

# The Cognitive-Strategic Meaning of the Special Military Operation in Ukraine

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*Translated from the Russian by Dennis T. Faleris*

1. “Soviet communism contains the seeds of its own self-destruction and will eventually collapse due to internal weakness,” said politician George Kennan, considered the “architect of the Cold War.”<sup>1</sup> Two detonation waves contributed to the collapse of the USSR. *First*, the Kremlin conspiracy of “doctor-saboteurs” liquidated the “father of the peoples.”<sup>2</sup> As a result of the coup d’état, secured by a couple of hundred tanks near the Kremlin and bombers on takeoff, the “Khrushchev Thaw” began.<sup>3</sup> Former militants of the OUN-UPA,<sup>4</sup> Bandera,<sup>5</sup>

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1 “The U.S. State Department asked George F. Kennan to analyze Soviet communism and put forth ideas on how to deal with Stalin and communist Russia. In response, Kennan, an expert of Russian history and culture who lived in Moscow as a senior diplomat, drafted an 8,000-word telegram in which he presented the rationale for what would become the US policy of containment.” <https://study.com/academy/lesson/george-f-kennan-containment-in-the-cold-war.html>

2 “The Doctors’ Plot,” [Russian “Дело врачей”—“Doctors’ Case” or “Дело вредителей”—“Case of the Saboteur Doctors”] refers to an alleged conspiracy of prominent, mostly Jewish, doctors from Moscow to murder leading Soviet government and party officials. Many doctors were arrested and tortured to produce admissions, but after the death of “the father of the peoples” (Stalin), it was declared that the case had been a fabrication. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctors%27\\_plot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctors%27_plot) The Soviet dictator, Stalin, ruled from 1929 to 1953.

3 “The Thaw” [Russian “Оттепель”] refers to the Soviet period from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s when repression and censorship in the Soviet Union were eased under USSR Communist Party Chairman Nikita Khrushchev. The term was coined after Ilya Ehrenburg’s 1954 novel “The Thaw” which was published in 1954, a year after Stalin’s death. [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Khrushchev\\_Thaw](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Khrushchev_Thaw)

4 “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was a Ukrainian ultranationalist political organization established in 1929... It split into two parts in 1940...one of which supported Stepan Bandera. In 1941, it declared an independent Ukrainian state in occupied Lviv while the region was under the control of Nazi Germany...to free Ukrainians from Russian oppression. In 1942, the OUN established the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which carried out large-scale ethnic cleansing against Polish people...to pre-empt Polish efforts to re-establish Poland’s pre-war borders. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organization\\_of\\_Ukrainian\\_Nationalists](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organization_of_Ukrainian_Nationalists)

5 “Stepan Bandera was the leader of the revolutionary faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which, along with its partisan army—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army— strove to eliminate all ethnically non-Ukrainian elements from Ukrainian soil (including Jews, Russians, Poles, Gypsies, etc.) and, for a certain period of time, collaborated with the Germans in the hope of achieving this goal.” See (2015, January 29) “The Success of Russia’s Propaganda: Ukraine’s “Banderoivtsy.” *Cambridge Globalist*. <http://cambridgeglobalist.org/?p=573>

Vlasov<sup>6</sup> and other collaborators were amnestied. As stated in a recently declassified document, “the number of OUN members increased tenfold and tension increased many times throughout Ukraine.” These are the origins of the Maidan.<sup>7</sup> The foundations of the Red Empire were shaken. The newest chapter in the history of Russia is one characterized by suicidal upheaval.

2. *Second*, the Belovezhskaya conspiracy,<sup>8</sup> perpetrated by the highest-level *nomenklatura*, decided the fate of the Soviet Union itself. It ceased to exist—“it committed suicide” although suicidal tendencies had not been observed in the state. On the contrary, the USSR was quite confidently keeping itself afloat. Yuri Andropov<sup>9</sup> strove to adapt the Chinese practice of Deng Xiaoping with its “free economic zones”—the experience of communism co-existing with technological reform.

And Mikhail Gorbachev quite confidently branded the “so-called democrats” who were “preparing a coup d’état” and hatching insidious plans for “the fragmentation of our great multinational state.”

3. But actions speak louder than words. The state system made fatal mistakes. As soon as the GDR was surrendered in 1989, the entire socialist camp fell. The fall of the “Iron Curtain” was facilitated by the departure from the “Brezhnev” USSR Constitution’s Article 6 “on the leading and guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society.” This democratic correction in the construct of the foundation of the state had detrimental consequences for those in power.
4. With the removal of this fundamental “stone” from the foundation of the sovereign monolith, the smooth functioning of the state machine

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6 “Andrey Andreyevich Vlasov was a Soviet Red Army general and Nazi collaborator... After being captured, he defected to Nazi Germany and headed the Russian Liberation Army. Upon being captured by Soviet forces...he was tortured, tried for treason, and hanged.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrey\\_Vlasov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrey_Vlasov)

7 “The Maidan Uprising was a wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Ukraine, which began on 21 November 2013 with large protests in “Maidan Nezalezhnosti” [English “Independence Square”]... The protests were sparked by the Ukrainian government’s sudden decision not to sign the European Union-Ukraine Association Agreement, instead choosing closer ties to Russia and the Eurasian Economic Union.” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euromaidan>

8 The Belovezha Accords, also known as the Minsk Agreement, was signed in 1991 by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, Ukraine president Leonid Kravchuk, and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, Stanislav Shushkevich. They met secretly in a resort in Belovezhska Pushcha, just outside of Brest, Belarus. The Accords ended the Soviet Union and established the Commonwealth of Independent States. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/belovezh-accords>

9 Yuriy Andropov was selected as the new General Secretary of the Communist Part in the USSR following the death of long-time Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1982. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/yuri-andropov-assumes-power-in-the-soviet-union>

was disrupted. The control flywheel was out of balance; the foundations of the state's system and its structural framework were doomed to fail. Soon Boris Yeltsin reported to the US Congress, "The communist idol that sowed social discord, enmity, and unprecedented cruelty everywhere on earth, and instilled fear in the human community, has collapsed. It has collapsed forever. *And I am here to assure you we will not allow it resurrect on our soil!*" However, the special operation "Our Crimea"<sup>10</sup> (such "polite people") and the current operation to demilitarize and denazify "Ukronazis" are a reversal of the trend towards Russian imperial behavior.

5. We should note that after the defeat in the Cold War, the Russian Federation pursued an *inertial* foreign policy. Only the force majeure of the prevailing circumstances prompted the top management to "do something." So the 2008 war between Georgia and Russia took place

because of the Kremlin's indecision over annexing Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The killing of peacekeepers was just a *casus belli*. The neologism "Krymnash" (2014) is a response, using "soft power," to the ousting of the Russian fleet from the Black Sea. Then "everything fell asleep" until a new threat caused the Russian Federation to wake up in a cold sweat. It turned out that the "Ukry"<sup>11</sup> were getting ready to join NATO (and this would mean four minutes of missile flight time to reach the Kremlin!). And a battle broke out, a military special operation, in fact, to restore the status quo—NATO's disposition as of 1997 before the alliance moved Eastward. (By comparison, the cleansing of separatist "Ichkerism"<sup>12</sup> was called "restoring constitutional order.")

6. If the "Russian bear" had not been awakened, the Kremlin would hardly have gone the route of special operations. Politician Alexander Prokhanov<sup>13</sup> states that

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10 "Our Crimea" [Russian "Крымнаш," transliterated "Krymnash"] is a neologism that came into being in 2014 to refer to operations leading to the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation. "Krymnash" is a Romanized word combination which translates to "Crimea-our." Operation Krymnash is, therefore, "Operation Our Crimea. Goble, Paul. (2015, June 10) "Krymnash' Meme Part of Russian Society's Return to Late Soviet Times." *Euromaidanpress*. <http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/06/10/krymnash-meme-part-of-russian-societys-return-to-late-soviet-times/>

11 Although the term may refer to ancient tribes called the "Ukry" [Russian "Укры"] who were the forerunners of the modern-day Ukrainian people, another use of the term is to refer to Ukrainians in a derisive manner. It is used to reflect the attitude of the Russian ruling elite toward the people of Ukraine.

12 The Chechen Republic of Ichkeria is the unrecognized secessionist government of the Chechen Republic. The republic was proclaimed in 1991, which led to two wars with the Russian Federation. [https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Chechen\\_Republic\\_of\\_Ichkeria](https://military-history.fandom.com/wiki/Chechen_Republic_of_Ichkeria)

13 Aleksandr Prokhanov, Editor of *Zavtra*, criticized Putin as being too liberal in the early days, but became a loyal supporter after the 2014 annexation of Crimea... *Zavtra*, anticipating Russian Easter, pictured the special military operation in Ukraine as a Holy war and depicted putting car-

Vladimir Putin “was like a balance beam scale on which were teetering two containers each holding a different structure—a patriotic one and a liberal one. But in a single instant, the scale became unbalanced. The patriotic order of things got out of Putin’s control as did the liberal one. *The President did not manage to make the long-awaited breakthrough in that period of time after Crimea—a development that would have melded the two structures. And each went its own way.* Within each, a confusing mess arose—a complex system of decay. Because of this, *Putin has no control over these two massive aspects of modern Russia... which are developing each in its own way, and pretty chaotically.*”<sup>14</sup> In Ukraine, by contrast, the war revealed the preparedness of their society to wage organized resistance against the “Russkies”<sup>15</sup> and for consolidating the elites. One of the mistakes of the Russian army was

the expectation that it would “be greeted with flowers” in Ukraine, but this notion has long since been dispelled, according to ex-commander of the Airborne Troops Colonel General Vladimir Shamanov.<sup>16</sup> In Ukraine, many military schools have been preserved since Soviet times—schools which can be found in almost every region. This allowed the country to preserve the schooling which served as “the basis for reviving the army.”

7. With the defeat of the Soviet Union at the anti-communist stage of the permanent Cold War between the West and Russia, society became fragmented; a “parade of sovereign states” filled the post-Soviet space. After all, Article 72 of the USSR Constitution allowed for the withdrawal of the republics from its structure “right up to allowing secession.” Instead of a pragmatic Chinese transformation, Russia “defined itself” in a Leninist

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rying the cross of the “Russian Cathedral” to the top of Golgotha. Editor Aleksandr Prokhanov splashed the headline “He is truly risen!” and a picture of Christ across the front page, accompanied by heavy artillery, a tank, and some smoking buildings. <https://cepa.org/putin-the-risen-christ-russias-ultra-nationalist-pin-up/> “Zavtra” is an ultranationalist broadsheet founded by Prokhanov. The current editor is his son, Andrey Fefelov. See Balmforth, Tom. (2014, August 17) “From The Fringes Toward Mainstream: Russian Nationalist Broadsheet Basks In Ukraine Conflict.” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. <https://www.rferl.org/a/26534846.html>

- 14 Here, Prokhanov implies that Putin failed to strike a balance between patriotism and liberalism following the “Our Crimea” operation. See Prokhanov, Aleksandr. (2019, November 20) “The Two Pine Trees of President Putin.” *Zavtra*. In this blog article, Prokhanov uses “pine tree” as it is used in the folk saying “to get lost in a forest of three pine trees” [“заблудиться в трех соснах”], which is said of someone who is unable to find any solution to a simple problem or situation. [https://zavtra.ru/blogs/dve\\_sosni\\_prezidenta\\_putina](https://zavtra.ru/blogs/dve_sosni_prezidenta_putina)
- 15 The Russian text uses the term “Moskaly” [Russian “Москаль”]—an ethnic slur that means “Russians” in Ukrainian, Polish, and Belarusian.
- 16 Col-Gen Vladimir Anatolyevich Shamanov headed the Russian Airborne Troops from 2009 to 2016. After his retirement, he became head of the State Duma Defense Committee.

way—a pure “golovotyap” move (to use the language of the satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin)<sup>17</sup>—when it decided to become independent *from itself* (insanely mistaking its Union republics for “colonies”). Having rejected the ideology of the “Soviet Union,”<sup>18</sup> the “foremen of perestroika,”<sup>19</sup> compensating for its absence, instead threw at the masses the [ideological] cry of the shopkeepers, “Get rich!”

8. Under this French motto “Enrichissez-vous!” the “Russian Federation,

as a state corporation,” returned to the feudalism of a pakhanate<sup>20</sup>-comprador stewardship of the country. This slogan of the French liberal politician Francois Guizot was used in 1925 by Bolshevik ideologue Nikolai Bukharin<sup>21</sup> so that reviving elements of capitalism during NEP<sup>22</sup> would help the poor, who were in critical need, to survive. Alas, the very poor in the Russian Federation are not decreasing in number. By the end of 2022, more than 20% of Russian citizens will fall below the poverty line.

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17 *Golovotyap* is one who carelessly and stupidly conducts any business — a bungler. The word was coined in the 19th century by satirical writer Mikhail Yevgrafovich Saltykov-Shchedrin (nom du plume “Nikolay Shchedrin”). The word “golovotyap” was formed by adding the roots of the noun “head” (golovo) and the verb “to chop” (tyapat”).

18 The Russian text uses the popular slang for the former Soviet Union — “Sovka” [Russian “Совка”].

19 McCauley, Martin; Lieven, Dominic. “The Gorbachev era: perestroika and glasnost.” *Britannica*. “When Gorbachev became head of the Communist Party in 1985, he launched perestroika (‘restructuring’)... to bring the Soviet Union up to par economically with the West... In 1987-88, he pushed through additional reforms... The consequences of this form of a semi-mixed economy... brought economic chaos to the country.” <https://www.britannica.com/place/Russia/The-Gorbachev-era-perestroika-and-glasnost>

20 Young, Cathy. (2014, August/September) “Putin’s New Old Russia.” *Reason*. A “pakhanate” is a coinage derived from pakhan [Russian “пахан”], Russian underworld slang for a gang boss. <https://iq.hse.ru/news/177743032.html>

21 Nikolay Bukharin was one of the key Soviet politicians in the years immediately following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. He was a theoretician of the Communist movement during the revolutionary period and throughout the 1920s. In January 1937 he was accused of treason and died by firing squad in 1938. <https://russiopedia.rt.com/prominent-russians/politics-and-society/nikolay-bukharin/>

22 NEP or “New Economic Policy” [Russian: “НЭП” or “Новая Экономическая Политика”] refers to “the policy of the government of the Soviet Union, in effect from 1921 to 1928, that represented a temporary retreat from its previous policy of extreme centralization and doctrinaire socialism. [The policy] was viewed by the Soviet government as merely a temporary expedient to allow the economy to recover while the Communists solidified their hold on power.” <https://www.britannica.com/event/New-Economic-Policyx-Soviet-history> Further, “NEP was characterized by a partial denationalization of property, privatization of many previously nationalized enterprises, an economic management system based on cost accounting, competition, and the introduction of the leasing of joint ventures... The NEP led to a rapid economic recovery. The economic interest that appeared among the peasants in the production of agricultural products made it possible to quickly saturate the market with food and overcome the consequences of the hungry years of ‘war communism.’” [https://www.krugosvet.ru/enc/istoriya/NOVAYA\\_EKONOMICHESKAYA\\_POLITIKA\\_NEP.html](https://www.krugosvet.ru/enc/istoriya/NOVAYA_EKONOMICHESKAYA_POLITIKA_NEP.html)

9. A foreign example of socio-political transformation: “Perestroika” was based on aspects of the French Revolution. If you look for the roots of our perestroika, you can trace back to the French Revolution, and then to the Commune. “Gorby” himself suggested the presence of foreign patterns in his project to reform state systems. In “Perestroika” loomed the possibility of a *shootout*.<sup>23</sup> First, a “shootout” of the “colonies” of the USSR among themselves, and then among the genetic and civilization-*al* brothers—the “Russkies” and the “Ukies.” (I felt the tectonics as the drama developed in the geopolitical tragedy of the USSR already back in the 1980s as expressed in my article entitled “Genesis and the paths of political consciousness under Gorbachev: ‘Perestroika’—Evolution or *Shooting before a Shootout*,”<sup>24</sup> published in the well-known Parisian magazine, “Continent.”<sup>25</sup>) Suicidal feelings were to some extent felt by Putin when faced with the decisions made by the West: “He shot himself in the foot or in the head with their economic *autos-da-fé*.”<sup>26</sup>
10. Director Stanislav Govorukhin called the liquidation of the USSR “The Great Criminal Revolution.”<sup>27</sup>

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23 There is a play on words in the original text by Dr. Vertlieb: The Russian word for “Shootout”—“перестрелка”—(transliterated into Roman text: “perestrelka,”) sounds like “perestroika” [Russian “перестройка”].

24 Vertlieb, Evgeny Aleksandrovich. (1990, April) “Genesis and the Paths of Political Consciousness in the Era of Gorbachev. ‘Perestroyka’—an evolution or shooting before the shootout.” *Kontinent No. 63*, pp. 189-223 [Original Russian: Вертлиб, Евгений. “Генезис и пути политического сознания при Горбачёве. ‘Перестройка’--эволюция или пристрелка перед перестрелкой.” *Континент No. 63*, 189-223.

25 “Kontinent” [Russian: “Континент”] was [founded as] an émigré dissident journal which focused on the politics of the Soviet Union and its satellites. The journal continues to be published in English and Russian by Russia House. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kontinent> Elsewhere, the journal is characterized as a “Russian literary, journalistic and religious magazine. Positioned itself as a Christian-liberal publication... it was founded in 1974 in Paris as a publication of the ‘third wave’ of Russian emigration... Kontinent was published until 1992 under the editorship of [Russian author] Vladimir Maksimov. In 1992, the magazine began to appear in Moscow under the editorship of Igor Vinogradov.” [https://magazines-gorky-media.translate.google.com/continent?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://magazines-gorky-media.translate.google.com/continent?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

26 *Auto-da-fé* refers to the ceremony for pronouncing judgment by the Inquisition which was followed by the execution of the sentence by secular authorities or, in broader terms, it refers to the burning of a heretic. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/auto-da-fé>

27 See Govorukhin, S. (1993) *The Great Criminal Revolution* [Russian “Великая криминальная революция”]. *Andreyevsky Flag Publishers*. 126 Pages. ISBN 5856080262. Govorukhin produced a documentary film by the same name. For a brief description, see Douglas, Rachel. (1994, July 15) “Documentary film on Russian crime is presented in Washington.” *Executive Intelligence Review*, Vol. 21 (Number 28), pp. 142-145: “Russian film director Stanislav Govorukhin produced a documentary film about the two years following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991...The movie -- also a book by Govorukhin -- exposes the ex-Communist officials who became Russia’s *nouveaux riches* by getting a leg up on amassing wealth when Gaidar decontrolled prices, as well as the mafia

But there was a blessing in disguise: Although “Perestroika” was inspired by the “Paris Commune,” it also brought with it an exit ramp leading to genuine democracy. But the Russian national self-movement was countered by “*comprador stability*” which plunged Russian society into cognitive dissonance—at least judging by the clash of the two opposing concepts of “patriotic authenticity” held by the head of Chechnya, Lieutenant-General Ramzan Kadyrov, and by Presidential Press Secretary Dmitry Peskov.<sup>28</sup>

11. Is it a “friendly” skirmish between them—two perfectionists of the Russian World—or is it already the confrontational phase in a pre-barricade split in society? “God forbid that we should see a Russian rebellion, senseless and merciless,” Pushkin feared. In the current situation, it is not a “senseless” rebellion. And here’s why. Judging by

the reaction to another incident (the recent attack on the Russian Federation ambassador in Warsaw),<sup>29</sup> General Kadyrov is firm and resolute: “Our attitude about this is rigid, and *we are asking the president to force all states that are not with us to get on their knees...* Why are they not taking action?” The question was stated point-blank and was intended to clarify the meaning of the Special Operation against Ukraine in terms of its expression of national values and the military policy being exercised. So “In the name of what//does the boot//trample the earth, creaking and rude?//Who is it above the sky of battles—//freedom?//God?//The ruble?” prophetically asks the poet and champion of the people, Vladimir Mayakovsky.<sup>30</sup>

12. *But are not government officials preparing the defeat of Russia?* ask

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kingpins who became their fellow travelers to billionairehood through extortion rackets.”

- 28 “...Kadyrov has allowed himself to openly criticize...the head of the Russian delegation in negotiations with Ukraine... Moreover, the Chechen leader has had public disputes with Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov, whom Kadyrov accused of ‘lack of patriotism.’” (2022, May 28) “Russian media report Putin’s frustration with Chechen troops conduct in Ukraine. *Ukrayinska Pravda*. <https://www.yahoo.com/video/russian-media-report-putins-frustration-133126616.html> See also (2022, April 6) “Kadyrov’s dispute with Peskov arouses political analysts’ interest.” *Caucasian Knot*. <https://www.eng.kavkaz-uzel.eu/articles/58730/>
- 29 Hassan, Jenifer (2022, May 9) “Russian ambassador doused with red paint by protesters in Poland.” *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/05/09/russia-ambassador-poland-paint-victory-day-warsaw/>
- 30 According to *Read and Write Verse* on line, the poem “In Answer!” [Russian “К ответу!”] “was written by Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky in 1917 and was intended to expose world capitalism. It is clear, however, that Mayakovsky was devoid of idealism, and perfectly understood what was happening around him... He still believed in the ridiculous promises that the land would go to the people and there would be equality in the country.” [https://pishi--stihi-ru.translate.google.com/k-otvetu-mayakovskij.html?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://pishi--stihi-ru.translate.google.com/k-otvetu-mayakovskij.html?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

Ukrainian politician Oleg Tsarev<sup>31</sup> and Russian businessman Andrey Samokhin. After all, the current “elite” is categorically not ready for a mobilization “for the Motherland” and is waiting for the “controlled defeat” of Russia. The Special Operation, which has clearly entered the phase of protracted bloody military operations right up to possible direct clashes with NATO, requires completely different management, an economy, as well as the consciousness of the people and of the elite—different than it has been up to now and continues to be. “Mobilization” is the gathering of the will and spirit of all the component parts of the state into one fist. However, instead of this, there are still strange ambiguities on the part of those in power and their lackies. A huge army of officials either completely renounces the war (“and why do we need this war?”) or maintains a deafening silence. They would like it such that “if there is a loss, then let it be in a controlled way, for example, in surrendering all or part of the liberated territories. Give back Crimea, but not immediately, for example,

postponing it for fifteen to twenty-five years. Defeat and sanctions, of course, will affect the standard of living: The standard of living in the country will go down, but this will not affect the elites much. And from this we see *caution that is turning into sabotage*. There is a significant lobby within the Russian leadership that allows “any geopolitical experiments” involving the country to be carried out. Although patriotism is fundamentally inherent in the Russian people, *the mandate of trust in the current regime is not eternal*. Is the Russian Federation not threatening to repeat at a new stage the well-known tragic formula of the last Russian Sovereign [Nicholas II]: “There is cowardice, deceit and betrayal all around?”<sup>32</sup> In the Russian establishment, there is a picture of exactly this *creeping betrayal*.

13. “In such a situation, the old elites are instinctively aligned toward destruction. They’ll be better off if we lose. In fact, *it is better to lose right now*, before the confrontation has gone on too far. And so that it doesn’t go too far, we should not welcome

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31 Oleg Tsarev is a Ukrainian businessman, politician, and separatist leader who resided in eastern Ukraine. In July 2014, he became the speaker of the Parliament of “Novorossiya” [Russian “Новороссия” or “New Russia”], a confederation that included the separatist Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics, and served until its dissolution in 2015. He was sentenced in absentia to 12 years in prison in May 2022. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oleg\\_Tsaryov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oleg_Tsaryov)

32 “These words are taken from the diary (entry dated March 2, 1917) of Russian Emperor Nicholas II, made by him on the day of his abdication in favor of his brother, Mikhail Romanov... The emperor wrote, “The bottom line is that in the name of saving Russia, keeping the army at the front and calm, this step must be taken... At one in the morning I left Pskov with a heavy feeling of what I had experienced. Around treason, and cowardice, and deceit. Ironically about betrayed, cowardly friends, about the wrong environment.” <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/encSlov/10/177.htm>

or encourage a *recruitment of volunteers in Russia*, and we must ensure that *strikes are not made on critical Ukrainian infrastructure, and that proportional measures are not introduced in response to economic and financial sanctions, that is, that there are no retaliatory seizures of assets, and that debts to Western countries continue to be paid*. And we should refrain from *striking Ukrainian “decision-making centers.”* Everything should be done to demonstrate to the enemy that we are ready to pay and repent, repent and pay but the implacable opposition resents this. Bewilderment among the people is multiplying, but clearly the people do not want to—or are unable to—coherently explain the power that is being exercised on their behalf even if it is being done through full-time government telepropagandists.

14. The *whole system* needs to be changed at this point. “In our country,” writes economist Sergey Batchikov,<sup>33</sup> “as a result of ‘liberal market reforms,’ a unique—by world standards—economic model has been created and is functioning: One that is illegitimate from the point of view of public opinion; illegal from the point of view of sources governing the formation

of property rights; extremely inefficient and unproductive in terms of social reproduction; uncompetitive in the global and domestic markets; systemically managed and manipulated from the outside; socially unjust; extremely resource- and energy-intensive; primitive in its structure as well as suffering from a shrinking manufacturing capability and lacking in integration.” The question arises: Is it possible to mobilize such a system to counter the military and civilizational challenge being thrown down before Russia by the West? Patriot Alexander Prokhanov summarizes: “*The state government assembled by Putin has rotted almost to the ground. You need to start “reformatting” the system from the very top. And turning on the “operating mode” that the population must “get up, the country is huge”*<sup>34</sup> would radically change the situation in society, and at the battlefield, and in the economy. But first of all, everyone should realize: *if not a victory, then destruction.*”

15. The top authorities of the Russian Federation have the opportunity to defend the interests of the country using any means, but there is no will to do so. So they are unlikely to use nuclear weapons as a preventive

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33 Sergey Anatolyevich Batchikov is a Russian economist, businessman, and social and political figure. He was, according to a 2016 online source, Director of the Center for Management Problems in Large Socio-Economic Systems of the International Research Institute for Management Problems. <https://izborsk-club.ru/11017>

34 This is the title and the first line of the Russian song “Get up, the country is huge!” The song was the creation of the poet Vasily Lebedev-Kumach and the composer Aleksandrov, and was composed on the night of 22 on to 23 June 1941 as a call to arms. Germany attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. <https://en.topwar.ru/87896-vstavay-strana-ogromnaya.html>

measure. Intelligence expert Yakov Kedmi<sup>35</sup> identifies the pain points found in the Russian decision-making and security system. He is convinced that Russia, possessing strategic trump cards, should play the game differently: “All that is needed is one or one-and-a-half volleys from a “multi-purpose” submarine with Zircons<sup>36</sup> and in ten minutes, about 50-60 power plants Britain would cease to exist. And *the whole of Great Britain would return to the Stone Age.*” The Israeli analyst welcomes a change in the way that foreign policy decisions of the Russian Federation are made—from *compromise* at all costs to solving the issue. “Lavrov and Russian diplomacy have changed their tone.” There is a departure from the “anesthesia” approach, which avoids causing any painful inconvenience to the West. The expert considers the excessive kindness and compassion of Russians to be a serious flaw “where it is absolutely not necessary to do this.”

From Kedmi’s point of view, *the military strategy of a counter- or defensive nuclear strike, which has been adopted in Russian military doctrine as well as in the foundations of the Russian Federation state policy regarding nuclear deterrence, should be revised.* A counter nuclear strike has one drawback: “*It does not stop nuclear missiles that fly in your direction. It prevents only one thing—a preventive strike.*” It deprives the enemy of the opportunity to destroy or cause irreparable damage to your state, while a counterstrike only scares your opponent. What if they’re not scared? “What if they are half-idiots or what if they have miscalculated? And the missiles that they sent your way are in the air. The first task of any state is to protect itself. To protect itself by destroying the enemy.”<sup>37</sup> Yakov Kedmi is sure that a real war is going on against Russia, not a hybrid one—a war aimed at the complete destruction of Russia as a state by 2025. And given this timetable,

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- 35 Yakov Kedmi (also known as Yasha Iosifovich Kazakov) was born in Moscow, but denounced Soviet citizenship in 1968 and emigrated to Israel. In the 2010s, Kedmi became a regular participant in propaganda shows on Russian TV where he has urged Russia to start a war with the US, defended Stalin, and invariably defends the Kremlin’s point of view on foreign policy. He regularly accuses the Ukrainian leadership of Nazism and Ukrainian society of anti-Semitism. See “Kedmi Yakov.” *Putin’s List, Free Russia Forum*. <https://www.spisok-putina.org/en/personas/kedmi-2/>
- 36 Dangwal, Ashish. (2022, May 28) “Russia’s Zircon Hypersonic Missile Fired From Admiral Gorshkov Hits Target Bang-On 1000 Km Away In The White Sea.” *Eurasian Times*. Zircon [Russian “Циркон”] is a Russian-produced anti-ship hypersonic cruise missile. In October 2021, Russia’s nuclear-powered submarine Severodvinsk launched Zircon hypersonic missiles from surface and submerged positions in the White Sea for the first time. <https://eurasianimes.com/russia-developing-a-new-coastal-defense-system-for-its-zircon/>
- 37 See, for example, (2022, May 6) “Kedmi Yakov Iosifovich Interview.” *Evening with Vladimir Solovyov. Polit Analyst: Opinions and statements of famous political scientists*. [https://polit--analytic-ru.translate.google/category/06-maya-gost-peredachi-kedmi-ya-i/?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=op,sc](https://polit--analytic-ru.translate.google/category/06-maya-gost-peredachi-kedmi-ya-i/?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=op,sc)

the United States is operating using all possible means of destruction. Therefore, today, in order to win, Russia, according to Kedmi, must change all of its “last-year” concepts and strategies and *adapt them to a new period of military confrontation with the West—the 2022-2023 period*. Russia has no right not to win this fight.

16. The Russian victory is making progress in microsteps. The remnants of the USSR are destroying each other. According to the calculation of liberal observer Dmitry Demushkin,<sup>38</sup> Russia, in the three months of the Special Operation, has: lost its gold and foreign exchange reserves; become the target of every possible sanction; dropped out of world institutions; managed to make Ukrainian nationalists heroes; wound up with thousands of pieces of burned equipment, seen the sinking of the flagship of the Black Sea Fleet; lost an unknown number of soldiers both wounded and killed; seen an increase many times over of Russia’s dependence on China; seen an acceleration in

the decline of the standard of living; marked the resurrection of the Iron Curtain; and witnessed the growing dilapidation of the economy. As a bonus, the main sectors of the large, destroyed city of Mariupol were captured and now needs to be restored at its own expense. The Russian Federation, as a contradiction, has essentially contributed to the arming of Ukraine by causing an increase in its military budget of more than 10 times. It made Zelensky a popular world leader who now speaks in parliaments the world over. It has accelerated the entry of Ukraine into European institutions. It has managed to frighten and draw neutral Sweden and Finland into NATO. It has strengthened US hegemony in the world. It has made the Germans breathe a sigh of relief and calm down. In addition, the hatred between the peoples of Russia and Ukraine has been ignited to unprecedented degrees. If earlier there was a hatred among those on the margins, now there is a hatred for one another in all segments of the population in both countries.

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38 Coynash, Halya. (2021, January 10) “Neo-Nazi Russian nationalist exposes how Russia’s leaders sent them to Ukraine to kill Ukrainians.” *Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group, Information Portal “Human Rights in Ukraine.”* “Dmitry Demushkin, a far-right Russian nationalist, has revealed details of how he was invited by the then Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Dmitry Rogozin, to gather nationalists to fight in Ukraine... [Rogozin] promised that, in return, Demushkin would be made ‘mayor’ of one of the cities in Donbas... In interviews, Demushkin mentions the effective torture methods used when the FSB began trying to ‘convince’ him to be cooperative. Demushkin refused and received a 2.5 year prison sentence which [began] with his being found guilty of organizing an extremist organization in March 2014... Unlike Vladimir Putin, who has no problem with claiming Russians and Ukrainians to be the same people, but using the first to kill the latter, Demushkin’s refusal to recognize Ukrainians as a separate people logically demands that he is not prepared ‘to kill his own.’” <https://khp.org/en/1608809502>

17. In the course of the Special Operation, Russia is reminded of Suvorov's "science of winning."<sup>39</sup> It "demonstrates" this more by its obvious, flashy moves intended to prevent giving the impression that the RF is simply unable to deliver serious military actions to beat back the enemy. The military and political leadership of the Russian Federation, if it declares [that it is going to do] something, must act and not change the agenda along the way. Otherwise, no one will believe it, neither inside nor outside the country. "The state as a business project has completely failed," the nationalist patriots<sup>40</sup> maintain.
18. It is very important that the image positioning of those in power does not suffer. To do this, they need their decisions to be irreversible. An example of the opposite is evident when you overlay their various reactions to Finland and Sweden joining NATO: Recently it was announced that this "*does not pose a direct threat*" to Russia. But on July 1, 2016, Vladimir Putin assessed the likelihood of Finland joining NATO *in a completely different way*, stating,
19. Of course, in a rapidly changing environment it is difficult to predict for the *long* term. A new combination of circumstances sometimes creates an unforeseen reality. But in the *short* term, you cannot miscalculate. The image of the powers that be suffers when they show a "lapse of memory." (Does the leader have sclerosis? Is it that the General Staff is so lousy? Is it that seven Fridays a week are spent in decision-making?).<sup>41</sup>
20. The philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche

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39 Aleksandr Vasilievich Suvorov is considered one of the greatest military commanders in Russian history. He was the author of several military manuals, the most famous being "The Science of Victory" [Russian "Наука побеждать."] He never lost a single battle he commanded. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander\\_Suvorov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Suvorov)

40 *National patriots* [Russian "национал-патриоты"] refers to those adhering to the ideological and political movement of the late 1980s-1990s, which advocated the preservation of national historical cultural values and traditions of Russia on the basis of extreme nationalism. [https://ru-wiktionary-org.translate.google/wiki/национал-патриотизм?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://ru-wiktionary-org.translate.google/wiki/национал-патриотизм?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

41 "Seven days a week are spent in decision-making" [Russian "Семь пятниц на неделе в принятии решений"] is a Russian idiom that means someone is utterly unreliable, fickle, and never follows

considered war to be the “means of cleansing” peoples and a primary way of regulating values. He believed that war should be taken not as a challenge, but as a given, taken the way the ancient Greeks did according to their military policy. In its crucible, the “debris”—the obsolete or false—of the old world is burned and is smelted to yield an outline for a new world order. A large-scale “disjunction” is taking place in the sense of achieving either a victory of the imperial-Russian project<sup>42</sup> or the triumph of a “new Ukrainian” national creation. Or maybe, as a result of this existential challenge of fire and blood, the paths of both the “Russkies” and the “Ukry” will merge, and in a single liberating rush, return to both peoples their true national identity so that they can then dispose of it themselves and live as one people or “independently”

in a civilized way—sovereign, but in eternal peace. Interestingly, the head of European diplomacy, Josep Borrell,<sup>43</sup> said: “This war [the Special Operation] must be won on the battlefield.”

21. The conflict unleashed by covertly bargaining for the exchange of “captured Nazis” is beneficial for the corporate interests of those involved in the war. The State Duma “is studying the possibility of exchanging captured Azov commanders for Ukrainian party functionary Viktor Medvedchuk,”<sup>44</sup> Zelensky’s desired replacement and Putin’s “godfather.” This development has changed the focus of the rhetoric in the Russian Federation: Now the Ukrainian army is no longer made up of “Ukronazis,” but of “Russian soldiers led by fascist officers and American generals,” writes one of the Kremlin ideologists, Sergej Markov.

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through on what he has promised.

- 42 (2022, June 17) “Putin and the Project of a Big Russian Nation.” *Cosmonaut Magazine*. This article provides a comprehensive discussion of President Putin’s expansionist ideas vis-à-vis the Special Military Operation. <https://cosmonautmag.com/2022/06/putin-and-the-project-of-a-big-russian-nation/> See also Hartnett, Lynne. (2022, March 2) “The long history of Russian imperialism shaping Putin’s war.” *The Washington Post*. In the article, the author provides a short but detailed history of Russia and its imperial past that has led to Russian military operations against Ukraine. She writes, “Reviving the imperialist dreams of his czarist forebears, Putin [has] moved to reclaim the empire that he believes was unjustly pilfered from Russia.” <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/03/02/long-history-russian-imperialism-shaping-putins-war/>
- 43 Josep Borrell Fontelles is a Spanish politician serving as High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.
- 44 Victor Volodymyrovich Medvedchuk is a Ukrainian lawyer, business oligarch, and politician who served as the chairman of the pro-Russian political organization Ukrainian Choice from 2018 to 2022. President Putin is godfather to Medvedchuk’s youngest daughter. In May 2021, Medvedchuk was accused of treason and of attempted looting of national resources in Crimea and was put under house arrest. He escaped this house arrest on 28 February 2022, four days after the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. In April, he was arrested by the Security Service of Ukraine. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor\\_Medvedchuk](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor_Medvedchuk)

22. The emphasis on the “terrorist nature” of the Ukrainian resistance to “aggression”—a blurry mix of “militants,” “Nazis,” and “nationalists”—is beneficial to many. If they are “terrorists,” then the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war does not apply to them. They are under the protection of the Investigative Committee and the Prosecutor’s Office. And since it is not formally a war, but, rather, an *anti-terrorist special* operation, then it is being made to fit into the classification of a terrorist organization like ISIS. Of course there are servicemen in the Ukrainian army who hold the views of ultra-right radicals, but their cry “Kill the Russian!” is not necessarily a cry for committing the genocidal atrocity associated with “fascists.” What I am saying here is *not in defense of sadistic fanatics*, of those wounded in battle, of those who shoot captives made to get on their knees or those who rape their victims, but to avoid making one broad false accusation against everyone. In fairness, let me remind you that during the Patriotic War, the writer Ilya Ehrenburg called for “killing a *German*” in the article “Kill!” (published in the newspaper “Krasnaya Zvezda” of July 24, 1942): “If you cannot kill a German with a bullet, kill a German with a bayonet. If there is calm in your area, if you are waiting for a fight, kill a German before it starts. If you let a German live, he will hang a Russian man and dishonor a Russian woman. If you have killed one German, kill another...”<sup>45</sup> [Act] in war as [if you are] in war.<sup>46</sup>
23. However, what kind of symbiosis is this: possessing a “pro-Nazi worldview” yet also being drawn to “European norms”? For TV journalist Vladimir Solovyov, these things are organically compatible, even negatively synonymous: “Modern Europe has not broken away from the origins of Nazi doctrine.” But what about Dostoevsky’s “sacred stones of Europe” then?<sup>47</sup> I would propose that it is not “God is dead!”, as the philosopher Nietzsche confidently believed, but that God’s entourage

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45 Ilya Grigoryevich Ehrenburg was a prolific writer and journalist, one of the most effective Soviet spokesmen to the Western world. When the “Thaw” began to reverse, he was censured for including material not considered proper for Soviet authors. Nonetheless he survived and remained prominent in Soviet literary circles until his death in 1967. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ilya-Grigoryevich-Ehrenburg>

46 Interestingly, “In War as in War” is the title of a 1968 Soviet black-and-white full-length feature film about the everyday life in combat [circa 1943] of a self-propelled gun crew during the liberation of the Right-Bank Ukraine [from the Germans]. [https://ru-m-wikipedia-org.translate.goog/wiki/На\\_войне\\_как\\_на\\_войне\\_\(фильм\)?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://ru-m-wikipedia-org.translate.goog/wiki/На_войне_как_на_войне_(фильм)?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

47 The source of the phrase “Sacred stones of Europe” are novels by Fedor Mikhaylovich Dostoevsky, including “Teenager” (1875) [Russian “Подросток”] and “Brothers Karamazov (1879-80) [Russian “Братья Карамазовы”]. In “Teenager,” the character Versilov says, “For the Russian, Europe is as precious as Russia; every stone in it is sweet and dear. Europe was our Fatherland just as surely as Russia...” [https://dic-academic.ru.translate.goog/dic.nsf/dic\\_wingwords/3473/Священные?\\_x](https://dic-academic.ru.translate.goog/dic.nsf/dic_wingwords/3473/Священные?_x)

has faded away for those who have forgotten him. But the imminently holy nature of Europe lives on in those who need it. The world, according to the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer,<sup>48</sup> is “will and representation.” The question is: Was the great poet Vladimir Mayakovsky carrying out a “fascist” denunciation of himself when he wrote, “I love to watch how children die”?<sup>49</sup> So “don’t compare; he who lives is beyond comparison.”<sup>50</sup>

24. The phenomenology of this “centaur-like” merging of the light and dark worlds in man is complex and has not been studied. I believe there is a situational transformation, forced, superficial, and with an outward appearance—a temporary anomaly and complete transformation

into a fiend—an inveterate villain. In the view of philosopher Vitaliy Darensky,<sup>51</sup> this *Ukrainian post-Soviet national “non-identification” is a failed-nation syndrome*. The motive is “vindictiveness” (“resentment”).<sup>52</sup>

25. Let me explain. In contrast to “non-identity,” identity is a stable platform of values, beliefs, and convictions that determine both the daily behavior of people and their long-term life programs. Thus having ripped apart the Russian-Soviet root system that Ukraine shared with Russia, and in so doing, departing from the true identity of the Soviet-wide “community,” including the identity of the Ukrainian ethnicity as it pertains

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48 “Arthur Schopenhauer.” (2021, September 9) *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. The 19th century philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer, “asserts that among all the objects in the universe, there is only one object relative to each of us—namely our physical body—that is given in two entirely different ways. It is given as representation (i.e., objectively; externally) and as will (i.e., subjectively; internally). “The World as Will and Representation [German “Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung”], completed and published in 1818, was his most famous work. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schopenhauer/#4>

49 This line is from Vladimir Mayakovsky’s poem “A few words about myself” [Russian “Несколько слов обо мне самом”] and is a classic example of his early satire. [https://v--v--mayakovsky-ru.translate.google/books/item/f00/s00/z0000001/st017.shtml?\\_x\\_tr\\_sch=http&x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&x\\_tr\\_tl=en&x\\_tr\\_hl=en&x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://v--v--mayakovsky-ru.translate.google/books/item/f00/s00/z0000001/st017.shtml?_x_tr_sch=http&x_tr_sl=ru&x_tr_tl=en&x_tr_hl=en&x_tr_pto=sc)

50 This is the first line and title of Osip Mandelstam’s poem “Do not compare: he who lives is incomparable...” [“Не сравнивай: живущий несравним...”] written on January 18, 1937. [https://45parallel-net.translate.google/osip\\_mandelstam/ne\\_sravnivay\\_zhivuschiy\\_nesravnim.html?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&x\\_tr\\_tl=en&x\\_tr\\_hl=en&x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://45parallel-net.translate.google/osip_mandelstam/ne_sravnivay_zhivuschiy_nesravnim.html?_x_tr_sl=ru&x_tr_tl=en&x_tr_hl=en&x_tr_pto=sc)

51 Vitaliy Darensky is a professor at Lugansk State Pedagogical University. <https://luguniv.academia.edu/VitaliyDarenskiy>

52 *Ressentiment* is a philosophical/psychological term coined by 19th century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. It refers to a psychological state arising from suppressed feelings of envy and hatred that cannot be acted upon, frequently resulting in some form of self-abasement. Ressentiment is not to be considered interchangeable with the normal English word ‘resentment.’ <https://psychology.fandom.com/wiki/Ressentiment>

to the great USSR-Russian history, the Ukrainians are trying to build a pseudo-identity from the wreckage of tribal consciousness, on the one hand, and from a superficial, epigonic assimilation of elements of “Europeanism” on the other. As a result of the utopian nature of these attempts, its identity is being simulated while, in reality, *there is no identity at all*. And this is precisely the reason for the aggressive Russophobia of modern “Ukrainianism.” Behind this Russophobia is “an unconscious sense of guilt for betraying the real—not fictional—community created by Russian history,” the history of a “trinitarian” people (Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians). This period of self-determination exposed the total degradation of the “neo-ukry”<sup>53</sup> (as, indeed, of the “new Russians”). That is, the “nazification” is retribution for breaking the umbilical cord of a common socio-genetic blood destiny with Russia. I would call this ethical and ideological anomaly a lost-identity syndrome and an attempt to replace that lost identity by coopting someone else’s. The term “Nazism” (the wording having been established as a precedent by the verdict of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg dated October 1, 1946) is used to characterize Ukrainian radicals in Russia due to their behaviorally aberrant resemblance to the “German Nazis.”

26. Darensky’s concept is interesting in terms of clarifying the possible impact of “non-identification” or “pseudo-identification” (using a false alter ego) on consciousness and behavior. Simulating an identity has a compensating aspect (right up to point of the identity becoming complete). At the same time, it is hardly legitimate to base this phenomenon on the “real absence” of identification as an established fact. I assume that [the identity] remains, but in a distorted form, like a collage made by overlaying new layers that continuously change the image. In doing so, Nazi-style attributes are viewed as the dominant criteria reflecting the moral make-up of the Ukrainian resistance. According to the philosopher John Locke, the identity of a person consists of the totality of his uninterrupted consciousness and not of any substance (regardless of whether it is material or not)—“one and the same person is formed *not by the same substance,*” *but by the same continuous consciousness*. According to the psycho-social understanding of self-identity, identity is the *maintenance of a balance between internal integrity and the values of society*. Thinker Mikhail Bakhtin believed that the *real “I” is always observed at the points where there is a discrepancy between a person and himself*, that is, in his identification with the “Other.”<sup>54</sup> Consequently, the new self-identification

53 The term used here to refer to Ukrainians—“ukry”—is pejorative.

54 Demidova, Elena Viktorovna. “The appearance of the Other in early M. M. Bakhtin. [Russian

could have grown into an equivalent “other I,” complete in the sense of the completeness of its formation of the Alter Ego. That is, appearing to be a mutant, it is completely whole in the mirror reflection of its “I.” The original archetypes of a something vaguely different lie dormant in it, but its essence—updated and reworked beyond recognition—is completely realized: The “Banderism” syndrome was genetically lying dormant a priori. It went through a baptism of fire and blood in World War II; it suffered years of persecution (jail, exile); it cooled down during Khrushchev’s “Thaw”; it put out roots and made an appearance in post-Belovezha Russia; and recently materialized in a clash with the occupiers of independent Ukraine—its second “I”.

27. And indeed “identity politics” itself makes it possible for a person to influence information about himself that becomes part of society.

And finally, it is fashionable in certain strata to have “cool” tattoos. Therefore, adjacent ethnic groups of one people form a unity of opposites—“my brother is my enemy.” “Ukraine has always been bipolar (orange-blue)<sup>55</sup>; in Ukraine, reprisals are visible and public. Russia is a more subtle and global system, connected both with the conditional global Kissinger and the conditional global Soros more closely than is Ukraine,” writes M. Shevchenko. “Neither nickname, nor religion, nor the blood of ancestors itself makes a person belong to one or another nationality. The spirit, the soul of a person—that is where you need to look for determining whether it belongs to one or another people. How can you determine where the spirit belongs? By a manifestation of the spirit—a thought—of course. Whoever thinks in what language belongs to that people. I think in Russian,” wrote Vladimir Dal (born at the Lugansk mining plant, in the

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“Появление Другого у раннего М. М. Бахтина”] *Cyberleninka On Line Library*. “In an early essay, ‘On the Philosophy of the Action,’...the ‘Other’ is not presented as a person; it is one of the objects surrounding the Self. An analysis of Bakhtin’s early works makes it possible to trace the process of the birth of manifestation of the Other for the Self... Bakhtin identifies the following structural components: two participants, I and the Other as two value centers, and three “worlds”—space, time, and meaning.” <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/poyavlenie-drugogo-u-rannego-m-m-bahtina>

55 “Ukraine’s bitter west-east schism is reflected in the political deadlock between its ‘Orange’ and Blue parties that has nearly paralyzed the state for the past year... the two sides remain separated by language, religious traditions, societal histories, and geopolitical preferences... The western part of Ukraine...was part of the Catholic states of Austria-Hungary and Poland for hundreds of years before Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin forcibly annexed it to the Soviet Union after World War II... While many...in the Ukrainian-speaking, nationalist west think the anti-Soviet veterans should be given military pensions and treated as Ukrainian patriots, their demands provoke fury in the heavily Russified east of Ukraine, where most accepted Soviet rule and millions served in the Red Army.” (2007, September 28) “Ukraine’s orange-blue divide.” *The Christian Science Monitor*. <https://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0928/p04s02-woeu.html>

current Donbass).<sup>56</sup> *So I offer a new element within the field of social science—a special military operation as a means of correcting two anomalies—the “Bandera” self-identification of Ukraine and the Russian state as a state corporation. Getting rid of the “new-style Russianness” as well as “Ukronazism” for the sake of returning them to their original ethno-images, is the future of a single people of three hypostases.*

28. Hiding behind hostages is not only a tactic of terrorists, but also a strategy of long-standing battles. And indeed, in itself, a “human shield,” after all, can be formed on a voluntary basis, an act of self-sacrifice to support military undertakings. Responding to the call of patriotic consciousness—to help, as much as possible, with the Fatherland in danger, and “not sparing life or limb.” In the world of topsy-turvy moral and ethical values, legalism, and formalized, fragmented consciousness, the unconventional is immediately labeled “terrorism”—“ISIS”—“Nazism.” But without trial

or investigation, it is impossible to classify this elite of the Ukrainian resistance as “Ukronazis” in a single stroke, and then, just as unmotivated, to whitewash everyone at once, saying that only the foreign bosses of the troops are scum and filth.

29. What is needed in the Russian Federation, in the Ukraine, is the “decontamination” and “disinfecting” of a sick society. War is an indicator, a “litmus test” of civil usefulness and a stimulator of the healthy spirit of a nation. The gravestone equalizes *all* combatants, defenders of their homeland. And the ultra-patriots—denounced in the Russian Federation as “nationalists” and likened to “Nazis”—are often real zealous patriots, for the most part fearless warriors, “kvas patriots.”<sup>57</sup> I’m not talking about sadistic torturers, pathological perverts. It is possible that the “hot-blooded” on both sides—the nationalist-“ukry” and the Avvakum-type<sup>58</sup> frenzied “Russians” (horribly nicknamed the “red-browns”)<sup>59</sup>—will face military actions to clean out the common

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56 Vladimir Ivanovich Dal was a 19th century Russian language lexicographer, polyglot, Turkologist, and founding member of the Russian Geographical Society. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir\\_Dal#Legacy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Dal#Legacy)

57 A “kvas” patriot [Russian “квасной патриот”] is an ironic expression signifying an individual’s unconditional, ostentatious, blind, stubborn patriotism. Originating in the 19th century, it was used to refer to someone who always has praise for anything related to the Fatherland and condemnation of everything alien. <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ushakov/833034>

58 Avvakum (1620-1682) was a Russian Orthodox archpriest who fought against the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon. He is usually considered the principal leader of the Old Believers and was considered a religious zealot. Ultimately he was excommunicated and exiled to a remote prison colony beyond the Arctic Circle. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/africa/so-tom-and-principe-political-geography/avvakum>

59 “Red-brown” is a propaganda cliché implying the union of communist and far-right (fascist, Nazi,

home and recreate a single people. And indeed national humiliation has come to the point that Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki dared to openly declare the need to *destroy the “Russian world.”* Victory in the Special Operation would strengthen the Russian world many times over, while its defeat would drive the pan-Slavic imperial resurrection underground. This is an existential operation—to exist or to not live. “Why do we need such a world if there is no Russia there?” Putin formulated the key phrase of Russian self-consciousness.<sup>60</sup>

30. Without nourishing the soil, there will be no inspiring victorious spirit. However, the umbilical cord binding the troops to the soil has been destroyed in Russia just like the now boarded-up windows of the villages. There is a threat of turning into “Ivans, not remembering kinship”<sup>61</sup> or into “mankurts” (a word from Chingiz Aitmatov’s novel “The Buranny Railway Stop”)<sup>62</sup>—individuals

who have completely lost touch with their historical, national roots, forgetting about their kinship. This mentality is what forms a sense of the Motherland and is the foundation of a national identity.

31. Vladimir Putin is a black-belt in judo, truly a superman of tradition in an anomalous world of values turned upside down. If his decision-making is indeed “sclerotic,” it does not mean that he is in the least senile or suffering from dementia, that he is becoming “brain dead,” or that he has gone crazy over either communism or Nazism. That he is clinically abnormal. That he is behaviorally “somasochistic” (in levying reciprocal sanctions). As a judoka, he waits for his “partner’s” mistake to throw him to the mat. The West, forcing Russia, if not to transform, then to “self-destruct,” is committing hara-kiri like a samurai: It is pushing Russia towards a strategic partnership with China, even risking turning the United States

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etc.) forces and/or ideologies. [https://dic-academic-ru.translate.google.com/dic.nsf/ruwiki/649414?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://dic-academic-ru.translate.google.com/dic.nsf/ruwiki/649414?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

60 See (2018, March 7) “‘Why would we want a world without Russia?’ Putin on Moscow’s nuclear doctrine.” *RT*. <https://www.rt.com/news/420715-putin-world-russia-nuclear/>

61 “Ivan, who does not remember kinship” [Russian “Иван, не помнящий родства”] is an expression...that refers to a person who does not remember and does not observe traditions, who does not respect the customs of his ancestors, and who has renounced his environment. [https://esperanto-plus.ru.translate.google.com/fraz/i/ivan-ne-pomnjashcij.htm?\\_x\\_tr\\_sch=http&\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=sc](https://esperanto-plus.ru.translate.google.com/fraz/i/ivan-ne-pomnjashcij.htm?_x_tr_sch=http&_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc)

62 In Chingiz Aitmatov’s novel “The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years” [Russian “И дольше века длится день”], Aitmatov addresses the legend of the mankurt which describes how to create ideal slaves by erasing their memories. The novel provides a biting allegory for the loss of Central Asian identity and language during the Soviet era. The novel was printed in a magazine version under the title “The Buranny Railway Stop” [Russian “Буранный полустанок”] 1980 in *Novyi Mir* #11. <https://sites.pitt.edu/~filmst/events/TurkmenFilmSeries/mankurt.htm>

into the Disunited States of America... And the “Anaconda Strategy”<sup>63</sup> is not letting up: it is in the midst of a third suffocating phase against the Russian Federation—the phase to bring about “the liquidation of the Russian Federation within its current borders, with a complete loss of economic, political, and military sovereignty.”

32. For all that, the trump cards have been trumped or at least their reputation has been tarnished: the favorable moment for a coup in Russia, has, if you will, has passed. (In Belovezha there was, I believe, not enough of a coup—a falling short of the goalpost, if you will.-E.V.) The opposition has been beheaded. Mikhail Khodorkovsky<sup>64</sup> is in exile. Alexei Navalny is in prison. Anatoly Chubais, with his project for a

liberal-revenge dictatorship, has left the Russian Federation’s political and ideological scene. Diplomacy has bitten the dust. The weapons of the apocalypse are the Poseidon torpedo<sup>65</sup> and the RS-28 “Sarmat” ICBM that are in readiness. And this ten-ton massive rocket launcher can deliver a deadly cargo even across the South Pole (after all, it is almost not controlled) and is capable, as the head of Roscosmos Dmitry Rogozin<sup>66</sup> authoritatively stated, to destroy half of the coast of a continent. And showing the West the craters from the “Sarmat” missile, in his view, would serve as the best recommendation for the West to be more polite when dealing with Russia.

33. Thus, a way of looking at the dislocation of forces in the undeclared

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63 “Today, the West is actively using the arsenal of hybrid war against Russia. Not deciding on a direct military confrontation, the United States and its allies are trying to strangle Russia by other methods, to tighten the Anaconda Loop on its neck. That is how the American Rear Admiral Alfred Mahan called his concept back in 1890.” See (2018, April 24) “Will Russia break the ‘Anaconda loop?’” *Reporter*. <https://en.topcor.ru/1057-razorvet-li-rossiya-petlyu-anakondy.html>.

64 Dawkins, David. (2020, 14 March) “Putin And Khodorkovsky Trade Blows As Presidential Power Grab Gathers Momentum.” *Forbes*. “In 2003, Khodorkovsky argued with Putin at a televised meeting...implying that major government officials were accepting millions in bribes. Unsurprisingly... he was arrested for tax evasion, embezzlement and fraud...and was found guilty...and jailed for eight years.” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/daviddawkins/2020/03/14/putin-and-khodorkovsky-trade-blows-as-presidential-power-grab-gathers-momentum/?sh=1101621d2b54>.

65 Paul, Jacob. (2022, April 21) “Putin’s horror Poseidon ‘super-weapon’ capable of decimating entire cities.” *Express UK*. “Poseidon is the Russian President’s nuclear-armed submarine drone that can zip through the waters at a speed of 125mph after getting dropped onto the seabed. It is officially known as an ‘Intercontinental Nuclear-Powered Nuclear-Armed Autonomous Torpedo’... [On 20 April], Russia unveiled a terrifying ICBM dubbed the “Satan 2” by NATO. Also called the RS-28 Sarmat, it can carry a 10-ton payload—up to 10 large warheads and 16 smaller ones.” <https://www.express.co.uk/news/science/1599255/putin-super-weapon-poseidon-drone-satan-2-sarmat-russia>

66 Balachuk, Iryna. (2022, July 12) “Director of Roscosmos Dmitri Rogozin posts picture of Sarmat nuclear missile, again says it will be serially produced.” *Ukrayinska Pravda*. <https://www.yahoo.com/video/director-roskosmos-rogozin-posts-picture-071736570.html>

war between the West and Russia is as follows: Washington (the EU and Zelensky) vs. Russia (alone, with a “fifth column” in its rear, with some “asymmetry” in decision-making and incomprehensibility of the reasoning behind it). In Ukraine, in fact, there is a Civil War where shackled to one single chain are Slavs related by blood: traditionalists (like Soviet miners under the banner of a common victory in the Second World War) and neophytes (who have been remade on a broad scale into a self-identified pro-Bandera demographic). The Red “terrorists” and the White Guard torturers fought just as violently and furiously. But let’s separate the “cutlets from the flies”: In addition to monsters by nature (scoundrels by birth is a phrase from somewhere in the early Dostoevsky writings), there may be an ultra-nationalist element, which was formed as a result of the prevailing negative circumstances. An example of this is the fact that a manifestation of national dignity, long restrained by the authorities and designated by them as illegal, can break free “with great force,” like a genie from a bottle, and take revenge on the world for its painful past. Intellectuals who have undergone moral abuse, moral torture, often bear the appearance

of individuals bitterly “laughing through their tears”—possessing an avenging “scarred” consciousness syndrome.<sup>67</sup>

34. In the “dashing 90s,” true patriots of Russia turned out to be superfluous in their Fatherland (including your humble servant). They were unnecessary to the anti-national regime of “criminal revolutionaries” established in the Russian Federation. “Aborted” by Russia—expelled abroad—they turned out to be in demand, in particular, by the anti-Russian oligarchy of “Ukraine.” And to this day, the “Nazis”—the stronghold of the inveterate oligarchic Kyiv regime—serve as guards ensuring “not a step back!”<sup>68</sup>
35. The moment to put the squeeze on Russia has passed. The recent intensification of Russian military efforts vis-a-vis Ukraine prompted the most experienced diplomat and former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to urgently recommend a speedy peace: “The West should give up trying to achieve a military defeat for Russia in Ukraine, and the latter should make territorial concessions.” Apparently, in order to preventively stall the consolidation of Russia’s growing success. And so that only the current limited territories recaptured from Ukraine

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67 I delved into these studies long ago, when I was a dissertation candidate exploring the topic “The problem of ambition in Dostoevsky as a factor in Russian consciousness in decision-making.” - E.V.

68 On July 28, 1942, Stalin issued Order No. 227, what came to be known as the “Not one step backward” [Russian “Ни шагу назад!”] order, in light of German advances into Russian territory. The order declared “Panic-makers and cowards must be liquidated on the spot.” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order\\_No.\\_227](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order_No._227)

would remain under Russian Federation control (just as the troops of Zhukov and Patton hurried towards each other and as a result, met on the Elbe). And only those territories. This is what, after a short pause, would allow a “Pyrrhic victory” to turn into the total defeat of Russia. By sacrificing a part, you save the whole (the logic of Lenin’s “Brest—obscene—peace”).<sup>69</sup>

36. But the political bureaucracy does not need anyone to have a speedy victory since it would inevitably entail a change of bankrupt “elites.” Therefore, by sabotaging the exit strategy of having Ukraine sign an act of surrender, both sides will be supporting the scenario of a war “to a victorious end.” Politburocracy “doesn’t need a concrete military victory, but, rather, the eternal anticipation of one.” Therefore, the “global hybrid war” will drag on “until the last Ukrainian” or until “the last dollar in the US treasury.” Even for the most experienced general like Vladimir Shamanov, the question of the future of Ukraine is difficult to predict. One can only assume that the demilitarization of the country may take from five to ten years, and it will be difficult to form a government there that is

“not tarnished by neo-Nazis.” At the same time, Shamanov believes that if these two phenomena do not occur, Ukraine will not be suitable for Russia as a new subject in its federation.

37. But it is too early to “share the pelt of a bear that hasn’t been killed yet” and it’s ridiculous if we are talking about a blood relative. But for the sake of having a single tri-hypostatic Russian people then it would be a welcome development. Patriot Dmitry Rogozin has just proposed to “improve life” at Ukraine’s space factories. When the world was bipolar—American-Russian—global security was maintained with limits that were clear to all: neither war nor peace. Shouldn’t we not move in this direction? Otherwise, the challenge of China will relegate to oblivion the civilized conflict between the United States and the Russian Federation.

38. The highest level of the *nomenklatura* of both Russia and Ukraine is trying with all its might to thwart this ongoing “conceptually cleansing war” (the SMO—Special Military Operation). Stopping the advance of the troops is pretty much a consequence of the agreement<sup>70</sup>

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69 The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a separate peace treaty signed on March 3, 1918, between the new Bolshevik government of Russia and the Central Powers (German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire), that ended Russia’s participation in World War I. The treaty terms included Russia’s recognition of the independence of Ukraine, Georgia, and Finland; the Russian surrender of Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to Germany and Austria-Hungary; and the ceding by Russia of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum to Turkey. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Brest-Litovsk](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Brest-Litovsk)

70 The slang form of the Russian word for “agreement” used here—[Russian “договорняк” rather

made with the “Banderites.” Russian Defense Minister S. Shoigu explains the slowdown in the advance of Russian troops in Ukraine as merely a strategic maneuver that guarantees the minimization of losses among the Ukrainian civilian population. Such tactics are contrary to the basics of military art. For the truth is indisputable: High offensive rates lead to a significant reduction in the losses of the attackers and to high losses of the defenders. Has the General Staff really forgotten this axiom of the “science of winning,” knowing by heart the monograph of the theorist V. Savkin “The Pace of Advance”?<sup>71</sup> Or is it that the military is carrying out—within allowed limits—exactly the policy that has been proscribed to them as a result of the secret collusion between the ruling elites of both countries? After all, in the military manual used by the generals it clearly states, “With a high rate of advance and effective suppression of enemy fire, the attacker suffers fewer losses in

manpower and equipment. With an increase in the rate of advance, there is a further decrease in losses.” In a half year of battle, the Russian army has deliberately been restrained—prevented from crossing the borders into Pridnestrovie (Transnistria),<sup>72</sup> hoisting the flag over Odessa. Ruling regimes like these have, on purpose or by accident, increased the losses on both sides (some with business-like pragmatism, others in a mindless rampage, fighting “to the last Ukrainian”—even if he is poorly equipped). They should be replaced by the nationally sane (rule by moderate nationalists). The war will make more clear national perspectives and could grow into civil wars in both countries—“for our freedom and yours.” And whether to fight alongside the supranational oligarchy is something to be decided by those peoples who are pitted one against the other. In this lies the existential meaning of the military and mental clash within the Eastern Slavic ethnoses.

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than the neutral “договор”] is taken from sports jargon to refer to a competition where the participants have agreed in advance on the result. [https://kartaslov-ru.translate.google/значение-слова/договорняк?\\_x\\_tr\\_sl=ru&\\_x\\_tr\\_tl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_hl=en&\\_x\\_tr\\_pto=op,sc](https://kartaslov-ru.translate.google/значение-слова/договорняк?_x_tr_sl=ru&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=op,sc)

- 71 Colonel Vasilii Yefisovich Savkin, who served on the faculty of the Frunze Military Academy, wrote “The Basic Principles of Operational Art and Tactics,” which was published in 1972... It was probably the most important Soviet military publication of that year. As a candidate of Military Science, he wrote “How to Achieve a High Pace of Advance under Modern Combat Conditions” (1962) and “Rates of Advance” (1965). [https://books.google.com/books?id=UxBIAQAIAAJ&pg=PR5&lpg=PR5&dq=v.+savkin+%22pace+of+advance%22&source=bl&ots=v52iWM9QzP&sig=ACfU3U3TNoC5V3laN0\\_d8q2egAgazC3BRQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwio77SH0-L5AhXEFmIAHSqQBHAQ6AF6BAGCEAM#v=onepage&q=v.%20savkin%20%22pace%22](https://books.google.com/books?id=UxBIAQAIAAJ&pg=PR5&lpg=PR5&dq=v.+savkin+%22pace+of+advance%22&source=bl&ots=v52iWM9QzP&sig=ACfU3U3TNoC5V3laN0_d8q2egAgazC3BRQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwio77SH0-L5AhXEFmIAHSqQBHAQ6AF6BAGCEAM#v=onepage&q=v.%20savkin%20%22pace%22)
- 72 For a discussion on Odessa and Transnistria vis-à-vis the Military Special Operation, see Ferris, Emily. (2022, April 11) “The Battle for Odessa and its Railways: Could Transnistria Assist?” *Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)*. <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/battle-odessa-and-its-railways-could-transnistria-assist>

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## Когнитивно-стратегический смысл военной спецоперации на Украине

Д-р Евгений А. Вертлиб

1. «Советский коммунизм содержит семена своего собственного саморазрушения и в конечном итоге рухнет из-за внутренней слабости» - сказал именуемый «архитектором холодной войны» политик Джордж Кеннан. Две детонационные волны способствовали обрушению СССР. *Сперва* кремлёвским заговором «врачей-вредителей» ликвидировали «отца народов». В результате госпереворота, подстрахованного парой сот танков у Кремля и бомбардировщиками на взлёте, наступила «хрущёвская оттепель». Были амнистированы бывшие боевики ОУН-УПА, бандеровцы, власовцы и прочие коллаборационисты. Как сказано в недавно рассекреченной справке, «оуновцев стало в десять раз больше и напряжённость возросла в разы по всей Украине». Вот они истоки «майдана». Устои Красной империи зашатались. Новейшая история России переворотно-суицидальна.
2. *Затем* Беловежским заговором высших номенклатурщиков порешили сам Советский Союз. Прекратил существование - «самоубился». Хотя суицидальной
- ной склонности у державы не наблюдалось. Даже наоборот: СССР вполне уверенно балансировал на плаву. Юрий Андропов силился адаптировать китайскую практику Дэн Сяопина со «свободными экономическими зонами» - опыт уживания коммунизма с технологической реформацией. И Михаил Горбачёв вполне уверенно клеймил «так называемых демократов», которые «готовят государственный переворот» и вынашивают коварные планы «раздробления нашего великого многонационального государства».
3. Но дела говорят громче слов. Госсистема совершала смертельные ошибки. Стоило в 1989-м сдать ГДР – посыпался весь соцлагерь. Падению «железного занавеса» способствовало изъятие из «брежневской» Конституции СССР статьи шестой: «о руководящей и направляющей роли КПСС в советском обществе». Эта демократическая коррекция основ государственного конструкта имела пагубные последствия для власть предержащих.
4. С извлечением из фундамента державного монолита

этого основополагающего «кирпичика» было нарушено отлаженное функционирование государственной машины: разбалансирован маховик управления; устои системы и каркас конструкции государства были обречены. Вскоре Борис Ельцин отрапортовал в Конгрессе США: «коммунистический идол, который сеял повсюду на земле социальную рознь, вражду и беспримерную жестокость, который наводил страх на человеческое сообщество, рухнул. Рухнул навсегда. И я здесь для того, чтобы заверить вас: на нашей земле мы не дадим ему воскреснуть!». Однако спецоперации «Наш Крым» («Вежливые люди») и нынешняя по демилитаризации и денацификации «украицистов» - разворот тренда на имперские позывные России.

5. Заметим, что после поражения в холодной войне РФ проводила *инерционную* внешнюю политику. Только форс-мажор складывающихся обстоятельств побуждал высшее начальство «что-то предпринять». Так война 2008-го между Грузией и Россией произошла из-за нерешительности Кремля в присоединении Абхазии и Южной Осетии (убийство миротворцев – лишь *casus belli*). Неологизм «Крымнаш» (2014) - ответная реакция «мягкой си-

лой» на вытеснение российского флота из Чёрного моря. Затем «всё уснуло», пока новая угроза ни пробудила РФ в холодном поту. Оказывается: «укры» намылились в НАТО (а это четыре минуты ракетно-подлётного времени до Кремля!). И грянул бой - военная спецоперации по сути по восстановлению статуса-кво: диспозиции НАТО на 1997-й – до продвижения альянса на Восток (для сравнения: зачистка сепаратистского «ичке-ризма» называлась «наведением конституционного порядка»).

6. Если бы не будили «русского медведя», Кремль вряд ли пошёл бы на спецоперации. Политик Александр Проханов констатирует: Владимир Путин «был коромыслом весов, на котором качались две чаши укладов - патриотического и либерального. Но с какого-то определённого момента эти весы разбалансировались: патриотический уклад вышел из-под контроля Путина, либеральный - тоже. Президент не сумел за время после Крыма совершить долгожданного рывка, развития, которое бы соединило два этих уклада. И каждый уклад пошёл своей стороной. Внутри каждого возникла путаница, сложная система распадов. Поэтому Путин не контролирует эти два огромных массива современной России..., которые развиваются своим собственным путём,

причём достаточно хаотично». В Украине же, наоборот, война выявила подготовленность общества к организованному сопротивлению «москалям» и консолидацию элит. Одной из ошибок российской армии стало ожидание, что её на Украине «будут встречать с цветами», но эта составляющая уже преодолена, заявил генерал-полковник экс-командующий ВДВ Владимир Шаманов. На Украине ещё с советских времён сохранилось много военных вузов, которые есть практически в каждом регионе. Это позволило стране сохранить так называемую школу, «основу возрождения армии».

7. С поражением Советского Союза на антикоммунистическом этапе перманентной холодной войны между Западом и Россией социум фрагментизировался – на постсоветском пространстве состоялся «парад суверенитетов». Ведь 72-я статья Конституции СССР допускала выход республик из его состава «вплоть до отделения». Вместо прагматичной трансформации по-китайски, Россия «самоопределилась» по-ленински - «головотяпски» (выражаясь языком сатирика Салтыкова-Щедрина) решив независиться *от самой себя* (в умопомрачении приняв свои Союзные республики за «колонии»). Отвергнув идеологию «совка», «прорабы перестройки» взамен кинули в массы компенсирующий её отсутствие клич лавочников: «Обогащайтесь!».
8. Под этим французским девизом «Enrichissez-vous!» «РФ как госкорпорация» вернулась к *феодализму паханат-компрадорского* руления страной. Этим слоганом французского политика-либерала Франсуа Гизо в 1925 попользовался идеолог большевизма Николай Бухарин – чтоб оживлением элементов капитализма при НЭПе помочь выжить беднякам в крайней нужде. Увы, нищих в РФ всё не убывает: «до конца 2022 года более 20% граждан России окажутся за чертой бедности».
9. Чужеземный образчик общественно-политической трансформации - «Перестройка» заждалась на «знаках французской революции»: «Если искать корни нашей перестройки, то можно дойти и до французской революции, а потом до Коммуны» - подсказал сам «Горби» наличие чужих лекал в проекте реформирования госсистемы. В «перестройке» маячила *перестрелка*. Сперва «колоний» СССР между собой, а затем и генетико-цивилизационных братьев – «москалей» и «укров». Тектонику развития драмы в геополитической трагедии

СССР я почуял уже в 1980-х: в своей статье под названием «Генезис и пути политического сознания при Горбачёве», с подзаголовком: «“Перестройка” – эволюция или *пристрелка перед перестрелкой*» - опубликованной в известном парижском журнале на пяти языках писателя Владимира Максимова «Континент» (№63, апрель 1990, с.189-223). Суицидальность в некоторой степени обнаружил Путин в принимаемых Западом решениях: «экономическим аутодафе выстрелил себе в ногу либо в голову».

10. «Великой криминальной революцией» назвал режиссёр Станислав Говорухин ликвидацию СССР. Но нет худа без добра: зато от «Перестройки» повеяло «Парижской коммуной»: с ней обозначился выход на подлинное народовластие. Но русскому национальному самодвижению противостоит «компрадорская стабильность» - что погружает российский социум в когнитивный диссонанс. Судя хотя бы по схлёстке двух концептов «подлинности патриотизма», представленных главой Чечни генерал-лейтенантом Рамзаном Кадыровым и пресс-секретарём президента Дмитрием Песковым.

11. «Дружеская» ли перепалка между ними -- двух перфекционистов Русского мира, или уже конфронтационная фаза предбаррикадного размежевания социума? «Не приведи Бог видеть русский бунт - бессмысленный и беспощадный» - заклинал Пушкин. В нынешней ситуации – не «бессмысленный» бунт. И вот почему. Судя по реакции на другой инцидент (недавнее нападение на посла РФ в Варшаве), генерал Кадыров твёрд и решителен: «Мы настроены очень жёстко, и *мы просим президента заставить все государства, которые с нами не считаются, встать на колени...* Почему не принимают меры?». Вопрос поставлен ребром и в прояснении смысла спецоперации на украинском направлении в концепте национальных ценностей и проводимой военной политики. Так «Во имя чего сапог землю растаптывает скрипящ и груб? Кто над небом боёв – свобода? бог? Рубль?» - пророчески вопрошал поэт-трибун Владимир Маяковский.

12. А не готовят ли чиновники поражение России? – задаются вопросом украинский политик Олег Царёв и российский предприниматель Андрей Самохин. Ведь нынешняя «элита» категорически не готова к мобилизации «за Родину» и

ждёт «управляемого поражения» России. Специальная операция, явно перешедшая в фазу затяжных кровопролитных военных действий, вплоть до возможных прямых столкновений с НАТО, требует совершенно иного управления, экономики, сознания народа и его элиты, чем было доселе и продолжает оставаться сейчас. «Мобилизация» – это и собирание в один кулак воли и духа всех составных государства. Однако вместо этого пока наблюдаются странные двусмысленности со стороны власть предержащих и их обслуги. Огромная армия чиновников или вовсе отрещивается от войны («и зачем нам эта война?»), или хранит глухое молчание. Они хотели бы «если проиграть, то контролируемо, например, отдать всё или часть освобождённых территорий. Отдать Крым, но не сразу, а, например, с отсрочкой исполнения лет на пятнадцать - двадцать пять. Поражение и санкции, конечно, скажутся на уровне жизни: уровень жизни в стране понизится, но это не сильно скажется на элитах». Отсюда *осторожность, переходящая в саботаж*. Внутри российского руководства есть значительное лобби, позволяющее проводить со страной «любые геополитические эксперименты». Хотя патриотизм имманентно

присущ русскому народу, но *мандат доверия нынешнему режиму не вечен*. Не грозит ли РФ повторение на новом этапе известной трагической формулы последнего русского Государя: «Кругом трусость, обман и предательство»? В российском истеблишменте наблюдается картина именно *ползучего предательства*.

13. «В такой ситуации старые элиты интуитивно настроены на поражение. Им будет лучше, если мы проиграем. Причём *лучше прямо сейчас*, пока противостояние не зашло слишком далеко. А чтобы не зашло слишком далеко, не приветствуется и *не стимулируется набор добровольцев в России, не наносятся удары по критической украинской инфраструктуре, не вводятся симметричные меры в ответ на экономические и финансовые санкции: нет ответных арестов активов и долги западным странам продолжают выплачиваться. Отказ от нанесения ударов по «центрам принятия решений»*. Всё делается, чтобы продемонстрировать противнику, что мы готовы платить и каяться, каяться и платить» - негодует непримиримая оппозиция. Недоумения в народе множатся, а внятно, непротиворечиво растолковать их власть от своего лица или хотя бы через штатных телепропаган-

дистов не хочет или не может.

14. Тут *всю систему* менять надо. «В нашей стране, - пишет экономист Сергей Батчиков, - по итогам “либеральных рыночных реформ” создана и действует уникальная по мировым меркам модель экономики: нелегитимная с точки зрения общественного мнения; незаконная с точки зрения источников формирования прав собственности; крайне неэффективная и непроизводительная с точки зрения общественного воспроизводства; неконкурентоспособная на мировом и внутреннем рынке; системно управляемая и манипулируемая извне; социально несправедливая; крайне ресурсо- и энергоёмкая; примитивная по своей структуре; деиндустриализированная и дезинтегрированная». Спрашивается: можно ли мобилизовать такую систему на противостояние военному и цивилизационному вызову, брошенному России Западом? Патриот Александр Проханов резюмирует: **«собранное Путиным государство сгнило почти дотла»**. Нужно начать «переформатирование» системы с самого верха. А включённый режим «вставай, страна огромная» кардинально поменяет ситуацию и в

обществе, и на фронте, и в экономике. Но прежде всего всем осознать: *если не победа, то уничтожение*.

15. У высшего начальства РФ есть возможности всеми имеющимися средствами отстаивать интересы страны, но нет воли на то. Так и ядерное оружие они вряд ли превентивно задействуют. Эксперт спецслужб Яков Кедми выявляет болевые точки в системе российского принятия решений и безопасности. Он уверен, что России при стратегических козырях и играть следует иначе: «Достаточно одного или полутора залпов многоцелевой подлодки с «Цирконами», и порядка 50–60 электростанций Британии через десять минут перестанут существовать. *И вся Великобритания вернётся в каменный век*». Израильский аналитик приветствует смену вех в принятии внешнеполитических решений РФ: от *компромисса* во что бы то ни стало – к *решению* вопроса. «Лавров и российская дипломатия поменяли тон»: отход от практики *«анастезиологической»* (не причинить бы никаких болезненных неудобств Западу). Серьёзным изъяном считает эксперт избыточную доброту и сострадание россиян там, «где делать этого

совершенно не нужно». С точки зрения Кедми, и **военная стратегия встречного или оборонительного ядерного удара**, которая принята в Военной доктрине России, а также в основах государственной политики РФ в области ядерного сдерживания, - подлежит корректировке. У встречного ядерного удара есть недостаток: «*Встречный удар не останавливает ракеты с ядерными головками, которые летят в вашу сторону. Это предотвращает только одно - превентивный удар*»: он лишает противника возможности уничтожить, или нанести непоправимый ущерб вашему государству, а встречный – только пугает. А если они не испугаются? «А если они полудиоты, а если они неправильно подсчитали? И ракеты, которые они послали, они полетят. Первая задача любого государства это защитить себя. Уничтожают противника, чтобы защитить себя». Яков Кедми уверен, что идёт против России **настоящая война, не гибридная**, нацеленная на **полное уничтожение России, как государства до 2025 года**. И в этом графике США действуют, применяя все возможные средства уничтожения. Поэтому сегодня, чтобы победить, Россия, по мнению Кедми, должна поменять все свои

концепции и стратегии прошлого года, и *приспособить их к новому периоду военного противостояния с Западом на период 2022-2023 годов*. Россия не имеет права не выиграть в этой борьбе.

16. Русская победа пробивается микрошагами. Остатки СССР уничтожают друг друга. Россия, по подсчёту либерального обозревателя Дмитрия Демушкина, за три месяца спецоперации: потеряла золотовалютные резервы; собрала все возможные санкции; вылетела из мировых институтов; умудрились украинских националистов сделать героями; получила тысячи единиц сожжённой техники, утонувший флагман Черноморского флота, неизвестное число потерянных солдат убитыми и ранеными; увеличилась в разы зависимость России от Китая; ускорилось падение уровня жизни; воскрес железный занавес; полуразрушенная экономика... Как бонус захвачен фундамент крупного разрушенного города Мариуполя, который теперь надо восстановить за свой счёт. РФ методом от противного способствовала вооружению Украины, увеличив военный бюджет более чем в 10 раз. Сделала Зеленского популярным мировым лидером выступающим в парламентах

мира. Ускорила вхождение Украины в европейские институты. Умудрилась напугав, втянуть в НАТО нейтральную Швецию и Финляндию. Укрепила гегемонию США в мире. Заставила выдохнуть и успокоиться немцев. Разожглась до невиданных высот ненависть между жителями России и Украины. Если раньше это был удел маргиналов, то сейчас это ненависть всех слоёв населения обеих стран к друг другу.

17. Россия по ходу спецоперации вспоминает суворовскую «науку побеждать». Больше «демонстрируются» ею очевидные яркие шаги – чтоб не складывалось впечатление, что РФ просто не способна на серьёзный отпор. Военно-политическому руководству РФ, если оно что-то заявляет, надо действовать. И не менять по ходу повестку. Иначе никто ему не будет верить - ни внутри, ни во вне. «Государство как бизнес-проект полностью провалился» - утверждают национал-патриоты.
18. Очень важно чтоб не страдало *имиджевое позиционирование* власти. Для этого надо быть бесповоротными в принятых решениях. Пример обратного – накладка в толковании намеченного факта вхождения Финляндии и Швеции в НАТО: ныне объявлено, что этот акт «непосредственной угрозы не создаёт» России. А ведь Владимир Путин 1 июля 2016 оценивал вероятность вступления Финляндии в НАТО *совершенно иначе*: «Представьте себе, что Финляндия вступит в НАТО. Это значит, что финские войска уже перестанут быть независимыми, перестанут быть суверенными в полном смысле этого слова. Они станут частью военной инфраструктуры НАТО, которые в одночасье окажутся на границах Российской Федерации». Россия изменила позицию и по вопросу вступления Украины в ЕС. Сперва: что эта тема мол «лежит в другой плоскости» нежели членство в НАТО. Теперь – не пускать, как и в Северо-Атлантический альянс.
19. Конечно, при быстро меняющейся конъюнктуре трудно прогнозировать на *долгосрочную* перспективу. Новая парадигма стечения обстоятельств образует иногда непредвиденную реальность. Но на краткосрочную перспективу не должно быть недоучётов. От «абберрации памяти» страдает *имиджевое позиционирование* власти (склероз у лидера? Плох Генштаб? Семь пятниц на неделе в принятии решений)?
20. Философ Фридрих Ницше войну считал «средством гигиены» народов и главным

ценностным регулятором. Он полагал, что войну следует принимать не как вызов, а как данность, принимать её по образу военной политики древних греков. В её горниле сгорает «рухлядь» (отжившее или ложное) старого мира и выплавляется очертание нового миропорядка. Происходит масштабная «дизъюнкция» - в смысле победы или имперско-русского проекта, или торжества «новоукраинского» национального созидания. А может быть, в результате этого экзистенциального испытания огнём и кровью сольются пути и «москалей», и «укров» – в едином освободительном порыве вернуть обоим народам их подлинную национальную самоидентификацию, чтобы затем они распорядились ею сами – жить одним народом, или же цивилизованно «самостийно» - суверенно, но в вечном мире. Кстати, глава европейской дипломатии Жозеп Боррель так и заявил: «Эта война должна быть выиграна на поле боя».

21. И развёрнутая для скрытного торга коллизия с «пленёнными нацистами» выгодна корпоративным интересам фигурантов войны. В ГосДуме «изучается» вопрос о возможности обмена захваченных в плен командиров «Азова» на Виктора Медведчука» (украинского

партийного функционера и кума Путина) – желанного сменщика Зеленского. И под это дело меняется акцентировка риторики в РФ: армия Украины - это уже не «украицисты», но «русские солдаты, которыми руководят фашистские офицеры и американские генералы» - пишет один из идеологов Кремля Сергей Марков.

22. Акцент на «террористичности» (мутные «боевики», «нацисты» и «националисты») украинского сопротивления «агрессии» выгоден многим: если «террористы», то к ним не применима Женевская конвенция о военнопленных – они подопечные Следственного комитета и Прокуратуры. А раз формально не война, а *антитеррористическая спецоперация*, то и подгоняется она под террористическую организацию «ИГИЛ». Конечно, в украинской армии есть военнослужащие и со взглядами ультраправых радикалов. Но их клич «убей русского!» - это не обязательно геноцидное злодеяние «фашистов». Говорю это *не в защиту садистов-изуверов*, в бою раненных, по коленям стреляющим и насилующим свои жертвы, а чтоб напраслину не возводить *на всех*. Справедливости ради напомню, что в Отечественную войну и писатель Илья Эренбург призывал «убить немца - в

статье «Убей!» (газета «Красная звезда», 24 июля 1942): «Если ты не можешь убить немца пулей, **убей немца** штыком. Если на твоём участке затишье, если ты ждёшь боя, **убей немца** до боя. Если ты оставишь немца жить, немец повесит русского человека и опозорит русскую женщину. Если ты убил одного немца, убей другого...». На войне как на войне.

23. Однако что за симбиоз: «пронацистское мировоззрение» и тяга к «европейским стандартам»? Для тележурналиста Владимира Соловьёва эти вещи органично совместимы, даже негативно синонимичны: «Современная Европа не оторвалась от истоков нацистского учения». А как же тогда быть со «священными камнями Европы» Достоевского? Полагаю, что не «Бог умер!», как философ Ницше уверенно полагал, а антураж его померк для тех, кто Бога забыл. Но имманентно святая сущность Европы живёт себе в нуждающихся в ней. Мир, по философу Артуру Шопенгауэру - «воля и представление». Спрашивается: «фашистский» ли донос на себя осуществил большой поэт Владимир Маяковский: «Я люблю смотреть, как умирают дети»? Так что «не сравнивай: живущий не сравним».
24. Сложна и не изучена феноменология сего «кентавров» сращения светлого и тёмного миров в человеке. Полагаю: есть ситуационная трансформация, вынужденная, поверхностная, с внешним уподоблением – временная аномалия и полное перерождение в исчадие ада - отпетого негодяя. По философу Виталию Даренскому, сложившаяся укропостсоветская национальная «недоидентифицированность» - синдром несостоявшейся государственности (a failed nation). Мотив - «мстительность» («ressentiment»).
25. Поясню. В отличие от «недоидентичности», идентичность - устойчивая платформа ценностей, верований и убеждений, определяющих как повседневное поведение людей, так и их долговременных жизненных программ. Надломив общее с Россией русско-советское корневище, тем самым выйдя из реальной идентичности общесоветского приобщения в том числе и украинского этноса к большой истории СССР-России, украинцы «пытаются выстроить псевдоидентичность из обломков племенного сознания, с одной стороны, и из поверхностно-эпигонского усвоения элементов «европеизма», с другой. В ре-

зультате утопичности этих попыток возникает *симуляция идентичности при её реальном отсутствии*. И именно в этом кроется причина агрессивной русофобии современного «украинства». За ним стоит «бессознательное чувство вины за предательство своей реальной, а не выдуманной общности, созданной русской историей» «трипостасного» народа (русских, украинцев и белорусов). Период самостийности выявил тотальную деградацию «неоукров» (как, впрочем, и «новых русских») То есть, «нацификация» - расплата за обрывание пуповины общей социо-генетической кровной судьбы с Россией. Назову эту этико-мировоззренческую аномалию синдромом утраченной идентификации и попыткой обретения взамен чужого как своего. По поведенчески аномальному сходству с «германскими нацистами», при характеристике украинских радикалов в России используется термин «нацизм» (прецедентная формулировка приговора Международного военного трибунала в Нюрнберге от 1 октября 1946).

26. Концепт Даренского интересен в плане выяснения возможного воздействия на сознание и поведение фактора «недоидентифицированности» или

«псевдоидентифицированности» (ложное альтер-эго).

Симуляция идентичности носит компенсационный характер (до целостной полноты её). Вместе с тем, вряд ли правомерно исходить в оценке сего феномена из «**реального отсутствия**» идентификации как факта. Полагаю: она остаётся, но в искажённом виде, как коллаж наложения коррективов новизны. При чем а-ля «нацистская» привнесённая атрибутика оценивается как критериальная доминанта нравственного облика украинского сопротивления. По философу Джону Локку идентичность личности состоит в тождестве непрерывного сознания, а не какой-либо субстанции (вне зависимости от того материальная она или нет) - «одну и ту же личность образует не одна и та же субстанция», а одно и тоже непрерывное сознание. Согласно психосоциальному пониманию самоидентичности, идентичность представляет собой **поддержание баланса между внутренней целостностью и ценностями общества**. Мыслитель Михаил Бахтин считал, что *настоящее «Я» всегда обнаруживается в точках несовпадения человека с самим собой*, в его идентификациях с «Другим». Следовательно, **НОВАЯ САМОИДЕНТИФИКАЦИЯ** могла уже взрости до

равнозначного «другого Я», полноценного в смысле полноты формирования Alter ego. То есть, кажущийся мутантом – вполне целен в зеркальном отражении своего «Я». Первоархетипы смутно-иного дремлют в нём, но обновлённая до неузнавания переиначенная сущность вполне состоялась: синдром «бандеризма» генно дремал априори, в ВОВ прошёл закалку огнём и кровью, пережил годы гонений (тюрьмы, ссылки), ожил в хрущёвскую «оттепель», пустил корни и предстал в пост-Беловежской России и реализовался в схлестке ныне с «оккупантами самостийной» (его второго «Я»).

27. Да и сама «политика идентичности» даёт возможность влиять человеку на информацию о себе, которая поступает в социум. И наконец, модно в определённых стратах иметь «крутые» наколки-тату. Посему смежные этносы одного народа образуют единство противоположностей: «брат мой – враг мой». «Украина всегда была биполярной (оранжево - голубая), в ней **расправы наглядны и публичны**. Россия - более тонкая и глобальная система, связанная как с условным глобальным Киссинджером, так и с условным глобальным Соросом теснее Украины» - пишет М.Шевченко. «Ни прозвание, ни вероисповедание, ни самая кровь предков не делают чело-

века принадлежностью той или другой народности. Дух, душа человека – вот где надо искать принадлежности его к тому или другому народу. Чем же можно определить принадлежность духа? Конечно, проявлением духа – мыслью. Кто на каком языке думает, тот к тому народу и принадлежит. Я думаю по-русски», – писал Владимир Даль (родился на Луганском горном заводе, в нынешнем Донбассе). **Так что даю новый в социальной науке аспект: специальная военная операция как коррекция двух аномалий: «бандеровской» самоидентификации Украины и государства Российского как госкорпорации. Избавление от «новой русскости», как и «украинацизма» ради возвращения к своим первородным этно-обликам - будущее единого трёхипостасного народа.**

28. Прикрываться заложниками – это не только тактика террористов, но и стратегия давних баталий. Да и сам по себе «живой щит» ведь может быть и на добровольных началах актом самопожертвования для поддержания военных усилий. По зову патриотического сознания – помогать Отечеству в опасности чем можно, «не щадя живота своего». В мире перевёрнутых морально-этических ценностей, законничества и формализованного

фрагментарного сознания – нетрадиционное сразу объярлычивается: «терроризм»-«ИГИЛ»-«нацизм». Так что без суда и следствия, нельзя гуртом зачислять эту элиту украинского сопротивления в «укронацистов», а затем столь же немотивированно – разом обеливать всех: мол *только иноземное* начальство воинов – подонки и мразь.

29. Нужна и в РФ, в Украине «дезактивация» и «дезинфекция» больного социума. Война –индикатор, «оселок» гражданской полноценности и стимулятор здорового духа нации. Могильная плита уравнивает *всех* комбатантов –защитников своей Родины. А ультрапатриоты -- хулимые в РФ как «националисты», уподобляемые «нацистам», -- нередко настоящие рьяные патриоты, в большинстве своём бесстрашные воины – «квасные патриоты». Не говорю о садистах-мучителях, патологических извращенцах. Не исключено, что «горячим парням» с обеих сторон – националистам «украин» и по-аввакумовски неистовым «русопятам» (под кликухой «краснокоричневые») - предстоят ратные дела по расчистке общего дома и воссозданию единого народа. Ведь национальное унижение дошло до того, что премьер
- Польша Матеуш Моравецкий смеет открыто заявить о необходимости *уничтожить «русский мир»*. Победой в спецоперации многократно усилится Русский мир, а поражение в ней - загонит в подполье общеславянское имперское возрождение. Это экзистенциальная операция – быть или не жить. «А зачем нам такой мир, если там не будет России?» - Путин сформулировал ключевую фразу русского самосознания.
30. Без подпитки почвой не будет окрыляющего победного духа. Однако пуповина, связующая воинство и почву, в России надорвана вместе с заколоченными окнами деревень. Есть угроза превратиться в «Иванов, не помнящих родства». Или «манкуртов» (словечко из романа Чингиза Айтматова «Буранный полустанок») - полностью утративших связь со своими историческими, национальными корнями, забыв о своём родстве. Менталитет формирует чувство Родины, является фундаментом национального самосознания.
31. Владимир Путин – чёрнопоясник по дзюдо, поистине супермен традиции в аномальном мире перевёрнутых с ног на голову ценностей. Если у него и «склерозит» принятие

решений, то он ничуть не синельно-диментен, не при «смерти мозга», не спятил ни в коммунизм, ни в нацизм. Клинически не аномален. Поведенчески не «садомазен» (в ответных санкциях). Как дзюдоист, он ждёт ошибки «партнёра» - чтобы бросить на ковер. Запад, вынуждая Россию если не трансформироваться, то «самоликвидироваться», самурайски харакирит себя: подталкивает Россию к стратегической спарке с Китаем, даже рискует превратить США в Разъединённые Штаты Америки... Но «Стратегия Анаконды» не дремлет: она в разгаре третьей удушающей РФ фазы – «ликвидации Российской Федерации в её нынешних границах, с полной утратой экономического, политического и военного суверенитета».

32. При всём при том, козыри биты или репутационно подмочены: благоприятный момент *допереворота* (в Беловежье был, полагаю, *недоворот*) в России, пожалуй, упущен. Оп-позиция обезглавлена. Михаил Ходорковский - за кордоном. Алексей Навальный - в тюрьме. Анатолий Чубайс, с прожектом реванш-либеральной диктатуры, – смылся с политико-идеологического фона РФ. Дипломатия сдохла - оружие апокалипсиса торпеда «Посейдон» и МБР РС-28 «Сарматы» наготове. А сия

десятитонная ракетица может доставить смертоносный груз даже через Южный полюс (он ведь почти не контролируется) и способна, как авторитетно заявил глава «Роскосмоса» Дмитрий Рогозин, уничтожить половину берега континента. А показ Западу воронки от ракеты «Сармат», как он полагает, - лучшая рекомендация быть вежливее с Россией.

33. Таким образом, экспозиция расстановки сил в необъявленной войне между Западом и Россией такая: Вашингтон (ЕС и Зеленский) vs. Россия (в одиночку, с «пятой колонной» в тылу у себя, при некоторой «асимметрии» в принятии решений и невнятице их толкования). На Украине по сути Гражданская война скованных одной цепью кровно родственных славян: традиционалистов (как советские шахтёры под знаменем общей победы в ВОВ) и неофитов (широкомасштабно переформатировавшихся в пробандеровски самоидентифицированное народонаселение). Столь неистово остервенело противоборствовали Красные «террористы» и Белогвардейские застеночники. Но отделим «котлеты от мух»: Однако, кроме извергов по натуре (подлецов по рождению – где-то у раннего Достоевского под-

метил), может быть и просто ультра-националистический элемент, который образовался вследствие сложившихся негативных обстоятельств. Например: проявление национального достоинства, долго сдерживаемое властями и квалифицируемое ими как незаконное, способно «экстримально» вырваться на волю, как джин из бутылки, и мстить миру за своё мучительное прошлое. Претерпевшие моральное надругательство, нравственное истязание интеллигенты нередко пребывают в личине горько «смеющихся сквозь слёзы» - синдром мстящего «раненного» сознания. (Я копался в этих штудиях в давнюю бытность диссертантом-соискателем, с темой «Проблема амбиции у Достоевского как фактор русского сознания в принятии решений»).

34. В «лихие 90-е» подлинные патриоты России оказались лишними в своём Отечестве (и ваш покорный слуга в том числе): ненужными установившемуся в РФ антинациональному режиму «криминал- революционеров». «Абортированные» Россией (изгнанные за рубеж), они оказались востребованными в частности антирусским олигархатом «незалежной». И по сей день «нацики» - оплот отпетого олигархического

киевского режима – заградотрядники «ни шагу назад!».

35. Дожать Россию – момент упущен. Наблюдающаяся в последнее время активизация российских военных усилий на украинском направлении побудила опытного дипломата экс-госсекретаря США Генри Киссинджера неотложно рекомендовать скорейший мир: «Запад должен отказаться от попыток добиться военного поражения России в Украине, а последней стоит пойти на территориальные уступки». Видимо, чтобы превентивно застопорить закрепление русского нарастающего успеха. Чтоб оставить при РФ лишь ограниченные нынешние территории, отвоёванные у Украины (как войска Жукова и Паттона спешили навстречу друг другу, и в результате - встретились на Эльбе). И только. Что позволило бы эту «пиррову победу» обернуть через небольшой промежуток временной паузы в тотальное поражение России. Жертвуя частью – спасаешь целое (логика ленинского «Брестского похабного мира»).

36. Но политической бюрократии не нужна *ничья* скорая победа. Поскольку это неизбежно повлечёт за собой смену

обанкротившихся «элит». Поэтому саботажем выхода на подписание акта о капитуляции Украины, с обеих сторон будет поддерживаться сценарий войны «до победного конца». Политбюрократии «нужна не конкретная военная победа, а её вечное предчувствие». Посему «глобальная гибридная» затянется «до последнего украинца» или «доллара в казне США». Даже для опытного генерала Владимира Шаманова вопрос о будущем Украины труднопрогнозируем. Можно лишь предполагать, что демилитаризация страны может занять от пяти до десяти лет, а сформировать там власть, «не запачканную неонацистами», будет сложно. При этом он считает, что, если этих двух явлений не произойдёт, Украина не подойдёт России в качестве нового субъекта федерации.

37. Но рано делить шкуру неубитого медведя и нелепо – если это кровный родич. Но ради одного *трёхипостасного* русского народа тогда отрадно. Патриот Дмитрий Rogozin только что предложил «наладить жизнь» на космических заводах Украины. Когда мир был двуполярным, американо-русским, глобальная безопасность держалась в понятных всем пределах: ни войны – ни мира. Не к этому ли придём? Иначе вызов Китая унесёт в небытие

цивилизационный конфликт США и РФ.

38. Высшая номенклатура и России, и Украины пытается всеми силами сорвать эту идущую «концептуально очистительную» войну (ВСО). Практически остановка продвижения войск — это следствие ДОГОВОРНЯКА с «бандеровцами». Министр обороны РФ С.Шойгу объясняет замедление наступления российских войск на Украине лишь стратегическим манёвром, гарантирующим минимизацию потерь среди гражданского населения Украины. Но такая тактика противоречит азам военного искусства. Ибо непреложна истина: высокие темпы наступления ведут к существенному снижению потерь наступающих и к высоким потерям обороняющихся. Неужто эту аксиому «науки побеждать» забыл Генштаб, зубок знающий монографию теоретика В.Савкина “Темпы наступления”? Или же военные осуществляют в точности в пределах дозволенного предписанную им стратегию тайного сговора правящих верхов обеих стран? Ведь в этом пособии для генералитета ясно сказано: «При высоких темпах продвижения и эффективном подавлении противника огнём наступающий несёт меньшие потери в живой силе и технике. С повышением темпов наступления происхо-

дит дальнейшее уменьшение потерь». За полгода боев российскую армию сознательно сковывали - мешали выйти на границы Приднестровья, водрузив флаг над Одессой. Такие правящие режимы, вольно или неволь множащие потери с обеих сторон (одни - деляческой прагматикой, другие - безмозглым неистовством «до последнего украинца», причём без экипировки), надлежат

смене на национально «вменяемых» (власть умеренных националистов). Война очистит национальные горизонты и может перерасти в обеих странах в войны гражданские - «за нашу и вашу свободу». Ну а совместно ли биться с наднациональным олигархатом - решат сами стравленные народы. В этом и состоит экзистенциальный смысл военно-ментальной сшибки в восточно-славянском этносе.

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