

# Victory, Not Surrender in Ukraine

## Why it Matters



**The Centre for Eastern European Democracy**  
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# INTRODUCTION

## **To Those Who Are Involved in Negotiations Regarding Ukraine and the War**

Attached are five articles that provide critical insights into current negotiations between the United States and Russia and the stakes involved for Ukraine and NATO. We invite you to review these articles to become fully armed to deal with Putin. Here are summaries of each article for your ease of understanding.

### **PART 1. Ukraine's Goal of Restoring Its 2014 Borders Is Realistic - and Why Trump's Position Endangers America - *Andy Semotiuk***

U.S. President Donald Trump's accusation that Ukraine started the war with Russia—his exact words being, "You should have never started it. You could have made a deal"—is both historically inaccurate and dangerously misleading. By maintaining that Ukraine—the clear victim of Russian aggression—should bear responsibility for the war, Trump tries to distort reality and also legitimize Russian expansionism. His stance ignores the long history of Kremlin violations of international agreements and dismisses the Budapest Memorandum, which binds the U.S. to support Ukraine's sovereignty. His accusation that President Zelenskyy is a dictator with low approval ratings fails to point out that Putin is the real dictator. Let us remember that Putin was ostensibly 're-elected' by a fake election recently, much like Hitler's election to the Reichstag in 1932 was a rigged election. What is more, Trump fails to disclose that Zelenskyy's poll approval number of 57 percent is better than Trump's current approval number of 44 percent. Worse still, Trump's demands that Ukraine surrender territory and refusing to support Ukraine in the UN, signal a broader abdication of American leadership, send a chilling message to other nations that military aggression goes unpunished.

Trump's position, including his claims he could have stopped the war, when in fact, he didn't stop it back in 2014 when the war in Ukraine was raging and he was President—combined with his threats to abandon NATO and his belligerent dismissal of America's allies including, notably Canada and Denmark—only emboldens Vladimir Putin and other authoritarian regimes. If America continues its retreat from the world stage, the long-term consequences will be catastrophic, including the erosion of NATO's unity, the collapse of the rules-based international order, and even America's vulnerability in times of crisis.

### **PART 2. Thirteen Reasons Why a "Negotiated Peace" in Ukraine Will Shatter Our Security - *Victor Rud***

This article warns us that a "negotiated peace" regarding Ukraine would severely undermine global security, embolden Russia, and dismantle the rules-based international order. He asserts that pressuring Ukraine into concessions would reward Russian aggression, weaken Western credibility, and encourage further destabilization by authoritarian regimes like China. The article criticizes the West's hesitancy in fully supporting Ukraine, pointing out the contradiction in restricting Ukraine's use of American weapons while allowing Russia to wage war with Western-derived technology. The article dismisses the notion that negotiation can achieve peace, emphasizing Russia's historical pattern of violating agreements and using diplomacy to deceive and regroup.

He warns that appeasement would not prevent nuclear escalation but instead embolden Moscow and inspire other aggressors. The article ultimately argues that forcing Ukraine into a settlement would betray its sovereignty and jeopardize the security framework that underpins global stability. The import is great care must be taken in negotiating with Russia, especially without Ukraine.

### **PART 3. The Russian Genocidal War Against Ukraine: Why Ukraine Must Win**

- *Wiktor Moskaliuk*

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine is not just a military conflict but an existential war aimed at Ukraine's destruction. The war has been marked by systematic war crimes, including mass executions, deportations, rape, forced Russification, and the abduction of Ukrainian children, amounting to genocide. Allowing Russia to win—whether through military force or diplomatic concessions—would embolden authoritarian regimes like China, Iran, and North Korea, destabilizing global security. Ukraine's resilience, counteroffensive successes, and strategic importance in deterring further Russian imperial ambitions highlight the necessity of continued Western support. Stronger military and economic assistance would accelerate Ukraine's victory and secure Europe's future. Historical oppression under Russian rule, the failure of international agreements like the Budapest Memorandum, and the need to hold Russia accountable for its war crimes underscore the broader significance of the conflict. Ukraine's victory is essential for global democracy, the rules-based international order, and the prevention of future aggressions by revisionist powers.

### **PART 4. Russia's Rape Culture: The Centrality of Rape in the Russian World**

- *Vernon Frolick*

The article argues that Russia is not a moral or Christian state but an imperial system that has long used rape, torture, and other forms of violence as tools of oppression and conquest. It asserts that Russia's portrayal of itself as anti-imperial and anti-colonial is a fabrication, concealing its domination of numerous ethnic and national groups within its empire. The piece examines Russia's historical and contemporary use of mass rape as a weapon of war, citing examples from the Circassian genocide, Chechen wars, and the ongoing war in Ukraine. The article describes the systemic sexual violence perpetrated by Russian forces against both women and men, highlighting Russia's hierarchical and brutal military culture, where rape is used to establish dominance. Additionally, it critiques Russia's propaganda efforts, particularly its portrayal as a defender of Christian values and traditional family structures, arguing that these narratives mask a deeply corrupt and repressive society.

The article concludes that Russia's war against Ukraine is part of a broader imperial agenda that threatens global security, and that confronting and defeating Russia's aggression is essential to preventing further expansion of its violent imperial ambitions.

### **PART 5. The Case Against Russia: History's Greatest Criminal: Facts and Arguments for the Prosecution – *Vernon Frolick***

Russia, despite its propaganda to the contrary, remains the last colonial empire in the world and continues to pursue aggressive and genocidal wars of conquest to expand its power. Its recent wars in Chechnya and Georgia and its present full-scale war against the western democratic nation of Ukraine – the most serious geo-political crisis since the Second World War – prove its intent and threaten to destabilize the western alliance and encourage other totalitarian states like China and North Korea to engage in similar violent expansionist wars of conquest. Russia must be stopped. Without attacking Russia directly, the decolonization of its empire, euphemistically called the Russian Federation, will undercut Moscow's financial base and end its imperial ambitions. Encouraging and recognizing the independence of the republics of the "federation" that are in fact captive nations of Russia's imperial-colonial system is entirely in keeping with the decolonization model of the civilized world that emerged

following the defeat of the Nazi and USSR totalitarian ideologies. A safe and prosperous world depends on it.

We encourage you to read these articles and rely on their contents in your work related to negotiations with Russia and the defense of Ukraine today.

*Sincerely,*  
**Ann Semotiuk**  
*President*  
**Centre for Eastern European Democracy (CEED)**

1. Copies of these articles are available on [www.ceedweb.ca](http://www.ceedweb.ca).
2. For two of articles by Vernon Frolick references (hyperlink) are included on the CEED website.



## PART 1

# Ukraine's Goal of Restoring Its 2014 Borders Is Realistic And Why Trump's Position Endangers America

*Andy Semotiuk*



## Ukraine's Goal of Restoring Its 2014 Borders Is Realistic—and Why Trump's Position Endangers America

U.S. President Donald Trump's accusation that Ukraine started the war with Russia—his exact words being, "**You should have never started it. You could have made a deal**"—is both **historically illiterate and dangerously misleading**. By maintaining that Ukraine—the clear victim of Russian aggression—should bear responsibility for the war, Trump tries to **distort reality and also legitimize Russian expansionism**. His stance ignores the long history of **Kremlin violations of international agreements** and dismisses the **Budapest Memorandum**, which binds the U.S. to take action to support Ukraine's sovereignty if attacked. His accusation that President Zelenskyy is a dictator with low approval ratings fails to point out that **Putin is the real dictator**. Let us remember that Putin was ostensibly 're-elected' by a fake election recently, much like Hitler's election to the Reichstag in 1932 was a rigged election. What is more, Trump fails to disclose that Zelenskyy's poll approval number of 57 percent is better than Trump's current approval number of 44 percent. Worse still, Trump's demands that Ukraine surrender territory and refusal to support Ukraine in the UN signal a broader **abdication of American leadership and** send a chilling message to other nations that military aggression goes unpunished.

Trump's position, including his claims he could have stopped the war, when in fact, he didn't stop it back in 2014 when the war in Ukraine was raging and he was President—combined with his threats to abandon NATO and his belligerent dismissal of America's allies including, notably Canada and Denmark—only emboldens Vladimir Putin and other authoritarian regimes. If America continues its retreat from the world stage, the long-term consequences will be catastrophic, including the erosion of NATO's unity, the collapse of the rules-based international order, and even America's vulnerability in times of crisis.

### 1. Russia Has Violated Every Agreement It Signed—Why Sign Another?

It's time for enforcement, not for another agreement. One of the most glaring flaws in Trump's call for a peace deal is the assumption that Russia will honor any new agreement. This ignores the fact that Russia has **repeatedly** broken legally binding treaties, including:

- **The United Nations Charter** – Russia's invasion of Ukraine blatantly violated the UN's foundational principles against territorial aggression.
- **The Helsinki Accords (1975)** – Russia committed to respect European borders and sovereignty, yet invaded Ukraine in 2014 and again in 2022.
- **The Budapest Memorandum (1994)** – Russia pledged to respect Ukraine's independence in exchange for Ukraine surrendering its nuclear weapons.

If Russia has already disregarded these treaties, why should anyone believe it will honor a new agreement dictated by Trump? The answer is simple: it won't. The only viable course of action is not to negotiate another worthless treaty, but to **enforce** the agreements already in place. That means supporting Ukraine's fight for full territorial integrity—not surrendering to Putin's demands.

### 2. America's Broken Promise Under the Budapest Memorandum

Trump's stance outright ignores the **direct obligation** that the United States undertook when Ukraine gave up its nuclear arsenal in 1994. Under the **Budapest Memorandum**, the U.S., U.K., and Russia guaranteed Ukraine's sovereignty in exchange for Kyiv relinquishing the third-largest stockpile of nuclear weapons in the world. The commitments made were to:

- Respect Ukraine’s **independence, sovereignty, and existing borders**.
- Refrain from the **threat or use of force** against Ukraine.
- Refrain from using **economic pressure** to influence Ukraine's policies.
- Seek **UN Security Council assistance** if Ukraine is threatened or attacked with nuclear weapons.
- **Not use nuclear weapons** against Ukraine.

The lesson for the world is clear: If America refuses to uphold its **past** commitments, why should any country trust a **new** agreement. Worse yet, if the U.S. will not stand by Ukraine, what signal does that send to allies like Taiwan or South Korea? Trump’s willingness to allow Russia to retain **stolen** Ukrainian territory tells every dictator on the planet that treaties and alliances mean nothing to America. The same can certainly be said for Russia.

### 3. The U.S. Has Been a Freeloader in Ukraine’s War

One of Trump’s frequent talking points is that America is spending too much to support Ukraine. What he **doesn’t** mention is that the **U.S. has not lost a single soldier** in Ukraine. While Ukrainians have fought and died defending their country, America has merely provided financial and military aid—an estimated 90% of which is spent **in the U.S.** on arms production.

The United States has committed approximately **\$175 billion** in aid to Ukraine, with nearly **70%—about \$122.5 billion—spent domestically** on American defence contractors upgrading the U.S. military, **according to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)**. A significant portion of this U.S. military aid comprised equipment drawn from existing U.S. defence stockpiles, including decommissioned or older equipment. Meanwhile, **Europe has provided approximately \$140 billion**, as the **European External Action Service (EEAS) reported**. Despite this, **President Trump has demanded that Ukraine surrender half of its critical mineral resources—graphite, uranium, titanium, and lithium—as “compensation” for a grossly exaggerated \$500 billion claim** of U.S. support, an outrageous demand **delivered by Vice President J.D. Vance** to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at a meeting on February 14, 2025, at the Munich Security Conference. In short, **while Ukrainians are dying on the front lines in defence of shared values such as freedom, respect for borders and the international rules-based order, the U.S. has been trying to extort scandalous concessions out of Ukraine.**

### 4. NATO’s Credibility Is at Stake—And America’s Security Along With It

Trump has repeatedly **threatened** NATO allies, suggesting that if they don’t meet arbitrary spending quotas, the U.S. might not defend them against Russian aggression. This reckless attitude has already made Putin more confident that he can push further without serious consequences.

If the U.S. abandons NATO commitments, there are two grave consequences:

1. **Russia Will Test NATO’s Resolve** – If Putin senses that the U.S. won’t honor **Article 5**, he could attack a vulnerable NATO member like the Baltics, daring the alliance to respond. A fractured NATO would be a strategic disaster.
2. **America May Be Alone in Its Next Crisis** – After 9/11, the U.S. depended on allies in Afghanistan and Iraq. If another 9/11-like attack occurs, will America’s allies rush to its defence? Or will they remember that Trump threatened to abandon them and decide that the U.S. isn’t worth the risk?

America cannot afford to betray its allies today and expect their loyalty tomorrow.

## 5. The Danger of Trump's Arrogance and Republican Silence

Trump's reckless disregard for history and international law is alarming enough. But even more dangerous is the **silence of the Republican Party**, which has largely failed to challenge his authoritarian tendencies. Trump has demonstrated **open contempt** for constitutional checks and balances, signing executive orders and proclamations that ignore Congress and the courts.

His party's refusal to rein him in only accelerates America's decline into dictatorship. If the U.S. allows Trump to set foreign policy by dictatorial fiat, ignoring legal constraints and alliances, then America itself risks becoming an unreliable, unstable global actor. That, more than any external threat, is what could truly doom the country in the long run.

## 6. The Stakes Cannot be Higher Internationally Today

Timothy Snyder has eloquently laid out the stakes of the Russia-Ukraine war. **If Ukraine were to lose**, we could expect the genocidal slaughter of those who opposed Russian rule, murders, rapes, arrests, detentions, torture, destruction of entire cities, the kidnapping of children and the flight of millions of new Ukrainian refugees into Western Europe. We can expect the **commencement of a larger European war** as Europe struggles to prepare for it amid the wave of new immigrants. We can expect China's invasion of Taiwan. We can expect more nuclear belligerence from North Korea. We can expect the breakdown of the post-World War II international rules-based order. And we can expect widespread atomic proliferation. These are consequences we can ill afford and compel us to do something now. It is clear that behind the scenes, an implied new world order is shaping. This **new order** is based on the **imperial intentions of Russia, America and China**. Each country appears ready to respect its other's imperial designs. This needs to be challenged.

## 7. What is to be Done Now - Key Points for Urgent Action

### Seizing Frozen Russian Assets for Ukraine:

- Agreement must be reached among European nations holding **\$300 billion in frozen Russian funds** to transfer them to Ukraine.
- These funds **should directly support Ukraine's war effort** against Russian aggression.

### Establishing a New Military Alliance:

- A new coalition is necessary, consisting of **European NATO nations (excluding those aligned with Putin), Canada, Australia, and New Zealand**.
- This alliance must work toward forming a **predominantly European joint army** to counter Russian threats.
- The force must be prepared **not only to defend Ukraine's borders but also to confront Russia directly**.

### Breaking the Illusion of a Limited War:

- It is a **strategic mistake** to limit the war to Ukraine's geographic boundaries.
- If Russia disregards international borders to invade Ukraine, it cannot expect its own borders to be respected.

- The world must demand **Russia's immediate and unconditional withdrawal** from Ukraine.
- If Russia refuses, retaliation must be an option—not out of a desire for war, but to uphold global security and international law.

#### **Honoring the Lessons of History:**

- Failing to act against Russia **dishonors the sacrifices** of those who fought in two world wars to preserve international peace.
- The **principle of respecting sovereign borders**—defended at great cost in the past—is at stake once again.

#### **Addressing Nuclear Threats with Clarity:**

- **Russia—not the Western response—is the real threat to nuclear stability.**
- This must be **clearly conveyed to Putin and the Russian populace.**
- The risk of escalation must be accepted **for the sake of long-term global peace.**
- **Russian nuclear extortion of America** must be called out for what it is

#### **Preparing for a New Era of Global Threats:**

- Due to shifting U.S. policies, this new alliance must **prepare for threats beyond Ukraine**, including **potential aggression against Denmark and Canada.**
- These nations must be defended for the same reasons Ukraine must be supported—because **unchecked aggression anywhere endangers everyone.**

#### **The Need for Unity and Immediate Action:**

- Europe and Canada must **not fall into illusions** about today's geopolitical reality.
- **Russia's aggression is relentless, and American support is no longer guaranteed**—it comes with conditions, demands, and ultimatums.
- If allies do not stand together now, they will face these threats **alone and increasingly vulnerable.**
- As **Benjamin Franklin warned during the American Revolution**, *"We must all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately."*
- **The time to act is now.** Europe, Canada, and like-minded nations must strengthen their alliances and take control of their own defense **before the choice is made for them.**

## **8. Conclusion: It's Not Too Late, But America Must Now Lead or Lose Everything**

The idea that Ukraine cannot reclaim its pre-2014 borders is not based on reality but on **political cowardice**. Let us remember that defeat is a choice. Trump's proposal to force Ukraine into a "peace" agreement is both naive and dangerous, ignoring:

- Russia's long history of breaking treaties,
- Russia's Holodomor imposed famine on Ukraine and its denials,
- The U.S.'s broken promise under the Budapest Memorandum,
- The fact that America has not sacrificed troops in Ukraine,
- The credibility of NATO,

- The fact that America is abandoning its allies.

As already outlined, if the U.S. fails Ukraine now, the consequences will be global: a disintegrating NATO, a green light for China's invasion of Taiwan, and a precedent for dictators worldwide and a widening war in Europe. Worst of all, if America ever finds itself in need—whether after another 9/11 or a major global crisis—it may find that the world no longer believes in the strength of its promises.

History teaches us that appeasement leads to greater wars. The time to enforce existing agreements, not create new meaningless ones, is now. And the time for Republicans to **stand up to Trump** before his arrogance leads America into international isolation is long overdue.

*Andy J. Semotiuk is a U.S. immigration attorney with Pace Law Firm in Toronto. A former United Nations correspondent stationed in New York, Mr. Semotiuk is a Senior Advisor to the Centre for Eastern European Democracy and a contributor to Forbes. A former President of the Canada Ukraine Foundation, Mr. Semotiuk has written four books and is a human rights activist.*

## PART 2

# Thirteen Reasons Why a “Negotiated Peace” in Ukraine Will Shatter Our Security

*Victor Rud*



## **THIRTEEN REASONS WHY A “NEGOTIATED PEACE” IN UKRAINE WILL SHATTER OUR SECURITY, EXPLAINS VICTOR RUD**

by Victor Rud

EU Today

October 22, 2024

***“As we assure Russia the very sanctuary, peace and tranquility that we deny Ukraine, Russia torches Ukraine into a smoldering graveyard with that very American technology, imbedded in its own, and in Iranian and North Korean weaponry.”***

Western pressure on Ukraine to negotiate with Russia is increasing: for half of America’s political spectrum, the negotiation drumbeat has become histrionic, with Republicans asserting that “no vital American interest is at stake.”

Ukraine is elbowed aside, and Washington is called upon to “open direct negotiations with Moscow.” Otherwise, we’re told darkly, nuclear war is in the offing, “maybe even the end of the human species.”

The nuclear psychosis that Russia has implanted in our brain is shared by the administration, oblivious of Moscow’s tenet, “all war is based on deception.”

Small wonder that, for all of the aid that the US has provided Ukraine, a straitjacket is imposed on Ukraine’s use of certain American weaponry.

To the extent that weaponry provided by other countries incorporates American technology, its like use is vetoed as well.

As we assure Russia the very sanctuary, peace and tranquility that we deny Ukraine, Russia torches Ukraine into a smoldering graveyard with that very American technology, imbedded in its own, and in Iranian and North Korean weaponry.

Concurrently, any reference by the administration to Ukraine “winning,” is fleeting and near embarrassed in tone. A “negotiated settlement” is variously openly pronounced and whispered.

We decompose Ukraine’s determination, poison its spirit and crush its morale. “The mood is pitch black. Ukraine feels betrayed,” wrote Tymofiy Mylovanov, head of the Kyiv School of Economics.

“Someone in London recently told me bluntly: ‘We have to force Zelensky to accept a deal, and we’ll withdraw support to make it happen.’”

With North Korean troops reported as recently dispatched to aid Russia’s invasion, French Foreign Minister Jean-Noël Barrot warned, “A Russian victory would be a consecration for the law of the strongest and would push the international order toward chaos.”

Why not avoid it and seek a “diplomatic solution?” Because that would multiply the chaos and ensure Russia’s victory.

## **First: What – exactly – would be negotiated?**

Every issue has already been agreed to in a dozen multi-lateral and bi-lateral agreements, signed with all solemnity by the Kremlin to international applause.

These include responsibility for wars of aggression, for war crimes and crimes against humanity, and for genocide, the crime of crimes. It's what we have championed since WWII.

"We have to stick to certain rules. Otherwise, international relations cannot be built," Vladimir Putin purred in an interview with Oliver Stone in 2017.

But perhaps "land for peace?"

Territory, in any conventional sense, is not the issue. Russia — as we know (don't we?) — is the largest country on the planet, 45,000 times larger than Gaza, and with a border that would encircle the globe 1.5 times. It needs more land? Roughly 20% of Ukraine would be an invisible 0.7 % of Russia's empire.

Territory, national borders, however, are pivotal because they anchor (so we lecture) national sovereignty. They must remain inviolate, conceptually no different than defending "every square inch" of NATO territory. Otherwise, we can bid good-bye to global attempts in dealing with everything from climate change to pandemic control to arms control to terrorism to international trade.

**Only those nations that have actually experienced Russia understand that we dare not cynically pervert the "rules-based international order" into pablum.**

**That "order" requires nothing less than the return of Ukraine to the status quo ante 2014. It includes full reparations and punishment.**

**It includes the right of the victim — and of the international community — to impose limitations on the aggressor's ability to wage aggressive war again, including restrictions on its sovereignty (such as a security zone, buffer territory, on Russia's side of the 2014 border).**

**The "world order" also includes — and this has escaped the attention of Ukraine's supporters — Russia's liability for the damages they suffer in the course of aiding the victim, Ukraine.**

Dmitry Medvedev, deputy chairman of Russia's Security Council and Vladimir Putin's predecessor demanded, "Every day we should try to do maximum harm to those countries that have imposed these restrictions. Harm their economies, their institutions and their rulers.

"Harm the well-being of their citizens, their confidence in the future."

That included the targeting of critical Western infrastructure, such as energy, industry, transport, banking and social services, and stirring up social tensions. "Let's turn their lives into a crazy nightmare in which they can't distinguish wild fiction from the realities of the day."

## **Second: How could a “peaceful resolution” be damaging our global security?**

At the signing of the Helsinki Accords more than 50 years ago, President Ford said: “History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow — not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.”

Is this only hypocritical virtue signalling? If we revisit the very issues that were put to rest generations ago, it will necessarily be our rejection – minimally, the dilution — of those issues and the declaration of the uselessness of that order.

It would openly kick the can of enforcement down the road, with all its consequences. Forget about any credibility, as hypocrisy, cowardice and duplicity become our call signs.

Before his election, Biden wrote: “The international system that the United States so carefully constructed is coming apart at the seams.

“For 70 years, the United States . . . played a leading role in writing the rules, forging the agreements, and animating the institutions that guide relations among nations and advance collective security and prosperity.

“In order to regain the confidence of the world we are going to have to prove that the United States says what it means and means what it says.

“We have to . . . reclaim our credibility.”

### **What will a “diplomatic solution” accomplish?**

**It will make us, the architect and foremost advocate of that “order,” its wrecking ball. It will label us a moral aphasiac, a betrayer of not just of our friends and allies but of our own essence.**

**The wispy tendrils of America’s remaining global deterrence credibility will further entice not just Russia but China et al. It will ensure the very nuclear afterglow that negotiation cheerleaders rail against.**

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov gets it. “This is not so much about Ukraine, but about the world order. The current crisis is a fateful moment, an epochal moment in modern history, because it reflects the battle in the broadest sense of the word for how the world order will look.”

Deputy of the State Duma Vyacheslav Nikonov (a grandson of Stalin’s foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov) struts: “In the modern world, we are the embodiment of the forces of good. This is a metaphysical clash between the forces of good and evil . . . This is truly a holy war we’re waging, and we must win.”

**Third: We’ve already advanced that breakdown, making a burlesque of it all by endorsing the gun barrel arrangements, the infamous Minsk Protocols, in 2014 and 2015.**

They would impose upon the victim, Ukraine, the very limitations on its sovereignty and other penalties that international law instead imposes on the aggressor, Russia.

Reflexive control and reality reversal became one as Russia annexed our brain. We celebrated it at the Geneva Summit in June 2021. Putin RSVP'd seven months later with the expanded invasion. The chorus, "there's no alternative to Minsk is now morphing into "there's no alternative to a diplomatic solution."

Before Minsk we already had Georgia. Our demand — "Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected. Moscow must honour its commitment to withdraw its invading forces from all Georgian territory." - was meaningless.

Washington promptly descended into happy talk. It, not the Kremlin, became the supplicant months later with our execrable "reset" rewarding Russia's for its dismemberment of the victim. Little wonder Moscow was energized.

Before Georgia, Russia's levelled Chechnya. President Clinton covered for Russia, alluding to Russian President Yeltsin as "Abraham Lincoln" in keeping a country together.

#### **Fourth: A "diplomatic solution" in Ukraine would be a group hug around a delusion, the only predictability being its breach.**

How can we rely on yet another agreement when it was precisely "agreements" that have so miserably failed, consistently and predictably, Minsk included? A hundred years of dealing with the Kremlin has been littered by pen exchanges.

Moscow long ago perfected "the art of the deal." It specifically rejects compromise or restraint. Its DNA is dynamic, outgoing, and predatory. "Stability" is not part of it.

**Negotiation exists not to find a common middle ground, or to compromise, since agreements exist as simply another modality to divert attention, to placate, to confuse, to buy time. Thus, for instance, a "Peace Treaty" between the Russian Federation and Chechnya predictably provided Moscow the breathing spell to rebuild its forces for Chechnya's ultimate demise.**

**At the end, the purpose of "agreeing" is to prevent the realisation of its very purpose, or to affirmatively ensure the very opposite.**

Moscow has the world's largest nuclear arsenal — and we've succumbed to its nuclear blackmail — not despite disarmament agreements but precisely because of them. (Consider that an impending Russian victory – NOT defeat — will make a nuclear strike more likely.)

Our febrile infatuation with agreements, sublimated into "resolution," is self-anaesthetizing. It never wavers. It's foreign policy malpractice. Remember Yalta? "Yalta, whatever the future may bring forth, will always stand out as a gigantic step forward toward the ultimate establishment of a peaceful and orderly world."

George Kennan intoned in his memoirs, "The Russians don't want to invade anyone. It's not in their tradition."

And British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart was adamant: "The Russians will not invade Czechoslovakia. They have changed too much since Hungary in 1956."

"It's difficult to understand why the Soviets took this action," President Carter told members of Congress in a White House briefing on Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan. "I think they probably underestimated the adverse reaction from around the world."

And about Georgia, Condoleezza Rice said: "Everybody is now questioning Russia's worthiness as a partner. They've come out of this badly. And I think it could help deter them from trying something like that again."

### **Fifth: How would a negotiated settlement reflect on our allies' and enemies' assessment of our strategic acumen?**

It consists of: (a) Hammering Ukraine into surrendering – to Russia – the world's third largest nuclear arsenal. Months before he invaded Ukraine in 2014, Putin conceded: "if you have the bomb, no one will touch you."

Russia simply barreled a tank through its "agreement" not to savage Ukraine.

(b) Washington prevailing on Ukraine to capitulate part of itself to a thoroughly genocidal Russia.

(c) Resulting in a global stampede by non-nuclear nations to acquire The Bomb, with all its implications for the still Free World. President Clinton's belated and useless mea culpa for denuding Ukraine means what, and particularly since Putin told him he would not comply with the governing document?

### **Sixth: What does a "deal" in Ukraine do to our mantra, "we don't negotiate with terrorists?"**

Russia is the acme of the terrorist state. Who incubated, trained, funded and directed Islamic terrorism against the very countries today championing negotiation?

In the 1970's, Alexander Sakharovsky, head of the KGB's First Chief Directorate (foreign operations) to his Romanian counterpart, Ion Pacepa: "Terrorism has to become our main weapon. Airplane hijacking is my own invention."

So . . . forget 9/11? Who trained Hamas? Forget that Putin is an internationally indicted megalomaniacal war criminal, who has given his one-finger salute to it all?

### **Seventh: In any "settlement agreement" with Russia we would promote the defenestration of the "world order" in exchange for what?**

What is Russia to "promise" that it already hasn't? Not to invade, murder, torture, rape, dismember, mutilate, kidnap, starve, wage war? Those are already pre-existing and recommitted obligations and add nothing.

**Eighth: Vladislav Surkov, a former senior advisor to President Putin, proudly wrote that “Russia is playing with the West’s brains.”**

In a high profile interview, Republican vice-presidential candidate Senator J.D. Vance openly sounded the position of a thoroughly suborned Republican Party: Ukraine was to surrender territory (and the humanity on it) illegally invaded by Russia, commit to neutrality, with a demilitarised zone on Ukraine’s side of the new border, the West that would pay for Russia’s devastation of Ukraine, and Ukraine would forego NATO membership.

(Forget that it was Russia that declared war against NATO and the West, generally, years ago. A month before the February invasion, the Russian military saw no external threats to “vital interests [...] NATO force groupings are not being built up, and there is no threatening activity.”)

It’s a heinous outsourcing of “reality control,” as George Orwell wrote, to Moscow.

It erases Russia’s predatory DNA and showcases our talent as the troubadour of the dezinform implanted in our cortex. It’s in line with decades of our somberly intoning a catechism of Russia’s “defensive needs,” “security concerns,” “hurt pride,” “fear of encirclement,” “backyard,” “legitimate interests,” “legitimate concerns,” “sphere of influence,” “historic claims,” “fears of NATO,” having a “buffer,” etc.

Our Russia experts make No. 2 Dzerzhinsky Square proud.

**Ninth: Cutting a deal also means that we are to forget about “never again.”**

Forget about never forgetting. Russia’s daily vitriol declares a “holy war” against “everything Ukrainian” while we debate the victims’ self-defence rights.

We’d be the hypocritical abettor of an unbridled extirpative passion. “Your task is to wipe the Ukrainian nation off the face of the earth,” is the commandment of Russia’s faux church.

Israel’s former Prime Minister, Golda Meir (coincidentally, born in Kyiv) knew the issue: “They say we must be dead. And we say we want to be alive. Between life and death, I don’t know of a compromise.”

**Tenth: Even assuming a “negotiated settlement,” how would it be enforced?**

It’s precisely enforcement of an existing blizzard of agreements that must be had. We would sidestep it with still another agreement that we know with certainty will be shattered? Do we plan to station 30,000 American troops in Ukraine, as we have in Korea, for three generations?

**Eleventh: Our demanding that Ukrainians “make peace” compounds the infamy, and strategic insanity, of extending diplomatic recognition to Moscow in 1933 as it was starving Ukraine to finally break the spine of more than a decade of resistance to Moscow’s rule.**

Europe was equally nonchalant about the horror of it all. The UK’s Foreign Office: “We do not want to make it[information about the Ukrainian genocide] public, however, because the Soviet Government

would resent it and our relations with them would be prejudiced. We cannot give this explanation in public.” (After WWII, a joint U.S. and U.K. manhunt in Europe forcibly repatriated the famine survivors back to the Gulag.) Instead of seeking redemption, we would multiply the infamy.

### **Twelfth: Forcing a settlement agreement upon Ukraine would be epochal maliciousness.**

**It would deny that Ukraine paid the highest price for that very “rules-based international order” established after WWII, suffering the greatest loss of any nation in that war, some 8-9 million of its humanity. (So much for “Ukrainian nazis.”)**

**Thirteenth: Forget, also, that Ukraine’s recoument of its independence in 1991 ensured the collapse of the USSR, stopping America’s precipitous strategic slide and a gusher of an estimated \$13 trillion spent in the Cold War.**

It also restored the U.S. to an uncontested global primacy that wasn’t seen since the end of WWII, making America “great again.” Time to throw Ukraine under the bus.

The West either defends itself or enforces the rules or it doesn’t. Hammering Ukraine to “make peace” is not only folly. It will be cataclysmic.

According to Samir Saran, the head of the Indian thinktank the Observer Research Foundation: “It tells countries like us that if something like this were to happen in the Indo-Pacific, you have no chance against China. If you cannot defeat a \$2tn nation [Saran previously reciting the West’s \$40tn economy], don’t think you are deterring China. China is taking hope from your abysmal and dismal performance against a much smaller adversary.”

Putin acts on his splenetic disdain of the democratic West, and America in particular. He has concluded that we are naïve, have a low frustration threshold, refuse to believe the experience and warnings of others who know infinitely more, lack political will, cheer appeasement, prostitute our values, are corrupt, don’t have the slightest conception of history and its lessons, and therefore are unable to anticipate and shape the future. In other words, we’re strategically illiterate.

**Any agreement with Russia that we would, directly or indirectly, force upon Ukraine is a candy wrapper for hemlock, with ourselves joining the demise. It will be the realisation of what Putin summarised: “[T]his operation means the beginning of a radical breakdown of the U.S.-style world order.”**

**It’s more than intellectual lassitude to think otherwise. It’s hallucinatory.**

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## **PART 3**

# **The Russian Genocidal War Against Ukraine: Why Ukraine Must Win**

*Wiktor Moskaliuk*



# THE RUSSIAN GENOCIDAL WAR AGAINST UKRAINE

## WHY UKRAINE MUST WIN



Wiktor Moskaliuk

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Putin has made it clear that **his goal is to destroy Ukraine** and its people, committing genocide in the process. This is why Ukrainians continue to fight fiercely. Across the occupied territories, we have witnessed evidence of mass murder, rape, terror, and the destruction of entire cities, churches, hospitals, and children's daycare centers, alongside horrific war crimes not seen since World War II. If Putin's war of conquest continues, mass killings will escalate, and if he is not defeated, Ukraine faces an existential threat.

To allow Russia to win, whether through a "peace" agreement or any other means, would be a **monumental strategic mistake**, akin to conceding Nazi Germany's control over Western Europe in exchange for a promise of no further aggression. Freezing the conflict along the occupied territories would allow Moscow to continue its Russification program, subjecting over 4 million Ukrainians to the terror of occupation—an unthinkable prospect for the Ukrainian people.

**If Ukraine falls**, the threat will extend beyond its borders, with Moldova, the Baltic States, and Poland potentially next in line. Russia's aggression will expand into Europe, and the cost to the West would be immeasurable.

However, **if Ukraine succeeds**—supported by the US and Europe—freedom will triumph, and the rule of law and order will prevail. Defeating the Russian army will also send a powerful message to Russia, and the "Axis of Evil" nations—Iran, North Korea, and China—detering their imperial ambitions. Standing firm against Russia now will also send a clear signal to China, discouraging its ambitions regarding Taiwan.

**Russia is waging a war against the WEST not just against Ukraine.**

## DETAILED SUMMARY

- **Russian invasion of Ukraine - 3-year anniversary:** On February 24, 2022, Putin launched the invasion of Ukraine as part of his vision to create a new 'Russian World'—a reconstituted Russian Empire. Without Ukraine, there is no empire. Historically, Ukraine was the breadbasket and industrial powerhouse of the Soviet Union, contributing over 40% of its GDP. Between 1989 and 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed, and in 1991, 92.3% of Ukrainians voted for independence. This implosion freed 144 million people across Eastern Europe, the Baltics, and Ukraine from Soviet domination.
- **Russia's invasion of 2022 was a failure:** Russia's plan was to capture Kyiv in three days and take control of the entire country within two weeks using 200,000 troops. However, it failed. Ukraine has been resisting Russian forces for the fourth year, despite many Western governments initially believing Ukraine was doomed. While Russia made gains in the south and southeast, Ukraine successfully destroyed Russian forces near Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Sumy oblasts. The Russian campaign to capture Kharkiv was also a disaster. So far, Ukraine has regained 54 % of the territory occupied by Russia from the estimated 18 % seized at the start of the invasion.
- **Ukraine wants peace – the Axis of Evil:** The war will end when Russia withdraws from Ukraine's occupied territories and returns home. Russia does not seek "peace"—it aims to restore the power it once held over the Soviet Empire. Just as it allied with Nazi Germany in 1939 to divide

Europe, Russia has now aligned itself with China, North Korea, and Iran—the new Axis of Evil. Russia aspires to become Europe’s dominant power with the support of its partners, while China seeks control over Asia. This war of conquest has nothing to do with NATO and everything to do with global power dominance. However, there can be no peace deal until Ukraine regains all its occupied land and Russia returns to its 1991 borders, as it committed to in the Budapest Memorandum.

- **Budapest Memorandum of 1994:** Ukraine gave up the world’s third largest nuclear weapons systems due to pressure brought on it by the **United States in 1994. President Clinton** today regrets that decision. The Budapest Memorandum signed by the **USA, Russia and UK** gave “assurances” (in Ukrainian and other languages translated as “guarantees”) that the borders and sovereignty of Ukraine were to be sacrosanct. **In 2014** when Russia invaded the Donbas and Crimea there was silence from the signatories. **If Ukraine had kept the nuclear weapons in 1994, the war of conquest by Russia would never have occurred. Ukraine’s forced disarmament paved the way for Russia’s invasion.**
  
- **Putin’s War Crimes:** Putin’s invasion of Ukraine has resulted in mass murder, the imprisonment of Ukrainian opponents in occupied territories, abductions and mass deportations, the rape of children, and over 500,000 Ukrainian soldiers and civilians killed or wounded.
  - **Genocidal war against Ukraine:** Putin’s ultimate display of power is waging a genocidal war against a sovereign European state, aiming to exterminate its Ukrainian inhabitants. He has declared himself a czar, chosen by 'history' to decide which nations deserve to survive and which do not.
  - **Abducted Ukrainian Children:** Putin has already been indicted by the ICC for war crimes, including the abduction of over 250,000 children, with further indictments expected.
  - **Occupied Territories of Ukraine:** Across the occupied territories of Ukraine, Russian forces have committed rape, torture, massacres of civilians, and mass burials—accompanied by propaganda and lies reminiscent of Hitler and Joseph Goebbels.
  - **Ukrainians in the occupied territories forced to take Russian Citizenship since 2022:** In the occupied areas, all civilians are being coerced into taking Russian citizenship and passports. Those who refuse are being denied access to essential services such as medical care, education, employment, and pensions. This forced imposition of foreign citizenship violates international law, as it is illegal to compel individuals to adopt the nationality of another country.
  - **Torture and Executions of Ukrainian soldiers are WAR CRIMES:** The soldiers released from Russian captivity have endured brutal torture and starvation, constituting clear war crimes. Ukrainian soldiers who were captured have faced horrific acts, including beheadings and castration. Over 200 Ukrainian soldiers who recently surrendered have been executed, a tragic testament to the inhumane treatment they have suffered. These acts are not isolated, but rather part of a systematic policy directed by the Russian state.
  - **Sexual Crimes:** Thousands of cases have been reported involving sexual crimes and torture, with both children and adults being victims of these atrocities committed by Russian forces. These heinous acts highlight the brutal and systematic violence being inflicted on innocent civilians.
  - **Destruction of the Country:** Entire Ukrainian cities, towns, villages, and entire regions have been decimated, reduced to rubble, and heavily mined. The once-thriving forests have been destroyed, and the land is left contaminated, making it impossible for life to return. The scars of war will haunt these areas for generations to come.
  - **Russians are persecuting all Christians in the occupied territories of Ukraine:** Persecuted groups include Roman Catholics, Evangelical Christian Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Ukrainian Reformed Orthodox Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as Jews and

Muslims. Since the onset of the war, Russia has destroyed over 660 churches in Ukraine, targeting religious communities and their places of worship in a blatant assault on faith and culture.

- **Russian War Crimes:** The systemic atrocities carried out by Moscow over the last three years are a continuation of the brutal methods they have employed in warfare for centuries. These actions are not isolated incidents, but part of a longstanding pattern of violence and inhumanity. All those involved in these war crimes should be held accountable and persecuted in a manner similar to the Nuremberg trials, ensuring justice for the countless victims of this aggression.
- **Russian History and Ukrainian History:** The **Kyivan Rus**, the precursor to modern Ukraine, existed 400 years before Moscow's rise. Moscow, for over three centuries, was a vassal state of the Mongols, remaining under their control until the mid-1500s. The leadership style and practices of Russia have deep roots in this Mongol heritage, rather than in European traditions. While Ukrainians are Slavs, the Russian people, influenced heavily by Mongol rule, are of Finno-Mongolian descent—a lineage that can be seen in figures like Vladimir Putin.

**Ukrainian Demographic Losses from 1917 to Present:** Over **twenty-five million** Ukrainians have perished due to starvation, murder, and the atrocities committed by both Russian and Nazi forces during events such as collectivization, the Holodomor of 1932-33, and World War II. Few nations in history have endured as much death, suffering, and destruction as Ukraine, bearing a continuing heavy toll on Ukrainians today.

- **The War is Not a Stalemate - Ukraine's Recent Accomplishments:**

- **Oil Refineries:** Ukraine has developed **20 different types of long-range drones**, each capable of flying over 1,000 km. These drones have successfully damaged **14** out of **30** major oil refineries and storage facilities in Russia, leading to a loss of 1-2 million barrels per day—approximately 30% of Russia's refining and storage capacity. This strategic disruption has significantly impacted Russia's oil industry.
- **Ukrainian Drone Army:** Drones have become a central weapon of the war. Ukraine has produced over **2.5 million drones** in 2024. The drone army is using about 200,000 drones a month destroying over 10,000 tanks, 20,000 armoured vehicles and 23,000 artillery systems.
- **Ukraine has driven out the Russian Navy from the Black Sea using sea drones:** Ukraine developed a new type of weapon, the **sea drone**, which has devastated the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and driven it out of Crimea. **Twenty-eight (28) warships corvettes**, and **1 submarine** were destroyed out of a fleet of **44 ships** by Ukrainian sea drones – this without Ukraine even having no navy. By itself, Ukraine re-opened the blockaded western route in the Black Sea for international shipping of grain to the world.
- **The Russian Air force is not active over Ukraine:** The Russian air force attempted to establish air supremacy over Ukraine, but their aircraft have largely remained within Russia's borders. Ukraine's robust air defense systems and missile capabilities have made it too dangerous for Russian bombers and fighters to operate over Ukrainian territory. As a result, Russia has lost a total of 370 aircraft and 331 helicopters in the ongoing conflict.
- **Russian Army Casualties:** Over **860,000 Russian troops** have been killed and wounded in Ukraine.

- **Europe has spent double the US on Ukrainian aid (military, financial and humanitarian) since 2022:**
  - Europe - \$ 195 billion (military aid \$ 62 Billion)
  - USA - \$ 102 billion (military aid \$ 61 Billion)
  - Other countries - \$ 41 billion.
  - **US Military aid to Ukraine is \$ 61 billion since 2022:** 90% of the military money was spent in the **38 states** of the USA that have an armaments industry. The armaments that would be sent to Ukraine would be from existing stock most of which was slated for decommissioning and the money allocated by the government was to replace the equipment sent with new systems.

The TOTAL GDP of the US /European Union is over **\$ 40 trillion a year**: Russia is a mere **\$ 1.7 trillion**. The US/EU GDP is **twenty-five (25) times greater than Russia's**. The EU/US population base is **five (5) times greater** than Russia's. The economy of Russia is smaller than that of Canada, Italy or Spain.

## Conclusion

*Why is the West afraid of Russia? Ukraine can win if all the necessary offensive systems are provided by the West. Russia's economy can be severely crippled by implementing a total oil and gas embargo. These resources are crucial in funding Putin's war efforts. By cutting off this key revenue stream, the international community can easily cripple Russia's financial capabilities, thereby collapsing its ability to continue its aggressive actions.*

***Russia must be removed from occupied Ukraine and Crimea***

*On Russian defeat in the war in Ukraine, the thirty of so captive nations could be decolonized from the so-called "Russian Federation" which would destroy Russia's Imperial ambitions forever and hopefully see them develop into democratic countries and partners.*

## PART A. THE RUSSIAN GENOCIDAL WAR AGAINST UKRAINE

### 1. **Ukraine is defending the West - Ukraine Can and Will Win the WAR against Russia:**

- **Capturing Ukraine in three (3) days was the goal of Putin:** The full-scale Russian Invasion started on February 24, 2022. Putin's goal was to capture Kyiv and install a puppet government in 3 days. It's now 36 months and there is still no victory for Russia – this is an incredible achievement by Ukraine against the supposed second largest army in the world.
- **Ukraine has fought an 11-year war against Russia:** Russia is waging the **largest European land war of conquest since the Second World War** and Ukraine has persevered. Many Western countries thought that Ukraine would collapse after a few weeks. Except for anti-tank weapons like Javelins and NLAW, Ukraine stopped the Russian army without heavy weapons but with determination. Fighting alone, Ukraine is breaking the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest army in the world. It has not only persevered, it has regained 54% of the occupied territories that Russia initially seized. Ukraine has defended the West from Russian imperialism **since 2014**. The war is now in its **11<sup>th</sup> year**.

- **Ukrainian Independence:** Ukrainians know what they are fighting for – “**defending their nation’s existence.**” If they stop fighting, Ukraine will cease to exist as an independent state and its people will cease to exist as a Ukrainian nation. Russia’s genocidal goal is to force Ukraine to submit to Russian control. By destroying the Ukrainian people, its language and culture, Russia is taking its first steps to recreate the Soviet-Russian Empire. Russia’s historic goal throughout history has always been expanding its empire. **A Ukraine without Ukrainians is a critical piece of that imperial goal.** Throughout history Russians have mass murdered Ukrainians killing all Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural figures.
- **How many more deaths should Ukraine suffer?**

***Since the 1917 Communist Revolution to the present, over 25 million Ukrainians have perished by collectivization, starvation, torture, murder, slave labour, and forced relocation in Russia’s long campaign of conquest of Ukraine.***

***Few countries in the world have suffered more death and destruction than UKRAINE.***

***The invasion by Putin is a continuation of that history. There is nothing “brotherly” between Russia and Ukraine. Russia has always been an enemy of Ukraine.***

- **Ukraine’s history of fighting for Independence:** Ukraine has been fighting for **national independence** from Russian Colonial rule and Russification for over **three hundred years**, achieving independence briefly in **1918 -1921** after the collapse of Czarist Russia and then finally in **1991**, with the collapse and dissolution of the Soviet Union.
- **Destruction of Ukraine:** Russia is attempting to crush Ukraine, destroying its industries and infrastructure, bombing its energy plants, hospitals, schools, universities, industrial, and residential neighbourhoods throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands of buildings have been destroyed. The Russians are undoing all the progress Ukraine has made in the past **34 years** since it broke free of Russian-Soviet occupation and control.



- **Russian War against the WEST - Ukraine is only the beginning:** Intelligence officers in Britain, Germany, Finland, Poland, and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have all opined that Russia is building a military machine that will attack Europe within **5 to 10 years.**

***If Russia is not deterred now in Ukraine Europeans and Americans will be in that war – the Third World War.***

- **Russian Hybrid War against the WEST:** Since the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Russia has used a broad campaign of hybrid attacks against the West via means of **Cyber-attacks, arson, sabotage and murder.** In Europe Russia has engaged Chinese ships to drag their anchors along the bottom of the Baltic Sea destroying undersea infrastructure cables containing communications (internet) and electrical power. Russian troll farms are relentlessly disseminating anti-Western propaganda through new media (Tik Tok, Instagram, Facebook, X).

**Russia uses refugees as a weapon against the West.** Russia engaged in a war of destruction in Syria causing millions of refugees to flood Europe. In addition, Russia encourages illegal migrants from Africa, Middle East, Asia, and Afghanistan to enter Europe, deliberately destabilizing European society and straining its resources. Russia has brought illegal immigrants to the European borders through Belarus as well as over the Mediterranean. Together with its immigrant “warfare,” Russia has funded both extreme left wing and right-wing parties throughout Europe, disrupting elections while advancing politicians who parrot Putin’s agendas. A large number of politicians in Europe have been compromised by Russia’s FSB. All of these activities are operated throughout Europe by the **FSB** and the new organization **DKRO** working from inside Russia’s embassies and consulates. **All Russian embassies in Europe should be closed down.**

**Russia the last Empire:**

It was the strong leadership of the United States and Europe that confronted the Soviet Empire (USSR) resulting in its defeat in 1989-1991. A total of over **144 million** people were liberated from Russian-Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Baltics, Ukraine and the five Central Asian States (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan).

Each of these countries have their own histories of terror, abuse and genocide committed against them by the Russians.

**2. US and European support for Ukraine:**

The United States and its European allies and partners have provided incredible support to Ukraine since 2022 in its battle to retain its sovereignty and its freedom from Russian reoccupation.

**Ronald Reagan** in **1983** at the height of the **Cold War /Soviet Afghan War** accurately described the **Soviet Union** as an “evil empire” and as “the focus of evil in the modern world.” He asserted that the conflict is between “good and evil.”

Forty years later his words on Russia are very relevant today.

“WE WIN -THEY LOSE”

**Zbigniew Brzezinski** (the Former National Security Advisor under President Jimmy Carter) astutely said:

“Without Ukraine Russia ceases to be an Empire, but with Ukraine suborned and subordinated, Russia automatically becomes an Empire,” and that is Putin’s plan for Ukraine.

**American War of Independence (1775-1783).** America was a colony of the British for **200 years**.

- **Ukraine was a colony of Russia for 300 years.**
- **The Americans fought the British for eight years and Ukraine has now been fighting the Russians for ten years (36 months since the full-scale invasion in 2022).**
- The **French** supported the Americans by providing supplies, **arms and ammunition**, uniforms, **and most importantly troops and naval support.**
- It was estimated that **50%** of the cost of the war of independence was provided by the French. In the same way America and Europe have continuously helped Ukraine to defeat **the Russian Imperial power.**

**Ukraine can win just like the Americans did.**

**3. After the Fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, under American pressure Ukraine relinquished its Nuclear Weapons to Russia:**

- **Ukraine “gave up” the following nuclear weapons, missiles and aircraft:**
  - **200 ICBM’s** - ballistic missiles
  - **2156 nuclear warheads**
  - **1,000 cruise missiles** – which the Russian are now using against Ukraine
  - **4,200 tactical nuclear warheads** – these were the first weapons seized by the Russians as these were as small as artillery shells.
  - **43 strategic heavy bombers** – Russia is using these aircraft to bomb Ukraine on a daily basis.

The US under **President Clinton** forced Ukraine to give up the **third largest nuclear arsenal** in the world. Clinton told President Kravchuk that **“not signing would risk major damage to USA - Ukrainian relations.”**



**There would have been no invasion in 2014 & 2022 by the Russians if Ukraine had not been forced to give up its weapons.** Ukraine sacrificed their nuclear weapons in exchange for promises of goodwill and **signed its own death warrant.**

**If these nuclear weapons had remained in Ukraine, over 500,000 Ukrainians would not have been killed and wounded.**

- **Pakistan, India and Israel** have nuclear weapons, but they were not forced to relinquish them by the Americans.
- **Budapest Memorandum - 1994:** Ukraine gave up its nuclear weapons on the condition that Russia would honour its borders and not invade the country or apply economic pressure. Ukraine signed the memorandum on **December 5, 1994.**
- **Ukraine’s Biggest Geopolitical Mistake - Giving up its Nuclear Arsenal:**
  - Assurances for Ukraine’s security were provided by the **United States, United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation with further assurances/signatures of France, and China.** All assured that UKRAINE’s sovereignty would be protected and its borders maintained and honored.
  - **In 2014,** Russia invaded Ukraine and occupied Crimea/Donbas, **but there was only silence from the signatories.** **President Obama** did nothing to honor the Budapest Agreement. He refused to supply any weapons to help Ukraine defend itself. Instead, **Obama** “reset” relations with Russia, normalizing economic relations – a policy the West has been following since. A terrible policy that has led to the crisis we face today.
- **What trust have we now in international agreements? What security have smaller states now without their own nuclear weapons? Where was the support by the signatories USA/UK/France for Ukraine when Russia started the war by invading Crimea and the Donbas in 2014?**

**President Bill Clinton admitted regret for pushing Ukraine to give up its nuclear weapons. April 5, 2023**

#### 4. Why did Russia Invade Ukraine?

- **Russian Imperial Empire Expansion:** Russia's invasion of Ukraine was the beginning of that **new ambitious imperial vision for European dominance** – not through leadership and the competition for superior economic models but **by brute force**.

Putin stated *“The collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century”* and he wants to **re-establish that Empire** and he would be lauded as the **new Russian Czar** for the history books and to **plunder the wealth of Ukraine**.

- **Russian Conquest:** Russia is not looking for **“peace” but conquest; not co-existence, but dominance**. Russia seeks to re-establish the power it exerted when it controlled a vast and unwilling empire of subject nations under the guise of a **“co-operative Soviet Union”**.
- **Ukraine is a Nation:** Putin stated that he does **not accept Ukraine as a real State** nor **Ukrainian national identity**, claiming instead that Ukraine is Russia. **Putin's propaganda is a lie**.
- **Putin's intention in Ukraine:** Putin has embraced this **Russian imperial tradition**. When his initial efforts to re-establish control over Ukraine via political subversion were thwarted by the country's 2004 and 2014 Maidan revolutions. President Yanukovich fled Ukraine after ordering the killing of 110 demonstrators in Kyiv. Putin then decided to use military force and ordered the Russian military to seize Crimea and Donbas, starting a war with Ukraine which is still going on – expanding it with the full-scale invasion in 2022.

**Ukraine is a unique country with a much longer history than Russia by over 400 years.**

Putin's Invasion is targeting Ukraine's massive natural resources and its industries: ***Yevgeny Prigozhin the Russian mercenary leader (founder of WAGNER group) and oligarch (killed by Putin) said in one of his videos. “The only reason that Putin invaded Ukraine was to steal its resources and split it with his Oligarch mafia cronies.” This is what has occurred in Donbas and Crimea since 2014.***

- **Ukrainians are not Russians:** Ukrainians are a **Slavic people** and Russians are predominately **Finno- Mongolian** with an entirely different history, values and culture. They are **“not brothers”** as Putin and various pundits claim. Ukraine does not have a common language, culture, or political history with Russia.
- **Ukraine is a Democracy and Russia a dictatorship:** Ukraine in the last **25 years** has had **5 Presidents** and Russia has only **one**, Putin. Putin believes that an **independent, democratic Ukraine is a threat** to his dictatorial rule by setting an example of freedom and prosperity the Russian people might follow.
- **Reasons propagated by Putin for the invasion of Ukraine:** Putin manufactured various reasons for invading Ukraine – that the Ukrainian government were **Nazis (while the President was Jewish); “that he was afraid of Ukraine joining NATO” (while Ukraine was neutral)**; that he wanted to support the Russian speakers in Eastern Ukraine from Ukrainian attacks (while it was these very regions Russian bombed into oblivion), etc. All of Russia's “justifications” for its attack and brutal campaign are complete fabrications and lies.

- **Russian State Budget - War:** Russia in 2025 is dedicating **43% of its state budget to military production** and is in the process of expropriating its industrial base from private to state ownership to mobilize full-scale war production. It is estimated that Russian military expenditures since its full-scale invasion in February, 2022, are between **\$450 billion**. Russia hopes to recoup its losses by capturing Ukraine's wealth.
- **NATO Expansion and Eastern Europe:** Putin knew that **NATO would not invade** at all, another false narrative. Recently **Sweden and Finland** sharing an 840-mile border with Russia, joined NATO, with no concern at all by Russia. In fact, **Russia has withdrawn its forces from Finland and all the bordering nations** to commit them to the war with Ukraine. NATO has never been a threat to Russia, only an impediment to its imperial ambitions.

Some Russian apologist have argued that **NATO should not have expanded** into the former Warsaw Pact countries, however, **NATO did not expand** as the former **occupied countries, voluntary applied to join**, knowing Russian long-term intentions to invade them again. Russia is, in fact and throughout its history, a violent and imperialistic state that respects only power and seeks to dominate wherever it sees weakness.

- **ICC arrest warrant for Putin:** The International Criminal Court (ICC) issued **arrest warrants** for Putin and **Lvova-Belova**, for committing crimes against humanity for the unlawful seizure, deportation and transfer of Ukrainian children from occupied areas of Ukraine to Russia – over 250,000 children have “disappeared” from the occupied territories. The horrors these children are enduring will never be healed.

##### 5. **Russian allies in the War against Ukraine. The New Axis of Evil - China, Belarus, Iran And North Korea:**

- **China:** Supplies machine tools, technology and components for weapons systems.
- **North Korea:** NK involvement is cash-for-weapons exchange and deployment of 12,000 Korean troops. NK supplied over 6 million artillery shells and surface--to-surface missiles.
- **Iran:** Shahed drones and long range ballistic and cruise missiles
- **Sanctioning Military Technology:** To assist in preventing the re-export of goods and technologies crucial to Russia's military industries from non-sanctioning third countries, the UK, US, EU and Japan have adopted a **Common High Priority Items List**, which are largely considered dual-use technologies that Russia has been actively seeking to procure via neighbouring countries.
- **Russian military equipment components:** Ukrainian experts are constantly examining Russian missiles, drones, tanks and other weapons and equipment. Of the nearly **3,000** components examined, **only 14 were made in Russia. Over 95%** of all parts found on the battlefield are sourced from western countries, with **72% from Western based companies**. Western companies are profiting off the war and enabling Russia.
- **China & Third countries:** They supply microchips and other dual use technologies that power the Russian war of aggression. In addition, they supply critical minerals that are used

for making critical weaponry. Components are shipped from China to third-country middlemen like **Turkey and Kazakhstan**.

- **Crushing Oil and Gas Sanctions need to be implemented by the WEST:** **India and China are buying 94% of sanctioned oil** which is the major source of Russia's state revenue that finances the war. Sales are estimated at about **\$200 billion a year**. Cutting off oil and gas sales would collapse Russian finances and its economy. **Europe** has mostly stopped their purchase of Russian gas which previously accounted for **40%** of their consumption, however LNG is still being sold in Europe. Russia maintains through third parties (Greek shipping lines mostly) a ghost fleet of **280 ships** to avoid sanctions. These ships continue to transport Russian oil to India and China which buy it a large discount. Some of that trade has been curtailed due to additional sanctions instituted recently. **India and China should be sanctioned by Europe and the USA as they are prolonging the war.**
- **General Sanctions:** The **European Union** plans to add another **25 Chinese entities** to a blacklist of companies for circumventing sanctions on **Russia**, as part of the next package of measures aimed at hobbling Moscow's war effort. A total of **16 sanction packages** have been initiated since 2022. Despite extensive export controls and sanctions the Axis should have additional sanctioned placed on them to the maximum extent possible. As retired American General Keith Kellogg, special envoy for Ukraine and Russia stated recently, out of a possible scale of **ten** the sanctions imposed to date rate at a low of **3 or 4**

## **6. PUTIN's Kleptocracy - Russia is a Mafia State run by thugs:**

- **Russia is an Authoritarian and Fascist State and under Putin a "Kleptocracy":** Russia has become a **Mafia state** which features centralised corruption networks led by Putin and a political elite that controls society. Russia is a **Single Party State** with oligarchs controlling the wealth of the country which they accumulated during the rapid privatization in the early 90's. **Putin** and the **FSB/DKRO** secret police control the country. Power within the Kremlin is based on allegiance to Putin. Those designated as traitors by Putin are eliminated, like Prigozhin, the Wagner leader.
- **Opposition to Putin:** There is no effective opposition to Putin's rule as he has reinstated Stalin era laws and practices. The most effective opposition leader to arise in thirty years was **Boris Nemtsov**. Nemtsov was shot dead on the streets within sight of the Kremlin in 2015, days before he was to lead a protest against the war in Ukraine that started in 2014. The kill orders no doubt came from Putin. Nemtsov served as the deputy prime minister under President Boris Yeltsin, and was widely tipped to be his successor. The other opposition leader, **Aleksei Navalny** was murdered in an Arctic prison in Russia on **February 2024** again on the orders of Putin.
- **DKRO - a new elite spy unit of counter intelligence in the FSB branch:** This agency has about 2,000 officers and its role is internal repression. It is under the direct control of Putin. DKRO has arrested hundreds of Russians accused of spying, collaborating or treason. In addition, they carry out surveillance, intimidating, arresting and imprisoning foreigners like Evan Gershkovich, a Wall Street Journalist who was released recently on an exchange with genuine Russian terrorists held in Western Prisons. Furthermore, DKRO officers operate on foreign countries, recruiting spies and conducting sabotage in Europe. In Ukraine, DKRO

sabotage railways and gather intelligence on officials to assassinate. In 2017 two car bombs killed officials of Ukraine intelligence agencies in Kyiv.

- **Ordered Killings:** Between **2014 to the present**, all persons who opposed Putin are dead. There are **over eighty (80) deaths** of **Russian oligarchs, politicians, business people, journalists and high officials**, sometimes including their family members. These are state-ordered killings by Putin.
- **Putin's Vision:** Putin has the ambition of restoring the so-called "**Great Russian Power**" that Russia enjoyed when it ruled over the Soviet Union. Having lost its power with the fall of the Soviet Union, Putin's goal is to reverse history and regain its former Soviet empire and power: **Power and Empire is Russia's *raison d'être*, its sole reason for existence. What other purpose has a dictatorship but power and for its elite, privileges.**
- **Educated Russian Classes:** The vast majority of the **one (1) million** Russians who fled Russia after the war broke out did so not in opposition to the war but **to escape conscription**. Unlike the Iranian exiles in the west, or even the Chinese, very few Russians have ever raised their voice – free to do so in the West – in protest against the Russian regime. To the contrary they are silent and mostly support it.
- **Diane Francis, a Canadian journalist and author, wrote the article "THE PUTIN KLEPTOCRACY," November 30, 2023, and stated:**

*"He (PUTIN) is the world's only "TRILLIONAIRE", but his name does not appear on the Forbes billionaire list nor does he show up on any bank accounts, share certificates, or property deeds. The **105 Russian billionaires** listed by Forbes are Putin's proxies and partners, and most of **their assets or companies are controlled and owned by him.**"*

- **Diane Francis** wrote: "**PUTIN is the world's richest man, money is a means, not an end, to obtain world domination**".
- **Gary Kasparov**, the former Russian chess champion and Putin critic said: "**Putin controls more money, directly or indirectly than any other individual in the history of the human race**".
- **Andrei Illarionov**, Putin's former economic advisor for six years, stated recently: "**As soon as he conquers Ukraine, he will quickly take full control of Belarus, then its Moldova, and then the Baltics. I seriously doubt anybody will help the Baltics (NATO members) in this situation. Having taken Belarus, Ukraine and the Baltics, "Putin will have twice as many military forces to then attack Europe**".

#### **7. Ukraine voted for Independence in 1991 from the Soviet Union:**

- Putin said one of the reasons for the invasion was that the people of Donbas & Crimea **wanted to join Russia** as they are **Russian speakers**. Putin's statements are **lies** as the majority of the people in those regions voted for independence from the Soviet Union in **1991. They spoke Russian because under Soviet-Russian occupation the teaching of Ukrainian was outlawed.**

In the **Ukrainian Referendum of 1991**, the question was “**do you want to leave the Soviet Union?**” Out of **84%** people who voted, **92.3% voted - YES**. Nobody wanted to join Russia. The results are as follows.

The following **occupied territories** voted for Ukrainian Independence in 1991.

- Donetsk – 83.9 %
- Dnipropetrovsk – 90.36 %
- Luhansk – 83.86 %
- Zaporizhzhia – 90.66%
- Sevastapol City – 57.07
- Crimea – 54.19

- **Referendum in the occupied territories:** In the Ukrainian occupied lands, Russia staged a sham “referendum” on the annexation, with the results showing 93% agreement. **In fact, few people voted. Many of those who did were forced to vote for Russia under duress by Russian soldiers.**

## 8. **Full-scale invasion by Russia on February 24, 2022 and its impact in the Occupied Territories:**

- **Invasion:** The Russian army invaded Ukraine from Crimea in the South, from the North East via Kharkiv, from Belarus in the North and from Donbas in the East.



*Destroyed Russian tanks near Kyiv*

**Battle for Kyiv:** When the Russian army invaded from the north, Ukrainian troops, civilians and volunteers mobilized and headed for the forests and Pripyat swamps to meet the tanks and APC’s. Ukraine used **Javelin missiles** supplied by the USA /NLAW by the UK which destroyed Russia’s tanks and crushed the Russian army in the early days and weeks of the war, forcing the Russians to retreat back to Belarus.

- **KILL LISTS:** Russia had prepared “**Kill Lists**” of politicians, army officials, veterans, priests, teachers, journalist and everyone they deemed hostile to Russia. Many teachers, lawyers, civil officials were to be arrested and executed, or imprisoned in concentration camps or transported to Siberia – exactly as the Russians did to the Ukrainians in the years between the 1920’s and 1947. This has been ongoing in the occupied territories of Ukraine – Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Crimea. Reports of targeted state killing are being received regularly from the occupied territories about the horror and brutality of Russian occupation.

***Why are Ukrainians fighting? They know what is in store for them – execution or imprisonment in Siberia concentration camps – if they lose the war and Russia takes over the country.***

- **The size of the Ukrainian Army and Casualties:**

- **The Ukrainian army:** active strength:
  - **1,260,000** personnel of which **45,000** are women.
  - **2,700,000** reserves
  - Ukraine has the **largest and most advanced** army in the Europe.



*A Cemetery near Kyiv*

➤ **Ukrainian Casualties:**

- **43,100** killed
- **390,000** wounded
- **8,000 POWs.**
- *Every family in Ukraine has been affected by the death of family members.*

- The average age of soldiers in the Ukrainian army is **40** as the government has limited the use of young men and women to fight.
- In the Vietnam War, **58,220** Americans were killed. Their average age was **23**.



- **Makeup of the Ukrainian army:** Regular troops and volunteers are from all walks of life, politicians, industrial workers, farm workers, teachers, Olympic athletes, nurses, doctors, professors, lawyers, musicians, football players and IT specialists for the drone army. A Ukrainian Opera singer who was the star at the Paris Opera returned to Ukraine to fight and was killed in the Donbas.
- **Russian war crimes in the occupied territories:** The **United Nations Human Rights Office** reports that Russia is committing severe human rights violations in occupied Ukraine. These include arbitrary detentions, torture, looting, and enforced disappearances committed by Russian soldiers acting with "impunity." Peaceful protests and freedom of speech have been suppressed, while freedom of movement is severely restricted. Anyone suspected of opposing the occupation has been targeted, while people have been "encouraged to inform on one another, leaving them afraid even of their own friends and neighbours" as in Stalin's time. Parents of children who use the Ukrainian educational system remotely, if caught, are fined and lose custody of their children. **Students aged 18 and older are drafted into the Russian military.**
- **Ukrainians in the occupied Territories forcibly removed to Russia:** It is estimated that the Russians have inflicted over **147,000 war crimes** on the Ukrainian people throughout the occupied territories. They have stolen children, and by their own figures have **forcibly removed five (5) million Ukrainians (this is a Genocide)** into distant Russian regions from the occupied territories. A total of **4 million Ukrainians** are still living in the occupied territories.

***Morally Ukraine cannot abandon the Ukrainian people in the occupied Territories to the Russian occupiers - would you?***

- **Ukrainians in the occupied territories forced to take Russian Citizenship since 2022:** Throughout the occupied areas all civilians are forced to take Russian citizenship and passports as those who do not are denied medical care, education, work or pensions. Those people who do not accept Russian citizenship are beaten and tortured by the Russians and then subjected to imprisonment as **"foreign citizens" in their own country.** Deemed **"stateless"** they are subject to the loss of their children and confiscation of their property. ***Under international law since 1907, it is forbidden to force people "to swear allegiance to a hostile power".***

**Thousands of Ukrainian men who were forced to register as Russian citizens are then forced to join the Russian army** and many have been killed fighting their own people who are trying to liberate them. In order not to destroy Russian lives, Russia uses ethnic minorities from the Russian Federation, Ukrainians from the occupied territories, North Koreans, prisoners, foreign workers and conscripted mercenaries from African countries to fight their war.

- **Sexual Crimes:** There are thousands of reported cases of sexual crimes and torture involving children and adults committed by Russians, being investigated from the now liberated regions. Vaginal-perineal damage to some women is so severe surgery cannot repair. Under Russian occupation Russians have carried out mass rape of women, men, and children of both sexes. Traumas the victims will never recover from.

- **Ukrainian Children Abducted by Russia: Over 250,000 thousand**

Ukrainian children have disappeared and been abducted by the Russian state after their parents had been arrested by Russian occupation authorities or killed in the invasion, or after becoming separated from their parents in an active war zone. Children have also been abducted from Ukrainian state institutions in occupied areas, like orphanages, group homes, care homes, hospitals, and boarding schools and through children's "summer camps". The abducted children have been subject to Russification; assigned Russian citizenship, and forcibly adopted into Russian families. ***Stealing children during a war in a foreign country is an act of genocide and violation of the Geneva Convention.***



- **Torture and Executions of Ukrainian soldiers are WAR CRIMES:** Most of the soldiers who were released from Russian captivity stated that **they were all tortured and starved which is a war crime.** Captured Ukrainian soldiers were beheaded and their heads stuck on rebar for public display. There are multiple instances of Russian soldiers and guards castrating Ukrainian prisoners and civilians. It is estimated that **over 200 Ukrainian soldiers who surrendered recently were executed** on the spot in the battlefield and about **78** since August 2024. Their murders are “war crimes” and were recorded by drone video. These executions were on direct orders from the Russian commanders pursuant to Russian government policy to inflict terror on the Ukrainian army and its population.
- **Over 147,000 Russian war crime cases have been documented in Ukraine:** They have identified **six hundred Russian suspects** so far by name. Of particular concern is the fact that the Putin government encourages the commission of war crimes and honours the killers with state awards. This is a Russian state policy to “subdue” a hostile population through terror. Thousands of Ukrainians have disappeared into a vast network of prison and filtration camps.

***There must be a reckoning for Russian War Crimes and the perpetrators must be prosecuted***

- **Torture Chambers:** Russia sets up torture chambers in every Ukrainian community it has occupied. In the areas liberated from Russian occupation by the Ukrainian army. Over **160 active torture chambers** have been discovered. U.N special rapporteur (Alice J Edwards) on torture, wrote in a Report September 2023 that Russia’s torture of Ukrainians was “orchestrated as part of Russian State Policy to intimidate, to instill fear, to punish and

extract information and confessions. The goal is also to “Russify” these territories and the Ukrainians living there.

- **The figures of Ukrainian civilians dead and wounded remains unknown:** What has not been included in any official numbers are the civilian deaths in **Mariupol** and other **occupied cities and towns** where verification is not yet possible. Mass grave sites however are visible from space satellites.

- **Mass bombings of civilians in Ukraine:** are carried out by Russia with artillery, glide bombs, Iranian drones, and cruise missiles against civilians in cities, towns and villages. Thousands have been killed. Russians have targeted and damaged **439** medical facilities and hospitals, **150,000** apartment buildings, **2 million** homes damaged and **131,000** houses and over **1,300** schools. Ukraine has respected and honoured all international laws and norms and only strikes military targets, not civilians.



- **Drone attacks:** The Ukrainian army drove the Russian army south of the Dnieper River in September of 2022, however since then the Russians have been using drones to randomly kill and terrorise civilians on the streets of Kherson City. Over 70 people have been killed by drones and dozens injured.

- **Mass graves** of murdered and executed civilians were found in **Bucha, Irpin, Izyum**, and in many other Ukrainian towns and villages the Russians had occupied. The fields of Ukrainian dead from **Mariupol still occupied by Russia** are so extensive they are easily visible from the space station.



*Bodies exhumed from mass graves in Buch*

**Destruction of Mariupol** is the coastal city on the Azov Sea that the Russians carpet bombed and destroyed. The city had a pre-war population of **500,000**. Estimates of the dead from Russia’s bombing campaign alone are estimated at over **80,000-100,000**. One publicized incident involved the **Russians deliberately bombing the Drama Theatre with missiles**, where it was estimated that over **600 women and children** were killed. **Since Russian occupation many more have been killed.**



*Destroyed Mariupol theatre*

- **Russia claims that they are a religious Orthodox country.** However, only between **2% -8 %** of the total population are **practicing Christians. The Patriarch of “Moscow of the Russian Orthodox Church” Vladimir Gundyayev**, known as **Kirill**, is a close ally of Putin, and is himself both an oligarch worth over **\$ 4 billion** and a member of the **FSB**, the secret police. All senior members of the Russian Orthodox Church are appointed by the FSB (secret police). They serve Putin and the Russian state.

- **Over 660 churches have been destroyed** in Ukraine. Some that were over **900-1,000 years old**, including **206 Protestant churches**.



***“And Putin states Russia is a Christian Country?”***

- **Russia’s Religious Persecution and destruction in Occupied Ukraine:** The cynical and unwarranted closing of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches inside occupied Ukrainian territories by Russia, deprives Ukrainians of their right to worship and exposes Russia’s long-standing hostility to Christian teachings.

In the occupied territories all **Protestant churches, Baptist, Pentecostal and Mosques** were ransacked, looted and burned. All surviving churches, in the occupied territories have been closed and forcibly handed over to the Russian authorities.

**Many priests have been abducted, tortured and some 70 executed.** The parishioners were harassed, have been recorded on their new Russian passports that they attended these churches and many since have disappeared. The Russian occupation is destroying a whole culture just as the Russians did in the 20’s and 30’s. Putin is following the path of destruction established by Lenin and Stalin.



***Russian propaganda notwithstanding, this is a war on religion – Christians, Muslims and Jews.***

- **Russian Use of Chemical Weapons & Thermobaric Bombs:** Credible reports show that Russian forces are using various types of thermobaric bombs (vacuum bombs) that suck oxygen out of air and crushes the lungs of Ukrainian soldiers. It was used in Syria civil war by the Russians. In addition various chemical munitions are used against Ukrainian soldiers which is also a violation of Russian obligations under the Chemical Weapons Convention.

- **UNESCO list of destroyed cultural sites in Ukrainian:** **238** buildings of historical significance, **32** Museums, **33** monuments, **17** libraries, archives and archeological sites. Over **13 museums in the occupied areas were deliberately plundered** and it is estimated that over **100,000** objects of gold, Scythian artifacts, icons, sculptures, paintings were taken to Crimea and Moscow. Russian history shows that they plunder everywhere they invade – Germany, Poland and Ukraine. ***Russia’s signing of the Hague Convention in 1954 to safeguard cultural heritage from destruction means nothing.***



- **Kakhovka Dam destroyed by Russia:** The dam was blown up by the Russians on **June 6, 2023**, which then flooded the lower reaches of the Dnieper River. Hundreds of people were drowned and over **40 towns** and villages were destroyed. The destruction of the dam with consequent downstream flooding over a large territory was recognized as one of the worst ecological disasters in European history.

- **Grain Stolen:** Russia has stolen over **4 million tons of grain** from the occupied territories and continues to sell it on the international markets at an estimated value of over **US\$ 1 billion**.
- **Ukrainian Refugees and displaced persons:** There are over **6.5 million Ukrainian refugees**, women and children in Europe, US, and Canada and an estimated **3.7 million** people displaced inside Ukraine.
- **Russian emigres to occupied Ukraine:** It is estimated that over **800,000 Russians** have moved into the occupied areas of Ukraine, including Crimea since 2014. They are being resettled into the empty homes of Ukrainians who were killed or fled from the occupied areas when the Russians arrived.

***Ukraine's Major Accomplishments in the war against Russia since the invasion in February, 2022: The war is not a stalemate and Ukraine is not losing:***

Recently a number analysts and journalists (mostly pro-Russian) are saying “**Ukraine is losing the war**” or that the war is a “**stalemate**”; however, Ukraine is confident that they will win. Russia is trying to convince the USA and Europe that Ukraine will lose and that it should be forced to negotiate under Russian terms. However, the Russia military is being depleted, its army corrupt and disorganized. Its strength is a myth perpetuated by Putin and his cronies. Russia has lost major wars like the Afghan War (1979-89) and recently Syria.

**Ukraine is not losing the war** as they have managed the following:

- **Land:** Russia has managed to gain about 4,000km<sup>2</sup> in 2024 vs 75,000 km<sup>2</sup> liberated by Ukraine at a loss of 1,100-1,500 casualties a day with total casualties of **852,000** personnel in three years. Russian losses are unsustainable. Ukraine has damaged over **200** military facilities in Russia over the last year alone with its long range drones.
- **Sea:** The Russian Black Sea fleet has been driven out of Crimea and is now mostly ineffective due to attacks by sea drones.
- **Air:** The Russian air force have not been able to operate over Ukraine. Ukraine has integrated Patriot, NASAMS, F-16's and IRIS-T systems. Ukraine has managed to destroy most S-300/400 air defence systems along the frontier which would allow for the operation of F-16's.
- **Drones:** Ukraine has launched over 7,500 long-range drones against Russia and is producing 30,000 long-range drones and 3,000 cruise missiles this year.

***Russia, not Ukraine, is heading for defeat in the air, sea and land as it cannot sustain the war against 50 countries that are supporting Ukraine.  
Russia is heading for economic collapse with a huge inflation of 9.5% and interest rates of 21% and its having difficulty to replace its military and personnel losses.***

- **Ukraine's Kursk Offensive (2024-present):** On **6 August, 2024**, Ukraine launched an incursion into Russia's Kursk Oblast and clashed with the Russian army. The Kursk offensive surprised Russia and Ukraine occupied about 500 square km, however a portion of that has

been reduced due to Russian reinforcements sent in and the deployment of **12,000 North Korean troops**.

Approximately a **third** of the North Korean troops deployed have so far been killed or wounded. Recently Korean troops have been withdrawn from the front line due to the casualties that were inflicted, however it was reported that they are back at the front.

Ukrainian goals of the operation: to inflict damage on Russia's military, to capture Russian troops (to trade for Ukrainians held prisoners) and to divert Russian forces from other fronts. Despite an all-out Russian effort, Russian and Korean forces have been incapable of retaking the Kursk oblast in over **six months** and are suffering massive casualties trying. Much of the Kursk oblast is populated by ethnic Ukrainian speakers who are not hostile to Ukrainian occupation. Ukraine's aim is to put pressure on the Russian government and force it into peace negotiations to trade land.

- **Ukraine re-occupied 54% of the land that was taken by Russia:** From the full-scale invasion by Russia, Ukraine has managed to **re-occupy 54 %** of the **18 %** estimated territories that were initially seized by Russia. Much of the land is now uninhabitable and contaminated due to craters and landmines.
- **Russian Army Casualties 2022-present:** It has been reported that over **860,000 Russian troops** have been killed and injured in Ukraine. It is estimated **360,000 killed** and **500,000** wounded. The casualty rate approaches close to **1,500** troops killed or injured in a day, due to mass assaults on Ukrainian defences. Most of the Russian soldiers killed were **Ethnic Muslim Minorities from Siberia** and convicts. Out of a prisoner population of **460,000** an estimated **200,000** convicts were sent to the front.

Very few citizens from Moscow or St. Petersburg are conscripted into the army as the Russian elite do not send their sons to fight in their wars of conquest. In the recent battles there have been Russian gains in Donetsk, however these advances have been miniscule.

Wounded Russians are usually left on the battle field to die. Whatever dead bodies Russians do collect are buried in mass graves and listed as "missing" in order that their families cannot claim compensation.
- **Russian defeat in Kherson:** The Ukrainian army liberated the City of Kherson in the **fall of 2022** and the Russian force of **30,000** were caught on the north side of the Dnipro River. The United States forced the Ukrainians to allow the Russians to retreat across the river as US intelligence were warned that Russia would use a nuclear strike – the risk was estimated at 50%. The Russians, after they crossed the remaining bridges, blew them up together with the Kakhovka Dam in 2023. This prevented Ukraine from attacking across the Dnipro River. At that time there were no defensive lines constructed by the Russians across the whole front to Donetsk. With Ukraine on the left bank of the river the Russians built the Surovkin lines on the right bank which is a series of three trench lines which Ukraine tried to breach in their counter-offensive in 2023. Before the Surovkin line was built the Ukrainian Army would have been in a position to break the link between Crimea and Donetsk and isolated Crimea completely.
- **Russian Strategic Ammunition Depots:** **Four (4)** ammunition depots recently were struck and a huge tonnage was destroyed which has affected the battle on the front line.

- **Destruction of Oil Refineries and Oil Storage Facilities:**

Since late 2023 Ukraine has developed over **20 different types of long-range drones** to attack oil refineries and oil storage facilities which degrades the ability of the Russian forces at the front line. Over **14 oil refineries** out of **30 big and medium sized** in Russia have been damaged or partly destroyed and they have minimal defenses. The loss is estimated of more than **1-2 million barrels a day out of a production of 5.2 million barrels a day**. Some of the destroyed oil storage facilities were located next to air bases that were used to fly bombers to Ukraine. Under President Biden/Sullivan Ukraine was warned against hitting these facilities, however at the end of the Presidency that directive was eased. These raids have damaged and are severely degrading Russia's economy and its cash flow.



**The intent of Ukraine is to destroy all the refineries and oil storage facilities throughout Russia.**

- **The Russian Air force is not active over Ukraine:** The Russian air force tried to establish air supremacy over Ukraine, however the planes have mostly stayed within Russia's own borders as Ukraine's air defense and missiles have made it too dangerous for Russian bombers and fighters to operate nearer to Ukraine.

Ukraine has repeatedly attacked Russian airfields that house bombers, helicopters, and fighter aircraft with both **their own long range drones and American ATACAMS cluster munitions** which have only recently been permitted by the USA. This has resulted in over a **50% decline** in attacks. However, Russia every day launches Shahed drones and cruise, ballistic missiles to hit civilian targets and energy facilities.

**Four out of nine (9) Russian AWACS spy planes** were destroyed by Ukraine over the Sea of Azov in the spring of 2024. A total of **369** aircraft and **331** helicopters have been lost by Russia.

- **Ukrainian Drone Army:** Drones have become a central weapon of the war. Ukraine has produced over 2.5 million drones in 2024. Ukraine's goal is to manufacture four million drones annually. On the front line they are using about 200,000 drones a month against all the Russian Forces. Drones are extremely accurate – more so than artillery shells – and less expensive.

It is estimated that **100 different types of drones** are in use in Ukraine, ranging from toy-sized systems (kamikaze drones) to larger models with wingspans of almost 20 meters for flying long distances. Ukraine has recently developed **long-range drones with jet engines** that are hitting oil refineries and air bases thousands of kilometers away deep in Russia.

Ukraine has developed **(PFV) drones that run on fibre optic cables** that can run up to **15-20 km** and cannot be jammed by radio waves or signals. They have been very effective in destroying armoured personnel carriers and tanks. The Russians have lost over **30,000** transport and tanker trucks and now are using donkeys to get ammunition to the front line.



- **New Ukrainian weapon - SEA DRONES:** Ukraine developed a new type of weapon, the **sea drone**, which has devastated the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and driven the Russian Black Sea Fleet out of Crimea.

**Ukraine's new unprecedented methods have changed the way the world navies will fight in the future.**

- **The Russian Navy run out of Crimea: 28 warships**, corvettes, landing ships and 1 submarine were destroyed and damaged out of a fleet of **44 ships** in the Black Sea. What remains of the Russian navy has been forced to relocate to the Russian port of Novorossiysk hundreds of miles away on the eastern part of the Black Sea. The **flagship the “Moskva”** and the Russian landing ship **Novocherkassk** were destroyed in occupied Crimea. The landing ship was struck by a British cruise missile and completely destroyed with 73 sailors killed on board.
- **Ukraine has broken the Russian blockage of its sea ports in the Black Sea: In August 2023 Ukraine re-opened a western route** in the Black Sea for international **shipping of grain** to the world. **Ukrainian sea drones** have kept the remainder of the Russian Black Sea fleet out of the western Black Sea region. The Western corridor carried in excess of **13 million tons** of grain from Ukraine to feed the world in the **2024 season**.
- **Ukraine has destroyed thousands of pieces of Russian military equipment since the start of the war:**  
The Russian equipment that Ukraine has destroyed since 2022 is in the range of **75% of their existing stock** with most of the remaining materiel rusted and unusable. The Russians have resorted to using camels and donkeys to bring ammunition to the front lines.
 

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Tanks: 10,040</b> - <i>Russia is only managing to produce only 250 tanks a year</i></li> <li>▪ <b>Artillery systems: 23,034</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Armoured fighting vehicles: 20,894</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Multiple Rocket Launchers: 22,923</b></li> <li>• <b>Trucks: 36,800</b></li> <li>• <b>Cruise missiles 3,054</b></li> <li>• <b>UAV's: 25,000</b></li> </ul>
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Russia has run out of armoured vehicles as they cannot replenish them to the numbers lost on a daily basis. The Russian conscripts have resorted to attacking Ukrainian positions on motor bikes and converted old Lada cars which are easily destroyed by PFV drones.

- **The War Since 2014:** Russia has been unable to capture the whole of Donbas. After the start in 2022 of full-scale war and some of the most intense fighting ever seen at **Bakhmut, Soledar, Avdiivka** involving repeated Russian mass attacks for over one year – which attacks completely depleted the Wagner mercenary army – Russia was unable to seize the whole oblast /territory of Donbas, Kherson, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia. Three years of full-scale Russian attacks have produced very limited advantages for Russia.
  - **Ukraine has survived this winter's infrastructure attack by Russia:** Russia has repeatedly attacked with ballistic and cruise missiles and Shahed drones to destroy heating plants and the electrical grid. **Eighty (80)** of Ukraine's heating plants were damaged, and it has taken time to restore them. Rolling blackouts are ongoing throughout Ukraine. Many European countries, and especially the USA, have helped, providing transformers and generators and direct supplies of electricity.
9. **Russia's Recent Largest Military Defeats:** Many analysts have stated that Russia **cannot be defeated due the sheer size of its military and resources** in the Ukrainian war, however history shows that Russia has had spectacular military defeats.

- **Crimean War (1853-1856);** Russia was defeated by the alliance of United Kingdom, France and the Ottomans
- **Russo-Japanese War (1904–05):** Japan defeated Russia in this war.
- **World War I:** Russia withdrew from World War I after the October Revolution in 1917.
- **Polish–Soviet War (1919–21):** Poland won the Battle of Warsaw in 1920, which established the Russo-Polish border that existed until 1939.
- **Independence wars for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania:** The Red Army lost these wars between 1918 & 1921
- **First Chechen War (1994–96):** This war was a disaster for Russia.
- **Afghanistan War (1979-1989):** The Soviet Union invaded **Afghanistan in 1979** and the war lasted until **1989 when the Russians were defeated** by a ragtag army of **Mujahideen**. Most of the conscripts in the Soviet army in that war were Ukrainians and Ethnic minorities from Siberia. There were a total of **60,000 casualties** in the war and **15,000 dead** in the 10 years of war. The Russians inflicted between **1-3 million deaths** of Afghan civilians due to the Invasion.

#### 10. Countries that Russia has invaded:

Russia has a long colonial history of invasions throughout Siberia and Europe. The following countries since 1917 were invaded and occupied by Russia.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ▪ <b>Ukraine 1918, 2014, 2022</b>  | ▪ <b>Lithuania 1939</b>                          |
| ▪ <b>Georgia 1921, 1991, 2008</b>  | ▪ <b>Romania 1944</b>                            |
| ▪ <b>Dagestan 1999</b>             | ▪ <b>Albania 1944</b>                            |
| ▪ <b>Azerbaijan 1920,1988,1990</b> | ▪ <b>Croatia 1945</b>                            |
| ▪ <b>Moldovia 1992</b>             | ▪ <b>Slovakia 1945</b>                           |
| ▪ <b>Tajikistan 1992</b>           | ▪ <b>Czechoslovakia 1945,1968</b>                |
| ▪ <b>Chechnya 1994,1999</b>        | ▪ <b>Hungary 1945,1956</b>                       |
| ▪ <b>Finland 1918, 1939</b>        | ▪ <b>Yugoslavia 1944</b>                         |
| ▪ <b>Poland 1920, 1939</b>         | ▪ <b>Bulgaria 1944</b>                           |
| ▪ <b>Estonia 1939</b>              | ▪ <b>Japan 1945 – invasion of Kirill Islands</b> |
| ▪ <b>Latvia 1939</b>               |  |

#### Countries that Russia supplied weapons, military equipment and manpower:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| ▪ <b>China 1946, 1950</b> – weapons, no combat      | ▪ <b>Egypt 1962</b> – weapons, pilots and crews for missiles |
| ▪ <b>North Korea 1950</b> – weapons & pilots,       | ▪ <b>Yemen Civil war 1962</b> – weapons                      |
| ▪ <b>Laos 1960</b> - weapons                        | ▪ <b>Syria 1967,2018</b>                                     |
| ▪ <b>Vietnam 1961</b> – weapons, crews for missiles | ▪ <b>Cambodia 1970</b> – military equipment                  |
| ▪ <b>Algeria War 1963</b> – weapons                 | ▪ <b>Angolan War 1975</b> -weapons & advisors                |

#### 11. A Negotiated “PEACE DEAL” with Russia?

- There can be **NO PEACE DEAL** until Ukraine regains all of its land occupied by Russia. Russia must evacuate and return to the 1991 borders as Russia had committed to honor in the Budapest Memorandum.

- **Western Apologist and Academics:** Many western apologists have suggested that **Ukraine cede land** that is occupied by Russia for a “**peace**” deal. The cessation of Russian attacks is not “Peace.” Life under Russian occupation, no different than life under Nazi occupation, is horror as experienced in the occupied territories of Ukraine. Furthermore, any cessation of armed conflict would simply allow Russia the opportunity to replenish its resources and mount a new attack to conquer all Ukraine in a few years.

**A PEACE TREATY: Russia has violated around 400 treaties it has signed in history.** Making treaties with Russia is seen by Russia as a weakness to be exploited. Even on the eve of its **February 2022 invasion**, Russia vehemently denied any intention to invade Ukraine but did so, violating all its previous agreements - **the Budapest Memorandum, Minsk 1 and 2**. History has proven that Russia cannot be trusted to abide by any agreements it signs.

- **Recent Treaties that Russia broke with Ukraine:** During the war from **2014** in eastern Ukraine there were 200 rounds of negotiations and Ukraine signed 20 ceasefire agreements with Russia. All those agreements were breached by Russia. Eg. False-flag operations conducted by Russian military intelligence, blamed the brutal murders of Ukrainians in Russia-occupied territories on Kyiv.
  - **The United Nations Charter**
  - **The Helsinki Accords -1975**
  - **Budapest Memorandum -1994**
  - **Russian Ukrainian Friendship Treaty -1997**
  - **Agreement on the Azov Sea and Kerch Strait -2003**
  - **Russian Ukrainian State Border Treaty 2003-2004**
  - **MINSK ACCORDS 1 (2014) & 2 (2015)** – brokered by France and Germany
- The only “**PEACE DEAL**” PUTIN will accept is the surrender of Ukraine and its complete occupation.
- **UKRAINE WAS “BETRAYED” by signing THE BUDAPEST MEMORANDUM IN 1994**

**Any “peace” agreement with PUTIN will be betrayed again**



## **PART B. FACTS ABOUT USA and EUROPEAN AID TO UKRAINE**

**1. The U.S. was not writing “blank checks” to Ukraine and the majority of the military money, about 90%, has been spent in the USA**

- **USA - Total Military Assistance to Ukraine: -\$ 61.1 billion or \$ 20 billion a year of which \$ 51.2 billion was spent in the USA to replenish stocks that are sent to Ukraine.**

- **Most of the Military aid - is spent in the USA in (38) States for Munitions/Tactical Vehicles:** The money allocated for weapons supports American workers in the defense industry and creates well paid jobs in **38 states**. In the Aerospace and defense industry there are over **2.1 million employees** who work for over **200,000** companies.
- **Accountability for US military Equipment:** The US government established the **Ukraine Interagency Group** and more than **160** officials across **20 agencies monitor aid to Ukraine** with a budget of \$50 million. In their recent reports there has not been any substantiated waste or fraud.
- **European and allies have placed massive orders worth over \$ 100 billion for US military equipment:** **Russian arms sales have collapsed by 63%** as nations have given up on Russia as an arms supplier after seeing its massive destruction by Ukrainian forces using western weaponry. Recently even India, a former purchaser of Russian military equipment has reduced their orders of Russian equipment by 37%.
- **Europe and NATO defense industry:** The European Union is ramping up its defence-industry production in order to arm Ukraine to hold the line; however, that will take time. **Europe imports 54% of its weapons from the USA**; however, **Rheinmetall** a German armaments company has produced over **2 million** artillery shells in the last year vs **750,000** by the USA. Reliance on US arms supplies will decrease.
- **Artillery Shells Production:** One year ago, the ratio of artillery use favored Russia over Ukraine at **10-to-1**. Now it has become about **2-to-1**. A tremendous improvement. The **Czech Republic** has coordinated over the past year the purchase of an additional **1.2 million shells** from various countries for Ukraine.
- **Many NATO members** are increasing their military procurement to **2% of GDP and countries like Poland and the Baltic states are up to 5% of GDP**.

## **2. Types of US and European Military Aid to Ukraine:**

- **USA -Type of Military Aid:** The military aid was drawn from **existing army stocks in storage**, a large portion of which was slated for decommissioning. Sending it to Ukraine and refurbishing the equipment is less expensive than storage and decommissioning costs. The US is replacing the equipment sent to Ukraine with new equipment and new improved systems.
- **The war has tested US armaments on the battlefield:** The military hardware provided is being tested in battle, something that is not possible in peacetime, allowing for design/tech improvements and future marketability to US allies.
- **Tanks to Ukraine:** **Most of the tanks supplied to Ukraine came from Europe. UK – Centurion (14) and Leopard 1& 2 (200). Poland delivered 325 tanks.** Many of the other European countries like **Romania, Bulgaria, Czechs**, Spain, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Netherlands also supplied tanks. **The USA supplied only 31 Abrams tanks in total** whilst there are **3,500 sitting in storage** out of a total of **8,100 available**.

- **F16's & Mirage Jets:** Three European nations (**Denmark, Netherlands and Norway**) have agreed to supply about **95 F-16s** to Ukraine. Recently the French have begun supplying **3 Mirage 2000-5 Fighter** jets (x3) and will increasing it to about 24. The Mirage jets have the ability to carry Scalp and Storm Shadow missiles.  
The USA has **841 F16's** in service which are being replaced with **F35's (450 to date)**. **No F16's** have been provided by the USA to Ukraine. The former National Security advisor (Sullivan) under President Biden stated that Ukraine did not have enough pilots to train on F16's when in fact over three years the USA offered only a very few positions in its training programs in the USA.

### 3. *Russia vs the West. GDP and Population comparison of leading countries vs Russia :*

The **TOTAL GDP of the US and the European Union is over \$40 trillion a year** – Russia is a mere **\$1.7 trillion** – **twenty five (25) MORE** and with a population base five (5) times greater.

For relatively **modest amounts of money** supplied by the US and Europe to Ukraine, the Russian army is being destroyed and European security is enhanced.

*The Russian GDP Is **7%** of the US; Russian GDP is less than that of Canada, Italy or Spain!  
Why is the West afraid of Russia? Would they be afraid of Canada, Italy or Spain?*

#### GDP comparisons:

- **Russia (GDP)** - \$ 1.7 trillion. (144 million population)
- **USA (GDP)** - \$23.2 trillion. (332 million population)
- **European Union (GDP)** - \$18.4 trillion (450 million pop) - **10 Times Russia**
- **Germany (GDP)** - \$4 trillion. (83 million pop)
- **Canada (GDP)** - \$2.2 trillion (40 million pop)
- **China (GDP)** - \$19 trillion. (1.4 billion pop)

#### Russian Overseas Assets - \$300 billion:

- *Russia has over \$ 300 billion in frozen assets in Europe and the USA. Reparations must be paid and their money must be confiscated and used to supply war materiel to Ukraine and for its reconstruction.*
- *Russia is estimated to have caused Ukraine well over \$1 trillion in damages to dater.*
- *In the first Gulf war Iraq paid out \$53 billion to Kuwait as war reparations after Desert Storm in 1991.*

#### 4. The cost of War in Ukraine and contribution by various allies on a monthly basis:

- Ukraine is spending \$ 3 billion a month; USA \$ 1 billion; European / NATO and 50 other countries contribute \$ 1 billion a month; **For a Total of \$ 5 billion a month**

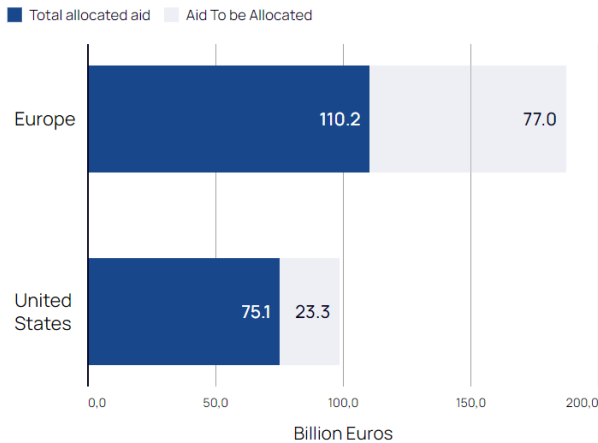
**Russia is spending over \$13 billion a month on the war**

#### 5. Europe has spent twice more than the US on Ukrainian aid ( military, financial and humanitarian):

- **Kiel Institute for the World Economy:** A German Think Tank in their recent report states that the European commitment to Ukraine is **double** than that of US after including military, economic and humanitarian aid.

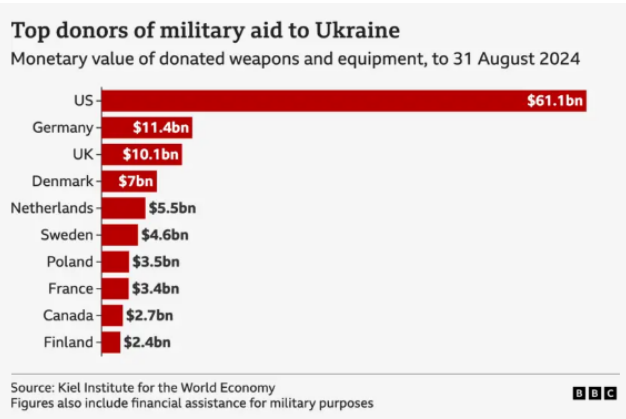
**Government support to Ukraine: By country group, € billion**

Allocations and Commitments Jan. 24, 2022 to June 30, 2024



- Europe - US\$ 195 billion
- US - US\$ 101 billion
- Other countries -US\$ 41 billion.
  
- **Twenty (20) European** countries have provided more to Ukraine than the US as a percentage of GDP.
  
- **Canada (40 million pop.)** has provided \$ 9.5 billion in weapons, and humanitarian aid which is equivalent to the US contribution (332 million pop). America has **eight (8) times** population - \$ 102 billion.

**6. Comparison of Military Equipment supplied to Ukraine by USA/EUROPE/NATO countries –USD to August 2024:**



**Total European Military Aid to Ukraine is \$ 62 billion vs USA \$ 61.1 Billion**

**7. Europe is far more important for the USA economy than China:**

- **48%** of the world economy is accounted by Europe and North America.
- Europe invested \$ **3.2 trillion** in the US.
- **More US goods and services are exported to Europe than to China.**
- European stability is critical to the US economy.
- Support for Ukraine (and the defeat of Russian imperialism) would stabilize Europe and strengthens its strategic alliances.

**Referenced Articles:** Kiel Institute for the World Economy, Germany.

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 Chairman Mike Rogers, Senate Armed Services Committee  
 Chairman Mike Turner, House Permanent Committee

**1. The Origin of the Russians - Finno-Mongolian:**

The **people of Muscovy** (now “Russians”) were north-eastern tribes of **Finno-Ugric people** with Asiatic elements. The Mongols occupied the Duchy of Muscovy and Moscow for **300 years** after they conquered it in the 1200’s. The Mongols intermixed with the locals and so the predominant ethnic type is **Finno-Mongolian** that is now representative of the Russian people. Muscovy role was little more than a tax collector for the Golden Horde.

**2. The Ukrainian People and Nation:**

In the 7th and 8th centuries BCE, the warlike, nomadic Scythians lived on the lands of modern Ukraine, as attested to by Greek historians, including Herodotus. The Scythians traded with the Greeks and fought with the Persians. Slavic tribes settled on the territory of modern Ukraine including Poland, parts of Belorussia, Romania, Moldova and the Balkans. The Slavic ancestors of Ukrainians formed a powerful medieval state called **“Rus.”**

**3. (Kyiv-Rus) vs “Russia:”**

The name **“Russia”** and **“Rus”** have nothing in common. Peter the Great appropriated the name **“Rus”** from Ukraine in 1721 and applied it to the territory of **“Russia”** (formerly called the **Grand Duchy of Muscovy**) after Muscovy had conquered the eastern part of Ukraine in the battle of **Poltava** in 1709.

**4. The Origin of the Russian and Ukrainian languages:**

The modern Ukrainian language can be traced back thousands of years to the Trypillian era. Both **Ukrainian and Russian languages are very different**, it’s like comparing **German to Dutch** or **Spanish to Italian**. Maybe **20%** of the words are similar.

**5. Why is Russian spoken in certain parts of Ukraine:**

As part of the Russian-occupied territories of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Empire, Ukrainians – like all the citizens of Russia’s numerous subject nations – were denied the right to live, work and study in their own language. No less true in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan than in Belarus and Ukraine.

The **policy of Russification** was designed by Moscow to eliminate all non-Russian languages and cultures within the Empire. Accompanying this massive cultural genocide, ethnic Russians were also planted throughout the empire to control important state functions. Ukraine thus **underwent a long process of Russification** where the Ukrainian language was aggressively suppressed. No formal education in Ukrainian was allowed and no books were permitted to be published in Ukrainian. Ukrainian writers, poets and artists have been systematically killed for over a century.

**6. Russian claims to Crimea:**

**Crimea was never historically a part of Russia.** The indigenous people of Crimea were Ukrainian, Tatars (90%), Turks, and Greeks. In **1783** Crimea was annexed by Catherine the Great. In **1944**, Stalin ordered the forcible deportation of the Crimean Tatars, some **400,000 people**, by freight train to Uzbekistan. Falsely claiming the Tatars were collaborating with the Nazis, more than **100,000** of the Tatar population died on route. The deportations resulted in the abandonment of **80,000 homes** many of which were then re-occupied by the Russians – retirees and naval personnel.

In 1954, Crimea was recognized as part of Ukraine by then Soviet President Khrushchev. In the Ukrainian Independence Referendum of 1991, **54%** of the people in Crimea voted for independence. After Ukrainian Independence in 1991, **thousands of Tatars** from Siberia and Asia returned home and were strong supporters of an Independent Ukraine.

## C1 - A Brief History of Ukraine:

### 1. The Founding of Kyiv - Ukraine:



*Saint-Sophia Kyiv*

According to various archeological sources, Kyiv is at least 4,000 years old. Most great cities and Empires were established on trading routes and Kyiv was located on the Dnipro River and was a transit point to the vast territories of the south, east and west.

**Kyiv was formally founded in 482 A.D.** In the 800's three Viking noblemen – representing one of Europe's largest trading empires – collaborated with a nascent Kyiv to transform it into the centre of a large and powerful trade route from the Baltic Sea to the Black and Mediterranean Seas. The political state they founded, **Kyivan-Rus**, became the largest kingdom in Europe. Kyiv had a population of over 100,000 people, more at that time than London or Paris.

**Christianity came to Kyivan-Rus in 988** from the Byzantine Empire under the Ukrainian ruler Volodymyr the Great (980-1015). The cathedral of Saint-Sophia, based on the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, was completed with 40 golden domes. After a thousand years, it still stands today.

***Moscow by contrast did not exist for another 400 years.***

- Mongol Invasion – 1223 - 1240:** The Mongol army, commanded by Batu Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan, invaded and sacked Kyiv in 1240, killing over 50,000 of its inhabitants. The Mongol's then retreated to the east, where they established Muscovy as a vassal state of the Mongol Empire and remained there, ruling for the **next 300 years**.
- Ukraine occupied and divided by Poland-Lithuania for 400 years.** From the 14th - 18th centuries, Ukrainian lands were under the rule of neighboring states, Lithuania and Poland. Ukraine became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
- The Ukrainian Cossacks -1648:** The Cossacks rebelled against Polish-Lithuanian rule, successfully liberated their lands and created an independent Ukraine with their own unique political organization, a democratic rule known as the Hetmanate. Theirs was Europe's first democratic system in over a thousand years. They chose their own leaders known as Hetman.
- The Ruin – 17<sup>th</sup> century:** The period was marked by constant warfare. In 1654, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky entered into a disastrous military alliance with Russia against the Polish-Lithuanian Empire. The Russian Tsar **Peter the Great** then broke his agreement with Khmelnytsky, signing a truce with Poland-Lithuania instead and divided Ukraine between the two Empires – in

circumstances that nearly mirrored the Russian/Stalin alliance with Hitler centuries later to divide Europe between them.

6. **Russia conquers Eastern Ukraine – 1709:** King Charles XII of Sweden formed an alliance with Hetman Ivan Mazepa, trying to free Ukraine from Muscovy's Tsar Peter I. **King Charles** invades Russia in 1707 and detours into Ukraine to tie up with the army of **Ivan Mazepa**. The Swedish and Ukrainian Cossacks forces are defeated at the **Battle of Poltava in 1709**. King Charles and Mazepa escaped to Moldova. The Tsar Peter I, thereafter cements his rule over the eastern part of Ukraine, including the Kuban region (mostly Ukrainians) north and east of the Black Sea, which became the basis of the newly created "**Russian Empire.**" In **1721 Tsar Peter 1** changed the name of his territory from the "**Grand Duchy of Muscovy**" to "**The Russian Empire**" and declared himself as "**the first Emperor of the Russian Empire.**"
7. **Of note, Vladimir Putin has compared himself to Tsar Peter and envisions their goals as identical, namely the creation of a new expanded Russian Empire.**
8. **The Russian Revolution of 1917: Ukraine Independence established in 1918 -21:**



**Map of Ukrainian speaking lands**

Following the outbreak of the **Russian Revolution** and the demise of the Russian Empire, an **Independent republican government** was formed in Ukraine, headed by the "Central Rada," on January 22, 1918.

**Western Ukraine** declared itself independent from the fallen Austrian Empire and joined the Ukrainian Republic. Ukrainian Independence was diplomatically recognized by most foreign countries on January 22, 1918. (USA, UK, Soviet Union, China, Germany, Japan, France, Poland, Europe etc.) Ukraine issued its own currency and passports.

**In 1922, Lenin, in a classic Russian betrayal,** having first recognized Ukrainian independence, then attacked Ukraine. Launching the new Soviet Army against Ukraine, the Russian-led forces crushed Ukrainian forces, occupied the country, destroyed its political and administrative systems, and "**annexed**" the country into Russia's new iteration of its former Empire.

9. **Ukrainian Famine (1921-22):**

This famine was caused by the civil war initiated by the Communist party under Lenin. Moscow's policy was to **massively export food, goods and products out of Ukraine, to crush the country,** and caused **three (3) million deaths.**

10. **Collectivization of Ukrainian farming and agriculture (1925-31):**

Up until the Russian Revolution in 1917 Ukraine was the "**Breadbasket of Europe**". The communists in Moscow outlawed all private property and holdings (e.g. lands, farm implements and livestock) and forced the people to work as slave labour inside collective state farms.

Stalin issued orders for all “kulaks” – identified as the most successful farmers – to be liquidated. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and their children were rounded up and **sent to the Arctic and Siberia** by freight trains. Most perished from starvation and winter conditions as they were literally left to fend for themselves in the middle of nowhere with no food or shelter or tools.

**11. Holodomor -The Ukrainian Famine of Genocide (1932-1933):**



own gardens were executed.

**The famine in 1932** was initiated by Stalin to destroy the incessant struggles of Ukrainians for national independence. **The famine was created by forcibly removing all food and livestock** by Soviet gangs throughout Ukraine and then exporting the food for foreign currency for Moscow. Stalin closed all the borders of Ukraine to prevent people from escaping and many who tried to cross the borders were shot. Under Stalin’s orders anyone who tried to hide any grain they themselves grew or who harvested their

**12. HOLODOMOR DEATHS in Ukraine:** The estimate of death from starvation by various sources is between **4 -10 million** of which the greatest proportion were children.

When **Churchill and Roosevelt met Stalin in Yalta, Crimea** in February 1945, to discuss the end game for the war and the “**gift of Eastern Europe to Russia**”, Stalin was asked what his “**land reforms**” had cost.

***Stalin replied - “Ten million people”***

*The US Senate in 1985 set up a **US Commission on the Ukrainian Famine** to study the **(Holodomor) 1932–33 man-made famine** that killed millions in Ukraine. The Commission's final report to Congress concluded that the **man-made famine was an act of genocide against the people of Ukraine carried out by the Soviets**. Its findings were delivered to the US Congress on **April 22, 1988**.*

**13. Ukrainians liquidated (1937-38) in the Great Terror:**

Following the Holodomor in Ukraine, Stalin continued “purges” of perceived enemies in Ukraine. What remained of the aristocracy, and every educated person and successful farmer or businessmen were considered a potential threat to Soviet Russian control. Virtually all of Ukraine’s **writers, painters, poets, priests, professors, teachers, government officials** were rounded up in **mass arrests and were executed or deported to Siberia**.

It is estimated that under Stalin’s directions, **3 to 12 million** people from the Soviet Union were sent to the Gulag labour camps in the remote eastern regions of Russia. Many did not return. About **750, 000 people** were executed by the secret police rather than internally deported – a major portion of whom were Ukrainians.

**14. Ukraine in the Second World War 1939-45:**

**Moscow and Berlin in August 1939 signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact** which would carve up Poland between them and marked out their “spheres of influences” which, for the Soviet Union, encompassed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Romania. The Nazis, however broke their agreement and invaded the Soviet Union in 1941.

During both the **Soviet Army** and the **German Army retreats in (41-44)** across Ukrainian lands, everything was destroyed – farms, buildings, bridges, factories, granary silos, homes, villages and towns – anything that could benefit either side.

- *Due to its huge resources and fertile soils Ukraine was the prize for Nazi Germany as it is for Russia today.*
- *Hitler classified all Slavic peoples, as well as the Jews and others as “untermenschen” – inferior people.*
- *The Nazi plan for Ukraine – strikingly similar to Stalin’s – was to kill two thirds of the population and use the remaining population as slave labor in Ukraine and Germany while the depopulated Ukrainian lands would be resettled by German immigrants.*

**15. UKRAINIAN DEATHS in the Second World War (1939-1945):**

- **6-7 million** - Ukrainians fought in the Red Army against the Nazis.
- **4.1 million** - Soldiers died in battle and POW camps.
- **2.1 million Ukrainians** were sent to the Third Reich as slave labour
- **4.5 - 6 million civilians** - were killed in the conflict and occupation.
- **Total 8 - 10 million dead, one of highest death rates suffered by any nation in the Second World War Including 1.5 million Jews killed by the Nazis.**

**16. After the war (1945-1947),** it is estimated an additional **two (2) million Ukrainians** perished due to famine.

**Timothy Snyder**, the Yale historian in his recent book **BLOODLANDS**, stated that between **1939 – 1945**, in Ukraine, Poland and Belorussia, the **NAZI and SOVIET** regimes **murdered some fourteen (14) million civilians**. If the German plans had not been defeated by allied forces many millions more would have been systematically murdered.

**17. Ukrainians in the United States and Canada:** In the US - **1.35 million** people identify as Ukrainians including **250,000** refugees. **Canada** - **1.46 million** who identify as Ukrainian whic

## PART D. WHY DOES UKRAINE MATTER?

For those who ask: **“Why does Ukraine matter?” - “This is why Ukraine matters”**

- **Largest country by area in Europe** with a **Pre-war population of over 44 million**.
- **Ukraine’s industry/resources economy were 40% of its total entire of the GDP** of the Communist Soviet Russian Empire.
- Ukraine's immense wealth in natural resources includes the largest supply of recoverable strategic rare earth resources in Europe, including cerium, yttrium, lanthanum and neodymium. Including oil and gas.

***Russia has attacked Ukraine to seize its vast resources to build up its Russian power base and return to its aggressive Imperial goals of controlling Europe as the European hegemon.***

### **1. Ukraine ranks in minerals:**

- **1st** in Europe in proven recoverable reserves of **uranium ores**;
- **2nd** in Europe and 10th place in the world in terms of **titanium** ore reserves
- **Lithium** – massive undeveloped lithium deposits
- **2nd** in the world in terms of **manganese ores** (2.3 billion tons, or 12% of the world’s reserves);
- **2nd** largest **iron ore** reserves in the world (30 billion tons);
- **2nd** in Europe in terms of **mercury** ore reserves;
- **3rd** in Europe (13th in the world) in **shale gas reserves** (22 trillion cubic meters);
- **4th** in the world by the total value of **natural resources**;
- **7th** in the world in **coal reserves** (33.9 billion tons)

### **2. Ukraine is an important agricultural country. It can feed 600 million people:**

- **1st** in Europe in terms of **arable land area**;
- **3rd** in the world by the area of **black soil (25% of world's volume of chernozem)**;
- **1st** in the world in exports of sunflower and **sunflower oil**;
- **2nd** in the world in barley production and 4th place in **barley** exports;
- **3rd** largest producer and 4th largest exporter of **corn** in the world;
- **4th** largest producer of **potatoes** in the world;
- **5th** largest **rye** producer in the world;
- **5th** in the world in **bee** production (75,000 tons);
- **8th** in the world in **wheat** exports

### **3. Ukraine is an important industrialized country:**

- **1st** in Europe in **ammonia** production;
- **Europe's 2nd** and the world’s 4th **largest natural gas pipeline system**;
- **3rd** largest in Europe in terms of **installed capacity of nuclear power plants**;
- **3rd** in Europe and 11th in the world in terms of **rail network length** (21,700 km);
- **3rd** in the world (after the U.S. and France) in production of **locators and locating equipment**;
- **3rd** largest **iron exporter** in the world;
- **4th** largest exporter of **turbines for nuclear power plants** in the world;
- **4th** world's largest manufacturer of **rocket launchers**;
- **4th** in the world in **titanium exports**;
- **8th** in the world in exports of **ores and concentrates**;
- **9th** in the world in exports of **defense industry products**;
- **10th** largest **steel producer** in the world (32.4 million tons)

***UKRAINE MATTERS. That is why its independence is important to the rest of the world***

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## Biographies

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### Vernon Frolick:

Vernon Frolick is a Canadian, lawyer, and a bestselling non-fiction writer. He worked for many years with the Attorney General’s offices in Ontario and British Columbia, Canada. As Crown Counsel, he prosecuted thousands of criminal cases and has devoted his life to advance the principles of Justice and the Rule of Law.

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## PART 4

# Russia's Rape Culture: The Centrality of Rape in the Russian World

*Vernon Frolick*



## Russia's Rape Culture

### The Centrality of Rape in the Russian World

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#### Executive Summary

Russia is not a moral state. It is not a Christian state. It is not anti-imperial nor anti-colonial. It is not the largest nation in the world spanning 11 time-zones, but an oppressive imperial system under which the Russian state, centered in Moscow, has, upon threat of national destruction and genocide, forced its contiguous conquered nations to remain under absolute Russian domination. It is the Russian *Empire*, not the Russian *nation* that spans 11 time zones. It was Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Communist Revolution who rebranded the “Russian *Empire*” as the “Russian *Federation*” and Russia’s vassal states, as “autonomous republics.” But nothing changed. The empire and all its abuses remain intact today – the last surviving imperial system in the world. During the 1990’s upheaval in the Russian empire, following the collapse of Russia’s larger *soviet* empire, the 22 “autonomous republics” attempted to break free as well. They, too, sought freedom and independence. None were successful. Of them all, Chechnya alone refused to back down and in consequence Russia launched two all-out wars against Chechnya, from 1994 until 2009, bombing their cities into obliteration, committing mass rape, torture, mass deportations and widespread killing to crush the people and their struggle for independence.

Vladimir Putin is a KGB Colonel schooled in espionage and propaganda who has killed or imprisoned everyone who opposed his autocratic rule and self-aggrandizing mimicking of Stalinist worship. The head of the so-called *Russian Orthodox Church* – once outlawed by Stalin but then reinvented as a state-controlled system for citizen indoctrination – is a billionaire oligarch named [Vladimir Gundyayev](#), now crowned as “Patriarch” Kirill. As an active officer of the KGB his early work involved representing the Russian “Church” position at the World Council of Churches in Geneva in 1971 to deflect any criticism of the Soviet Union’s repression of Christians and redirect global criticism instead at America, falsely accusing it of crimes against Christianity. Gundyayev/Kirill’s latest effort on behalf of Russia’s imperialist agenda has been to [declare a “holy war” against the United States](#) as the head of a “Satanic Empire” and promoting the extermination of the Ukrainian nation, killing tens of millions of genuine Christians as the first step in conquering Europe and confronting American power.

Russia has deliberately tortured and [murdered 70 Christian priests and clergy](#) since February, 2022 when it commenced its full-scale war against Ukraine and has bombed and destroyed over 630 Ukrainian churches and places of worship in Ukraine. [Every Catholic priest has been killed](#) or has fled Russian-occupied areas. Far from being Christian, Russia is waging war against Christianity in Ukraine, just as Stalin did.

Russia’s successful propaganda campaigns, financed with money from the export of oil and gas and operated by a massive security and disinformation system to promote its image in western media, projects a Russia that is the moral equivalent, if not superior to, its western adversaries. Through “*Russian Studies*” programs created with Russian endowments in all major western universities, Russia has successfully indoctrinated millions of students for decades – now leaders in business and industry – with the Russian ideology of a “great Russia”. The truth is something else entirely. Russia today has the highest rates of disease, poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse, imprisonment, AIDS, prostitution, abortion, and divorce and the lowest life expectancy rates in the entire modern world. Indeed, Russia is not a

“modern” state by any western standard but remains deeply rooted in the same 19<sup>th</sup> century anti-western imperial ideology that saw it invest 101 years of continuous war to [invade, rape and murder the Circassian nation](#), and then 75 years later to ally with Nazi Germany in 1939 to jointly invade and conquer Europe – just as it now allies itself with China and North Korea to carry on that same goal of European domination, with its first step being the occupation of Ukraine and the extermination of Ukrainians.

Russia’s [mass rape of 2 million German children and women](#) following the collapse of the Nazi state and Russian occupation of eastern Germany was not an anomaly but a state policy that dates back to the 1700’s and continues today. The centrality of rape and other forms of torture as Russian state policy designed to break the spirit of those people defeated by Russia and whose absolute submission to Russian authority is demanded, first became evident during the Circassian genocide, was witnessed again during the Chechen Wars – in which Russian atrocities were recorded by international observers – and is again today being experienced daily in Russia’s war against Ukraine, where virtually all Ukrainian prisoners of Russians, male and female, are raped, and tortured – many genitally mutilated. Fearing no consequences from the West, the systematic murder of Ukrainian prisoners has now become official Russian state policy.

## Summary

Much, perhaps most, of the world sees Russia as it wants to be seen, and not as it is. Russia’s greatest success throughout the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> has been to focus critical global attention on the west, in particular on alleged American and British imperialism, and divert attention away from its own egregious treatment of the hundreds of indigenous and minority cultures and nations that *remain* prisoners – to the extent that they have not been deliberately exterminated and have disappeared completely – within the euphemistically named Russian *Federation*. But blunting the reality does not remove the underlying truth that Russia is *not* the largest *nation* in the world, spanning 11 time zones, but is and remains *an empire* of contiguous states which spans 11 time zones and in which its numerous subject nations exercise little to no freedom and live in conditions little better than they knew at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

One asks why, with all its wealth, Russia has not developed its eastern parts? Why tens of millions of people live in filthy squalor without paved streets, running water, toilets or health care? Why are the resources of those “regions,” the vast wealth in oil and gas and minerals, not spent on developing the local infrastructure and improving the quality of life of its inhabitants, but diverted instead to Moscow and St. Petersburg? The answer is revealing: because those “regions” are not part of Russia at all, but are Russian colonies made up of foreign nations that have long been suffering under Russian domination and exploitation. In classic colonial fashion, their resources are used only to enrich the colonizing power, Russia. Indeed, Russia deliberately keeps its colonies – referred to since 1922, as “autonomous republics” when Vladimir Lenin rebranded them “republics” rather than “colonies,” – in a state of underdeveloped poverty in order to keep them dependent on Russia and to forestall any independence movements that prosperity would allow.

Whatever criticism might legitimately lie at the feet of British colonialism, it must be acknowledged that Britain did a great deal for its colonies, building roads, hospitals, water and sewer systems, universities, rail lines, courts and justice systems. Former British colonies are not only free today but rank among the

most successful nations in the world. Russia's colonies, by contrast, have few services, its people few opportunities, their histories, cultures and languages are systematically suppressed, their nationalist leaders routinely murdered, and their very existences virtually hidden from the outside world. In its annual international ranking of citizen freedoms, [Freedom House ranks Russia \(with its 22 Republics\) at the bottom](#) together with Angola, Afghanistan, Uganda, Venezuela, and China. So, too, did [Reporters Without Borders and Economist Intelligence rank Russia](#) as a repressive authoritarian state.

Russia portrays itself as a modern, moral, Christian state that promotes "family values" and racial harmony. Again, nothing is further from the truth. Russia treats its own people, ethnic Russians, as superior to all other ethnicities in the empire, preferencing Russians over all others. In its imperial war against Ukraine, seeking to expand its wealth and power by seizing Ukraine's resources and industries, before advancing to the next conquest, it [disproportionately recruits people from the Asian republics](#) forcing them to fight and die in Russia's new imperial war. [The deaths of Buryats, a Mongolic ethnic group native to southeastern Siberia](#) whose ancestors ruled over Muscovite-Russians, and of Tyvans, Kalmyks, Chukchis and Nenets peoples, among others is not mourned by ethnic Russians.

How Russia treats those who fall victim to its imperial ambitions reveals the true nature of Russian "culture" and puts the lie to the obscene adjective, "Great" that its sycophants use to describe it. The term the Russians themselves use to describe the men recruited from these non-Russian republics as well as those men taken from the Russian prisons and driven to the front lines, is "meat." Other than serving Russia's imperial ambitions, their lives are valueless and their deaths meaningless to Russia's rulers. Nothing new.

**Under Imperial Czarist-Russia**, expanding its empire into the Caucasus, Russia confronted the Circassian nation. The Circassians refused to submit to Russian imperial domination so Russia launched the longest war in human history, exceeding 100 years, in a determined effort to exterminate the Circassian nation and population. Russian tactics included the ethnic degradation of the Circassian people as "subhuman filth," the mass rape of Circassian women and their physical and sexual mutilation, torture of the civilian population and widespread extermination campaigns. (For details of these wars and Russian practices see attached paper, *The Case Against Russia: History's Greatest Criminal*)

**Under Imperial Soviet-Russia**, Russian leaders engineered the mass starvation of [the Ukrainian](#) and [Kazakhstan](#) nations in 1932-33, killing millions, to crush their resistance to Russian imperial domination. In 1945, following the fall of Berlin, Russian occupation of East German began with the [mass rape of German women](#), estimated to number over two million girls and women aged eight to 80, many of whom died during brutal gang rapes, suffered unrepairable physical damage and committed suicide. The largest mass rape in history, these Russian terror tactics to destroy the will of a conquered people, mirrored the very same policy and practices of Czarist Russia.

**Under Post-Soviet Russia**, the two Russian invasions of Chechnya (1994-96; 1996-2009) – a colony that tried to regain its independence – again saw the very same terror tactics, mass killing of the civilian population, torture and mutilation of Chechens and mass rape of Chechen women. In addition to Russia's classic brutality, modern reporting and communications recorded another feature of Russian culture, heretofore hidden from western awareness, namely **male rape**. The public raping of Chechen men who had been captured by Russian soldiers was widely reported in western news but what was equally revealing was the reaction to the news inside Russia itself. Russian commentators were not

surprised by the accounts, acknowledging as they did that male rape was and had for long been a regular feature of dominance hierarchies in Russian culture – especially in the military where young recruits are frequently [raped by senior officers and trafficked as male prostitutes](#) – but that it was done in full public view rather than in torture chambers or private barracks.

**Male Rape in Russia: Dedovshchina:** So common is the practice inside Russian culture of male rape, it has an honored and historical role in establishing male hierarchies by humiliating and degrading those raped and asserting the dominance of the rapists over their lives. [The practice of rape of junior or lesser status males by dominant males, known as \*dedovshchina\*](#), has a long tradition inside Russian society. While Russia generally and Russian males in particular disavow homosexuality and loudly proclaim themselves strictly heterosexual, the widespread practice of *dedovshchina* speaks to a brutal sexuality and an abasement of lesser Russians not seen anywhere else in the world. *Dedovshchina* explains why Russian soldiers ordered to attack Ukrainian defences in “meat” assaults with no chance of success nevertheless rush to their deaths.

**Image Over Reality:** The Russian obsession to compete with the West to prove that they, with their own peculiar nationalist ideology, are at least equal to, if not superior to, western cultural and technological achievements, has been the dominant feature of their relations with the west for over a century.

While Russia presents itself as an anti-colonial defender of oppressed peoples and a state that is deeply rooted in traditional Christian values of family and community, a close examination of the reality of the *Russian World* behind the mask created by its massive propaganda system reveals a deeply corrupt and immoral society. And, importantly, one that cannot be reformed due to its deeply rooted imperial mindset.

**Russia Has Never Been Held to Account:** Russia is not a “modern” state but one that has survived essentially intact through its various iterations. From its Czarist beginnings inherited from Moscow’s Mongol rulers, with its violent wars of colonial conquest, through its long history of Soviet-Stalinist occupation of Eastern Europe with its gulag prison system of mass slave labor, to the present, post-Soviet Imperial state under Vladimir Putin, Russia has resisted change and remains steeped in a brutal imperial mindset. Russia’s recent wars of conquest in Georgia and Chechnya and now Ukraine have been conducted with the same savagery that saw Russians mass rape two million German women and children after Germany’s defeat and, under the Czars, exterminate the entire Circassian population after committing horrendous acts of cruelty. Different faces but always the same Russia. Russian state policy in occupied territories of Ukraine is again the indiscriminate killing of civilians in dozens of torture centres, accompanied by acts of rape and sexual dismemberment. Documented war crimes, approved by the state but freely committed by “ordinary” Russian soldiers, number around 200,000. The number of Russians directly implicated in war crimes both as principal actors and as accomplices and parties who encouraged or facilitated the crimes, exceeds one million. Additionally, Russians who while not legally liable to be found guilty of war crimes but who nevertheless fully support the invasion of Ukraine, the bombing of Ukrainian hospitals, schools, markets and residential apartments, and approve of the widely reported torture and murder of totally innocent Ukrainians, encompasses almost the entire Russian population, both inside the Federation and throughout the Russian diaspora. The Russian World is an imperial culture that *prides itself* on conquest and the fear its state engenders in others.

**Russia Allied with Nazi Germany:** When examined, there is nothing that Russia is or has that offers the world any value or peace. To the contrary, and not unlike Nazi Germany whose ambitions and genocidal policies Russia shared for the first two years of WWII until Germany broke its agreement with Russia, to all those who have had the misfortune of being its neighbours and who have been forcibly occupied by it, Russia has been a living nightmare.

**Russia's Mafia-Style Hierarchical System:** Russia's hierarchical system of power – more closely resembling a mafia organization than a modern state – is structured for the exclusive benefit of its tiny ruling class. In its vertical power structure, ultimate and absolute power resides with the head of the state, presently Vladimir Putin and radiates down through concentric layers towards the bottom with each level owing its privileges – if only to stay alive, if not to prosper – to those immediately superior to them.

**Millions of Russians in Abject Poverty:** Russians care a great deal about their image. More so, perhaps, than any other state because at its core Russia in fact embraces no values other than power and the privileges that attach to power. The glittering images of Russian oligarchs with their well-heeled children and mistresses parading the lives of the rich and famous in Paris, London, Milan and New York obscures a brutal truth: the image is a thin and corrupt veneer. Behind it, tens of millions of Russians live in filthy squalor. Without running water or sewage they live as their ancestors did in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, emptying their bedside buckets of human waste every morning into open community cesspools in towns without paved streets and crumbling apartment buildings.

What Russia excels at is its manipulation of information. Innocent, trusting people in the West have accepted the state-constructed narrative that the “Russian World” has retained the mythical perfection lost in the West, that Russia is a reservoir of goodness and Christian morality – all a carefully constructed lie. On virtually every metric, from prostitution, through drug abuse and abortion to family violence and divorce, Russians top the charts. There is a deeply flawed, oppressive and violent totalitarian world, absolutely lacking in freedoms, in which rape of both women and men has played and continues to play a central role in the state's long-standing policy of degrading both its own people and those it has conquered in order to force them into a state of abject servility.

**Russian Imperialism Threatens the World:** Russia's internal affairs would not matter much to the West beyond evoking common feelings of human compassion for oppressed peoples; however, Russians are not content to live within their own borders. Unlike its WW2 ally, Nazi Germany, Russia has never been forced to atone for its many crimes nor has it given up its imperial ambitions to rule over all of Europe. As Russia has made clear in its joint statements with China, it intends to compete with America for global dominance and to utilize as much force as is necessary to achieve its objective.

As such, Russia is a threat to global peace, prosperity and security. Russia is the last large Imperial power in the world. Occupying numerous Asian nations as colonies since Czarist days, now rebranded as “republics” of the Russian *Federation*, this last empire spans 11 time zones and contains numerous cultures the world hears almost nothing from. In the 1990's when the western nations the Soviet-Russians had conquered in WWII finally broke free, the eastern nations tried as well to achieve independence from Russia but were unable to. It is from these “republics” that Russia draws its wealth and a disproportionate number of its soldiers – non-Russian ethnicities – it commits to killing Ukrainians today.

**Preventing the Expansion of World War III:** If it is successful in defeating and occupying Ukraine and absorbing Ukraine's people and Ukraine's tremendous industrial and resource base into its existing empire, it will be significantly strengthened and then emboldened to challenge NATO itself – as it is already doing with its so-called “hybrid warfare” against European infrastructure including [damaging undersea cables](#) and [attempting to plant incendiary bombs into European aircraft](#). It is clear that Russia will not stop until it is stopped.

We need to construct a policy towards Russia that deals with the reality that it is as much a threat to global security as it was in 1939 when, together with Nazi Germany, it invaded Poland and started WWII. The solution is not difficult. Ukraine must be fully supported to defeat the invading Russian army and force Russia back to their own borders. The firm message to Russia is simple: Go home.

If we want to avoid expanding WWII beyond Ukraine, it's well past time we start by looking at the real Russian World behind its mask.

## The Real Russian World

Like all things Russian, whatever Russia professes as true is often the complete opposite. For example, while Russia promotes itself to a naïve international audience as an anti-colonial, anti-imperial state, it is in fact the world's last surviving imperial, colonial system. While it professes to “liberate” those nations it occupies, its' rule surpasses in cruelty the excesses of the Mongol Empire which it overthrew and expanded through a policy of cultural and oftentimes physical genocide into one of the largest and most oppressive – not “greatest” – empires in history.

That Russia is so often taken at its word is astounding but not totally surprising. US Department of State reports that Russia's target audiences in the West and throughout the global south are not defended against the level of sophisticated [propaganda Russia employs](#). Recent disclosures of long-standing KGB/FSB expenditures reveal that a major part of [Russia's security budget](#) – now estimated at [1.9 billion USD for 2024](#) – has been going into its vast projects to the world that bears little-to-no resemblance to the reality behind the glittery images of its well-dressed elites and their multi-million-dollar yachts.

The KGB/FSB's recent project to project an image of itself into the world as a traditional, Christian, values-based culture is a master-class in concealing the seedy and degenerate truth of the violence and oppression of Russian imperial “culture.” As far back as 1987 during the height of the AID's epidemic, Russia's newspaper *Izvestia* – and state broadcasters – reported to the world that it did not have any HIV/AIDS problems because, unlike the degenerate, capitalist West, there were [no homosexuals, drug addicts, prostitutes or alcoholics in Russia](#) – a theme Russian propagandists have continued to vigorously promote in the West to the present day.

### What's the reality?

**Prostitution?** Well, Russia may well have [more prostitutes than doctors, farmers and firemen combined](#). While no official figures exist, human rights organizations estimate that there are between [one and three million sex workers](#) (prostitutes) working [in Russia](#). Even women in the Russian military are [routinely forced by senior officers into prostitution](#) to serve their sexual interests. Women comply for the “protection” offered by senior officers as the option is to suffer more frequent and random rape by the female soldier's male peers.

**HIV/AIDS?** Epidemic. In 2017 the Russian Federation had the [highest number of HIV positive people of any country in Europe](#), adding between 70,000 and 100,000 new infections each year. An estimated 1.137 million people, constituting 1.5% of the adult population are infected. As high as they are these figures are considered low as HIV infections are vastly underreported.

**Alcohol and Drug Abuse?** Epidemic. Among the [highest in the world](#). After Belarus and Mongolia, [Russia has the highest alcohol death rate in the world](#). Quoting Russian journals, Wikipedia states: “Alcoholism in Russia has, according to some authors, acquired a character of a national disaster and has the scale of a [humanitarian catastrophe](#).” Trite to say that among the social problems that high rates of alcoholism produce are large numbers of fetal alcohol children (FASD) many of whom as low-functioning adults end up engaging in violent criminal activities and joining the ranks of [Russia’s gopnik gangs](#). Regarding the prevalence of studied FASD inside Russian orphanages the [National Institute of Health reports](#) that between 30% and 66% of the children are affected by FASD and that a total of 90% of Russian women of childbearing age consume alcohol with 20% continuing to drink throughout their pregnancy. The [classic facial features](#) of FASD can be easily observed in many of the Russian prisoners pardoned in exchange for becoming soldiers who are depicted on Russian social media.

**Divorce?** Notwithstanding Russia’s domestic and international media campaign that extols the virtues of traditional marriage and family values, [60% of Russian marriages end in divorce](#). The rate of [divorce in Russia is the highest in the world](#), with infidelity, poverty, inability to relate, and drug and alcohol abuse reported as the four principal reasons for ending relationships.

**Abortion?** More troubling for the Russian state than the divorce rate, is the fact that fewer and fewer women are prepared to give birth. The American Rand think tank reports [Russia’s abortion rates are the highest in the world](#). Anti-abortion may be the state’s expressed position to feed the international press but it is not the reality. Official figures likely vastly underestimate the true abortion rate but even official figures reveal that many women average several abortions over their lifetime. Throughout the sixties, the abortion rate was a high of one-in-six having an abortion every year, decreasing to one-in-ten per year thereafter. [The national figures for abortion](#) from the 1950’s through to the breakup of the Soviet state in 1991 were six to seven million abortions each year. – a figure that vastly exceeds America’s highest recorded abortion rates by a factor of 500%. There is no reason to believe that the abortion rates following the collapse of the Soviet system are any different than they were. Indeed, given the seriously impoverished state of the Russian masses it is likely the abortion rates are back to all-time highs.

**Family Life?** Despite official propaganda, as evidenced by the divorce and abortion rates and the extensive demographic studies, the majority of Russians are not committed to a family life. The result is that Russia’s birthrate is well below replacement and the [Russian population has been in serious decline](#) for many years. In its essay [A Russia without Russians?](#) the Atlantic Council reports that Russia’s demographic problems are so serious that it may not have a future.

**Religion?** Hardly free. Russia’s Jehovah Witnesses for example face years-long prison sentences for [practicing their faith](#) and Christian evangelicals are targeted both in Russia and in the Russian [occupied territories](#) of Ukraine with [extreme repression](#). While Russian propaganda alleges that Ukraine is

restricting and even prohibiting Christian faith, the opposite is true. Russia has deliberately bombed Ukrainian Churches and under Russian occupation, Ukrainian Orthodox priests have been arrested, beaten and [systematically murdered](#) in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine. And not only Protestant faiths have been targeted by the Russians. Major Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church reported that the [Greek Catholic “Church was liquidated in the occupied territories](#). In fact, there is not a single Catholic priest in the occupied territories today – either Greek Catholic or Roman Catholic.” The murder of Christian clergy by Russians goes almost unnoticed and unreported in the West. For example, on February 18, 2024, Russian authorities in the Russian occupied Ukrainian District of Kherson [seized 59-year-old Father Stepan Podolchak](#) of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine from his home in the Ukrainian village of Kalanchak (under Russian occupation). With his wife witnessing the abduction, they placed a bag over his head and took him from his home, barefoot, stating that he was needed for questioning. Two days later his dead body was found on the street. Kherson Bishop Nikodim who helped identify the body with Podolchak’s wife stated that he had been beaten to death and had a hole in his head likely from a gunshot. When Bishop Nikodim asked the Russian police what action they will take in regards to the killing, he was told: “Forget about it!”

**Jews in Russia Threatened:** For the Jews of Russia, the situation is equally dire. Signalling a potential new pogrom the Russian Justice Ministry in July of 2023 [branded Russia’s Chief Rabbi, Pinchas Goldschmidt, a “foreign agent”](#) a designation intended to label Goldschmidt personally and Russian Jews generally as enemies of Russia. In what now appears as prescient, Goldschmidt had fled Russia over a year earlier while warning Jews still remaining in Russia that their safety could not be counted on. He urged all Jews in Russia to leave [“before it was too late”](#).

**Jews in Ukraine Protected:** By contrast, [Rabbi Avraham Wolf](#), Chief Rabbi of Odessa and Southern Ukraine, asserts that apart from the war, [“Ukraine is the safest country](#) in the world for Jews.” Regarding the Ukrainian people Rabbi [stated](#) that “previously I loved and respected the Ukrainian people. But now, after the beginning of the war, I’m simply over the moon about them.” His views are echoed by Chief Rabbi of Ukraine [Moshe Reuven Azman](#), both of whom have worked tirelessly to debunk Russian propaganda that claims that Ukrainians are Nazis and that Russia was “de-nazifying” Ukraine. There is no merit whatever to the Russian charge. The vast majority of [Ukrainians identify as Christian](#), some 85%. To his Jewish audiences Azman points out that 7 million Ukrainians fought in the Soviet Ukrainian Armies against Nazi Germany. Millions died in the war. It is not Ukraine, Azman says, which has a Jewish President, but modern Russia that behaves like the “heirs of the fascists” noting further that more than 2,500 Ukrainians have been honored by the state of Israel as “Righteous Among the Nations” for risking their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust.

**Religious Freedom in Ukraine; Debunking Russian Propaganda:** Travelling frequently to Israel, Rabbi Azman expresses outrage that the Putin regime, together with the head of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill, and Russia’s state media continue to push the propaganda lie among American and other Western audiences that Ukraine is a neo-fascist or fascist state. Azman has made it his life’s mission to [debunk this Russian propaganda](#) and these false narratives about Ukraine and the Russian invasion.

Some brief comments on Russia's Orthodox leadership are also in order. Unlike Churches in Ukraine and across Europe and in the United States, Russia's Orthodox Church is not free of state control. In its November 27, 2024, report [The International Christian Concern](#) (ICC), a non-profit based in Washington DC, made it clear that the reality of religious freedom in Russia bears no relationship to its publicly professed "freedom". The ICC which monitors religious persecution around the world had this to say about Russia's repressive religious practices: "On paper, Russian law allows the government to restrict religion only to the extent necessary to protect the country's structure and security. In fact, the Russian government allows religious practice only insofar as it promotes the political interests of those in charge. It meets all other religious expressions, [Christian or not, with severe punishment and swiftly extinguishes them whenever possible.](#)"

**Russia's Orthodox Church and the KGB/FSB:** In short, Russia's vaunted image as a Christian haven holding itself out as the successor of the Holy Roman Empire centred on [Moscow as the Third Rome](#), is pure propaganda. Nothing about Russia is free. To the contrary Russia's Orthodox Church is operated by the state itself, or more specifically by the FSB. Russia's Orthodox Church is headed by a man called [Vladimir Mikhailovich Gundyaev](#). His official church history leaves out important biographical facts, chief among them that Gundyaev was/is a member of Russia's state police, the FSB. The successor to the KGB, the Federal Security Service (FSB) under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, effectively holds power over all other state functions and departments. Born in 1946, in Leningrad, (now known as Saint Petersburg), Gundyaev was ordained (tonsured) in 1969, given the name Kirill, and quickly rose through the ranks of the Church, no doubt under the direction of the KGB. Soon after, in 1971, he was assigned the role of representing the Russian Orthodox Church at the World Council of Churches headquartered in Switzerland.

In February, 2023, the Swiss press [published recently declassified archival material](#) that had been accessed by Swiss authorities from Soviet archives. What was revealed was that Gundyaev while ostensibly serving as Kirill, an Orthodox priest in Switzerland, was an active officer of the KGB secretly working under the code name "Mikhailov".

His purpose? As a KGB officer, Mikhailov/Gundyaev/Kirill was [assigned to work with other members of the KGB](#) who had previously infiltrated the World Council of Churches, to push the Council to denounce the United States and its allies and to limit criticism of religious repression in the Soviet Union. The tactic was, and remains, classic Russian projection; namely, to deflect criticism of Russia's religious repression by accusing its enemy, America, of the very offences it itself is guilty of. One will of course note that Kirill's present advocacy of Russia's war against Ukraine and his denunciation of Ukraine's and America's religious expression is in almost identical terms and tactics with Kirill's earlier work for the KGB in Switzerland.

In February 2009, after the death of Patriarch Alexy II, Kirill was elected by the Council of the Church as [Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus](#), a position synonymous with that of the Pope in Roman Catholicism. As head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Kirill commands considerable authority over the Russian laity. In full support of Putin's war effort Kirill released a document [justifying the war on religious and moral grounds](#) together with the genocide of Ukraine and Ukrainians. Declaring the Russian invasion "a Holy War" to exterminate the Ukrainian nation and create a "single spiritual space of Holy Russia" Kirill

accuses the West and Ukraine of embracing “satanism”. No longer a fight against “Nazism” the new rallying battle-cry is a religious war against Satan himself. Kirill has promised the Russian faithful that fighting in Ukraine was their holy duty and that dying there would be rewarded by a cleansing of all their sins and heavenly rewards. All that’s missing from the Islamist playbook is the guarantee that the dead would be met by 72 virgins. Kirill and his views have a lot of support within the Russian Orthodox Church which was recently banned in Ukraine for its overt support of Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine. Of the approximately 400 Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church [not a single one has criticized Russia’s war](#) or its numerous (well documented) atrocities and war crimes.

**Nothing Christian About Russia’s Church:** : Far from attending to the spiritual needs of the Russian people, Kirill’s role is more akin to that of Nazi Germany’s propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels. And, as Goebbels was to Hitler, Kirill is a close confidant of Putin, whose rule over Russia he declared “[a miracle of God](#)”. A member of the ruling oligarch class himself, Kirill has been richly rewarded by Putin for his service. [Kirill’s net worth](#) was estimated by Forbes in 2006 at \$4 billion and thirteen years later by Novaya Gazeta in 2019 at \$8 billion. Like Putin who sports expensive European acquisitions, Kirill was photographed wearing a \$30,000 gold Breguet watch which state broadcasters airbrushed out but inadvertently left the watch’s reflection in the photograph. Kirill lives in a private [\\$43 million mansion](#).

So much for Russia’s “**traditional Christian values**”.

After that brief look at the real Russia hiding behind its propaganda curtain, a closer examination of another core feature of Russia’s practice of social control is also in order; namely, Russia’s use of homosexual and heterosexual rape to break the will of resistance.

**Russia is Not a “Great Power”:** Modern Russia’s self-constructed image of itself as a “Great Power” rests both on its historical conquests and more recently its defeat in war of the world’s then most militarized and powerful state, Nazi Germany. In the former case, the abuses and atrocities committed by the Russians in their expansion out from their homeland, formerly Muscovy, have largely gone unrecognized and undocumented. Nevertheless, what most of the world believes to be “Russia” is in fact a large collection of conquered states and peoples, forcibly integrated into the “Russian Federation” – another fiction, like the Soviet Union, of supposedly fraternal nations collected together under the protective umbrella of Moscow. In reality an Empire embracing numerous colonized peoples. The decolonization of the Russian Empire is long past due.

In the latter case, too, Russia has largely rewritten its recent history and has succeeded in convincing much of the world that its version of events is true. What the Russians call the “Victory”, the surrender of Nazi Germany in Berlin on May 8, 1945, is celebrated across the Russian Federation in every village and city as the most important of all national holidays. It is Germany’s defeat that gives Russia and Russians their greatest sense of achievement and identity. While the West celebrates Armistice Day, now Remembrance Day, or Veterans Day, and remembers with prayers the sacrifice of its dead, Moscow parades its power in columns of marching soldiers, tanks, and missiles, including real or mock-ups of its intercontinental ballistic rockets. Power – the ability to deliver death – is celebrated. The reason why, as [Katie Davies writes in the Kyiv Independent](#), is important. *Control over the narrative has given the Putin*

*regime an endless source of propaganda material with which to foment Russian Imperial Nationalism and to justify its wars of aggression, including of course its invasion of Ukraine.*

Davies writes: “*The legacy of Soviet victory over Nazi Germany feeds pro-war aggression in Putin’s Russia — and is [celebrated with a religious fervor](#).*” *The Great Patriotic War which saw the defeat of Nazi Germany is now the Great Patriotic War to defeat a resurrected Nazi state, Ukraine.*

***Russia’s Lies About Its WWII Victory:*** *In the ten years since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in 2014, very few, if any, commentators have challenged Russia’s often repeated assertions that it alone — or the patriotic sacrifice of its Russian fighters — was primarily responsible for the defeat of Nazi Germany. It is this mythic victory that lies at the core of Russia’s nationalist fervor — an identity embraced by the huge majority of Russians which has taken on the characteristics of a religious faith, as Davies explains. Of course, it, too, is a mixture of half-truths and outright lies. Fifty years ago, the Victory Day parades in Moscow recognized that the defeat of the Nazi regime was due not only to the collective effort of the allied armies and to the massive military aid shipped to the Soviet Union by America, but also by the massive sacrifices of the Ukrainians and the Belarusians. Today, and since the rise to power of Putin, the Victory Day parades and the official Russian state narratives have dismissed the dominant role played by Britain and America and have completely eliminated the contribution of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies to the victory. The Victory is Russia’s alone.*

***Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies First to Enter Berlin:*** *It would hardly further Moscow’s narrative of Ukrainian Nazis to acknowledge that it was in fact the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies that were the first to enter Berlin and end the war. Or that it was the Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples who suffered the worst deprivations during the war, both their soldiers fighting and their civilians under German Nazi occupation. To recognize Ukraine’s wartime efforts is to recognize Ukraine as a state among other European states — a reality Russia has long fought to deny. However, all anti-Ukrainian propaganda aside, the truth is that Russia’s claim to the WW2 victory is grossly overstated. Without American aid and without the engagement of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies, Russia would have been defeated and ceased to exist.*

*It is well beyond the scope of this essay to repeat what war historians have thoroughly documented — those sources are everywhere and are voluminous — but the briefest outline of Ukraine’s involvement in the war is necessary to counter Russia’s propaganda on this critical issue and to illustrate, in Russia’s occupation of Germany, the Russian colonial model which remains extant to this day.*

On April 20, 1945, the [1<sup>st</sup> Ukrainian Army \(Front\) reached Berlin’s outskirts](#) from the south and the south-east while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Belorussian Armies (Fronts) were encircling Berlin from the east and north-east. Further south and completing the encirclement was the Ukrainian 4<sup>th</sup> army. As the [Ukrainian and Belorussian armies pushed into Berlin](#), on April 30, Hitler committed suicide and eight days later Berlin surrendered.

***Ukrainian Underground in WWII:*** It is important to recognize that while the Ukrainian and Belorussian (Belarusian) armies were under the ultimate control of Soviet-Russian leadership they were not fighting for the survival of the Soviet system but for their own national survival. While [7 million Ukrainian soldiers fought the Nazi Regime](#) inside regular Ukrainian army units, tens of thousands of Ukrainians joined the [underground partisan resistance movement \(UPA\)](#) organized by Ukrainian

nationalists (OUN). Like the French resistance, the goals of the Ukrainian resistance were the liberation of Ukraine from foreign occupation. But while the French resistance had only the German occupiers to fight, the Ukrainians had the Russians and the Poles as well as the Germans. *(Note that while pre-war and war-time tensions between Ukrainians and Poles – who occupied parts of Western Ukraine – were strained, the relationship today is one of mutual respect and support. Poland is and remains one of Ukraine’s most steadfast allies. The two nations by themselves or in alliance with the Baltic and Nordic States are capable of presenting a formidable front both economically and militarily.)*

While the Germans initially presented themselves to the Ukrainians as liberators, promising Ukraine independence from the Russians, and they obtained some limited support from UPA units, it soon became apparent that the Nazi plan for Ukraine was anything but liberation. It was, rather, another genocidal campaign similar to the Holodomor, a recent genocide committed on Ukrainians by the Stalinist-Russians. No different from Russia’s goals, the occupation of Ukraine was a major war aim of Nazi Germany. Its’ vast resources were the prize Germany was fighting for. Not Russia and not Belarus. And the cost to Ukraine was enormous. Of Ukraine’s pre-war population of 41.7 million people, the 1945 census revealed that [only 27.4 million remained alive at the war’s end](#). Millions of Ukrainians were killed on the front lines while millions more were murdered in the Nazi concentration camps, as slave labor and in Germany’s [genocidal policy of lebensraum](#). The Nazi German plan was the extermination of the entire Slavic population and its replacement by Germans. The scale of human suffering is impossible to recount in words but Svetlana Alexievich’s Nobel Prize winning accounts of child survivors in *Last Witnesses* (Random House, 2019) gives poignant glimpses of the horror of the German invasions and occupation.

The Russian authorities in 1945 were well aware of UPA attacks on Russian positions throughout the war and of Ukrainians’ deep aspirations to be free of Russian occupation no less than their desire to be free of Nazi German occupation. The Russians, however, were no less determined than they had been throughout the 1930’s to crush all expressions of Ukrainian identity, language, history and culture. After the Ukrainian and Belorussian armies entered Berlin, the Russian armies entered from the north-east. As soon as Berlin surrendered, the Soviet-Russian High Command ordered the Ukrainian and Belorussian Armies to immediately leave Berlin, return to their respective countries, and disarm.

**Russian Mass Rape of German Women unlike Anything in History:** Left alone with the defeated German nation, now firmly under Russian occupation, the Russians began the wholesale and prolonged rape of the German people.

It’s important to recognize that this mass rape was not carried out by “Soviet” soldiers but by “Russian” soldiers. This was not a “Soviet” crime that involved other soviet nationalities or one that disappeared when the “Soviet” adjective was dropped in 1991 but was and remains a Russian crime. Estimates are rough – the Russians were not conducting counts – but some [two million girls and women were raped](#). Many raped so brutally they died from their injuries. With no escape and no hope for a future free of Russian occupation and torture, many others committed suicide. As intended by the Russian authorities, thousands became pregnant and had to give birth to the children of their rapists. As elsewhere in the Russian empire, Russian occupation took several forms, ethnic population replacement being one of them.

**Unlike Nazi Germany, Russian War Crimes Have Never Been Prosecuted:** In the years following Germany's defeat, the Russian crimes were not pursued for a number of reasons. Firstly, Russia won the war, achieving all its pre-war objectives, even adding to them the occupation of the Germany territories where it carried out its rape campaign. As a new world power, it was not about to indict itself and no other power had any authority over it. Secondly, after Nazi Germany's mass killing of Russians and other ethnic Slavs – and [its own campaigns of rape of Slavic women](#) – it was hardly appropriate for the Germans to object. It was a just punishment, a *quid pro quo*. And, too, at least equally as important, the German women who were raped and their families, humiliated and degraded, mostly said nothing. Who were they to complain to? Not only were there long-standing cultural and religious taboos around all things sexual, until relatively recently the belief prevailed that exposing and exploring pain only served to exacerbate the suffering. Silence was better. Forget and move on.

That was a mistake. Its silence allowed the Russian narratives to dominate the information field. Just as Russian propaganda increasingly filled western media and public perception, aided considerably by new Russian Studies' courses established with Russian "support" in all major western Universities, that equated Ukrainian nationalism – the expressed desire to be free from Russian colonial occupation – with Nazism, the fear of Russia's German victims to speak out and the failure of western researchers to document and expose Russia's numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity, has allowed Russia to construct much of the narrative, presenting itself as a model state.

Yet, the mass rape of German women and girls, often very young children, was not an aberration from the norm. Yes, men with guns who have ultimate power over others and whose authorities tolerate it, often rape but most civilized nations have laws they observe even in war-time conditions that proscribe rape. Russia does the opposite. It always has.

**Russian Mass Rape of Circassian Women:** In the 1850's Russia pushed its empire southward into the Caucasus, the region encompassing the nations of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Chechnya, the Circassians, together with numerous indigenous peoples. The Russian conquest was a fiercely resisted 47-year war that was ultimately won by Russian forces who pursued a scorched earth policy of total destruction. The Circassian nation, for example, [refusing to submit to Russian Imperialism was annihilated](#). It was a deliberate genocide. Records are incomplete but estimates place the number of Circassians murdered by Russians at between 700,000 and 1.5 million, nearly the entire population. The recorded methods of population subjugation employed by the [Russians included impalement, mass killing, starvation, rape and dismemberment of pregnant women](#).

Of those few who survived, as little as 3% of the original population, [they endured systematic torture, rape](#) and finally deportation to distant regions of the Russian empire. Rape then, as now, together with torture was a Russian tool to break the will of a conquered people.

**Russian Rape of Chechen Women and Men:** The Chechens, too, were ultimately conquered, their lands annexed and [thousands deported to distant regions](#). Yet they managed to survive as a people. After the Communist revolution and the collapse of Tsarist rule in 1917 [the Chechens rose up and attempted a short-lived independence struggle](#). The Russians under Lenin were no less willing than the Czars had been to return Chechnya to the Chechens. The uprising was crushed. In 1936 the Chechen nation was recognized on paper by Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, as the Checheno-Ingush

Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Autonomous on paper only like all the other “autonomous” republics of the Russian empire, Chechnya remained firmly under the rule of Moscow. A fiercely independent Muslim people the Chechens however continued to resist. After the collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1991, the Chechens in their now renamed state, the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, sought their autonomy along with numerous other previously colonized nations. The Russians under the new leadership of Boris Yeltsin responded by sending the Russian army into Chechnya in 1994. [For two years Chechnya fought against a dispirited and disorganized Russian army and won](#). The Chechen death toll exceeded 100,000 and the nation was in ruin but independence – although never stable and corrupted by Russian agents – followed. Not, however for long. Russia recovered from the collapse of its Soviet empire, rebuilt its military, and in 1999, under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, resumed the fighting. Justifying the new invasion and re-occupation of Chechnya/Ichkeria as “self-defence” following the KGB/FSB fabricated provocation by bombing Russian apartment buildings in Moscow that Putin blamed on the Chechens, this [Second Chechnya War lasted ten years](#), until 2009, when Russian forces, with the support of pro-Russian Chechens, finally prevailed. Once again Russian tactics involved total war, razing cities to the ground, destroying infrastructure, and targeting civilian populations. With the forces of independent Chechnya defeated Chechnya was reincorporated into the Russian Federation. Deaths for this second war are estimated at excess of 60,000.

**Russian War Crimes in Chechnya:** Relevant to this discussion, was Russia’s use of rape, once again, in the Second Chechnya War as a tool to punish and degrade the people it conquered. In [a report published by the California State University Journal, Culture, Society, and Praxis](#), researcher Valentina Rousseva documented Russia’s war crimes in occupied Chechnya. While 15% to 20% of the Chechen population were killed during this prolonged war and most Chechen women suffered from structural violence as well as experiencing the death of family members, the Chechen women described being raped by Russian soldiers as “worse than death”. The Rousseva report documents numerous first-person accounts.

One specific case [documented by Human Rights Watch](#) illustrates the Russian practice: Kheda Kungaeva was eighteen. Russian soldiers seized her from her home in Tangi-Chiby and took her to a Russian military camp where she was killed. A forensic examiner who conducted a post-mortem examination of her body after it was recovered, reported that “Kungaeva was beaten, anally and vaginally penetrated by a hard object, and strangled ... She was violently raped before her death.”

**Russian Rape Policy:** Mirroring the Russian practice in Berlin after the fall, Russian soldiers mass-raped Chechen women in a deliberate campaign to dishonour and break the spirit of the Chechen people. The *Human Rights Watch* report describes that Russia, soon after its victory over Chechnya, commenced the mass slaughter of Chechen men who had fought against the Russians or who had assisted the Chechen resistance. Of those Chechen men who were not murdered outright, large numbers were removed from Chechnya and transported to Russian detention centres. Once the men had been removed the Russians then began the systematic rape of Chechen women. Impregnating Chechen women was viewed as key to Russia’s policy of “ethnic cleansing”.

As reported, Russians organized “sweep operations” during which they entered homes, dragged out women who were then beaten, raped – frequently gang raped – and often murdered. Besides dragging them from their homes, women were raped at checkpoints, at the outskirts of towns and in the Russian

camps. While the rape and sexual degrading of Chechen women was described as entertainment for the Russians, for example by stripping them naked and forcing them to dance, it also served Russian state purposes. First and foremost, it was/is used by Russians as a weapon of war. Mass rape, planned in advance, is “[intended to destroy the soul of a nation.](#)”

**World Watched In Horror:** As reported by the Jamestown Foundation, a Washington, D.C.–based conservative policy group focused on Eurasian security issues, [Lord Russell-Johnston, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe](#) issued a warning to Russia concerning the behavior of its troops in Chechnya. “In recent weeks,” he began, “there has been mounting evidence of a rapidly deteriorating human rights situation in Chechnya. I expect all human rights violations to be condemned at the highest level by the Russian authorities. The reports of new human rights abuses come against the background of the Russian authorities’ deplorable lack of willingness to properly investigate allegations of past abuse. The failure to bring to justice those responsible for crimes constitutes a blatant violation of Russia’s obligations as a member of the Council of Europe.”

Needless to say, the demands that Russia investigate its own abuses and change its behaviour were naïve at best. Worse, as though the crimes were not central to Russian Imperial policy, the fact that the army’s crimes were blamed on its local leadership and not officially recognized as directly authorized by Moscow, which exercised total control over battlefield tactics, excused Putin and insulated him and the ruling Russian oligarchy from personal liability.

**Public Rape of Chechen Men by Russians:** The “abuses” that the Council were reporting on were described in another release from the Council of Europe, published by the Jamestown Foundation, titled [Mass Rape of Chechen Men by Federal Forces](#). “According to [Andrei Mironov of the Russian human rights organization Memorial](#) ... Russian forces stationed in Chechnya recently committed an organized mass rape of Chechen civilian males. During a fact-finding trip to the North Caucasus, Mironov learned of an incident which took place earlier this month: “Over 700 men (I was given a list of 762 names) were taken to a field. They [the Russian soldiers] raped a woman in front of them.” The Russian troops, Mironov related, then taunted the Chechen men, calling on them to defend the woman’s honor. Those who intervened, sixty-two men, were themselves then “handcuffed to an armored personnel carrier, and publicly raped.”

“Never before have I heard about public rape,” Mironov commented. “Of course, people were systematically raped in prisons and detention centers, and [in] military units. This was intended to break their character. But now this is being done in public.” Mironov added that many of the Chechen men who had been publicly raped vowed that they would now become suicide attackers (Eurasianet, July 19, 2000).

“In the no. 49 (July 16, 2000) issue of Novaya Gazeta, award-winning war correspondent [Anna Politkovskaya](#)<sup>1</sup> discussed the same incident and added some details. “Sixty-eight men,” she wrote,

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<sup>1</sup> **Of note**, Anna Politkovskaya was the daughter of ethnic Ukrainian diplomats representing the Ukrainian (Soviet) delegation at the United Nations. Born in New York City and educated in Moscow, her reporting on the Russian atrocities during the Second Chechen War led to her being arrested by the Russian military which staged a mock execution to deter her from further reporting. She was later assassinated in Moscow on October 7, 2006. She was 48. [Six other journalists with Novaya Gazeta were also murdered since 2000](#). Russia’s aggressive policy of killing independent reporters has been successful in limiting narratives that run counter to official Russian propaganda.

“living in Sernovodsk, have announced that they were raped by [Russian] soldiers conducting a punitive action, but they have not found the necessary understanding [on the part of the pro-Moscow Chechen authorities]. Forty-eight of them then appealed to [separatist President] Aslan Maskhadov with a request that they be permitted to become kamikazes in order to exact recompense for these humiliations by committing terrorist acts. Maskhadov categorically refused to grant their request. Two of them then attempted to commit suicide. This took place on July 12 [2000] in Sernovodsk. One succeeded. The other was revived.”

Multiple organizations collected other first-person accounts of Russian soldiers detaining, torturing and gang-raping Chechen men. Of note in this 2000 [Amnesty Report describing Russian rape of male captives](#) as well as children is the reference to the Russian use of “filtration camps” – the very same system and war-crimes practice Russia is using now in occupied Ukraine. The Russian “filtration centres” are where the state, exercising total control over captives, systemically use torture and anal rape of men, as detailed in the report.

**Russian Atrocities in Occupied Ukraine No Different than ISIS:** Putting the lie to the myth that Russia is a modern state that follows Western values is a more recent series of war crimes that Putin very directly acknowledged and approved of. Following Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February, 2022, Russian military forces seized and occupied several Ukrainian communities including Amdriivka, Zdvyzhivka, Vorzel, Bucha and others. Not anticipating that Ukrainian defence forces would successfully retake these communities and expose [Russian crimes of systemic torture, rape and murder of Ukrainian civilians, including the death of children by violent and multiple rape, and the random murder of pedestrians](#), the Russians did little to hide their crimes. Following the liberation of Bucha, the Ukrainian authorities discovered [the horrors of Russian occupation](#) in torture chambers, mass graves, and dead bodies left lying in the streets where Russians had randomly killed them. The scenes were nearly identical to the worse atrocities committed by the Nazis – another terrorist imperial state it must be remembered that Russia had allied itself with to conquer Europe.

During those initial months of Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine in 2022, Russia appeared to show some concern for its image and international reputation by attempting to manage the news that was emerging from the war. Following the revelations of Bucha and universal condemnation of [Russia’s barbarity – described as worse than ISIS](#) – Putin’s propagandists initially denied any Russian involvement and accused the Ukrainian authorities of staging the deaths as a “provocation” against Russia. As the evidence of Russia’s brutality mounted however and Russia’s continued denials became impossible to maintain, Russia then dropped its mask.

The new reality was communicated by Russian propagandists who now publicly embraced the random killing of Ukrainian citizens and the terror tactics of rape with a [warning to Ukrainians to “be afraid!”](#) The purpose of Russian terror campaigns, whether conducted by Imperial Russian troops in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or Soviet Russian troops throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, or Russian national troops throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has always been the same. To inflict such pain and fear that those who would resist Russian domination, would collapse and submit to whatever force Russians wished to exercise over them.

**“BE AFRAID!”**

**Russian Rapists and Torturers Honoured in Moscow:** The proof – if any more were needed – that Bucha and the hundreds of bodies and torture chambers that have been discovered following the Ukrainian army’s liberation of occupied territories is Russian policy that spans the centuries and Russia’s various Imperial iterations, was Putin’s formal reception in Moscow for the butchers of Bucha. Far from condemning them for their atrocities, [Putin rewarded the Russian paratroopers from the 234<sup>th</sup> Air Assault Regiment with state honours](#). Their brutality was lauded and Russians were encouraged to emulate their crimes. The purpose of the war now was not to protect Russian interests – that mask too was dropped – it was to destroy the Ukrainian state, annihilate the Ukrainian people and “conquer” the country, as Putin has now publicly acknowledged.

**Russian Lies About “Family Values”:** Not all of Russia’s masks have been dropped however, only those whose existence is manifestly false and whose utility no longer serve Russia’s interests. Those that do, continue to be vigorously advanced and will continue to be promoted as real until they too are debunked. Among these remaining myths is the constructed narrative that Russia is a Christian nation that reflects the same values that the Christian right in America believes in, among them, the promotion of family values, anti-abortion, opposition to gay and lesbian marriage, and rejection of any recognition of LGBTQ rights.

Putting the lie to Russia’s moral posture is the reality that Russia is an Imperial state that relies heavily on the homosexual rape of colonized men as well as the rape of women and children, to enforce its control, as discussed above.

I have already touched upon the approved sermons of the Russian Orthodox Church that the duty of the Russian citizen is to kill Ukrainians and that doing so ensures them a place in heaven. While nowhere does Christianity encourage the murder of innocents, Russia goes further and imprisons anyone, including [the rare doctor, who protests the war](#). In Russia, unlike America or any western nation, one cannot take a position against the state, however immoral and criminal its actions. Even children who express [pro-Ukrainian or anti-war sentiments are sent to prison](#). As [Oleg Kozlovsky writes for Amnesty International](#), “Despite all the Kremlin’s talk about the value of the family, it is the very bond between children and their parents that is being shamelessly exploited to crush dissent.”

Regarding family values, we have first to acknowledge that Russia, alone in the “modern” world, has repealed the criminal sanctions that all Western states have placed on family violence. While we have, in the West over the past 50 years or so, made huge progress in recognizing that family violence is a crime invoking a legitimate public interest in extending the protection of the law to vulnerable women and children, Russia has gone in the opposite direction. Under Putin’s regime, with the support of the Patriarch Kirill’s Russian Orthodox Church, Russia has *legalized* spousal assault as a *traditional* male prerogative. Family violence in Russia is endemic.

To be clear, it should be understood what *traditional* family values meant in the West. Until January 4, 1983, the status of a “married women” (in Canada) was akin in some respects to property. Legally married, one of the recognized rights of a “husband” was [his absolute right to sexual access](#). The wife’s corresponding duty was not to obstruct his access to her body. *Forced* sexual intercourse was a crime only when committed against a woman “not his wife”. [Under the criminal law, marriage was a complete bar to a prosecution for rape](#). While any assault of another was long recognized as a separate crime, spousal assault *per se* was rarely investigated or prosecuted as it was rationally and logically – as well as

socially – at odds with the notion that a man could rape his wife but not assault her. How, indeed, was rape not an “assault”.

In any case, the prevailing social-cultural view – and one that British common-law long respected – was that a “man’s home was his castle”. The state could not enter that private domain without good and legal cause. In effect, whatever happened inside a man’s home was “his private business”. (And, yes, it was a patriarchal system.)

A detailed examination of the evolution of the law and practice in the British legal systems concerning protection of women’s rights is beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to say that many members of traditional Christian faiths continue to see any intrusion by the state into the internal dynamics of a family as unwarranted and contrary to the “divine” rights of a man and parent as set out in the Bible – which is exactly the opening that the Russian propagandists utilize to divide America and solicit support for the “Russian world”. As the right of a Russian male to assault his wife is enshrined in the Russian civil code, one can assume with some certainty that spousal rape is a very common feature of Russian domestic life. Indeed, at the outbreak of the war, Russian women were frequently posting on social media their relief that their men were sent to the front and could no longer beat them. Whether they lived or died, was seemingly of little to no consequence to them. Anecdotally, Russian women seeking divorces from the courts, when divorce was opposed by their husbands are routinely told to go home and obey their husbands.

**Systemic Rape and Torture of Ukrainians by Russians:** Perhaps the most extreme example of how the Russian state does not exemplify Christian values is its long standing, systemic practice of using rape, including homosexual rape, as an instrument of social control.

Just as the Russians mass raped the Circassian population (even as they exterminated them) and raped the German women who had fallen under their control, and raped the Chechen men who lost their battle with them, and doubtless millions of others whose tortures were never recorded although their numbers, in the tens of millions, were, the Russians routinely rape Ukrainian prisoners of war even as they torture and murder them. In its latest report on October 30, 2024, to the UN General Assembly, the Commission of Inquiry concluded that Russia was committing multiple war crimes in its treatment of both Ukrainian civilians under Russian occupation and of captured Ukrainian soldiers. Russia’s use of torture, including sexual torture, was, they found, not random but widespread and systematic. The Chair of the Commission, Erik Mose, said, “Based on our evidence, we have found that the Russian authorities have acted pursuant to a [coordinated state policy of torturing Ukrainian civilians and prisoners of war](#) and are therefore committing Crimes Against Humanity.”

[Ukrainska Pravda adds further details](#) namely that Ukrainian prisoners suffer torture “at all stages of captivity.” Virtually all Ukrainians in Russian captivity are tortured in Russian camps and in torture chambers set up across occupied Ukrainian territory.

Other reports record [“startling” numbers of Ukrainian victims of Russian sexual violence](#) involving men and boys. Not surprisingly very few men – exchanged in prisoner swaps – are willing to detail the torture they suffered at the hands of the Russians. In one CNN report, however, Roman Shapovalenko is reported to have said that the Russians appear to have a fetish for male genitalia. The CNN report adds that male rape was long known to be widespread inside Russia, practiced in particular by police and

security forces against Russian detainees, but that Russian has now “[exported the practice to occupied Ukraine](#)”.

**Russian Rape and Terror Policy Serves Its Imperial Interests:** Rape serves its state purpose. In the case of Germany, the terror the Russians inflicted on the German civilian population during its mass rape campaign served to turn them into a servile population that obeyed and worked closely with the Russian authorities for two generations. The Stasi, the German secret police, modelled after the KGB, operated the largest internal spy system in the Soviet Union in which East German citizens oppressed each other on behalf of their Russian overlords. Similarly in Chechnya, faced with a Circassian genocidal option, the Chechens instead surrendered their honour and their country to the Russians and some, like Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov, switched sides from an independence fighter to a pro-Russian loyalist who was rewarded by the Russians for his betrayal of the Chechen people by being appointed as the President of the Chechen Republic and lavished with gifts and absolute power by the Putin regime, benefits he has extended to his family and closest supporters in classic colonial political style. Awarded the Russian rank of Colonel General in the Russian military, with his private army of some twelve thousand men, named Kadyrovites after their leader, Kadyrov supports the Russian invasion of Ukraine and has participated in atrocities committed against both occupied populations and captives, repeating the very behaviours Russian invaders committed against his own people.

Assessments of Chechnya’s future are uniform in projecting that when Moscow’s control of Chechnya/Ichkeria fails, the people will rise up against Kadyrov, his family and supporters. Knowing this, Kadyrov rules Chechnya with an iron fist in like manner to Putin’s rule over the Russian empire, committing widespread torture and killing among the Chechen people to a [degree amounting to the ICC’s definition of crimes against humanity](#).

Not all Chechens surrendered their will to their colonial oppressors or to their Chechen agents. Some have joined the Ukrainian resistance against the Russian invasion and fight bravely with them as volunteers. They know that if the Russian army in Ukraine is defeated the Russian hold over Chechnya will break. It is ultimately freedom for Chechnya they are fighting for.

**Effect of Rape and Torture:** Similar to the impact suffered by German women and Chechen men who were raped by Russians, the psychological effects on Ukrainian men and women are profound. The torture inflicted is often physically irreparable. Men whose genitals have been cut off in torture chambers and yet managed to survive and women whose rapes were so violent their perineums are destroyed and incapable of being rebuilt, are at extremely high risk of suicide. Many commit suicide. Severe depression naturally follows in all cases of rape and torture. Given the priorities of surviving the war, the focus is necessarily on the battlefield but the long-term emotional and psychological toll the war is having on the people, is very serious. The task of dealing with the effects of trauma deliberately inflicted on the nation by the Russians will require a coordinated response equal in commitment and resources to the military battle itself. First survive, then recover.

The experience of the Canadian justice system has been that rape victims all too often internalize the abuse, in effect accepting the abuse, consciously or unconsciously, as a judgement on their own value and integrity as human beings. In the systemic Church abuse cases, typically there are suicides among the survivors that are clearly attributable to the sexual violence committed against them. Self-harm, drug and alcohol abuse, social isolation and emotional disorders are a natural consequence of being

sexually violated. Just as the rape of the Chechen Muslim women had more profound effects on them than the rape of non-Muslim women due to their deeply held cultural and religious values, males, generally, more than females suffer on deeper levels the humiliation and degradation of being raped. Men more often than women fatally self-harm. Social standards that define masculinity – the very essence of maleness – require that one’s masculinity be defended. Whether it has a physiological or social basis or a combination of both, men who have suffered rape suffer not only from the effects of powerlessness to resist violence and the inability to protect themselves – the shock that accompanies fear of death, total powerlessness, and the instinctive desire to survive – but also the uniquely male trauma of being demasculinized. Raping males attacks the essence of their sexual identity, universally understood to constitute the very foundation of our sense of self. Once broken, how can that be reconstituted? The short answer is through intensive trauma therapies.

What justice systems do is focus an objective re-examination of the details of the crimes and the circumstances in which they were committed. Regardless of the negative self-judgement victims frequently carry, the essential fact in every case is that the victims were literally powerless to resist and that they bear no blame or responsibility for their victimization. It is taking that negative self-judgement and redirecting it at its original source, the offender, that starts the process of healing. Through insight, awareness of the dynamics of power and our relationship to it, the victim can separate their essential being from the experiences they have endured. Our experiences educate and inform us but they do not define who we are. By internalizing the experiences as definitional we become our own enemies and, in effect, repeat endlessly the crimes of our oppressors. That, at least, is one of the messages prosecutors in the justice branch share with those with the courage to stand up, whenever they are ready, and publicly condemn their oppressors.

In particular by standing with the victims the justice process seeks to re-empower them. Justice changes the narrative: you *were* a victim of abuse, but you *are* a survivor. You *are* alive. Having the power of the state behind you in the prosecution of the oppressor for their crimes is a hallmark of justice. Although the Russians have committed hundreds of thousands of war crimes – each one as serious as the very worst crimes our courts have ever seen – and their prosecution is a near impossibility given the sheer numbers involved and their protection by the Russian state, nevertheless justice requires a firm commitment to hunt down and hold every Russian criminal, co-conspirator, accomplice, and party fully accountable for their crimes. It is the work of a lifetime and dedicated resources must be put into its service but justice demands it. Just as cultural and intergenerational trauma passes down to our children and grandchildren, affecting their own ability to become self-realized and achieve their full potential, so too does healing and justice inform the lived reality of future generations.

**Russia’s Extensive Homosexual Rape Culture:** Some final comments about Russia’s rape culture are in order. While the Russians publicly acknowledge the existence of rape culture inside their extensive prison systems, they tend to eschew the prevalence of homosexual rape outside the prison system.

The truth is that homosexual rape is a fundamental part of Russian male culture. Far from being the homophobic culture that they aggressively promote in Western media, as part of their overall “Christian” character, the Russians practice violent male-on-male rape as integral to their vertical

systems of power. The concept of equality, that is the essential foundation of both democratic philosophy and of human rights, is totally foreign to the Russian socio-political system that has no experience with nor ever embraced democratic principles or human rights. With its roots, instead, buried deeply in systems of hierarchical, autocratic power that go back to the Mongol world of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the privilege of power was always the right to abuse those with less power. Corruption in the Russian world has no equivalent to corruption in the West. What we see as “corruption” in Russia is in fact the Russian system of rewards, privileges and punishments that enabled the Russian imperial, colonial system to survive intact throughout these centuries of external change.

The hierarchical pecking order means that those in authority abuse those with lesser authority. And the corollary is that those with lesser authority bow down to greater authority and expect and tolerate the abuse they receive. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Russian military which, like the Russian prison system, is a closed system of power structures where superior officers regularly beat, rob and even rape junior officers and members of the lower ranks. Hundreds of videos of collective rape captured by overhead drones or filmed by the rapists themselves, attest to the widespread use of rape inside the Russian military as a primitive method of asserting dominance and control.

Russia’s paper war against homosexuality is real in that it is enacting laws that criminalize same sex relationships and all LGBTQ+ messaging. It is likely true, too, that the Russian gangs, who target gay couples to assault, have themselves engaged in violent sex crimes including male-on-male rape. Russia’s cynical and hypocritical international stand opposing what its Church calls unnatural and immoral behaviour in favour of traditional family values – aimed primarily at American Christian audiences and the Western far-right movements – is belied by the fact that it practices homosexual rape at the state level. Curiously, the Russians themselves who engage in orgasmic, forced anal intercourse – rape – deny that their actions are “homosexual”. Instead, they assert they are motivated by power and are adhering to the accepted Russian rules of dominance. Homosexuality involves love, a mutual respect, whereas they act out of the pure physical pleasure of dominating and degrading others, in particular other males – in essence an expression of contempt and hate.

As the Russian human rights activist Mironov, quoted above in reference to the mass rape of Chechen men, commented, “Of course, people were systematically raped in prisons and detention centers, and [in] military units. This was intended to break their character.” The fact Mironov states this almost as a throw-away comment is itself revealing. As a human rights activist he saw nothing unusual in the systematic rape of a conquered people and seemed to justify it as a necessary disciplinary measure designed to break them. His surprise was not the existence of systemic male rape by the Russian military but the fact that the Russian state would do so in broad daylight. This was merely a new level of the well-recognized Russian practice of utilizing rape as a state tool for oppression.

That Russians themselves identify systemic rape inside their military as enforcing necessary “discipline” and “order” and deny any homosexual interest, the fact remains that regardless of whatever label they wish to attach to their behaviour, their engagement in forced, and orgasmic, anal intercourse is clearly more perverse, immoral, anti-Christian and criminal than anything they profess to abhor.

The image Russia is projecting through their state propaganda of a morally superior culture and indeed, one that ought to be emulated by its western consumers, is, like its self-characterization as an anti-imperial and anti-colonial crusader, another fabrication. It’s a complete fraud.

## What remains is to ask why Russia embraces rape?

Why would Russia have a deeply ingrained politico-cultural practice of rape? The short answer is, because it works. In his book, *War before Civilization*, (Oxford University Press, 1996) Lawrence Keeley, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois, makes the important observation that severely abused persons – essentially those whose spirits are broken the way animals can be broken – are both compliant and dangerous. Dangerous when placed into positions of power, and docile when under the command of superior officers. Not all people submit to arbitrary power. Many resist. Those who resist in conditions of enemy occupation are usually killed. It is trite to say but worth repeating that those who find submission easiest are those who have already accepted an inferior role for themselves. Abuse degrades people and degraded people are in turn more easily controlled.

The Russian empire, like the Mongol Empire it inherited through force, early on learned the value of degrading people through the use of mass terror. In controlling its numerous colonized nations utilizing systemic torture, rape, and genocidal campaigns, it deliberately sought to break the people, making their submission to Russian control – or, like Ramzan Kadyrov, their subsequent complicity in forcing others into abject submission – absolute.

Nowhere is this submission more evident than in the endless and seemingly mindless assaults against Ukrainian defences that the Russians themselves call “meat” assaults. “Meat” because they have no value beyond agreeing to die in the hopes of exhausting Ukrainian ammunition or for some other perceived military gain that recognizes no value whatever in the lives of the Russian invaders. That they do not resist – although those that do are frequently raped to remind them of their zero status – has been a mystery to Western observers. Described as attacking like zombies and submitting to their orders to continue advancing until dead, observers, including the Ukrainian soldiers killing them, ask why they don’t object to save themselves. Why are they not killing their own officers? Why are they surrendering their own lives in a foreign country in an Imperial campaign that will ultimately bring no benefit to them? Their placid submission to an order to die “like meat” is puzzling because the behaviour of the Russians is unlike anything we experience in the West. We are not broken and cannot fathom the experience and reality of being Russian.

Professor Keeley writes: “It is not a mystical patience that makes civilized men easier to reduce to strict subordination and military discipline, it is their habituation to hierarchy and obedience as a result of being raised in a state, which by definition is a polity with class stratification and monopolized coercive powers.”

**Choosing Death Over Submission:** In facing Russian invading forces, the choices available to the Ukrainians are stark. Surrender and face inevitable torture and possibly death, or fight until the end. The Africans kidnapped and shipped to the Americas to be sold into slavery faced a similar dilemma but, without the ability to effectively resist, their options were limited to death or survival as slaves. Many chose death, throwing themselves overboard to drown if given the opportunity. Submission, at least potentially, maximizes the possibility of survival, and survival contains the potential to fight again. But the question of life or death is an individual one that no one has the right to impose on another.

Would we respond, like [Oleksandr Matsievskiy](#), the Ukrainian soldier who when captured by Russians, stood proudly and lit a cigarette as he proclaimed “Slava Ukraini” – glory to Ukraine – as the Russians

murdered him on video, or like [Stepan Chubenko](#), the 16-year-old Ukrainian boy who as a student in 2014, at the beginning of the Russian war against Ukraine, was dragged off a train in the occupied city of Donetsk for wearing a ribbon on his rucksack in the blue and yellow colours of the Ukrainian flag. Because of it, he was tortured for days until all his teeth were knocked out and then, with his hands tied behind his back, shot 5 times in the head. His mutilated body was found in a dump. According to a report from a soldier present during his torture, the boy had “not cried and had not asked for mercy.”

We will never know how the thousands of other Ukrainians who were tortured and murdered in the dozens of torture chambers and “filtration” camps set up by Russian authorities throughout the occupied Ukrainian territories, died. We will never know but we ought never to forget them.

Russian crimes and the intense suffering they cause is not without purpose. With the continued support of the great majority of the Russian populace, as evidenced not merely by polling and the absence of any large-scale protests by the millions of free, diaspora-Russians living throughout the West, but by the enthusiastic participation in the hundreds of thousands of war crimes committed by ordinary Russians directly engaged in Russia’s war of conquest, the Russian leadership wishes to crush Ukraine, seize the immense resources of the country – which were already planned for distribution among the Russian oligarchs prior to the full-scale invasion – and, with this first step, regain the status of a global power. As the Russians put it, what they are fighting for is the triumph of the Russian World.

The goal is classic Imperialism, immense power and wealth for a tiny elite at the expense of the immense suffering and deprivation of the huge majority, indeed at the virtual enslavement of millions.

### **A final word on Russian propaganda.**

Not all states are created equal. There is no moral equivalence between the state of Russia and America or Canada. Or between North Korea and France; or between Iran and Britain. The fundamental difference between representative democracies and autocratic states is in the distribution of power. In the former we have devised legal structures which govern our politics and societies. What a society founded on civil and human rights does with power is to spread it out horizontally to the extent that that is socially desirable and practical, which provides even the least successful of us a broad range of rights – powers – that we can rely on for our personal protection and freedom. The right, for example, to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention or search and seizure are rights protected by the state with penalties for those who violate those rights. The police are not above the law. Nor are the state’s prosecutors or Judges. Not so in Russia.

While Russia has, on paper, a constitution with a democratic process and a legal system that protects citizen rights, the reality is something else. The Russian legal system is a chimera. The state has an absolute monopoly on power. Herein lies another fundamental distinction between western systems and autocratic states. Liberal democracies, as rights-based societies, embrace the principle that the law applies equally to all, meaning that no one is above the law. Law is supreme. While there are certainly examples of unequal treatment by the law or within the justice system, the ideal nevertheless remains the goal and guiding principle. But we are, of course, human and the administration of justice is subject in its execution to the vagaries of human judgement, preferences, biases, prejudices, laziness and ignorance. We make mistakes, but we accept them and strive for improvement. We can only do our best. But our worst is far superior to autocracy’s best.

Because autocracy refuses to admit mistakes and does not tolerate criticism it appears to be more stable than unruly democracies which by definition tolerate diverse and even opposing views. We allow criticism even of our highest office-holders. Criticism is healthy. In Russia as in North Korea and Iran, the critics are killed – and, for good measure, typically tortured before being killed.

While liberal democracies spread power out into the opposition and among the people through their rights-based systems, states like Russia, China and North Korea are entirely vertical in their distribution of power. That is that power is absolute at the top and descends down through ranks of increasingly diminished power to the bottom. Everyone owes their security not to the law or state-enforced rights but to the personal support and “protection” of higher-ranking officials.

We may not easily see the reality behind Russia’s masks but Russia well understands the differences between our systems of power and theirs. Let’s be clear: If Russia truly believed western systems were inferior, that democracy, human rights and a fair and impartial justice system were not the necessary foundation for a successful, modern state they would not put so much effort into pretending that they, too, embrace and practice those very democratic systems that are the cornerstones of Western culture. Why even stage “elections” when the entire process is fraudulent and the outcomes determined in advance behind the state’s closed doors? Russia can point to their constitution as “proof” of their commitment to a rules-based justice system but the most cursory examination of their courts and disputes reveals immediately the depth of their corruption from the western model. In Russia, like any mafia organization, it’s all about connections to power.

Russia knows it cannot compete openly with the west in terms of the quality of life the Russian state offers its citizens, or on civil rights or personal freedoms. So it focuses its propaganda instead on “values”. Values are intangibles, outside the state or legal system. Its propaganda system pushes the model that in Russia basic moral values, if not legal ones, govern. While Russians daily commit war crimes in their invasion of Ukraine, destroying cities and towns while raping, torturing, and murdering Ukrainians who only asked to be free, Russia, they proclaim, is the last moral bastion in a degenerate and immoral world.

## **Why Russia Lies**

Why do they lie? For the same reason we all lie. To gain some benefit. In Russia’s case to hide the inconvenient truth that the regime’s hold on power has no legitimacy other than that which raw power alone provides. Because those who exercise power and enjoy its absolute privileges are not willing to give them up without a fight. Hence the centuries of Czarist-Soviet-Imperial Oligarch brutality that has crushed and impoverished millions.

They lie because they understand that the truth is Russia’s demise.

If, for example, Russia acknowledged the critical support given to it during the Second War by America and Britain, it would be more difficult to define two of the world’s greatest democracies as “enemies”. And Russia needs “enemies” to justify – in classic Orwellian analysis – its very existence. In like vein, as any acknowledgment of Ukraine’s major role in the victory diminishes proportionately Russia’s claims both to the victory and to the human cost, Russia has consistently denigrated Ukraine’s involvement – if even acknowledged – in order to project the image of *Russian* power. Russia’s propaganda narrative of nearly single-handedly defeating Nazi Germany, although patently false, remains a central tenet of is

Imperial Great Power image – and one that citizens of west European nations and America appear to have largely accepted, totally unaware of the history of the war and involvement not only of Ukraine but of Belarus and other Russian-occupied Soviet states. So, too, if Russia honoured the immense sacrifice of Ukrainians and Belarusians in defeating the Nazis, the millions who died defending their respective nations from Nazi German occupation and their planned genocide, it would run counter to Russia's claim that they are – still – defending themselves against a Nazi threat. As though Ukraine ever had any intention to attack Russia or, even more insane, to embrace the very ideology of a system that had at its core the annihilation of the Ukrainian people.

So, instead, Russia lies. And, free from the constraints of a free press and critical populace, Russia's propagandists who, like the entire ruling class, are dependent upon the continuation of the state for their own privileges and their European summer homes, are committed to promote any distortion of the truth that perpetrates the status quo, deflects criticism of Russia's own considerable failings and obscures its ugly reality. They are all in on the same cynical game.

*And they lie because it works. Putin's propagandists give the Russian people what they crave: meaning. Whether in Russia or spread throughout the diaspora, Russians know the poverty of Russian culture. What substitutes for culture, as Russian authors uniformly write, is Russian suffering. Russians take pride in their ability to endure. Apart from their narratives of deprivation and suffering there is virtually no authentic Russian culture. Muscovy's own history as a riverside tax-collecting agency for the Mongol Empire has absolutely nothing to commend it. Russia's desperate attempts to appropriate Ukraine's history for itself – by annihilating Ukrainian identity so its very existence cannot contradict Russia's claim to Ukraine's inheritance – is a reflection of the emptiness Russia experiences in its own existence. A powerful Russia, a Great Russia that the world fears, a Russia that rapes and tortures its victims, gives them something that sanitation and running water cannot, pride. A sense of power they can identify with.*

*A stirring military nationalism, promoted by Russia's Orthodox Church and attached to imperialist ambitions is a perfect solution for a meaningless empire filled with degraded and powerless people.*

*That's all Russia offers. Empty slogans and suffering.*

**Vernon Frolick:**

*Vernon Frolick is a Canadian, lawyer, and a bestselling non-fiction writer. He worked for many years with the Attorney General's offices in Ontario and British Columbia, Canada. As Crown Counsel, he prosecuted thousands of criminal cases and has devoted his life to advance the principles of Justice and the Rule of Law.*

*Vernon Frolick is the son of **Stanley W. Frolick, Q.C.** a Canadian lawyer who served as a Captain in British Army Intelligence in the Second War. As a student in the 1930's Stanley was living with his uncle, a Catholic priest in Polish-occupied Ukraine across the border from Soviet-occupied Ukraine and witnessed the horror of the Soviet Russian-directed forced famine of Ukrainians, a globally recognized genocide, known as the Holodomor, that killed millions of Ukrainians by starvation. Later, in his capacity as a British officer he was in the lead allied forces that liberated the Nazi slave labour factories and again witnessed first-hand the mass death that the Nazi's had inflicted on Europeans. He worked with **Eleanor Roosevelt**, the American diplomat and President's wife, to stop the repatriation program by bringing to the attention of the US government the reality that Stalin was mass murdering returned citizens who had been forced into slave labor.*

## PART 5

# The Case Against Russia: History's Greatest Criminal: Facts and Arguments for the Prosecution

*Vernon Frolick*



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## Executive Summary

Russia, despite its propaganda to the contrary, remains the last colonial empire in the world and continues to pursue aggressive and genocidal wars of conquest to expand its power. Its recent wars in Chechnya and Georgia and its present full-scale war against the western democratic nation of Ukraine – the most serious geo-political crisis since the Second World War – prove its intent and threaten to destabilize the western alliance and encourage other totalitarian states like China and North Korea to engage in similar violent expansionist wars of conquest. Russia must be stopped. Without attacking Russia directly, the decolonization of its empire, euphemistically called the Russian *Federation*, will undercut Moscow's financial base and end its imperial ambitions. Encouraging and recognizing the independence of the republics of the "federation" that are in fact captive nations of Russia's imperial-colonial system is entirely in keeping with the decolonization model of the civilized world that emerged following the defeat of the Nazi and USSR totalitarian ideologies. A safe and prosperous world depends on it.

### Summary:

While much of the world focuses its critical judgements on the periods of European and Ottoman Imperialism, most people appear totally unaware that one of the most violent and destructive Imperial systems of them all was [the Russian Empire](#). That its historical legacy and continuing imperial practices remain under the radar is by design. Russia's brutal policy of cultural repression and forced assimilation known as [Russification](#), left few voices alive or free to speak to the atrocities committed by the Russian State. Its numerous indigenous cultures have nearly all been [systematically exterminated](#). Large and small, the nations that fell to Russian military conquests, inevitably suffered the same fate: annihilation through physical or cultural genocide or Russian imperial occupation. The occupation of numerous nations by Russia continues today.

Like the man behind the screen in the *Wizard of Oz*, Putin is terrified that the careful image of power that Russia has constructed will be exposed as a sham with no substance. Russia's wealth and with it, its power, is largely derived from oil, gas, coal, minerals, timber, etc., that are extracted not from the territory of the Russian Republic but from the Russian-occupied republics like oil-rich [Tatarstan](#), gas and mineral-rich [Bashkortostan](#) and coal-rich [Tuva](#) in Central Asia, among many others. [A map of the Russian federation](#) showing the numerous political associations Russia has with formerly independent peoples, cultures, and nations is a complex mosaic of [republics](#), [oblasts](#), [krais](#) and [okrugs](#), and other "federal [subjects](#)" that spread from the borders of Europe across Asia – the vast Russian Empire that Vladimir Lenin tried to remake on paper into a "federation" of "willing" partners. Czarist Russia was an aggressive imperial system that built itself into a global power through the steady targeting of weaker neighbouring states that it attacked one-by-one, expanding southward and eastward across the far east to the Pacific, and over the Pacific to Russian-Alaska. Pre-communist, Czarist Russia was the head of an empire. Russia, today, is not the largest *nation* in the world that spans 11 time zones. It is the expanse of the Russian *empire*, not of Russia that stretches 11 time zones. Conflating Russia with its empire – presently referred to as "the Federation" – and calling all of it "Russia," as many world leaders, academics and virtually all public information sites about Russia do, is as false and ill-informed as saying that England (Imperial pre-

war England) spanned 24 time zones. Russia is no more Alamy or the Altai Republic or Yakutiya or the Republic of Adygea than India or Burma or Uganda or Zimbabwe are England.

While European nations were decolonizing and the massive empire of the Ottoman Turks was forcibly dissolved, Russia doubled-down and concealed the reality of its empire by rebranding its colonies in 1922 as “autonomous republics” with full rights of self-determination. While their status change was on paper only and Moscow – the capital of the Empire – continued to exercise absolute control over their affairs and their resources, the ruse was successful. People forgot Russia operated an active imperial colonial system. In deep competition with Britain, France and America to become a global hegemon, Russia defined itself as the anti-western and anti-capitalist alternative. As the admitted features of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century western powers were imperialism and colonialism, Moscow hid its own imperialist policies and its colonial reality behind the rubric of being an anti-imperial and anti-colonial crusader of oppressed peoples – while the brutality of its oppression of its subject peoples was in reality worse than anything experienced within the empires of any of its competitors.

In like fashion, Moscow’s oft-repeated narrative – and its most celebrated holiday – is its alleged victory over Nazi Germany. Its anti-fascist stance, like its anti-colonial and anti-imperial posturing, is belied by the fact that it was an ally of Nazi Germany and a cobelligerent in instigating the Second World War, not a victim; and by the fact that it achieved all of its pre-war goals, planned with Hitler, for the seizure of the eastern half of Europe. Hardly a crusader of freedom, the death tolls and destruction that Moscow has successfully led the world to believe were its cost for fighting the war were in fact, borne far more directly and severely by Ukraine, than Russia, and it was Ukraine’s armies together with the armies of Belarus – not Russia’s – that were the first to enter Berlin, ending the war. Like much of Russia’s self-proclaimed history, its “Great Patriotic War” narratives are fictions; but it was only Russian troops, who remained after the German defeat to occupy the country, who participated in the organized mass rape of German women and girls – the largest mass rape in history.

Fighting desperately against the tide of civilization, Putin launched yet another violent imperial attack against its peaceful neighbour and true adversary of fascism, Ukraine, in 2014. Notwithstanding Moscow’s several and often contradictory justifications for its initiation of war, its actual motives are, once again, classic imperialism. No different than the wars its leaders launched in the past, Putin is seeking the wealth of Ukraine and the industrial power its seizure would add to the Russian armories, to advance Moscow’s unwavering ambition of becoming Europe’s hegemon.

Should Russia fail to achieve its stated goals in crushing Ukraine’s resistance, the republics watching closely, will be similarly encouraged to stand up to Putin and challenge Moscow’s authority. And this time, their success in achieving independence stands a chance. In that sense only has the war with Ukraine become an “existential” battle for Russia.

The republics have the resources, some independently, others collectively, to be self-sustaining and prosperous nations, but they are mostly kept in a state of penury with tens of millions of their people living without paved streets, running water, toilets or sewage while the value of their resources is funnelled in classic imperial-colonial fashion to Moscow. The impoverished, 19<sup>th</sup> century conditions of the republics is by design. At the collapse of the Soviet-Union in 1991, which was itself an extension of the Russian empire beyond the borders of the Federation, the republics added their own voices to those of the Soviet states in demanding separation from Moscow’s rule. They, too, wanted to be free. They

were not so lucky. They had no one speaking for them. One wonders why, if “Russia” is so wealthy, the immense resources of the “country” are not expended to develop it? The simple answer is that these regions are not Russia – they are not part of the “country” but of the empire – and their development would only serve to empower their independence movements and destroy the empire that Russia relies on for its power and status, if not its very existence. Poverty keeps them weak and dependent on Moscow’s good graces.

Putin is terrified that the nascent independence movements of the republics will grow. If they break away from Moscow’s control, as they want to, Moscow’s power is over, together with the centuries long nightmare we know as the “Russian World.” To counter that threat to Russia, Putin recently abolished the rights that the republics had since 1922 of pursuing independence. Their pre-revolutionary status as outlying regions of the empire has been restored. So, too, should we in response, recognize that reality and work in a focused and supportive manner to end the world’s last “great” empire.

They are waiting for that day.

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## **PREMISE**

Given Russia’s unbroken history of brutal colonialism and its present imperial ambitions to expand its domination of smaller nations to achieve global superpower status, the goal of Russia’s decolonization ought to be a moral imperative of the utmost importance for all the nations of the world that are opposed to great power abuses and violent imperialism.

There is a wealth of evidence to support the premise that, contrary to popular belief and Russian propaganda, Russia is extremely weak and will completely collapse as soon as the republics – formerly recognized as its colonies – are liberated.

Global peace and security depend on it.

## **HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

The three “Great” empires of history were the British, the Mongol and the Russian.

**1. BRITISH:** The **British Empire** (16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century) included the American Colonies, the territories of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Burma, Sudan, South Africa, Kenya, Botswana, Jamaica, Grenada, Fiji and numerous other African, Caribbean, and Asian states. What the British brought to its colonies were British law and a Justice System, representative government, economic development, medicine, science, education including advanced research, water, sewage and health systems, road and rail infrastructure, and integration into a global economic and political system and, most importantly – whatever the deprivations of British Colonialism – eventually freedom and independence.

- Importantly, for all the negative press Britain is subjected to for its colonial history, one of the most salient features of British Imperialism is that *today* some 56 countries, formerly colonies, spanning the globe and comprising some two and a half billion people, *choose* to remain connected to each other and to Britain through their voluntary membership in the British Commonwealth. Despite the criticism levelled at Britain for its past, [Britain offered something of value throughout its colonial empire that offered lingering benefits](#).
- Whatever criticism one may wish to lay at the feet of British Colonialism, it must also be acknowledged that many of the most advanced and democratic nations today were developed inside the British Empire by adopting its legal and political structures.

**2. MONGOLS:** Unlike the British Empire, the much earlier **Mongol Empire** (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century) offered little to its subject people except a change in despotic rulers. Similar to the subsequent Russia Empire which was in many respects its successor, [the Mongol Empire](#) was the largest contiguous empire in history, stretching from Eastern Europe across Asia to the Sea of Japan, north to the Arctic and south into Iran, India, China, Tibet, Korea, and parts of southern Asia. The Mongols referred to their Empire as the “Nation of the Great Mongols”.

- Although [brutally ruthless](#) in crushing any opposition to their rule – the terror tactics of extreme violence being one that the Russians learned to emulate – the Mongols were nevertheless far more tolerant of ethnic, cultural and religious differences among its subjected nations than the subsequent Russians. Another similarity between the Mongol and Russian Empires – and one that distinguished it from the British Empire – was the function of Empire itself. For the Mongols as well as the Russians, empire had a two-fold purpose: first, and foremost, it was to privilege those in the centre of power through the payment of taxes that went directly and almost exclusively to their benefit; and secondly, to accumulate power. Power had two primary functions, to dominate and occupy weaker states, thus expanding its territorial boundaries, and to repress internal dissent to safeguard the privileges of the ruling class. In other words, Empire benefited the Emperor. Like Russia today, everyone in the privileged class owes their status to their relationship with the Emperor/Czar/Khan and thus self-interest guaranteed their loyalty. The quality of life for those in the outlands and periphery, whether they even lived or died, is of no consequence or interest to the state.
- The fact that Vladimir [Putin has everyone he considers a threat to his authority murdered](#) or imprisoned is a testament to his absolute authority as the present ruling Czar of Russia, a title that many Russians use without irony. Like Stalin, Lenin, the Czars and the Mongols before them, Putin rules with an impunity the Russians are very familiar with.

**3. RUSSIAN:** In addition to the characteristics of the Russian state noted above it must be emphasized that the Russian state itself – and the Empire it subsequently created – came into existence under the Golden Horde division of the Mongol Empire and was modelled after it.

- **Founding of Muscovy:** [Muscovy](#), a small fortified town on the banks of the Moskva River, meaning “wetland”, was established by the Mongols as the center of a vassal state organized to pay homage and tribute to its Mongol rulers. Retained by the Mongol overlords as tax collectors, local Muscovites, who were members of [Finno-Ugric tribes](#) and the [Vyatichs Slavic tribes](#) living in the region of present-day Moscow, were granted privileges and exercised some authority over their neighbours, learning through long association about the hierarchies of power and the administration of Empire. Eventually the Mongol Empire weakened enough that the Muscovites were able to organize and rebelled, overthrowing the Mongols.
- **Birth of “Great Russia” and End of the “Nation of Great Mongols”:** Turning the tables on their former lords, the Russian rulers, no longer Khans but Czars – the Russian language equivalent – began pushing the boundaries of their own Empire deeper and deeper into what had long been Mongol strongholds until “Great Russia” as the Czars called their empire, was now occupying the place of the “Nation of the Great Mongols”.
- **Not Corruption But Tribute:** When people speak of Russian “corruption” it must be emphasized that this is not an aberration or breakdown of an otherwise modern socio-economic system but [is in fact the system](#) the Mongols designed for the benefit of those in power. Of course, regional governors and local authorities take their share before passing it on, which in classic colonial fashion ensures their commitment to the maintenance of the system.
- **Centralization of Power and Wealth in Muscovy/Moscow:** The centralized system of power and wealth that characterized the Mongol Empire describes Russia today where the resources of the numerous states and autonomous districts of the entire Russian Empire (now “Federation”) are funnelled directly or indirectly through corporate control into the pockets of the ruling oligarch class in Moscow while [tens of millions](#) in the outlying regions subsist on poor diets and live hardscrabble lives with [no running water](#), central heating or indoor toilets.
- **Muscovy Appropriates Ukraine’s History:** The Czars who took over from the Khans, understood the necessity of a solid patrimony. Lacking any history of their own, beyond the fealty their vassal state of Muscovy owed to their Mongol overlords, the Muscovites having now an empire of their own in the later 18<sup>th</sup> Century, wanted a grand history that would reflect the “greatness” of their own empire and so they began the [appropriation of Ukraine’s history](#) for their own.
- **Muscovy Rechristened Itself “Russia”:** The name “Russia” (and hence “Russians”) was appropriated by the Muscovites on October 22, 1771, when Muscovy declared itself the “Russian Empire” and the Muscovites renamed themselves “Russians”. The Muscovites and Muscovy [consciously stole the name of Rus and Ukrainian history](#) in a move of deliberate self-aggrandization. *(Note: Some accounts give an earlier date for the appropriation of the Ukrainian name.)* Muscovites then, and present-day Russians, have nothing to do with historic Rus or Ukrainians. They are a different people with different genetic roots, radically different histories and different cultural and social values.

- **Rus was Ukraine, Never Muscovy:** From the 9<sup>th</sup> Century – hundreds of years before the founding of Muscovy – *Rus* was Ukraine, and from the 10<sup>th</sup> Century on was known as [Kyivan Rus](#), and ruled over by Kyiv’s grand princes, men like Volodymyr Sviatoslavych, known as [Vladimir the Great](#), who reigned from 978 CE until his death in 1015 CE and [Yaroslav the Wise](#), (1019 CE to 1054 CE). Of historical significance is the fact that the currency that these Grand Princes of Kyiv minted over a thousand years ago contained the historic Ukrainian symbol of [the trident known in Ukrainian as tryzub](#).

**4. IMPERIAL LESSONS LEARNED BY THE RUSSIANS:** Moscow’s close association with the Mongol Empire had taught the Russians a few things – mistakes the Mongols made that the Russians would not. The Mongol Empire had collapsed in part because it had overextended itself dissipating its energies, and because it was too tolerant. Once conquered it allowed its subjugated territories – most important the Muscovy Region – to retain some regional autonomy including its distinct ethnic identity. It was that ethnic identity that allowed Muscovites to identify with each other as distinct from the Mongol ruling class, and then to unite to overthrow the Mongols.

This cannot be stressed enough: [The Mongols allowed the nations they conquered to retain their national characteristics](#). The Russians did not.

- Russian colonial conquest was more brutal and absolute than that of their predecessors. Russia didn’t rule over its conquered peoples, it **annexed** them and forced them through terror tactics to abandon their national identities and re-identify as “Russian”. [Russification](#) was the Russian imperial model for its empire. Mongol genocides were instrumental in enforcing obedience to the Khanate. Russian genocides had an altogether different purpose, to eradicate ethnic identities generally.
- **Silencing a People through Genocide and Control of Information:** Taking the lesson of imperial collapse from the Mongols, the Russian imperial design was not only the political control of its colonized nations but to the extent that Russian leadership could implement Russification without uprisings throughout the empire, their social, cultural, linguistic and historical roots (especially the history of their colonization and Russian abuses) were degraded and their peoples systematically relegated to minority status if not annihilated. The Russian imperial model of genocides, both physical and cultural, and their replacement by ethnic Russians together with the deliberate mixing of populations through forced mass transfers around the empire has had the intended effect of consolidating Russian ethnic dominance over virtually all the indigenous people of most republics. As George Orwell famously wrote about totalitarian states, perhaps borrowing the line from Stalin himself: “He who controls the past controls the future.” Russian propaganda and control over information is the one field where Russia excels. As described elsewhere so complete was Russian control over information and education that most Kazakhs were totally unaware of the recent history of the genocide the Russians committed against their nation even though survivors were still alive to tell the stories – but were still afraid to. Not until Kazakhstan regained full independence from Russia did the truth finally emerge.

- **The Tuvan Republic:** One exception to the minority status of the indigenous populations in the republics is the Tuvan Republic and the Tuvan people. Before being ruled by the Russians, the Tuvans, a Turkic ethnic group indigenous to Siberia – and interestingly, close genetic relatives to the indigenous peoples of the Americas – were ruled by the Mongols from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century when they were integrated into the Chinese Qing dynasty. In 1911 the Tuvans were encouraged by Tsarist Russia to rebel against the Chinese. The separatist movement Russia helped the Tuvans organize was successful in breaking them free of Chinese control only to be recolonized by Russia and incorporated into the Russian Empire. Their majority status in the Tuva Republic stands alone inside the Russian Federation, where elsewhere the Russians succeeded in displacing the indigenous populations with majority “Russian” populations, making future independence based on cultural and ethnic differences problematic to say the least. Nevertheless, there remain better reasons: justice. The long reign of colonial subservience and impoverishment for the enrichment of Moscow, demands it.

**5. “MODERN” RUSSIA IS AN IMPERIAL STATE:** There are over 190 ethnic groups within the Russian Federation and there are 83 [“federal subjects”](#) (essentially separately recognized political entities). Of those 83, there are [21 national republics](#) – originally home to various colonized ethnic groups – and [5 autonomous okrugs](#) and an [autonomous oblast](#).

- **Rebuttal to Russian Denials of its Imperial Character:** The Federal Republics are not co-equal with the Russian Republic. Russian propaganda of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continuing into the 21<sup>st</sup> century has vigorously denied it is a colonial empire. They point out, for example, that because at least part of the Russian imperial model was the *assimilation* of conquered peoples into the Russian World wherein everyone becomes “Russian” there was no differentiation between colonizer and colonized – an equality that recognized no distinctions. The rebuttal however is that the model was predicated on the superiority of the *Russian* world view, not those of its colonized “other” and the effect of forced assimilation was the degrading and ultimate extinction of other cultural groups. In effect, the genocide of all other linguistic and cultural traditions within the Federation. Moreover, however the *ideal* may have been expressed, the reality has always been that ethnic Russians are at the top of the Imperial hierarchy and all conquered and occupied nations rank as inferior and its people excluded from any genuine sharing of power.
- **No State Freely Submitted to An Association Status with Russia:** Another argument Russians have made regarding the Federation system is identical to the Russian assertion that the former Soviet Union was also a free association of nations, being equal partners who shared the same communist utopian vision. The desperate flight of every single “Soviet” nation that made up the Soviet Union away from Russia to the Europeans following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 put the lie to this assertion. Willing partners don’t flee for their lives, nor, incidentally are they pursued, as Russia pursued them. In the case of the Federation, Russia’s argument is the same, namely that the nations or republics contained within the Russian Federation were likewise fully compliant with their association with Russia, and – like the separate nations of the Soviet Union – free to leave that association whenever they wished. Proof, they say, was in the Constitution of the Federation and in the association agreements of the USSR. The rights of

member states of the USSR and member states of the Russian Federation however were paper rights only with no substantive mechanism to enforce them. Never in fact consensual, membership in each of these two Russian Imperial systems was always cohesive and compliance was forced on all of them through military occupations, murder of dissidents and opposition leaders, and the threat of continued violence. Just as Putin has made it clear in his speeches that the equal and independent nation status of the member states of the Soviet Union was a façade and that they in fact “belonged” to Russia, like property, and, as property, that Russia has the right to “recover them” by force – irrespective of what the people in those countries themselves want – so, too, has the independent status of the republics within the Federation always been a myth and the Russian Constitution merely a mask concealing what was and still remains is a brutal colonial system.

- **Russia’s Empire Joined the Communists to Overthrow the Czar on Condition of Decolonization:** Under Russian Imperial Czarist occupation, the subject nations of the Russian Empire held out no hope for independence. Until the Communist Revolution. The communists purported to be anti-imperialist and anti-colonial. In order to gain their support for the overthrow of the hereditary monarchy, [Vladimir Lenin](#) promised them that in the new communist constitution his government would guarantee independent republic status with the right to self-determination. The communist regime clearly understood that these states were colonies of the Russia Empire and that Russia “had” a violent imperial history.
- **Lenin’s Decolonization was Delusive:** This needs to be stressed: there is no question that what are now the republics of the Russian Federation were recognized by the Russian authorities themselves to constitute subjugated nations in the colonial model. [Lenin promised to reverse that](#). Clearly understanding the imperial mindset of his people, which [Lenin termed “Great Russian Chauvinism,”](#) and the threat the “superior nation” ideology posed to everyone – including those nations of the Russian empire already captured by the ambitions of Czarist leadership, which he termed “the dominant exploiting classes of the nation” – Lenin promoted the Bolshevik revolution to what he called “the oppressed nations” within the Russian Empire. If they joined in the revolution, they would for the first time enjoy rights to equality and self-determination.
- **Lenin Formally Recognized the Rights of the Republics to Pursue Full Independence:** Banking on Lenin’s promise and with the hope of achieving real autonomy, these subject nations were convinced to join cause with the communists to overthrow the Czarist regime. True to his word, in 1922, Lenin’s new constitution recognized these nations as “autonomous republics” with their own constitutions, right of self-government and ultimately separation; however, the working power dynamic behind this public image was little different than their former status. As before, Moscow retained absolute authority and no dissention was allowed. Yes, the republics had their own parliaments and governing structures but they remained subservient to Moscow, and their leaders although “elected” never opposed the system and were in reality *appointed* by Moscow. It is important to acknowledge as well the reality that, in common with all colonial states, the leaders of these republics, all men chosen by Moscow, were bought and controlled by Moscow. With their personal privileges and power derived from their close cooperation with the

authorities in Moscow they were mere puppets of the Russian authorities. In any case, no real opposition was allowed and the election process has always been a sham. Like [Russia's "show trials"](#) in which guilt and punishments were decided in advance and the "trial" held merely for show, so too were the election outcomes always predetermined by the communist party. After a decline in conducting show trials through the 90's [Putin has brought the practice back](#). Its message is a warning to others that no one is safe unless Putin wills it.

## 5. MOSCOW SUCCESSFULLY LOBBIED TO HAVE FEDERATION TREATY

**RECOGNIZED:** The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 saw a [resurgence of independence movements among the republics](#). Relying on their constitutional right to sovereignty which had been granted to them by Stalin, and with Moscow weakened – but not defeated – most took the opportunity to declare sovereignty on the coattails of the countries of the Soviet Union that were then breaking free. In response, and fearing the loss of its original inner empire as well as its outer empire, Moscow negotiated treaties with the republics to keep them from pursuing their goals for full autonomy. Whatever pressure, coercion, threats, lies or bribes were brought to bear on the leaders of the republics, Moscow got its way. The new treaties continued to guarantee their right to autonomy – lulling dissenters into believing independence was not being abandoned but merely postponed – while recognizing other important rights the republics wanted regarding self-government, control over natural resources, and economic development. The formally named [Federation Treaty](#) which was signed in 1992, between the Russian government and 86 of 89 (at that time) of the [Federal Subjects](#) – with Chechnya and Tatarstan refusing to participate and continuing to seeking full independence instead – was then incorporated into the existing Russian constitution and publicized as a reorganized "federal system." Thereafter Russia successfully sought and gained international recognition as a new post-Soviet "federal" system: the Russian Federation.

- **Colonial Status of Republics Reasserted:** It didn't last. Like virtually all Russian treaties, the Federation Treaty was entered into solely to preserve Russian state power. When that power was consolidated, the Treaty terms were ignored and whatever authority and powers had been vested by it in the individual republics, reverted back to the exclusive prerogative of Moscow. Under Vladimir Putin's rule, [centralization of power](#) was pursued with the aim of eliminating any possibility of the further diminishment of the power of Moscow to control the territories of its empire – no longer even a Soviet-styled "Federation". In short, the Czarist, colonial status of the republics was re-established. Of the two republics of Chechnya and Tatarstan that had declined to sign the new association treaty with Russia, as events subsequently proved, they fared no better.
- **First Chechen War After Chechnya Asserts Right to Independence:** Chechnya's attempt to break free and establish itself as a fully independent nation was met first with Russian attempts to covertly overthrow the independence government of [Dzhokhar Dudayev](#) followed by a full-scale invasion by Russian forces and war between Russia and the tiny republic which lasted from December 11<sup>th</sup> 1994 until August 31, 1996. Known as the [First Chechen War](#), the Chechens fought so fiercely and effectively against the Russian army that despite Russia's scorched earth and terror tactics – condemned by [international human rights organizations](#) – the Russians were unable to defeat the Chechens and were forced, instead, to withdraw and to sign several peace

treaties which involved among other terms, Russia agreeing to pay reparations for the damage their war caused and the return of prisoners. Dudayev didn't live to participate in the peace treaties. After having survived other Russian assassination attempts, on April 21, 1996, while speaking with Konstantin Borovoy, a deputy of the State Duma in Moscow on a satellite phone, his call was intercepted and Russia launched two missiles at his location, killing him.

- **Second Chechen War:** Not content to allow Chechnya its hard-fought independence, Russia took the opportunity the peace treaty gave them to spend the next two years reconstituting and reprovioning its army and, in violation of the treaties it had signed, it attacked Chechnya again in 1999 with even greater violence and destruction than before. This [Second Chechen War](#) lasted for ten years, from August 1999 to April 2009, and resulted, ultimately, in the defeat of the Chechen government, mass killings of the Chechen people, displacement of large numbers of Chechen men and – in scenes reminiscent of the [Russian mass rape of German women in Russian-occupied east Germany](#) following the defeat of the Nazi government – Russian soldiers began [the systematic rape of Chechen girls and women](#). [Men, too, were publicly raped](#) to further degrade the people of Chechnya and to instill in them a lasting fear of Russians. As in every conquest by Russian forces, rape was planned in advance by the Russian authorities and used as a weapon of war. In the end 15% to 20% of the Chechen population was killed and Russia's brutal "victory" meant Chechnya's resubmission to Russian suzerainty. All of the Russians who had committed [multiple war crimes](#) against the Chechen people were given amnesty by the Russian government. None of Russia's crimes were ever prosecuted.

**6. THE LESSONS OF THE RUSSO-CHECHEN WARS:** To anyone paying attention to Russia's history of brutal imperialism, the messages of Russia's recent wars with Chechnya are very clear: Russia cannot be trusted. No peace treaty with Russia has been or will be honoured. Without its former Soviet and Eastern Bloc Empires, Russia is an extremely weak state that, notwithstanding all the resources it could draw on, was only able to defeat the tiny republic of Chechnya after two, years-long wars of attrition. It ultimately defeated Chechnya – crushing Chechens' desire to be free – only by reason of its ability to deceive the Chechens while fielding a greater number of soldiers in the Second Chechen War who waged a relentless campaign aimed at the attritional massacre of the Chechen population and the total destruction of the infrastructure of Chechnya.

- **Russia's Invasions Of Chechnya Closely Mirror Russia's Invasion of Ukraine:** Those paying attention will note the very close similarities, of the Russian-Chechen Wars, including a Russian breach of a peace treaty – expressed explicitly by Russia as a recognition of Ukraine's territorial integrity in the Budapest Memorandum and its subsequent violation by Russia – followed by a full-scale invasion, its scorched earth tactics targeting the civilian population, its mass murders, and its intent to force an unwilling and independent-minded people to submit to the will of Russia's imperial state, with the military campaign Russia is now waging in Ukraine against the Ukrainians. Almost an exact repeat with different victims.
- **Russia is Bankrupt without Its Empire Supporting It:** Without the last tier of the empire it still occupies, which consists of the republics that make up the Russian "Federation," Russia proper –

the original state of Muscovy – is bankrupt and powerless. In the classic Imperial model, it is only the wealth of the republics, like Tatarstan, the revenues from the sale of their gas, oil and minerals that is confiscated by Moscow, that finances the Russian entity and keeps the state functioning. Knowing its vulnerability and the tenuous loyalty of the republics to Moscow, Russia's policy towards independence aspirations by any of the republic has been to wage total war. To compensate for its genuine weakness, upon defeat of its targeted opposition, Russia always follows up its victory with revenge killings, mass rape, and other degradations from which its victims will never recover.

- **As an Imperial Entity Russia Cannot be Understood in Modern Terms:** Anyone proposing Ukraine needs to surrender territory and part of its population to Russia to pacify Moscow's ambitions has no idea what Russia is. As the world's last aggressive Imperial state with its roots deep in 18<sup>th</sup> century "great power" politics, Russia has no parallel in the world and cannot be understood in modern terms. Despite its images of modernity, its high-rises, western shops, imported cars, and its oligarch-g glitterati parading across European capitals, Russia is not a modern state. It has not emerged from its 18<sup>th</sup> century imperial mindset and will not and cannot be integrated into the modern world of co-equal states. The very idea of equal co-existence with its neighbours is anathema to the imperial mentality.
- **Tatarstan Intimidated by Threat of War Signs New Association Treaty with Russia:** The message of the Russo-Chechen Wars was not lost on Tatarstan, the other republic that originally resisted continued association with Russia. They, too, eventually signed a bilateral treaty with Russia similar to the Federation Treaty that Moscow signed with the other republics. The treaties had an expiry date of 2017 written into them, which these states understood to mean they would then renew their independence plans or negotiate new association treaties with Moscow. They trusted Moscow to live up to its agreements.
- In 2017, [the last bilateral treaty](#) that was signed between Russia and the [Republic of Tatarstan](#) ended.
- **Federation Treaty Abolished in 2017; Full Colonial Status Returns:** Upon the expiry of the bilateral treaty with Tatarstan in 2017, the leaders of Tatarstan wished to extend it, as it had provided the republic, the wealthiest of the republics, with sufficient assurances of economic and political autonomy to satisfy the ethnic population that continued association with Russia was in their best interests. To the surprise and dismay of Tatarstan's leadership, however, Putin refused to extend the treaty or to renegotiate a new treaty. In the absence of a new treaty, the "legal" relationship between Russia and Tatarstan under which Russia had recognized Tatarstan as an autonomous polity with rights of self-determination, simply ceased. In the absence of a continuation of the treaty recognizing Tatarstan's right to independence, no such recognition now existed. The effect of the termination of the treaty was to revert all the benefits of autonomy that the treaty had bestowed or recognized, back to Moscow. Whatever autonomy Tatarstan had pre-2017, is gone. In classic colonial fashion, the wealth and decision-making over Tatarstan and the other republics once more belongs exclusively to the rulers and oligarchs in Moscow.

- **Return of the Empire:** The Russian Empire is back, with its gloves off.
- **Russia's True Nature as the World's Last Empire Must be Acknowledged:** Given global opinion, however ill-formed, that Russia's Czarist *empire* had dissolved upon the formation of the "Federal" system granting the former colonies the right to full independence, the undisputed fact that these same colonies/republics *no longer* have any such rights recognized by the Russian state, ought to result in a reversal of that global understanding. The only evidence-based conclusion is that Russia is a colonial empire.
- **That debate has started.**
- **Support Rights of Tatarstan, Chechnya and Russia's Other Colonies to Full Independence:** The refusal of Putin's Russia to renew any of the association treaties with the republics, which effectively ended Russia's official recognition of the autonomous and semi-autonomous status of these nations, has sent shock waves across the Federation. What option have they now? They either surrender whatever ambitions they had for increased autonomy within the Russian Federation or they resist Russia's imperial power grab to seek full independence and face the same fate suffered by Chechnya, Georgia, and now Ukraine: relentless war, complete with mass killing, mass rape and torture chambers. And likely ethnic cleansings. Genocide. Without international support the republics have no realistic option but to submit to Russian authority. And, at the present time, there is no international support. Indeed, most of the world still operates on the assumption that the Russian "Federation" continues to exist and are unaware that the Federation model – whatever its real import – has been eliminated, the rights of the republics terminated, and that Russia has reverted to its historic and ruthless Imperial system of control by raw violence and oppression.

**7. THE THREE TIERS OF EMPIRE OF THE SOVIET UNION:** It is a mistake to think of Russia today as an entirely separate and distinct political entity from Pre-Revolutionary Czarist Russia and Soviet Russia. The Empire that Russia created in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century survived throughout the Soviet period and remains intact today, together with all the methods of political repression, cultural suppression, mass expulsions, and murder that Russia's rulers always employed.

- Underlying all iterations of the Russian state is the same imperial colonial mindset, the same extreme methods of control and the same ruthless determination to repress and degrade everything that is not "Russian".
- The Communist Revolution (1917-1923) succeeded only in replacing a hereditary aristocratic elite with a new political one. And arguably one that opened the pathway to a more violent breed of ambitious and ruthless rulers whose hold on power depended solely upon their ability to crush all opposition rather than as part of the historic "divine right" patrimony the Czars employed.
- **Second Tier of Russian Empire:** Under the Soviet system Russia continued to expand its empire, reaching now into its next contiguous neighboring states to the south and east. With the capture of multiple new states, Russia now occupied two classes of nations. The first remained

the core states of the Russian Federation, but encircling them now was another **second tier** of nominally independent countries that were joined with Russia under the rubric of a shared communist ideology, namely, the **Soviet Union**.

- **Third Tier Of Russian Empire:** In examining the underlying nature of Russia's political system and the extent to which it concealed the reality of empire, it's important to note that through the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia also constructed a **third tier of nations** around its Russian core, some of which fell within the imperial vision Russia shared with Nazi Germany of European conquest and, when occupied by Russian forces at the end of the war, were clearly vassal states as demonstrated by their absolute control by Moscow. These were the [Eastern Bloc countries](#), which were composed of European nations – East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Albania – that Russian forces occupied during the course of World War Two and refused to leave following the cessation of hostilities. Operated by puppet governments loyal to Moscow, these nations were forced to submit to Russian control from 1947 until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. That they were not in a free association with Russia was dramatically exposed, first by Hungary in 1956, during the [Hungarian Uprising](#), also known as the Hungarian Revolution, when Hungarian attempts to express its independence from Russian control was met by columns of Russian tanks and mass killings of Hungarians. In 1968, in Czechoslovakia, the government of Alexander Dubcek introduced liberalization measures to put a “human face” on socialism which included secret ballots, toleration of political dissent, civil liberties and [various democratization measures](#). Known as [the Prague Spring](#), the measures were broadly welcomed in the country but abhorrent to Moscow which responded to Czechoslovakia's attempts to change Russia's rules, as Russia did in Hungary, by ordering tanks and the military to seize Prague and other Czechoslovakian cities. A half-million Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia to end its liberalization program. Not all of “Eastern Bloc” nations were directly controlled by Moscow. The Eastern Bloc included several communist nations of Asia, the Americas and Africa that, whether they had the popular support of their people or not, followed the ideology of Marxist-Leninism, and were all tyrannies in their own right, most famously, Cuba, China, North Vietnam and Syria.
- **Russia's Three Tiers of Empire Belie Its Propaganda Image as an Anti-Imperial Crusader:** Herein lies one of the modern world's greatest deceptions and concealed crimes. Russian propaganda created and promulgated the myth – supported by a global network of totalitarian states, communist sympathizers, anti-capitalists and anti-imperialists – that the states that made up the **Union of Soviet Socialist States** were *willing* members and equal partners in a new socio-political-economic system that was in competition with the Western liberal democratic capitalist system. In its fierce competition for **global dominance** – itself a very strong imperial goal – Russia held itself out as an anti-imperialist crusader, portraying itself through its vast network of political agents as a freer, fairer and more humane alternative to the Western capitalist nation model. As everyone inside the Soviet-Russian captive states understood clearly – witness the examples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia – but millions of deceived people in the free world did not, it was a monstrous and cruel lie.

**8. EXAMINATION OF THE FIRST TIER: RUSSIA'S “INTERNAL” COLONIZATION:** Russia has worked ceaselessly for a century – beginning with Vladimir Lenin's adoption of a post-revolution constitution formally reconstituting the Empire into a “Federation” of autonomous states to convince the world that it supports de-colonization efforts and the legitimate rights of colonized states to seek redress from former colonizers. Like most of its propaganda, promulgated successfully by state-funded disinformation

campaigns and “Russian Studies” courses in universities across the globe, nothing is further from the truth. As noted, Putin has, recently, formally abolished the “Federation” model, returning Russia’s autonomous regions to their former status as colonies.

- **The Blue Water Rule: Colonization Recently Re-Defined to Exclude Russia and Other Empires:** [Vladimir Lenin](#) himself, the communist revolutionary who overthrew the Czarist Romanov dynasty to seize power as the first leader of Soviet Russia from 1917 to 1924, identified Russia as a Colonial Empire but understood it as a form of “internal colonialism.” Colonialism has most often been conceived of as an overseas project in which the colony is separated from the imperial centre by saltwater. Known as [the “blue water rule”](#) it was a definition arrived at for political purposes that almost exclusively targeted white Europeans and excused non-European states that included Arabian, African, Asian and several indigenous cultures in the Americas that had seized and occupied contiguous nations from being stigmatized as “colonial” systems, even though the relationship that existed between the core and the periphery was frequently more invasive and caused permanent, irreversible damage through the absorption and hence extinction of the colonized population, than overseas colonies which offered greater autonomy due to the distances involved. [Robert Blauner](#) responded to this artificial distinction by expanding the concept of internal colonialism – of which Russia as well as other empires like China’s and the Ottoman (which benefited from the “blue water rule”), were prime examples. The main difference between European [colonialism](#) and [internal colonialism](#) is the source of the exploitation. In the former, the control comes from outside the nation-state, while in the latter it comes from within the expended borders of the annexed territories. This distinction has often been used by Russia to deny that its occupation of dozens of distinct nations occupying the Russian periphery, constituting the entities within the Russian “Federation” – as well as Russia’s deliberate extinction of numerous, contiguous indigenous cultures – was not colonialism.
- **Start of the Russian Empire:** Historically, the Russian Empire began under the rule of [Ivan IV Vasilyevich](#) (1530 –1584), commonly known as **Ivan the Terrible**, the first Czar of Russia who was crowned at 16 years of age in what was then a small medieval state centred around [Muscovy](#) (Moscow), and located within the north-western part of the Mongol Empire. Under the control of the [Astrakhan Khanate](#), one of several khanates administered by the [Golden Horde](#) which ruled over that part of the greater [Mongol Empire](#), Muscovy was a transit hub for trade carried on by the Astrakhan Tartars between Muscovy, [Kazan](#), [Crimea](#), [Central Asia](#) and the [Transcaucasus](#) Region. Vasilyevich introduced a form of local self-government to the [Muscovites](#), adopted a legal code, and most importantly for the ambitions of Vasilyevich and his council, established the first Muscovite standing army known as the [streltsy](#).
- **Overthrowing the Golden Horde:** Warring against Scandinavia and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the north and the disintegrating empires of the Mongol [khanates](#) of the south, the streltsy’s first major victory was the [siege of Kazan](#) in 1552 followed by a military victory over the [Khanate of Astrakhan](#) whose ruler was a direct descendent of Genghis Khan. Although later counter-attacks by other forces of the Golden Horde resulted in the sacking of Muscovy, Ivan-the-Terrible’s army ultimately prevailed. The defeat of these two khanates and the occupation of their territories marked the end of Mongol (Tartar) rule over the Muscovites and the beginning of the Muscovite (Russian) Empire.
- **Birth of a Messianic Nightmare: Muscovy as *the Third Rome*:** Less than ten years before the birth of Ivan IV Vasilevich (aka Ivan-the-Terrible) a messianic notion had taken hold in the religious community of the Muscovites. It was almost exactly 100 years since Constantinople had fallen on May 29, 1453, after a siege of the city by Muslim armies led by Sultan Mehmed II, the ruler of the Ottoman Empire. The [conquest of Constantinople](#) – a city built by [the Roman](#)

[Emperor Constantine](#) and for over 1000 years the centre of the Byzantine Empire – sent shockwaves throughout the Christian world. The [Ottoman Turks](#) had won. The [Byzantine Empire](#), also known as the *Eastern Roman Empire*, was the continuation of the Roman Empire, and an empire of Christian faith and power. The defeat of Constantinople marked the defeat of the Byzantine Empire. A thousand years of Christian Imperial rule was over. In the minds of some of the medieval priests in Muscovy, however, the grand notion was formed that Rome, the Roman Empire, could be resurrected – had to be – and that the centre of the new Roman Empire would be Muscovy. This vision of a religious-imperial crusade, combining faith and power to restore the entirety of the original Roman Empire – Europe – became the spiritual driving force for the new generation of Muscovian leaders [beginning with Ivan-the-Terrible](#) and continuing today under the dictatorial rule of Putin and his “spiritual” advisors [Patriarch Kirill](#) and [Alexandre Dugin](#). Muscovy/Moscow’s destined role was to become [the Third Rome](#). Achieving that status by any means possible, war, genocide, terror, state brutality, was all legitimized as the means to achieve the “great” [purpose of saving the world](#) from its own moral degeneracy. To Dugin and Kirill, killing Ukrainians, committing genocide of the entire nation, is “restoring the natural moral order.”

- **Peace with the Ideology of Third Rome is Impossible:** For reasons that are unclear, Moscow’s belief in its own imperial destiny whether expressed in terms of modern raw-power hegemony over Europe or in the medieval terms of assuming ancient Rome’s rule over Europe – evidenced frequently by its expressed desire to conquer all of Ukraine and then move on to the next European conquest until all of Europe is brought under its control and/or “saved” from its own illegitimate existence – has not been understood or examined by western leaders. Those who suggest “peace” with Russia through concessions made by Ukraine, have [no idea](#) about the degree to which Moscow is committed to achieve its final imperial goals. They are not looking at Russia’s recent history nor listening to the powerful voices, like Dugin’s inside Russia, who are [not concealing their intentions](#). Unlike modern nations that have broken free of their past, Russia alone remains fully committed to an aggressive imperial goal set 500 years ago. There is no making peace with that ideology.
- **Ivan-the-Terrible Crowns Himself as the First Caesar of the Third Rome:** When Ivan-the-Terrible crowned himself the first Czar of Russia he cemented the ideology of the Third Rome into Russian national consciousness. Czar is the Russian language translation of Caesar. Ivan IV achieved two important things by this. Firstly, he gave the fledgling empire a leader with a title they could look up to that purported to make them the heir to the great empire of the Romans and secondly, he gave them legitimacy. To that point in their history the Muscovians had the start of an empire and some income from it, but as former traders and tax collectors for the Mongols, they were missing what all European nations had, namely [aristocratic history](#). Desperate, as they have always been throughout their own history for a legitimacy that could equal that of Ukraine and the other established European nations and empires, by crowning himself as Caesar of new Rome, he laid the foundation for a new Russian “aristocracy”. Known until then as “Grand Prince” over Muscovy, a title he inherited when he was 3 years old after the death of his father in 1533, by changing his title, and [anointing himself](#) as the first Czar of Russia, he created a new monarchy.
- **Creation of the Romanov Dynasty:** After the death of Ivan IV, his son inherited the role of Czar but he in turn died without heirs leaving a power vacuum in a culture that only understood autocratic rule. In that dynastic crisis that began in 1598, a council of local strongmen, known as the [Zemsky Sobor](#) and depicted in an early painting as numbering 23, voted on March 3, 1613 and [elected from among them](#) a man named [Mikhail Romanov](#) to the hereditary position of the new Czar. Thus the [House of Romanov](#) was born and remained the new [Russian monarchs](#) until the Bolshevik Revolution.

- **Building the Aristocracy: Marrying Up:** Apart from “elections” and self-promotion the Russians utilized the well-established practice of arranged marriages and of [hypergamy](#) – marrying up into established “aristocratic” lineages – to fill out their own empty ranks. Thus, “[Catherine the Great](#),” the daughter of a somewhat impoverished but “princely” German family was nevertheless of “noble” birth and hence possessing the status desired by Grand Duke Peter, the heir to the throne and future Czar, when he married her, bringing more legitimacy to the Russian nobility and closer blood ties to the Germans. Of course, [the marriage did not turn out well for him](#).
- **The First Ruling Empress:** Only 6 months after Peter ascended the Russian throne, Catherine arranged a coup, had him imprisoned, forced him to sign an abdication in her favour and then had him killed in 1762, leaving her in sole command as Empress of Russia. The largest territorial expansions of the Russian empire following the conquests of Ivan the Terrible, occurred under her rule. A ruthlessly ambitious woman, her rule, lasting 34 years until 1796, was [characterized by military campaigns](#) against the neighbouring, contiguous states of Sweden, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Ottoman Empire. As she pushed the boundaries of the Russian Empire southward and westward, expanding Russia's borders into central Europe and into the steppes beyond the Urals and along the Caspian Sea, she succeeded in building the Russian Empire into the dominant power in south-eastern Europe – hence the title given to her by Russian imperialists as “Catherine *the Great*.” The nations and people conquered and destroyed or subjugated by her Imperial ambitions, like the Circassians, however, had a very different characterization of her.
- **Genocide of the Circassians:** Setting her sights on seizing Circassia, a nation located in the north-western part of the Caucasus region, north of Georgia and Azerbaijan, Catherine the Great demanded the Circassians submit to her authority. They refused and in 1763 she had Russian forces invade. Known as the [Russian invasion of Circassia or the Russo-Circassian War](#), it was the longest war in Russian history, lasting over 100 years, with fighting continuing throughout 33 years of Catherine’s reign, and ending finally in 1864 during the reign of Alexander II, with the [extermination or genocide of the Circassian people](#).

**9. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE CIRCASSIAN INVASION and RUSSIAN ATROCITIES:** While the Circassians were an independent people indigenous to the Caucasus with their own history, language, religion (predominantly Muslim) and culture, the Russians refused to recognize Circassia as a sovereign state and *insisted* the Circassians were “Russians” who were under “rebel occupation.” Using various slurs such as “mountain scum” and “subhuman filth” to degrade and dehumanize the people, the Russians pursued the same policy of genocidal terror that they utilized in their invasions of the Chechens and are using in their present invasion of Ukraine. As detailed in Wikipedia ([and elsewhere](#)), with references, [the military encouraged the rape of Circassian women by Russian soldiers](#) who impregnated them and often killed and mutilated them after torturing them. Circassian men were beheaded and impaled. Russians pursued a policy of the wholesale slaughter of civilian populations while the Circassians continued for generations to resist.

- **Russian Justification for War:** The genocidal campaign was described variously by Russian apologists [Adolf Berzhe who portrayed the expulsion of Circassians as essential for "Russian security"](#) or [Rostislav Fadeyev](#) who described the campaign as "one of the most vital tasks in Russian history", and by Russian Czar Alexander II in 1861, fully 98 years after the war had started, as [“a core imperial policy of Russia.”](#)
- **After 200 Years Russian Denialism Continues:** The surviving Circassian diaspora must still contend with the lies of modern Russian propagandists who continue even today to engage in historical revisionism by insisting among other things that the genocide [is a myth constructed as](#)

[part of an anti-Russian information war, and that Circassians voluntarily joined the Russian Empire.](#)

- The number of Circassian dead estimated as between 625,000 and 1.5 million together with those forcibly expelled from the region has been estimated at 98% of the original population, very roughly estimated to be as high as 3,500,000 people. And, just as the Russians did in the Ukrainian Donbas and Kuban regions following their focused genocide of Ukrainians there (in the Holodomor), [Russian Tsar Alexander II](#) publicly declared the state implementation of settler-colonial settlement of the now emptied lands.
- Until today the Circassian genocide is unknown to most of the world's nations and Russia continues to [harass and arrest Circassian activists](#) who try to [bring the genocide and some redress, to public attention.](#)

**10. THE LESSONS OF THE RUSSIA'S IMPERIAL WAR AGAINST CIRCASSIA:** Russia's historical campaign to assimilate Circassia into its empire and failing that, to remove Circassia from the map of the world, exterminating its people, and annex its depopulated lands as part of Russia is the precursor model for both the Chechen wars and Russia's genocidal campaign to eradicate Ukrainian statehood and Ukrainian identity. [The similarities in the Russian military campaigns](#) against the Circassians in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the Ukrainians in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are striking. Russia's imperial motives, false narratives justifying the war, its state policy of terror tactics, its mass displacement of civilian populations, and Russia's fierce determination to achieve their goals regardless of cost (war losses to the Russians in the Circassian war was very high, as it was in its wars with Chechnya and is in its war against Ukraine, approaching one million), are virtually identical. All that separates them is time and geography and the use today of advanced weapons with increased killing capacity.

- **An Examination of the Three Wars Establishes that it is the Culture of Imperialism and Not the Leadership that Underlies Russia's Brutal Ongoing Imperialism:** The undisputed facts of the Russian-Circassian war – accepted by international historians although still denied by Russian propagandists – demonstrate a remarkable consistency over the centuries, continuing to the present date, of Russian imperial philosophy, state-sanctioned terror tactics, dehumanizing of the population, torture and violence against civilians and military personnel, advocacy of war crimes, and broad-based genocidal campaigns, all of which in turn demonstrates a deep contempt generally for all of Russia's colonized populations, regardless of the nature of Russia's political leadership. Whether Czar, Czarina, dictator, General Secretary, chairman, prime minister or president, and whatever the political structure under which the Russian rulers exercise power, the inescapable conclusion is that it is *the culture*, a Russian mind-set, out of which Russian leadership emerges along with its abusive practices, rather than the leadership that constructs the practices. Of course, the top and bottom both have influences on each other, but generally Russia's long history of imperial crimes is the result of imbedded bottom-up cultural attitudes, values and beliefs, rather than top-down political power that dictates the character of the Russian World.
- **Despite Stalin's Atrocities and Maybe Because of Them He was Loved and Respected By Russians:** Despite committing some of the greatest atrocities in history against his own people, when Stalin died, [the masses of Russia wept bitterly at the loss of their "great leader."](#) It points, once more, to the culture, with its ideologies of power, control and national superiority that are buried within the Russian psyche, that needs to be changed – together with the false narratives of Russia's innocence – not simply the leadership.

Vladimir Putin isn't Vladimir Stalin, yet his policies, practices and autocratic strong-man rule including promotion of loyal allies and murder of opponents, increasingly appears Stalinist. In

Russia, power has never been shared horizontally through democratic processes or an exercise of civil rights, but has always been expressed vertically, with absolute power concentrated at the top and a subservient, submissive, and disempowered class occupying the bottom rungs.

It is when the powerless are given weapons and the licence to kill, that they eagerly commit the most horrendous crimes imaginable on helpless Ukrainian civilians and military prisoners. As true today as it was two centuries ago.

**11. EUROPE DECOLONIZED; RUSSIA DOUBLED DOWN:** Contrary to the myth of a voluntary union of independent nations, the reality of the Soviet Union was that these other “socialist” states suffered a fate far worse than mere colonization for resources extraction. They were virtually slave nations to the Russian central leadership. Citizens of this tier of colonized nations had no rights that could not be voided at the whim and will of the ruling communist elites. It was one of the most brutal empires in history and surpassed the horrors of the German Nazi period in duration, extent and violence.

- **Khrushchev Denounces Western Imperialism While Asserting the Soviet Union Stands for Peaceful Co-Existence:** Between 1945 and 1960 while European decolonization saw three dozen new states in Asia and Africa achieve autonomy or independence, Russia stepped up its campaign to conceal its own three-tiered empire – then composed of the republics of the Russian Federation, the nations of USSR and the nations of the Eastern Bloc – by its own anti-colonial rhetoric. Regarding that period and the competition between the Soviet and the American systems for public and international support, the [U.S. Department of State wrote in the Office of the Historian](#): “The process of decolonization coincided with the new Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, and with the early development of the new United Nations. Decolonization was often affected by superpower competition, and had a definite impact on the evolution of that competition.” An example of that competition in which Nikita Khrushchev, head of the USSR, targeted the West for its role in colonization, was a speech given by Khrushchev in 1961 at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, and widely reported, in which he said, that “peaceful coexistence for the Soviet Union means intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and [the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena](#).” The speech was, of course, just a few years after the violent invasion of Hungary by Khrushchev’s tanks and troops sent to crush an independence movement in a small state occupied forcefully by Russia’s Soviet system. The hypocrisy was not lost on the dozens of states and millions of people trapped inside Russia’s own imperial model.
- **The Soviet Union:** The Soviet Union, like the inner Russian Federation/Empire, was a closed system. Similar to a prison camp, people were not free to come and go, borders were sealed, police shot to kill anyone attempting to escape and enormous resources were put into operating internal surveillance systems. Everyone was being watched. What happened within the walls of this Russian Empire was a state secret known only to the Russian rulers and their NKVD enforcers, later renamed the KGB and now called the FSB, all iterations of the Russian Secret police. The Russians have never declassified their records and if they kept records of their state-sponsored killings and genocides, they have never released them, so estimates are very rough, but the estimates of people that the Russians and their subordinates murdered range from [a low of 28 million to a high of 127 million](#). Millions upon millions. The numbers of persons killed and the horrors attendant on each of those individual deaths is staggering. The horror is so deep that the human mind struggles to register it. The list of [war crimes and crimes against humanity](#) that Soviet Russia committed is extensive, includes people from every one of Russia’s occupied nations and demonstrates an [unbroken pattern of Russian state violence](#) from Czarist Russia through to the present.

- **The Gulag:** Almost immediately after the revolution started in 1917, the Russians began the organization of a [vast internal prison system](#) known as the “Gulag”. Comprising hundreds of concentration camps scattered across the Empire, Russian secret police seized millions of people, confiscated their property, and shipped them into the gulag system as [slave laborers](#) to survive on their own if they could while they were forced to work in Russia’s underdeveloped hinterlands to extract resources and create and build state industries. Russia buried the fact that it enslaved millions of people by identifying them as criminals or enemies-of-the-state or counter-revolutionaries who were impeding the progress of the Russian World in its never-ending bid for world leadership.
- **Internal Displacement:** Was the world aware of the existence of the Gulag, or of the fact that Russia enslaved millions of people for over 40 years as unwilling, unpaid labour? Or of the fact that Russians had [internally deported large numbers of people](#) (estimated at 6 million) – ethnic Koreans, Crimean Tartars, Lithuanians, Germans, Poles, Estonians, Belarusians, Latvians and Ukrainians, Crimean Greeks, Chechens, and others – and forcibly “resettled” them usually by dropped them off from cattle cars into remote areas of the far east where many of them froze to death or starved?

The mixing of populations between different republics was another Russian strategy to destroy the identity and cultural cohesiveness of occupied nations.

- **The Holodomor Genocide:** Was the world aware that over the course of two years in 1932 and 1933 acting under the authority of Stalin the Russians turned the entire Ukrainian nation into a concentration camp? Stalin’s plan, resurrected by Putin today, was the elimination of Ukrainian identity and its replacement by a Russian one. In the Eastern Ukrainian lands where war rages today, the death tolls of the Holodomor left the farms vacant, allowing Stalin to export Russians – many of them Russian criminals released from prison for that purpose – [to colonize Ukraine’s now vacant farms](#). While the entire population of Ukrainians were starving and the country teetered on the brink of total annihilation, between five million and ten million perished from hunger. That event known as [the Holodomor](#), meaning death-by-starvation, is recognized today as a deliberate genocide but at the time and for many years afterwards Russia had managed to conceal its’ crime.
- **Effects of Genocide:** Were it not for repeated genocides, including those committed by German Nazis, Ukraine’s population today would be close to that of Russia’s.
- **Kazakh Genocide:** Nor was Ukraine alone in being decimated by an engineered genocidal starvation campaign. Moscow determined that the Kazakhs, too, to ensure the security of Russia, needed to be crushed. The dead can’t rebel. Between 1931 and 1933 Russian forces occupying Kazakhstan engineered the complete confiscation of food and animals from the Kazakhs just as they were doing in Ukraine. [Forcing death by starvation on the Kazakh people](#), those who tried to escape the genocide by fleeing over the borders into China were shot and killed by Russian soldiers who guarded the borders. As in Ukraine, numbers of dead are only rough estimates, but estimates place the toll at between 1.5 million and 2.3 million. With the smaller Kazakh population these numbers represented proportionately a larger death toll than Ukrainians with [as much as 40% of the population being killed by Russians](#).
- **Russian Disinformation:** As with the Holodomor, the Kazakh genocide was so well concealed from the world by the Russians that [even in Kazakhstan the extent of the killing and its horrific details were largely unknown until very recently](#). So total was Russian control over information,

education and communication inside Kazakhstan – as well as information leaving the country – that it took the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberation of Kazakhstan for the people to rediscover their own near history. Until then anyone investigating it or writing about it would have been killed by the Russian authorities.

- **Murder of Critics:** Note that the long-standing [Russian prohibition of criticizing the state](#) or bringing its failings to the public attention remains, as always, a serious offence. The image of Russia as a powerful and successful state that can compete with America and the European nations not just militarily but economically and socially, is one that has been carefully crafted and remains core to its ambition to place itself as Europe's new hegemon. For Russia, image is at least as important as genuine power, perhaps ever more so as it offers nothing of real value to its people. In its battle for domination, if an enemy can be convinced a battle is not winnable and gives up without a fight, Russia wins. It is that same strategy it is pursuing in its war with Ukraine and, in light of it, anyone criticizing the Russian invasion of Ukraine or its grossly immoral genocidal intent is subject to severe penalties.
- **The Myth of the Russian Ally: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact:** Equally staggering to the raw data on Russia's horrific imperial history is the fact that all of this should have been front and centre in assessing Russia's present character and its intentions while dealing with Russia but, instead, it has been largely overlooked. Because western democracies were nominally allied with Russia in the Second War, people forget, too, that Russia started the war. That it was not opposed to Hitler or to Nazism but, on the contrary allied with Hitler's Nazi state and shared its vision – as an equal partner – for European domination. The pre-war agreement between Hitler and Stalin, [the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact](#), was to split control of Europe between them. Germany would take western Europe and Russia eastern Europe. We need to remind ourselves – maybe even tell ourselves for the first time – that Russia was not a victim of the Nazis however much it has so successfully portrayed itself. When Nazi Germany entered western Poland and started the Second War, Russia entered eastern Poland. Poland was the first prize of their joint enterprise.
- **All Russia's Imperial War Aims Realized:** We need to remind ourselves too that while Germany came out of the war with none of its goals realized, its original ally, Russia, came out with every one of its goals realized. In short, Germany lost but Russia won the war they jointly started. After it, Russia now occupied all of Eastern Europe and half of Germany – far more territory than it would have had Hitler not reneged on their agreement. The nuances of Russia's post-war occupation of Eastern Europe as well as its post-war narrative that allowed it to avoid being labelled a victorious aggressor state, fills volumes but here, it suffices to say Russia was not a victim of aggressive imperialism, but an instigator and, in the end, the clear victor.
- **True Victims and Heroes of WWII – Not Russia:** The reader will remember that the strategy of playing victim worked for Russia after its invasion of Ukraine when German Chancellor Olaf Scholz declined to provide German weapons to Ukraine on the premise that Germany had an historical debt to Russia having caused it such trauma in the war, forgetting or failing to realize that proportionally as well as in raw numbers, [Ukraine suffered far more casualties than did Russia](#), with Belarus proportionately suffering more casualties than Russia – figures that Russia deliberately distorted in its favour, post-war, first by identifying all deaths collectively as "Soviet" deaths and then later replacing "Soviet" with "Russian", crafting global opinion to believe that the worst impact of the war was suffered by Russia whereas its impact was, in fact, far worse on Ukraine and Belarus. In seeing Russia as the primary victim, and wishing not to inflict more harm on Russians, Germany's Chancellor completely ignored Germany's greater debt owed to Ukraine for its [mass killing of millions of Ukrainians](#) as well as the simple need to

assist Ukraine in resisting another genocide. Estimates of Ukraine war dead, both civilian and military, are 7 million, higher than the German dead at 6.6 and the Russian dead at 5 to 6 million. Additionally, 2,244,000 Ukrainians were taken by Germany as slave labour to operate Germany's war industry. From 1939 to 1945, the *combined* casualties of the German occupation *together with* Soviet repression resulted in the deaths of one quarter of the Ukrainian population, or some 10 million persons, of whom approximately 600,000 were Ukrainian Jews. No other nation suffered more than Ukraine. By comparison, France suffered just over 300,000 casualties, both civilian and military, America 242,100, and Italy allied with Nazi Germany, only 300,000. Fully 20% of all war deaths were suffered by Ukrainians leaving not a single family untouched by tragedy.

- **Ukraine's Role in Defeating the Nazi Regime:** Russia has for long promoted the myth that it was *Russian* forces who defeated the Nazis by entering Berlin and finally forcing the Nazi surrender, at best a half-truth that most western historians assume to be true and accept unquestioningly. The "misunderstanding" – deliberately fostered by Russia – is based on western confusion between the identities of "Soviet" and "Russian" which are not synonymous but were nevertheless deliberately conflated both to exaggerate the importance of Russia and to degrade the critical role of the peoples of other Soviet nations by ascribing to the "Russians" all of the military achievements and sacrifices of other Soviet armies, primarily the Ukrainian Army (known as "Ukrainian Soviet Front") and the Belarusian Army/Front.
- **The Russian Myth of Their Great Victory:** What the Russians call the "Victory", the surrender of Nazi Germany in Berlin on May 8, 1945, is celebrated across the Russian Federation in every village and city as the most important of all national holidays. It is Germany's defeat that gives Russia and Russians their greatest sense of achievement and identity. The reason why Russia perpetuates this falsehood, as [Katie Davies writes in the Kyiv Independent](#), is important. *Control over the narrative has given the Putin regime an endless source of propaganda material with which to foment Russian Imperial Nationalism and to justify its wars of aggression, including of course its invasion of Ukraine.*

Davies writes: "*The legacy of Soviet victory over Nazi Germany feeds pro-war aggression in Putin's Russia — and is [celebrated with a religious fervor](#).*" *The Great Patriotic War which saw the defeat of Nazi Germany is now the Great Patriotic War to defeat a resurrected Nazi state, namely, Ukraine.*

- **Until Putin, Russia Recognized the Critical Roles of Ukraine and Belarus in the Defeat of Nazi Germany:** *The distortion of these facts is relatively recent. Fifty years ago, the Victory Day parades in Moscow recognized that the defeat of the Nazi regime was due not only to the collective effort of the allied armies and to the massive military aid shipped to the Soviet Union by America, but also by the massive sacrifices of the Ukrainians and the Belarusians. Today, and since the rise to power of Putin, the Victory Day parades and the official Russian state narratives have dismissed the dominant role played by Britain and America and have completely eliminated the contribution of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies to the victory: Victory is Russia's alone.*
- **Russian Propaganda Since Putin Has Been to Brand Ukraine as a Defender of Nazi Germany Rather than as Democracy's Most Ardent Supporter:** *It would hardly further Moscow's narrative of Ukrainian Nazis to acknowledge that it was in fact the Ukrainian and Belarusian*

*Armies that were the first to enter Berlin and end the war. Or that it was the Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples who proportionately suffered the worst deprivations during the war. To recognize Ukraine's wartime efforts is to recognize Ukraine as a state among other European states – a reality Russia has long fought to deny. However, all anti-Ukrainian propaganda aside, the truth is that Russia's claim to the WWII victory is grossly overstated. Without American aid and without the engagement of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies, Russia would have been defeated and ceased to exist. Russia is not as powerful as it likes to assert.*

*It is well beyond the scope of this essay to repeat what war historians have thoroughly documented – those sources are everywhere and are voluminous – but the briefest outline of Ukraine's involvement in the war is necessary to counter Russia's propaganda on this critical issue and to illustrate, in Russia's occupation of Germany, the Russian colonial model which remains extant to this day.*

- **The Defeat Of Berlin:** On April 20, 1945, the [1<sup>st</sup> Ukrainian Army \(Front\) reached Berlin's outskirts](#) from the south and the south-east while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Belorussian Armies (Fronts) were encircling Berlin from the east and north-east. Further south and completing the encirclement was the Ukrainian 4<sup>th</sup> army. As the [Ukrainian and Belorussian armies pushed into Berlin](#), on April 30, Hitler committed suicide and eight days later Berlin surrendered.
- **The Ukrainians and Belarusians were not fighting to defend Russia or the Soviet Communist system but for their Own Survival Against Germany's Planned Genocides:** Although there was some mixing of ethnicities in the various Soviet armies, nevertheless, broadly speaking, the Soviet *Russian* armies were composed of *ethnic Russians*, while the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies were composed of *ethnic Ukrainians and Belarusians*, respectively, drawn from their own countries and formed and organized separately. It is important to recognize as well that while the Ukrainian and Belorussian (Belarusian) armies were under the ultimate control of Soviet-Russian leadership they were not fighting for the survival of the Soviet system but for their own national survival which Nazi ideology threatened under their [policy of Lebensraum](#) – the territorial extermination of indigenous populations of Eastern Europe, primarily Slavs and Jews and their replacement by Germans. The Nazi policy to commit the genocide of Ukrainians, among others, was not, incidentally, unlike Stalin's policy of the same time period, of organizing the Ukrainian genocide and replacement of Ukrainians by ethnic Russians throughout the Donbas and Kuban regions, known as [the Holodomor](#).
- **The Separate Ukrainian Resistance:** While [7 million Ukrainian soldiers fought the Nazi Regime](#) inside regular Ukrainian (Soviet) army units, tens of thousands of Ukrainians escaped forced conscription into the Soviet armies and instead joined the [underground partisan resistance movement \(UPA\)](#). Like [the French resistance](#), and [the Dutch resistance](#), the goals of the Ukrainian resistance were the liberation of Ukraine from foreign occupation, Russian as well as German.
- **As Soon as Berlin Fell, the Russian High Command Ordered the Ukrainian and Belarusian Armies to Vacate Berlin and Return to their Respective Countries to Demobilize and Disarm:** The Russian authorities in 1945 were well aware of UPA attacks on Russian positions throughout the war, of Ukrainians' hatred of Russians – every Ukrainian soldier knew Ukraine had recently been subjected to one of the worst genocides in history, the [Holodomor genocide](#), that had been perpetrated against them by Stalin's Soviet-Russian regime – and of Ukrainians' deep aspirations to be free of Russian occupation no less than their desire to be free of Nazi-German occupation. The Russians, however, were no less determined than they had been throughout

the 1920's and 1930's to crush all expressions of Ukrainian identity. After the Ukrainian and Belorussian armies entered Berlin from the south and south-east, the Russian armies entered from the north-east. As soon as Berlin surrendered, the Soviet-Russian High Command ordered the Ukrainian and Belorussian Armies to immediately leave Berlin, return to their respective countries, and disarm. Then, left alone with the defeated German nation in ruins, now firmly under Russian occupation, the Russians began the wholesale and prolonged rape of the German people.

- **The Mass Rape of German Women and Girls:** It's important to recognize that this mass rape was not carried out by "Soviet" soldiers but by "Russian" soldiers. This was not a "Soviet" crime that involved other soviet nationalities or one that disappeared when the "Soviet" adjective was dropped in 1991 but was and remains a Russian war crime. Estimates are rough – the Russians were not keeping records – but some [two million girls and women were raped](#). Many raped so brutally they died from their injuries. With no escape and no hope for a future free of Russian occupation and torture, many others committed suicide. As intended by the Russian authorities, thousands became pregnant and had to give birth to the children of their rapists. As elsewhere in the Russian empire, Russian occupation took several forms, ethnic population replacement through rape being one of them. This same policy appears to have been followed most recently in Chechnya, when after the final defeat of the Chechens, Russian soldiers also mass raped Chechen women.
- **Russia's Role in Starting WWII:** Equally important in recognizing Russia's role in starting WW2 and in exiting the war victorious, is another critical aspect of post-war analysis and change that Russia has successfully kept from public scrutiny. While the Nazi state suffered defeat at the hands of the Allied forces, was physically crushed and its people forced to accept responsibility for the depravity they demonstrated throughout the period of Nazi rule, the Russians have NEVER acknowledged their massive crimes against humanity, have never been brought to justice and have never atoned for their sins nor taken any responsibility for them. Why? Because the Russian state that committed the crimes is the same Russian state that is in power today. Not identical of course but its legitimate successor, inheriting its empire, its history, and its tools of state repression including its embrace of state violence to enforce its rule. Russia is not looking back reflectively on a history it now sees as abhorrent, rather [it embraces that same history](#) as its own – and Stalin not as the world's worst mass killer but as Russia's greatest leader, [today being honoured by Putin's regime](#). Russia has not abandoned its centuries old imperial ambition to become a global power dominating "lesser" states as it has done brutally inside both the Federation and the Soviet Union, but continues to look ahead at further conquests.
- **The Last Imperial System:** The critical point here is that of all the world's former empires – China perhaps also included – Russia stands alone in not abandoning its imperial system. Russia has not apologized nor has it embarked upon a self-examination of its crimes, because it has not turned its back on its history of imperial rule and conquest. Instead, as Russia's ruler, Vladimir Putin, often states, the surrender of its outer empire without a fight by Mikhail Gorbachev, the last leader of the Soviet Empire – was the greatest geo-political mistake a Russian leader ever made. On December 12, 2021, one year before he launched Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Putin acknowledged that the Soviet Union was not an alliance of equal states sharing a common communist ideology but rather an integral part of ["historical Russia"](#). Some 15 years earlier, on April 25, 2005, presaging the aggressive attempts to follow in reconstituting the former power of Russia, Putin lamented [the collapse of the Soviet empire](#) "was the *greatest* geopolitical catastrophe of the century." This was not a state or a regime that had turned its back on empire and Imperialism but one that was determined at all costs to press

ahead to recover the empire it had lost and to force the West, if not the world, to recognize its imperial power and submit to it.

## 12. RUSSIA TODAY, THE FACE OF FASCIST IMPERIALISM: Putin's Intent to

**Reconstitute the Empire of the USSR:** After seventy years of elaborate lies the truth is out.

Once conquered and occupied by Russia the European states belong to Russia, Putin insists: the spoils of war. More concerning, Putin's government intends, as is repeatedly stated, to fight to force them back under Russia's absolute control. No communist ideology, no shared benefits, no betterment of humanity or even of the lives of its own people. Only Stalinist-style mass repression, murder, and enslavement for the benefit of a tiny oligarchic elite who hold more power and enjoy more privileges than the former Czarist dynasties ever imagined: the Russian World. Stripped of its lies and propaganda, its ideology is simply pure power.

- **Inside the "Russian World":** Anyone who fails to understand that the Soviet Union was but another expansion of the Russian Empire which for decades held millions of persons in a state of captivity, is being wilfully blind or is sadly uninformed. Nor, of course is Putin the architect of Russian imperial ambitions. These ambitions have long formed the core identity of Russianness, the Russian World. The verticality of Russian power structures, with absolute power radiating downwards from the top, is so deeply imbedded in Russian culture, it may well be that imperial power dynamics are now part of Russian cultural DNA. Certainly, a primary feature of military and political power structures is the regular, systemic abuse of lower ranks by higher ranks. It is not Putin's Russia but Russia's Putin. After him another iteration of Russian nationalism and Russian imperialism is waiting. It cannot be otherwise, as Russia is and remains an imperialist system. To give up its imperialist visions it would have to disassemble its vast internal empire. It is ultimately the continued existence of the empire itself that defines the Russians as Imperialists. It cannot be otherwise. And it will never voluntarily agree to dismember its empire and set its republics free. To the contrary, the Russian empire, the Russian World, like all empires, seeks constantly to expand.
- **Russia's Imperial Ambition to Conquer All of Europe:** Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine and its daily bombardments of Ukrainian territory with millions of artillery shells, missiles and rockets with its attendant thousands of deaths is both Russia's punishment for Ukraine's successful breakaway independence – a model Russia does not want other parts of its empire to follow – and Russia's attempt to complete a longstanding national Russian goal, the annihilation of the very identity of Ukrainians as a people. And if successful, Russia will move next to war with and reoccupy or annihilate another of the former Soviet states that is now independent. And so on into the indefinite future. In his essay, [Blood and Iron](#), Andrei Kolesnikov of the Carnegie endowment describes Putin-Russia's transformation of the present into a return to the past as a fundamental search for identity and purpose, just as Russian dictator Stalin did, by embracing both Czar Nicholas 1's state ideology of orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality, and Stalin's demonization of internal and external enemies. Stalin's war on "anti-patriot groups" is now Putin's war on "national traitors" and "foreign agents".
- **Russian Anti-Semitism:** In its search for an enemy to channel the nation's grievances, Russians have once again identified Ukrainians and Jews for targeted hatred. Quoting Evgeny Dobrenko's article, [Late Stalinism: The Aesthetics of Politics](#), (Moscow: New Literary Review, 2020), Kolesnikov described Russian state propagandists' virulent antisemitism in the late Stalinist period that equated Jews with Nazis. An unpublished paper edited by [chief Soviet ideologist, Mikhail Suslov](#),

described the official state policy towards Jews: “The atrocities committed by the Jewish fascist Zionist gangs against peaceful Arabs exceeded the wrongdoing of the murderers in Hitler’s ranks.” Under Stalin, Russian “Zionists” were the “enemy within” performing “the service of Anglo-American war agitators”. Modern Russia’s re-embrace of Stalinism includes Russia’s long-standing antisemitism. Following Hamas’s horrific October 7, 2023, terrorist attack in Israel, Russian officials celebrated and embraced the Palestinian cause. Russia’s virulent antisemitism is back on full-display. Signalling a potential new pogrom the Russian Justice Ministry in July of 2023 [branded Russia’s Chief Rabbi, Pinchas Goldschmidt, a “foreign agent”](#), a designation intended to label Goldschmidt personally and Russian Jews generally as enemies of Russia. In what now appears as prescient, Goldschmidt had fled Russia over a year earlier while warning Jews still remaining in Russia that their safety could not be counted on. He urged all Jews in Russia to leave [“before it was too late”](#).

- **Jews and Ukrainians as the “Enemy Within”:** By contrast, [Rabbi Avraham Wolf](#), Chief Rabbi of Odessa and Southern Ukraine, asserts that apart from the war, [“Ukraine is the safest country in the world for Jews.”](#) Regarding the Ukrainian people Rabbi Wolf [stated](#) that “previously I loved and respected the Ukrainian people. But now, after the beginning of the war, I’m simply over the moon about them.” His views are echoed by Chief Rabbi of Ukraine [Moshe Reuven Azman](#), both of whom have worked tirelessly to debunk Russian propaganda that claims that Ukrainians are Nazis and that Russia was “de-nazifying” Ukraine. To his Jewish audiences Azman points out that over 7 million Ukrainians fought in the Soviet Ukrainian Armies *against* Nazi Germany, and that millions of Ukrainians died in the war fighting Nazism. It is not Ukraine, Azman says, which has a Jewish President, but modern Russia that behaves like the “heirs of the fascists” noting further that more than 2,500 Ukrainians have been formally honored by the state of Israel as “Righteous Among the Nations” for risking their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust.
- **Ukraine, The Safe Haven for Jews:** Travelling frequently to Israel, Rabbi Azman expresses outrage that the Putin regime, together with the head of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill, and Russia’s state media continue to push the propaganda lie among American and other Western audiences, including Israelis, that Ukraine is a neo-fascist or fascist state. Azman has made it his life’s mission to [debunk this Russian propaganda](#) and these false narratives about Ukraine and the Russian invasion.
- **Russian Perversion: Identifying Jews and Ukrainians as Nazis:** Russian Propagandists Kolesnikov describes Putin’s regime as “shamelessly projecting the qualities ascribed to the worst enemies in the country’s history onto today’s enemy.” Stalin’s regime assigned Jews the same role Putin’s regime identifies Ukrainians today: conduits of everything bad in the world. “Hence, the current government of Ukraine is described as Nazi.” Accusing the world’s two populations, Ukrainians and Jews – often one-and-the-same – who suffered the greatest losses in history under the Nazi regime as Nazi’s themselves is a vile verbal insult without equal. Yet, as abhorrent as it is, it’s effective in creating hate. Many people believe it. Hence Rabbi Azman’s life mission to fight back with truth.
- **Russia’s New Imperial War Goals, More Holocausts:** Russia has committed itself, retooling its economy, educational systems and state departments, to a course of aggressive action towards the West. In the vacuum created by America’s withdrawal as the global hegemon, and without a robust international defence of Ukraine, beginning in 2014 when Russia seized Crimea and started the war with little to no western condemnation, Russia sees opportunity and clearly envisions a realistic pathway to control over Europe. The goal, as its state propagandists repeat daily, is to achieve, if not a global superpower status, at least a European hegemon.

- Russia’s “Filtration” Camps - Resurrecting Nazi Concentration Camps:** Little different that the selection process the Nazis used with new arrivals at the concentration camps to determine who lived and who died, [the Russians use the obscene term “filtration”](#) to separate Ukrainians considered capable of abandoning their Ukrainian identity and assuming new Russian identities from those who maintain a Ukrainian identity. The “filtration” process set up to de-Ukrainianize Ukrainian territories presently occupied by Russian forces involves interrogations, widespread torture, killings, rape and starvation. [The U.S. Department of State assessed that approximately 2 million Ukrainians have been “processed”](#) through the large networks of camps set up by Russia with untold numbers killed and huge numbers deported to remote locations within the Russian Federation. Approximately 250,000 Ukrainian children have been seized by the Russian authorities, given new Russian identities and shipped off to unknown locations across the Federation and put under the control of unknown people. All of these actions by the Russian state and its millions of participating citizens are recognized as war crimes and crimes against humanity. As yet completely unpunished and ongoing.
- Russians Plan a Genocide on a Scale Never Experienced Anywhere:** [The expressed objective of the invading Russian forces](#) is to seize all of the country and to put its entire population of some 40 million persons through its “filtration camps” either killing them or forcing them to assume Russian identity.
- “Never Again”:** Following the mass murder of Jews and other ethnicities by the Nazi’s in the German concentration camps, the Holocaust, Jewish organizations organized to unite [the world to declare “never again.”](#) Genocidal wars wherever waged had to be stopped. So far, despite the largest re-emergence of a state organized program of mass murder and population re-location since the Second War – despite Russia’s regularly repeated declarations of its intent to exterminate Ukrainian identity and the nation – no effective international effort has been mounted to expel the Russians from Ukrainian territory and to stop their killing. The Ukrainians fight alone with the assistance of some brave individuals from around the world who have volunteered to join the fight against the Russian terror state.
- Holocaust survivor Roman Shvartsman (DOB November 7, 1936):** In an historic speech delivered on January 29, 2025, in Germany’s Parliament, the Bundestag, Shvartsman, a Holocaust survivor living in Odesa, and Chairman of the Odesa Regional Association of Jews, compared Putin to Hitler as he described the terror and suffering being inflicted on the people of Ukraine and in the faces of the prisoners he has seen who survived Russian torture in captivity. Pleading with the German Parliament to help save Ukraine by providing the weapons Ukraine needs to defend itself he said, “I have seen the Devil and I say, we greatly overestimate him. His power is no greater than the power we give him.” Recounting his experience in World War II, and now in Odesa, Shvartsman said: “On February 24, 2022, Russia attacked our civilians and our cities. Once again, our lives and our freedoms are in danger. Putin is trying to destroy us as a nation just like Hitler tried to destroy the Jewish people in the Second World War. Back then, Hitler wanted to kill me because I was Jewish. Now, Putin is trying to kill me because I am Ukrainian.”
- Threat Assessment:** In light of the unbroken violence of its past extending into its recent and sustained nationalist aggressions in Chechnya, Georgia, and Ukraine and its resurgent imperial ambitions to regain super-power status by resuming Soviet-Russia’s long-standing competition

with the democratic West – no longer a “cold war” – Russia now ranks as the world’s most serious threat to peace and security.

### **13. RUSSIA’S PROJECTION OF BEING AN ANTI-IMPERIAL CRUSADER CONCEALS**

**ITS IMPERIAL REALITY:** The Russian claims it makes to post-colonial states that it stands with them in their grievances against their colonial history is a recent, politically expedient fabrication by the Soviet Union made credible by the apparent absence of post-Russian colonies. Where, one might ask, if Russia was a colonial empire, are their colonies today? Where are the criticisms by Russia’s post-colonial subjects of Russia’s colonial conduct? Well, the former “colonies” of the European nations in the Western Bloc and the nations of the former Soviet Union, now free, all speak out and have joined the European Union and NATO – Ukraine excepted – in order to seek safe refuge from Russian re-occupation. But, surprisingly, their voices are rarely listened to outside their own post-soviet communities as western nations, never subjected to Russian domination, resist hearing criticism of a Russia they instead imagine to exist. Even Pope Francis in a speech he gave to young Russians in Saint Petersburg on August 25, 2023, [gushed in praise of “the great, Russian empire”](#) telling them that they are the heirs of “the great Russia ... of saints, of kings, that great, enlightened Russian empire, of great culture and great humanity.” If the head of the Catholic Church, making decisions on issues of morality for its 1.3 billion [Catholic faithful](#), praises Russia’s history, calling it “a great empire” with a “great humanity” little wonder the world doesn’t want to hear the voices of “great Russia’s” millions of victims or hear about its unbroken, centuries-long record of brutal conquest and genocidal massacres. Of course, the Church also has its [long history of imperial power](#) and the Pope remains the surviving voice of absolute authority, so it may well be a sense of common cause with power or nostalgia for its own “glorious” past that some people admire Putin. Not everyone believes in the rights of the individual to freedom and personal liberty.

- **Who Speaks for the Republics Trapped within the Federation?** Of the core states of Russia’s Czarist empire, the republics and other polities of the Federation, the bleak answer is that they have never been liberated and have never been allowed a voice by their Russian overlords. Russia’s internal colonies suffered fates far worse than any of the European colonial states. Those European colonies survived and today are independent and free to explore post-colonial narratives. Democracies invite opposition parties and criticism in order to challenge rigid thinking and to progress. Not so Russia. There are no such critiques of Russian imperialism because Russian reformers and critics like presidential candidate [Boris Nemtsov were all silenced](#). Murdered. [The list of Kremlin critics killed or imprisoned is a long one](#). Even present day Circassian activists, like Martin Kochesoko, pressing the Russian state to recognize Circassian rights was originally sentenced to life imprisonment in June, 2019, (later commuted and placed under house arrest) by the Russian government for challenging Russia’s imperial history and ongoing repression.
- **Critics of the Russian War Against Ukraine Are Harshly Punished, Many Murdered:** Criticizing the war against Ukraine leads to lengthy prison sentences. Just for speaking out. Russian journalist [Roman Ivanov was sentenced to seven years](#) for criticizing Russia’s war against Ukraine. Russian artist [Sasha Skochilenko to 8-and-a-half years](#). For Ukrainians living under Russian occupation the situation is even more dire. Thousands have been tortured and murdered for expressing any degree of criticism of Russia’s war against Ukraine. The torture and [murder of Ukrainian schoolboy Stephan Chubenko merely for wearing ribbons](#) in the colour of

the Ukrainian flag on his school rucksack, graphically illustrates the horrors of living under Russian occupation. Ukrainian clergy in occupied territories have also been routinely tortured and murdered. [Some 630 Ukrainian Churches have been destroyed by the Russians and close to 70 clergy murdered](#) by Russian state agents since February, 2022.

- **No Internal Russian Colony Has Ever Regained Its Freedom:** With the exception of speakers from post-Soviet states, whose voices are frequently ignored, who is left from Russia's internal colonial system to criticize Russia's colonial history when the oppression of the Russian state and killing of its critics has never stopped? Of the original colonies, as noted elsewhere in this essay, no Russian colony has ever been allowed to attain its liberation. Instead, they remain to this day under Moscow's central control while their people and cultures have been forcefully subsumed into the Russian World and Russian identity.
- **Russian Dissident Voices Outside the Russian Federation:** There is a final feature of Russian culture that speaks volumes by its cold silence for Russian popular support for its imperial policies. Unlike every other authoritarian system around the world whose people living abroad regularly protest their governments' oppressive policies, only the Russians do not. Despite an extensive diaspora [numbering some 20 to 30 million](#) ethnic Russians, including its wealthy elites and educated professionals, there are very few critical voices. Even where those voices, with European or North America citizenship, are free to speak out – if they objected to the policies of the Russian state – they don't. While dissidents of every other authoritarian state organize protests and rally against their governments, Russians do not. Notable exceptions are [Russian dissident Garry Kasparov](#), an internationally recognized world chess champion, founder of *Renew Democracy Initiative* presently living in Croatia, and [former oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky](#), who spent a decade in Russian prisons on false charges and now lives in London operating *Open Russia*, an opposition group with its own news outlet. There are others, but their rarity speaks volumes to the immense support the Russian imperial project to seize power over Europe through force, has among Russians everywhere. Unlike former [Russian imperialist Alexei Navalny](#), whose anti-corruption campaign in Russia attracted global attention as a critic and reformer, but whose goal was not the decolonization of the Russian empire but the strengthening of the Russian Federation, both Kasparov and Khodorkovsky are true democrats and speak frequently about the need to break up the Russian Federation to free the world from the threat of Russian imperialism and to free Russians themselves from the mental prison the imperial mindset. They know Russia well.

**14. RUSSIANS REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ANY COLLECTIVE GUILT:** Nationalist imperialism has many voices defending it but none that accepts any role for assuming responsibility for Russia's countless acts of cruel inhumanity and mass murders. As the examples of Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany prove, it is only a final defeat that forces a culture possessed of imperial dreams to wake up to the horror their ambitions inflicted on countless others. The failure of Russia to advance much beyond its feudal past lies in its refusal to see itself as the very enemy it projects onto those others whose freedoms it seeks to abolish and lands it seeks to possess. As though all those nations throughout its history had no right to self-existence but were somehow *obstructing* Russia's destined march to some imagined imperial greatness made them enemies deserving of annihilation. Their impertinent obstruction of that destiny – their very resistance to Russian colonization and occupation – branded them, like Circassians of yesterday and Ukrainians today, as unworthy of life. Feeling nothing to be guilty for, but understanding that the world sees things differently and that a good part of their future success lies in pretending to fit into that global ethic and in projecting themselves to be not enemies of it but champions, they have long ago mastered the arts of deception, disinformation and manipulation.

Russia's most powerful ministries have always been its internal security services, the NKVD, the KGB, and now the FSB and their task has always been to protect and advance the Imperial ambitions of Russia. Vladimir Putin, a long-time member of the KGB, joining it immediately after university graduation, and rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel under its successor organization, the FSB, shares that same vision of Russia the KGB had.

- **Russia Ignores its Status as a Co-belligerent in Instigating WWII:** Russia's apologists have always cast blame on others and have never accepted their role in what are in fact some of the greatest crimes against humanity committed in history. The Russian instigation of WWII for example, as a co-equal belligerent with Nazi Germany, for the first two years of the war until Germany turned on their erstwhile partner to take it all, has *never* been acknowledged by Russia. For Russians the "Great Patriot War" starts not on August 24, 1939, when they signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the secret protocols with Hitler's Germany to seize and divide Europe between them. Nor six days later, on September 1, 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland. Nor sixteen days after that, when they themselves invaded Poland from the east while Nazi Germany was invading from the west, crushing Poland between them in a pincer action.

No. As they saw it, their actions were justified. Even righteous. No different than the Nazis, the killing of thousands – even of millions – was a mere detail to accomplish the great goal of imperial destiny.

- **Russians Continue to Justify Their Invasion of Poland in 1939:** For the Russians, the war doesn't begin when they were the aggressors, collaborating on the mass killings and division of Poland – but only on June 22, 1941, when the Germans turned on them. Then, they screamed "betrayal" and have never stopped raging. It's not, of course, that Russian historians are *unaware* of their role in the invasion, mass killing and occupation of Poland – or any of Russia's other acts of unprovoked war. They were there. Rather, it was part of the grand plan with Nazi Germany. And, most critically, as an act furthering Russia's imperial vision, it was justified. All its wars are justified to the Russians in the name of Russian imperialism. Hence, no crimes are ever committed for which Russians need apologize or feel guilty.
- **Advancing Russian Imperialism Justifies Any Crime:** Like the invasion of Ukraine, Russian imperialism justifies any action, however cruel and barbaric, to achieve its goals. They understand, of course, that the rest of the world does not share the vision of their own Russian "greatness," nor does it share in their goal of achieving domination over inferior others, like the "sub-human filth" and "scum" who were the Circassians in whom they invested over 100 years of national effort to exterminate. And, so, they lie, knowing that we see the world differently.
- As a result of that enduring ethos of imperial nationalism, Russia is dangerous.
- **Russia Continues to Harbour the Ideology of its Nazi Partnership:** It is their failure to be self-reflective, to see that their national ethos makes them *worse* than the Nazis they love to demonize, that makes Russians a threat to the world. Russian imperialism is not different than the Nazi ideology which, if successful and not defeated, would have seen the nations of the world forced into slavery to the master race – as millions were in both Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. Russians, too, share that very same sense of divine purpose. Nazi Germany was defeated, however, and Germans have come to terms with their horrific past. They have totally surrendered the imperial mission of the Nazis. But Russia and Russians have not.
- **Russian Fixation on Nazi Germany's Betrayal:** As one observes, Russian fixation on Nazi betrayal of their pact remains for them an experience of near-evil. Hence in their antisemitic ravings they call the Jews Nazi. They call the Ukrainians Nazi. They demanded the genocide of the Circassians. They crushed the future of the Kazakhs and the Chechens, the Georgians and the Moldovans. Nazis all of them? But they refuse to look in the mirror. The imperial vision is a deeply narcissistic one. They do not see their acts of war and genocides as criminal. All of it,

instead, is justified “self-defence” on the road to hegemony. If anything, in classic narcissistic rage, they want to kill and destroy anyone that stands in their way. Of course, they all know, as their propagandists and apologists know, they are lying but they are all in on the lie. Behind the lies are Great Russia. Crimes not to them, but only to their enemies. And their enemies, as one hears every day on Russian state television, are virtually everyone outside the Russian World.

- **Russian Complicity in War Crimes Against Ukrainians Amounts to Over a Million Persons:** In response to the defence of the culture of the Russian World promulgated by Russian apologists like [Vladimir Kara-Murza](#) and [Yulia Navalnaya](#) who insist that the Russian invasion of Ukraine is *Putin’s* war and not Russia’s, seeking as always to deflect criticism of Russian imperial policy and to exempt Russians from any collective guilt for the devastating war that their country has waged against Ukrainians, there is yet another argument beyond the unbroken historical continuity Russia’s imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet history clearly reveals; namely, the extent of Russian citizen *involvement* in the war. Given the unprecedented number of *documented* war crimes committed by “ordinary” Russians against Ukrainians, numbering in early 2025, some 137,000, in addition to *many thousands more* committed inside still-occupied territories and out of sight of independent observers, the total number of additional Russians who are guilty in law as “parties” to the primary criminals by “encouraging” or “aiding-and-abetting” their atrocities, together with the entire command structures that supervise and authorize their actions, puts the total number of Russians who bear legal responsibility for war crimes well *in excess of a million*. Note that this number does not include the hundreds of thousands of regular Russian soldiers or officers who have fought or are still fighting *inside* Ukraine who, while not having committed war crimes *per se* are arguably criminally liable as well, if they are *volunteers* who have joined the war for financial gain. Those occupying a *paid mercenary role* to invade another country and to kill its inhabitants are not protected under international law and simply occupy a legal position as hired killers.
- **Russian Apologists:** The massive Russian citizen involvement in war crimes belies the classic denial of Russian apologists like Kara-Murza and Navalnaya that Russians are *never responsible* for the crimes against humanity that their people have been committing for centuries in the cause of Russian imperialism. To understand the degree to which Russian “culture” is behind Russia’s state crimes, as noted previously, one might also examine the enormous public support the Russian population as a whole has expressed over the past three years for its armies’ seizure of Ukrainian territories and killing of Ukrainians: a huge outpouring of support for Russia’s new conquests and encouragement to carry on to a final “victory.”
- **Russia Publicly Honoured Its War Criminals as National Heroes:** Nor are Russians ashamed of the crimes committed on their behalf that the rest of the world reacts to in horror. As noted, Russians do not consider the invasion of Ukraine as an unjustified war of aggression nor any action of its people in furtherance of the state objective of crushing the Ukrainian resistance, however horrific, as a crime. After initially denying [Russian war crimes committed in the Ukrainian city of Bucha](#) early on in the invasion, for example, Putin publicly changed course, admitted the crimes [but honoured the torturers, murderers and rapists in a state ceremony](#). In a grotesque inversion of modern civilized standards, Russia’s state policy remains locked in a medieval embrace of historic barbarism with its people embracing the killing of innocents, so long as it’s their citizens doing the killing and “winning.” Russians experience a deep sense of imperial pride in their state’s power. In any case the participation of a million persons *in the commission of war crimes like torture, rape, and murder*, in which each of those persons is criminally liable, speaks volumes to the collective guilt of the Russian peoples and Russian culture itself.

## 15. THE “PEACE DIVIDEND” FOLLOWING THE COLLAPSE OF USSR WAS MORE

**RUSE THAN EVEN PAUSE:** The western belief that the collapse of the Soviet Union, seen as a final victory over the West’s principal enemy, led to what political leaders called [the “peace dividend”](#) which resulted in a general de-militarization across western alliance nations. The belief in the cessation of hostilities meant that huge resources spent on defence could then be utilized for economic and social development. Now, the new generation of leaders question the wisdom of that assumption and their naivety in failing to see that Russia was the core of the Soviet Union and not simply one of the states that would emerge, like the others, to integrate into the western world. Whatever mistakes those promoting the “peace dividend” made, and whatever the reality behind the de-militarization that followed, the consensus now is that [the peace dividend is dead](#). Instead of peace, Britain’s Defence Minister, Grant Shapps, on January 16, 2025, stated the view of the British government: “We are now in a pre-war period!” Germany too, a military powerhouse before [the “peace dividend” that saw cuts in defence spending](#) as part of its GDP fall from 3.9% in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed, to 1.5% in 2022 is trying to reverse course and rebuild its defence industry. All other NATO allies are making the same commitment.

The belief, however, that the past 30 years was “peaceful” and that Russia only emerged as a threat upon its full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, depended on a blinkered refusal to acknowledge Russia’s continuing use of force against its more immediate neighbours, and its likely corrupt – funded by oil revenues – assessment of Russia’s potential to integrate with the west. An incomplete list follows:

- **1989:** April 9, 1989, [the Massacre of Tbilisi](#). Soviet Russian forces (under the “liberal” Gorbachev) sent its troops into Georgia, to crush a pro-independence demonstration in Tbilisi.
- **1990:** Gorbachev ordered a [full-scale Soviet-Russian invasion of Azerbaijan](#) on January 20, 1990, with 26,000 soldiers and tanks fighting against pro-independence protesters in Baku, killing scores of civilians, in an unsuccessful attempt to crush the national independence movement.
- **1990 - 1992: the Moldo-Russian war also known as The Transnistria War** was an armed conflict that broke out on 2 November 1990 until a ceasefire was declared on 21 July 1992. Russia troops continue to occupy the Moldovan breakaway region of Transnistria.
- **1991:** Gorbachev ordered Soviet-Russian troops and tanks into Vilnius, Lithuania on January 11, 1991, after [Lithuania declared independence, firing live ammunition, killing civilians](#) and seizing government buildings. Lithuanians did not back down and broke free.
- **1991:** Gorbachev ordered Soviet-Russian troops into [Riga, Latvia, on January 20, 1991, killing civilians, fighting with Latvian police](#), and seizing government buildings in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Latvian independence movement with violence and fear.
- **1994 - 2009:** Russia’s invasions of Chechnya and its 12 years of all-out warfare commencing in 1994 with the First Chechen War (lasting two years) and ending in 2009 at the end of the Second Chechen War (lasting 10 years from its start in 1999) were classic acts of imperial aggression, causing immense suffering and intended only to assert Russian control over a non-Russian people and culture which sought to be free.

- **2008 - 2025:** In 2008, [Russia invaded Georgia](#). Justifying its full-scale invasion of the tiny republic of Georgia by falsely accusing Georgians of mistreating its Russian speaking population, Russia launched its invasion by air, land and sea. Calling it a “[peace enforcement](#)” operation it was clearly an act of imperial aggression with the same objective as its war against the Chechen people; forcing them to submit to Russian authority.

Notwithstanding the conclusion of armed hostilities, Russian forces continue to occupy and have expressed the intention of annexing Abkhazia, a Georgian territory that constitutes 20 percent of Georgia and borders the Black Sea. Most significantly, [Russia is occupying the Georgian port of Ochamchire](#), located in Abkhazia and it constructing a permanent naval base there, negatively impacting Georgia’s economy while ensuring the rapid deployment of Russian military forces by sea should Georgia attempt to expel Russians for its territory. Moving its warships to the Georgian port also invites Ukrainian attacks on the Russian ships, potentially bringing Georgia into the war, while destabilizing Georgia’s attempts to join the European Union – which [Russia and Russia’s puppet government in Georgia, “Georgian Dream”, are opposed to](#).

- **2011:** In November, 2011, the [European Parliament passed a resolution](#) acknowledging Abkhazia and South Ossetia as occupied Georgian territories.
- **2014 - 2025:** In 2014, in its most recent act of imperial aggression, Russia invaded Ukraine and seized the Crimean Peninsula in [clear violation of international law](#) and of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity – and in [clear violation of the Budapest Memorandum](#), Russia’s International agreement signed between Ukraine, Russia, Great Britain and the United States guaranteeing Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition to Crimea, Russian forces in the guise of “separatists” invaded Ukraine’s eastern Donbas region and have waged a genocidal war of aggression against Ukraine ever since.
- **2022 – 2025:** Not content with its 2014 seizure of Crimea and parts the Donbas region, Russia then launched a [full-scale invasion](#) of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, with the objective of seizing control over the entire country and eliminating all opposition to Russian rule – a scenario that has already resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and would be expected to involve the murder of millions more should Russian control over the country be achieved. Similar to Russia’s invasions of Chechnya and Georgia, Russia fabricated false justifications for its aggression – primarily, that it was protecting its own expatriate populations – to cover its imperial ambitions to rebuild its former Soviet power to achieve what it understands as “[great nation status](#)” and to force itself ultimately on Europe as a [hegemon](#).

## **16. IT IS THE IMPERIAL CULTURE OF “GREAT RUSSIA” THAT MUST BE DEFEATED:**

Relying on historical precedent, Russia will not give up its imperial goal of annihilating Ukraine. Nor does the cost in Russian lives have any impact on Russia’s leadership to change course. Human life and suffering have always been irrelevant to the imperial ambitions of Great Russia. Nor will a Russian battlefield defeat result in a change in Russia’s course, any more than Russia’s defeat in the First Chechen war did anything more than pause the war for two years until Russia could re-arm and resume that attack. Its peace treaty meant nothing more than to lull the Chechens into a belief the war was over

and to let down their defences. Nor, critically, did a hundred years of armed resistance by the Circassians fail to deter the Russians from continuing their war against Circassia, despite Russian leadership and generational changes.

- **Vladimir Stalin Warned About the Persistent Evils of “Great Russian Chauvinism” and the Russian Ideological Belief that Russia was a Superior Nation:** Two centuries separate the Russo-Circassian War and the Russo-Ukrainian War but it is the same “[Great Russian Chauvinism](#),” and the same imperial “[Superior Nation](#)” ideology that Lenin, himself, warned against that instigated both genocidal conflicts. The inescapable conclusion is that only a defeat of the Russian imperial mind-set will change Russia’s course, and the core root that anchors that imperial consciousness, as true for Russians today as it was for other Imperial powers of the past, is Russia’s existing empire. The break-up of Russia’s existing empire – the so-called “Federation” – would change everything, as it has for the nations of Europe that once operated their own empires.
- **The Moral Imperative to Resist Imperialism:** Empires are inherently dehumanizing and destructive of their subject nations, as well as a constant threat to international peace and stability. Despite arguments, like those of John Mearsheimer that [so-called “Great Powers” will always emerge](#) and always vie with each other for dominance over smaller polities and each other, we ought to resist a return to the rule of raw-power imperialism which we see surging in Russia today. We have *the collective power*, if we have the vision to use it, to prevent states from amassing power through territorial conquests and enslaving or exterminating conquered peoples. We don’t want to return to that past.
- **Reagan’s Evil Empire Speech:** As Ronald Reagan elegantly stated in [his famous, 1983, Evil Empire speech](#), defending American freedoms and democracy against the threat of Soviet tyranny, and speaking of the necessity to maintain a strong military to defend against the adversaries of freedom:

“We will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace, but we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.”

“It was C.S. Lewis who, in his unforgettable “Screwtape Letters,” wrote: “The greatest evil is not done now...in those sordid ‘dens of crime’ that Dickens loved to paint. It is...not even done in concentration camps and labor camps. In those we see its final result, but it is conceived and ordered; moved, seconded, carried and minuted in clear, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice.”

“Well, because these “quiet men” do not “raise their voices,” because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they’re always making “their final territorial demand,” some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simpleminded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.”

- **Appeasement of Aggression is Surrender:** As history proved, Reagan was right, it is only through real strength that freedom can be preserved. Appeasement of dictators, taking them at their word, is suicidal. As true today as then, and then as in 1939, [the voices of appeasement](#) are again arguing for the surrender of Ukrainian territories to “accommodate” Putin’s “aggressive impulses.” Russia was then in 1988 the heart of that “Evil Empire.” It was true then and remains true today. We must stand up to its aggressive impulses rather than submit to them. As Reagan said, appeasement is mere wishful thinking for a peace that will never be achieved and that only betrays our past and squanders our freedom.

**17. FEAR OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT:** Putin has asserted that the Russian victory over Ukraine is a matter of existential necessity for Russia, failing which it will resort to the use of nuclear weapons. That former President Joe Biden may actually have been motivated by fear of nuclear war, and honestly believed that Putin would resort to the use of nuclear weapons if he failed to get what he wanted, appears to be confirmed by the evidence of the administration’s strategy in how it supported or refused to support Ukraine in Ukraine’s existential struggle for survival. Let’s look at that.

- **The Narratives of *Winning* and *Losing* Betray the Realities of Russia’s Brutal Attack and Ukraine’s Critical Defence:** Much of the narrative one hears about the war speaks in terms of either Russia or Ukraine *winning*. This is a false narrative that only serves Russian interests. Ukraine has been invaded and its citizens, whether in uniform or not, are being brutally attacked every day. The war is not a contest between two equal and willing adversaries who are fighting to determine who is the strongest, like a wrestling match. A truer narrative of the Russian invasion must start and stop with the absolute fact that Ukraine did not threaten or provoke Russia in any way and that it was due solely to Russia’s imperial ambition to seize Ukraine’s territory and resources to restore it to its former Soviet “glory.” It was always about a theft of wealth with the attendant increase in power that would accrue to Russia that was the primary motivation for Russia’s invasion and ongoing war. Russia can leave at any time and stop the war. It can simply walk away. Ukraine has no such option. A better comparative narrative to define the Russian war against Ukraine is a home-invasion by a gang of brutal thugs who break into a private residence, rape the children, torture the father to force him to open his safe before killing him and then flee with the mother/wife as a hostage. To say the victim fighting for her life is *winning* should she escape or turn the tables on her captors, is an absurdity. She is merely trying to survive. Resistance, self-defence, is a fundamental right of anyone unlawfully attacked, person or nation.
- **Russia Is Under No Threat: It Cannot “Lose”:** Similarly, using the rhetoric of “Russia *losing*”, again conflates the nature of this war with a contest. Just as Ukraine cannot “win” because it has not started the war with a view to defeating Russia and seizing Russia’s assets, Russia cannot “lose” because it is not itself threatened or under attack. If the allies, instead of providing Ukraine with the weapons necessary to force Russia simply to abandon its goal of occupying Ukraine, joined Ukraine in invading Russia with the goal of destroying Russia, then one could speak in terms of Russia winning or losing that battle. But Russia really has no “skin in the game”. It cannot lose. All that can happen to Russia is that it goes home empty handed.
- **Deterrence Must be Robust:** Of course, convention speaks in terms of winning and losing but the fundamental truth is that Russia can no more lose than the thief who desires to rob a jewellery store is thwarted by the presence of a police officer and abandons his plan. He does not then go on rampage because he could not commit the robbery. Putin is a gangster but he is not an idiot. Nor are the members of Russia’s [siloviki](#) who work with him idiots. Frustration is

not “losing” nor is it any basis for the use of accelerating the conflict to a nuclear war. To bomb whom? America? Again, that conclusion is absurd. Ukraine?

- **Arm Ukraine to Drive Russia Out:** The supply of offensive weapons to Ukraine is clearly lawful, contemplated by the UN Charter, and morally warranted. Russia will not be surprised. Russians are many things but they know the international rules and typically play them to their own advantage. Like the gang robbing the bank, they know that their actions are illegal. They know they are breaking all the rules. And they know the police are coming. They may well have hoped to finish the robbery before the police arrived but they didn't, and they will not be surprised if and when America and its NATO allies provide the actual weapons Ukraine needs to defeat the Russian army attacking Ukraine. The Russians are gambling that they can bluff the west by threats of resorting to nuclear war if they don't get their way, into remaining as spectators. Russian apologists are hard at work on those narratives: this is not our war. Russia is no threat to the West. Russia is simply protecting its own interests. Ukraine belongs to Russia anyway. Ukrainians are Russians. Stopping Ukraine's resistance will end the killing. The cost of assisting Ukraine is too high. The list is a long one and growing. Whatever works to limit support for Ukraine assists Russia's goals. It's all Russian nonsense.
- **Rewarding Putin for his Criminal Effort in Killing Thousands of Innocents is Madness:** If, as a consequence of Russia's failed attempt to seize Ukraine as a prize of war, the death of hundreds of thousands of Russians engaged in that endeavor is then viewed as an unjustified waste of human and financial resources by Vladimir Putin, resulting in his overthrow or assassination by some other ambitious Russian leader or member of the security services, what of it? Putin cannot be rewarded by forcing Ukraine to make concessions to justify the effort Russia has put into its geopolitical gamble. We don't need to soften the consequences for Putin, his regime, or the Russian people. Like any other criminal enterprise, the Russians must face the consequences of their criminal actions, not protected from them. Its gamble failed, plain and simple. It is long past time for Russia to be held to account for its crimes.
- **Putin Can Spin His Own Story to Russian's:** How Russia and Russian authorities wish to spin their narratives about the war and their eviction from Ukraine is entirely a matter for them. That will not be difficult for Russia. They have a long history of spinning narratives. It's what they truly excel at.

## **18. HAS THE PROJECTION OF AMERICAN FEAR EMBOLDENED THE USE OF**

**NUCLEAR WEAPONS:** There is a problem here, in that former President Joe Biden may well have unintentionally encouraged the use of nuclear weapons by Russia against Ukraine by constantly broadcasting his fear of provoking Putin. If the US was too afraid of assisting Ukraine with the provision of arms – a support that United Nations rules clearly authorized – the underlying message is that Russia is free to use such weapons against Ukraine and the US, will simply stand by. The US as head of NATO, would do nothing. If anything, rather than prevent the use of a nuclear weapon by Russia, America's retreat into a corner for fear of such an outcome invites it.

- **NATO May Be Toothless:** Equally concerning is the fact that if fear of the use of nuclear weapons by Russia causes America to restrict its support for Ukraine fighting an existential war, what assurance is there for Finland or Poland or Lithuania or any other state that Putin wishes to attack with conventional weapons through say an aerial bombardment, that the US or NATO will support them? If it's fear of nuclear weapons

that prevents it from a robust defence of Ukraine, no NATO agreement is going to displace that same fear.

- **New Nuclear Arms Race:** Rather than projecting strength in unity and a resolve to stand up to bully tactics, the weaknesses that the Biden administration projected are certain to erode faith in NATO and will lead to a new nuclear arms race. There is no question but that Ukraine would not have been attacked and would not be in this terrible conflict had it not given up its nuclear weapons and trusted America and Britain to protect its territorial integrity and its sovereignty as they promised.
- **Security Agreements:** The complete failure of the [\*Budapest Memorandum\*](#) to protect Ukraine from being attacked has demonstrated beyond any doubt that no international security agreement – even with two of the world’s most trustworthy partners – can be relied on. In the end one must provide one’s own security as North Korea and Israel have demonstrated. The importance of self-reliance and the necessity to be nuclear armed has not been lost on any nation watching the war. The message of deterrence through strength is surely not lost on South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and many other states who will no doubt proceed with haste to develop the weapons they need to guarantee their own safety.
- **Searching for an “Off-ramp” for Putin was Appeasement:** From the beginning of the war certain western nations have bent over backwards to accommodate Putin. It was appeasing his apparent need for “success” in the war that they focused their attention on, what they kept calling the need for an “off-ramp.” What fragility in his power and control over the Russian state did they see that caused them to prioritize his “success” in his ill-advised military adventure over the real necessity that Ukraine experienced every day to expel the Russians from their country? No evidence was ever presented. To the contrary the evidence is very clear as presented here that Putin enjoys huge support among the Russia population. There is no evidence whatever that the population will rise up against him. The “fear” that his “losing” will somehow have unnamed negative consequences for the west may well have been grounded in Russian propaganda and promoted by pro-Russian agents in the west tasked with the object of assisting Russia’s imperial aims by instilling fear and doubts in western leaders.

## **19. FEAR OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IS SELF-**

**DEFEATING:** The British Empire broke up and its constituent parts moved on, learned self-government and have prospered to the benefit of the global community. So, too, the Ottoman Empire which, like Russia’s was an “internal empire.” So too all the lesser empires of recent history. Russia alone remains attached to the 19<sup>th</sup> century world of great powers, territorial expansion and domination. Russia embodies the antithesis of everything that free, democratic states value.

- **No Crisis on Break-up of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union Nations:** No different than the collapse of the European Eastern Bloc – Russia’s third tier – and the collapse of the Soviet Union – Russia’s second tier and – the effect of the loss of its outer empires only served to diminish Russia’s power and its ability to threaten the world. The collapse of these political systems was only positive. Their captive nations were freed and their peoples joined the global world as newly prosperous and independent agents. Russia’s loss of its first tier of captive states will have the same positive benefits. There is no evidence that the break-up of the Russian “Federation” will have any deleterious effect.
- **Russia Will Resist but Has No Enemies to Attack:** Of course, Russia as the central power of the Empire/Federation will do all in its power to maintain control over these nations of the Federation, but those conflicts, if they occur, are internal matters for the Federation and need not engage any western action beyond support for the principles of freedoms and the universal right of all nations to self-determination. Russia may well assert that loss of its empire is an existential threat and that it will resort to nuclear force to “defend itself” but as with the loss of its control over its Eastern Bloc and Soviet states, there is nothing Russia can do. Will it use nuclear weapons to destroy the Republic of Tuva for example, or the Republic of Bashkortostan because they want to govern themselves and control their own resources and future? Putin may threaten it but the idea is absurd. As neighboring states their long-term viability and prosperity provides potential benefits for a future Russia without its empire: free trade and other mutually beneficial inter-state agreements.

**20. THE KEY TO ENDING RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IS THE DE-COLONIZING OF ITS EMPIRE:** No less so than the support the west gave for the right of Russia’s Soviet colonies to their freedom, we need to stand in solidarity with the aspirations of Russia’s oppressed nations. We need to reaffirm the principles of the United Nations Charter that all people everywhere have the right to self-determination. That their states and borders are inviolable and that attempts by stronger states to seize the territory and dominate the people of another smaller state by force will not be tolerated. We need to reaffirm the principles of de-colonization and firmly reject any and all movements towards resurgent Imperialism. None of this is new or challenging, it is simply the application of existing rules of international codes of conduct. We simply need to stand by them.

**21. ENDING THE WAR IN UKRAINE:** Ukraine must prevail. Russia cannot in any way be allowed to profit from its obscene war of aggression. Russia’s imperial ambitions must be countered. Its’ aggression must not be allowed to bear fruit. The message that brute force and mass destruction will not achieve positive results for the aggressor must be the goal. The Russian army inside Ukraine, the invasion force, must be pushed out. Ukraine must be restored to the borders recognized by Russia in the Budapest Memorandum and the damages done to it, repaired. Like any criminal action, the perpetrator must be held accountable. Russia must pay reparations for the damages it has caused Ukraine. All Ukrainian prisoners and hostages and kidnapped children must be returned. Russian war crimes – many thousands – must be publicly aired and their perpetrators tried.

- **All That’s Needed is the Will to Defend Our Principles:** None of these objectives are unreasonable and all of that is possible. Supporting Ukraine with the weapons it needs to destroy Russian logistic lines like the Kerch Bridge, unlawfully constructed by Russia on

Ukrainian territory, is entirely appropriate and within the means of our Western allies. Given the new realities of drone warfare if Ukraine is also provided with the long-range weapons to make Russia's continued occupation of Crimea untenable, they will leave. If the Russian supply routes are destroyed, the ports are unusable, the airfields bombed, the occupying forces under constant drone attack, there is profit in Russia remaining and no future for Russia in Ukraine.

- **Russia is Collapsing:** Russia is losing its ability to control the field and to maintain its armies. Its economy is in ruin, its finances nearly bankrupt. It cannot afford to pay for the cost of the war much longer. Ukraine must not be forced to give up the fight. As we treat other gangsters, we need to prove to Russia that its aggression won't be accepted. Peace ensues when we ensure that war is simply not worth it. The unified message must be that the free world will stand behind Ukraine until the last Russian soldier and tourist gets out and goes home. The message is simple: LEAVE.
- **Russia is weak.** It hides its weakness with a constant stream of aggressive threats and bluster but it knows its days are numbered. Without the republics – their people and the wealth of their resources flowing into Moscow – Russia as an empire and great power disappears into history. Putin understands that very well. The republics are waiting for their chance to break free of Moscow and its predatory practices that keep them in penury. They just need encouragement. Russia's all-out war against Ukraine is Putin's attempt to claw back some of the power it once had, which would also help keep the republics in line, but it is a losing effort. So long as the west continues its financial and military support for Ukraine and Ukraine does not lose heart Russia cannot succeed.
- **The West Must Do More:** This is not a war we can afford to lose. The stakes are too high. There is no reason in law or principle why the west cannot do more. Sending troops to assist in air defence, border defence and logistics would not be unreasonable. For three years Ukraine has carried the burden of war and the battle to protect freedom for all of us by itself.

**22. THE END OF RUSSIAN TYRANNY:** The Russian Federation is being held together through the threat of force. If the weaknesses of the present Moscow regime are exposed – as they are, for example, by Ukraine's occupation of the Russian border regions of Kursk and Russia's demonstrated inability to drive out the Ukrainians – independence-minded states within the Federation, even those with majority ethnic Russian populations, will be encouraged to break away from Moscow for their own betterment.

- **Recognize the Sovereignty of the Republics:** Active support for the dissolution of the Russian empire by the provision of arms is of course out of the question, but moral, educational and organizational support can be offered and at little cost.
- **Strengthen the Voices of Russia's Indigenous Cultures:** The organization and recognition of shadow governments for the republics and regular forums to give voice to their dissident leaders in exile, educating the public on Russia's brutal colonial history and assisting the connection of indigenous voices from across the Federation with each other and with other

decolonization movements would at least start the necessary dialogues on the decolonization of this last and vast colonial empire.

- **Counter Russian Disinformation with the Truth:** Ultimately, the future of Russia's colonial system rests with the various nations of the Federation themselves. But given Moscow's control over the information sphere and its expert use of disinformation and propaganda, we can start by countering the carefully constructed lies that Russia stands in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world.

The *truth* of the Russian World is the greatest weapon we have to counter Russian propaganda: Russia is anything but anti-colonial and anti-imperial.

Rather than plot to keep the Empire intact by dragging out the war and preventing Ukraine from succeeding or Russia from failing, we ought to see its potential demise as an opportunity for the millions trapped within that empire to finally break free. The end of the Russian terror state would be a huge win for freedom and a blow to autocracies everywhere. The defeat of a resurgent imperial model must be considered one of the most critical goals now by democracies everywhere. We all have a stake in that.

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## Destruction of Ukrainian Towns & Cities by Russia 2022-2024

