

HOW TO WIN THE WAR*

War as a system

In 1967 the American magazine «Esquire» published the report of fourteen prominent American scientists on the possibility of achieving universal peace in the world. The study lasted for two years. The main outcome of scholars was as follows: the transition from the militaristic costs to non-militaristic costs creates a huge number of insurmountable economic problems and even the most powerful countries in the world (the most powerful economic systems) are currently unable to solve them. That means, that the didactic Latin Expression «Si vis pacem, para bellum» (If you want peace, prepare for war) is still urgent nowadays. Unfortunately, during the last hundred years the Ukrainian government ignored the classical ancient axiom. For the second time.

In the Book of Ecclesiastes, one of the most difficult books of the Old Testament, is stated: «**A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.**». In other words, every nation permanently is in the state of war with another nation, or in the state of preparing for war. Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel even compared the war with a fresh wind for a decayed lake.

With the passage of time, some clichés and stereotypes have formed that interpret war as an institution subordinated to the social systems, as an extension of diplomacy, as a method of achieving economic goals, as a political phenomenon associated with the resolution of conflicts between states, nations, ethnic and social groups («War is the continuation of politics by other means» – the classic definition of military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, author of the famous book «On War»). These are famous interpretations of the war as a sociological problem...

These ideas are not indisputable. The fact is, that the war itself is an extremely difficult social system and other forms of social organizations of humanity conflict with it. Social motives of war are no less important than economic ones. War is one of the most important elements/ process factors of self-organization of humanity. The war controls the majority of communities of humanity. And this control is a systemic one.

*«Militaristic conception of the State is an integral and important part of the internal stability of the political system of the nation. Without it, no government can have legitimacy and ability to govern. Currently, the main authority of the government to citizens in the modern state is largely based on the attitude of this government to the war as an institution. **This, in turn, demands loyalty to one state or group of states while hostility to another**»* (Osypp Moroz, American economist).

A specific confirmation of this worldly wisdom and axiom was a disastrous Budapest Memorandum (dated 5 December 1994) for the Ukrainian diplomacy, in which no single mechanism of adhering the guarantees for sovereignty of Ukraine was fixed...

History tells us that the military objectives of the war were always explained either by the need of defense of the country, or by the requirements of national interest (economic, political, ideological), or the military force was maintained in the name of the military force. Non-militaristic functions of the «military system» are much broader. They exist not only in order to justify themselves, but also to serve the social goals.

* Оригінал статті українською мовою опубліковано в цьому числі журналу «Універсум», стор. 3-6.

The existence of weapons enables the survival of states and nations. The lack of weapons involves the elimination of sovereignty. We are sure of this today.

In 1996 the Lieutenant General Olexiy Lavrenyuk, the then head of the department of strategy of the Academy of the Armed Forces, former Deputy Chief of General Staff said: *«The Armed Forces of Ukraine, that we have, are not a national army and people's army. I insist: the army should be ethnic; in the military academies and colleges should study mostly Ukrainians; the Ukrainians should hold key positions and the government should be the Ukrainian one because the government and the army are one unit... We need 450,000 soldiers, of which – 90 thousand officers, 10 thousand warrant officers, 100 thousand conscripts each year. Thus, in ten years we will be able to prepare for the defense of our Motherland 1.5 million of manhood. **No one now knows when and where we have to fight**»*. Just as if a spirit had whispered in the ear of Ukrainian Lieutenant General.

The concept of reformation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, developed in the mid-90s, in addition to a significant reduction of troops, stipulated the elimination of military regions and the transition to operational and territorial army building system, the principles of regional recruitment and more. The harvest of this «reformation», which Oleksiy Lavrenyuk warned against, we are reaping now, paying in blood and territory.

«The weakness of Ukraine provokes strong countries into aggression – said even the Academician of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Mr. Volodymyr Semynozhenko. – At the time when the world began a new round of the arming, the Ukrainian army is losing its fighting efficiency more and more ... The war is first of all the war of money».

When Napoleon was asked what was necessary to win the war, the famous military leader said: money, money and money again. In an unequal battle with a former «strategic partner» the Ukrainian state, in addition to an effective diplomacy (for some obscure reasons 23 ambassadors are still not appointed), needs not only a well-trained army (hundred generals in today's armed forces is not an indication of the efficiency of the army), but the latest from military equipment as well. Of course, the high morale is an important prerequisite for victory because in critical moments of battle bravery of soldiers and their commanders can become a determining factor. However, in the information age the use of modern weapons can outweigh the ideological factor and professional training. The «naked patriotism» is not enough. Today, in an undeclared war with Russia, the Ukrainian soldiers noticeably need the modern ammunition and effective precision weapons.

Today Ukraine does not need the applause of American congressmen. Ukraine is looking for real money and not on credit. It is looking for ready cash, but not for promises of billion dollars as a guarantee of the United States Government. How much is a scandalous French helicopter carrier «Mistral»? That's it.

Arms expenditure allows to stabilize and to balance the economic development of the country. It is paradoxically, but destructive war is also the progressive force of society at the same time.

«As the military threat is permanent, the work on primary needs of the army can make the military-industrial establishment one of the locomotives of the national economy» – sum-

marized Mr. Petro Poroshenko at the government meeting on 10th September 2014. Mr. President roused indignation about the national defense system. *«The army needs should be determined not by the outdated levels of supply or by scraps of paper turned yellow but by the things the soldiers and sub-units in the area of the antiterroristic operation really need today».*

And what happened? Ten days later it became clear that commanders wrecked the state purchases for the army. This was stated by the expert of the Center of Political Studies and Analytics Glib Kanevskyy at a press conference in the news agency UNIAN on 20th September 2014: *«During the monitoring of state purchases in different regions of Ukraine we found out that the purchases were wrecked in all military units of all defense and law enforcement agencies as well as of the Ministry of Defense, National Guard and the State Border Service. These statistics is a threat for the national security of Ukraine».*

What is the reason of such a criminal inaction/ behavior? *«The main problem lays in the system of administration not only at level of the Ministry of Defense, but also at level of the country on the whole. The worst thing is that it is still impossible to say clearly who manages and organizes the scheme of interaction between different state structures and structural units of the Ministry of Defense»* (Lieutenant-General Mykola Melnyk, one of the founders and creators of the National Guard, former first deputy head of Main Intelligence Centre of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine).

On a kind word and a gun

Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, one of the authors of the Declaration of Independence of the USA, violated the Constitution by reasons of political necessity (error correcting in its text was not made for lack of time). In the letter to John B. Colvin dated September 20, 1810 he explained his decision: *«A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless one of the high duties of a good citizen, but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means».*



So did the American president. He worried about the security of his own country. Petro Poroshenko has grounds and reasons enough to follow the example of Thomas Jefferson when it is a question of the uncompromising struggle against the military bureaucracy and sabotage. I remember the words of a Soviet Action Hero Captain Zhegllov who violated Stalin laws for the sake of justice...

«Unfortunately, even in the time of survival war the Ukrainian people have chosen neither a Warrior, nor a military man, – says Mr. Wassil Laptiyshuk, Director of the Institute of Russian Studies. – You have to understand that the war between Russia and Ukraine will last to the end – either we give up (it means we will dissolve and assimilate), or win». According to this expert, in accordance with its legal obligations, the Ukrainian government should organize the war of liberation, but not to try to negotiate with the newest leader of the Horde confusedly.

Peace cannot be achieved at the cost of concessions that undermine the foundations of Ukrainian statehood. The deputy Mrs. Olexandra Kuzhel reminds Mr. President Poroshenko of the fact that he is a helmsman – Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine – and that society requires him to take responsibility for the war: *«We therefore demand from you to work not on maps of the distribution of candidates in majority districts but on military maps».*

Former Consul General of Ukraine in Turkey Bohdan Yaremenko on his page in Facebook ([facebook.com/bohdan.yaremenko](https://www.facebook.com/bohdan.yaremenko)) reported how an experienced lobbyist and former American diplomat shared with him the impression of communicating with Mr. Poroshenko – according to American, the Ukrainian president is not ready to be a statesman. *«I have not found the answer then and only remarked that he was the most ready of all unprepared, – wrote Yaremenko. – Now I begin to understand Americans better. It seems that Poroshenko cannot rise above logic and motivation of behavior of a businessman. He bargains, jostles and struggles for the immediate benefit, but not for the strategic interest. Strategic interest «comes dragging along» the reality only at level of statements and rhetoric».*

It seems that Poroshenko does not distinguish between the position of Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and between the position of leader of the Foreign Ministry. *«When it is necessary to call the aggressor «aggressor» openly in order to provide incentive for officers and soldiers to continue the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, he (Poroshenko – Oleh Romanchuk) stubbornly plays the role of the diplomat, who says neither «yes», nor «no». It does not help Ukrainian forces to conduct a proper fight against the invaders. Even at his press conference he did not say clearly whether he finds Putin as an aggressor. Far from it. He even carefully chose the words»-* said the political scientist, director of the sociological service «Ukrainian Barometer» Mr. Victor Nebozhenko.

«Poroshenko does not believe in the strength of his people, in their ability to defend their country in arms. This is clear. Because of it there is this willingness to a «peace plan» at any price. That's why there is a list of reasons why we cannot defend ourselves, instead of finding ways and appropriate actions to defend the country from aggression, thereby, incidentally, increasing Ukraine's position at the diplomatic front» (Mr. Anatolii Hrytsenko, leader of the party «Hromadyanska Pozytsiya» («Civic Stand»)).

After meeting with the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine a well-known volunteer Heorhiy Tuka concluded that with such commanding officers we even would not be able to beat Liechtenstein and that the WHOLE SYSTEM is rotten but not only some minister or his deputy.

The level of culture and the level of academic achievement as well depend on military establishment heavily. War is the motivation/ driving force in the development of science – from fundamental research to technology implementation. Science has not made any major step forward that would not be imposed (at least indirectly) by the needs of defense and weapons in particular.

There occur some unforeseen situations during the war, a new moral climate is created in which there is no place for bored, tired, rich and poor people. During the war all those structures that undermine/ devour the society die away or do not become apparent. The war acts as a stabilizing element both in the society and in relations with other nations and communities.

Instead, during the presentation of Ukrainian «Strategy 2020» on 25th September, 2014 Mr. Poroshenko essentially did not say anything about future changes in Ukrainian state system, about the possible strategy of its change (see. article of mine «A System, or What are the reasons for our failure» <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/16799559.html>). On the Official Portal of the President of Ukraine Mr. Petro Poroshenko «Reform Strategy 2020» is presented. But only formally. Because the document «Strategy-2020» is absent per se. The question arises: does the text of the Strategy needed for analysis exist at all?

In this context, rather interesting is a message of the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Mr. Sergey Lavrov at a press conference in New York on 26th September 2014. Moscow, they say, is in contact with the Ukrainian president. Later it turned out that there was a possibility for a personal meeting between Poroshenko and Putin in Moscow in the next three weeks. «A trip to the lair of the enemy in a time when we lost the first phase of the war for the territorial integrity of Ukraine and the separation of the separatist territory of Ukraine took place... This is not right ... There is another alternative option for their meeting place – it is Donetsk, exempt from the invaders». (Victor Nebozhenko)

In the confrontation with the aggressor a well-proven American experience should be applied: **You can get much farther with a kind word and a gun than you can with a kind word alone.** Instead, Ukraine is driven into a diplomatic choiceless – «when some thick, sugary uncles on TV are explaining to us that «we are not able to fight», that «the conflict in Donbas cannot be resolved only by military means», they are using the objective modality: as if it were the ultimate truth and the law of nature». (Alex Arestovych, military expert).

At all times all nations developed and are still developing the subject matter of war: a national conflict as religious, social or moral struggle, as a glorification of bravery and courage, as learning to win or risk their lives for their nation and state. «I think he will be worthy of me» (the president of his son and of himself). Truly words of the Father of Nation...

When a crisis arises in the animal world, then the physically weaker animals die. It is different in humans. In communities the biologically stronger, motivated «homo sapiens» (volunteers) go to war and die for defending territorial integrity of their state and nation. However, when several thousand Ukrainians in arms are defending the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine and the rest of society is watching the war on television, the end for the Ukrainian state sovereignty will not be good.

When will the real Ukraine exist?

Methodology of modern logic operates with different worlds, which describe certain messages: the real world, pseudoreal, surreal, **undefined**. The world around us – this is

the real world. The pseudoreal world can be partly real. The unreal world is the world of fictional. **The undefined world** is neither a real one, nor unreal, nor pseudoreal. In what world is the current Ukrainian government? Judging by its behavior and its actions it is in an **undefined** world. Indeed.

«The High Contracting Parties build relationships with each other based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-use or threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, the title of people to a free disposal of their own destiny, non-interference in the internal affairs, adherence to human rights and fundamental freedoms ...». This fragment (Article 3) is still applicable to the «Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation», ratified by Law number 13/98-BP from 14 January 1998. The reasonableness of the expression of Otto von Bismarck on senselessness of signing agreements with Russia is once again confirmed. But has anyone heard that Ukraine decided to denounce the treaty because of a flagrant violation of articles of the document?

Information to consider. On 4th June, 2008 the State Duma of Russia proposed the president and the government of Russian Federation to consider the withdrawal from the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership with Ukraine in case of implementation plan to join NATO by the official Kyiv. **Does someone have any further questions?**

Let's get straight with some definitions of the «**undefined world**» that has partly captured Ukraine. «*Today Ukraine sheds its blood for independence and territorial integrity. <...> I think the war in the East of Ukraine is a war against terrorism, it is our common war. Without any doubts.*» (from the speech of the President of Ukraine in the Senate and House of Commons of the Parliament of Canada)

Equally interesting are the fragments of speech of Mr. Petro Poroshenko in the Congress of the USA: «*The purpose of Ukraine is not to win the war, but to safeguard the peace. And for the preservation of peace we must be strong enough*»; «*The war in which the Ukrainian soldiers are fighting is a war for a free world*»; «*No surrender! But we are ready to stretch out our hand of peace and stop everything. I will do everything that depends on me to stop further escalation of the conflict. I'm sure that sooner or later the peace will return to the area.*».

Thus, Ukrainian President acknowledges the fact of the war which our country is forced to participate in. However, for internal use the euphemism «anti-terrorist operation» is used. What is this camouflage for? For elections to the



Parliament?

We must finally learn to call a spade a spade. Without any substitution of concepts. When people do not know the true state of affairs, they are easy to manipulate, to demoralize. What «anti-terrorist operation» can we talk about? We are the object of aggression. There is a full-scale war in Ukraine. And if we just give the enemy a part of the territory (e. g. Crimea) the state will not have the future. Ukrainians will become a nation that lost the war and that lost its territory. We will find ourselves **in the undefined world**. The psychological shock will be just terrible.

Speaking in the Congress of the USA, Mr. Poroshenko asked to give Ukraine a special status of the partner outside NATO membership as well as to help with weapons. But despite the applause it seems that the Ukrainian President was not heard. However, in a CNN interview Mr. Poroshenko stated that *«the level of cooperation in the branch of security and defense is much higher than the level of status of the leading member outside NATO, which has, for example, Argentina. And we are working in a specific status of strategic partner of the United States in the branch of Defense and Security»*.

Then why it was necessary to urge Americans to give Ukraine a special security status? To understand the logic of Mr. Poroshenko is not very easy also in the situation when he stated that «we have received more than asked.» Perhaps he meant the Law in Draw about the help for Ukraine approved by the Committee of Senate of the USA? But when this document will be approved is still unknown. Senators will rest until November at least. In the case of adoption of the law Barack Obama will have the right to grant Ukraine a variety of weapons. For example, a unique antitank missile system «Javelin» (FGM-148 Javelin), designed to destroy armored vehicles, fortifications, helicopters, drones that are supplied by the United States for export. Will the Ukrainian soldiers receive this «Javelin» at last? The fact is that Americans, according to Obama, are very little connected with Ukraine in the commerce branch. And from a geopolitical point of view the current events that are happening in Ukraine do not create an immediate threat to the United States.

The Republican Senator John McCain, who lives **in the real world**, criticized the decision of the Administration of the President of the United States: *«It is a shame that the administration continues to deny Ukraine in the military assistance, which desperately needs it after the President Putin has divided and the Russian troops have occupied it»*.

The realistically thinking Ben Judah, author of the book called **«Fragile Empire: How Russia Fell In and Out of Love With Vladimir Putin»**, in the New York Times blog (<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/01/opinion/arm-ukraine-or-surrender.html>) wrote: *«A few months without a full support of the West and Ukraine will lose the combat core of its army as well as its fascination with West. <...> We have to ship them guns, tanks, drones and medical kits. We should even be ready to deploy NATO troops in Ukraine if the Russian tanks go to the Crimea region because, as many fear, Russia wants to get a land corridor between the Crimea and southern Russia»*.

There is a cautionary tale in this context associated with the United States as well. In 1946 a special commission at the Central Committee of the **Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party** published a newspaper (some kind of newsletter) in Germany called «We shall return!» On the front page of publication there was placed a quote: «I will return to my Homeland, <...> when the NKVD follows Gestapo, when the Red Russian fascism disappears as the German fascism escaped». **The American Committee of Liberation from Bolshevism** offered to provide a financial assistance in the

publication of the newsletter of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, but wanted to look after the printed material, particularly insisted on the exclusion of the **phrase «Russian red fascism»**. In those days Americans were convinced that **«Russian red fascism» was a kind of «undefined world»** that would not become the real one. Now we see that they (Americans) were wrong.

It is symptomatic that the original text of the Memorandum on implementation of clauses of the Protocol according to the results of consultation of the Tripartite contact group in Minsk, signed on 19th September, 2014, is compiled in English and Russian. The Ukrainian language, to my knowledge, has not been used. A brilliant warning of Lina Kostenko was ignored once again: «Nations do not die of a heart attack. First of all their languages are taken away from them». However, those people who play the masters in the **undefined world** do not understand that. They do not want to understand it.

I remembered the Inauguration Day of Petro Poroshenko when he appealed to «inhabitants of Donbas» in Russian language. What on earth for? Why were the Ukrainians of Donbass trampled? Because both in Donetsk region and in Luhansk region (**in the real world**) there are living many Ukrainians. But Russia intruded into Ukraine under the false slogan of protection of Russian speaking citizens and began to create **the undefined world** «Lugandon» and «Daunbas» (so-called People's republic of Luhansk and People's republic of Donetsk).

Instead of the term «Ukrainian nation» Mr. President is using the term «Ukrainian political nation» for some obscure reason. Does for «Frau Merkel» exist the «German political nation» (in general there are about seven million foreigners living there)?

What about the Constitution (Article 10), which ensures that the State provides a comprehensive development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life **throughout the Ukraine**? The Interior Minister Mr. Arsen Avakov, civil servant, knowing Ukrainian language, speaks Russian. In this case, it is inappropriate to refer to the existence of the Article 300 (title to identity) of the Civil Code of Ukraine. Does Mr. Avakov know that the state language is a national security issue? However on 29th 2014 September in Kiev after a ceremony honoring the memory of Nazi victims in the memorial complex «Babyn Yar» Mr. Poroshenko stated: *«Ukraine will never allow <...> the partition through language, faith or some other feature. Ukraine is one and only and will remain united»*.

«When will the real Ukraine exist?» – a famous writer and journalist Mr. Roman Kupchynskyy asked almost a hundred years ago. And he replied with his usual wit: – The calculation is as follows: every man has two feet wide chest, that is, every conscious Ukrainian is a two feet Ukraine. Border of Ukraine makes 4,000 kilometers. When there will be 8 million conscious statesmen, then they will surround the border and defense the state».

There were not enough Patriots at the time of liberation struggle in 1917-1921 in Ukraine. Does it have 8 million conscious statesmen now? No one knows. No one counted. However the level of patriotism/ enthusiasm among the citizens of Ukraine is really very high today. But is it enough in confrontation with **the undefined world (the real world of Evil)** – Putin's Muscovy? How will be the newly elected Parliament of Ukraine – will it exist in the real world or will it stay in the undefined world?

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