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> "This work will split the world into two parts.
> The one that is right, wins."[1]

Introduction

Project Russia is one of the most widely read Russian book series. The five-volume series may remain a bestseller in Russia, but since it has yet to be published in any other language but Russian, or released in any other country but Russia, it remains largely undiscovered in the West. The original, first volume of *Project Russia* was released in the West by Glagoslav Epublications, entitled *Proekt "Rossija" Kniga 1* [Project Russia Book 1], on the Kindle platform in March 2014—nearly a decade after its original publication by EKSMO Press.[2] Since even this work remains in Russian, in Cyrillic characters, this chapter will provide original translations of key passages from *Project Russia Book 1* as an introduction to the current ideas circulating within Putin's Kremlin. For the *Project Russia* book series is perhaps the most candid source of Putin's outlook on Russia's present state of affairs, its relations with the West and most alarmingly, his stated plans for the future—plans that it appears he may now be putting into effect. This chapter will examine these key elements of the Russian national ideology under the Putin Regime: the limitations of democracy; the decadence of the West; the West as the enemy; the coming world collapse; and Russia's future role in world leadership.

Background

A special edition of the first volume of *Project Russia* was originally distributed in early fall 2005 by Государственная фельдъегерская служба Российской Федерации (ГФС России)[3][The State Courier Service of the Russian Federation, referred to in English both as 'DFS' and as 'GFS Russia'] via the special overnight courier mail reserved for the highest level of documents to all the executive offices of the Krem-

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lin including the so-called "Белый дом" [Russia's "White House"], the Russian Federation Council, the Prosecutor General's Office, the FSB (the Russian state security service), and the State Duma; no author was identified.[4] Copies were also delivered to many well-known Russian public figures, including film director Nikita Mikhalkov, winner of the Grand Prix Ex-aequo at Cannes in 1994.[5] Though not yet on sale commercially, it nevertheless became one of the most discussed books in Russian political circles, included in the register of publications recommended for reading by government officials, as well as public and political figures by the Office of the President of Russia.[6] As such, from the very first it was accepted as an official ideology. A censored edition of the work was published a full year later, in 2006, soon followed by three additional volumes, and more recently by an omnibus edition, *Проект Россия: Полное Собрание* [*"Project Russia: The Complete Collection"*] in 2014. These continue to be sold in vast numbers by Russia's largest publisher EKSMO. They have appeared on various bestseller lists in Russia including Moskva Books' Political Booklist as well as the Nonfiction Bestsellers list maintained by probooks.ru.[7] According to Moskva Books, they have now been read by more than three million people.[8]

It was only with the publication of the declassified fourth volume that any author of *Project Russia* was identified: well-connected Russian billionaire Yuri Shalyganov. He was identified in the Russian press as its author in an article by Larisa Kaftan based on her interview with Shalyganov, entitled "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"], published on 1 October 2010 in *Комсомолская Правда* [*Communist Truth*].[9] In the article Shalyganov reminds his audience that "all the possible authors among notable Russian political scientists and politicians have denied authorship." He adds, "Many came to conclude that its source must be the Kremlin."[10] Of course, there is also the fact that this statement appears in an official, Kremlin-generated journal, *Комсомолская Правда,* [*Communist Truth*], which happens to be the official journal of Russia's Communist Youth Organization.[11] Third, according to Shalyganov this opinion was reinforced with the second volume (*Проект Россия. Вторая книга. Выбор пути* [*Project Russia Volume 2: Path Selection*]). Its release was timed to coincide with Putin's bid for a third term, and it includes reflections on the need for "constant power at the top."[12] Throughout the interview Shalyganov uses "we," not "I," to speak as the author and admits, "Only one of the authors has been revealed, and the other—and perhaps major—creators of the 'Project' still prefer to remain anonymous."[13] Thus Shalyganov himself seems to be just one of

several authors. Indeed throughout the above-mentioned second volume of *Project Russia*, the series is discussed in terms of being the product of an inner circle of unnamed, influential elites.[14]

The Limitations of Democracy

The main thrust of *Project Russia* is its general disdain for democracy and its advocacy for a state led by a strong ruler, a new kind of czar. Shalyganov began his interview with, "If you take a poll today and ask what democracy is, many will say it is deception and delusion. Five years ago, we had the illusion that democracy is possible: Achieve it, and all would be well. Now many people understand democracy—it is a utopia, a myth."[15] In *Project Russia*, democracy is dismissed as a form of government that is possible only at the local level, and impossible for states. According to Shalyganov, "In Germany, Russia, and the United States there is no democracy. The myth of democratic elections in these countries is a deliberate lie."[16]

Lecture 12 of *Project Russia* disparages "Новая форма государства**.** – Демократия" ["The New Form of Government: Democracy"].[17] According to *Project Russia*, American democracy is a sham: "Centuries have passed, but the world is not one iota closer to realization of this dream."[18] This point is reiterated throughout the book. For example, *Project Russia* notes:

> When we are asked, and how about the United States, the citadel of democracy? We say: Make no mistake. In all democracies, only the visible part of the [government] changes: the elected officials. The powers that define the overall direction remain unchanged. They maintain continuity and heredity, about the way it was in the USSR. The only difference is that the electoral spectacle in the United States is more carefully thought out.[19]

The tenor of this quote is reflective of the overall text. *Project Russia* insists that it does not really matter which party wins the American presidential elections:

> The candidates from both American parties do not differ from each other. All differences are first, of secondary importance, and second, laughable. Some claim to lower taxes by 0.5%, while the latter promise to lower them by 0.4%. If you call this choice, I am jealous of the power of your imagination.[20]

The U.S. is discussed as a country in which the real power is concentrated in the hands of an enduring elite class—exactly like the USSR. However, in drawing these parallels, the book conveniently fails to mention that the former is a multi-party system (albeit with two controlling parties) and the latter was a dictatorship controlled by a single party. In the USSR until 1987, citizens voted directly for the candidates nominated by the Communist Party in unopposed elections.[21] The phrase "electoral spectacle" cynically implies, of course, that American elections are carefully crafted bread-and-circuses shows delivered to the masses rather than an actual electoral process. Indeed, Russian hackers apparently worked throughout the American 2016 Presidential campaigns to actively interfere with the electoral process and destroy American voter confidence.

On 29 December 2016, the NCCIC and FBI issued a joint report on *Grizzly Steppe*, their moniker for "malicious cyber activity by RIS (Russian civilian and military intelligence Services) [. . .] part of an ongoing campaign of cyber-enabled operations directed at the U.S. government and its citizens." The report claims that two different RIS actors, named "APT 28" and "APT 29," appear to have participated in an "intrusion into a U.S. political party," based upon an IOC (Indicator of Compromise) entitled the Yara Signature.[22] These hackers are known to have been Russian (which is not the same as establishing any actual, covert intrusion by the Russian State itself). To be sure, 19,252 emails and 8,034 attachments were released on WikiLeaks from the personal e-mail accounts of seven key figures of the U.S. Democratic National Committee on 22 July 2016.[23] Indeed, the evening before the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz resigned as DNC chairwoman after WikiLeaks released internal emails showing Democratic Party officials eager for Mrs. Clinton to win the nomination over Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont.[24]

Another suspected Russian initiative was directed against public confidence in the American voting process itself. Voting databases in Illinois and Arizona are known to have been hacked.[26] According to Ken Menzel, General Counsel for the Illinois Board of Elections, hackers accessed as many as 200,000 personal voter records in late June 2016; it was discovered a month later. According to Arizona Secretary of State Director of Communications Matthew Roberts, in late May 2016 the FBI alerted the Arizona Department of Administration that there was a credible cyber threat to their voter registration system. The Arizona Secretary of State's Office learned of possible Russian involvement through internal IT and cyber security staff, who recognized the credentials and username posted

online were from a known Russian hacker. The hack did erode public confidence in the reliability of America's voting machines, despite the fact that they are not connected with the Internet in any state. This is significant since five states—Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New Jersey, and South Carolina—conduct their voting exclusively by machine, leaving no paper record. Other states, including Virginia, Texas, Florida, and Pennsylvania, use paperless machines in many of their counties.[27]

Project Russia insists it is impossible to provide people with sufficient knowledge to select their leaders. Not all are capable of learning, nor is it possible to gain the vast experience needed to understand the issues, for "much of the needed knowledge would constitute a state secret."[28] According to *Project Russia*, this knowledge is not enough, for each voter will select candidates based upon a personal agenda.[29] Thus, "National elections are reduced to outright stupidity because the people, like children, always prefer the candy wrappers, not the contents."[30]

To encourage this approach, Russians also appear to have exploited social divisions within the United States to influence American voters. According to a blog post of 6 September 2017 by Facebook's Chief Information Security Officer Alex Stamos, between June 2015 and May 2017 some 470 "inauthentic" Facebook accounts and pages were used to purchase $100,000 worth of Facebook advertisements. The bogus accounts appear to have been operated out of Russia, and were affiliated with one another. The ads did not specifically discuss the elections. Rather, according to Stamos, the ads focused on "amplifying divisive social and political messages across the ideological spectrum — touching on topics from LGBT matters to race issues to immigration to gun rights."

Throughout *Project Russia*, ordinary people are cast in the role of preschoolers, too selfish and ignorant to be entrusted with political power: "If the children are in charge of the kindergarten, in the end, they will destroy it without ever understanding, because their thoughts are fixed on other things."[31] Democratic leaders fare no better at the hands of *Project Russia*. They too are depicted like selfish children:

> Look at the majority of officials. Do they care about the state of the country and the people? Of course not. The power they understand is not the power of the father, wherein the benefit is to the family above all else, but rather as an opportunity, according to their concept of society, to buy a new "toy."[32]

Project Russia also scorns the tripartite system of government and the balance of powers found in Western democracies. As *Project Russia* mocks:

> Montesquieu split political power into three pieces: the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Now power passes from the hands of a man into the hands of the law. The world is ruled by this new "ruler act." The high-sounding phrase "rule of law" in practice means the power of lawyers.[33]

This is not to say that bad leaders are held responsible for the "failure" of democracy. In *Project Russia*, the democratic *system* itself is held responsible:

> Democratic [leaders] stubbornly insist that all the troubles are due to bad elements in the state mechanism, i.e., due to bad officials and embezzlers. If the bad officials are exchanged for good, and the embezzlers eliminated, the situation will be corrected. People happily pick up on this "valuable advice" and again seek to choose the honest. But the situation does not improve, but rather deteriorates. After each election there is growing corruption and immorality. It's time to hang a price list for a bribe at public institutions. But people have become so totally stupid, they cannot link the relationship between elections and their misfortunes into a single chain.[34]

The Decadence of the West

Project Russia insists that Western thought is evil, leading to all manner of decadence. One particular target of *Project Russia*'s authors are homosexuals. Homosexuality is cast as an evil allowed in democracies, which they will not be able to later eliminate: "Viruses, once released, do not return freely to their cage."[35] To truly understand why Putin is so opposed to homosexuals, however, it is necessary to know a little history. The Russian LGBT community[36] were significant supporters of Perestroika. The Moscow Gay & Lesbian Alliance staged demonstrations for gay rights in both Moscow and Leningrad in summer 1991. They were followed almost immediately by the coup d'état attempt known as the August Putsch (Августовский путч) by hard-line members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The coup attempt was successfully thwarted in Moscow by an effective civil resistance campaign. The failed coup helped to precipitate the total collapse of the Soviet Union a few months later, in December 1991. The activists manning the barricades defending the Russian White House included many gays, and Yeltsin's decrees were printed on the Xerox machines of the

Moscow Gay & Lesbian Alliance.[37] So Russia's gay community can be said to have played a major role in the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Russia was being prevented from obtaining a desired place on the Council of Europe. Moscow first applied in May 1992, but the Council suspended consideration of its application to protest the Kremlin's policies in the Chechnya conflict and its human rights record. Now in 1993, sexual relations between consenting adult males were still punishable under Article 121.1 of the Russian Federation criminal code by imprisonment of up to five years. More to deflect public attention from Chechnya than from any change of heart regarding homosexuality, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a reform law on 29 April 1993 in which Article 121.1 was repealed. It worked; despite lingering protest, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly approved a resolution to accept Russia as its member in January 1994, with 164 votes in favor, 35 against, and 15 abstentions.[38] It was a significant step, since this was the first international body set up by Western nations during the Cold War to accept Russia as a member. The Assembly's resolution committed Russia to implement a host of human rights conventions, and to reform policies that contradicted international legal norms. Thus Russia had to follow through with the decriminalization of homosexuality.[39]

In actuality the Russian State continued to regard homosexuality as the root of all evil, as it were. Establishing civil rights for groups including homosexuals was merely a prerequisite for obtaining Western recognition and especially, Western investment money. In *Project Russia*, it is accordingly claimed that in the West, acceptance of homosexuality is seen as a necessary aspect of democratic freedom. The West is accused of promoting homosexuality as part of the 'attractive image of the consumer lifestyle,' expressly to corrupt and subvert Russian society. Tolerance for individual rights is recast as 'tolerance for any category of sin':

> Once the West intruded into the forming of the consciousness of our people, the first thing created was an attractive image of the consumer lifestyle. . . . Today, under the banner of freedom of nations, the West continues to impose guidelines directing our efforts against us. First to be cultivated is tolerance for any category of sin. . . . disguised as innocent entertainment. . . . For example, pederasty is tacitly recognized as the most accurate measure of the level of democracy. . . . If homosexuals do not increase in number, then their rights are being infringed, i.e., democracy is not enough.[40]

In this next passage is a key to understanding why *Project Russia* concentrates upon attacking homosexuals. Between 2006 and 2011, the Russian LGBT community had staged unsanctioned Gay Pride Parades that led through Moscow's main square. In fact, in 2010, the European Court of Human Rights had fined Russia $40,000 for human right violations and damages for opposing these parades in 2006 through 2008. Nevertheless in February 2011, new Mayor of Moscow Sergei Sobyanin refused the parade's petition, repeating his position two days before the 28 May 2011 gay festival. Moscow Pride's organizer Nikolay Alexeyev held the event as planned, but the parade lasted only a few minutes before an ultra-Orthodox protest group (the Russian Orthodox Church being an arm of the State) attacked the parade. Moscow police arrested over 30 participants, including several gay rights activists.[41]

Now, Кра́сная пло́щадь or Red Square, essentially the courtyard to the Kremlin, is revered by Russian Communists. Besides being the official address of the Soviet government, it became a showcase promoting the Soviet State from 1919 onward. On 7 November 1941, Soviet troops marched through Red Square straight to the front lines.[42] In the Victory Parade celebrating the Soviet defeat of the Nazis in 1945, the banners of Hitler's defeated armies were cast down at the foot of Lenin's Tomb. The Soviet Union held many gigantic annual parades in Red Square for May Day, Victory Day, and the October Revolution, featuring propaganda displays, flags, representatives of various workers' groups, smartly marching troops, and extensive ranks of massed tanks and missiles. The very idea of a gay parade through Red Square is therefore highly offensive to Putin and his circle: "Promoting vice, our enemies do not consider cultural traditions, reducing everyone to their level. **As planned by the organizers of the so-called gay parade on Red Square**, this would destroy the last vestiges of tradition. At this last fall, society buckles and turns into jelly, which you can then simply overthrow."[43]

But *Project Russia* does not simply portray the West as decadent. It goes so far as to equate Western democratic ideals with Nazism. According to *Project Russia*, problems including falling birthrates, declining morality, increasing drug abuse and other vices are endemic in democratic systems of government ('democratic' being defined by *Project Russia* as any political system in which people have the right to vote): "It seems obvious that the cause must be sought, not in the official but in the basic [democratic] structure."[44] In fact, Western thought is equated with the extremes of Nazi ideology repeatedly in *Project Russia*:

> The apotheosis of Western thought is realized in Hitler. It turns out that babies can be tortured because there is no God, and you are superman, for which there are no restrictions or obstacles in the implementation of the will and desires. **Do you want to?** Do it! Realize your will or die. Sounds cool? Cool. Especially dangerous. Some Satanic energy is behind this, attractive in its denial of any limitations, with credibility and legitimacy.[45]

Project Russia's authors are of course implying that in a democracy, free of the "restrictions" and "obstacles" of a Soviet-type system, the citizens will give in to their basest desires. To be sure, much has been written about the higher *official* crime rates of the United States when compared to those of the Soviet Union, but since crime statistics were not reported in Russia until the 1990s, any such comparison is meaningless. Indeed, there was great pressure to deny the existence of crime and deviance in the Soviet Union, where the people collectively owned the means of production. If everyone was equal and had all their needs met by the State, what could possibly be the motive for crime? Moreover, Soviet citizens avoided taking any notice of crime for fear of becoming involved and subsequently coming to the negative attention of the authorities.[46]

Integral to the text of *Project Russia* is a strong sense of nostalgia for the "good old" Soviet Union: Nikita Khrushchev's USSR, prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* modernization programs. As Shalyganov comments during his interview:

> The Soviet people believed in communism. . . . And while they believed, the Soviet Union was strong. . . . In the late Soviet Union, the idea of communism was emasculated . . . Already in the 70s, the Soviet people tried not to build communism, and to have a lot of carpets, crystal, [and] other household valuables [instead]. But the idea of personal good is too small and does not provide motivation for achievement. Construction began to fall apart. . . . Today . . . in the absence of ideas, the trend "get rich by any means" has spawned total corruption.[47]

The West as the Enemy

According to *Project Russia*, the idealized communist state did not fail but was sabotaged. It was corrupted by the West through a sinister propaganda campaign:

> The first step in the destruction of the planet's vast empire was the split of the USSR. Emphasis was no longer placed on industrial and strategic targets, as in traditional warfare [. . .] the world view of the Soviet citizen was replaced by [that of] the consumer. There occurred deep ideological rifts. [. . .] Soon after the Soviet Union collapsed. Our enemies are personally convinced of the effectiveness of these monstrous new offensive technologies. The Velvet Revolution rocked the world louder than the blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. [. . .] "Democratic" elections completed the process. [. . .] As a consequence, the state has changed to a commercial mindset. The destruction of industry, education, science, the military, etc., has occurred—not because Russia is suddenly filled with bad people, but because the commercial approach killed the nonprofit institutions.[48]

US propaganda agencies did indeed direct major secret psychological warfare campaigns against the USSR—President Eisenhower's "Total Cold War"[49]—through such initiatives as Atoms for Peace,[50] People-to-People,[51] the U.S. Information Agency's propaganda pamphlet *Facts about the United States*,[52] and Radio Free Europe.[53] However the many pressing social and economic problems facing the average Soviet citizen—the terrible pollution problems, rising infant mortality,[54] the serious reduction in the quality of healthcare,[55] increasing disintegration of families by divorce, separation, and abandonment,[56] chronic housing shortages,[57] lack of basic consumer goods, lack of access to higher education, lack of opportunities for advancement,[58] low productivity, widespread corruption, and rampant alcoholism[59]—certainly were the decisive factors in the Soviet Union's eventual failure.

In an insidious claim *Project Russia* insinuates that the U.S. is biding its time, encouraging the former Soviet States to become completely independent of Russia, only to swoop in and take them over at a future date. The leaders of regional independence groups, for example Lech Wałęsa of Solidarność [Solidarity Movement],[60] sought to ally with the West and to break from Russia. *Project Russia* explains how this actually amounted to calculated exploitation *by* the West:

> Emphasis is placed on the ambitions of a young person in power.[61] He does not understand the overall situation, and therefore it is easy to instill the idea that to be the president of an independent state is better than being appointed by a ruler.[62] As a result, there is a whole army of freedom fighters. The trick is that they do not even finance [themselves]. They will go wherever a "carrot" has

> been hung. By reaching their goal, they unwittingly contribute to achieving the strategic goals of a stranger. Their hands, arms, and millions of other "fighters" are used blindly. The enemy realizes that its main task is to break Russia. Then, when it has removed this last major obstacle to world domination, the West will dissolve the 'independent and sovereign' states.[63]

The implications are clear: *Project Russia* claims that the West has been at war with Russia for years. All the dysfunction in Russia has ostensibly been carefully engineered by the West, for that is how the so-called war is supposedly being waged. Supposedly, several planned and coordinated mechanisms run in parallel, leading to the destruction of the traditional national culture, religion, education, healthcare system, manufacturing industry, and the military. These coordinated efforts include the degradation of family, morality, and education. If one adds to this sex education, prostitution, drug abuse, and alcoholism then the blame for Russian social problems is more or less complete.[64]

According to *Project Russia*, "Today, in so-called 'peacetime,' we lose more than during the Great Patriotic War. And these losses are growing like an avalanche. But instead of enemy soldiers in uniform and bombs falling from the sky, the population sees neon advertising, exciting TV series and glossy magazines."[65] *Project Russia* even creates spin for the conflicts in Georgia and the Ukraine:

> Where the West was able to break the continuity of government, as in the Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, a period of active decay [set in]. "Rulers" appeared out of "nowhere," and will soon return "nowhere." They have been replaced by others who are the same, and so on, until the West decides that the desired condition is achieved. When the rough work is completed, the West will have new land to include in its sphere of influence. This is not going to happen by force. The free market is so constituted that anyone who enters that web will not be released. It drains his resources, leaving him without a chance. At the present stage of destruction of the system, Georgians, Ukrainians, and others fight "for freedom and independence," spouting beautiful, empty slogans. As a result people are deceived, wrecking their homes with their own hands. The new social order will have no place for either the Ukrainians, or the Georgians, or the Kyrgyz.[66]

Project Russia blames the West for social problems within the client states—again, these problems have supposedly been deliberately engi-

neered in order to destroy them and then redistribute their resources to the "Golden Billion."[67] The expression "Golden Billion" is used elsewhere in *Project Russia* in a passage that further illuminates the authors' thinking:

> If you talk sensibly, humanity has only two ways to live: either as one family, with one means, or with five billion providing the means for one-sixth: the '**golden billion.'** But since so many 'indentured servants' in an age of technological progress are not required, it turns out that these five billion people are just superfluous. [. . . so that] nowadays an active campaign has been launched for the final solution to the problem of "superfluous men" [. . .] "humane extermination."[68]

Later in the passage, the oft-quoted statistic on American consumption—that the U.S. population, about 5% of the world population, consumes 40% of the earth's resources—is used to support its claim that America intends to sequester the world's resources for itself. Pointing out that Earth's resources are not sufficient to provide all six billion inhabitants a Western standard of living, *Project Russia* asks, "What will the [rest] of the world's population do? Live on Mars' resources?"[69]

The Coming World Collapse

As the flippant comment about "living on Mars' resources" illustrates, the assumption of *Project Russia* is that the world's resources are rapidly running out, while consumption of resources continues to climb, which will soon lead to economic collapse. Yuri Shalyganov was asked repeatedly by Larisa Kaftan, during his interview about *Project Russia*, about the "end of the world that world futurists promise." Clearly, this issue is considered to be central to the ideas in *Project Russia*. Here are his thoughts from that interview:

> We believe that a new phase is coming in the development of human society. All will collapse—both Europe and America, and the U.S. dollar. It's a matter of time. By the way, if the dollar collapses, after that crashes the old world order.[70]

Russia is apparently positioning itself for when the 'inevitable' global crisis occurs. One gets the feeling that Putin must be rather looking forward to it as a chance to gain power, by being prepared to take over in the resulting chaos. *Project Russia* includes Putin's own speculations in this regard. For instance, "Russia still has sufficient resources to resolve the

problem. The question is about their correct use. Not all the battles have been lost; the main battles are ahead. What their result may be, depends on how we are going to lead today."[71] As the passage continues, Putin stylizes himself after both Napoleon and Alexander the Great, preparing for battle. *Project Russia* muses, "Our goal is to get an idea of the strategic logic of the enemy [. . .] Think about how we would behave if we wanted to destroy Russia."[72]

Russia is apparently already 'fighting the war.' How? By attempting to sway public opinion in the West. Possible Russian influence was detected related to the Dutch Ukraine–European Union Association Agreement referendum, held in the Netherlands on 6 April 2016 over whether to block the EU's closer relations with Ukraine.[73] Sources said arguments deployed in support of the referendum "closely resembled" known Russian propaganda. Igor Sutyagin, the Russia specialist at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) maintains that Russia's propaganda machine is currently "very active," deploying what security experts call "hybrid warfare" that blends conventional military power with guerrilla tactics and cyber warfare: "The Russian campaign exists in a grey area, operating covertly—and often legally—to avoid political blowback, but with the clear aim of weakening Western will to fight, maturing doubts over NATO, the EU, Trident and economic sanctions," he said.[74]

According to Peter Pomerantsev and Michael Weiss of the Institute of Modern Russia (IMR), "The Kremlin exploits the idea of freedom of information to inject disinformation into society. The effect is not to persuade (as in classic public diplomacy) or earn credibility but to sow confusion via conspiracy theories and proliferate falsehoods."[75] As stated in *Project Russia* itself,

> The broad mass of the befuddled prefer to receive information from clips and slogans, specially created to impose on their consciousness posts that are not true, but false, and to provoke animalistic behavior. . . . To bring these ideas to the masses, do not write books. It is necessary to turn to a more affordable way of feeding them thoughts. The method determines the flow of material related to the information. The masses need TV series, shows, cartoons, but not books. But today, the factory for the production of these products is in the hands of the market, and therefore will be stuffed with anti-human feeling.[76]

An entire "factory" has been established by the Kremlin for this specific purpose. On 2 June 2015, *The Sunday Telegraph* published a highly illuminating interview with a brave Russian journalist who successfully

infiltrated the Kremlin propaganda establishment, the Troll Factory, a firm that pays computer bloggers very well to hourly churn out a minimum of 200 social-media posts, containing carefully-crafted disinformation.[77]

Another major player in this effort is the Kremlin's primary propaganda organ abroad, *Sputnik International*, launched on 10 November 2014 by the Russian government-controlled news agency *Россия Сегодня* [*Russia Today*] as the successor to *Ria Novosti* (ria.ru). Headquartered in Moscow, this slick English-language media service has established modern multimedia centers in dozens of countries. *Sputnik* intends to broadcast in 30 languages, with over 800 hours of radio programming a day, covering over 130 cities and 34 countries. According to its chief Dmitry Kiselyov, *Sputnik* intends to counter the "aggressive propaganda that is now being fed to the world." In its own words, it dedicates itself to "a multipolar world" ('multipolar' being a Russian catchphrase for a world in which Russia is again a major player, and America is diminished in influence).[78] As averred in *Project Russia*:

> Now we understand that there is a real war. We want to kill, but not with the force of a hand holding a sword, not with the force of gunpowder propelling a bullet, not even with atomic energy. We want to kill using social energy. Russia wants to destroy by manipulating the grievances and claims of the finely thinking elite. Sword against sword is effective, and gun against gun. But you cannot fight the weapon of the future with the weapons of the last war. Therefore, only anti-social forces are effective against social forces. On the basis of this logic, our main task is to harness the power of protest.[79]

Shalyganov was asked, during his interview, how likely it was that the world system would crash "in the next five years, or ten at most?" His answer:

> We think [the likelihood of a global crash] is so great that it cannot be ignored. According to optimistic forecasts, the probability of disaster is not less than 20%; according to pessimistic forecasts, more than 90%. Perhaps the tremendous acceleration of events will begin in the next year or two. Yet [. . .] none of the key political figures are aware of it.[80]

Not content with awaiting the alleged coming world collapse, Putin appears to be helping to bring it about by using current events to destabilize the West. For instance, France's Front National extreme right-wing

organization received a 9m euro (£6.9m) loan from a Russian bank in 2014. Other cases of possible Moscow-backed destabilization being monitored by diplomats includes extensive links in Austria, including a visit by Austrian MPs to Crimea to endorse its annexation, as well as cases of Russian spies discovered using Austrian papers.[81] What is more, according to U.S. General Philip Breedlove, NATO's supreme allied commander in Europe, Putin in concert with Syria's leader Bashar al-Assad deliberately weaponized migration in an attempt to overwhelm European structures and break European resolve.[82]

There are a number of Russian NGOs tasked with aiding and abetting anti-democratic groups in the West. One, the Kremlin-funded Антиглобалистское Движение России (Anti-Globalisation Movement of Russia or AGMR),[83] operates expressly to organize, train, and fund hard-left groups in the West. AGMR, which chose Vladimir Putin as its "anti-globalisation protester of the year," organizes publicity campaigns against the West as well as an annual conference in Moscow hosting a variety of Western hard-left groups and secessionists. The most recent conference, on 25 September 2016, included representatives from Irish Republican Sinn Fein, Catalan separatists, and fringe American radical parties.

Other initiatives of Putin intended to destabilize the West revolve around access to energy resources. Russia has long used access to Russian oil and natural gas as a political weapon. In a report for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, former U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania Keith C. Smith had this to say:

> Imagine traveling in Latvia and Estonia during the unpleasant winter of 1992–1993, when Russia had cut off oil exports to those countries. Although Moscow claimed that the disruption was due to a conflict over pricing, the real reason was obviously political; to pressure the Baltic States into rescinding their demand that Russian troops be withdrawn from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. This was my first experience with Moscow using its energy power to influence policies in neighboring countries.[84]

For this reason, securing other suppliers of energy, particularly to the sensitive Baltic States, has become highly important. Hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, is a technique designed to recover gas and oil from shale rock. Drilling companies suggest trillions of cubic feet of shale gas may be recoverable from underneath parts of the U.K., alone, through the fracking process. Unsurprisingly, Russian intelligence agencies appear

to be covertly funding and working with European environmental groups to campaign against fracking and maintain EU dependence on Russian gas. Answering questions after a speech at Chatham House in London, NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said that improving European energy security was of the "utmost importance" and accused Moscow of "blackmail" in its dealings with Europe. He averred:

> I have met allies who can report that Russia, as part of their sophisticated information and disinformation operations, engaged actively with so-called non-governmental organizations – environmental organizations working against shale gas – to maintain European dependence on imported Russian gas.[85]

Russia's Future Role in World Leadership

Already in the book's introduction, the authors prepare their readers for the book's actual 'Project': "There is nobody to bring order to the 'kindergarten' because there is no prince with a team that can make sense of the situation and take appropriate action."[86] Tyranny is discussed as an attractive system that has—regretfully—fallen by the wayside: "The ancient ruler who held human power over society—be it the dictator, tyrant, the emperor, or the senate—was above the law. . . . Now, sovereignty loses its human component."[87] The "prince" under discussion must be Putin himself; this ruler is described in great detail as *Project Russia* continues. *Project Russia* describes society's 'natural' order as a pyramid with the 'Prince-Monk' at the top. Thomas Aquinas is even trotted out, as if in agreement:

> At the top [of the pyramid] were the people of spirit, talent and will. The Prince-Monk was the Supreme Being. Next came the soldiers, willful but with great talent. At the bottom of the pyramid were the merchants, peasants and artisans, braving any risk. . . . The robbers stood apart from society. It is interesting that to some thinkers, particularly Thomas Aquinas, the merchants also ranked as the robbers.[88]

In *Project Russia*, Putin is identified explicitly as Russia's salvation, the link binding modern Russia with the Soviet state. Putin is said to be the one bastion against social collapse: "Today we somehow exist only because the continuity of power is saved. CPSU[89]-Gorbachev-Yeltsin-Putin—all links in a chain, a continuation of Soviet power. The system

decomposes rapidly, but it still exists."[90] Clearly, implies *Project Russia*, Putin must stay in power in Russia because "When continuity disappears, the system will collapse."[91] In fact, in *Project Russia* Putin's continued presidency is described as Russia's "last stronghold":

> If the goal of the enemy is the *constant change of power*, i.e., the destruction of the structure, then our general goal is *the continuity of power*, i.e., the preservation of the structure. By itself, the understanding of this *fact* makes us stronger. At least we know that the fight is not over demagoguery concerning mythical freedoms and rights, nor for a place at the trough. We are fighting for the establishment of a permanent government. This is the last stronghold of Russia.[92]

But Putin is seemingly not content to rule only Russia. The lead-in to the Shalyganov interview (and remember—the article is entitled "What awaits us after the presidential election in 2012?") claims that Russia is awaiting the establishment of a supreme government that will be "beyond the state." Shalyganov is then asked by Kaftan, "Are you for a new monarchy?" Shalyganov replies, "No. Given that a monarchy is one of the best systems of government, in the current situation it is not possible." Asked about the aims of *Project Russia*, Shalyganov explains, "Now, more and more people begin to dream of a strong hand."[93] Later in the interview, Shalyganov reveals what exactly the 'Project' of *Project Russia* might be. Note that again, he speaks as "we"—seemingly, to lend additional authority to the statement, and also underscore that the statement does not originate as his personal idea:

> We have come to the conclusion that the only structure that can replace a state is a supranational social system. To create a **defender**, you need to collect the **Cathedral**, which will answer all the accumulated problems. The force obtained at the time of the **Council**, will be the one supranational system. Everything will fall into place—at the top will be the one who has the most complete understanding of the world.[94]

Taken together, these are clearly ecclesiastical allusions. "Defender" recalls a defender of the faith. "Cathedral," to the Orthodox, designates a religious governing assembly, so that "collecting the cathedral" means convening an assembly of leaders. The "force obtained at the time of the Council" implies that this "supranational system" will be established at a "council," or meeting of these religious leaders. And they will endorse

"the one who has the most complete understanding of the world" as leader. It would seem this pretentious description refers to Putin. Thus, part of the plan must be to include some belief system—*any* will do. As Shalyganov comments during his interview, "It's always easier and better to deal with someone who believes in God than an unbeliever. At the household level, this person is more predictable, adequate, he has a moral code. [. . .] The ideology of the Soviet Union did not include God, but the people were better and the system, more robust."[95] Notice the sudden shift from a belief in God to a belief in Soviet ideology; they are treated as equivalent. Religion is seen merely as a highly useful tool for social control. As *Project Russia* laments, "The perplexing question for princes is how to create a hand-guided, controllable religion."[96]

Do not be deceived into dismissing *Project Russia* as harmless agit-prop. In the Preface to Volume 1, the authors state that, "The aim of this work is to find people who will understand our message, then understand how it is implemented and will act according to the knowledge they have received. Whether with us, or independently, that is a separate question."[97] Do not be deceived into thinking that the plan is to be implemented only within Russia. Later in the Preface, an invitation is made to readers: "If you are ready to act on a global scale, and you do not mind a similar scale, let us unite. Because what we have is greater, and what they have less. In this is the key to success."[98] The invitation is repeated in the subsequent volumes. Most importantly, do not be deceived into thinking that these actions are to be limited to merely influencing public opinion. Yuri Shalyganov concludes his interview for *Комсомолская Правда* [*Communist Truth*] with this proposal:

> What to do until the end of the global system, while nothing is clear and we only wobble? Why not climb? . . . We propose to people of action to play by the rules of the real system. . . . Get a job in government. Officials are elected at every level, from the rural to the federal. . . . We, as a phenomenon, known today under the name "Project Russia" are not elected, and will not be elected anywhere. But we believe our supporters should use the system, and not [just] for their [daily bread]. Our interest: caring and daring, to become stronger due to the system. Very soon we will bring to the world what it has lacked for the last hundred years—a great idea. What, will be fully disclosed in the new project. For all questions we are ready to give advice, and in some cases, to unite and coordinate efforts.[99]

These words by Shalyganov reveal the lengths to which the "Great Idea" is intended to reach. The article even ends with contact information for readers who wish for help—including material assistance—and advice in achieving these aims.

Conclusion

As revealed in *Project Russia* and detailed in this essay, the official Russian doctrine is that democracy does not work; all democracies are decadent; Soviet Russia was superior; its collapse was the fault of Western interference; and the Putin Regime is its successor. The West is the enemy, and we are at war. The West will soon collapse, upon which Putin the 'Prince-Monk' will establish a worldwide, totalitarian, 'supranational' state, with a state religion to provide him with legitimacy and social control. Putin seems serious about pursuing the project outlined in *Project Russia*. Indeed, there are numerous indications that it is already being pursued. Familiarity with the outline of this plan as contained in the *Project Russia* book series has therefore become critically important.

NOTES

1. Yuri Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга* (Moscow: EKSMO Press, 2006), 3. This and all subsequent translations are those of the author of this essay. Endnotes will supply the original text. "Это произведение расколет мир на две части. Победит та, что будет правой."

2. Yuri Shalyganov, et al., *Proekt "Rossija" Kniga 1,* (Glagoslav Epublications: Kindle AZW file, March 26, 2014), Accessed October 19, 2014.

3. On this service, see the GFS Website: http://www.gfs.ru/.

4. Larisa Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ("What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"], *Комсомолская Правда* (*Communist Truth*). October 1, 2010, Accessed November 10, 2014, http://www.kp.ru/daily/24567/740255/.

5. Р. Ключник, "Современная дурилка под названием – 'Проект Россия.'" Soprotivlenie.su. Retrieved February 11, 2014.

6. See the Лабиринт bookseller's book description for *Проект Россия*. Web. Retrieved July 12, 2017. http://www.labirint.ru/books/141082/.

7. In fact, according to MoscowBooks.ru, the first edition of *Проект Россия. Третья книга. Третье тысячелетие* (*Project Russia Volume 3: The Third Millennium*) ran to a million copies. Follow the web link: http://moscowbooks.ru/book.asp?id=456198.

8. This link to Moskva Books' website is now archived: http://www.moscowbooks.ru/ebooks/book.asp?id=3955345&p=1. Retrieved 10 June 2015.

9. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

10. Ibid.

11. *Комсомолская Правда* [*Communist Truth*] online is at http://www.kp.ru/. For the article itself, follow this link: http://www.kp.ru/daily/24567/740255/.

12. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

13. Ibid.

14. Yuri Shalyganov, et al., *Проект Россия Выбор Пути: Вторая книга,* (Moscow: EKSMO Press, 2007), 169, 190. In Part II, Chapter 21, p. 169 of *Проект Россия. Вторая книга. Выбор пути* [*Project Russia Volume 2: Path Selection*], it is explained in this way: "A higher elite [i.e., the "thinkers"], capable of grasping the situation intellectually, will express meaningful information in a more expressive form, making it available to the elite of the second level [i.e., the "intelligentsia" and elite classes], who will then communicate this information [i.e., using mass media] to the masses." [Нужна высшая элита, способная объять сложившуюся ситуацию на интеллектуальном уровне. Второым шагом она выразит осмысленную информацию в эмоциональном формате. Это сделает ее доступной элите второго уровня. Далее они понесут информацию в широкие массы.]. Later in *Path Selection*, Chapter 23, p. 190, *Project Russia*'s involvement in this process is indicated: "The very appearance of the first and second volumes of *Project Russia* confirms that we are not just talking about this topic. We consistently act. The first phase, in which the idea spread from an individual to a mini-system [i.e., of elites] has been completed. The process is the classical evolutionary scenario. One day it will cover the whole of humanity." ['Сам факт появления первой и второй книг «Проекта» подтверждает – мы не просто рассуждаем на эту тему. Мы последовательно действуем. Первый этап, от личности к мини-системе, пройден. Процесс идет по классическому эволюционному варианту. Однажды он охватит все человечество.']

15. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

16. Ibid.

17. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 120–130.

18. Ibid*,* 125.

19. Ibid, 32.

> Когда нас спрашивают, а как же США - цитадель демократии, мы говорим: не надо заблуждаться. Во всех демократиях меняется только видимая часть власти. Силы, задающие генеральное направление, остаются неизменными. Они сохраняют и преемственность, и наследственность. Примерно так, как это было в СССР. Разница только в том, что выборный спектакль в США более качественно продуман.

20. Ibid, 125.

> Кандидаты от обеих американских партий ничем не отличаются друг от друга. Все отличия, во-первых, второстепенны, а во-вторых, смехотворны. Одни заявляют, что понизят налоги на 0.5 %, а вторые обещают сделать то же самое на 0.4 %. Если вы назовете это выбором, можно завидовать силе вашего воображения.

21. Raymond E. Zickel and Eugene K. Keefe, *Soviet Union: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Library of Congress, 1991), 365. Found at: http://www.loc.gov/resource/frdcstdy.sovietunioncount00zick.

22. U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Joint Analysis Report: Grizzly Steppe—Russian Malicious Cyber Activity*, December 29, 2016. Reference number JAR-16–20296.

23. The DNC documents WikiLeaks released come from DNC's Communications Director Luis Miranda (10,770 emails), National Finance Director Jordon Kaplan (3,797 emails), Finance Chief of Staff Scott Comer (3,095 emails), Finance Director of Data & Strategic Initiatives Daniel Parrish (1,472 emails), Finance Director Allen Zachary (1,611 emails), Senior Advisor Andrew Wright (938 emails), and Northern California Finance Director Robert (Erik) Stowe (751 emails). See: "Search the DNC Email Database." *WikiLeaks*, July 22, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, https://wikileaks.org/dnc-emails/.

24. Eric Lichtblau and Eric Schmitt, "Hack of Democrats' Accounts Was Wider Than Believed, Officials Say." *New York Times*, August 10, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/us/politics/democratic-party-russia-hack-cyberattack.html?_r=0.)

25. Fred Fleitz, "No, Hillary, 17 U.S. Intelligence Agencies Did Not Say Russia Hacked Dem E-mails," *National Review: The Corner*, October 20, 2016, accessed July 12, 2017, http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/441266/hillary-clinton-democratic-emails-hacked-russia.

26. Wesley Bruer and Evan Perez, "Officials: Hackers breach election systems in Illinois, Arizona," *CNN*, August 30, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/29/politics/hackers-breach-illinois-arizona-election-systems/index.html.

27. Kevin Corke, "Government Investigating Covert Russian Plot," *Fox News Special Report*, September 6, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, http://video.foxnews.com/v/5114712804001/growing-concerns-over-russian-interference-with-us-election/?#sp=show-clips.

28. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 125.

29. Ibid, 126.

30. Ibid, 123. "Всенародные выборы сводятся к откровенной глупости, потому что народ, как ребенок, всегда отдает предпочтение фантику, а не содержанию."

31. Ibid, 15. "Если ребенок будет командовать детсадом, в итоге он будет его разрушать. И никогда не поймет этого, потому что мыслит иными категориями."

32. Ibid, 13. "Посмотрите на большинство чиновников. Разве они заботятся о состоянии страны и народа? Конечно, нет. Власть ими понимается не как власть отца, где благо семьи превыше всего, а как возможность за счет абстрактного общества приобрести себе новые 'игрушки'."

33. Ibid, 119. "Если у древних над законом стояла сила (диктатор, тиран, император, сенат…то с началом описанных процессов верховная власть теряет свою человеческую составляющую. Разрубленная теорией Монтескьё на три части, исполнительную, законодательную и судебную, власть переходит из рук человека в руки закона. Миром правит новый правитель, Закон. Звонкая фраза «власть закона» на практике означает власть юристов."

34. Ibid, 127. "…демократы упорно твердят, что все беды из-за плохих «деталей» государственного механизма, т.е.;из-за плохих чиновников и казнокрадов. Если плохих чиновников поменять на хороших, а казнокрадов истребить, ситуация исправится. Народ с радостью подхватывает эти «ценные советы» и вновь идет выбирать честных. Но ситуация не только не улучшается, а напротив, ухудшается. После каждых выборов растет коррупция, безнравственность. На государственные учреждения впору вешать прейскурант на взятки. Но люди так тотально поглупели, что не могут связать зависимость выборов и своих несчастий в одну цепочку."

35. Ibid, 135. "Вирусы вышли на свободу и добровольно в клетку не пойдут."

36. On which, see Gay.ru, the web server for Russia's LGBT community, http://www.gay.ru/.

37. Kevin Moss, "Russian Gay History," *Middlebury College Russian Department,* 1993, accessed September 8, 2016, http://community.middlebury.edu/~moss/RGC2.html.

38. Stephanie Baker, "Russia to Officially Join Council of Europe," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Archive,* February 27, 1996, accessed September 8, 2016, http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1080060.html.

39. Immigration and Refugee Board of *Canada, Russia: Update to RUS13194 of 16 February 1993 on the treatment of homosexuals* (RUS33940.E), February 29, 2000, accessed September 8, 2016, http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad788c.html.

40. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга*, 46.

> Как только Запад прорвался в сферу формирования сознания нашего народа, первым делом он создал притягательный образ потребительского стиля жизни. Всему, что мешало этой задаче, создавался отрицательный образ. Сегодня под знаменем свободы народу продолжают насаждать ориентиры, направляющие нашу энергию против нас. В первую очередь культивируется терпимость к любой категории греха. Всё, что может нас интуитивно насторожить, маскируется под невинное развлечение. Под видом права личности на самоопределение из народа делают моральных уродов. Доказательством этого утверждения служит тот факт, что косвенным показателем развития демократии служит распространение пороков. Например, педерастия негласно признана самым точным показателем уровня демократии. Когда всем заявлены равные права, порок, получивший законный статус, должен распространяться, потому что получает право пропагандироваться. Если педерасты не увеличиваются, значит, их права ущемляются, т.е.; демократии недостаточно.

41. Moss, "Russian Gay History."

42. A painting of this parade by Konstantin Yuon, reproduced in Wikipedia Commons, vividly demonstrates the symbolic significance of the event. See *Wikipedia*, "Battle of Moscow," accessed September 8, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Moscow#/media/File:Yuon_RedSquare_Parade_1941.jpg.

43. Shalyganov, et al., *Проект Россия Выбор Пути: Вторая книга,* 87. "родвигая порок, недруги не учитывают культурных традиций, всех гребут под одну гребенку. По задумке организаторов так называемый гей-парад на Красной площади разрушит последние остатки традиции. Упадут последние скрепы, общество превратится в кисель, который потом можно просто выплеснуть."

44. Ibid., 129. "Сегодня люди слепы: никто не видит, что во всех демократиях проблемы похожи друг на друга как близнецы. Во всех демократических странах падает рождаемость и нравственность, растет смертность, наркомания и прочие пороки. Кажется очевидным, что причину надо искать не в качестве чиновников, а в качестве конструкции. Но люди, как заколдованные, ходят по кругу пустых лозунгов."

45. Ibid, 67. "Апофеоз западной мысли реализовал Гитлер. Оказывается, младенцев можно мучить, потому что Бога нет, а ты сверхчеловек, для которого не существует никаких ограничений и препятствий в реализации воли и желаний. Хочешь – делай. Реализуй свою волю или умри. Круто звучит? Круто. Тем и опасно. Какая-то сатанинская энергия стоит за этим, привлекательная в своем безудержном отрицании всяких границ, авторитетов и законов."

46. Walter D. Connor, "Criminal Homicide, U.S.S.R. /U.S.A.: Reflections on Soviet Data in a Comparative Framework," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 64.1.8 (1973): 116.

47. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

48. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 27–29.

> Первым шагом по уничтожению самой огромной империи планеты стал раскол СССР. Основной упор был сделан не на промышленные и стратегические объекты, как в классической войне, а на сознание. Мировосприятие советских граждан заменили потребительским. В государственном организме России, некогда представлявшем монолит, после идеологических бомбардировок возникли глубокие трещины. … Вскоре СССР развалился. Враги воочию убедились в чудовищной эффективности новой наступательной технологии. Бархатные революции прогремели по миру громче, чем взрыв в Хиросиме и Нагасаки. Но его услышали только некоторые. …Оставшаяся от СССР часть, Россия, по-прежнему имела огромную континентальную массу…Вопрос по расколу России снова решается через применение зарекомендовавшей себя технологии манипуляции …Ситуацию довершают "демократические" выборы ….Вместо ориентиров предложены предельно общие термины: "свобода," "равенство," "процветание" и пр. В итоге власть оказалась ориентированной лишь на экономику, не имея понятия о генеральном направлении движения. …Началось разрушение промышленности, образования, науки, армии и т.д. Происходит так не потому, что Россия в одночасье наполнилась плохими людьми, а потому что коммерческий подход убивает некоммерческие институты.

49. Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 55.

50. Ibid, 10. A propaganda campaign meant to reduce the public's dread of nuclear destruction by advertising the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

51. Ibid, 11. A program in which some three dozen independent citizens' committees including the Motion Pictures Committee and the Fine Arts Committee would enlist ordinary US citizens to develop friendly contacts with foreigners in order to convince them of their basic goodness as Americans.

52. Ibid, 253.

53. Ibid, 40. Radio Free Europe was presented as a private organization, staffed by Soviet bloc émigrés and exiled political leaders, and funded by American "freedom dollar" donations, but covertly it had been established by the CIA and its broadcast content was controlled by the CIA.

54. Zickel and Keefe, *Soviet Union: A Country Study,* 113 and 117.

55. Ibid, 243.

56. Ibid, 232.

57. Ibid, 121.

58. Ibid, 221–222; 226.

59. Ibid, 263–268.

60. Nancy L. Meyers, Ruud van Dijk, and Christian Ostermann, "Lech Walesa: Founder of Poland's Solidarity Trade Union," *CNN Perspective Series: Cold War,* Documentary, Knowledge Bank Profiles: The Cold Warriors (Cold War International History Project). 1998.

61. The leaders of the newly independent, former Soviet states were typically very young and inexperienced. For instance, Mart Laar was only 32 when he became Estonia's first post-communist Prime Minister in 1992. This does not mean they were inept.

In 2006 the Cato Institute awarded him the 2006 Milton Friedman Prize for Advancing Liberty. See:

CATO Institute, "Mart Laar: Winner of the 2006 Milton Friedman Prize," *CATO Institute,* May 2006, Accessed June 11, 2015, http://www.cato.org/friedman-prize/mart-laar.

62. Previously under the Soviet Union, leaders of the republics were selected by appointment. See Zickel and Keefe, *Soviet Union: A Country Study,* p. 312, on *Nomenklatura*.

63. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 33.

> На этом поле давно идет очень серьезная игра. Упор делается на амбиции маленького человека, стоящего у власти. Всей ситуации он не понимает, и потому ему несложно внушить мысль, что быть президентом независимого государства лучше, чем быть назначенным губернатором. В итоге возникает целая армия борцов за свободу. Фокус в том, что их не надо даже финансировать. Они сами пойдут туда, где им повесили "морковку." Достигая своей цели, они будут способствовать достижению чужой стратегической цели, которой не осознают. Их руками, и руками миллионов других "бойцов," используемых втемную, враг реализует свою главную задачу - разорвать Россию. Потом, когда будет устранено последнее крупное препятствие на пути к мировому господству, Запад будет крошить "независимых и суверенных."

64. Ibid, 34.

65. Ibid, 36. "Сегодня, в так называемое "мирное время," мы теряем больше, чем во время Великой Отечественной войны. И эти потери лавинообразно нарастают. Но население вместо солдат во вражеской форме и падающих с неба бомб видит неоновую рекламу, захватывающие сериалы и глянцевые журналы."

66. Ibid, 31.

> Там, где Западу удалось нарушить преемственность власти, - на Украине, в Грузии, Киргизии - начался период активного распада. "Правители," вытащенные "из ниоткуда," скоро уйдут в никуда. Их сменят другие такие же, и так до тех пор, пока Запад не решит, что нужная кондиция достигнута. Когда черновая работа будет завершена, Запад включит новые земли в свою сферу влияния. Произойдет это тоже не силовыми методами. Открытый рынок так устроен, что всякого, кто попал в его сети, он не отпускает. Он высасывает его ресурсы, не оставляя ему шансов. Сейчас, на стадии разрушения системы, грузинам, украинцам и прочим борцам "за свободу и независимость," говорят пустые красивые лозунги. В итоге обманутые люди своими руками ломают свой дом. В новой ситуации не будет места ни украинцам, ни грузинам, ни киргизам.

67. Ibid, 34.

68. Ibid, 115.

> Если рассуждать здраво, у человечества только два пути: или жить единой семьей по средствам, или пять миллиардов будет обеспечивать гуманизм шестому, «золотому миллиарду». Но так как столько «обслуги» в век технического прогресса не требуется, получается, эти пять миллиардов просто лишние люди. Они мешают жить "нормальным, цивилизованным" людям, под которыми Запад понимает себя. Как эту проблему гуманная цивилизация планирует решать, мы покажем в Третьей книге. Пока же подчеркнем, что на сегодня развернута активная кампания по окончательному решению проблемы "лишних людей." Имеются научные технологии "гуманного" уничтожения людей.

69. Ibid, 115.

> Ресурса не хватит, чтобы всем шести миллиардам дать западный уровень жизни. Население США, составляющее около 5 % населения планеты, потребляет 40 % земных ресурсов. Если такой уровень потребления обеспечить еще 5 %, это составит 80 % ресурсов. А если еще 2.5 %, то ресурсы окажутся использованными на 100 %. Принимая в расчет, что западная экономика призвана обеспечить высокий уровень потребления, не надо забывать, что и существовать она может только при неуклонном росте потребления, иначе умрет. С учетом этого обстоятельства картина становится вовсе безрадостная. Но даже если цифра в 12.5 % не будет расти, что делать оставшимся 87.5 %? Жить на марсианские ресурсы?

70. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

71. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 40.

72. Ibid, 40. "Наша цель - составить представление о стратегической логике врага. Первым делом нам нужно согласиться с Наполеоном, говорившим, что проигрывает тот, кто готовится к прошлой войне. … Поставим себя на место врага и подумаем, как бы мы вели себя, если бы хотели уничтожить Россию."

73. Anne Applebaum, "How Much Trouble is Russia Causing in Europe?" *Slate Daily*, April 8, 2016, accessed July 12, 2017, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2016/04/the_dutch_referendum_on_ukraine_shows_how_russia_is_influencing_europeans.html.

74. Peter Foster, and Matthew Holehouse, "Russia accused of clandestine funding of European parties as US conducts major review of Vladimir Putin's strategy," *The Telegraph,* January 16, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/12103602/America-to-investigate-Russian-meddling-in-EU.html.

75. Peter Pomerantsev and Michael Weiss, "The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture and Money," *The Interpreter,* November 22, 2014, http://www.interpretermag.com/the-menace-of-unreality-how-the-kremlin-weaponizes-information-culture-and-money/.

76. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 140.

> Но оглупленная широкая масса предпочитает получать информацию из клипов и лозунгов, специально созданных, чтобы вложить в сознание не истинные, а ложные установки, провоцирующие животный тип поведения. {…} Чтобы донести эти мысли до широких масс, нужно не книги писать. Нужно обращаться к более доступному способу подачи мысли. Способ подачи информации определяет отношение к информации. Массе нужны сериалы, шоу, мультипликация, но никак не книги. Но сегодня фабрики по производству этой продукции находятся в руках Рынка, и потому будут начиняться античеловеческой начинкой.

77. Tom Parfitt, "My Life as a pro-Putin propagandist in Russia's shadowy 'troll factory,'" *The Telegraph*, June 24, 2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/11656043/My-life-as-a-pro-Putin-propagandist-in-Russias-secret-troll-factory.html.

78. See Sputnik International's official website, https://sputniknews.com/.

79. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга*, 71. "Теперь мы понимаем, что идет самая настоящая война. Нас хотят убить, но не энергией руки, держащей меч, не энергией пороха, посылающей пулю, и даже не атомной энергией. Нас хотят

убить, используя социальную энергию. Россию хотят разрушить, манипулируя недовольством масс и притязаниями мелко думающей элиты. Против меча эффективен меч, против ружья - ружье. Нельзя оружием прошлого воевать с оружием будущего. Поэтому против социальной энергии эффективна лишь социальная энергия. Исходя из такой логики, наша главная задача - овладеть энергиями протеста и пойти в контратаку."

80. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

81. Foster and Holehouse, "Russia accused of clandestine funding of European parties as US conducts major review of Vladimir Putin's strategy."

82. Geoff Dyer, "NATO accuses Russia of 'weaponising' immigrants," *Financial Times,* March 1, 2016, accessed September 10, 2016, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/76a52430-dfe1–11e5-b67f-a61732c1d025.html#axzz4Jr8szlUh.

83. The AGMR Website address is http://anti-global.ru/.

84. Keith C. Smith, *Russian Energy Politics in the Baltics, Poland, and Ukraine: A New Stealth Imperialism?* (Washington D.C.: CSIS Reports, December 2004).

85. Sam Jones, Guy Chazan, and Christian Oliver, "Nato claims Moscow funding anti-fracking groups," *Financial Times*, June 19, 2014, accessed September 10, 2016, https://www.ft.com/content/20201c36-f7db-11e3-baf5–00144feabdc0.

86. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга,* 25.

87. Ibid, 119.

88. Ibid, 75. "На самом верху были люди духа, таланта и воли. Князь-монах был высшим существом. Следом шли воины, имеющие сильный дух, но не обладающие большими талантами. Нижнюю часть пирамиды составляли купцы, крестьяне и ремесленники, которых страшил любой риск, … Разбойники стояли вне общества. Любопытно, что некоторые мыслители, в частности Фома Аквинский, коммерсантов тоже причисляли к разбойникам."

89. CPSU is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in Russian КПСС, Коммунистическая партия Советского Союза.

90. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга*, 30.

91. Ibid, 30. "На сегодня мы худо-бедно существуем лишь потому, что сохраняется преемственность власти. КПСС, Горбачев, Ельцин, Путин - всё это звенья одной цепи, продолжение советской власти. Система стремительно разлагается, но она еще существует. Когда преемственность исчезнет, система развалится."

92. Ibid, 48. "Если целью врага является *постоянная смена власти*, т.е.; разрушение структуры, следовательно, нашей генеральной целью является *преемственность власти,* т.е.; сохранение структуры. Само по себе понимание этого *факта* делает нас сильнее. По крайней мере, мы знаем, что сражаемся не за демагогию вокруг мифических свобод и прав. И не за место у кормушки. Мы сражаемся за установление постоянной власти. Это последняя крепость России…"

93. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Shalyganov et al., *Проект Россия: Первая книга*, 92. "Как говорил Юлий Цезарь, '*можно найти много людей, готовых убивать за деньги, но нельзя найти людей, готовых умирать за деньги.*' Идти на смерть можно только за идеалы. Но чтобы умирать за идеалы, нужно иметь идеалы, ценимые выше жизни. Но где

же их взять без религии? К слову сказать, технически мощная Америка сегодня сталкивается с аналогичной проблемой. Солдаты не хотят умирать за деньги. Это первая причина, по которой она завязла в военных конфликтах. Князья озадачиваются вопросом, как создать ручную, управляемую религию?"

97. Ibid, 5. "Цель данной работы - найти людей, которые поймут нашу идею, потом поймут способ ее реализации и смогут действовать сообразно полученным знаниям. С нами или автономно, это уже отдельный вопрос."

98. Ibid, 10. "Если вы готовы действовать в мировом масштабе, и вас не смущает подобный размах, давайте объединяться. Потому что чем *нас* больше, тем *их* меньше. В этом - залог успеха."

99. Kaftan, "Что нас ждет после выборов президента в 2012 году?" ["What Awaits Us after the Presidential Election in 2012?"].