Journal of the Psychological Operations Veterans Association

PERSPECTIVES

PREMIER ISSUE: VOLUME 1, ISSUE 1, WINTER 2023

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Herb Friedman

Content

Russia Invades Ukraine	*1*
From the President	*16*
From the Editor-in-Chief	
Putin! Expect the Unexpected	*18*
How Zelenskyy Seized	*38*
Cost of Wars and now Ukraine	*42*
Russian Leaflet Drone	*53*

Russia Invades Ukraine – 2022

SGM Herb Friedman (Ret.)





In 1950, the FBI and the United States military began a plan to have stay behind agents in Alaska in case of a Soviet invasion of the American territory. The FBI's Operation STAGE and the Air Force's Operation WASHTUB formed the joint venture which eventually became known as the "Alaska Project." The Soviet invasion never came. In 2022, the Ukrainians were not so lucky.

As early as 1954, the United States was sending propaganda messages to Ukraine. In an article in *Cold War Vignettes*, Richard H. Cummings, the authority on U.S. Clandestine radio, mentioned the first *RADIO LIBERATION* broadcast to Ukraine, on August 16, 1954:

> *Dear brothers and sisters! Ukrainians!*
>
> *Today, for the first time, we address you over Radio Liberation. We live abroad, but our hearts and thoughts are with you always. No-iron curtain can separate us or obstruct that. Today is a day of joy for us, for over the air our vibrant word of greeting, joy, and hope will reach you.*
>
> *Over one million of us Ukrainians are living abroad. For a long time, we have been telling people in the free world the truth about life in our country. The beginning Ukraini-*

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

an broadcasts over Radio Liberation entrust us with a new task. We shall speak to you and for you, fellow countrymen, because there in our homeland you have neither freedom, nor democratic press, nor a free radio.

Wherever we may be … our paths all converge toward Kiev and the towns and views of the Ukraine … Kiev Rus, which became the cradle of our Ukrainian nation's existence was an important cultural center, the focus of ancient democratic freedoms in Eastern Europe. Through Kiev, the "mother of Russian cities," our culture spread to all corners of Eastern Europe. Later, in Khmelnytsky's time [the seventeenth century], the Cossacks gave the Ukraine glamour and might.

In the fire and storm of the Revolution of 1917, the Ukraine was reestablished as an independent state. Our people, longing to be masters of their own destiny in their own country proclaimed the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. That was done in a democratic way-the manifestation of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian nation. It took place in accordance with the principles of self-determination of peoples. But the Ukrainian Democratic Republic fell victim to Bolshevist aggression. To deceive the Ukrainian people, to persuade them that nothing had happened, the aggressors converted the Ukrainian Democratic Republic into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which the Communist dictatorship made an instrument of oppression of the Ukrainian people.

In the struggle against Communism, our native land has made great sacrifices on the altar of liberation. But we have faith in God's justice. We are convinced that those sacrifices were not made in vain and that God will reward the Ukraine for all her sufferings. The struggle of the Ukrainian people will achieve their purpose.

And you, the Ukrainian people, "master in your house," will take your seat in the "circle of free peoples". The words of Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko the beloved Ukrainian national poet of the nineteenth century will come true: "And there will be a son, and there will be a mother, and there will be justice on earth.

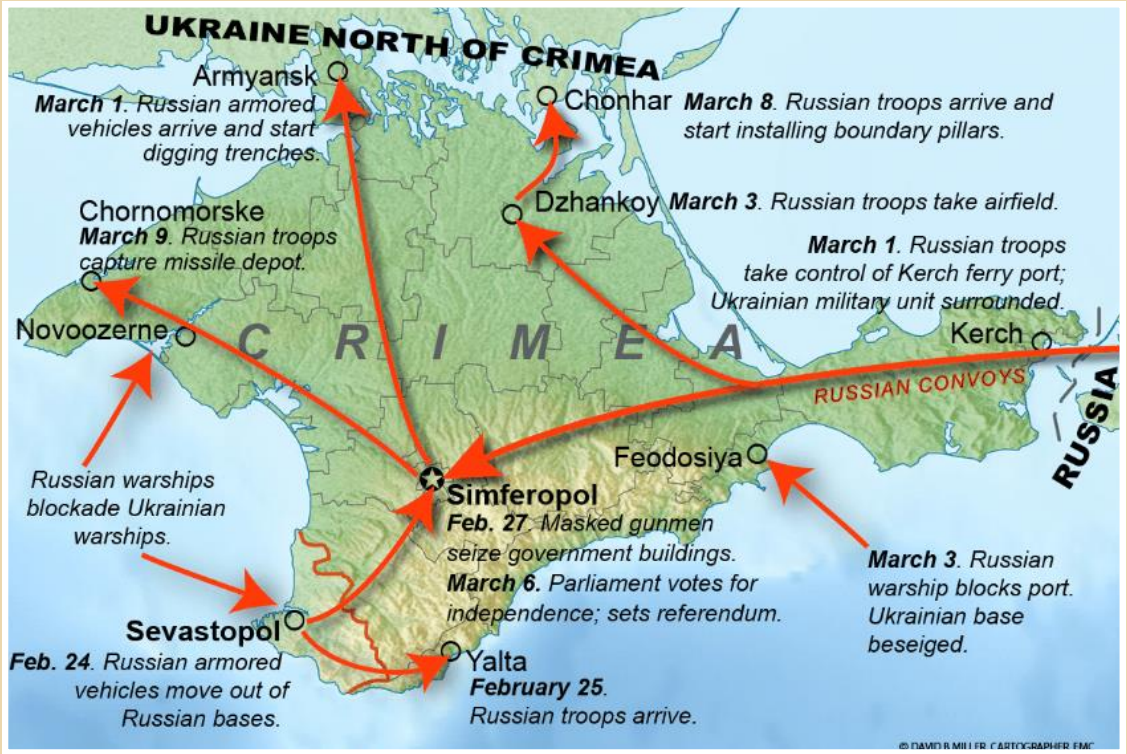
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Because "in our house there is truth, and strength, and the will for freedom."

Ukraine was considered part of the old USSR for many years. In 1991, after the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine became independent. As part of that deal, Ukraine gave up all its atomic weapons that were stored in its armories during the time of USSR rule. That turned out to be a major error.

Apparently fearing that the western powers were circling and surrounding Russia, it made demands including that Ukraine would not join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO requires that all members come to the defense of any member that is attacked. Ukraine likely believed that joining NATO would end the continued Russian pressure.



The Crimea; David B. Miller, Cartographer

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

In February of 2014, Russia invaded and annexed the Crimean Peninsula, which could be considered the start of the Russian invasion, marking the beginning of the Russo-Ukrainian War.



The Donbas Region

In April of that same year, pro-Russian separatists took control of the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine. Ukraine believed that this was Russian interference in its internal affairs and believed the separatists were Russians or "Quislings" paid by the Russians. The two sides began firing and taking military actions against each other.

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued from page 4)



Russian President Vladimir Putin

All was relatively quiet until February 2021 when thousands of Russian military personnel massed near the Russo-Ukrainian border, while President Vladimir Putin explained that this was just maneuvers that had been planned much earlier. In September 2021, the Russian troops started to build up once more, with about 100,000 troops surrounding Ukraine on three sides. The United States watched carefully from satellites and said over and over that an invasion was imminent. Most people believed it was political rhetoric because who in this age in their right mind would want to start a war that could easily escalate? Meanwhile, some NATO countries began to send military weapons to Ukraine.

On 21 February 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin recognized the independence of the two republics in the Donbas region of Ukraine that he had invented and already occupied called the *Donetsk People's Republic* and *Luhansk People's Republic*. Russian troops and tanks moved into the region to allegedly keep the peace and "De-Nazify" Ukraine. His argument was like Hitler's in 1939 when the Germans claimed that the Poles were murdering Germans in the street and needed to be protected. The only thing Putin did not do was dress some convicts in Ukraine uniforms and attack a Russian radio station as a premise to war.

Since December 2021, the United States and allies had warned Russia's leadership they were prepared to impose severe new sanctions if Russia launched a new invasion of Ukraine, a country Russia first invad-

(Continued on page 6)

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ed and partially occupied in 2014. The United States and allies imposed an initial round of sanctions on February 21-23, 2022, in response to Russia's alleged recognition of two Russia-occupied regions in eastern Ukraine as independent states. Since Russia launched its military attack on February 24, the United States and allies have imposed a series of increasingly severe sanctions.

The EU, the UK, other non-EU countries (including Switzerland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, among others, have imposed or announced sanctions, export controls, or both in response to Russia's actions. Many sanctions imposed by U.S. allies are identical or like U.S. sanctions, including restricting transactions with Russia's central bank and airspace bans.



Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the Front Lines

When President Biden offered him an escape from Ukraine by American military aircraft he replied: *I need ammunition, not a ride.*

When Russia invaded the Ukraine, I had no interest in writing about it because I thought the war would be over in 2-3 days. That did not happen. Over 100 days later, Ukraine is still fighting. The next problem was that we saw lots of Ukraine propaganda, but very little Russian propaganda since
Facebook, Twitter, and other social media banned it. If you want to write about PSYOP, you need to evenly show both sides and let the product speak for itself. We know the Russians love propaganda (they dropped thousands of leaflets on German troops during WWII). Starting about June 2022, we started to see more Russian propaganda as some British newspapers and other sites began to use Russian television reports on their leaflet artillery and rockets.

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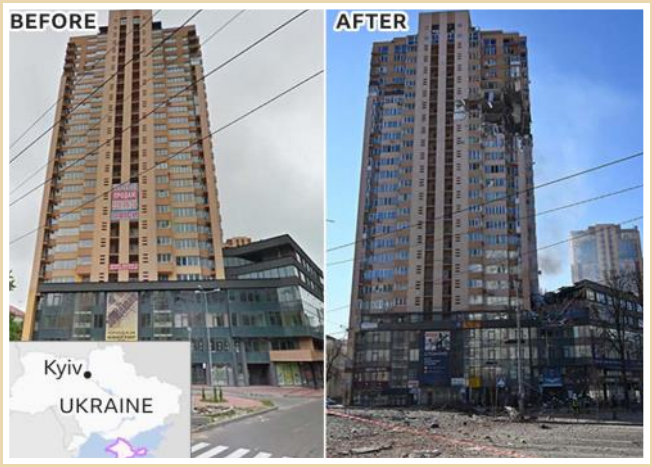
This story is not finished. We don't know how much longer the fighting will go on, but we do know Russia can outlast the West and wait for it to become bored and move on. Russia has a vast manpower advantage and can draft more people and send them to the front while the Ukraine's manpower is limited.

On 24 February 2022, the Russians officially invaded all the Ukraine with somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000 troops, these troops were not well-trained, believed they were playing war games and certainly were not ready for war. Putin not only lied to the world press, but he also lied to his own troops. Many were shocked to find themselves in battle. The Ukraine captured many and allowed them to call home to their parents to tell them they had found themselves in an unexpected war but were being treated well. The common belief was that the war would be over in two or three days as the massive Russian forces easily overran the Ukraine forces. Instead, the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy decided to stand and fight and basically allowed women and children to leave while the men were ordered to stay and fight. By the 28 February, the embarrassed Russians agreed to talks with the Ukraine but stalling for time and reenforcing your troops was an old ploy that we saw used by Communist troops in Korea and Vietnam, so I doubt anyone took those talks seriously.

The first major Ukraine city to fall to the invaders was Kherson on 2 March 2022. The Russians were known to be sending more forces and even threatening the use of atomic weapons if anyone interfered with their invasion, so it was still considered just a matter of time before the Ukrainians were conquered.

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from page 7)



Damaged apartment building in Kiev



Irpin residential area following missile attack



Missile attack on Kharkiv Council Building

(Continued on page 9)

(Continued from page 8)



Missile attack residential area Chernihiv

As the world turned against Russia they reacted as expected, they ordered independent media to remove reports describing Moscow's attack on Ukraine as an "assault, invasion, or declaration of war" or face being blocked and fined. Later the punishment was to be up to 15 years in prison. The communications watchdog accused several independent media outlets of spreading "unreliable socially significant untrue information" about the shelling of Ukrainian cities by the Russian army and civilian deaths. These included television channel Dozhd and the country's top independent newspaper Novaya Gazeta, whose editor Dmitry Muratov was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last year. As a result, foreign news services no longer send reports from Russia fearing a 15-year jail sentence.

(Continued on page 10)

(Continued from page 9)

Early Propaganda by Ukraine

Russia has long been known for its propaganda, dropping millions of leaflets during WWII. The Ukraine had no such history and did not control the air, but the world was so shocked at the blatant invasion that communications giants like *Facebook* and *Twitter* shut them down. As a result, almost everything that was written about the war and read by the West was from the Ukraine. It was a tremendous coup for them and a disaster for Russia who could still tell their own people that they were winning the war while the rest of the world saw their convoys standing still; being held back by fighters with just rifles, some anti-tank weapons, and hundreds of Molotov cocktails. So, I warn the reader that almost all this article will be from social media which was strongly in favor of the Ukraine. Perhaps when this war is over, we will see some of the Russian propaganda that Putin used on his own people and the Ukrainians.

The *Czech Cyber and Information Warfare Command* seems to agree with me:

> *Ukraine is taking full advantage of social networks for this. Official accounts of the Ukrainian government and army intensively share amateur footage from civilians and soldiers directly in the battle sites. Especially on Twitter we watch the war literally live. We are seeing another revolution in war journalism. Russian propaganda has been eliminated from the information space, and contrary to expectations, it is completely "ruled" by Ukrainians. The Ukrainian government and the armed forces have been able to mobilize not only the domestic public, but also contribute to the mobilization of a foreign audience.*



Mykhailo Fedorov

(Continued on page 11)

(Continued from page 10)

This was a new type of war. It was fought on Facebook and Twitter as well as in the trenches. The British Broadcasting System explained:

> *Ukraine's 31-year-old minister for digital transformation, Mykhailo Fedorov, has been leaning on tech giants to boycott Russia, urging hackers on to the attack, and getting Elon Musk to move satellites to benefit Ukraine. And most of it has been done from a smartphone. From his underground shelter in a secret location in Kyiv, Ukraine's youngest cabinet minister can hear the bombs falling and warning sirens wailing. But while his friend, the country's president, rallies military forces for the physical war above, Mykhailo Fedorov and his team are waging a different kind of war on Russia. Using his preferred weapon, social media, Mr. Fedorov has been urging CEOs of big businesses to cut ties with Moscow. He's also taken the unprecedented move of setting up a volunteer "IT Army of Ukraine" to launch cyber-attacks against "the enemy."*

A word about profanity. I do not use it in my articles but in this case, I feel I have no choice. The Ukrainians do not like the Russians and feel free to use any language to point that out. There is one four-letter word that seems to appear daily in the news. Even the *Washington Post* wrote about it in a 4 March 2020 Lisa Bobo article titled "Ukraine is fighting back, one word at a time."

> *Ukrainians are fighting back against invading Russian forces with everything they have: Guns, homemade Molotov cocktails, technological know-how — and words. "Russian warship, go f--- yourself," Ukrainian border guards reportedly told a Russian vessel approaching a Ukrainian island off the country's southern coast last week. In a video clip viewed millions of times, a Ukrainian member of Parliament answered a question about Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov with "F--- you, Lavrov." When CNN's Anderson Cooper asked a Ukrainian man in a makeshift factory assembling camouflage materials and homemade weapons whether he had a message for Russia's president, a voice-over from Cooper interpreted the man's response as "I would tell him: He can go f--- himself."*

Curiously there has been some debate about the four-letter word. Some linguists have said that a better translation would be "Go sit on a

(Continued on page 12)

(Continued from page 11)

dick." Whatever the proper term is, during this short invasion we are going to hear a lot of profanity.



Altered Traffic Signs

An altered photo of a road sign that has been replaced with profanities directed at Russian forces. "Go f–k yourself," "Go f–k yourself again," and "Go f–k yourself back in Russia."

The traffic tactic has been backed by the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, which called on civilians to remove any signs that may help the Russians.

> *The tactic of Ukrainians removing road signs is designed to confuse and disorient the enemy. To confuse and disorient the enemy who is illegally moving around Ukraine, we call on [people to] remove signs with numbers and names of streets/cities/villages in their regions. Let's do everything possible to get rid of Ukraine from the Russian occupier as soon as possible*
>
> *We older folks saw pictures of traffic signs being taken down in London in WWII while the British people awaited a Nazi invasion. In addition, Google has disabled several map tools in Ukraine that had been used to track the movements of troops and civilians during Russia's invasion. When the question of the Russian invasion of Ukraine came up in the United Nations, only Belarus, Syria, North Korea, and Eritrea joined Russia in opposing the measure, a*

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powerful indication of the international isolation that Russian President Vladimir Putin faces for invading his country's smaller neighbor.



A Ukrainian Woman offers a Russian Soldier Sunflower Seeds

Almost immediately after the Russian invasion commenced, this short film of a Russian woman offering an occupying soldier sunflower seeds went viral. The woman is feisty. She tears into the soldier with profanity-laced statements. In the soldier's defense, he is as polite as he can be asking the woman over and over to end the conversation because nothing can be done. I don't like to use profanity in my stories and would usually write things like F**k, but the bravery of this woman to face up to an armed Russian soldier leaves me in awe. Some of the woman's comments are:

What the fuck are you doing here? You are occupants. You are fascists. What the fuck are you doing in our land with all these guns. Take these seeds and put them in your pockets so at least sunflowers will grow here when you all lie down here. From this moment you are cursed….

Sunflowers are the national flower of the Ukraine and many patriotic pictures during the invasion depicted fields of the sunflowers. Now when the Ukrainians see those fields, they think of the dead Russians under the earth fertilizing them. Throughout Ukraine's history, the flower

(Continued on page 14)

(Continued from page 13)

has been used as a symbol of peace. In June 1996, to celebrate Ukraine giving up nuclear weapons, U.S., Russian and Ukrainian defense ministers planted sunflowers in a ceremony at southern Ukraine's *Pervomaysk* missile base.





The Stalled 40-mile Long Convoy

Russia's halting progress in its invasion of Ukraine puzzled Western observers and analysts, but a senior Pentagon official told *The New York Times* that Russia's forces, plagued by low morale and food and fuel shortages, have suffered mass surrenders and self-sabotage by conscripts who *deliberately punched holes in their vehicles' gas tanks, presumably to*

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avoid combat. U.S. and European officials said this mix of logistical failures and internal vandalism might explain why a 40-mile convoy of Russian military vehicles from Belarus has slowed to a crawl some 20 miles north of Kyiv, making it a target for Ukraine's armed forces.



A brewery in the Ukraine made Molotov cocktails.
Each bottle had Putin's picture and says: "Fuck you Putin"

Daily posts depicted a Ukraine brewery stopping production of beer and using all the bottles to make firebombs. We saw “starving” Russian soldiers being fed and allowed to call home by Ukraine. We call a telephone number advertised as a place any Russian family could call to find out if their son had been captured.

To read this informative article in its entirety, please go to this internet link:
https://www.psywarrior.com/RussiaUkraine.html

FROM THE PUBLISHER

PSYOP: Past, Present and Future

Dennis W. Bartow, Lt. Col., USA (Ret.)

Greetings from Hohenfels! I am pleased to present to you the Premier issue of *Perspectives* under the POVA flag. Many of you may be new to *Perspectives* so I will give you a little background history.

Perspectives was created in the mid-1980's to be the professional journal of the PSYOP Association. Joe Meissner and I have been publishing *Perspectives* together since 1990. Joe is the Editor-in-Chief and I am the Publisher. I also typeset each issue and prepare it for dissemination. Somewhere around 2004 we started to produce a digital *Perspectives* and distribute via email. Sometimes we will print hard-copy versions of *Perspectives* to which interested persons may purchase a copy. We have some issues in inventory now. If you wish to have a printed version of either a past issue of *Perspectives* or this current issue, contact Joe and he will let you know what is available.

Now that POA merged with POVA, Joe and I will continue to produce *Perspectives* … BUT … we need your help! We would like to do quarterly issues; however this will depend on what we have to include in each issue. Thus, we need articles! Please consider writing an article. You may think you have nothing to offer in writing – yet you truly do. Everyone reading this issue has had many experiences throughout their military or PSYOP career that could present a golden-nugget of insight which will be helpful to others. Do not assume everyone knows what you know or experienced. You could also research a PSYOP related topic and present it in an article. Or review a PSYOP-related book. Please give it some thought. Joe and I can help with editing your article, so do not fret about that aspect.

Here is some background information about Joe and me. We both were long-time members of the 2d PSYOP Group in Cleveland, Ohio.

Joe is from Cleveland and still resides there. He was an attorney for a legal aid organization plus he has been instrumental in helping the Vietnamese community. His efforts have helped many Vietnamese to start up businesses plus he is a key leader in the American-Vietnamese Friendship Foundation to which he has made numerous trips to Vietnam to build schools, medical facilities and other projects there. Joe's email address is: meissnerjoseph@yahoo.com

(Continued on page 17)

(Continued from page 16)

My hometown is Canton, Ohio however in 2003 I took a PSYOP SME contractor position at USASOC, Fort Bragg. In 2011 I took a job as a PSYOP SME at the Joint Multi-national Readiness Center at the Hohenfels U.S. Army Garrison in central Bavaria. In 2012, I took a position as an operation order writer at JMRC. I am still in this job position hence I always give a salutation for my *Perspectives* article, "Greetings from Hohenfels". I was President of the Psychological Operations Association (POA) for many years and I was the principal negotiator for POA in the discussions with Chad Spawr concerning the merger of POA and POVA. Working with Chad on this project was a delightful experience considering all the complications involved with the process. My email address is: dwbartow@claymorepub.com

The focus of this issue is Ukraine. We have tried to include information you may not have seen elsewhere. For our lead article, we decided to use an article by Herb Friedman. Herb is very likely the most prolific writer on subjects related to historical and current propaganda, psychological warfare, and psychological operations. Most of his articles can be found at psywarrior.com.

Many thanks to Herb Friedman, James Farwell, Paul E Vallely, MG U.S. Army (Ret.), and of course, Joe Meissner, for their insightful articles in this issue.

I wish to thank Chad Spawr for his decades-long selfless devotion to POVA and the psychological operations community at large. My interactions with him over the years have always been productive, pleasant, and professional. His wisdom concerning the diverse matters at hand has been essential and exactly on-point. I know he is sorely missed by many. I wish him all the best as he seeks to recuperate from his current health problems. I have a feeling that he will be back in the saddle helping POVA in one way or another as soon as he feels up to it.

In closing, I wish to express my appreciation to Larry Dietz, COL, U.S. Army (Ret.) for stepping up to the plate to be the POVA President. Big shoes to fill, however, he is the right man for the job at hand now. Thank you, Larry, and all the best for your efforts as the President of POVA.

FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Putin? Expect the Unexpected!

Joseph Meissner, Lt. Col., USA (Ret.)

The Ukraine: Our premier issue of *Perspectives* for POVA features the current conflict in Ukraine. Four of our very best writers and experts are offering their views on that country and what the "Ukrainian War" means to us. Furthermore, coverage of various PSYOP themes and events are discussed by these authors. The goal, as always, is to help us in our psychological operations designed to support our commanders and government in their strategies.

"Everything you know about warfare has changed," the old Special Forces Sergeant was providing us new wisdom from our Ukrainian experiences.

"Just imagine," said another old timer. "Here is this Ukrainian teenager on his home computer using his 'toy drone' and he is spotting enemy Russian targets for attack."

But it is not just the hardware, for we must emphasize even the concepts and views are changing. We now understand better than ever — and we in PSYOP should have been more than ready for this — words have become extremely deadly weapons. They can undermine battle activities and kill enemy even faster than artillery and missiles. The words spread through social media and the atmosphere. They are quickly disseminated by land line, worldwide media, and cell phones.

When we first designed this issue, we had only considered focusing on Ukraine and their tremendous struggle for freedom and independence. This would include all of their PSYOP —themes, goals, media both traditional and new, and results.

But then someone pointed out we had left out the main actor (villain?) in all of this discussion: Vladimir Putin.

Should we not uncover his thinking and his PSYOP plans? Does he have anything to offer us? And could our analysis lead to counter strategies and activities to undermine all the harm he has caused Ukraine, Europe, and the world?

(Continued on page 19)

(Continued from page 18)

The answer is "Yes" to all of these questions. We have been reading about him and today's Russia. We have reviewed over a thousand years of history going back to Kievan Rus which is the birthplace for both Ukraine and Russia as well as Belarus and other related Slavic peoples and areas.

So we have put together these pages to address some of what he has said and some of his plans and background. We had initially listed Twelve Keys for Putin and his grand views. We had hoped to offer you all of these and their analysis in this issue. But that task has also proven formidable and beyond this issue's capabilities. So we have selected Six of the Twelve Keys for this issue of *Perspectives* and we will treat the remaining Six Keys in our next issue. The Six for this issue include the following: (1) Putin's youth filled with bullies; (2) His German years in Dresden; (3) Moonlighting as a Cab driver and the Disintegration of USSR; (4) Putin Strategy in frozen conflicts of Southern Ossetia and Abkhazia of Georgia; (5) Russian Military Might; (6) Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). There are Six more Major Keys which are listed below and scheduled for detailed treatment in our next issue. Upon all Twelve Major keys you can and must build both your defense and offense in dealing with Putin and his circle of supporters.

It is possible that Putin will disappear in a few months or at most a year and be gone forever. But it is a dangerous mistake to bet on a future that is not here (from collapsing Russian military forces to alleged Putin illness, falls, and mental breakdowns. Such predictions may not come true for some time and may never happen.)

Our first rule in all of this is never underestimate an enemy. Putin himself fell victim to overlooking this long-time wisdom when he attacked Ukraine and its television star President Volodymyr Zelensky. It is now very obvious Putin, and his advisers made a monstrous error. They all counted on a quick and cheap victory over Ukraine. Then they confidently foresaw the installation of a pro-Russian leadership in Kiev who would follow Moscow's orders. Who could have known that a Ukrainian Russian comedy performer--Volodymyr Zelensky -- would turn out to be a real-life hero?

American leaders have fallen into this same trap. In 2015 President Obama stated that Russia was no longer a top world nation, but simply a regional power. That has turned out to be a misjudgment. Let me give this

(Continued on page 20)

(Continued from page 19)

warning. All the pundits now say Putin has lost in the Ukraine and he "is going down." My view is that Putin like Trump will never surrender. He can wait out NATO and the West while his artillery and drones pounds the hell out of Ukraine and destroys that already battered nation. Sadly, there may be Allies who may pressure Ukraine to accept negotiations and the return to Ukraine of only slivers of Ukrainian lands stolen by Putin.

Here is an assessment from Foreign Affairs Magazine:

Although there are reasons to question Putin's longevity in office, history suggests that his prospects for survival are significantly better than is generally assumed. In fact, in recent decades, even leaders who have suffered spectacular military setbacks have often failed to be removed from power, whether by popular rebellion or by elite insider coup.

He, like the house at a casino, has already bet almost three hundred thousand of his own troops in an effort to halt the debacle in Ukraine. He has, maybe, as many as two million more Russian youth to increase the table stakes. There is always the nuke threat and who is more likely to perish in this war, Putin or Zelensky? My point is very simple: Let us not make the mistake of taking our enemy lightly.

Our second rule: Ukraine is a very complex place with many different and even conflicting ethnic, social, language, and religious groups. Over the thirty years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, we have encountered high-ranking Ukraine leaders who have leaned toward Moscow and even toward Putin. If they had been in power when Putin attacked, they might have been willing to make a deal. There might have been offerings of "Salt and Bread" to the Spetsnaz at the airport northeast of Kyiv rather than drones and snipers. Western arms might not have been so plentiful. Or even not available at all.

Thirdly, there are leaders of other nations and even spokespeople here in the United States who have admired and even praised Putin. For countries who might favor Putin's views some would point to Hungary and Poland, or perhaps Turkey and Brazil, or even Italy.

(Continued on page 21)

(Continued from page 20)

Fourthly, I worked as a NATO soldier in Europe opposing the Warsaw Pact Forces. I have visited USSR and traveled from St. Petersburg and Moscow all the way into Siberia and then the Muslim republics and Georgia. I know nothing. Based on Ukraine and what is happening in Russia, all my former ideas and conclusions need massive revision. So do yours.

Let us begin with our First Major Key to Putin.

FIRST MAJOR KEY: With his puny physique and slight stature, Putin is a very wiry and short individual, who loves sports, including both as a spectator and as an active participant. As a youth, his family was poor, and they lived in a lower- class neighborhood of Leningrad. Martial arts changed his life trajectory. Here was a way he could defend himself against the many larger and tougher neighborhood bullies.

In May 1976 Leningrad's evening newspaper introduced this 24-year-old master judoist with this accurate prediction: "not well known so far amongst specialists or fans" but the paper foretold that he soon would be. Judo is essential to comprehend Putin's character. In judo a seemingly weaker and even much smaller opponent can defeat a larger, more aggressive foe by throwing him off balance and taking advantage of the latter's temporary disorientation to throw a winning blow. Throughout his life Putin has been quick to seize opportunities provided by the ineptitude of his opponents and the wooliness of their leadership. We shall continually see this pattern in his behavior as a Russian leader. How should we respond to this martial arts arrogance?

Putin understands this and has exploited the judo mystique "Judo is not just a sport, you know," he has declared. It's a philosophy. It's respect for your elders and for your opponents. Everything in Judo has an instructive aspect. You come out onto the mat, you bow to one another, you follow ritual. It could be done differently, you know. Instead of bowing to your opponents, you could jab him in the forehead." (Would this be unexpected?)

One begins to realize how he deals with his opponents from jokes played on them. Remember how he used his dog to jump onto German

(Continued on page 22)

(Continued from page 21)

Leader Merkel's lap in greeting her when he knew how that would irritate her and she feared dogs from a one-time bite. Consider his contrary behavior in effusively greeting people, passing out beautiful flowers to all the ladies, and his bestowing gifts and awards on male guests.

SECOND MAJOR KEY Recently, I asked one of our forthright local ethnic Lithuanian leaders, “What is Putin's profession?”

"He is a murderer," she fired back.

"Well, not quite," I said, "Putin was initially trained as a lawyer at Leningrad university. He earned a legal degree."

"That should have warned us," she half-joked.

He spent five years as some kind of KGB agent in Dresden and Germany from 1985 to 1990. What did he do? How many did he interrogate or even torture? One commentator labels this period of Putin's life as cloaked in a "thick fog of silence." We may have to wait a hundred years for the opening of the Russian records. As the Berlin Wall was torn down, angry German protestors showed up at the Dresden Stasi Headquarters where the Russian KGB was collocated. The mob wanted access to all the huge pile of documents which contained names and deeds of those who had collaborated with the harsh East German regime. Putin (to his credit?) refused to hand over anything and madly began burning everything

Putin's time in the KGB helps explain his worldview and brutal approach to warfare, some ex-spies say.

A former KGB agent told one media source the biggest thing Putin learned from the Soviet spy agency was "how to deceive," No, let us use the "L" word--"HOW TO LIE."

His life is composed of lies, just like the Judo style of fighting. To be in the KGB meant to live a life of deception on almost every level of life. As already mentioned, toward the completion of his Dresden service, which happened together with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Putin legendarily confronted an angry mob demanding access to all secret documents, outside KGB offices. Using his excellent German language skills, he told these interrogators and camouflaged himself by saying, "I am just a translator." Putin lied his way out of trouble which he has done on other occasions.

(Continued on page 23)

(Continued from page 22)

The main lesson for Putin is that nobody from Moscow gave any instructions to guide Putin and the other KGB staff in East Germany, all of whom feared for their lives. He did regret that the USSR had lost its world position and power. Also Putin certainly took from this experience a lesson for how to give orders and make his own plans. And then the main lesson is need for control--Putin control. He certainly made a firm commitment that nothing like this collapse would ever happen in Russia.

A career CIA officer said Putin's ruthless tactics in Ukraine are part of a "KGB/terrorist mindset."

"[Putin] is a creation of the KGB, and the KGB was a terrorist organization," John Sipher, a former CIA officer who had served in Russia, told a media outlet. "It was all about keeping the leadership in power at all costs. It killed (this is not figurative) any domestic opposition to the [Communist] Party and used subversion abroad."

Here is one commentator's summation: "Under Putin's leadership, the Russian military has routinely targeted civilian areas in Ukraine and been widely accused of committing numerous war crimes — including torture, rape, and mass killings. Russian forces have engaged in sabotage and damaged crucial infrastructure as part of an effort to make life miserable for Ukrainians, break their resolve, and squeeze Kyiv into capitulating to Putin's demands. From Chechnya to Syria and now Ukraine, the Russian leader has shown a willingness to devastate cities and kill scores of civilians with indiscriminate strikes."

Sipher shared this insight: "The Russian services have long spent far more of their time on things like disinformation, sabotage, deception, agitation, and assassination … What we have seen from Putin over the past 20 years are these same asymmetric attacks. Like a terrorist group that can't take on enemies directly, he looks for weaknesses to exploit, and soft targets to attack."

This seems incredible to us, but KGB recruits often have a deep sense of patriotism. Jack Barsky, an ex-KGB spy, says "Vladimir Putin thinks of himself as a super patriot of Russia."

(Continued on page 24)

(Continued from page 23)

"I was driven by high motives. I thought I would be able to use my skills to the best for society," Putin once said of his decision to join the KGB.

Putin was a "really good networker," Barsky said, adding, "When the Soviet Union fell apart, he had a great network amongst ex-KGB agents."

Here are more lies used by Putin and his supporters in Ukraine. "The Ukraine war has seen Putin and his propagandists make a series of assertions — ranging from plausible to preposterous — to justify Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine. This includes baselessly claiming that Ukraine is ruled by neo-Nazis, despite the fact Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is Jewish and lost family members during the Holocaust. The Russian government has authored conspiracy theories from when the war began, making groundless claims about staged atrocities [by Ukrainians] and dirty bombs, among other bogus assertions."

Indeed, Putin's career has been typified by spreading disinformation aimed at sowing discord and confusion among Moscow's enemies. Both Crimea and Ukraine were examples of this lying technique. When Russia invaded Ukraine and annexed Crimea in 2014, it initially sent in masked troops in unmarked uniforms. Putin at first denied that the mysterious soldiers — dubbed the "little green men" — were Russian military, claiming they were "local self-defense forces." The Russian leader later admitted that the masked men were Russian troops. Notice how such later truth telling by Putin really is part of the lie and only leads to further deception.

Putin's KGB past plays into his preference for hybrid warfare — blending conventional and unconventional tactics, said Angela Stent, a top Russia expert who served in the Office of Policy Planning at the State Department and later as a national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council. (Her recent book entitled *Putin's World* is a must read for all of us.)

"[D]eception" — taking actions that you can never quite pin on one single actor — is part of his and Russia's playbook, Stent revealed in an interview.

(Continued on page 25)

(Continued from page 24)

Russia is suspected of being behind attacks on the Nord Stream pipelines in late September, 2022, as Moscow vies to weaponize energy supplies and drive-up costs for its Western adversaries. Putin has simultaneously leveled nuclear intimidations, reminding the world he controls thousands of warheads — the largest arsenal on the planet. Though most observers discount such threats as a means of reducing Western support for Ukraine, some Western officials — including CIA Director William Burns — have expressed concern that Putin could employ tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine if he feels pushed into a corner.

Russian forces have suffered staggering losses in Ukraine, with casualties estimated to be as high as 90,000, and Putin has taken a series of escalatory steps in a desperate effort to turn the tide. He declared a partial military mobilization to address Russia's manpower problems, sending poorly trained conscripts to the frontline. (For Putin, such casualties may not cause the same regret that Western Leaders might experience. Like Turkey's Mustafa Kemal Ataturk supposed orders to his soldiers, "I send you forward to die.") The Russian leader also illegally annexed four Ukrainian regions, even though Russian forces do not fully occupy these territories. Ukraine's forces have pushed back the Russians in key areas in the east and south as part of a counteroffensive, which includes sections of the territories Putin now claims as part of Russia.

But Putin is determined to continue the war no matter the costs. Hill, who also served as the top Russia expert on the National Security Council in the Trump administration, recently stated that Putin's KGB experience with deception is central to his refusal to back down in Ukraine despite major losses. "Whenever he has a setback, Putin figures he can get out of it, that he can turn things around. That's partly because of his training as a KGB operative," Hill said, adding, "He says there are always problems in an operation, there are always setbacks. Sometimes they're absolute disasters. The key is adaptation."

"Putin still thinks he's got more game to play," Hill said.

Facing an increasingly grim situation and with winter around the corner, the Russian military in recent weeks has taken to raining down

(Continued on page 26)

(Continued from page 25)

missiles on crucial infrastructure across Ukraine. Kyiv in recent days has faced blackouts and much of the city temporarily lost access to water.

"[Putin] knows he can't win on the battlefield, and he is in a weak position," Sipher said, "He has a number of escalatory actions he can take short of using a nuclear weapon. We can expect more cyber-attacks, threats, support for violent groups in the West, and actions like bombing the underwater pipeline. He is seeking to send a signal to Western leaders to remind them he can cause economic and political pain."

This is all "... to scare and manipulate Western leaders," Sipher said.

In studying Putin's character and use of lies perhaps we should recall one of the most famous students of deception and war: Sun Tzu. He was a Chinese military general, strategist, and philosopher who lived in the Spring and Autumn period of ancient China. Tzu is traditionally credited as the author of *The Art of War*, a widely influential work of military strategy that has impacted both Western and Eastern philosophy over the centuries.

Here is Tzu's most famous quotation on deception:

> *All warfare is based on deception.*
> *Hence, when we are able to attack, we must seem unable;*
> *when using our forces, we must appear inactive;*
> *when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away;*
> *when far away, we must make him believe we are near."*
>
> From **Sun tzu, *The Art of War***

Sun Tzu must also have been a Judo expert.

THIRD MAJOR KEY. In a significant 2005 television broadcast, President Vladimir Putin told his nation that the collapse of the Soviet empire "was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century." He claimed it had fostered divisive separatist movements inside Russia while also declaring it had hurt other countries.

He also asserted in his annual state of the nation address to parliament and the country's top political leaders, the Soviet collapse was a tragedy for Russians.

(Continued on page 27)

(Continued from page 26)

He expressed his sorrow that millions of Russian citizens and countrymen found themselves beyond the fringes of Russian territory.

To boost foreign investor confidence he declared ways must be found to collect taxes that “ensure the rights of state and don’t destroy the economy or drive business into a dead end."

In December 2005, President Vladimir Putin lamented the collapse of the Soviet Union as the demise of what he called "historical Russia" and said the economic crisis that followed was so bad he was forced to moonlight as a taxi driver.

"It was a disintegration of historical Russia under the name of the Soviet Union," Putin said of the 1991 breakup, in comments aired as part of a documentary film called "Russia. New History", the RIA state news agency reported. "We turned into a completely different country. And what had been built up over 1,000 years was largely lost," said Putin, saying 25 million Russian people in newly independent countries suddenly found themselves cut off from Russia, part of what he called "a major humanitarian tragedy".

Putin also described for the first time how he was affected personally by the tough economic times that followed the Soviet collapse, when Russia suffered double-digit inflation. "Sometimes (I) had to moonlight and drive a taxi," the president said.

For us in the West and NATO, the collapse of the USSR was not perceived as anything bad or tragic. Should not all in the Soviet Union rejoice that they were no longer prisoners? Should they not thank us? We had demolished the Iron Curtain and had rescued them as well all the countries of Eastern Europe. Stalin and all the Communist thugs had been vanquished.

But the truth was far more complex. There were those who saw the USSR as beneficial for many. Work was not the slavery it had been thirty or forty years before. We would visit the stores and even the big Gum in Moscow and wonder about people's work ethic. So many just seem to lounge about. If shelves were not that filled, that only seemed to mean less

(Continued on page 28)

(Continued from page 27)

work to have to refill them. Farms were mechanized. Trains and busses raced long the roads and streets.

Then there were the Soviet accomplishments. First the USSR was the largest country geographically in the world. Its military was big and powerful with modern weapons, and the country was secure. Then there were the scientific achievements including in space when they seemed ahead of the USA. There were the sports teams and Olympic triumphs, the dancers on ice, the teenage gymnasts who outclassed whatever the West had, the weightlifters and other achievements. Russia including all the republics and Eastern Europe were very populous and life seemed to be improving. There was music and poetry, book readings, and some freedoms in media writing, There was the Orthodox church and all the architectural wonders of the buildings. Yes, if the USSR was not the Number One country in the world, it certainly was Number Two. We in NATO and the west did worry about a war with Warsaw hordes pouring through the Fulda Gap and then racing for the channel.

All this was gone as the Soviet Union crumbled and three old men sitting in a forest wiped all out in a few hand-scrawled pages. None of the Soviet Muslim republics were asked about any of this and many had not wanted "independence" as offered by Gorbachev or American election reforms and capitalist business models. Does Putin want to restore all of the old USSR? He may regret the passing of the old, but there is no way economically, political, or economically to knit it all back together.

But what does Putin want? We will explore that in the **FIFTH MAJOR KEY** in our next issue of *Perspectives*.

FOURTH MAJOR KEY Cultivating the Russian Idea and new ideals.

(See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

FIFTH MAJOR KEY Putin's successes and failures in Rebuilding Russia as a world power. (See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

SIXTH MAJOR KEY Russian Return in Triumph to Syria and the Middle East

(See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

(Continued on page 29)

(Continued from page 28)

SEVENTH MAJOR KEY Abkhazia and Southern Ossetia Strategy to Defeat NATO.

Where is Abkhazia? Where is Southern Ossetia? Why bring up these two tiny portions of the small country of Georgia? Because these illustrate Putin's strategic model which he has employed with much success in many situations. He mines pieces of history and geography, much like the Judo expert determines the most vulnerable body parts of his opponent. Georgia had been one of the Soviet Socialist Republics in the USSR. When the USSR collapsed, Georgian leaders were looking for some kind of security or safe haven for their small nation. Both regions of Abkhazia and the Southern Ossetia had been parts of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. But they opposed Georgia domination going back to deep historical roots. At the same time, Georgia resented Russia domination.

Ossetians are divided between Christians and a Muslim minority. Besides history and geography, Religion becomes another divisive leverage point for Putin exploitation. Ethnic Ossetians are divided between the Republic of North Ossetia which falls within part of the Russian Federation and Southern Ossetia bordering (or inside?) Georgia. As the USSR disintegrated, both Abkhazia and Southern Ossetia wanted their own independence. Meanwhile they both were embroiled in a civil war against Georgia with its new post-USSR leaders.

In both civil war conflicts Russia played an equivocal role, alternately supporting different sides (donating to both opposing candidates in an election? At first Georgians had at least nominal if not actual control of the two statelets. But then came the Rose Revolution--the first of the "color" revolutions. This was more than merely an internal and limited contest. The wily Putin quite well assessed what was happening overall in Georgia: an unhappy population, corruption, repression, and a phony election. Here were many weak points to be targeted. The new Georgian leader Saakashvili was tall, handsome, charismatic, very fluent in several language, and educated in both U.S. and Ukraine. His main sin was that he failed to show Putin the respect the latter felt was owed him. It did not help that Saakashvili referred to Putin as "Lilli-Putin" because of their height differences.

(Continued on page 30)

(Continued from page 29)

But it was policy differences that really concerned Putin. The Georgian leader wanted integration with the European Union (EU) and openly championed Georgia joining NATO. Earlier there had even been discussions that Russia might join NATO. But Putin probably saw this as a trap to further reduce Russian power, limit its options, and undermine its world leadership goals.

Now here was Georgia "siding" with the NATO enemy, and right behind were discussions that Ukraine might join NATO. Here is where Putin must have drawn the line and decided, no, we cannot allow that because it would undercut the very security Russia sought. At the same time Putin has ideas of a blossoming "Russian world" called Russy Mir, which voices four goals: protect the Three hundred million Russian speakers globally, to promote Russian language in Society, to promote the Russian language as a second language globally to rival English and Chinese, and to ensure Russian remains a world language. Here is the dream he has boasted about: "As the Common heritage of many peoples, the Russian language will never become the language of hatred or enmity, xenophobia or isolationism."

The Georgian struggle while "frozen" at present is not over. The prevalence of Russian electronic media ensures the Russian version of reality, such as about Ukraine, will continue to flood the air waves and influence elites and populations. Including Georgians. Furthermore, through language, culture, and media Russia will assert its international leadership. These are all weapons Putin can call upon at any time to influence Georgia as well as the two minor statelets of Southern Ossetia and Abkhazia.

The Putin era of his two presidential terms (2000 to 2004 and 2004 to 2008) had ended with a Putin deeply suspicious of U.S. as well as NATO, and with Putin fears that the U.S. was focused on further reducing Russian power and influence in the world. Russian-Georgian as well as Russian relations with Washington, all had plummeted to even lower levels while the U.S. cut off personal contacts between Russian and U.S. personnel at many points. In 2017, Russian further bit into the Georgian union by locating Russian military bases in the two statelets, providing economic support, and playing an active (subversive?) role in their internal affairs. In 2017,

(Continued on page 31)

(Continued from page 30)

perhaps in response to VP Pence's visit to Georgia and his pledging to help Georgia regain control of Abkhazia, Putin recognized the statehood of both small "countries" which would make it very difficult for Georgia to function as an integral nation within NATO. The Post-Soviet dependence syndrome and Western forces seem to acknowledge Russia's position. All of which will make NATO membership and practical support for Georgia's defense under Article Five virtually impossible.

Lesson for us? Putin and Russia have played a very careful (even deceptive?) strategy in Georgia which they have repeated in other locations to their advantage.

EIGHTH MAJOR KEY: Build-up of Russian military might include:

Weaponry

Troop Training

Morale

Logistics

Here are four elements of military might that can aid analysis.

Weaponry should have been an easy major key for Putin and Russia. For decades the USSR had been developing its weaponry to the point where it should have been one of the top military establishments in the world including developing and manufacturing weapons. One mark of this was Russian sales of its weapons to others, including China. Consider the following two areas of weaponry: nuclear and artillery.

Actually the USSR had about equal numbers of nukes as U.S., both of whom had more than the total of other countries put together. Even more of a lead, Russia had a substantial number of tactical nuclear bombs. These could be used on smaller targets like large troop concentrations or major weapon sites.

There were several problems. Accurate delivery was essential. How would the tactical nukes work and be effective on a wide-open battlefield? And even more, what would be the reaction of NATO or the U.S. to any use of these? Such use of even tactical ones or smaller nukes would generate anti-Russian attitudes and reactions world-wide. Russia might threaten to

(Continued on page 32)

(Continued from page 31)

go nuclear, but most leaders probably would not be fooled by such threats and thus Russia's nuclear capabilities would be more bark than bite.

Ukraine itself had had a strong nuclear capability but they were pressured into surrendering all of this in 1994. In return for this magnanimous gesture, they gained treaty assurances from the USA and Russia to protect Ukraine against outside attacks.

But these turned out to be useless when Russia itself waged war against Ukraine. The latter could not be blamed if it regretted losing its own nuclear deterrent. Furthermore, the lesson was not lost on such countries as Iran or others who wanted their own nuclear deterrence.

In conclusion, overall, Russia gained very little from its nuclear weapon.

Let us look at artillery which is considered the "King of the Battlefield" because it accounts for some 75% of the casualties and deaths that any opponent endures from enemy weaponry. So the Russians may have felt that its long-developed artillery forces and doctrine should lead to controlling the battlefield, including Ukrainian rear areas as well as road systems.

But then Ukraine received all sorts of up-to-date artillery systems from NATO, U.S., and other sources, which may have been better than the Russian ones. The Ukrainians also knew how to employ these systems, locate "fat" Russian targets, and hit what they aimed at. In other words comparing artillery proficiencies, the Ukraine had the advantage.

Secondly, what about training and manpower? Of course, Russia has more soldiers than Ukraine, but it may not have committed a sufficient force, considering the vast Ukrainian territory as well as the many built up towns and cities. The Russians also may not have realized how much training the Ukrainians had received from the Canadians and other outsiders. It is very apparent that the announced mobilization of up to 300,000 Russians may have been a gamble since they may have received very little training before they were sent into battle. Here on-the-job training may be deadly. Some were not issued military weapons and were told to pick these up from Russian casualties. Furthermore, the long-standing Russian system of backing up their front-line troops was to employ a secondary line

(Continued on page 33)

(Continued from page 32)

whose orders were to shoot any friendly soldiers fleeing the battle front. (Does this enhance or reduce the fighting spirit?)

The stories of low Russian troop morale are numerous. Commanders reportedly deserted their own men. Mid-level officers and sergeants (the guts of any unit) did not seem to function that well. They often waited for orders and guidance, as opposed to innovating on their own. Also troops had inadequate military communication devices except for older radios. Often, they had to improvise, including using civilian cell phones, social media, and burdensome land lines.

All of this affected confidence on the battlefront as well as the morale of home area Russians.

Logistics is our fourth military element. "'An army travels on its stomach' is an old war saying." (Is this from Napoleon?) This also applies to ammunition, weapon recovery and repairs, and medical personnel and supplies to care for the wounded. Unfortunately, the Russians were at a disadvantage. Supply lines and movement was very slow, and they fell far behind their supported units. Many abandoned supplies and many reparable tanks fell into Ukrainian hands and were quickly turned against the Russians by the Ukrainians.

The military might of Russian weaponry, troops, morale (after all it was Russian armies which had beaten the Germans in World War II … a fact Russians complain that the West never has shown full appreciation for) and logistics should all have performed much better thus easing Putin's activities and requirements. "Underperforming" would not be a one-sided nor insulting judgment of the attainments of Russian military might in Ukraine.

NINTH MAJOR KEY Donbas and Eastern Ukraine including Luhansk and Donetsk. (See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

TENTH MAJOR KEY Far East: China.

(See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

ELEVENTH MAJOR KEY Far East: Japan.

(See next issue of *Perspectives*.)

(Continued on page 34)

(Continued from page 33)

TWELFTH MAJOR KEY Putin builds NATO Rival: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Future.

What should we expect next from Putin and his co-conspirators?

Answer: The slogan is "Expect the unexpected."

Putin's KGB past plays into his preference for hybrid warfare — blending conventional and unconventional tactics, said Angela Stent as we have already quoted, a top Russia expert who served in the Office of Policy Planning at the State Department and later as a national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia at the National Intelligence Council.

First, Putin has lied and lied again. His 1994 agreement to give assurances of protection to Ukraine if the latter gave up its nuclear capabilities was only one of his beginning lies in a long string of falsehoods. These included Georgia, Ukraine, the Crimea, 2014 Donbas--and the list of large and small lies multiplies.

Second, we can expect more cyber-attacks aimed at transportation systems, airliners, financial systems, electrical facilities and grid, and other internet linked structures.

Third, we can anticipate threats of all kinds including against factories, schools, shopping malls, and apartment complexes. The goal here is to terrorize people, especially the very vulnerable, which means that the children's playgrounds, elderly living complexes, and hospitals are not off limits. In fact we expect a double peril here. Putin will deny that any such places are targeted, but then "accidents will happen" and the vulnerable will suffer and die from missiles and drones. Also there are more infrastructure targets such as sewers, train tracks, and airports that are vulnerable.

Fourth, we can expect both small scale and large-scale psychological operations. There is a whole Putin strategy using this capability for negotiations. He pretends he may be interested in negotiations. This merely weakens the fighting will of his enemy Ukraine as well as allies such as France. The truth is that Putin's strategy may be to obtain a temporary cease fire and negotiations while gearing up for the next big battles probably planned for Spring.

(Continued on page 35)

(Continued from page 34)

Fifth, there are violent groups in the West who may be instigated by Putin to assault a wide variety of vulnerable targets, including at night, and attacking pipelines and heating systems during below zero weather.

All of this is also meant to remind Westerners how he can cause economic and political pain.

On the other hand, we cannot isolate Russia. There must be realistic and flexible engagement. Trying to completely cut off Russia will not work to gain anything. Russia can play the same game and may be able to hold out longer. So we should engage on issues of mutual interest. Be prepared to do this if Russia shows interest. But do not give up if no interest is displayed. Remember not all Russians are lovers of Putin. Be prepared for surprises and like in judo be able to adjust quickly.

A final crucial major key for Putin's plans. He views NATO, the West, and especially the U.S. as permanent and irreconcilable enemies. He will not accept a unipolar world in which either U.S. or NATO dominate. He demands a multipolar world arrangement in which others as well as Russia are treated as equals to the U.S. and our allies. One special Putin scheme is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Putin had tried to organize similar multipolar organizations, but these had failed to mature and had limited success. For this newer SCO, goals earlier stated by Yeltsin have become standard for Putin and Russia: equal partnership, strategic cooperation, a multipolar world in which Russia plays a key and recognized role, and a need to develop a "new and comprehensive form of security." (Are these also Macron's proposed security goals for Russia and the West?).

Russia and China are the key SCO members but also included are five central Asian states Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. In 2017 India and Pakistan were added as members. Others, such as Mongolia and Afghanistan may also join. Just the present eight members account for 80 percent of the Eurasian landmass, 43 percent of the world's population, a quarter of world's GDP, and perhaps 75% of the world's armed forces. It is the largest regional organization in the world, dwarfing NATO. Its provisions (please note) explicitly exclude the United States from joining.

(Continued on page 36)

(Continued from page 35)

Has Putin succeeded in finding a balance to U.S. and NATO? Consider the following military activities.

Recently Russia has scheduled its VOSTOK (East) Exercise.

Why Russia's Vostok-2022 Military Exercise is so controversial? Here is the answer.

VOSTOK called for a joint "coalition force" that will conduct large-scale drills in the far-eastern Primorskiy Krai region as part of Russia's ongoing Vostok-2022 exercises. Here are the details.

> "During the main phase Russian troops in cooperation with military contingents from Azerbaijan, Algeria, Armenia, Belarus, India, Kyrgyzstan, China, Mongolia and Tajikistan, acting as a coalition group, will conduct a joint strategic operation in the Eastern Theater of Operations," Russia's Defense Ministry had announced. The Russian Defense Ministry said the exercise, which is being held on the Sergeyevsky training ground in the Primorye region of Russia's Far East, will involve over 2,000 foreign troops. Officials say the drills will be carried out in three stages. First, the "counterattack group" will engage the notional enemy at intermediate range. The coalition units will then execute a first strike against the enemy's command infrastructure and missile defenses, followed by a full-scale ground offensive with air and artillery support.
>
> "China's participation in the Vostok-2022 drills will reportedly encompass 2,000 military personnel, twenty-one fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft, and 300 vehicles and other pieces of military equipment. Chinese state news outlet CGTN shared a brief clip of Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) units, including the Type 055 missile destroyer *Nanchang,* Type 054A missile frigate *Yancheng*, and supply ship *Dongpinghu,* participating in an earlier stage of the drills that involved live-fire exercises in the Sea of Japan. The Russian Defense Ministry said over 50,000 troops and 5,000 pieces of military equipment, including 140 aircraft and sixty warships, will participate in the 2022 edition of the Vostok exercises. The

(Continued on page 37)

(Continued from page 36)

British Ministry of Defense questioned Moscow's estimates last week, claiming that the number of actively participating personnel will likely be no more than 15,000.

"Japanese chief cabinet secretary Hirokazu Matsuno criticized Russia for holding parts of the Vostok-2022 drills on two of the four disputed Kuril chain islands that Japan claims as its territory. Matsuno said six Russian and Chinese warships were spotted firing machine guns into the Sea of Japan less than 120 miles from northern Japan's Cape Kamui. (To understand the import of this, see the Eleventh Major Key above.)

"[To summarize this] [V]ostok—Russian for "east"—is the latest in a rotating cycle of quadrennial Russian drills, preceded by Zapad ("west") 2021, Kavkaz ("Caucasus") 2020, and Tsentr ("center") 2019. The Vostok-2022 drills are being held from September 1 to September 7 across nine training grounds of Russia's Eastern Military district, as well as designated maritime and coastal areas in the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk."

I have quoted extensively on materials from the Vostok Exercise (which overall may involve 300,0000 personnel) because of the military forces involved as well as the Vostok location encompassing not only Russia but also China and Japan. The SCO may be Putin's main dream and it may achieve Russia's full return to the world stage challenging Western world leadership.

Again the motto for all these Major Keys and Putin's use of them is "Expect the unexpected. Prepare for this. Fight always."

(See continuation of this article in next issue of *Perspectives*.)

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How Zelenskyy Seized Control Over the Narrative in Ukraine

Zelenskyy intuitively grasps the nature of information warfare and focuses on his core strengths: maintaining control of the narrative, defining the stakes, and explaining what this conflict is about.

by James Farwell

Reprinted from The Defense Post, August 11, 2022

Winston Churchill said that a leader who enjoys the gift of oratory "wields a power more durable than that of a great king." Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is proving at least that bon mot from the late British icon correct, although examining how Zelenskyy has enabled Ukraine to seize control of the narrative in fighting the Russians goes deeper than that.

He's used his narrative of victimhood externally to marshal support from NATO and other nations for weapons and political support. He's used it internally to rally outgunned Ukrainians into a unified national effort and inspired the conviction that Ukraine can, as it must, prevail.

This conflict is about information as much as kinetic warfare. Zelenskyy understands that and is playing the role of president to the hilt. Battles are won in the heart, but warfare is fought by balancing values, historical experience, ideals, and practical reality. Zelenskyy has balanced these adroitly.

He intuitively grasps the nature of information warfare: the use of information and electronic communication technology to conduct warfare, and how to use it.

Strategic Communications

No one, least of all Vladimir Putin, expected such a performance. Educated as a lawyer, Zelenskyy achieved fame as the star of a TV comedy, Servant of the People, in which a schoolteacher who denounces corruption

(Continued on page 39)

(Continued from page 38)

wins the presidency. The show gained high popularity, but no one took Zelenskyy seriously except as a showbiz star.

Fiction became reality. Forming a new political party, Zelenskyy won an upset victory over billionaire oligarch Petro Poroshenko, famous for selling chocolate candy.

Until Putin invaded Ukraine, critics dismissed Zelenskyy as a lightweight, which shows you can't judge a leader's mettle until they confront a life-and-death crisis.

Intuitively, he understood how to use strategic communication tactics to wage information warfare and create strategic effects. Strategic communication is the use of words, actions, images, or symbols to influence opinion to shape behavior to achieve defined effects, or, in military jargon, "end-states." Zelenskyy uses all of them brilliantly.

Aided by his media colleagues, Zelenskyy has demonstrated pluck and both physical and mental courage. Telling the White House he needed "ammunition, not a ride," he remained in the presidential quarters in Kyiv with his family as Russian troops tried to storm the place. His action sent a powerful message of leadership.

Freedom

Zelenskyy forged his narrative on the go. Speaking to his nation every day, his actions boosted morale and created unity with himself as the face of Ukraine, while his on-target rhetoric has championed freedom.

Freedom is the key value. Too often, Western politicians talk about democracy and upholding a rule-based international order. But democracy is a process, not a value.

The US and most NATO nations are not democracies. The U.S. is a democratic republic. Others are forms of parliamentary democracy, while France is a hybrid. Many nations view the U.S. discourse about a rules-based order as a shorthand for the U.S. making the rules and demanding that other nations do what it orders.

Zelenskyy echoes John F. Kennedy and Franklin Roosevelt: His cause is freedom. Freedom from violence, tyranny, genocide, want. He

(Continued on page 40)

(Continued from page 39)

stands for sovereignty, freedom of expression, and an independent Ukrainian cultural identity.

Resilience and Fortitude

As Kyiv survived the first day of the onslaught, dressed in army T-shirts – which became a trademark image and symbol – Zelenskyy appeared with members of his cabinet on the streets to make a simple but powerful declaration: "We're all here. Defending our independence and our country."

He called roll. Ukrainians and the world witnessed in real time the emergence of a strong leader, principled and brave.

He made trips to the front and shared food with the troops, reinforcing the narrative of resilience and fortitude in the face of aggression. Like Churchill, Zelenskyy embodied the spirit of a free nation. He used that to engage with parliaments, the UN, and others globally.

Seizing the moral high ground as a champion for freedom, he pleaded for weapons, a unified anti-Russian front, and like Churchill, made the case for why Ukraine's victory mattered beyond its own borders, to all nations who value freedom.

He lacks JFK's eloquence, manifested in JFK's deeply moving Berlin speech, as powerful today as when first spoken. Yet Kennedy, who communicated to the world a sense of American idealism that only Ronald Reagan has matched – how many U.S. Presidents could fill a square in Berlin with 300,000 cheering citizens – would have been proud.

Kennedy's enjoinder against Russian repression applies as freshly today as in 1963. Zelenskyy has picked up the torch and carries it proudly and shrewdly. He has made the world experience the conflict as Ukrainians have, casting the stakes as nothing less than the survival of national identity and culture.

He communicates, as one writer put it, "integrity and humanity," values that contrast starkly with Putin's club-footed brutality. His notion of Ukrainian identity exposes the shallow quality of Putin's third-rate efforts as a historian.

National Resilience

(Continued on page 41)

(Continued from page 40)

Zelenskyy leaves military decisions to military professionals and focuses on his core strengths: maintaining control of the narrative, defining the stakes, and explaining what this conflict is about.

He has been pithy while summoning the world to higher ideals. Addressing the Grammy awards, he commented that "our musicians wear body armor instead of tuxedos." His language and image effectively evoke themes of protest and national resistance.

It's worth quoting Churchill again, who perhaps best expressed the current Ukrainian spirit of resolution and defiance. Warning the Canadian Parliament that the Nazis have "sown the wind; let them reap the whirl-wind," Churchill reminded his audience of the warning given that "in three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken."

Putin must have believed the same thing about Ukraine. And so it goes. As Churchill sardonically commented: "Some chicken; some neck."

The Ukraine conflict is about control of the narrative as much as armed conflict, and Zelensky's adroit leadership has seized the initiative and given his nation and its citizens hope and inspiration, essential to achieving victory.

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Author of *Persuasion and Power: The Art of Strategic Communication* (Washington: Georgetown U. Press, 2012); *The Pakistan Cauldron: Conspiracy, Assassination & Instability* (Washington: Potomac Books, 2011); *Information Warfare: Forging Communication Strategies for Twenty-First Century Operational Environments* (Quantico: Marine Corps University Press, 2020); *The Corporate Warrior: Successful Strategies from Military Leaders to Win Your Business Battles* (Rothstein Publishing, 2022); and numerous articles and commentaries in *Parameters, Strategic Studies Quarterly, Survival, National Interest,* and *Defense One*, among others.

The views and opinions expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the editorial position of The Defense Post. The Defense Post aims to publish a wide range of high-quality opinion and analysis from a diverse array of people – do you want to send us yours?

To read the entire original article online, go to:
https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/08/11/zelensky-narrative-ukraine/

Cost of Wars and Now Ukraine

by Paul E Vallely
MG, U.S. Army (Retired)



The United States and its Presidents continue to drain our Treasury for unnecessary wars and conflicts. The loss of life and the destruction of property, cities, towns account for a whole separate set of costs.

Nearly 20 years after the United States' invasion of Afghanistan, the cost of its global war on terror stands at $8 trillion and 900,000 deaths, according to report from the Costs of War project at Brown University "The wars (though never declared as wars by our Congress) have been long, complex, horrific and unsuccessful. The research team's $8 trillion estimate accounts for all direct costs of the country's post-9/11 wars, including Department of Defense Overseas Contingency Operations funding; State Department war expenditures and counterterror war-related costs, including war-related increases to the Pentagon's base budget; care for veterans to date and in the future; Department of Homeland Security spending; and interest payments on borrowing for these wars. The total includes funds that the Biden administration requested in May 2021.

The death toll, standing at an estimated 897,000 to 929,000, includes U.S. military members, allied fighters, opposition fighters, civilians, journalists, and humanitarian aid workers who were killed as a direct result of war, whether by bombs, bullets, or fire. It does not, the researchers noted, include the many indirect deaths the war on terror has caused by way of disease, displacement, and loss of access to food or clean drinking water.

"The deaths we tallied are likely a vast undercount of the true toll these wars have taken on human life," said Neta Crawford, a co-founder of the project and a professor of political science at Boston University. "It's critical we properly account for the vast and varied consequences of the many U.S. wars and counterterror operations since 9/11, as we pause and reflect on all of the lives lost." "Twenty years from now, we will still be reck-

(Continued on page 43)

(Continued from page 42)

oning with the high societal costs of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars - long after U.S. forces are gone."

The report comes at the end of a contentious US surrender in Afghanistan, where Taliban insurgents captured every major city and seized governmental control as American military units worked to extract 123,000 troops, diplomats, and allies. Of the $8 trillion, $2.3 trillion is attributed to the Afghanistan/Pakistan war zone, according to the report. We turned approximately $85 billion of military equipment to the Taliban at Bagram Air Base where the Chinese have now moved into and control as part of the silk-belt road initiative.

In an address to the nation on Tuesday, Aug. 31, 2021, President Biden cited Costs of War estimates to convey the financial and human burden of the 20-year war in Afghanistan as he defended his decision to surrender and leave, by the way, many Americans and its supporters on the ground.

"We no longer had a clear purpose in an open-ended mission in Afghanistan," Biden said. "After more than $2 trillion spent in Afghanistan, costs that Brown University researchers estimated would be over $300 million a day for 20 years - yes, the American people should hear this ... what have we lost, therefore, in terms of opportunities? ... I refuse to send America's sons and daughters to fight a war that should have ended long ago."

Even as the U.S. exited Afghanistan, Costs of War estimates show that Americans are far from done paying the bill on the war on terror, which continues across multiple continents. The cumulative cost of military intervention in the Iraq/Syria war zone has risen to $2.1 trillion since 9/11, and about $355 billion more has funded military presence in other countries, including Somalia and a handful of African countries.

And when the wars do end, the costs of war will continue to rise, the report notes: A towering $2.2 trillion of the estimated financial total accounts for future care that has already been set aside for military veterans, the researchers said, and the U.S. and other countries could pay

(Continued on page 44)

(Continued from page 43)

the cost of environmental damage wrought by the wars for generations to come.[1]

Researchers for the project reported direct war costs, which include all Department of Defense Overseas Contingency operations funding and State Department war expenditures, and counter-terror war-related costs such as increases to the Pentagon's base budget, care for veterans to date and in the future, spending by the Department of Homeland Security, and interest payments on borrowing for these wars amounts tp $8 trillion. Of the approximately $8 trillion estimated costs of the wars, $2.3 trillion can be attributed to the war zones in Afghanistan and Pakistan, $2.1 trillion to the war zones in Iraq and Syria, and $355 billion was attributed to other war zones. The total also includes $1.1 trillion of related spending by Homeland Security and an estimated $2.2 trillion earmarked for future veterans' care, including future medical care and disability payments, over the next decades.

The estimates do not include money spent on humanitarian assistance and aid for economic development in Afghanistan and Iraq, future costs of interest payments on borrowed money to pay for wars after Fiscal Year 2023, or state and local spending for counter-terrorism and services for post-Sept. 11 veterans. The cost to the U.S. would have been much higher if not for the help and spending of allies, including Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Germany, and France.

The lack of detailed expenses from the federal government was the impetus for the Costs of War project, Crawford wrote. The Globe reported: In March, the Defense Department released its most recent estimate that emergency and overseas contingency operations spending for wars in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan cost a total of $1.6 trillion, or $8,094 per taxpayer through the Fiscal Year 2020. But those amounts entirely exclude non-defense department classified programs.

"Democracy can sometimes take a beating during war," the report states. "Operations may be shrouded in well-intentioned but perhaps unnecessary secrecy, and mistakes are generally swept under the rug or

(Continued on page 45)

(Continued from page 44)

downplayed." "The Costs of War Project hopes that this accounting, and our other work, promotes transparency and facilitates informed conversations about current and future wars," the report states.

The human costs of war are huge and crippling. The financial costs can be, too. According to a new estimate by the Costs of War co-director Neta Crawford, U.S. taxpayers have paid nearly $2 trillion in war-related costs on the Iraq war alone. Newsweek estimated that the total for the Iraq War comes out to an average of $8,000 per taxpayer. The figure far exceeds the Pentagon's estimate that Americans paid an average of $3,907 each for Iraq and Syria to date. And in March 2019, the Department of Defense estimated that the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria combined have cost each US taxpayer around $7,623 on average.

Breaking down the financial costs of the Iraq War

The Pentagon had been allotted approximately $838 billion in "emergency" and "overseas contingency operations" for military operations in Iraq from the fiscal year 2003 to 2019, including operations fighting ISIS in Iraq and Syria. However, Savell says the actual costs of the war often exceed that of the Congress-approved budgets.

"When you're accounting for the cost of war, you cannot only account what the DOD has spent on overseas contingency funds," Savell told Insider. "You have to look at the other sets of costs including interest on borrowed funds, increased war-related spending, higher pay to retain soldiers, medical and disability care on post-9-11 and war veterans, and more.



US troops in Iraq.
Photo by Tech. Sgt. Jeremy T. Lock/US Air Force

(Continued on page 46)

(Continued from page 45)

According to their estimates, the cost of the Iraq War to date would be $1,922 billion in current dollars - this figure includes funding appropriated by the Pentagon explicitly for the war, spending on the country by the State Department, the care of Iraq War veterans and interests on debt incurred for the 16 years of the US military's involvement in the country. Many pockets were lined with dollars and unaccountable (not traceable). Crawford says that war-related spending in Iraq has blown past its budget in the 16 years military forces have been in the country, estimating a $382 billion surplus in Iraq alone.

The increases to the Congressionally approved budgets were used to heighten security at bases, for enlistment and reenlistment bonuses, to increase pay to retain personnel, and for the healthcare costs of service members.



A US soldier in Iraq. Photo by Getty

Aside from the Defense Department costs, the State Department added approximately $59 billion to the total costs of the Iraq War for USAID on Iraq and Syria. Meanwhile, $199 billion has been spent on Iraq war veterans receiving medical care, disability, and other compensation.

The US has gone deep into debt to pay for the war. That means it has interest payments. Just print more money!

As expected, that taxpayer dollars are going towards war-related expenses including operations, equipment, and personnel. But a surprising amount of the costs are to pay off the interest on the debt the US has accrued since going to war. "People also need to know that these wars have

(Continued on page 47)

(Continued from page 46)

been put on a credit card, so we will be paying trillions on war borrowing in interest alone over the next several decades," Avell told Insider. Since the U.S. launched its "Global War on Terror" in Iraq and Afghanistan - and later Yemen, Pakistan, and other areas - the US government has completely financed its war efforts borrowing funds. A **Cost of War Projects** report estimated the U.S. government debts from all post-9/11 war efforts "resulted in cumulative interest payments of $925 billion" on a $2 trillion debt. The financing method departs from previous international conflicts, where the federal government either raised taxes or issued war bonds to finance war-related expenses. According to Boston University political scientist Rosella Cappella-Zielinski, tax payments accounted for 30% of the cost of World War I and almost 50% of the cost of World War II.[2]



A US soldier stands while bulldozers clear rubble and debris at Ain al-Asad air base in An bar, Iraq, Monday, Jan. 13, 2020.. AP Photo/Ali Abdul Hassan

Borrowing from both domestic and foreign sources, Crawford estimates the U.S. has incurred $444 billion in interest on borrowing to pay for Pentagon and State Department spending in Iraq alone. While the money spent on the Iraq War may seem staggering, the Costs of War estimates the U.S. has spent over $6.4 trillion total on all of its "War on Terror" efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the related violence in Pakistan and Syria. Defense Department spokesperson Christopher Sherwood told Insider that the Defense Department dedicates $1.575 trillion for war-related costs, with

(Continued on page 48)

(Continued from page 47)

an average of spending $4.2 billion per month on all operations for the fiscal year 2019. Sherwood said that the department's costs go towards war-related operational costs, such as trainings and communications, support for deployed troops, including food and medical services, and transportation of personnel and equipment.

The human costs of the Iraq War are even harder to trace. The U.S. invaded Iraq in March, 2003 on the belief that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction and that Iraq's government had connections to various terrorist groups, including al-Qaeda. Although the invasion initially had overwhelming support from the American public and the approval of Congress, it is now considered one of the greatest foreign policy blunders in US history. 189,000 soldiers were killed in direct war deaths and 32,223 injured, Cost of War estimated. Meanwhile, the deaths of hundreds of thousands of service members due to war-related hardships remain difficult to track.



U.S. Navy Hospital Corpsman HM1 Richard Barnett, assigned to the 1st Marine Division, holds an Iraqi child in central Iraq on March 29, 2003. Photo by REUTERS/Damir Sagolj

The Costs of War Project believes calculating the total costs of war - economic, political, and human - is important to ensure that Americans can make educated choices about war-related policies. "War is expensive - in terms of lives lost, physical damage to people and property, mental trauma to soldiers and war-zone inhabitants, and in terms of money," Cost of War

(Continued on page 49)

(Continued from page 48)

researcher Heidi Peltier wrote. In 2016 and leading up to 2020, President Trump campaigned on a promise of pulling American troops out and ending "these ridiculous wars" in the Middle East.

The Pentagon originally requested less than $10 billion of that amount for **Operation Inherent Resolve in Iraq and Syria** - however, the budget may be blown after more troops were sent into a war zone that was meant to be winding down. The Pentagon had been allotted approximately $838 billion in "emergency" and "overseas contingency operations" for military operations in Iraq from the fiscal year 2003 to 2019, including operations fighting ISIS in Iraq and Syria. However, Savell says the actual costs of the war often exceed that of the Congress-approved budgets.

The U.S. has gone deep into debt to pay for the war. That means it has more interest payments.

As expected, that taxpayer dollars are going towards war-related expenses including operations, equipment, and personnel. But a surprising amount of the costs are to pay off the interest on the debt the US has accrued since going to war. "People also need to know that these wars have been put on a credit card, so we will be paying trillions on war borrowing in interest alone over the next several decades," Avell told Insider. Since the US launched its "Global War on Terror" in Iraq and Afghanistan - and later Yemen, Pakistan, and other areas - the US government has completely financed its war efforts borrowing funds. A Cost of War Projects report estimated the US government debts from all post-9/11 war efforts "resulted in cumulative interest payments of $925 billion" on a $2 trillion debt. The financing method departs from previous international conflicts, where the federal government either raised taxes or issued war bonds to finance war-related expenses. According to Boston University political scientist Rosella Cappella-Zielinski, tax payments accounted for 30% of the cost of World War I and almost 50% of the cost of World War II.[3]

The Biden administration is set to hand over another massive amount of U.S. taxpayer money to Ukraine, as Russia has continued to make military advances following its Feb. 24 invasion. Washington will send Kyiv

(Continued on page 50)

(Continued from page 49)

another $820 million on top of the billions the administration has already sent. As reported by Slay News, *The assistance comprises of $770 million in Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative {USA/) funds plus an authorization of a Presidential Drawdown (PDA) of security assistance valued at up to $50 million. The PDA is the 14th drawdown of arms and equipment from the Pentagon's inventories since August 2021. The United States has committed a total of about $6.92 billion in military aid to Ukraine to fight Russian forces since Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24. Prior to the invasion, the United States had committed some $1.8 billion in weapons and military training to Ukraine since 2014.* The report noted that around $700 million of the $1.8 billion came from the Biden administration.

This latest aid package was noted by President Joe Biden during a news conference in Madrid, Spain 2002, the third and final day of a NATO summit that was focused primarily on the war in Ukraine. "We are going to support Ukraine as long as it takes," Biden said, adding that the United States is giving Ukrainians "the capacity" so that "they can continue to resist the Russian aggression." The Pentagon also issued a more specific announcement on Friday after the transfer was formalized. Capabilities in this package include:

- **Additional ammunition for High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems {HI MARS}.**
- **Under USA/, the DoD will provide Ukraine with critical capabilities to defend against Russian aggression. Included in this package are:**
- **Two National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems (NASAMS).**
- **Up to 150,000 rounds of 155mm artillery ammunition; and**
- **Four additional counter-artillery radars.**

The two National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems (NASAMS) are "a Norwegian-developed anti-aircraft system that is used to protect the airspace around the White House and Capitol in Washington," Slay News added. "The United States continues to collaborate with its Allies and partners to provide Ukraine with capabilities to meet its evolving battlefield

(Continued on page 51)

(Continued from page 50)

requirements. DoD recognizes Norway's cooperation to enable the historic provision by the United States of modern air defense systems that will help Ukraine defend against Russia's brutal air attacks," said Pentagon Press Secretary Todd Breasseale.

"I am especially grateful today to the United States and to Biden personally for the package of support for Ukraine announced today, which includes very powerful NASAMS-an anti-aircraft missile system that will significantly strengthen our air defense," Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy noted in a statement following Biden's announcement. "We have worked hard for these supplies," he added. Slay News adds:

The counter artillery radars being sent are the Raytheon-Technologies AN/TPQ-37 systems, a senior defense official told media, reported Reuters.

This is the first time these systems are being sent to Ukraine which have about triple the effective range of the previously sent AN/TPQ-36 systems.

The radars will require weeks at a minimum for defense companies to build.

Ukrainians are also being trained to use the newly provided systems.

The bulk of the aid will take weeks or even months to reach Ukraine. Administration officials as well as a host of military experts have predicted that the conflict is likely to go on for much longer, years.

"Ukrainians continue to face a brutality highlighted once again this week by an attack that struck a shopping mall filled with civilians. They continue to fight for their country, and the United States continues to stand by them and their just cause. As the United States prepares to commemorate our independence, we remain committed to the independence, security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Ukraine," Secretary of State Antony Blinken said in a statement.

"Our commitment to the Ukrainian people will not waver, and we will continue to stand united with Ukraine," he added.[3]

It is important to us Americans to know the cost of these "unnecessary wars." President Trump had the United States and NATO on

(Continued on page 52)

(Continued from page 51)

the right track and then, Joe Biden completely fell off the track. NATO (somewhat reluctant) and the US keep pushing the war, maybe, to the brink of a nuclear war. You can only "poke" the bear so long!

Published and Distributed by the Stand Up America U.S. Foundation

Contact: suaus1961@gmail.com

Notes:

1. Brown University - Cost of War Project September 1, 2021
2. Insider - Military and Defense 2 6 2020
3. Conservative Brief 78 3 2022

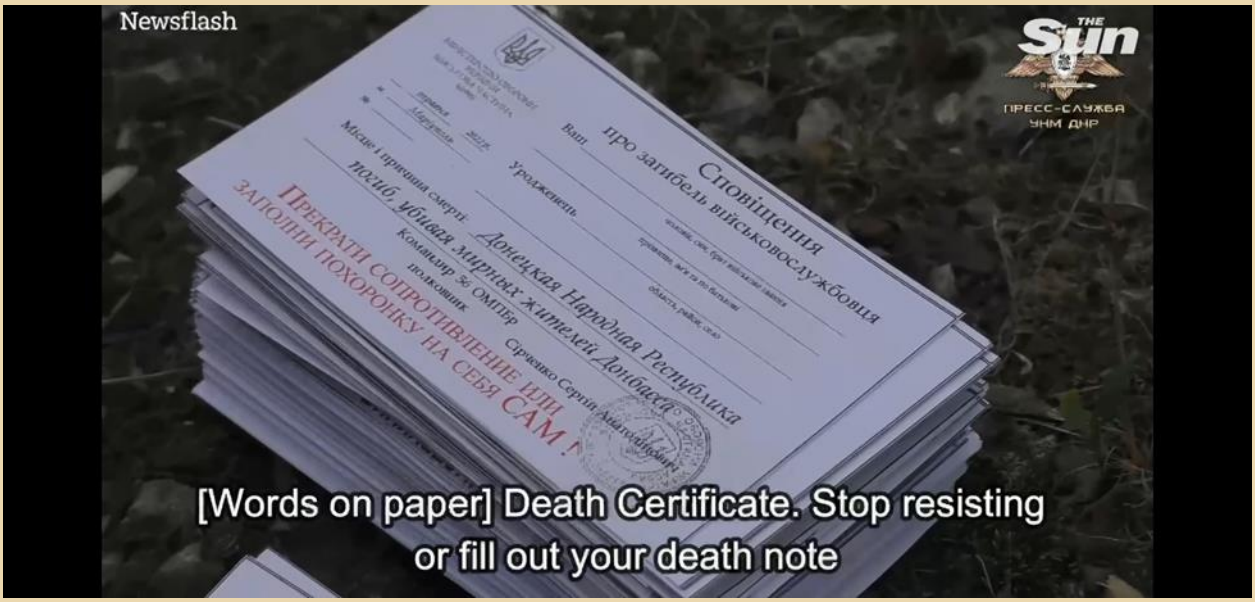
Russian Leaflet Drone

Contributed by Lee Richards of psywar.org






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ПРЕСС-СЛУЖБА УНМ ДНР
Сповіщення
про загибель військовослужбовця
Прекрати сопротивление иди
Заполни похоронку на себя сам
[Words on paper] Death Certificate. Stop resisting
or fill out your death note

BY JOSEPH P. MEISSNER
Formerly with 5th Special Forces Group Airborne in Vietnam

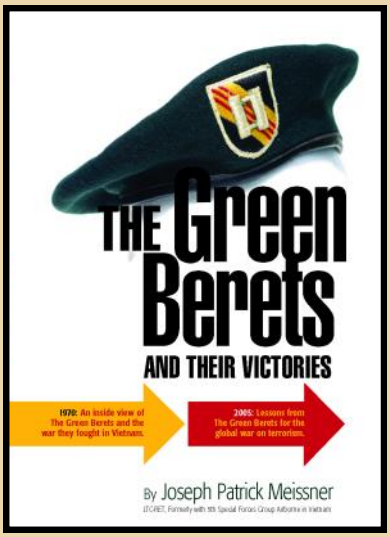
$60

The Green Berets: and Their Victories

1970: An inside view of The Green Berets and the war they fought in Vietnam.
2005: Lessons from The Green Berets for the global war on terrorism.

By Joseph Patrick Meissner, LTC-RET,
Formerly with 5th Special Forces Group Airborne in Vietnam

This book celebrates the achievements in Viet Nam of the US Special Forces soldiers, popularly known as "The Green Berets." These are America's finest warriors, our elite force who fuse military and civil skills in a new form of victorious warfare. This book focuses on Viet Nam during 1968 and 1969, the two most crucial years of that conflict. The Berets learned many lessons in Viet Nam. Not only are these historically interesting, but they are the keys to success in our Global War on Terrorism. The first lesson emphasizes the proper advisory relationships that must exist when our American military train and work with the military of other coalition nations. The second lesson stresses the need for the integration of the military and civilian sides of any war. Little is accomplished if bloody battles only result in producing more enemy. Rather our strategies must combine appropriate military measures with psychological operations and civic actions that win over nonaligned groups, and attract even hostile forces. The third lesson demands mutual and unwavering loyalty between America's forces and those they train and advise. An enemy has no greater weapon than to boast that Americans will eventually grow weary and desert their friends while the enemy will always endure. The fourth lesson calls for our American military to know how to work with others, not merely in spite of differences , but actually appreciating and building upon this diversity of races, religions, cultures, political views, and tribal backgrounds. I am positive that the reader will find many more lessons from the accomplishments of the Green Berets related in this book.



President John F. Kennedy gave the Green Berets their mission when he wrote the following message on April 11, 1962, to the Department of Defense: "The enemy uses economic and political warfare, propaganda and naked military aggression in an endless combination to oppose a free choice of government, and suppress the rights of the individual by terror, by subversion, and by force of arms. To win in this struggle, our officers and men must understand and combine the political, economic, and civil actions with skilled military efforts in the execution of this mission. "The green beret" is again becoming a symbol of excellence, a badge of courage, a mark of distinction in the fight for freedom…"

COL Henry Aaron, 5th Group Commander of Special Forces in Viet Nam in 1968 and 1969, highlighted the faith of the Green Beret: "That beret means something to the man who wears it. I found this out when I had to punish a Special Forces soldier once… A good stiff fine might have been enough of a punishment but I also decided to take away the man's beret for three weeks. The man was a hell of a fine soldier and he wasn't worried about the money. But the beret, that broke him up. Take away a man's beret and send him home in a baseball cap—his wife will laugh at him. It's a potent weapon, that green beret."

To order this book, email Joe Meissner at:
meissnerjoseph@yahoo.com

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL

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U.S. ARMY SPECIAL WARFARE: ITS ORIGIN

Special warfare was a key component of American military operations long before the heroic deeds of the Green Berets in Vietnam entered national legend and lore. Alfred Paddock's revised edition of his classic study – for two decades the definitive word on the subject –
honors the fiftieth anniversary of the organizations responsible for Army special warfare and serves as a timely reminder of the likely role such forces can play in combating threats to American national security.

Based on exhaustive research in formerly classified documents, Paddock examines the U.S. Army's activities in psychological and unconventional warfare during World War II, Korea, and the early Cold War to determine the impetus for, and origins of, the "special warfare" capability established at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He describes the key role played by Major General Robert A. McClure, the "father of Army special warfare," to convince often reluctant military and civilian leaders to rebuild psychological warfare forces dissipated after World War II and to create Special Forces – the Army's first forma organization to conduct guerrilla warfare. Paddock also clearly establishes the influence of concepts pioneered by the Office of Strategic Services on the original design of Special Forces.

U.S. Army Special Warfare is an expanded revision of a work originally published in a limited edition by National Defense University Press and is regarded as a groundbreaking work by both military scholars and professionals. This revised edition draws on the newly available papers of Major General McClure and provides additional information on his role as Eisenhower's chief of psychological warfare in North Africa and Europe, his service as chief of information control in occupied Germany, and his assignment as chief of the New York Field Office of the Army's Civil Affairs Division. Paddock also includes new
sections on American psychological warfare in the Pacific, the Army Rangers, the 1st Special Service Force, and American-led guerrillas in the Philippines.

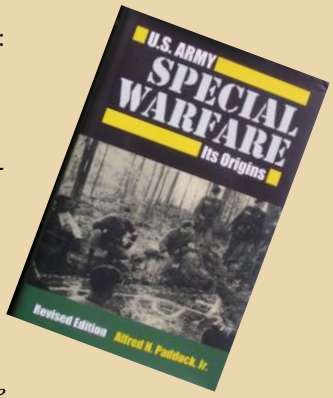
In a reflective new epilogue that draws upon both research and his own experience in Special Forces and psychological
operations, Paddock provides keen insights into the use of special warfare during Vietnam. He describes the key role played by Major General William P. Yarborough as commanding general of the Special Warfare Center from 1961 to 1965, who guided Special Forces and psychological operations in the assumption of a new and important Cold War mission: counterinsurgency.

With 2002 marking the fiftieth anniversary of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, and of Special Forces, Paddock's work provides the historical perspective
necessary for understanding the continuing relevance of special operations as the U.S. Army prepares to face new security demands around the globe.

Alfred H. Paddock, Jr., was on active duty in the U.S. Army, 1957-1988, and served thre combat tours in Laos and Vietnam with Special Forces. He also commanded psychological operations units at the battalion and group level and was the
Director for Psychological Operations, Office of the Secretary of Defense, retiring as a colonel. He holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in history from Duke University.

"Paddock's updating of his formidable history on U.S. Army special warfare comes as a timely blessing for those who will direct these unique forces in the troubling times Americans now face. More than simply an impressive history, it is also an invaluable guide to understanding the mistakes of the past as well as the promise of the future."

COLONEL MIKE HAAS,
author of *In the Devil's Shadow*: UN Special Operations during the Korean War.



"Paddock's classic work performs a great service in joining together tales of the inception of U.S. Special Forces with psychological warfare, civic action, and intelligence, and in highlighting the role of little-known pioneer Robert McClure."
JOHN PRADOS, author of *The Hidden History of the Vietnam War*

To order this book, email Joe Meissner at: meissnerjoseph@yahoo.com

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