⁹ does not really sing about the Russo-Ukrainian war. His biggest hits are the nationalist rock ballads “*Vstanem*” (Let’s Rise) and “*Ia russkii*” (I’m Russian). “*Vstanem*” does refer approvingly to a war effort, but it is the Russian participation in WWII that the lyrics imply. The fact that the song was coincidentally released on the eve of the full-scale invasion – and a subsequent promo video which was put together to include an invasion footage³⁰ – turned it into a pro-invasion anthem it had never been meant to become. “*Ia russkii*”, released on 22 July 2022, does not even mention warfare. This is why neither “*Vstanem*” nor “*Ia russkii*” are included in this article’s video/discography.

The post-February 2022 songs that overtly mention the invasion in the positive light have often been written by the (relatives of) pro-Russia (former) dwellers of the annexed Ukrainian territories and/or members of the military units fighting to prevent the return of these territories to Ukraine. For instance, Denis Maidanov (a prize-winning singer-songwriter and United Russia deputy at the Russian Duma, whose

²⁸ See Churmanova 2022. Incidentally, free tickets do not guarantee full capacity at the concert venues. Rumours abound that, on some occasions, audience members were actually paid by the organisers to attend.

²⁹ On his career, see Reiter, Safonova & Pertsev 2024.

³⁰ See Shaman i vse zvezdy, “*Vstanem*”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0TXx6w5Ogic> (4 November 2022). In this version, Shaman is joined by several Z-pop stars, e.g. Grigory Leps, Oleg Gazmanov, Nikolai Rastorguev, Nikolai Baskov, Aleksandr Marshal, Viktoriia Daineko, Larisa Dolina, Nadezhda Babkina and others.

mother hails from the Luhansk region), together with Roman Razum (the band leader at the Luhansk Second Infantry Corps), composed a rock ballad called “Pobeda za nami” (We Shall Prevail), watched over 700,000 times since 27 March 2022. On 17 November of the same year, Margarita Lisovina, a Donetsk-born-and-bred pop singer, performed an ABBA-like tune “Nam nuzhen mir” (We Need Peace) by the composer Mikhail Khokhlov (lyrics by Igor’ Borisevich, blissfully ignoring the questions of who and why had started the war in the first place).

In April 2022, Mariupol’-born Aleksei Iovchev from the Moscow rock band Zveroboi, expressed his joy over Donbas joining Russia in the song “Moia Rodina vozvrashchaetsia” (My Motherland’s Coming Back), which was watched on YouTube over a million times. The same month and year, a girl band from Luhansk, Sobor, channeled identical sentiments through a cover version of the sea shanty Wellerman, by Nathan Evans. Coming from the malevolent West, Wellerman is not the most obvious choice of a base song. It must have been the infectiousness of its melody, landing it hundreds of millions viewings since the release of Evans’s videoclip in April 2021, that affected Sobor’s selection. It is hard to determine how many viewings Sobor’s rendition (known as “S Rossiei v serdtse” / With Russia at Heart) has had, because its original link was removed by YouTube, yet it is safe to assume that the viewing figures were not anywhere near Evans’s.

Some individuals seemingly unattached to Eastern Ukraine empathized with the Russian attempts at its annexation anyway, strongly enough to write pro-invasion songs at such faraway places as Moscow and St Petersburg. Thus, a Moscow municipality culture minister Aleksandr Kibovsky, of all people, contributed the rap section to the self-aggrandizing “Nashi golosa” (Our Voices) track by Dmitry Bikbaev, composed in January 2023 for the Polk 123 band consisting of pro-Russian Donbas servicemen (the song was viewed over half a million times on the Telegram channel of the notorious Putin propagandist Vladimir Solovyev, a popular TV presenter). Half a year earlier, the rapper Rich (Richard Semashkov) from St Petersburg praised the invaders’ endeavour in a track called “Griaznaia rabota” (Dirty Job). Despite Rich’s complains that YouTube would not promote the track (see Ostriakova 2022), its video at the time of writing has been seen over 750,000 times. It could have been banned by YouTube but was not, for an unknown reason.

Somebody did report, though, an ode to the Russian private military company Wagner, an eager participant in many assaults on Ukrainian troops,³¹ by the singer Vika Tsyganova (originally from Khabarovsk, now a Muscovite). The song has become an unofficial Wagner anthem. Its video has proved quite popular with the audiences, too, but been removed from YouTube for breaking the rules of the web hosting provider

³¹ For more on the Wagner company, see e.g. Heinemann-Grüder 2024.

(most likely, for glorifying violence). The St Petersburg jazz rock band Leningrad penned “Gamayun”, a dithyramb to Russian military drones comparing them to the eponymous mythical Russian bird. The YouTube video gathered over 4m viewings since its release in mid-August 2022 and can be seen as a Russian answer to Taras Borovok’s “Bayraktar” from song group 1.

Discussion and Conclusions

Random as it may be, the playlist happens to cover a fair bit of Ukrainian and Russian geography (not to speak of Central and Western Europe, Africa and the Americas), as well as many popular music genres (including even wordless experimental music, such as a song group 4 rendition of the Russian national anthem by Berlin-based Andrey Guryanov, in which the melody and lyrics have been replaced by the rhythmized sounds of sirens and explosions).³² In other words, as far as people’s views of the invasion are concerned, it is not unreasonable to believe that my song dataset can be deemed representative enough, in the same way as a chance selection of a couple of thousand (or fewer) individuals answering phone calls in an opinion survey stand for a country’s whole adult population.

Curiously enough, genre distribution among Russian musicians has not been even in terms of their pro or contra views on the subject of invasion. The more dependent the artists have been on the officialdom’s good will, the less pro-Ukrainian and anti-invasion they feel. As the musical critic Artemy Troitsky observes (allowing himself a degree of exaggeration), “virtually all rap artists have come out against invasion. [...] Rock musicians got divided: if we talk about those with a standing, [only] two thirds of them have done the right thing. Nearly all pop musicians, being the puppets of television and corporate world, [...] have supported the Kremlin. [...] Those who [...] said something against the war were mostly the artists with strong Ukrainian connections, such as Valery Meladze and Svitlana Loboda” (see Medvedev 2024).

Have the opposite musical camps (song groups 1-4 vs song group 5) interacted directly since late February 2022, the way groups A vs B did (in the Hansen et al 2019 classification) after the Euromaidan and annexation of Crimea, with Andrei Sobolev (group B1) and Gleb Kornilov (group B2) submitting their musical responses to counter those by Anastasia Dmytruk (group A1) and Andrei Makarevich (group A2)?³³ Not really. The two camps must have very few personal issues left to discuss, known each other’s line of reasoning well enough by now and given up on trying to win the argument. Still, collectively, song group 1 (on the one hand) and song group 5

³² On the Ukrainian experimental music scene one year into the invasion, see Del Re 2023 and 2024.

³³ For details, see Hansen et al 2019: 87-124.

(on the other) do at times engage in a kind of indirect dialogue, deliberating over similar topics from the opposite points of view.

For example, group 5's praise for the Wagnerites (so labelled because one of their commanders used "Wagner" as his codename) finds its antidote in Antin Mukhars'kyi's (under the pseudonym Orest Liutyi) "Bakh vid SBU", which is based on a play of words between the surname of the German composer J S Bach and an onomatopoeic "bakh" (bang) denoting the sound of an explosion (in Liutyi's context, coming from a Ukrainian shell, SBU standing for Sluzhba bezpeki Ukrainy, or Ukrainian Security Service).

Another shared topic is treating the Russo-Ukrainian war as a family relationship gone wrong. For example, in his chanson track "Gorod u moria" (A Seaside Town), the singer Aleksandr Dadali from song group 5 explains the Russian takeover of Mariupol as a daughter's homecoming back to her mother, i.e. Mother Russia. For their part, in a folk tune "#NESESTRY" (Unrelated), watched on YouTube over 5.5m times since 12 September 2022, the Shemaev mother and daughter from song group 1 (the younger one widely known under her stage name Jerry Heil) describe the current Russo-Ukrainian relations as a conflict between two stepsisters, one good (Ukraine), another evil (Russia). A different take on the matter is provided by Leningrad's song "Geopoliticheskaia" (watched on YouTube over 10.1m times since early April 2022), which interprets the full-scale invasion as a case of domestic violence perpetrated by a jealous husband upon an allegedly unfaithful wife.

Incidentally, Leningrad occupies a unique position in this playlist, because the band belongs not only to group 5 (with three compositions, two of which have been briefly discussed above) but also to group 3 (with an antiwar song "Net **ine", released on YouTube on 9 August 2022 and watched more than 4.5m since). Why is the band batting for both teams, as it were? Is it to keep attracting attention by behaving erratically, or to maximize profits by milking both pro- and anti-invasion crowds? Either way, while acknowledging the band's right to positional fluidity, I exclude Leningrad from the count of both pro and contra sympathizers in this dataset, as an outlier, to avoid a distortion of the data interpretation.

Another distortion is when one band/performer is responsible for several pro or contra songs, e.g. Orest Liutyi and Nogu svelo (8 entries each),³⁴ DDT and Ded Arkhimed (7 entries each), Sergei Slepakov (4 entries), Andrei Makarevich and Boris Grebenshchikov (3 entries each), and so on. In order not to misjudge the pro and contra support levels among Russian artists, it would be more appropriate to count pro

³⁴ Most of these songs by Liutyi have been collected in the album *Pisni voennogo chasu* (Wartime Songs, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WfKf-1ui3bw>), which came out on YouTube on 28 June 2024, i.e. after the cut-off date of 24 February 2024, and therefore could not be included in the video/discography as yet another single entry.

and contra bands/performers, not their individual songs. If this principle is adopted, the dataset includes twenty-two bands/performers from song group 3, twenty-four bands/performers from song group 4 and fifteen bands/performers from song group 5, or sixty-one in total. Group 3 and 4 (anti-invasion Russians) should be taken together, which gives us 75.5% (or approximately three quarters) of the total, whereas group 5 (pro-invasion Russians, as well as pro-invasion Ukrainian citizens, former or current, from the occupied territories) takes up 24.5% (or roughly one quarter) of the total.

These figures are assumed to be reflecting not only the artists' personal convictions but also, to a degree, the mood of different segments of the population at large, which do not always express their views openly or sincerely. (Needless to say, millions of YouTube viewing figures, associated with some songs in the video/discography, indicate only the number of those who saw the video but tell us little about the viewers' (dis)approval of the videoed subject matter.)

The song dataset percentage breakdown merely displays an average aggregate value over two years of the full-scale invasion, and cannot compete with the more subtle and detailed professional surveys that trace fluctuations and finer distinctions in Russian people's attitudes to the invasion at its beginning, one year later and two years apart (even though such polls' representativeness would still be undermined by the low response rate and social desirability bias). Nevertheless, the song dataset provides a drastic correlation to the results obtained in Spring 2022 by the independent Russian polling agency Levada Centre, which claimed that around two thirds of its respondents in Russia supported the invasion and only one quarter condemned it (see Pozniakov 2022). According to sociologists from another independent polling agency, Russian Field, in February 2023, 69% of its respondents supported the invasion and 22% did not (see Il'ina 2023; in other words, the attitude changes among the Russians in the first twelve months since the invasion had been insignificant).

The song dataset percentage, however, seems to be suggesting that there may be more Russian detractors of the invasion than meets the eye. In part, the song dataset also turns out to be somewhat closer to the results of the Russian Field poll of May-June 2024. This poll has established that 17% of its respondents, the so-called hawks, would like Russia to continue with the invasion, no matter what. A further 24%, the so-called loyalists, condone the invasion but would condone a peace agreement, too, had President Putin decided to sign one tomorrow. 49% of the respondents, the so-called doves, are in favour of starting peace negotiations immediately, while 10% do not really know what to say (see Golubi 2024). The number of the hawks is roughly commensurate with the percentage for song group 5, especially if the songs clamouring for peace on unclear terms (e.g. "Nam nuzhen mir" by Lisovina and "Devochka zhdet mal'chika s voyny" / A Girl Is Waiting for a Boy's Return from War, by Sobor) are ignored.

The remainder in the May-June 2024 Russian Field data (73% overall, if the undecided ones are excluded) demonstrates, unsurprisingly, that in the third year of the invasion there is less and less appetite in Russian society for the continuation of military activities. The song dataset does not contradict this aspect of the poll’s findings: as time goes by, there are fewer and fewer songs appearing in each and every song group (Fig. 3 visualises this tendency using song groups 1 and 2 as an illustration). This likely indicates that the shock of invasion-related emotions (the songs’ principal trigger for the artist, as well as attraction for the public) has been wearing off. People everywhere, not only in Russia, are getting tired of the war, whether they are directly affected by it or not.³⁵

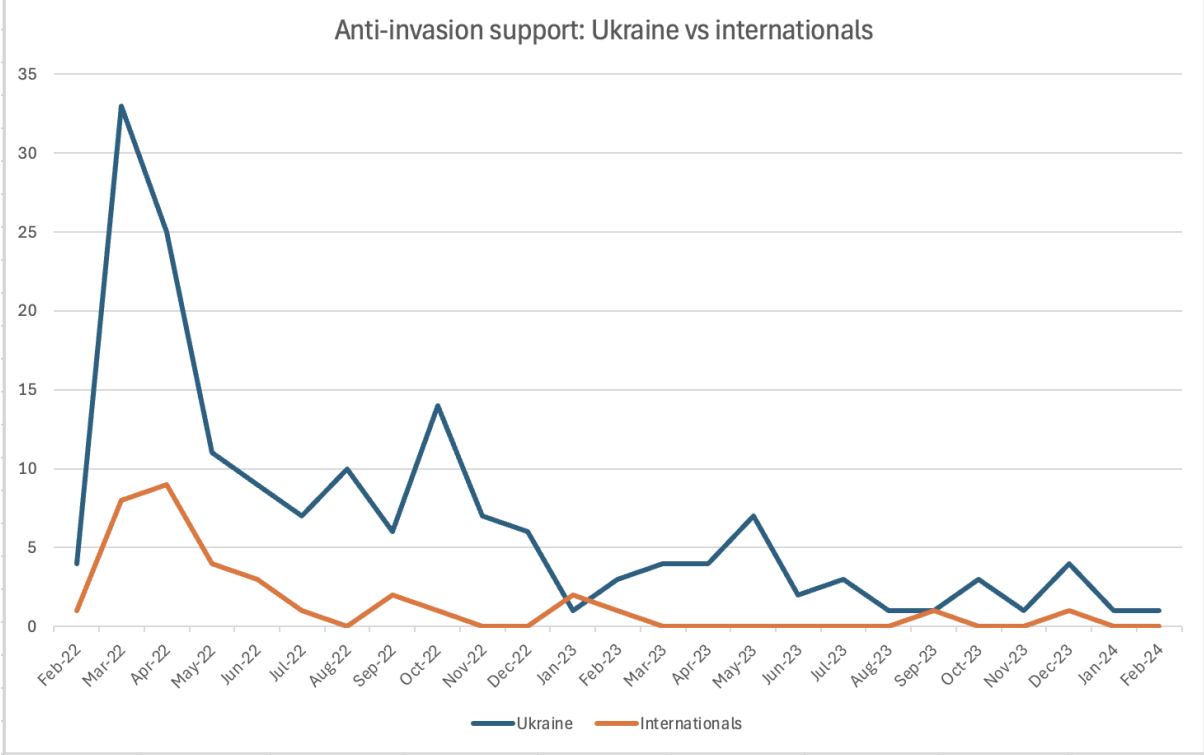


Fig. 3

Acknowledgements

³⁵ According to Hrushetskyi 2024, the Ukrainian resolve to endure the war for as long as it takes comprised 73% of his respondents in February 2024, which was 2% up on May 2022. However, the war fatigue may be manifesting itself in the fact that in February 2024, according to the Rating polling agency (Ukraine), 45% of its respondents sensed that things were going in the wrong direction and only 36% claimed the opposite. Also, 39% (as opposed to 25% in June 2023) were convinced that the war would last longer than a year. By comparison with August 2022, the share of those feeling sad grew from 29% to 39%, while the share of those feeling fearful grew from 11% to 21%. See Reityng 2024.

For their help with finding and interpreting relevant songs, I would like to thank Eva Binder, Sandra Birzer, Arve Hansen, Iuliia Krylova-Grek, Sergii Kamyshan, Iuliia and Olha Lihus, Hennadiy Melnyk, Iliia Rogatchevski, Yngvar Steinholt, Adam and Albin Sybera, David-Emil Wickström, Christian Zehnder, Pavlo Zhuravel', Olesya Zhytkova – and the YouTube algorithms.

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Appendix (video/discography): An invasion-related Russo-Ukrainian playlist (24 February 2022 – 24 February 2024)

Group 1: Ukrainian anti-invasion songs

PROBASS & HARDI, "Kozaky idut'", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ooJsW-RnSl8&t=1s> (24 Feb 2022)

BARDA [Elena Galkina, lyrics by Aleksandra Smilianskaia], "Russkii voennyi korabl', idi na...", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fmx_9AO2DI0 (26 Feb 2022)

Aleksandr "Fantazitor" Kovalevskii & Khibdeb (Khor imeni Briana de Buagil'bera), "Russkii voennyi korabl' – idi n@khui", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK9n8XtqSZA&t=114s> (26 Feb 2022)

Andrii Khlyvniuk (aka Boombox), "Oi u luzi", <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cae5TydPAxh/> (27 Feb 2022)

Bakun, "Russkii voennyi korabl', idi nakhui", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6OT79TGqqA> (2 March 2022)

Maks Barskih, "Bude vesna", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RMO0xQdnfBI> (5 March 2022)

Jockii Druce, "Sho vy brattia", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFieP6xb0oE&t=125s> (7 March 2022)

[Author/performer unknown], "Ia russkii voennyi mladshego zvena", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NJyoitoYXQw> (7 March 2022)

Khrystyna Solovii, „Ukrains'ka lut'", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqVCQEthhOU> (7 March 2022)

Various Ukrainian artists, "The Ukrainian State Anthem", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QL3wZWkucdw> (8 March 2022)

BEZ OBMEZHEN', "Geroiam", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8ssbp3IjVc> (8 March 2022)

BOTASHE, "PNKh", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVvzS4TWe2k> (10 March 2022)

Mureny, “Tvoimi rukami (Geroiam ZSU)”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LILmsYW3Dp4> (10 March 2022)

Olha Akulova, “Budem mriiaty...”,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zESllgE_EWw (11 March 2022)

Serhii Babkin, “Ia soldat”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eor4HBeRGdY> (12 March 2022)

SPIV BRATIV, “V gorodi Khersoni”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOcJtiHOYXc> (13 March 2022; promptly banned for inappropriate content but subsequently reinstated with a cautionary notice)

SKAI, «Ne vidstupaty i ne zdavatys'»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QTdJkYkkQBQ&t=10s> (14 March 2022)

ROXOLANA, “I See You”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=37p6YPwjhfA&t=118s> (16 March 2022)

TaRuta, “Vse bude dobre”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9CL0KuJqNKc> (17 March 2022, lyrics by Anastasia Dmytruk)

SKOFKA [Volodymyr Samoliuk], “Oi na oi”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PcaCISyT-X0> (18 March 2022)

Derzhavna prikordonna sluzhba Ukrainy, “Trymamosia, brattia, bo razom my sila”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NrWPZyLPX6g> (18 March 2022, music by Oleksandr Burmits'kyi, lyrics Dmytro Khoma)

Taras Borovok, “Bayraktar”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRiYXdiFHMo&rco=1> (18 March 2022)

Beton, «Kyiv Calling», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xWQUkRKqp2E> (20 March 2022)

KUZMER, “Rus'kyi voennyi korabl' idy nakh@i”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWr9MxItU4w> (21 March 2022)

100litsia, “ZSU”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9CIMf-vTCUY> (22 March 2022)

BURLA, “Rus'kyi korabl'”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JpqPtmn9BA4> (22 March 2022)

MAKS SHOOM, „Kolomyiki”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ngjp9txNqVI> (24 March 2022)

Malyarevsky, «Chornobaiivka», https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ytP_ISCPO-o (24 March 2022)

Lesia Nikitiuk, “Sila ptakha ukrainska...”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFbNDpYSRwg> (25 March 2022; the original link is now defunct; this one was placed instead on 26 March 2022:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bpqAAcGT_Zc)

KAZKA, “I’m not OK”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=MGgDdU1BYsA> (25 March 2022)

SPIV BRATIV, «Chornobaiivka», https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uecjq0m7W_Q (25 March 2022)

Natalia Falion, „Zibralys’ babon’ki”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=gjhggiE8UVY> (26 March 2022)

MIUSLI UA feat MC PAPA, “Vova, ibash’ ikh, bliad””,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=64qSNiUmaAk> (26 March 2022)

GRRRA, “OKPNT”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yZ9oP1XY_64 (26 March 2022)

Bortnichanka, “Gorily tanky”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74DpiBfRUM0> (28 March 2022)

OPG SVYATIE, “Ne probachu”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z4gteWMIFak> (29 March 2022)

Alyona Alyona feat. Jerry Heil, „Molytva”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5A3ndYDeYkU> (1 Apr 2022)

“Iz Ukrainy vezut ikh mashiny“ (anonymous chanson),
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWjzPO5Uczw> (1 Apr 2022)

Oleg Skrypka, „Geroiam slava”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NMcXa6ztz0> (5 Apr 2022)

Tin’ sonsia, «Za Vkrainu-Nen’ku»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h8TPgZ3R4bg> (5 Apr 2022, music by Serhiy Vasiliuk, lyrics by Vasil’ Kovtun)

Egor Krutogolov, “Chornobaivka”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzNZ4VCMtPQ> (originally placed on 6 Apr 2022; after removal for copyright infringement, resurfaced at this link on 1 May 2022)

Viktor Vynnyk i Meri, «Heroi», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FmULUBVh9-s&t=1s> (c. 8 Apr 2022)

KHAS, “PARTIZANY”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8KsKrcV3_Nc (8 April 2022)

The HARDKISS, “Iak ty?”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0P8QJ-x68PI&t=1s> (12 April 2022)

Oleksii Zaets’, “Shcho za chorna khmara”,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2bdA_xqbVvI (12 April 2022)
DITY Fristaila, “Chornobaivka”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpL8kmigoda> (15 April 2022)

MONATIK, “ART oborona”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6H6kJV1Wc4> (15 Apr 2022)

Lesia Nikitiuk, “Nova mors’ka pisnia”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvvAnBdmOFc> (16 Apr 2022)

MAKS SHOOM, “Kolomyiki, 2 chastyna”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ImPQNNLcvL8> (17 April 2022)

Play4Self, “Vsled za russkim korablem”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mEmH-29m02c> (17 April 2022)

Jerry Heil [Yana Shemaeva], «Moskal’ nekrasivyi (Get’ z Ukrainy)»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8-h21rk0Co&t=3s> (c. 18 April 2022)

THE MADA, “4.5.0., Pt. 1”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2RNvmidIJo> (18 Apr 2022)

O. Ponomar’ov et al [incl. Dzidzio & Antytyla frontmen], “Ukraina peremozhe»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRuiEv3JRDQ> (18 Apr 2022)

Ruslan Gorovyi, “Sny vesny”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t6BkFnWIb0Q> (19 April 2022)

Zhadan i sobaki, “Kraina”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pu8h49Hq_EQ (20 April 2022)

Okean Elzy, "Misto Marii",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XgWdxyBmB4&t=3s> (22 April 2022)

Kos Kastianych / Keb / Motiv, «ZSU/TRO»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yVz2j8D7P4c> (25 Apr 2022)

SPIV BRATIV, "Maskva", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JjB-cimVsYg> (25 April 2022)

DITY Fristaila, «Goryt' Moskva»,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZ8v27V2_YU (28 April 2022)

Slyzexx [Andrii Shevchenko], "Vid'my z Konotopu",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viCdbnyzB3s> (29 April 2022)

Max Barskih, "Don't F@ck with Ukraine":
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q5PiEjd3R6U> (29 Apr 2022)

Tetiana Loboda, "Duma pro oblohu Kyiva liutogo 2022 roku",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X3alV3nUoLg&t=126s> (2 May 2022)

Viktoriiia Bulitko, "Pro etikh", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zq7nP0sT6bQ> (6 May 2022)

SKOFKA [Volodymyr Samoliuk], „Ne zabudem i ne probachym”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9EJWtj5ZjI> (6 May 2022)

Yarmak feat. Alisa, "Dike pole", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1V0aFTl0aE> (7 May 2022)

Alcohol Ukulele, «Chornobaivka», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jcpEQ0A5Ucs> (9 May 2022)

Chico & Qatoshi, «Dopomozhe ZSU»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jeQOYnhS90U> (14 May 2022)

SPIV BRATIV, "Muzychna oborona", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KG2-SU7I-44> (16 May 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars'ky], «Smazhenyi moskal'»,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2JZD_kOHtM (18 May 2022)

KOZAK SYSTEM, "Azov-stal'", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=slyZVNKuMhE> (22 May 2022)

Angy Kreyda, “Vrazhe”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdEEffF7_rU (23 May 2022)

Jerry Heil [Yana Shemaeva], «Mriia», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YujzhGdUIFE> (27 May 2022)

Lesia Nikitiuk & Stepan Giga, “Tsei son”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8DOfGW86sQ> (4 June 2022)

Vovk, “Chornobaivka”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zbk8z5wwJAY> (4 June 2022)

GRRRA, “Gup”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YoR8Zc7AMdE> (6 June 2022)

DELAMER, “Azovstal’ des’ tam pid zoriami”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0jqNI9F8n-I> (10 June 2022)

MAKS SHOOM, «Kolomyiki, 3 chastyna», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Scvm6DhnSQM> (20 June 2022)

Khrystyna Panasiuk, «Stalevi liudi», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHRPsxRFCLA> (23 June 2022)

Kheitspich, „Moskva”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6iA6OvgP6Y> (25 June 2022)

DJ Zavala, DMNTED, “Fuck You, Putin (Welcome to Ukraine)”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M_nC5NggZvk (26 June 2022)

Sirooo, “ZSU”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHFdvINcJ_0 (28 June 2022)

Casa Ukraina, “Trunok u darunok”, <https://khatacomb.bandcamp.com/track/trunok-u-darunok> (5 July 2022)

Jerry Heil/Alyona Alyona/Ela, “Kupala”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CU-lugD-ceg> (6 July 2022)

Gogol Bordello, feat. Serhiy Zhadan & Kazka, “Forces of Victory”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DkVuw9A126w> (7 July 2022)

KUZMER & DJ GFEST, “Slava ZSU”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1jkl4H6BTUk> (13 July 2022)

Dani, «Katsap ne brat», https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q4mYb_rC3OQ (17 July 2022)

Masha Kondratenko, „Van’ka-vstan’ka”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IV9q901vS6o> (18 July 2022)

Okean Elzy, “Kvity minnykh zon”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMiovGnZMDk> (27 July 2022)

SKOFKA [Volodymyr Samoliuk], “Chuty himn”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ia50r3fa67s&t=153s> (1 Aug 2022)

Sirooo, “My”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=blnPaAkJERk> (7 Aug 2022)

Watebha, “Bambass”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKm9diLDygY> (17 Aug 2022)

O. Ponomar’ov et al [incl. Dzidzio & Antytila frontmen], “Na zemli, v povitri i na mori”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WTMRCX_GqKg (19 Aug 2022)

Pyrig i Batig, “Tango smerti”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iOEK119Ms0> (23 Aug 2022)

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhzsWzhz7Bc> (23 Aug 2022)

YARMAK FT. TOF, «Moia kraina», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wtuVamOknA> (24 Aug 2022)

EMDIVITY feat Lesia Nikitiuk, “Dushevna pa-damashnemu”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euNpgbCbPvs> (25 Aug 2022)

MaNeko feat Kheitspich, «Rusnia nakhui»,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AkXZ_vuVYZY (27 Aug 2022)

Natalia Zozulins’ka / Apel’sin, “My deti voyny”,
<https://www.instagram.com/lenanesterovna/reel/Ch0IjfDjgxO/> (28 Aug 2022)

Braty Kapranovy, “Try tankisty – Dostoevs’kyi, Pushkin i Tolstoi”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rzKLNq7sBIE> (10 Sep 2022)

Jerry Heil & Liudmila Shemaeva (MAMA), «#NESESTRY»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=paMINnxMuGQ> (12 Sep 2022)

DELAMER, “Gorit’ okupant”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rlvwJZrZUGM> (17 Sep 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars’kyi], «Bukhoi gusar na BTR»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5h0dil4S0k> (27 Sep 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars'kyi], "Ia, kum, dvi lopaty",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCxcDYzWBf0> (30 Sep 2022)

Ruslan Horovyi, "Nemae viiny", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PYFEFnIdHCw>
(30 Sep 2023)

ROXOLANA, «I'm Gone», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tvq9cgMytoM> (1
Oct 2022)

FIINKA, «Byi», https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrjniceRD_M (1 Oct 2022)

MAKS SHOOM, "Kolomyiki, 4 chastyna",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1U6Iz8Bw7PI> (3 Oct 2022)

Alyona Alyona / Jerry Heil / Ginger Mane, "Zozulia",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGfMABxAy7c> (7 Oct 2022)

Braty Kapranovy, «Katiusha», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9XTsx34ef8> (8
Oct 2022)

SPIV BRATIV, «Krymskyi mist», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOyr6Cfsx6Y>
(9 Oct 2022)

BRAT [Grigory Semenchuk et al.], „Losing Our Home”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75U0VixdADc> (11 Oct 2022)

Ivan Ganzera, "Kepski spravy u ruzni", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KKD-iSB4xkM> (12 Oct 2022)

SHYMAN [Andrii Shymko], «Kontrnastup»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bIWp2g9qayg> (13 Oct 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars'kyi], "Tsvite bavovna",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C0w27NMHI0I> (14 Oct 2022)

Kvitkis, "Pryvydy", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1kOV3JrUYs> (14 Oct 2022)

Mureny, "Chorni zaporozhtsi (72ga brigada)",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qtTLxO9Djz0> (14 Oct 2022)

Vechirni Kvartal, "Kontsert Kobzona u pekli dlia rosiis'kikh viis'kovykh: Pesnia o
buriatak", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yX3y9T7b9aU> (31 Oct 2022), see
02:53-03:42

Vechirniy Kvartal, “Kontsert Kobzona u pekli dlia rosiis’kikh viis’kovykh: Netlenochka”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yX3y9T7b9aU> (31 Oct 2022), see 07:05-07:50

DELAMER, “Azovstal’ pid zoriami 2”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KX1iUYwjd6E> (4 Nov 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars’kyi], “120-i minomet”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAfzC9ILhxs> (5 Nov 2022)

Sirooo, «Nezlamni», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5S8df6iYBC8> (7 Nov 2022)

Jerry Heil, “#Kozats’komu_rodu”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhKEUfSuRws> (18 Nov 2022)

Braty Kapranovy, “Smuglianka-2022”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPWE2th86Bk> (19 Nov 2022)

YARMAK, “Khai nam, brate, poshchastyt’”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4IiJxK3Y4SM> (26 Nov 2022)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars’kyi], “Chornomors’ki bychky”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnpSMCP1aj8> (27 Nov 2022)

Khrystyna Panasiuk, «Ia viriu v Boga i v ZSU», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DHEqlRZiRfY> (6 Dec 2022)

MAKS SHOOM, „Kolomyiki, 5 chastyna”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpEgHjb5SaQ> (6 Dec 2022)

KALUSH x SKOFKA, „Bat’kivshchina”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSOCoSHyU5Y> (16 Dec 2022)

Surface Tension, “Zavtra”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_eWQgbL3-YQ (31 Dec 2022)

Ne zhdali, “ZSU”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iON2Qv1E3Zo> (31 Dec 2022)

Tin’ sontsia, „Buty razom”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ODni-zRy5k> (31 Dec 2022)

Iaroslava Rudenko, «Slava nashim ZSU», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Ybm--ybkw0> (13 Jan 2023)

Jalsomino, „Chornobaivka”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Us6E0wZ_7Zg (8 Feb 2023)

Antytyla, «Fortetsia Bakhmut», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OmqLVrUXsTQ> (10 Feb 2023)

Sirooo, “Patriot”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rA_I_3XRYIQ (11 Feb 2023)

DELAMER, “Vstavai, padliuka”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a2CXwXhuTek> (11 March 2023)

TVORCHI, “Heart of Steel”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=neIscK1hNxs> (12 March 2023)

Nervy, “Vtomyvsia”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nUzcTKcyS_U (16 March 2023)

Paat (feat. Nata Teva), “Rave on Putin’s Grave”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQrFYqeLCTc> (31 March 2023)

Braty Kapranovy, “V poliakh pid Borodiankoi”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Vrdp8MkZ0Y> (1 April 2023)

Ruslan Horovyi & Evhen Turchinov, “TNNP”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cyxNiEWMW7w> (7 Apr 2023)

KOZAK SIROMAHA, «Voroga poboremo», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RV-xagLXvP0> (28 Apr 2023)

Braty Kapranovy, „Nich v Irpeni”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AP6mm4ez94M> (29 April 2023)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars’kyi], “Slava Ukraini”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wlGkC0K6Pc> (5 May 2023)

OT VINTA, “Pikhota”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gLnnPL55rQ4> (5 May 2023)

SKOFKA [Volodymyr Samoliuk], «Pogani susidi»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KPRRx4ZkEU> (9 May 2023)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars’kyi], “Tatu u tata e na grudy”,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qoC_sZsGw8Q (19 May 2023)

TARAS KEEN, „Spalakhui”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4w626P9I7YI> (25 May 2023)

Braty Kapranovy, “Na pozitsiiu divchina provodzhala Tsybikzhapa Badmaeva”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Vrdp8MkZ0Y> (27 May 2023)

YARMAK, «Ragnarok», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7CXeOCm-pk> (28 May 2023)

Braty Kapranovy, “Vdiagai trusy – idy v polon”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RyWrAyYdzP0> (24 June 2023)

TIK, “Katsapy”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h6JLDA50TQo> (29 June 2023)

KOZAK SYSTEM, “Ukrains’ke sontse”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4h6tXdXR Sik> (6 July 2023)

KOZAK SYSTEM, “Liut”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyFSNv0M40w> (13 July 2023)

Mureny, „Geroi”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOaHVcFsmcY> (25 July 2023)

KUZMER feat FAINA, „Nashi ZSU litaiut”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ae64Dw5wdmo> (8 Aug 2023)

T.HUTSULS, “Rekruts’ka”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0WI0BrfDDQ&t=4s> (29 Sep 2023)

Khrin, “Poslukhai... (Patriotychna zapadnia)”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3ywNTEmcU0> (1 Oct 2023)

KOZAK SIROMAHA, “Vystoimo”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SiPawQz5SJA> (6 Oct 2023)

Serhiy Zhadan (lyrics), Evhen Turchinov (music), «Dity»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6wLchtmgvM> (7 Oct 2023)

THMK, «Vdoma», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAONhTRvfVM> (8 Nov 2023)

Ramzes, “Vidzvitui Mar’iani, vidzvitui”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJREcCfMI8w> (3 Dec 2023)

KARNA, „Proshu pana do smereky”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2j6cAx9E594> (7 Dec 2023)

THMK, “Znaidy mene”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RXN4OoPpiBg> (8 Dec 2023)

Orest Liutyi [Antin Mukhars'kyi], "Bakh vid SBU",
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V9KeoQgrRfo> (26 Dec 2023)

Jamala, „Mii brate”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CkyXMu8ACoE> (19 Jan 2024)

Okean Elzy, «Vidpovid'», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vh9sBLXBZII> (23 Feb 2024)

Group 2: Anti-invasion songs by the international (neither Russian nor Ukrainian) community

Cypis, "Putin", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=dBqBJ6C5Mkw> (25 Feb 2022)

“Zakazana piosenka o Putinie”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pO4yBE46gKY> (2 March 2022)

Hramadzianin Respubliki B [Siarhei Bashlykevich],
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6YIJVOkOdc> (4 March 2022)

Katrina Gupalo et al., under the auspices of Latvia for Ukraine, “Resistance”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GAtIzjkdkVs&t=1s> (15 March 2022)

Vuraj & Serhiy Zhadan, «Misto», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuZ-odHUNFQ> (23 March 2023)

Yuri Stylski, «Praz vyzvalenne Ukrainy»,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36_HntwLpV0 (25 March 2022; lyrics by Radion Batulin)

The Anti-Dicktators, “Russian Warship (Go F..k Yourself!)”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXquixm5tnw> (25 March 2022)

Sauka dy Hryshka [Lavon Volski], „Pra vainu i Putsina-man‘iaka”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EACbPvynRHQ> (25 March 2022)

Lavon Volski et al [incl. Yuri Stylski and Aliaksandr Pomidoroff], “Geroiam slava!»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tpck6xUkKqk> (28 March 2022)

Rammelhof, “Wladimir II”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ak4RAXJeO_U (1 Apr 2022)

Katsiaryna Vadanosava, „Chuii holas ia Vital'ki z-pad Rastova“,
<https://t.me/belsat/71595> (3 April 2022)

Sauka dy Hryshka [Lavon Volski], “Pra raseiskikh zakhopnikau”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Foi2JbN3TY> (4 April 2022)

Pink Floyd, “Hey Hey Rise Up”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=saEpkcVi1d4> (7 Apr 2022)

U2, “Walk On Ukraine”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zi8wxpzTvY4> (8 April 2022)

Måneskin, “We Gonna Dance on Gasolin”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvXhg1opVQc> (10 April 2022)

Sauka dy Hryshka [Lavon Volski], „Pra raseiski vaenny karabel”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IyYwfUPZ5WQ&list=PLacsfWov01My-QOIPehPpKsNTLMmGBP3X&index=6> (16 April 2022)

Les Claypool, Stewart Copeland, Eugene Hütz, Sean Lennon et al, “Zelensky: The Man with the Iron Balls”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BowjATQloVA> (20 April 2022)

[Siarhei] Kosmas, “Himn Peramoha”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZRWN8X0exI> (29 Apr 2022, lyrics by Viktor Savich)

Ed Sheeran and Antytila, “2step”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJ2B4Fb7xQQ&t=9s> (2 May 2022)

Sauka dy Hryshka [Lavon Volski], „Pra Putsina i raseiski fashyzm“,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-iFCv6OzFTo&list=PLacsfWov01My-QOIPehPpKsNTLMmGBP3X&index=5> (4 May 2022)

U2 and Antytila, “Stand by me”, <https://www.svoboda.org/a/gruppa-u2-dala-kontsert-na-stantsii-kievskogo-metro/31839873.html> (8 May 2022)

Hanno Pevkur, “Brattia Ukraintsi” (a Ukrainian song from 2014),
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J7a2sXVoHto> (9 May 2022)

Maks Korzh, «Nash dom», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7wnAfBje1BM> (6 June 2022)

Gogol Bordello, feat. The Cossacks, “Teroborona”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HkPRZGi4-MA> (10 June 2022)

Karolina Cicha & Sw@da, «Wiśniowy sad»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6Eej5Hnkb4> (30 June 2022)

Liapis Trubetskoi, “Voyny svitla” (transl. into Ukrainian by Serhyi Zhadan), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ayDNTDcZok8> (12 July 2022)

The Anti-Dictators, “Home”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdZy1Z9Ofkk> (9 Sep 2022)

Bobi Wine & Sofia Grabovetska with String Mockingbird, «Alone But Altogether», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l2spLPuU0z4&t=3s> (28 Sep 2022)

Los Iankovers, “Ishly selom partizany”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5_WTgXzuexA (31 Oct 2022)

Bobi Wine & Sofia Grabovetska with String Mockingbird, “Brothers in Freedom”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQvIiKHL0Ew> (8 Nov 2022)

Arnold Schwarznegger in “Shchedryi vechir” by Kalush Orchestra: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RJJ_s9rwjvA (11 Jan 2023)

Naviband x Tayanna [Tetiana Reshetniak], «Bizhy», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T8zyqvaFocM> (23 Jan 2023)

Pet Shop Boys, “Living in the Past”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bH-JzfkAvD8&t=271s> (10 Feb 2023)

Liapis Trubetskoi, “Evpatoria”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gBo-tQ_1AU4 (22 Sep 2023)

A micromarathon of Mykola Leontovych’s Shchedryk/Carol of the Bells by the headliners at the Leopold Jazz Fest in Lviv (Kathrine Windfeld, Adrien Brandeis, Lars Danielsson, Jan Lundgren, Bobby McFerrin&Co): <https://leopolisjazz.com/en/post/micromarathon-of-the-world-famous-ukrainian-folk-song-shchedryk-by-the-headliners-of-leopolis-jazz-fest> (23 Dec 2023, with YouTube links to individual performances inside the post)

Group 3: Anti-invasion songs by Russians in Russia

Vasilii Shumov, “Net voine! Net! Net! Net!”), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e88UQ01oAVo> (25 Feb 2022)

DDT, “Malen’kaia smert””, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DHh_FlrOT4&t=390s (1 March 2022)

Shortparis, “Iablunnyi sad”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12CsEuxN5vQ> (11 March 2022)

Diktofon, “Russkii”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BaMErLjiGEY&t=30s> (22 March 2022; the original link has been disabled, see this one of 24 September 2022: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIHEo_gXK5g)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], «O tom, kak nuzhno ob“iasniat’ detiam voennuiu spetsoperatsiiu v Ukraine», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kt2bByW77Gk> (23 March 2022)

STERVELL, “Net slov”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPA0yWo8i9M> (23 March 2022)

DDT, “Gde ia”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQwJLgIfVh4> (26 March 2022)

25/17, “Bud’te schastlivy”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6-NHsRNLwc&t=40s> (7 Apr 2022)

NOM, “VP (Vozle parashi)”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6DICr060UyA> (9 Apr 2022)

Diana Arbenina and Nochnye snaipery, «Snegiri», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iyFSTKxuMQU&t=106s> (17 Apr 2022)

Leningrad, “Net ***ine!”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35Mz088lkhM> (9 Aug 2022)

Maia Goriat, “Tanki”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tSWsqrzs8PE> (24 Aug 2022)

Elektropartizany, “Poslednii poezd v Niurnberg”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hq369PQo3Gg&t=143s> (7 Oct 2022)

Komsomol’sk, “Iz nashego okna”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi-IN8rHLNo&t=1s> (21 Oct 2022)

Seif, «Vystrel Karakozova», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EIUUT0NLR0g> (6 Nov 2022)

The Tagil, «Ei, brat», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCB3agNGvqs> (15 Nov 2023)

Gromyka, “Ne khodi na ploschhad’, ne khodi!”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lUGtYHGCmMc&t=3s> (18 Nov 2022)

The Tagil, “Eshche khuzhe”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNwKhnhuWmg&t=1s> (ca 26 Nov 2022)

DDT, «Staia», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iw9yGIVeO4c> (15 Dec 2022)

The Tagil, „Putina net”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSTaTyqQ19o&t=1s> (25 Dec 2022)

Shumov/Tsentr, „Tvoia. Liubimaia. Voina”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JjbCbE-B7IE> (3 Feb 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], “O voine, starike i sobake”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZOvZZilZko> (5 Feb 2023)

DDT, “Rodina, vernis’ domoi”,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4A67iTiOD_g&t=276s (18 Feb 2023)

Seif, “Okkupant-amputant”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZtc0HjyDSw> (22 Feb 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], «God voine»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5bqjJtoeUn4> (28 Feb 2023)

Sad Mandel’shtama [Aleksii Karakovskii et al], «Grazhdane, otechestvo v opasnosti»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gobVF2n3bBE> (8 Apr 2023)

DDT, «Pokhorony voiny», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2cdzL1jH48&t=2s>
(21 Apr 2023)

Leonid Fedorov, „Pis’ma B.V.”,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Leo09Wz1Ff0&list=OLAK5uy_mH1tjMZUtG-zWVkf1m3SshgI4KBLKnxYA (10 May 2023)

Ligalaiz [Andrei Men’shikov] (DOB) & Mr Freeman [Pavel Muntian], «Mir!!
Vashemu!! Domu!!”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3JKkd_WTAZg (30 June 2023)

DDT, “Volki v tire”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FffRH724Hro> (14 July 2023)

Horus, “Mars nash”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4z85CUWsFw> (10 Aug 2023)

[Ilya] SAMITOV, «Nichego ne sluchilos’»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27HJf8BtqRQ> (25 Aug 2023)

NOM, “Spetsoperatsiia Y”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D2XjhHiMVLg> (10 Oct 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], “Dobrovolets”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PGBiYiCHvc4> (22 Nov 2023)

Igra v kortasiki, “Tvoia storona ulitsy”,
<https://web.facebook.com/100001510028432/videos/367898525732660/> (28 Nov 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], «Pesnia o voennom biudzhete Rossii dlia SVO»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94ff6GeSxzA&t=1s> (29 Nov 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], „Vernite muzha”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QYDTLe-XAsc> (19 Dec 2023)

DDT, „Novosti”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBRQKFQJEgk> (27 Dec 2023)

NOM, «Rodina», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0zteqIF7W9M> (30 Dec 2023)

Kerosinov, «Soldatskaia s grustinkoi», <https://www.svoboda.org/a/32733029.html>
(51:03-54:00; no later than 30 Dec 2023)

Diana Arbenina and Nochnye snaipery, “Bog ushel”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e6UKQMzTHoU> (31 Dec 2023)

Ded Arkhimed [Dmitrii Lapshov?], “My privykli k voine”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g8rd9xDyV2Y> (6 Feb 2024)

Group 4: Anti-invasion songs by Russians Abroad

MORGENSHTERN, „12”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IX0TPbCSAbM> (13 March 2022)

“Oni vseгда khotiat voiny, rossii vernye syny”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McEHdibltms> (17 March 2022; music by Eduard Kolmanovsky, lyrics by Grigoriy Yablonsky)

Nogu svelo, “Nam ne nuzhna voina!”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0RIUZLG2ics> (7 Apr 2022)

Nogu svelo, „Bukva Ziu”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HL0DZ7hbx9w&list=RDHL0DZ7hbx9w> (8 Apr 2022)

Nogu svelo, „Pokolenie Z”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_HNyl-Thqik (19 Apr 2022)

Noize MC, „Ausvais”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0VeHAcXjFsw&t=125s> (21 April 2022)

Boris Grebenschikov (BG), «Vorozhba»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o3QuVaOYsOs> (22 April 2022)

Renata Litvinova, “Kogda zhe vy nakonets poimete?”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MbjBde5W6pM> (22 April 2022)

Nogu svelo, „Nazad, Rossiia!”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3EhcakGH7po> (9 May 2022)

Antiorki [Val Gaina et al], “Bol’shim pizdetsom”,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZlAlnRbbNA> (9 May 2022)

Zemfira, «Miaso», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=viy2FXOcI68&t=206s> (19 May 2022)

Ooes, «Fade», <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ap9PbFzXPs&t=5s> (27 May 2022)

Nogu svelo, “Ukraina”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nSfWKA0qrok> (12 June 2022)

Little Big, «Generation Cancellation»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Yy4RP4FMNk&t=5s> (24 June 2022)

Bi-2, „Kolybel’naia”, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_T2-h_J7UXw&t=427s (27 June 2022)

OXXXYMIRON, “Oida”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYymRbfjKv8> (16 Sep 2022)

Voices of Peace [Noize MC, Monetochka & Vitia Isaev], «Kriokamery»,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xR8jXM60CpY> (21 Sep 2022)

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A flashmob of Sebastopol dwellers singing the Sebastopol anthem after the destruction of the Black Sea Navy HQ by Ukrainian missiles, <https://twitter.com/sashakots/status/1705636173052313634> (late Sep 2023)

On the occasion of the National Unity Day, “People’s anthem of Zaporizh’zhe region” (as part of Russia) was presented in early November 2023 in Melitopol, see <https://melitopol-news.ru/society/2023/11/04/58234-amp.html> (the song’s authors are unknown)

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