Endnotes

Chapter 1: George H.W. Bush

- 1 This book contains more than 6,600 footnotes and 7,800 citations. For active hyperlinks, please see the Kindle or EPUB versions, or the PDF file of the notes at scotthorton.org/provoked. For the audio version, subscribe to the podcast at scotthortonshow.substack.com. To get the complete excised chapter, "Nuclear War," free, just sign up for the Institute or Scott Horton Show email list at libertarianinstitute.org/newsletter or scotthorton.org/subscribe.
- **2** James E. Goodby, "The Odd Couple and the End of an Era," *The Foreign Service Journal*, December 2021, https://afsa.org/odd-couple-and-end-era.
- **3** Lesley Kennedy, "How Gorbachev and Reagan's Friendship Helped Thaw the Cold War," History.com, October 24, 2019, https://history.com/news/gorbachev-reagan-cold-war; Jimmy Orr, "Reagan and Gorbachev agreed to fight UFOs," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 24, 2009, https://csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/The-Vote/2009/0424/reagan-and-gorbachev-agreed-to-fight-ufos.
- **4** "US-Soviet Relations, 1981–1991," Milestones in the History of US Foreign Relations US State Department Office of the Historian, accessed March 23, 2022,
- https://history.state.gov/milestones/1981-1988/u.s.-soviet-relations; Mikhail Gorbachev, "Speech to 43rd UN General Assembly," AP, December 7, 1988,

https://apnews.com/article/1abea48aacda1a9dd520c380a8bc6be6.

- **5** Imre Karacs, "Hungary Allows Thousands Of East Germans To Flee To West," *Washington Post*, September 11, 1989, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/09/11/hungary-allows-thousands-of-east-germans-to-flee-to-west/cb43fd73-f65f-4100-8ba9-a80f84a6ace1.
- **6** Claude Adams, "Berlin Wall Falls," CBC News, November 9, 1989, https://cbc.ca/archives/berlin-wall-fall-1989-cbc-archives-1.5334293.
- 7 Boris Egorov, "How the USSR pulled its troops from Eastern Europe," Russia Beyond, April 20, 2020, https://rbth.com/history/332046-how-ussr-pulled-its-troops; For a fascinating and comprehensive account of the unraveling of the Soviet Union from 1988–1991, see Jonathan Steele, *Eternal Russia: Yeltsin, Gorbachev and the Mirage of Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).
- **8** B.J. Rowlett, *Jeane Kirkpatrick and Neoconservatism: The Intellectual Evolution of a Liberal* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 2014), https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/2114; Justin Vaïsse, *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 49, 184–85; Jacob Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right: The Rise of the Neocons* (Toronto: Anchor Books, 2008), 31, 114, 158; Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships & Double Standards," *Commentary*, November 1979, https://commentary.org/articles/jeane-kirkpatrick/dictatorships-double-standards.
- **9** Jeane Kirkpatrick, "A Normal Country in a Normal Time," *The National Interest*, Fall 1990, https://archive.is/jOrRd.
- 10 William F. Buckley, "The Party and the Deep Blue Sea," *Commonweal*, January 25, 1952, https://archive.is/1hwV9; Many American liberal, conservative and libertarian scholars and politicians also believed America's role in the first Cold War unnecessary and unwise, but our story begins where that one ends. See Garet Garrett, *The People's Pottage* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1952), 117–74, and Murray N. Rothbard, *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1978), 343–46, 353–61, 365–69.
- 11 John M. Broder, "Battles Erupt Over How to Spend the Peace Dividend," *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-12-09-mn-141-story.html.

 12 Jim Lobe, "American Neoconservatives: a History and Overview," National Press Club, July 25,
- 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Tioed5gpY c; Vaïsse, 145–47, 274; Heilbrunn, 150, 272.

- **13** Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1, 1990, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/1990-01-01/unipolar-moment.
- **14** Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "Toward A Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/1996-07-01/toward-neo-reaganite-foreign-policy.
- **15** Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), https://cia.gov/library/abbottabad-
- compound/36/36669B7894E857AC4F3445EA646BFFE1 Zbigniew Brzezinski -
- <u>The Grand ChessBoard.doc.pdf</u>; John Steinbrunner, "Problems of Predominance: Implications of the US military advantage," Brookings Institution, September 1, 1996,
- https://brookings.edu/articles/problems-of-predominance-implications-of-the-u-s-military-advantage.
- **16** Michèle Flournoy, et al., "Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review," Office of the Secretary of Defense, May 1997, https://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/quadrennial/QDR1997.pdf.
- **17** Russell Kirk, "Political Errors at the End of the 20th Century," Heritage Foundation, February 27, 1991, https://heritage.org/political-process/report/political-errors-the-end-the-20th-century.
- **18** Robert Shogan, "Buchanan Starts 'America First' Bid for President," *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-12-11-mn-149-story.html.
- **19** Charles Krauthammer, "Universal Dominion: Toward a Unipolar World," *The National Interest*, Winter 1989/90, https://jstor.org/stable/i40110730.
- **20** Charles Krauthammer, "Bless Our Pax Americana," *Washington Post*, March 22, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1991/03/22/bless-our-pax-americana/9986eb79-4f4b-4f0a-847d-f36db98fb755.
- **21** Staff, "What Is the Liberal World Order?" Council on Foreign Relations, October 26, 2020, https://education.cfr.org/learn/video/what-liberal-world-order.
- **22** Scott Horton, *Enough Already: Time to End the War on Terrorism* (Austin: Libertarian Institute, 2021), https://amazon.com/dp/1733647341.
- **23** Edward Lozansky, "How to Turn a Friend into an Enemy: a Brief History of US-Russia Relations," Kontinent USA, September 25, 2022, https://newkontinent.org/how-to-turn-a-friend-into-an-enemy-a-brief-history-of-us-russia-relations.
- **24** Richard Sakwa, "Russia's 1989 plea for a new world order was rejected, and so Putinism was born," *Guardian*, March 31, 2017, https://theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/31/putinism-russia-1989-world-order-rejected.
- **25** Ron Paul, *A Foreign Policy of Freedom: Peace, Commerce and Honest Friendship* (Lake Jackson: Foundation for a Rational Economic Education, 2007); Ron Paul archive, Antiwar.com, https://antiwar.com/paul; The author's position as well.
- 26 Paul Wolfowitz, et al., "Defense Planning Guidance 1994–1999," Office of the Secretary of Defense, February 29, 1992, https://archives.gov/files/declassification/iscap/pdf/2008-003-doc18.pdf. 27 James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 211.
- 28 Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, et al., "Defense Strategy for the 1990s: The Regional Defense Strategy," Office of the Secretary of Defense, January 1993, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/doc15.pdf.
- **29** James Mann, "The True Rationale? It's a Decade Old," *Washington Post*, March 6, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2004/03/07/the-true-rationale-its-a-decade-old/81f7247b-bc7b-4750-94c6-e9896dabdaa5; Mann, 208–15.
- **30** Mann, 214.
- **31** Paul Wolfowitz, "Remembering the Future," *The National Interest*, March 1, 2000, https://nationalinterest.org/article/remembering-the-future-855.
- **32** Patrick E. Tyler, "US Strategy Plan Calls For Insuring No Rivals Develop," *New York Times*, March 8, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/03/08/world/us-strategy-plan-calls-for-insuring-no-rivals-

- <u>develop.html</u>; Staff, "Excerpts From Pentagon's Plan: 'Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival," *New York Times*, March 8, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/03/08/world/excerpts-from-pentagon-s-plan-prevent-the-re-emergence-of-a-new-rival.html.
- **33** Barton Gellman, "Keeping the US First," *Washington Post*, March 10, 1992, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/03/11/keeping-the-us-first/31a774aa-fcd9-45be-8526-ceafc933b938.
- **34** Paul Wolfowitz, et al., "Defense Planning Guidance 1994–1999, Second Draft," Office of the Secretary of Defense, April 16, 1992, https://archives.gov/files/declassification/iscap/pdf/2008-003-docs1-12.pdf.
- **35** William Burr, "Prevent the Reemergence of a New Rival," George Washington University National Security Archive, February 26, 2008, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb245/index.htm.
- **36** Thomas Donnelly, et al., "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century," Project for a New American Century, September 2000, https://scotthorton.org/pnac/rebuilding-americas-defenses.
- **37** Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "Toward A Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/1996-07-01/toward-neo-reaganite-foreign-policy.
- **38** Brzezinski, 198–99, 215. Author Jacob Heilbrunn reported that Brzezinski and the neoconservatives "hated" and "despised" each other since the former supported a two-state solution for Palestine (Heilbrunn, 150). And they probably did not like it when he said Obama should shoot down Israeli jets if they tried to attack Iran (Eric Fingerhut, "Brzezinski: It could be a 'Liberty in reverse,'" Jewish Telegraphic Agency, September 21, 2009, https://jta.org/2009/09/21/culture/brzezinski-it-could-be-a-liberty-in-reverse). But they did sometimes work together, as will be shown below.
- **39** Francis Fukuyama, et al., "Letter to President George W. Bush," Project for a New American Century, September 20, 2001, https://scotthorton.org/pnac/letter-to-president-bush-on-the-war-on-terrorism.
- **40** Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, No. 16 (Summer 1989), http://jstor.org/stable/24027184; Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).
- **41** Lt. Col. S.B. Eremenko, "On the issue of the losses of the opposing parties on the Soviet-German front in the years of the Great Patriotic War: the truth and fiction," Russian Ministry of Defense, October 21, 2018, https://archive.is/Eljzb.
- **42** "NATO's Future Political Track of the Strategy Review: Questions to Ask Ourselves," US State Department, October 22, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16140-document-26-u-s-department-state-european.
- **43** Harry McGee, "State papers: Thatcher opposed German reunification after collapse of Berlin Wall," *Irish Times*, December 28, 2019, https://irishtimes.com/news/politics/state-papers-thatcher-opposed-german-reunification-after-collapse-of-berlin-wall-1.4119052.
- **44** Doyle McManus, "Thatcher and Kohl Clash Over German Reunification," *Los Angeles Times*, December 5, 1989, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-12-05-mn-192-story.html; John Kornblum, "How George H.W. Bush made modern Europe," *Politico Europe*, December 1, 2018, https://politico.eu/article/george-hw-bush-made-modern-europe-cold-war.
- **45** Jonathan Masters, "Why NATO Has Become a Flash Point With Russia in Ukraine," Council on Foreign Relations, January 20, 2022, https://cfr.org/backgrounder/why-nato-has-become-flash-point-russia-ukraine; James Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why It Matters," War on the Rocks, July 12, 2016,
- $\underline{https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters.}$
- **46** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard," National Security Archive, December 12, 2017, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-

- 12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early; Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Yeltsin Heard," National Security Archive, March 16, 2018, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2018-03-16/nato-expansion-what-yeltsin-heard.
- **47** Stephen Cohen, "The US 'Betrayed' Russia, but It Is Not 'News That's Fit to Print," *The Nation*, January 10, 2018, https://thenation.com/article/archive/the-us-betrayed-russia-but-it-is-not-news-thats-fit-to-print.
- **48** Peter Baker, "In Ukraine Conflict, Putin Relies on a Promise That Ultimately Wasn't," *New York Times*, January 9, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/09/us/politics/russia-ukraine-james-baker.html.
- 49 Staff, "Russia's top five myths about NATO," NATO, February 2018,
- https://nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2021/10/pdf/2110-russia-top5-myths-en.pdf.
- **50** William Burr and Leopoldo Nuti, "The Jupiter Missiles and the Endgame of the Cuban Missile Crisis: A Matter of 'Great Secrecy," Wilson Center, February 16, 2023, https://wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/jupiter-missiles-and-endgame-cuban-missile-crisis-matter-great-secrecy.
- **51** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **52** David Morris, "The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall," Library of Congress, November 1, 2019, https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2019/11/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-berlin-wall.
- **53** Marc Trachtenberg, "The United States and the NATO Non-extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?" UCLA Political Science Department, November 25, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20210126134122/http://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/1990.pdf.
- **54** Staff, "The Berlin Airlift, 1948–1949," US State Department, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/berlin-airlift; Staff, "The Berlin Crisis, 1958–1961," US State Department, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/berlin-crises.
- **55** Jack F. Matlock Jr., "I was there: NATO and the origins of the Ukraine crisis," Responsible Statecraft, February 15, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/02/15/the-origins-of-the-ukraine-crisis-and-how-conflict-can-be-avoided.
- **56** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **57** George H.W. Bush, "Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy," George Bush Presidential Library, March 6, 1990, https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/1619.
- **58** Jack F. Matlock Jr., "I was there: NATO and the origins of the Ukraine crisis," Responsible Statecraft, February 15, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/02/15/the-origins-of-the-ukraine-crisis-and-how-conflict-can-be-avoided.
- **59** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard," National Security Archive, December 12, 2017, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early.
- **60** Jim Anderson, "German reunification creates allied unease," UPI, February 2, 1990, https://upi.com/Archives/1990/02/02/German-reunification-creates-allied-unease/7915633934800; "Baker, Genscher Discuss Full Range of Issues," February 2, 1990, http://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/19900205.pdf.
- **61** "Baker, Genscher Discuss Full Range of Issues," February 2, 1990, http://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/19900205.pdf.

- **62** "Baker/Genscher Meeting February 2," State Department document NOD814, US State Department, February 9, 1990,
- https://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/19900203seitz.pdf.
- **63** Uwe Klußmann, et al., "Did the West Break Its Promise to Moscow?" *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2009, https://spiegel.de/international/world/nato-s-eastward-expansion-did-the-west-break-its-promise-to-moscow-a-663315.html.
- **64** "Mr. Hurd to Sir C. Mallaby (Bonn) Telegraphic N. 85: Secretary of State's Call on Herr Genscher: German Unification," February 6, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16113-document-02-mr-hurd-sir-c-mallaby-bonn.
- **65** Mary Elise Sarotte, *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Stalemate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 51.
- **66** Mary Elise Sarotte, "Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 2010), 119–40, https://jstor.org/stable/24916036.
- **67** George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed: The Collapse of the Soviet Empire, The Unification of Germany, Tiananmen Square, The Gulf War* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 239.
- 68 "Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," US State Department, February 9, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16116-document-05-memorandum-conversation-between; Blake Fleetwood, "'Not One Inch Eastward:' How the War in Ukraine Could Have Been Prevented Decades Ago," ScheerPost, February 24, 2022, https://scheerpost.com/2022/02/24/not-one-inch-eastward-how-the-war-in-ukraine-could-have-been-prevented-decades-ago.
- **69** Mary Elise Sarotte, "Enlarging NATO, Expanding Confusion," *New York Times*, November 29, 2009, https://nytimes.com/2009/11/30/opinion/30sarotte.html.
- **70** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard," National Security Archive, December 12, 2017, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early; Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 490.
- 71 "Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," US State Department, February 9, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16116-document-05-memorandum-conversation-between.
- 72 Press Release, "Press Conference of James Baker III Following US-USSR Ministerial Meetings, Moscow, USSR, February 9, 1990," US State Department, PR No. 14, February 16, 1990, Folder 20, Box 161, Baker Papers, SMML, cited in Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal?"
- 73 Marc Trachtenberg, "The United States and the NATO Non-extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?" UCLA Political Science Department, November 25, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20210126134122/http://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/1990.pdf.
- 74 "Letter from James Baker to Helmut Kohl," February 10, 1990,
- https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16119-document-08-letter-james-baker-helmut-kohl.
- **75** Peter Baker, "In Ukraine Conflict, Putin Relies on a Promise That Ultimately Wasn't," *New York Times*, January 9, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/09/us/politics/russia-ukraine-james-baker.html.
- **76** Mary Elise Sarotte, "Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 2010), 119–40, https://jstor.org/stable/24916036.
- 77 "Memorandum of conversation between Robert Gates and Vladimir Kryuchkov in Moscow," George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, February 9, 2023, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16118-document-07-memorandum-conversation-between.

- **78** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **79** Peter Baker, "In Ukraine Conflict, Putin Relies on a Promise That Ultimately Wasn't," *New York Times*, January 9, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/09/us/politics/russia-ukraine-james-baker.html.
- **80** Rodric Braithwaite, "NATO enlargement: Assurances and misunderstandings," European Council on Foreign Relations, July 7, 2016,
- https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary nato enlargement assurances and misunderstandings;
- "Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl," February 10, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16120-document-09-memorandum-conversation-between.
- **81** Sarotte, 58.
- **82** Mary Elise Sarotte, "Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 2010), 119–40, https://jstor.org/stable/24916036.
- **83** Secretary of State, "Briefing on US-Soviet Ministerial," US State Department, February 13, 1990, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/briefing-on-us-soviet-ministerial.
- 84 Bush and Scowcroft, 240.
- **85** "Teimuraz Stepanov-Mamaladze notes from Conference on Open Skies, Ottawa, Canada," Hoover Institution Archive, Stepanov-Mamaladze Collection, February 12, 1990,
- https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16121-document-10-01-teimuraz-stepanov-mamaladze-notes.
- **86** "Two Plus Four Statement Made during the Open Skies Conference, Ottawa, 14 February 1990," in Adam Daniel Rotfeld and Walther Stützle (eds.), *Germany and Europe in Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 168.
- **87** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **88** "Archive Find Confirms Russian View of NATO's Eastward Expansion," *Welt*, February 18, 2022, https://www-welt-de.translate.goog/politik/ausland/article236986765/Nato-Osterweiterung-Archivfund-bestaetigt-Sicht-der-Russen.html.
- **89** Klaus Wiegrefe, "New find of files from 1991 supports Russian accusation," *Der Spiegel*, February 18, 2022, https://spiegel.de/ausland/nato-osterweiterung-aktenfund-stuetzt-russische-version-a-1613d467-bd72-4f02-8e16-2cd6d3285295.
- **90** Uwe Klußmann, et al., "Did the West Break Its Promise to Moscow?" *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2009, https://spiegel.de/international/world/nato-s-eastward-expansion-did-the-west-break-its-promise-to-moscow-a-663315.html.
- 91 Sarotte, 69.
- 92 Bush and Scowcroft, 253.
- **93** Mary Elise Sarotte, "A Broken Promise?" *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-11/broken-promise.
- **94** Mary Elise Sarotte, "Not One Inch Eastward? Bush, Baker, Kohl, Genscher, Gorbachev, and the Origin of Russian Resentment toward NATO Enlargement," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 2010), 119–40, https://jstor.org/stable/24916036.
- **95** Robert W. Merry, "How Bill Clinton Made America More Ambitious and Dangerous," *The National Interest*, August 17, 2016, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-bill-clinton-made-america-more-ambitious%E2%80%94-dangerous-17387.
- **96** "Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany," September 12, 1990, https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/2plusfour8994e.htm.

- **97** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00236.
- 98 See Chapter Two.
- 99 For a thorough debunking of the various arguments various politicians, appointees and scholars have put forward in their attempts to refute these facts, see Marc Trachtenberg, "The United States and the NATO Non-extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?" UCLA Political Science Department, November 25, 2020,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20210126134122/http://sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/trachtenberg/cv/1990.pdf.
- **100** Ted Snider, "Was 'No NATO Expansion East' More Than a Promise?" Libertarian Institute, July 17, 2023, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/was-no-nato-expansion-east-more-than-a-promise.
- **101** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **102** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard," National Security Archive, December 12, 2017, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early.
- 103 Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard," National Security Archive, December 12, 2017, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early; Dave Majumdar, "Newly Declassified Documents: Gorbachev Told NATO Wouldn't Move Past East German Border," *The National Interest*, December 12, 2017, https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/newly-declassified-documents-gorbachev-told-nato-wouldnt-23629.
- 104 "Ambassador Rodric Braithwaite diary," National Security Archive, March 5, 1991, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16142-document-28-ambassador-rodric-braithwaite-diary.
 105 "History of the EU: Timeline," European Union, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/history-eu en.
- **106** Rodric Braithwaite, "NATO enlargement: Assurances and misunderstandings," European Council on Foreign Relations, July 7, 2016,
- https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary nato enlargement assurances and misunderstandings.
- **107** Rodric Braithwaite, "NATO enlargement: Assurances and misunderstandings," European Council on Foreign Relations, July 7, 2016,
- https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary nato enlargement assurances and misunderstandings.
- **108** Sir R. Braithwaite, "Telegraphic N. 667: 'Secretary of State's Meeting with President Gorbachev," UK Foreign Ministry, April 11, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16129-document-15-sir-r-braithwaite-moscow-telegraphic.
- **109** Secretary-General Manfred Wörner, "The Atlantic Alliance and European Security in the 1990s," Address to the Bremer Tabaks Collegium, May 17, 1990, https://nato.int/docu/speech/1990/s900517a e.htm.
- 110 Richard Sakwa, "The March of Folly Resumed," Public Reading Rooms, March 10, 2022, https://prruk.org/the-march-of-folly-resumed-russia-ukraine-and-the-west.
- **111** Evgeny Primakov, *Vstrechi na Perekrestkakh* (*Meetings at the Crossroads*), Moscow 2015, 209–12; "Excerpt from Evgeny Primakov Memoir on NATO Expansion,"
- https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16394-document-22-excerpt-evgeny-primakov-memoir.
- 112 "Memorandum of conversation between George Bush and Eduard Shevardnadze in Washington," George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, Memcons and Telcons, April 6, 1990,
- https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16128-document-14-memorandum-conversation-between.

- 113 James A. Baker III, "Memorandum for the President, 'My meeting with Shevardnadze,'" US State Department, May 4, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16131-document-17-james-baker-iii-memorandum.
- 114 "Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," Gorbachev Foundation, May 18, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16132-document-18-record-conversation-between.
- 115 "Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," Gorbachev Foundation, May 18, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16132-document-18-record-conversation-between.
- 116 "Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," Gorbachev Foundation, May 18, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16132-document-18-record-conversation-between.
- 117 Frank T. Csongos, "Baker sees trans-Atlantic community with former Soviet bloc," UPI, June 18, 1991, https://upi.com/Archives/1991/06/18/Baker-sees-trans-Atlantic-community-with-former-Soviet-bloc/7164677217600.
- 118 Bush and Scowcroft, 300-01.
- 119 "Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," Gorbachev Foundation, May 18, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16132-document-18-record-conversation-between.
- 120 Bush and Scowcroft, 274.
- **121** "Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. White House, Washington D.C.," Gorbachev Foundation, May 31, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16135-document-21-record-conversation-between.
- **122** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00236.
- 123 "Letter from Mr. Powell (N. 10) to Mr. Wall: Thatcher-Gorbachev memorandum of conversation," June 8, 1990, *Documents on British Policy Overseas, series III, volume VII: German Unification, 1989–1990*, edited by Patrick Salmon, Keith Hamilton, and Stephen Twigge (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2010), 411–17, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16136-document-22-letter-mr-powell-n-10-mr.
- **124** "Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush," George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, Memcons and Telcons, July 17, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16138-document-24-memorandum-telephone-conversation.
- **125** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **126** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **127** David Gompert to Reginald Bartholomew et al., "Agenda for the Meeting of the European Strategy Steering Group on Monday, October 29, 3:00–5:00 PM," October 26, 1990, folder, "File 148, NATO Strategy Review #2 [3]," box CF01468, Zelikow Files, GBPL. Cited in Shifrinson.
- **128** "Memorandum to Boris Yeltsin from Russian Supreme Soviet delegation to NATO HQs," State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), Fond 10026, Opis 1, July 1, 1991, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16144-document-30-memorandum-boris-yeltsin.
- **129** William Tuohy and Norman Kempster, "Russia Hopes to Join NATO," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-12-21-mn-604-story.html.

- **130** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- 131 Sarotte, 133.
- **132** Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion," *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (2016), 7–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC a 00236.
- **133** Staff, "The Warsaw Treaty Organization, 1955," US State Department, May 9, 2017, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/warsaw-treaty.
- 134 "Helsinki Final Act," OSCE, August 1, 1975, https://osce.org/files/f/documents/5/c/39501.pdf. 135 James F. Dobbins, "Revised NATO Strategy Paper for Discussion at Sub-Ungroup Meeting," US State Department European Bureau, October 22, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16140-
- document-26-u-s-department-state-european.
- 136 Sarotte, 108.
- **137** "Memorandum of conversation between Robert Gates and Vladimir Kryuchkov in Moscow," George H.W. Bush Presidential Library, February 9, 2023, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16118-document-07-memorandum-conversation-between.
- **138** Interview with author, Jack F. Matlock Jr., *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 26, 2021, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/3-26-21-jack-matlock-on-americas-unnecessarily-hostile-relationship-with-russia.
- **139** "George Bush's Remarks at the Supreme Soviet Building, Chicken Kiev Speech," August 1, 1991, https://youtube.com/watch?v=hgEB1GB8qAM.
- **140** William Safire, "Ukraine Marches Out," *New York Times*, November 18, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/11/18/opinion/essay-ukraine-marches-out.html.
- **141** Adrian Monck and Mike Hanley, "The secrets of chicken Kiev," *New Statesman*, December 6, 2004, https://newstatesman.com/uncategorized/2004/12/the-secrets-of-chicken-kiev.
- **142** Staff, "After the Summit; Excerpts From Bush's Ukraine Speech: Working 'for the Good of Both of Us," *New York Times*, August 2, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/08/02/world/after-summit-excerpts-bush-s-ukraine-speech-working-for-good-both-us.html.
- **143** Steele, 59–79; Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.
- 144 "Declaration of Independence of Ukraine," Rada, August 24, 1991, https://static.rada.gov.ua/site/postanova eng/Rres Declaration Independence rev12.htm. 145 Steele, 215.
- **146** Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.
- 147 See Chapter Three.
- **148** John-Thor Dahlburg and Tyler Marshall, "Independence for Baltic States," *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-09-07-mn-1530-story.html.
- **149** Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.
- **150** Alexander Vatlin, Agents of Terror: Ordinary Men and Extraordinary Violence in Stalin's Secret Police (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018); Stéphane Courtois, et al., The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1–456; Lynne Viola, Stalinist Perpetrators on Trial: Scenes from the Great Terror in Soviet Ukraine (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2017); Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973); Darryl Cooper, "The Anti-Humans," *Martyr Made*, May 30, 2021, https://martyrmade.com/podcast-parts/19-the-anti-humans.

151 "Mikhail Gorbachev's Resignation and Dissolution of the Soviet Union," ABC Nightline, December 25, 1991, https://youtube.com/watch?v=zlieWAng4w8.

152 Frederick Kempe, "Brent Scowcroft on the Fall of the Berlin Wall," *New Atlanticist*, November 2, 2009, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/brent-scowcroft-on-the-fall-of-the-berlin-wall.

153 Sarotte, 124.

154 Bush and Scowcroft, 556.

155 Sarotte, 243.

156 Bush and Scowcroft, 550–51.

157 Jack F. Matlock Jr., "Is the Ukraine Crisis Just Another US Charade," Asia Times, February 15, 2022, https://asiatimes.com/2022/02/is-the-ukraine-crisis-just-another-us-charade.

158 Steele, 61.

159 Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton, "US Policy to Gorbachev: 'We Support the Center and You Personally," National Security Archive, December 21, 2021, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2021-12-21/end-soviet-union-1991.

160 George H.W. Bush, "The other 9/11: George H.W. Bush's 1990 New World Order speech," *Dallas Morning News*, September 8, 2017, https://dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2017/09/08/the-other-9-11-george-h-w-bush-s-1990-new-world-order-speech.

161 Horton, *Enough Already*, 21–32.

162 Andrew Glass, "Bush and Gorbachev sign nuclear arms pact, July 31, 1991," *Politico*, July 31, 2018, https://politico.com/story/2018/07/31/bush-and-gorbachev-sign-nuclear-arms-pact-july-31-1991-743837.

163 Paul H. Nitze, "Start II: A Startling Success," *Washington Post*, February 9, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1996/02/09/start-ii-a-startling-success/ac9ddb03-7968-4f8b-8f5d-57e7d86a996b; Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (1993), Atomic Archive, https://atomicarchive.com/resources/treaties/start-II.html.

164 Daryl Kimball, "The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the Adapted CFE Treaty at a Glance," Arms Control Association, August 2017, https://armscontrol.org/factsheet/cfe.

165 Daryl Kimball and Kingston Reif, "US-Russian Nuclear Arms Control Agreements at a Glance," Arms Control Association, April 2020,

 $\underline{https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/USRussiaNuclear Agreements}.$

166 Sarotte, 123–24.

167 "The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program," Arms Control Center, March 29, 2022, https://armscontrolcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Nunn-Lugar-CTR.pdf.

168 Presidents George H.W. Bush and Boris Yeltsin, "Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II)," January 3, 1993, https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102887.htm.

169 "CWC Timeline," Chemical Weapons Convention Archive, July 21, 2013, https://cwc.fas.org/about-the-cwc/cwc-timeline.

170 Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "NATO's Last Chance," *Washington Post*, July 2, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1993/07/02/natos-last-chance/22054ea7-5958-44b0-9e6a-212ee1da51de.

171 William Tuohy, "NATO After the Cold War: It's 'Out of Area or Out of Business," Los Angeles Times, August 13, 1993, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-08-13-mn-23409-story.html.
172 Dick Lugar, "NATO: Out of Area or Out of Business; A Call for US Leadership to Revive and Redefine the Alliance," Speech to the Overseas Writers' Club, The Richard G. Lugar Senatorial Papers,

June 24, 1993, https://collections.libraries.indiana.edu/lugar/items/show/342.

173 James F. Dobbins, "Revised NATO Strategy Paper for Discussion at Sub-Ungroup Meeting," State Department European Bureau, October 22, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16140-document-26-u-s-department-state-european.

174 Marc Rogers, "NATO Seeks Significance in Post-War Climate," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, May 16, 1992, https://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/files/202202041318.pdf.

175 William Tuohy, "NATO After the Cold War: It's 'Out of Area or Out of Business," *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1993, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-08-13-mn-23409-story.html.

176 "The North Atlantic Treaty," NATO, April 4, 1949,

https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 17120.htm.

177 Senator Joe Biden, "Speech on NATO Enlargement to the Atlantic Council," C-SPAN, June 20, 1996, https://c-span.org/video/?c5073373/user-clip-joe-biden-russias-response-nato-expansion-baltics.

178 Edward S. Herman and David Peterson, "The Dismantling of Yugoslavia (Part I)," *Monthly Review*, October 1, 2007, https://monthlyreview.org/2007/10/01/the-dismantling-of-yugoslavia.

179 David Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009), 13.

180 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

181 Interview with author, David Gibbs, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, July 7, 2015, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/7715-david-gibbs.

182 Stella Alexander, "The national and religious background of Yugoslavia," *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1982), 215–17, https://doi.org/10.1080/09637498208431025.

183 Nebojsa Malic, "Introduction: The Balkans Babylon," Antiwar.com, October 19, 2000, https://antiwar.com/malic/m101900.html.

184 Ambassador James Bissett, "History of Western Interference in the Balkans," Balkan Future, 1999, https://deltax.net/bissett/history.pdf; Gibbs, 55–60, 69; George Szamuely, *Bombs for Peace: NATO's Humanitarian War on Yugoslavia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 43–47.

185 Gibbs, 117.

186 Barney Petrovic and Ian Traynor, "Serbian communists buck poll trends," *Guardian*, December 11, 1990, https://theguardian.com/world/1990/dec/11/warcrimes.iantraynor1.

187 Szamuely, 50.

188 Gibbs, 60–66; Szamuely, 64.

189 Warren Zimmermann, *Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers – America's Last Ambassador Tells What Happened and Why* (New York: Times Books, 1996), 94–99.

190 Gibbs, 77–82, 102–04.

191 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

192 Ambassador James Bissett, "History of Western Interference in the Balkans," Balkan Future, 1999, https://deltax.net/bissett/history.pdf.

193 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

194 Warren Zimmermann, "The Last Ambassador – A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/europe/last-ambassador-memoir-collapse-yugoslavia.

195 Zimmermann, 62.

196 David Halberstam, War in a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals (New York: Scribner, 2002), 29–30.

197 Zimmermann, 93–95.

198 Zimmermann, 96–97.

199 Zimmermann, 73.

200 Carol J. Williams, "Slovenia, Croatia Declare Freedom From Yugoslavia," Los Angeles Times, June 26, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-06-26-mn-1188-story.html.

201 Warren Zimmermann, "The Last Ambassador – A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia," Foreign Affairs, March/April 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/europe/last-ambassador-memoir-collapsevugoslavia.

202 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY; Ana S. Trbovich, et al., "A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration," Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2008), https://dl.tufts.edu/concern/pdfs/qb98mr49j.

203 Zimmermann, 62, 71.

204 William Drozdiak, "EC Envoys Agree on Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia Next Month," Washington Post, December 17, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/12/17/ecenvoys-agree-on-recognition-of-croatia-slovenia-next-month/e01d4094-489e-448b-94a2-

f7920638445e; President George H.W. Bush, "Statement on United States Recognition of the Former Yugoslav Republics," White House, April 7, 1992, https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statementunited-states-recognition-the-former-yugoslav-republics.

205 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

206 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

207 David Hackworth's Soldiers for the Truth website, as of late April 2005.

https://web.archive.org/web/20050427080448/http://sftt.org.

208 David H. Hackworth, "The Blockade is a Joke," *Newsweek*, October 12, 1992, cited in David E. Mosca, "Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Continuing Crisis," Naval War College, May 17, 1993,

https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA266738.pdf.

209 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

210 Ambassador James Bissett, "History of Western Interference in the Balkans," Balkan Future, 1999, https://deltax.net/bissett/history.pdf.

211 Peter Jennings, "Yugoslavia and the Ten-Day War," CBS News, July 2, 1991,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ITEARp8Ww3M; "Slovenia Wins Independence in 10-Day War,"

Ljubljana Life, June 27, 2017, https://local-life.com/ljubljana/articles/ten-day-war.

212 Szamuely, 72–79.

213 Zimmermann, 152.

214 "Chronology for Serbs in Croatia," Minorities at Risk Project, 2004,

https://refworld.org/docid/469f387dc.html.

215 Srdja Trifkovic, "The Real Genocide in Yugoslavia: 'Independent' Croatia of 1941 Revisited," Chronicles.

https://web.archive.org/web/20000816031842/https://chroniclesmagazine.org/NewsST042100.htm;

Tomic Yves, "Massacres in Dismembered Yugoslavia, 1941–1945," Mass Violence and Resistance Research Network, June 7, 2010, https://sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-

resistance/en/document/massacres-dismembered-yugoslavia-1941-1945.html.

216 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

217 Steve Coll, "Franjo Tudjman, at War with History," Washington Post, February 28, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1993/03/01/franjo-tudjman-at-war-with-history/8e0ba15a-961b-473c-baca-61d8163f169e.

218 David Plotz, "Croatian President Franjo Tudjman," Slate, December 10, 1999, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/1999/12/croatian-president-franjo-tudjman.html.

- **219** Zimmermann, 25, 61, 76–77.
- **220** Zimmermann, 160.
- **221** Chris Hedges, "Croatian's Confession Describes Torture and Killing on Vast Scale," *New York Times*, September 5, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/09/05/world/croatian-s-confession-describes-torture-and-killing-on-vast-scale.html.
- 222 Gibbs, 67.
- **223** Staff, "Bloody Path to a 'Greater Serbia," *Independent*, August 6, 1991, (Cited in Gibbs, 88); Stephen Engelberg, "Yugoslav Ethnic Hatreds Raise Fears of a War Without an End," *New York Times*, December 23, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/12/23/world/brutal-impasse-yugoslav-war-special-report-yugoslav-ethnic-hatreds-raise-fears.html.
- **224** Blaine Harden, "3-Month Ordeal End for Battered Vukovar," *Washington Post*, November 18, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/11/19/3-month-ordeal-ends-for-battered-vukovar/709e0372-8e76-480a-b081-9ceefbca93da.
- **225** "The Vance Plan," Peace Agreements Database, December 1, 1991, https://peaceagreements.org/view/1173.
- **226** Zimmermann, 160.
- **227** Szamuely, 102–11.
- **228** Peter Radan, "Post-secession international borders: a critical analysis of the opinions of the Badinter Arbitration Commission," *Melbourne University Law Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2000), 50–76. **229** Gibbs, 98.
- 230 Rick Atkinson and Ann Devroy, "Bush: Iraq Won't Decide Timing of Ground War," *Washington Post*, February 2, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/02/02/bush-iraq-wont-decide-timing-of-ground-war/23c6b07b-7970-4568-8fbe-295562533549; James Gerstenzang, "A Defiant but Upbeat Bush Goes on Road: President: Hussein Will Learn That 'What We Say Goes,' The Chief Executive Tells Cheering Crowds at Three Military Bases," *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-02-02-mn-369-story.html.
- **231** Edward S. Herman and David Peterson, "The Dismantling of Yugoslavia (Part I)," *Monthly Review*, October 1, 2007, https://monthlyreview.org/2007/10/01/the-dismantling-of-yugoslavia.
- 232 Szamuely, 94–95.
- 233 Zimmermann, 41–42.
- 234 Zimmermann, 92–93.
- 235 Zimmermann, 116, 135–36, 172.
- 236 Zimmermann, 172–73, 177.
- 237 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- 238 Szamuely, 82–86.
- **239** David Binder, "US Recognizes 3 Yugoslav Republics as Independent," *New York Times*, April 8, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/04/08/world/us-recognizes-3-yugoslav-republics-as-independent.html.
- 240 Szamuely, 82–86.
- 241 See below.
- 242 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY; Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.
- **243** Zimmermann, 196.
- **244** Zimmermann, 116–17.
- **245** Laura Silber, "Bosnians Hold Independence Referendum," *Washington Post*, February 29, 1992, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/03/01/bosnians-hold-independence-referendum/9aade8bb-a390-4b3e-82ce-50dee3822ccc.

- **246** Gibbs, 116–19.
- 247 Zimmermann, 181–82.
- 248 Gibbs, 119.
- 249 Gibbs, 151.
- 250 Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Part 1, Chapter 12, Section 3, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicar eportniod en.pdf.

- 251 Gibbs, 152.
- **252** Gibbs, 155.
- **253** Zimmermann, 178.
- **254** Zimmermann, 214.
- **255** Zimmermann, 134.
- 256 Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "America and Bosnia," The National Interest, September 1, 1993, https://nationalinterest.org/article/america-and-bosnia-849.
- 257 Szamuely, 101, 112; Gibbs, 107–08.
- **258** Zimmermann, 178.
- **259** George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

- 260 Ambassador James Bissett, "History of Western Interference in the Balkans," Balkan Future, 1999, https://deltax.net/bissett/history.pdf.
- 261 "The Future of the Balkans: An Interview with David Owen," Foreign Affairs, March 1, 1993, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/1993-03-01/interview-david-owen-balkans.
- 262 "Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Carrington-Cutiliero [sic] Plan of March 1992)," Peace Agreements Database, March 18, 1992, https://peaceagreements.org/view/547; "Srebrenica Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, April 10, 2002, http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod en.pdf.
- **263** Zimmermann, 173.
- 264 "Bosniaks 'Could Have Stopped Years of Bloodshed," Balkan Transitional Justice, February 22, 2013, https://balkaninsight.com/2013/02/22/karadzic-calls-former-peace-mediator.
- **265** George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- 266 James Bissett, "Western Interference," Balkan Future, http://deltax.net/bissett/western/bosnia.htm.
- 267 Damjan Krnjevic-Miskovic, "Obituary: Alija Izetbegovic, 1925–2003," The National Interest, October 22, 2003, https://nationalinterest.org/article/obituary-alija-izetbegovic-1925-2003-2458.
- **268** Damjan Krnjevic-Miskovic, "Obituary: Alija Izetbegovic, 1925–2003," *The National Interest*, October 22, 2003, https://nationalinterest.org/article/obituary-alija-izetbegovic-1925-2003-2458.
- **269** Zimmermann, 190.
- 270 David Binder, "US Policymakers on Bosnia Admit Errors in Opposing Partition in 1992," New York Times, August 29, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/08/29/world/us-policymakers-on-bosnia-admiterrors-in-opposing-partition-in-1992.html.
- 271 Paul Lewis, "Two Leaders Propose Dividing Bosnia Into Three Areas," New York Times, June 17, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/06/17/world/2-leaders-propose-dividing-bosnia-into-three-areas.html.
- 272 Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "America and Bosnia," The National Interest, September 1, 1993, https://nationalinterest.org/article/america-and-bosnia-849.
- 273 Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "America and Bosnia," The National Interest, September 1, 1993, https://nationalinterest.org/article/america-and-bosnia-849.

274 Szamuely, 116–17.

275 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

276 David Binder, "Thoughts on United States policy toward Yugoslavia," *South Slav Journal*, 16, nos. 61–62, 1995, quoted in Gibbs, 107–08.

277 Zimmermann, 191–92.

278 Zimmermann, 192.

279 Roger Cohen, "Balkan Moral Order Upset As Victim Becomes Victor," *New York Times*, November 6, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/11/06/weekinreview/the-world-balkan-moral-order-upset-as-victim-becomes-victor.html.

280 Szamuely, 151–58; Gibbs, 120–22.

281 David Binder, "US Policymakers on Bosnia Admit Errors in Opposing Partition in 1992," *New York Times*, August 29, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/08/29/world/us-policymakers-on-bosnia-admit-errors-in-opposing-partition-in-1992.html; See Chapter Two.

282 Vladislav Zubok, "The post-Soviet roots of the war in Ukraine," *The Spectator*, February 26, 2022, https://spectator.co.uk/article/the-post-soviet-roots-of-the-war-in-ukraine.

283 "The North Atlantic Treaty," NATO, April 4, 1949, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohg/official texts 17120.htm.

284 Harry Truman, "Statement by the President on the Situation in Korea," White House, June 27,

1950, https://trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/173/statement-president-situation-korea.

285 Sen. Robert A. Taft, "Speech on the North Atlantic Treaty," US Senate, July 26, 1949,

https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/speech-on-the-north-atlantic-treaty.

286 David Beito, "Robert Taft and the Case Against NATO," Historians Against the War, October 11, 2008,

 $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20081026211928/http://historiansagainstwar.org/blog/2008/10/robert-taft-and-case-against-nato.html.}$

287 President Harry Truman, "Inaugural Address," Truman Library, January 20, 1949,

https://trumanlibraryinstitute.org/historic-speeches-trumans-inaugural-address; George Kennan, "Long Telegram," US State Department, February 22, 1946,

https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm; "X" (George F. Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1, 1947, https://foreignaffairs.com/russian-

federation/george-kennan-sources-soviet-conduct; Paul Nitze, et al., NSC 68, April 14, 1950,

https://info.publicintelligence.net/US-NSC-68.pdf; William F. Buckley, "The Party and the Deep Blue Sea," *Commonweal*, January 25, 1952, https://archive.is/1hwV9.

288 Melvyn B. Krauss, "Do We Need New Allies? No, It's Just Welfare for Europe," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 1998, https://wsj.com/articles/SB889653261535750000.

289 Frederick Kempe, "Brent Scowcroft on the Fall of the Berlin Wall," *New Atlanticist*, November 2, 2009, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/brent-scowcroft-on-the-fall-of-the-berlin-wall.

290 Paul Pillar, "NATO Expansion and the Road to Simferopol," *The National Interest*, April 5, 2014, https://nationalinterest.org/blog/paul-pillar/nato-expansion-the-road-simferopol-10200.

291 Staff, "Sam Nunn," Nuclear Threat Initiative, https://nti.org/about/people/sam-nunn.

292 "Memorandum for the President from Anthony Lake, 'European Security/NATO Enlargement Progress Report,'" White House, July 17, 1995, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32230-document-7-memorandum-president-anthony-lake-european-securitynato-enlargement.

Chapter 2: Bill Clinton

1 Michael R. Gordon, "Russia Remains Uneasy Over NATO's Expansion," *New York Times*, March 14, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/03/14/world/russia-remains-uneasy-over-nato-s-expansion.html; Matt

- Frost, "NATO: Russia Not Happy About Expansion," RFERL, March 9, 1999, https://rferl.org/a/1090795.html.
- **2** Thomas W. Lippman, "NATO Embraces 3 From Warsaw Pact," *Washington Post*, March 13, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/daily/april99/nato0313.htm.
- **3** Stuart D. Goldman, "Russian Conventional Armed Forces: On the Verge of Collapse?" Congressional Research Service, September 4, 1997, https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/97-820.pdf.
- 4 Madeleine Albright, Madam Secretary: A Memoir (New York: Miramax, 2003), 167.
- **5** Strobe Talbott, "Talbott Speech On NATO Enlargement At Atlantic Council," May 20, 1997, https://web.archive.org/web/19970617062028/https://mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/strbnato.htm.
- **6** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- 7 Strobe Talbott, *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy* (New York: Random House, 2002), 96.
- **8** "Retranslation of Yeltsin letter on NATO expansion," National Security Archive, September 15, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16376-document-04-retranslation-yeltsin-letter.
- **9** Ronald Asmus, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004), 47.
- 10 Sarotte, 168.
- 11 Elaine Sciolino, "US to Back Yeltsin if He Suspends Congress," *New York Times*, March 13, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/03/13/world/us-to-back-yeltsin-if-he-suspends-congress.html.
- **12** Jonathan Steele and David Hearst, "Yeltsin Crushes Revolt," *Guardian*, October 5, 1993, https://theguardian.com/world/1993/oct/05/russia.davidhearst; See below.
- 13 Warren Christopher, "A New Generation of Russian Democrats," Speech Vault, October 23, 1993, http://speeches-usa.com/Transcripts/warren-christopher-russian.html.
- **14** Warren Christopher, "A New Generation of Russian Democrats," Speech Vault, October 23, 1993, http://speeches-usa.com/Transcripts/warren_christopher-russian.html.
- 15 Albright, 168.
- 16 Asmus, 50.
- 17 John Podesta/Todd Stern to the President, "NSC Memos for Meeting with Secretary Christopher," Attached: Anthony Lake to the President: "The NATO Summit and Europe's East," White House, October 19, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32225-document-2-john-podestatodd-stern-president-nsc-memos-meeting-secretary-christopher.
- **18** "Secretary Christopher's Meeting with President Yeltsin," National Security Archive, October 22, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16380-document-08-secretary-christopher-s-meeting.
- **19** James Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why It Matters," War on the Rocks, July 12, 2016, https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters.
- **20** "Secretary Christopher's Meeting with President Yeltsin," National Security Archive, October 22, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16380-document-08-secretary-christopher-s-meeting.
- 21 James Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why It Matters," War on the Rocks, July 12, 2016, https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters; "Secretary Christopher's Meeting with President Yeltsin," National Security Archive, October 22, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16380-document-08-secretary-christopher-s-meeting.

 22 Talbott, 101.

- 23 "Secretary Christopher's meeting with Foreign Minister Kozyrev: NATO, Elections, Regional Issues," US State Department, October 25, 1993, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16379-document-07-secretary-christopher-s-meeting.
- 24 Goldgeier, 85.
- **25** Asmus, 61–62; Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- **26** James Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why It Matters," War on the Rocks, July 12, 2016, https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters.
- 27 "The President's Meeting with Czech Leaders," US State Department, January 11, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16383-document-11-president-s-meeting-czech.
- **28** President Bill Clinton, "The President's News Conference With Visegrad Leaders in Prague," White House, January 12, 1994, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1994-01-17/pdf/WCPD-1994-01-17-Pg41.pdf.
- **29** Cable from US Embassy Moscow to State Department, "President's Dinner with President Yeltsin," January 14, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/30920-document-8-cable-us-embassy-moscow-state-department-presidents-dinner-president.
- **30** Sarotte, 188.
- **31** Sarotte, 226–27.
- **32** Steven Erlanger, "Russia Warns NATO on Expanding West," *New York Times*, November 26, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/11/26/world/russia-warns-nato-on-expanding-east.html.
- **33** Suzanne Crow, "Russian Views on an Eastward Expansion of NATO," *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 2, No. 41 (October 1993), 21–24.
- **34** Steven Erlanger, "Russia Warns NATO on Expanding West," *New York Times*, November 26, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/11/26/world/russia-warns-nato-on-expanding-east.html.
- **35** "Ambassador Pickering Cable to Secretary of State: Russia and NATO," December 6, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/media/27164/ocr.
- **36** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "NATO Expansion The Budapest Blow Up 1994," National Security Archive, November 24, 2021, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2021-11-24/nato-expansion-budapest-blow-1994.
- **37** Sarotte, 182, 194–95; Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- **38** Sarotte, 191.
- 39 Sarotte, 195.
- **40** "Anthony Lake to the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, UN Ambassador, and Joint Chiefs Chairman, 'NSC Staff Paper on NATO Expansion,'" White House, October 14, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32226-document-3-anthony-lake-secretary-state-secretary-defense-un-ambassador-and-joint.
- **41** Douglas Waller, "How Clinton Decided on NATO Expansion," *Time*, July 14, 1997, https://time.com/archive/6731121/how-clinton-decided-on-nato-expansion.
- **42** President Bill Clinton, "Remarks to Future Leaders of Europe in Brussels," January 9, 1994, https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-future-leaders-europe-brussels.
- **43** President Bill Clinton, "The President's News Conference With Visegrad Leaders in Prague," White House, January 12, 1994, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1994-01-17/pdf/WCPD-1994-01-17-Pg41.pdf.

- **44** Henry Kissinger, "Be Realistic About Russia," *Washington Post*, January 24, 1994, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1994/01/25/be-realistic-about-russia/21592703-ac0c-4d4c-9a88-64391b853976.
- **45** Staff, "Zbigniew Brzezinski," *New York Times*, December 17, 1976, https://nytimes.com/1976/12/17/archives/zbigniew-brzezinski.html.
- **46** Zbigniew Brzezinski, "A Plan for Europe How to Expand NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-01-01/plan-europe.
- 47 Brzezinski, 59.
- 48 Brzezinski, 71.
- **49** Sarotte, 191.
- **50** Press Release, "CSCE becomes OSCE," OSCE Secretariat, January 3, 1995, https://osce.org/secretariat/52527.
- **51** Strobe Talbott, "Memorandum for Anthony Lake: Kozyrev's 'European Security Plan," January 12, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/30915-document-3-memorandum-anthony-lake-strobe-talbott-subject-kozyrevs-european-security.
- **52** Sarotte, 217.
- **53** Sarotte, 163.
- **54** Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "What Yeltsin Heard: From Cold War to, 'Cold Peace," National Security Archive, November 24, 2021, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2021-11-24/nato-expansion-budapest-blow-1994.
- **55** Talbott, 136.
- **56** "Communiqué NATO M-NAC-2(94)116 Issued at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council NATO Headquarters, Brussels," NATO, December 1, 1994, https://nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c941201a.htm.
- **57** Sarotte, 201.
- **58** President Bill Clinton, "Remarks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Budapest, Hungary," December 5, 1994, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1994-book2/pdf/PPP-1994-book2-doc-pg2144.pdf.
- 59 See Chapter Four.
- **60** Norman Kempster and Dean E. Murphy, "Broader NATO May Bring 'Cold Peace,' Yeltsin Warns," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1994, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1994-12-06-mn-5629-story.html.
- **61** "Gore Debrief on One-on-One w/ Yeltsin,' Notes on Vice President Gore's Meeting with President Yeltsin, Moscow," December 16, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32227-document-4-gore-debrief-one-one-w-yeltsin-notes-vice-president-gores-meeting.
- **62** Elaine Sciolino, "Yeltsin Says NATO is Trying to Split Continent Again," *New York Times*, December 6, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/12/06/world/yeltsin-says-nato-is-trying-to-split-continent-again.html.
- **63** Andrei Kozyrev, *The Firebird: The Elusive Fate of Russian Democracy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), 283.
- **64** "'Gore Debrief on One-on-One w/ Yeltsin,' Notes on Vice President Gore's Meeting with President Yeltsin, Moscow," December 16, 1994, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32227-document-4-gore-debrief-one-one-w-yeltsin-notes-vice-president-gores-meeting.
- 65 President Bill Clinton, "Remarks in Cleveland, Ohio, at the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe," Administration of William J. Clinton, January 13, 1995, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1995-book1/pdf/PPP-1995-book1-doc-pg41.pdf.
- 66 Sarotte, 208-09.
- 67 Burns, 91.
- 68 Burns, 92–93, 108.

- **69** Burns, 107.
- 70 Italics removed from original.
- 71 Strobe Talbott, "Memorandum to the President: The Moment of Truth," US State Department, April 15, 1995, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/27170-doc-16-strobe-talbott-memorandum-president-moment-truth.
- 72 "Summary report on One-on-One meeting between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin," Kremlin, May 10, 1995, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16391-document-19-summary-report-one-one-meeting. 73 Burns, 109; Asmus, 100.
- 74 Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "What Yeltsin Heard: From Cold War to, 'Cold Peace," National Security Archive, November 24, 2021, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2021-11-24/nato-expansion-budapest-blow-1994.
- **75** Burns, 110–11.
- 76 Burns, 107–08.
- 77 Alexey Pushkov, "Don't Isolate Us: A Russian View of NATO Expansion," *The National Interest*, March 1, 1997, https://nationalinterest.org/article/dont-isolate-us-a-russian-view-of-nato-expansion-722.
- **78** "Memorandum for the President from Anthony Lake, 'European Security/NATO Enlargement Progress Report,'" White House, July 17, 1995, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32230-document-7-memorandum-president-anthony-lake-european-securitynato-enlargement.
- 79 Dan Hebditch, "Allies and Lies," BBC, June 22, 2001,
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/1390536.stm.
- 80 "Eurocorps Overview," EU Parliament, 2019,
- https://europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/sede/dv/sede260215overvieweurocorps_/se de260215overvieweurocorps en.pdf.
- 81 "Franco-British St. Malo Declaration," December 4, 1998,
- https://cvce.eu/obj/franco_british_st_malo_declaration_4_december_1998-en-f3cd16fb-fc37-4d52-936f-c8e9bc80f24f.html.
- **82** Michael White, "Thatcher decries European army," *Guardian*, December 7, 1999, https://theguardian.com/world/1999/dec/08/eu.politics.
- **83** Julius W. Friend, "US Policy Toward Franco-German Cooperation," in Patrick McCarthy ed., *France-Germany, 1983–1993: The Struggle to Cooperate* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), 172–73.
- 84 Edward Mortimer, "Europe's teetering pillar," Financial Times, May 1, 1991, (Cited in Gibbs, 29).
- **85** Lawrence Kaplan, *NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance* (New York: Twayne, 1994), 175.
- **86** William T. Johnsen and Thomas-Durell Young, "France's Evolving Policy Toward NATO," *Strategic Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Summer 1995), 1–20, https://archive.is/O8IY3.
- 87 Staff, "Eurocorps, A Force for the European Union and NATO," 2019,
- https://europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/sede/dv/sede260215overvieweurocorps_/sede260215overvieweurocorps en.pdf.
- 88 Ted Galen Carpenter, Beyond Nato: Staying Out of Europe's Wars (Washington: Cato, 1994), 45.
- **89** Pat Buchanan, *A Republic, Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny* (New York: Regnery, 1999), 17–18, 22.
- **90** Samuel Charap and Timothy J. Colton, *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia* (London: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2017), 41.
- **91** George Kennan, "Long Telegram," US State Department, February 22, 1946, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm; "X" (George F. Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1, 1947, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sources-soviet-conduct.

- **92** James A. Warren, "The Man Who Knew Russia Best: George Kennan's Revealing Diaries," Daily Beast, March 10, 2014, https://thedailybeast.com/the-man-who-knew-russia-best-george-kennans-revealing-diaries.
- 93 Talbott, 220.
- **94** George F. Kennan, "A Fateful Error," *New York Times*, February 5, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/02/05/opinion/a-fateful-error.html.
- **95** James A. Warren, "The Man Who Knew Russia Best: George Kennan's Revealing Diaries," Daily Beast, March 10, 2014, https://thedailybeast.com/the-man-who-knew-russia-best-george-kennans-revealing-diaries.
- **96** Thomas L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs; Now a Word From X," *New York Times*, May 2, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/05/02/opinion/foreign-affairs-now-a-word-from-x.html.
- 97 "Friedman unit," Urban Dictionary, https://urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=friedman%20unit.
- **98** Thomas L. Friedman, "The Big Bang," *New York Times*, November 27, 1996, https://nytimes.com/1996/11/27/opinion/the-big-bang.html.
- **99** Stephan Kieninger, "The Strobe Talbott Papers at the State Department's Virtual Reading Room," Woodrow Wilson Center, February 2, 2022, https://wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/strobe-talbott-papers-state-departments-virtual-reading-room.
- **100** Strobe Talbott, "The Birth of the Global Nation," *Time*, July 20, 1992, https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,976015-1,00.html.
- **101** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- 102 Asmus, 74–76.
- **103** Strobe Talbott, "Why NATO Should Grow," *New York Review of Books*, August 10, 1995, https://nybooks.com/articles/1995/08/10/why-nato-should-grow.
- **104** Talbott, 231–32.
- **105** "Draft Letter from Strobe Talbott to George Kennan," White House, February 9, 1997, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32234-document-11-draft-letter-strobe-talbott-george-kennan.
- **106** Sam Nunn and Brent Scowcroft, "NATO: A Debate Recast," *New York Times*, February 4, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/02/04/opinion/nato-a-debate-recast.html.
- **107** John J. Mearsheimer, "Getting Ukraine wrong," *New York Times*, March 13, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/03/14/opinion/getting-ukraine-wrong.html.
- **108** Julian Borger, "Russian hostility 'partly caused by west', claims former US defence head," *Guardian*, March 9, 2016, https://theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/09/russian-hostility-to-west-partly-caused-by-west.
- **109** John J. Mearsheimer, "Getting Ukraine wrong," *New York Times*, March 13, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/03/14/opinion/getting-ukraine-wrong.html.
- **110** George F. Kennan, "A Fateful Error," *New York Times*, February 5, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/02/05/opinion/a-fateful-error.html.
- 111 R.W. Apple Jr., "Road to Approval Is Rocky, And the Gamble Is Perilous," *New York Times*, May 15, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/05/15/world/road-to-approval-is-rocky-and-the-gamble-is-perilous.html.
- 112 Paul Nitze, et al., NSC 68, April 14, 1950, https://info.publicintelligence.net/US-NSC-68.pdf.
- 113 Stanley Resor, et al., "Opposition to NATO Expansion," Arms Control Association, June 26, 1997, https://armscontrol.org/act/1997-06/arms-control-today/opposition-nato-expansion.
- 114 Stanley Resor, et al., "Opposition to NATO Expansion," Arms Control Association, June 26, 1997, https://armscontrol.org/act/1997-06/arms-control-today/opposition-nato-expansion.

- 115 Ted Galen Carpenter, "Many predicted Nato expansion would lead to war. Those warnings were ignored," *Guardian*, February 28, 2022, https://theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/feb/28/nato-expansion-war-russia-ukraine.
- 116 Jack F. Matlock Jr., "I was there: NATO and the origins of the Ukraine crisis," Responsible Statecraft, February 15, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/02/15/the-origins-of-the-ukraine-crisis-and-how-conflict-can-be-avoided.
- 117 Eric Schmitt, "Iron Ring' Around Russia? Comment Provokes Outburst," *New York Times*, March 20, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/03/20/world/iron-ring-around-russia-comment-provokes-outburst.html.
- **118** Michael Dobbs, "Americans Yet To Be Sold On Need For Larger NATO," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1997, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/07/03/americans-yet-to-be-sold-on-need-for-larger-nato/be877ada-3aa9-4bdf-bd28-2a6650963f91.
- **119** Michael Dobbs, "Nunn Breaks Ranks On NATO Expansion," *Washington Post*, June 23, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/06/23/nunn-breaks-ranks-on-nato-expansion/09e2b0a8-2558-4fcc-9294-e229b131f7e3.
- 120 "Bill Bradley on Russia and NATO," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, March 4, 2008, https://youtube.com/watch?v=K-alxZvUCS8; Stanley Resor, et al., "Opposition to NATO Expansion," Arms Control Association, June 26, 1997, https://armscontrol.org/act/1997-06/arms-control-today/opposition-nato-expansion; Michael Dobbs, "Clinton Prepares NATO Sales Pitch," https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/03/13/clinton-prepares-nato-sales-pitch/4a774abb-ce4a-472c-b5d7-35ca98b472a5.
- **121** "NATO Enlargement and Russia," EveryCRSReport.com, April 14, 1998, https://everycrsreport.com/reports/97-477.html.
- **122** Edward N. Luttwak, "A Look At . . . Expanding NATO," *Washington Post*, July 6, 1997, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1997/07/06/a-look-at-expanding-nato/2a01bdb8-b252-422c-ae8f-f6b7dad1eee7.
- **123** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- **124** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- 125 "The Debate on NATO Enlargement," Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Fifth Congress, first session, October 9, 1997, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-105shrg46832/html/CHRG-105shrg46832.htm.
- **126** Tyler Marshall, "In Letter, Experts Decry NATO Expansion," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-06-27-mn-7318-story.html.
- **127** Stanley Resor, et al., "Opposition to NATO Expansion," Arms Control Association, June 26, 1997, https://armscontrol.org/act/1997-06/arms-control-today/opposition-nato-expansion.
- **128** Theodore C. Sorensen, "The Star Spangled Shrug," *Washington Post*, July 2, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1995/07/02/the-star-spangled-shrug/f0af1fb3-feed-4e1a-92a1-a136886471b4.
- **129** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- **130** Editorial Board, "Don't Rush to Expand NATO," *New York Times*, November 30, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/11/30/opinion/don-t-rush-to-expand-nato.html.

- **131** "Dennis Ross Memorandum to Strobe Talbott," US State Department, February 10, 1997, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32235-document-12-dennis-ross-memorandum-strobe-talbott.
- **132** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017,

https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-

- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- **133** Greg Weiner, "Moynihan and the Neocons," *National Affairs*, Winter 2016, https://nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/moynihan-and-the-neocons.
- **134** Eric Schmitt, "'Iron Ring' Around Russia? Comment Provokes Outburst," *New York Times*, March 20, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/03/20/world/iron-ring-around-russia-comment-provokes-outburst.html.
- **135** Senator Joe Biden, "Speech on NATO Enlargement to the Atlantic Council," C-SPAN, June 18, 1997, https://c-span.org/video/?c5073373/user-clip-joe-biden-russias-response-nato-expansion-baltics; Gerrard Kaonga, "Video of Joe Biden Warning of Russian Hostility if NATO Expands Resurfaces," *Newsweek*, March 8, 2022, https://newsweek.com/joe-biden-resurfaced-clip-russia-baltic-states-1997-video-1685864.
- **136** "NATO Enlargement and Russia," EveryCRSReport.com, April 14, 1998, https://everycrsreport.com/reports/97-477.html.
- **137** Carla Anne Robbins, "How Little-Debated Expansion Plan Will Alter the Structure of NATO," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 1998, https://wsj.com/articles/SB889655079880546500.
- **138** William J. Clinton, "Commencement Address at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York," The American Presidency Project, May 31, 1997,
- https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/commencement-address-the-united-states-military-academy-west-point-new-york-0; Eugene J. Carroll Jr., "NATO Expansion Would Be an Epic 'Fateful Error," Los Angeles Times, July 7, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-jul-07-me-10464-story.html.
- **139** Jack F. Matlock Jr., "Today's Crisis Over Ukraine Was Predictable and Avoidable," Antiwar.com, February 15, 2022, https://original.antiwar.com/jack_matlock/2022/02/14/todays-crisis-over-ukraine-was-avoidable-and-predictable.
- **140** Henry Kissinger, "Atlantic Alliance," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-06-08-op-1228-story.html.
- **141** Brzezinski, 102.
- **142** Ted Galen Carpenter and Barbara Conry, *NATO Enlargement: Illusions and Reality* (Washington, D.C.: Cato, 1998), 205.
- **143** Eugene J. Carroll Jr., "NATO Expansion Would Be an Epic 'Fateful Error," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-jul-07-me-10464-story.html.
- **144** Jonathan Dean, "Losing Russia or Keeping NATO: Must We Choose?" *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (June 1995), https://jstor.org/stable/23625806.
- **145** Richard T. Davies, "Should NATO Grow? A Dissent," *New York Review of Books*, September 21, 1995, https://nybooks.com/articles/1995/09/21/should-nato-growa-dissent.
- **146** "Testimony of Jonathan Dean, Senior Arms Control Adviser from the Union of Concerned Scientists," US Senate, October 9, 1997, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-105shrg46832.htm.
- **147** Declassified Memo, "Lake Meeting with President Jacques Chirac of France," White House, November 1, 1996, https://archives.gov/files/declassification/iscap/pdf/2016-140-doc13.pdf.
- **148** Max Jakobsen, "Remaking NATO: A Useful Pause for a Do-or-Die Study," *International Herald Tribune*, January 14, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/01/14/opinion/IHT-remaking-nato-a-useful-pause-for-a-doordie-study.html.

- **149** Matthew Dal Santo, "Is Putin Right Wing? Not by Russian Standards," The Drum, November 11, 2014, https://abc.net.au/news/2014-11-12/dal-santo-is-putin-right-wing/5884772.
- **150** Michael MccGwire, "NATO Expansion: 'A Policy Error of Historic Importance," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 1998), 23–42, https://jstor.org/stable/20097504.
- **151** Charles A. Kupchan, "Expand NATO And Split Europe," *New York Times*, November 27, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/11/27/opinion/expand-nato-and-split-europe.html.
- 152 "The Debate on NATO Enlargement," Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Fifth Congress, first session, October 9, 1997, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-105shrg46832/html/CHRG-105shrg46832.htm.
- **153** Peter Certo, "Peter Rodman," Militarist Monitor, February 24, 2016, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/peter-rodman-1943-2008.
- **154** Michael Mandelbaum, "Preserving the New Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-05-01/preserving-new-peace.
- **155** Zbigniew Brzezinski, "A Plan for Europe How to Expand NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-01-01/plan-europe. **156** Brzezinski, 102.
- **157** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on the United Efforts of the Free World to Support the People of Ukraine," White House, March 26, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine.
- **158** Julian Borger, "Russian hostility 'partly caused by west', claims former US defence head," *Guardian*, March 9, 2016, https://theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/09/russian-hostility-to-west-partly-caused-by-west.
- 159 Perry, 128, 129.
- **160** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf.
- **161** William J. Perry, "How the US Lost Russia and How We Can Restore Relations," Outrider, September 5, 2022, https://outrider.org/nuclear-weapons/articles/how-us-lost-russia-and-how-we-can-restore-relations.
- 162 Albright, 167.
- 163 William J. Clinton, "Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of The Netherlands," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, William J. Clinton* 1994, Book I, January 4, 1994 (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1995), 6.
- **164** Douglas Brinkley, "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine," *Foreign Policy*, 106 (Spring 1997), 110–27, https://jstor.org/stable/1149177.
- 165 Albright, 254.
- **166** Norman Cousins, *The Pathology of Power*, (Foreword by George Kennan) (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 11–12.
- **167** Robert Higgs, "Wartime Prosperity? A Reassessment of the US Economy in the 1940s," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (March 1992), 41–60, https://jstor.org/stable/2123344.
- **168** Richard Cummings, "US: Lockheed Stock and Two Smoking Barrels," *Playboy*, January 16, 2007, https://archive.is/zN4Dz.
- **169** Richard Cummings, "US: Lockheed Stock and Two Smoking Barrels," *Playboy*, January 16, 2007, https://archive.is/zN4Dz.
- **170** Jeff Gerth and Tim Weiner, "Arms Makers See Bonanza In Selling NATO Expansion," *New York Times*, June 29, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/06/29/world/arms-makers-see-bonanza-in-selling-nato-expansion.html.

- **171** Richard Cummings, "US: Lockheed Stock and Two Smoking Barrels," *Playboy*, January 16, 2007, https://archive.is/zN4Dz.
- **172** Andrzej Stylinski, "Poland to Buy Lockheed Jets," *Washington Post*, December 28, 2002, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/business/2002/12/28/poland-to-buy-lockheed-jets/ce4c5eb8-d570-41a4-91da-e2160159d241.
- **173** Lidia Kelly, "Poland signs \$4.75 billion deal for US Patriot missile system facing Russia," Reuters, March 28, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/us-raytheon-poland-patriot/poland-signs-4-75-billion-deal-for-u-s-patriot-missile-system-facing-russia-idUSKBN1H417S.
- **174** Jeff Gerth and Tim Weiner, "Arms Makers See Bonanza In Selling NATO Expansion," *New York Times*, June 29, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/06/29/world/arms-makers-see-bonanza-in-selling-nato-expansion.html; Staff, "US Armsmakers See Huge Dollars in NATO Expansion," *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1998, https://chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-03-30-9803300158-story.html.
- **175** Interview with author, Jim Hale, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, July 6, 2016, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/7616-jim-hale.
- **176** Mary Jacoby, "Lobbyists' NATO Goldmine," *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 2007, https://wsj.com/articles/SB118066857163421159.
- 177 Thomas Fuller, "American lobbyist swayed Eastern Europe's Iraq response," *New York Times*, February 20, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/02/20/news/american-lobbyist-swayed-eastern-europes-iraq-response.html.
- **178** Staff, "Iraq study estimates war-related deaths at 461,000," BBC, October 16, 2013, https://bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24547256; Ben Taub, "Iraq's Post-ISIS Campaign of Revenge," *The New Yorker*, December 17, 2018, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2018/12/24/iraqs-post-isis-campaign-of-revenge.
- **179** Tim Smart, "Count Corporate America Among NATO's Staunchest Allies," *Washington Post*, April 13, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1999/04/13/count-corporate-america-among-natos-staunchest-allies/e6436e9e-5dbe-4afc-bfa7-1372bb40d592.
- **180** "President Dwight Eisenhower Farewell Address," C-SPAN, January 17, 1961, https://c-span.org/video/?15026-1/president-dwight-eisenhower-farewell-address.
- **181** Ben Freeman, "Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America," Center for International Policy, January 2020, https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1_4f06e99f35d4485b801f8dbfe33b6a3f.pdf.
- **182** Gareth Porter, "How the 'self licking ice cream cone,' prolonged the 20-year war," Responsible Statecraft, October 4, 2021, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/10/04/how-the-self-licking-ice-cream-cone-prolonged-the-20-year-war.
- **183** Jim Garamone, "Joint Vision 2020 Emphasizes Full Spectrum Dominance," American Forces Press Service, June 2, 2000, https://resdal.org/Archivo/d00000cf.htm.
- **184** Ludwig von Mises, *Bureaucracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), https://cdn.mises.org/Bureaucracy_3.pdf.
- **185** Mark Perry, "The US Army's War Over Russia," *Politico Magazine*, May 12, 2016, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2016/05/army-internal-fight-russia-defense-budget-213885.
- **186** Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO expansion: a counterfactual analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security*, November 1, 2017, https://cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-
- $\underline{core/content/view/356448EA9D5C63C53BE1EC6B33FE470A/S2057563717000165a.pdf}.$
- **187** Jack F. Matlock Jr. interview with the Middlebury Institute of International Studies, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=HWTIj-R-uZg.
- **188** Jonathan Guyer, "How America's NATO expansion obsession plays into the Ukraine crisis," Vox.com, January 27, 2022, https://vox.com/platform/amp/22900113/nato-ukraine-russia-crisis-clinton-expansion.

- **189** James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether but When: The US Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 20–21.
- **190** Michael Cox, *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Superpower Without a Mission?* (London: Cassell, 1996), 67.
- **191** Rep. Jimmy Hayes, et al., "H.R.7 National Security Revitalization Act," US House of Representatives, March 21, 1995, https://congress.gov/bill/104th-congress/house-bill/7.
- **192** Warren Christopher, "Memorandum for the President," 2016-179 doc 1, November 1994, https://archives.gov/declassification/iscap/pdf/2016-179-doc-1.
- **193** Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Interview on NBC-TV *The Today Show* with Matt Lauer, Columbus, Ohio, February 19, 1998, As released by the Office of the Spokesman US State Department, https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/1998/980219a.html.
- **194** Osama Bin Laden, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders, World Islamic Front Statement," February 23, 1998, https://irp.fas.org/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm.
- 195 Horton, Enough Already, 33–49.
- **196** Steven Pifer, "Did NATO Promise Not to Enlarge? Gorbachev Says 'No," Brookings Institution, November 6, 2014, https://brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/11/06/did-nato-promise-not-to-enlarge-gorbachev-says-no.
- **197** Maxim Kórshunov, "Mikhail Gorbachev: I Am Against All Walls," RBTH, October 16, 2014, https://rbth.com/international/2014/10/16/mikhail gorbachev i am against all walls 40673.html.
- **198** Adrian Blomfield and Mike Smith, "Gorbachev: US Could Start New Cold War," *Telegraph*, May 6, 2008, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/1933223/Gorbachev-US-could-start-new-Cold-War.html.
- **199** Uwe Klußmann, et al., "Did the West Break Its Promise to Moscow?" *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2009, https://spiegel.de/international/world/nato-s-eastward-expansion-did-the-west-break-its-promise-to-moscow-a-663315.html.
- **200** "Russia Gorbachev Comments on NATO Expansion," AP, April 16, 1997, https://youtube.com/watch?v=3wB9uL2lKaw.
- 201 Carey Schofield, "Russian 'Betrayed' Over Expansion of NATO," Telegraph, May 20, 1997.
- **202** Carla Anne Robbins, "How Little-Debated Expansion Plan Will Alter the Structure of NATO," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 1998, https://wsj.com/articles/SB889655079880546500.
- **203** Samuel Charap, "Nato honesty on Ukraine could avert conflict with Russia," *Financial Times*, January 13, 2022, https://ft.com/content/74089d46-abb8-4daa-9ee4-e9e9e4c45ab1.
- 204 Hereafter, "Radio Liberty" in the text, "RFERL" in citations.
- **205** Don Hill, "Russia: Foreign Minister Opposes NATO Expansion Eastward," RFERL, August 9, 1996, https://rferl.org/a/1081224.html.
- **206** See Chapter One.
- **207** Lord David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey: An Uncompromising Personal Account of the International Peace Efforts Following the Breakup of the Former Yugoslavia* (Orlando: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1995), 65, 94–95.
- **208** Owen, 103.
- 209 Owen, 110-11.
- 210 Owen, 392.
- **211** See Chapter One.
- **212** Zimmermann, 222.
- 213 Owen, 103.
- **214** Paul Lewis, "Bosnia Peace Talks Yield No Progress," *New York Times*, February 8, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/02/08/world/bosnia-peace-talks-yield-no-progress.html.
- 215 Owen, 111.

216 Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Part 1, Chapter 9, Section 6, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.

217 John M. Goshko and Julia Preston, "US Officials Resist Pressure to Endorse Bosnia Peace Plan," *Washington Post*, February 4, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/02/04/us-officials-resist-pressure-to-endorse-bosnia-peace-plan/4f96459c-0c29-46d9-a647-4cf2b6109f39.

218 Anthony Lewis, "Abroad at Home; Beware of Munich," *New York Times*, January 8, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/01/08/opinion/abroad-at-home-beware-of-munich.html.

219 Owen, 96–97.

220 Gibbs, 144.

221 Bernard Gwertzman, "Vance and Brzezinski: Feuding Chapter by Chapter," *New York Times*, May 26, 1983, https://nytimes.com/1983/05/26/us/vance-and-brzezinski-feuding-chapter-by-chapter.html; Christopher Wallis, "The Thinker, The Doer and The Decider: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Cyrus Vance and the Bureaucratic Wars of the Carter Administration," Northumbria University, 2018, https://nrl.northumbria.ac.uk/id/eprint/37648/1/Wallis,%20Christopher%20phd.pdf.

222 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Bombs and Blather: The Strategy Deficit," *Washington Post*, January 17, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1993/01/17/bombs-and-blather-the-strategy-deficit/08c80d1f-66b0-4528-a9ff-f66cb70e5c5a.

223 David Binder, "Criticized as Appeaser, Vance Defends His Role in Balkans," *New York Times*, January 19, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/01/19/world/criticized-as-appeaser-vance-defends-his-role-in-balkans.html.

224 Elaine Sciolino, "US Declines to Back Peace Plan As the Balkan Talks Shift to UN," *New York Times*, February 2, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/02/02/world/us-declines-to-back-peace-plan-as-the-balkan-talks-shift-to-un.html; R.W. Apple Jr., "Mediator is Upset at US Reluctance Over Bosnia Talks," *New York Times*, February 3, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/02/03/world/mediator-is-upset-at-us-reluctance-over-bosnia-talks.html; Thomas L. Friedman, "US Will Not Push Muslims to Accept Bosnia Peace Plan," *New York Times*, February 4, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/02/04/world/us-will-not-push-muslims-to-accept-bosnia-peace-plan.html.

225 Owen, 108.

226 Owen, 118–19.

227 George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

228 Owen, 129.

229 Robert Kaiser, "Negotiator Christopher Has Been Carter's Favorite 'Secret Weapon," *Washington Post*, January 19, 1981, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1981/01/20/negotiator-christopher-has-been-carters-favorite-secret-weapon/cc44fb7d-9453-4c54-aa37-9f0e71e3b3c4.

230 Norman Kempster, "US Won't Back Efforts to Revive Bosnia Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, February 2, 1993, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-02-02-mn-954-story.html.

231 Owen, 153.

232 Elaine Sciolino, "US and Russia Agree on Strategy Accepting Serbian Gains for Now," *New York Times*, May 21, 1993, https://nytimes.com/1993/05/21/world/us-and-russia-agree-on-strategy-accepting-serbian-gains-for-now.html.

233 Owen, 181.

234 Staff, "Biden: Allies are bigots for not joining forces with US," *Tampa Bay Times*, May 12, 1993, https://tampabay.com/archive/1993/05/12/biden-allies-are-bigots-for-not-joining-forces-with-u-s.

235 Owen, 196–97.

236 Owen, 272-73.

237 "Agreement relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan, or 'Invincible plan')," Peace Agreements Database, September 16, 1993, https://peaceagreements.org/view/472.

238 Owen, 203–04.

239 Owen, 228–29.

240 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

241 Szamuely, 192.

242 Ola Flyum and David Hebditch, Srebrenica: A Town Betrayed, 2011,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=FvqHWS 4AuM.

243 Owen, 228–29.

244 Szamuely, 208–13.

245 Zimmermann, 231; Szamuely, 214–15.

246 Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.

247 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

248 Szamuely, 228–29.

249 Gibbs, 155, 162.

250 Derek Chollet, *Road to the Dayton Accords: A Study of American Statecraft* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 185.

251 Horton, *Enough Already*, 21–29.

252 Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area, Appendix II: Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992–1995, The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services," Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod_en.pdf.

253 James Bissett, "Western Interference," Balkan Future, http://deltax.net/bissett/western/bosnia.htm. **254** Lisa Beyer, "The Most Wanted Man In The World," *Time*, September 24, 2001,

https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,1000871,00.html.

255 Horton, Fool's Errand, 26–30; Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (New York: Penguin Books, 2004); George Crile, Charlie Wilson's War: The Extraordinary Story of the Largest Covert Operation in History (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); Ethan Rosen, The Bear, The Dragon, and the AK-47: How China, the United States, and radical Islamists conspired to defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan (Independently published, 2017); Michael M. Phillips, "Launching the Missile That Made History," Wall Street Journal, October 1, 2011,

http://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204138204576598851109446780; Sylvester Stallone, David Morrell and Sheldon Lettich, *Rambo III*, directed by Peter MacDonald (Vancouver: Lions Gate, 1988), https://youtube.com/watch?v=wnePRVC9Prc.

256 Staff, "Bosnia, Intelligence and the Clinton Presidency," CIA/William J. Clinton Presidential Library, October 1, 2013, https://cia.gov/static/Bosnia-Intelligence-and-the-Clinton-Presidency.pdf. **257** Michael Scheuer, *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terrorism* (Washington:

Brassey's, 2004), xviii.

258 Mark Curtis, *Secret Affairs: Britain's Collusion with Radical Islam* (London: Serpent's Tail, 2010), 207; James Risen and Doyle McManus, "US Didn't Anticipate Wider Iran Bosnia Role," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-04-23-mn-61733-story.html.

259 Evan Kohlmann, *Al-Qa'ida's Jihad in Europe: The Afghan-Bosnian Network* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004), xii.

- **260** John Sray, "Selling the Bosnian Myth," US Army Foreign Military Studies Office, October 1995, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA305349.pdf; Chris Hedges, "Outsiders Bring Islamic Fervor To the Balkans," *New York Times*, September 23, 1996, https://nytimes.com/1996/09/23/world/outsiders-bring-islamic-fervor-to-the-balkans.html.
- **261** Tim Weiner, "Blowback From the Afghan Battlefield," *New York Times*, March 13, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/03/13/magazine/blowback-from-the-afghan-battlefield.html.
- **262** John Shindler, *Unholy Terror: Bosnia, Al-Qai'da, and the Rise of the Global Jihad* (Minneapolis: Zenith, 2007), 118–19; Kohlmann, 18–23, 28–29.
- **263** Abdel Bari Atwan, *The Secret History of Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 253, 255.
- 264 Shindler, 8, 121.
- 265 Atwan, 255.
- **266** Shindler, 123.
- **267** Shindler, 128–31, 147–50, 178–81.
- **268** Curtis, 209–15.
- **269** John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* (New York: Pluto, 2000), 152.
- 270 Kohlmann, 53-64, 84-86.
- **271** Ali Soufan, *The Black Banners: The Inside Story of 9/11 and the War Against al-Qaeda* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), 69.
- **272** Blaine Harden, "Middle Eastern Muslims Helping Bosnian Defenders Against Serb Forces," *Washington Post*, August 27, 1992, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/08/27/middle-eastern-muslims-helping-bosnian-defenders-against-serb-forces/21d7d4c4-0916-409f-9fa0-b99014be985f.
- **273** William Drozdiak and David B. Ottaway, "US Helps Bosnian Army Get Arms, Europeans Say," *Washington Post*, July 28, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/07/28/us-helps-bosnian-army-get-arms-europeans-say/d6d15d34-e379-4a07-8377-d4514a332a13.
- **274** Michael Dobbs, "Saudis Funded Weapons For Bosnia, Officials Say," *Washington Post*, February 2, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/02/02/saudis-funded-weapons-for-bosnia-official-says/1a163310-2064-49f6-bd11-84bc67092ce2.
- **275** John Pomfret, "Bosnian Officials Involved in Arms Trade Tied to Radical States," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/09/22/bosnian-officials-involved-in-arms-trade-tied-to-radical-states/522c8276-6f73-4201-b0b7-6d9abbe7448b.
- **276** Peter Bergen, *Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 176.
- **277** Osama bin Laden, "Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holiest Sites," August 23, 1996, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Declaration-of-Jihad-against-the-Americans-Occupying-the-Land-of-the-Two-Holiest-Sites-Translation.pdf.
- **278** John Pomfret, "How Bosnia's Muslims Dodged Arms Embargo," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/09/22/how-bosnias-muslims-dodged-arms-embargo/b2d78043-3e34-46d9-babc-c4c335236aeb; Christopher M. Davidson, *Shadow Wars: The Secret Struggle for the Middle East* (London: One World, 2016), 145.
- **279** Dana Priest, "Foreign Muslims Fighting in Bosnia Considered Threat to US Troops," *Washington Post*, November 30, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/11/30/foreign-muslims-fighting-in-bosnia-considered-threat-to-us-troops/aa23e502-a500-4b92-ac86-44c7a672e2b5.
- **280** Chris Deliso, *The Coming Balkan Caliphate: The Threat of Radical Islam to Europe and the West* (Westport: Praeger, 2007), 6.
- **281** Brendan O'Neill, "How We Trained al-Qaeda," *The Spectator*, September 13, 2003, http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/13th-september-2003/31/how-we-trained-al-qaeda.

- **282** Interview with author, Brendan O'Neill, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, July 12, 2007, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-brendan-oneill.
- 283 Kohlmann, xii.
- **284** Richard Holbrooke, Introduction to Chollet, *Road to the Dayton Accords*, ix.
- **285** Craig Pyes, et al., "Bosnia Seen as Hospitable Base and Sanctuary for Terrorists," *Los Angeles Times*, October 7, 2001, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-oct-07-mn-54505-story.html.
- **286** James Risen, "Ex-Envoy Says Iran-Bosnia Link Was Worth Risk," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-05-22-mn-7049-story.html.
- 287 Shindler, 130–31.
- **288** Damjan Krnjevic-Miskovic, "Obituary: Alija Izetbegovic, 1925–2003," *The National Interest*, October 22, 2003, https://nationalinterest.org/article/obituary-alija-izetbegovic-1925-2003-2458.
- **289** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.

290 Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Section 5, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.

- **291** Richard J. Aldrich, "America used Islamists to arm the Bosnian Muslims," *Guardian*, April 21, 2002, https://theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/22/warcrimes.comment.
- **292** Craig Pyes, et al., "Bosnia Seen as Hospitable Base and Sanctuary for Terrorists," *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 2001, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-oct-07-mn-54505-story.html.
- **293** Marcia Christoff Kurop, "Al Qaeda's Balkan Links," *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 2001, https://wsj.com/articles/SB1004563569751363760.
- **294** Staff, "Bin Laden Was Granted Bosnian Passport," AFP, September 24, 1999, https://archive.is/Iqkkn; Marcia Christoff Kurop, "Al Qaeda's Balkan Links," *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 2001, https://wsj.com/articles/SB1004563569751363760.
- 295 Shindler, 124, cites Der Spiegel, September 15, 2001.
- **296** Erich Follath and Gunther Latsch, "The Prince and the Terrorist Chief," *Der Spiegel*, September 14, 2001, https://spiegel.de/politik/der-prinz-und-die-terror-gmbh-a-5b67fd7d-0002-0001-0000-000020129105.
- **297** Eve-Ann Prentice, Testimony, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, February 3, 2006, https://icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/trans/en/060203IT.htm; Lyn Smith, "Eve-Ann Prentice (Oral History)," Reel 8, Imperial War Museums, April 1, 2005, https://iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80025035.
- 298 Kohlmann, 207–09.
- 299 Brendan O'Neill, "The Bosnian Connection," New Statesman, August 2, 2004,

https://web.archive.org/web/20160409093007/http://newstatesman.com/node/160271; Terry

McDermott, "The Mastermind: Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and the Making of 9/11," *The New Yorker*, September 13, 2010, http://newyorker.com/magazine/2010/09/13/the-mastermind.

300 Philip Zelikow, The 9/11 Commission Report, 155, https://9-

11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf.

301 Deliso, 6; Terry McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers: The 9/11 Hijackers: Who They Were, Why They Did It* (New York: Harper, 2005), xi.

302 Deliso, 13–14.

- **303** Atwan, 256; Neil MacFarquhar, "Terrorist Who Left a Trail of Bloodshed Is Reportedly Killed," *New York Times*, June 19, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/06/19/world/terrorist-who-left-a-trail-of-bloodshed-is-reportedly-killed.html.
- **304** "Capture from Video Commemorating 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Muqrin," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, September 5, 2012, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/militant-imagery-project/0162.
- **305** Karl Vick, "Al-Qaeda Group Claims Responsibility for Paris Terror Attack," *Time*, January 9, 2015, https://time.com/3661650/charlie-hebdo-paris-terror-attack-al-qaeda; Adam Rawnsley, "Meet the Bomb-Maker the Behind 'Underpants,' 'Printer' Attacks," Wired, November 1, 2010, https://wired.com/2010/11/meet-the-bomb-maker-the-behind-underpants-printer-attacks.
- **306** Michael Meacher, "Britain now faces its own blowback," *Guardian*, September 10, 2005, http://theguardian.com/world/2005/sep/10/terrorism.politics.
- **307** Diaa Hadid and Abdul Sattar, "Pakistan Court Orders Release Of Man Accused Of Killing 'Wall Street Journal' Reporter," NPR News, January 28, 2021,
- https://npr.org/2021/01/28/961485215/pakistans-top-court-orders-release-for-killer-of-wall-street-journal-reporter; Barbara Feinman Todd and Asra Q. Nomani, "The Truth Left Behind: Inside the Kidnapping and Murder of Daniel Pearl," Georgetown University, July 2011, http://pearlproject.georgetown.edu/pearlproject_march_2013.pdf.
- **308** Michael Meacher, "Britain now faces its own blowback," *Guardian*, September 10, 2005, http://theguardian.com/world/2005/sep/10/terrorism.politics.
- **309** Scott Horton, "LA Times Series on Iranian Arms to Bosnia (12 Stories)," ScottHorton.org, February 11, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/stress/la-times-series-on-iranian-arms-to-bosnia.
- **310** "Security Council resolution 713 (1991) [imposing a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia]," United Nations Security Council, September 25, 1991, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/282470?ln=en.
- 311 John Pomfret, "Iran Ships Explosives to Bosnian Muslims," *Washington Post*, May 13, 1994, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/05/13/iran-ships-explosives-to-bosnian-muslims/0988537a-3dd6-47f4-9e94-dcfb457b846c; William Drozdiak and David B. Ottaway, "US Helps Bosnian Army Get Arms, Europeans Say," *Washington Post*, July 28, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/07/28/us-helps-bosnian-army-get-arms-europeans-say/d6d15d34-e379-4a07-8377-d4514a332a13.
- **312** Shindler, 131.
- **313** Staff, "US Looked Other Way as Bosnia Got Weapons," *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1996, https://chicagotribune.com/1996/04/07/us-looked-other-way-as-bosnia-got-weapons.
- 314 "Investigation Into Iranian Arms Shipments to Bosnia," US House of Representatives Intelligence Committee, October 9, 1998, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-105hrpt804/html/CRPT-105hrpt804.htm; "Clinton-Approved Iranian Arms Transfers Help Turn Bosnia into Militant Islamic Base," Republican Policy Committee Report, Congressional Press Release, US House of Representatives, January 16, 1997, https://globalresearch.ca/articles/DCH109A.html; Davidson, 136–38, 145; James Risen and Doyle McManus, "US OKd Iranian Arms for Bosnia, Officials Say," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-04-05-mn-55275-story.html; James Risen and Doyle McManus, "US Didn't Anticipate Wider Iran Bosnia Role," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-04-23-mn-61733-story.html.
- **315** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002.
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod_en.pdf.}$

- **316** "Final Report of the Select Subcommittee to Investigate the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia," US House of Representatives Committee on International Relations (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1996).
- **317** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.
- **318** John Pomfret and David B. Ottaway, "US Allies Fed Pipeline of Covert Arms to Bosnia," *Washington Post*, May 12, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/05/12/us-allies-fed-pipeline-of-covert-arms-to-bosnia/9d2d9f71-c191-490a-b1cc-c468c0a8468a.
- **319** "Investigation Into Iranian Arms Shipments to Bosnia," US House of Representatives Intelligence Committee, October 9, 1998, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-105hrpt804/html/CRPT-105hrpt804.htm.
- **320** James Risen and Doyle McManus, "US Had Options to Let Bosnia Get Arms, Avoid Iran," *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-07-14-mn-24196-story.html; Galbraith later made tens of millions of dollars cashing in on the Kurdish oil business in Iraq War II, Steve LeVine, "An anti-corruption crusader's \$55 million haul," *Foreign Policy*, October 7, 2010, https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/10/07/an-anti-corruption-crusaders-55-million-haul.
- **321** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.
- 322 John Pomfret and David B. Ottaway, "US Allies Fed Pipeline of Covert Arms to Bosnia," *Washington Post*, May 12, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/05/13/iran-ships-explosives-to-bosnian-muslims/0988537a-3dd6-47f4-9e94-dcfb457b846c; Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 4, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod en.pdf.
- **323** Dan Hebditch, "Allies and Lies," BBC, June 22, 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/1390536.stm.
- **324** Christopher Cox, "Clinton Vetoed Congress' Bills to Help Bosnia While Encouraging Iran to Do So, Instead Giving Iran a Foothold in Europe," House Republican Policy Committee Policy Perspective, April 26, 1996, https://irp.fas.org/news/1996/hrpc iranalt.htm.
- **325** Henry Hyde, et al. Final Report of the Select Subcommittee to Investigate the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia, (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1996), 7.
- **326** Michael Dobbs, "Saudis Funded Weapons For Bosnia, Officials Say," *Washington Post*, February 2, 1996, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/02/02/saudis-funded-weapons-for-bosnia-official-says/1a163310-2064-49f6-bd11-84bc67092ce2.
- **327** Barry Schweid, "CIA: Bosnia has broken military, intelligence ties with Iran," AP, December 31, 1996, http://hri.org/news/balkans/omri/1997/97-01-02.omri.html#09.
- **328** James Risen, "Iran Gave Bosnia Leader \$500,000, CIA Alleges," *Los Angeles Times*, December 31, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-12-31-mn-14139-story.html.
- **329** Ed Vulliamy in Moscow and Stacy Sullivan, "Bloody handiwork of Arkan," *Guardian*, January 15, 2000, https://theguardian.com/world/2000/jan/16/balkans3; John Pike, "Serb Volunteer Guard

[SDG/SSJ] 'Arkan's Tigers," Federation of American Scientists, February 1, 2000, https://irp.fas.org/world/para/sdg.htm.

330 Szamuely, 141.

331 Julien Sauvaget and Emma James, "Bosnian War: Looking back at the long siege of Sarajevo, 30 years on," France 24, March 6, 2022, https://france24.com/en/tv-shows/focus/20220406-bosnian-war-looking-back-at-the-long-siege-of-sarajevo-30-years-on.

332 Ian Traynor, "At play in siege city," *Guardian*, February 27, 1993, https://theguardian.com/world/from-the-archive-blog/2018/jul/13/siege-of-sarajevo-ian-traynor-maggie-okane-1993.

333 Julien Sauvaget and Emma James, "Bosnian War: Looking back at the long siege of Sarajevo, 30 years on," France 24, March 6, 2022, https://france24.com/en/tv-shows/focus/20220406-bosnian-war-looking-back-at-the-long-siege-of-sarajevo-30-years-on.

334 Jeanne Jakle, "Wiglesworth lauded as S.A. radio original," *San Antonio Express News*, July 2, 2014, https://expressnews.com/entertainment/article/Wiglesworth-lauded-as-S-A-radio-original-5596883.php.

335 Raimondo, 48; Unfortunately their websites were hosted on AOL.com and are lost to the world. Previously linked at: "Bosnia Resources on the Internet," *New York Times*,

https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/specials/bosnia/context/hotlist.html.

336 Stephen W. Walker, "NATO's Capitulation," *Washington Post*, January 10, 1994, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1994/01/11/natos-capitulation/c4c8711f-9789-4c3f-8916-b5dfa9c48693; Stephen W. Walker bio, *New York Times*, June 10, 1996,

https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/specials/bosnia/forums/walker.html.

337 "Proposed National Program," Action Council for Peace in the Balkans, January 19, 1994, https://fedora.dlib.indiana.edu/fedora/get/iudl:1798533/OVERVIEW.

338 Shindler, 86–106.

339 Szamuely, 130–31.

340 Stephen A. Hart, "Partisans: War in the Balkans 1941–1945," BBC, February 17, 2011, https://bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/partisan_fighters_01.shtml.

341 "Serbs Rescued 500 American Pilots in World War II," Tesla Memorial Society of New York, August 19, 2007, https://teslasociety.com/500.htm.

342 Gibbs, 127–29.

343 Szamuely, 126–27.

344 Szamuely, 130–31.

345 Szamuely, 139.

346 Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.

347 Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.

348 Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 2, Section 5, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod_en.pdf.

349 Szamuely, 132-33.

350 Owen, 63, 89–90, 264.

351 Nick B. Williams Jr., "Kuwait Story of Babies Removed From Incubators Refuses to Die," *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1992, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-03-06-mn-3337-story.html; Staff, "Kuwait's Stolen Incubators: The Widespread Implications of a Murky Incident," Human Rights Watch, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1992), https://hrw.org/reports/pdfs/k/kuwait/kuwait/22.pdf.

- **352** John Sray, "Selling the Bosnian Myth," US Army Foreign Military Studies Office, October 1995, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA305349.pdf.
- **353** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **354** Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.
- **355** Richard Behar and Jon Friedman, "A Pattern Of Rape," *Newsweek*, January 3, 1993, https://newsweek.com/pattern-rape-192142.
- **356** Szamuely, 136.
- **357** "Rape and abuse of women in the areas of armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia," UN General Assembly, January 5, 1994, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/179165/files/A RES 48 143-
- <u>EN.pdf?ln=en</u>; "Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly," UN Security Council, January 5, 1994, https://icty.org/x/file/About/OTP/un commission of experts report1994 en.pdf.
- **358** Thomas J. Ward and William D. Lay, "The Origins and Implementation of the Comfort Women System," E-International Relations, December 14, 2018, https://e-ir.info/pdf/76820.
- 359 Maggie O'Kane, "Fighting talk," Guardian, April 5, 1993,
- https://theguardian.com/world/1993/apr/05/warcrimes.maggieokane.
- **360** Leslie Wayne, "America's For-Profit Secret Army," *New York Times*, October 13, 2002, https://nytimes.com/2002/10/13/business/america-s-for-profit-secret-army.html; Robert Capps,
- "Outside the law," Salon.com, June 26, 2002, https://salon.com/2002/06/26/bosnia_4; Robert Capps, "Sex-slave whistle-blowers vindicated," Salon.com, August 6, 2002,
- https://salon.com/2002/08/06/dyncorp.
- **361** Kit Klarenberg and Tom Secker, "Declassified Intelligence Files Expose Inconvenient Truths of Bosnian War," Grayzone, December 30, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/war; "Canadian Intelligence Documents Trove," Grayzone, https://thegrayzone.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/1F-Copy.pdf.
- **362** Kjell Arild Nilsen, "102,000 killed in Bosnia," NTB, November 14, 2004, https://grayfalcon.blogspot.com/2004/11/bosnia-death-toll-revealed.html.
- **363** Shindler, 84–86; Edward S. Herman and David Peterson, "The Dismantling of Yugoslavia (Part II)," *Monthly Review*, October 1, 2007, https://monthlyreview.org/2007/10/01/the-dismantling-of-yugoslavia-part-ii.
- **364** George Kenney, "The Bosnian Calculation," *New York Times Magazine*, April 23, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/04/23/magazine/the-bosnian-calculation.html.
- **365** Ewa Tabeau and Jakub Bijak, "War-Related Deaths in the 1992-1995 Armed Conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Critique of Previous Estimates and Recent Results," *European Journal of Population*, Vol. 21, No. 2/3 (2005), 187–215. http://jstor.org/stable/20164302.
- **366** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **367** Kjell Arild Nilsen, "102,000 killed in Bosnia," NTB, November 14, 2004, https://grayfalcon.blogspot.com/2004/11/bosnia-death-toll-revealed.html.
- 368 Roy Gutman, "The Death Camps of Bosnia," Newsday, August 2, 1992,
- https://nieman.harvard.edu/articles/nina-bernstein-nf-84; Roy Gutman, "Serbs Have Slain Over 1,000 in 2 Bosnia Camps, Ex-Prisoners Say," *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1992,
- https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-08-02-mn-5646-story.html; Roy Gutman, "Like Auschwitz," *Newsday*, July 21, 1992, https://scribd.com/document/349323319/Roy-Gutman-a-witnes-to-genocide-pdf.
- **369** Peter Brock, *Media Cleansing: Dirty Reporting: Journalism and Tragedy in Yugoslavia* (Los Angeles: GM Books, 2005), 85–116; George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

370 David Binder, "US Finds No Proof of Mass Killing at Serb Camps," *New York Times*, August 13, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/08/23/world/us-finds-no-proof-of-mass-killing-at-serb-camps.html.

371 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

372 Bernard Kouchner, Guerriers de la Paix (Paris: Grasset, 2004), 374–75,

https://search.worldcat.org/title/417594196; Translation in Gibbs, 125.

373 Jacques Merlino, Verites Yougoslaves, 126–29; Cited in Gibbs, 127–28.

374 David Plotz, "Croatian President Franjo Tudjman," Slate, December 10, 1999,

https://slate.com/news-and-politics/1999/12/croatian-president-franjo-tudjman.html.

375 David B. Ottaway, "US Prevails On Croatia," Washington Post, February 25, 1994,

 $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/02/26/us-prevails-on-croatia/1d15406a-7756-45fe-8359-a8298b28a232.}$

376 Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, et al., "Washington Agreement," US Institute of Peace, March 18, 1994,

https://usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/washagree_03011994.pdf

377 Owen, 327, 347–48.

378 Staff, "Ratko Mladic jailed for life over Bosnia war genocide," BBC, November 22, 2017, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-42080090; "Facts About Srebrenica," International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY),

https://icty.org/x/file/Outreach/view from hague/jit srebrenica en.pdf.

379 Gideon Greif, et al., "Concluding Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Sufferings of All People in the Srebrenica Region Between 1992 and 1995," 2020, https://incomfis-srebrenica.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Srebrenica%20Commission%20report%20-%20English%20lan.pdf.

380 Gideon Greif, et al., "Concluding Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Sufferings of All People in the Srebrenica Region Between 1992 and 1995," 2020, https://incomfis-srebrenica.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Srebrenica%20Commission%20report%20-%20English%20lan.pdf.

381 Seymour Hersh, "Overwhelming Force," *The New Yorker*, May 14, 2000, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2000/05/22/overwhelming-force-2.

382 Szamuely, 317–27.

383 Maud S. Beelman, "Red Cross Says 8,000 People from Fallen Safe Area Are Missing," AP, September 14, 1995, https://apnews.com/article/e819fee986982e076194b1b9b71524a8.

384 John Pomfret, "Bosnian Soldiers Evade Serbs in Trudge to Safety," *Washington Post*, July 18, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/07/18/bosnian-soldiers-evade-serbs-in-trudge-to-safety/4c0d6c5f-5fc8-45d2-ba4e-aeb34546e02e; Michael Evans and Michael Kallenbach, "'Missing' Enclave Troops Found," London *Times*, August 2, 1995,

https://hansdevreij.com/2015/07/12/srebrenica-1995-missing-enclave-troops-found.

385 Staff, "Bosnia's Srebrenica massacre 25 years on – in pictures," BBC, July 11, 2020, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-53346759.

386 Staff, "Scenes from hell: 1995 Srebrenica genocide in photos," AP, July 10, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/massacres-ap-top-news-international-news-europe-photography-ec01765d17e8c27ead9c3f3ea6e6ca36.

387 Toby Sterling, et al., "Ex-Bosnian Serb commander Mladic convicted of genocide, gets life in prison," Reuters, November 21, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/us-warcrimes-mladic/ex-bosnian-serb-commander-mladic-convicted-of-genocide-gets-life-in-prison-idUSKBN1DL2WK.

388 Anisa Sućeska, et al., "Srebrenica: Timeline of a Genocide," International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMTC), July 5, 2022, https://irmct.org/specials/srebrenica/timeline/en.

389 George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

- **390** Staff, "US Knew About Srebrenica Weeks in Advance," *De Gelderlander*, October 13, 1995, Cited in Wiebes; Staff, "Karremans' Alarm for the Enclave Was Ignored," *De Volkskrant*, July 12, 2000. Cited in Wiebes.
- **391** Florence Hartmann and Ed Vulliamy, "How Britain and the US decided to abandon Srebrenica to its fate," *Guardian*, July 4, 2015, https://theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/04/how-britain-and-us-abandoned-srebrenica-massacre-1995.
- **392** Mark Danner, "Bosnia: The Great Betrayal," *New York Review of Books*, March 26, 1998, https://nybooks.com/articles/1998/03/26/bosnia-the-great-betrayal.
- **393** Ola Flyum and David Hebditch, *Srebrenica: A Town Betrayed*, 2011, https://youtube.com/watch?v=FvqHWS_4AuM.
- **394** Carl Bildt, *Peace Journey: The Struggle for Peace in Bosnia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolsom, 1998), 57.
- 395 Staff, "Memorial service for 158 Serbs, of whom were murdered on Christmas day in 1993," The Srpska Times, January 6, 2016, https://thesrpskatimes.com/memorial-service-for-158-serbs-of-whom-were-murdered-on-christmas-day-in-1993; Bill Schiller, "Fearsome Muslim warlord eludes Bosnian Serb forces," *Toronto Star*, July 16, 1995, https://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/oric.htm; John Pomfret, "Weapons, Cash and Chaos Lend Clout to Srebrenica's Tough Guy," *Washington Post*, February 16, 1994, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/02/16/weapons-cash-and-chaos-lend-clout-to-srebrenicas-tough-guy/f15d65af-356b-423b-a6cd-9ef36cb5b557; Ola Flyum and David Hebditch, https://youtube.com/watch?v=FvqHWS_4AuM; Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicar-eportniod_en.pdf; Kohlmann, 136; Stephen Kinzer, "Bosnian Muslim Troops Evade U.N. Force to Raid Serb Village," https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/https://nytimes.com/1995/06/27/world/bosnian-muslim-troops-evade-un-force-to-raid-serb-village.html.

396 Szamuely, 305–10.

397 Szamuely, 309.

- **398** Ola Flyum and David Hebditch, *Srebrenica: A Town Betrayed*, 2011, https://youtube.com/watch?v=FvqHWS_4AuM.
- **399** James Risen and Doyle McManus, "US OKd Iranian Arms for Bosnia, Officials Say," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-04-05-mn-55275-story.html; See below.
- **400** Haris Silajdzic, Mate Granic, et al., "Framework Agreement for the Federation (Washington Agreement or Contact Group Plan)," Peace Agreements Database, March 1, 1994, https://peaceagreements.org/view/608.
- **401** Staff, "Croatia: Impunity for abuses committed during 'Operation storm,' And the denial of the right of refugees to return to the Krajina," Human Rights Watch, August 1996, https://hrw.org/reports/1996/Croatia.htm; Peter Beaumont and Ed Vulliamy, "Guns secret set to haunt US," *Guardian*, July 7, 2001, https://theguardian.com/world/2001/jul/08/warcrimes.balkans1.
- **402** Sven Milekic, "The Contested History of Croatia's Operation Flash," Balkan Transitional Justice, May 1, 2015, https://balkaninsight.com/2015/05/01/operation-flash-two-sides-of-medal.
- 403 Szamuely, 246–47; Owen, 338–43.
- **404** Roger Cohen, "Rebel Serbs Shell Croatian Capital," *New York Times*, May 3, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/05/03/world/rebel-serbs-shell-croatian-capital.html.
- 405 Zimmermann, x, xii.
- **406** Roger Cohen, "Rebel Serbs Shell Croatian Capital," *New York Times*, May 3, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/05/03/world/rebel-serbs-shell-croatian-capital.html.

- **407** Chris Hedges, "Fog of War Coping With the Truth About Friend and Foe; Victims Not Quite Innocent," *New York Times*, March 28, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/03/28/weekinreview/world-fog-war-coping-with-truth-about-friend-foe-victims-not-quite-innocent.html.
- **408** Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War: The Conflict in Yugoslavia* (New York: Modern Library, 1999), 73.
- **409** William D. Montalbano, "Croats Claim Big Advances; Serbs Deny It," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1995, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-08-05-mn-31691-story.html.
- **410** Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 667.
- **411** James Rupert, "Croatia Launches Invasion of Region Held by Serb Rebels," *Washington Post*, August 5, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/08/05/croatia-launches-invasion-of-region-held-by-serb-rebels/b19eb52c-64fd-4325-9dd8-81fff9db8f18.
- **412** Raymond Bonner, "In Broad Attack, Croatia Trying to Dislodge Serbs," *New York Times*, August 5, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/08/05/world/conflict-balkans-overview-broad-attack-croatia-trying-dislodge-serbs.html.
- **413** Szamuely, 123.
- **414** Anja Vladisavljevic and Milica Stojanovic, "Court Records Reveal Croatian Units' Role in Operation Storm Killings," Balkan Transitional Justice, August 5, 2020,
- https://balkaninsight.com/2020/08/05/court-records-reveal-croatian-units-role-in-operation-storm-killings.
- **415** Nemanja Rujevic, "The crimes of others," DW, March 8, 2015, https://dw.com/en/anniversary-of-operation-storm-the-crimes-others-committed/a-18624692.
- **416** Staff, "A shadow on Croatia's future: Continuing impunity for war crimes and crimes against humanity," Amnesty International, December 13, 2004, https://amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/eur640052004en.pdf.
- **417** Gibbs, 163; Steven Burg and Paul Shoup, *War in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (London: Routledge, 2000), 331–33.
- **418** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area," Appendix II, Chapter 8, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002,
- $\underline{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.}$
- 419 Ken Silverstein, *Private Warriors* (London: Verso, 2000), 172.
- **420** Leslie Wayne, "America's For-Profit Secret Army," *New York Times*, October 13, 2002, https://nytimes.com/2002/10/13/business/america-s-for-profit-secret-army.html.
- **421** Ivo Pukanic, "Thrilled with Operation Flash, President Clinton gave the go ahead for Operation Storm," *Nacional*, May 24, 2005, https://cryptome.org/us-op-storm.htm.
- 422 Dan Hebditch, "Allies and Lies," BBC, June 22, 2001,
- $\underline{http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/1390536.stm}.$
- **423** James Rupert, "Croatia Launches Invasion of Region Held by Serb Rebels," *Washington Post*, August 5, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/08/05/croatia-launches-invasion-of-region-held-by-serb-rebels/b19eb52c-64fd-4325-9dd8-81fff9db8f18; Szamuely, 268; George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **424** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **425** Roger Cohen, "US Cooling Ties to Croatia After Winking at Its Buildup," *New York Times*, October 28, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/10/28/world/us-cooling-ties-to-croatia-after-winking-at-its-buildup.html.
- 426 Szamuely, 270-71.

- **427** Raymond Bonner, "War Crimes Panel Finds Croat Troops 'Cleansed' the Serbs," *New York Times*, March 21, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/03/21/world/war-crimes-panel-finds-croat-troops-cleansed-the-serbs.html.
- **428** Gibbs, 154–55; Tim Ripley, *Operation Deliberate Force: The UN and NATO Campaign in Bosnia 1995* (Lancaster: Centre for Defence and International Security Studies, 1999), 316.
- 429 Kohlmann, 125-40.
- **430** Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1995-09-01/making-peace-guilty.
- **431** Leonard Doyle, "Muslims 'slaughter their own people': Bosnia bread queue massacre was propaganda ploy, UN told," *Independent*, August 21, 1992, https://independent.co.uk/news/muslims-slaughter-their-own-people-bosnia-bread-queue-massacre-was-propaganda-ploy-un-told-1541801.html; George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **432** Staff, "Senior official admits to secret UN report on Sarajevo massacre," Deutsche Presse-Agentur, June 6, 1996, https://swprs.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/dpa_un-report-sarajevo_1996.pdf; David Binder, "Bosnia's Bombers," *The Nation*, October 2, 1995, https://archive.is/NL7bt; Shindler, 186; "Russian Disputes UN Report on Shelling," AP, September 4, 1995.
- **433** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area, Appendix II: Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992–1995, The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services," Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod_en.pdf.
- **434** Robert J. Allen, "Intelligence Support for Peace Operations," in Pickert, *Intelligence*, 114–15. **435** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area, Appendix II: Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992–1995, The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services," Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.
- **436** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **437** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- 438 Owen, 279-81.
- 439 Szamuely, 204–06; Zimmermann, 227.
- 440 Owen, 112.
- **441** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **442** Kit Klarenberg and Tom Secker, "Declassified Intelligence Files Expose Inconvenient Truths of Bosnian War," Grayzone, December 30, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/2022/12/30/declassified-intelligence-files-bosnian-war; "Canadian Intelligence Documents Trove," Grayzone, https://thegrayzone.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/1F-Copy.pdf.
- **443** Kit Klarenberg and Tom Secker, "Declassified Intelligence Files Expose Inconvenient Truths of Bosnian War," Grayzone, December 30, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/war; "Canadian Intelligence Documents Trove," Grayzone, https://thegrayzone.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/1F-Copy.pdf.
- **444** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

- **445** Mike O'Connor, "Investigation Concludes Bosnian Government Snipers Shot at Civilians," *New York Times*, August 1, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/08/01/world/conflict-balkans-sarajevo-investigation-concludes-bosnian-government-snipers.html.
- **446** Martin Bell, "Sarajevo: Another market massacre," BBC, August 28, 1995, https://bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-17402772.
- **447** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area, Appendix II: Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992–1995, The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services," Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportniod_en.pdf.
- **448** John Sray, "Selling the Bosnian Myth," US Army Foreign Military Studies Office, October 1995, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA305349.pdf.
- **449** Cees Wiebes, et al., "Srebrenica: Reconstruction, background, consequences and analyses of the fall of a 'safe' area, Appendix II: Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992–1995, The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services," Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, April 10, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140508142039/http://publications.niod.knaw.nl/publications/srebrenicareportnioden.pdf.
- **450** David Binder, "Bosnia's Bombers," *The Nation*, October 2, 1995, https://archive.is/NL7bt.
- **451** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

- **452** Hugh McManners, "Serbs 'Not Guilty' of Massacre," Sunday *Times*, October 1, 1995, https://swprs.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/sunday-times_serbs-not-guilty-of-massacre_1995.pdf. **453** Chollet, 27.
- **454** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **455** Rick Atkinson, "Air Assault Set Stage for Broader Role," *Washington Post*, November 15, 1995, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/11/15/air-assault-set-stage-for-broader-role/6733b72a-0a4c-4960-832d-29163e718573.
- **456** Joseph Stromberg, "Truman, Treaties, and the Bricker Amendment," Antiwar.com, April 19, 2003, https://antiwar.com/stromberg/s041903.html.
- **457** Kevin Fedarko, "Bringing the Serbs to Heel," *Time*, September 11, 1995, https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,983401,00.html.
- 458 Dan Hebditch, "Allies and Lies," BBC, June 22, 2001,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/correspondent/1390536.stm.

- **459** "General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Agreement)," Peace Agreements Database, November 21, 1995, https://peaceagreements.org/view/389. **460** Szamuely, 238–40.
- 461 Zimmermann, 190, 232.
- **462** Justin Raimondo, *Into the Bosnian Quagmire: The Case Against US Intervention in the Balkans* (Burlingame: America First Publishing Committee, 1996), 7–8.
- **463** Chollet, 200; Asmus, 124–25; Goldgeier, 98, 121; Gibbs, 169.
- **464** Staff, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: NATO ends SFOR mission NATO," Relief Web, December 2, 2004, https://reliefweb.int/report/bosnia-and-herzegovina/bosnia-and-herzegovina-nato-ends-sfor-mission.
- **465** Holbrooke, 358–59.
- 466 Asmus, 124–25.
- **467** Asmus, 100.
- **468** Burns, 106.
- 469 Asmus, 103–04.

- **470** Paul E. Gallis, "Kosovo: Lessons Learned from Operation Allied Force," Congressional Research Service, November 19, 1999,
- https://everycrsreport.com/files/19991119_RL30374_4267689feef813e6616222d1c.c9e743750e93d91.pdf.
- **471** "Yeltsin Sees Threat in NATO Enlargement," Jamestown Foundation *Monitor*, Vol. 1, No. 91 (September 8, 1995), https://jamestown.org/program/yeltsin-sees-war-threat-in-nato-enlargement. **472** Burns, 105.
- **473** Thomas Donnelly, et al., "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century," Project for a New American Century, September 2000,
- $\underline{https://scotthorton.org/pnac/rebuilding-americas-defenses}.$
- **474** Staff Sgt. Jim Greenhill, "Turnover of Eagle Base symbolizes success in the Balkans," National Guard Bureau, July 2, 2007, https://nationalguard.mil/News/Article/572997/turnover-of-eagle-base-symbolizes-success-in-the-balkans.
- **475** "Peace support operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995–2004)," NATO, April 11, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52122.htm.
- **476** Douglas Jehl, "Bennett Would Limit Rights in War on Drugs," *Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 1989, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-03-03-mn-238-story.html.
- **477** Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Bill Bennett Finally Turns Republican," *Washington Post*, June 26, 1986, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/06/27/bill-bennett-finally-turns-republican/17bdfe0c-9490-44b5-80db-17e9744e0132.
- **478** David Tell, "Bosnia: The Republican Challenge," *Weekly Standard*, December 11, 1995, https://washingtonexaminer.com/weekly-standard/bosnia.
- 479 Kohlmann, 152, 172.
- **480** Osama bin Laden, "Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holiest Sites," August 23, 1996, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Declaration-of-Jihad-against-the-Americans-Occupying-the-Land-of-the-Two-Holiest-Sites-Translation.pdf.
- **481** Kohlmann, 167, 185–209.
- **482** Kohlmann, 163.
- 483 Kohlmann, 218–19.
- 484 Gibbs, 168; Bildt, 196-98.
- **485** Interview with author, Ted Galen Carpenter, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, April 17, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/4-14-23-ted-galen-carpenter-on-the-news-medias-role-in-the-american-empire.
- **486** Staff, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: NATO ends SFOR mission," NATO, December 2, 2004, https://reliefweb.int/report/bosnia-and-herzegovina/bosnia-and-herzegovina-nato-ends-sfor-mission. **487** See Chapter Six.
- **488** Janine R. Wedel, "Clique-Run Organizations and US Economic Aid: An Institutional Analysis," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Fall 1996), https://demokratizatsiya.pub/archives/04-4_wedel.pdf.
- **489** Janine R. Wedel, "The Harvard Boys Do Russia," *The Nation*, May 14, 1998, https://thenation.com/article/world/harvard-boys-do-russia.
- **490** "Declassified Documents concerning Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission," Clinton Digital Library, https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/36597.
- **491** Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

492 Hobart Rowan, "Treasury's Summers Becomes a Power," *Washington Post*, June 26, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1993/06/27/treasurys-summers-becomes-a-power/f74a4db2-c143-48d6-bc33-99a2561ad83b.

493 James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, *Power and Purpose: US Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), 71.

494 Sarotte, 139; Goldgeier and McFaul, 71–72.

495 James Powell, Wilson's War: How Woodrow Wilson's Great Blunder Led to Hitler, Lenin, Stalin, and World War II (New York: Forum Books, 2007).

496 Paul Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin: The Decline of Russia in the Age of Gangster Capitalism* (Orland: Harcourt, 2000), 78.

497 Anchal Vohra, "Latvia Is Going on Offense Against Russian Culture," *Foreign Policy*, March 21, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/21/latvia-is-going-on-offense-against-russian-culture; Lukas Degutis, "Why Latvia is expelling its Russian speakers," *The Spectator*, March 2, 2024, https://spectator.co.uk/article/why-latvia-is-expelling-its-russian-speakers.

498 Frank Gardner, "Narva: The Estonian border city where Nato and the EU meet Russia," BBC, May 25, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-61555691.

499 John Quigley, "I led talks on Donbas and Crimea in the 90s. Here's how the war should end," Responsible Statecraft, May 9, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/05/09/i-led-talks-on-the-donbas-and-crimea-in-the-1990s-heres-how-the-war-should-end.

500 "Kazakhstan – Country Summary," CIA World Factbook, https://cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kazakhstan/summaries.

501 Steele, 155.

502 Steele, 217.

503 Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun, "Russification Policies Imposed on the Baltic People by the Russian Empire and Soviet Union," DergiPark Akademik, January 25, 2012,

https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/701004.

504 Robert Zoellick, "Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and Gorbachev," C-SPAN, November 9, 2017, https://c-span.org/video/?436789-5/reagan-george-hw-bush-gorbachev; John Vinocur, "For NATO and Russia, A Landmark Charter," *International Herald Tribune*, May 28, 1997,

https://nytimes.com/1997/05/28/IHT-for-nato-and-russia-a-landmark-charter.html.

505 "Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow," US State Department, February 9, 1990, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16116-document-05-memorandum-conversation-between.

506 Klebnikov, 50.

507 Klebnikov, 51.

508 Anne Williamson, *Unpublished Manuscript*.

509 Steele, 296.

510 Janine R. Wedel, "The Harvard Boys Do Russia," *The Nation*, May 14, 1998, https://thenation.com/article/world/harvard-boys-do-russia.

511 Klebnikov, 103–04.

512 Steele, 38-40.

513 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

514 David McClintick, "How Harvard Lost Russia," Institutional Investor, January 12, 2006, https://institutionalinvestor.com/article/2btfpiwkwid6fq6qrokcg/home/how-harvard-lost-russia.

515 Zimmermann, 48–49.

516 Steele, 299–301.

- **517** Murray N. Rothbard, "A Radical Prescription for the Socialist Bloc," *The Free Market*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (March 1990), https://mises.org/library/radical-prescription-socialist-bloc.
- 518 Staff, "Foreign News: Engineer of a Miracle," Time, October 28, 1957,

https://time.com/archive/6612360/foreign-news-engineer-of-a-miracle; Ludwig Erhard, *Prosperity Through Competition* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger books, 1958),

https://mises.org/library/book/prosperity-through-competition.

- **519** Klebnikov, 30–31.
- **520** Klebnikov, 5, 80.
- 521 Steele, 298-99.
- **522** Anne Williamson, *Unpublished Manuscript*.
- **523** Anne Williamson, "Russia: Don't Cry for Yukos," Ludwig von Mises Institute, February 18, 2005, https://mises.org/podcasts/austrian-economics-and-financial-markets/russia-dont-cry-yukos.
- **524** Anne Williamson, "Russia's Fiscal Whistleblower," *Mother Jones*, June 16, 1998, https://motherjones.com/politics/1998/06/russias-fiscal-whistleblower.
- **525** Carey Goldberg, "Huge Fuel Price Boosts Next for Russians," *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1992, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-05-19-mn-237-story.html.
- **526** Steele, 310–23.
- **527** Anne Williamson, "Russia's Fiscal Whistleblower," *Mother Jones*, June 16, 1998, https://motherjones.com/politics/1998/06/russias-fiscal-whistleblower.
- **528** Dan Josefsson, "Shock Therapy: The Art of Ruining a Country," *Torsdag*, April 1, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20081121100700/http://josefsson.net/artikelarkiv/51-shock-therapy-the-art-of-ruining-a-country.html.
- **529** "US Policy Toward Russia, Part II: Corruption in the Russian Government," US House of Representatives, October 7, 1999, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-106hhrg62963/html/CHRG-106hhrg62963.htm.
- **530** Dan Josefsson, "Shock Therapy: The Art of Ruining a Country," *Torsdag*, April 1, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20081121100700/http://josefsson.net/artikelarkiv/51-shock-therapy-the-art-of-ruining-a-country.html.
- **531** Sherry Jones, "Return of the Czar," PBS *Frontline*, May 9, 2000, https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/etc/script.html.
- 532 Klebnikov, 5.
- **533** Klebnikov, 127–28.
- 534 Klebnikov, 128.
- **535** Murray N. Rothbard, "How and How Not to Desocialize," *The Review of Austrian Economics*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1992), 65–77, https://cdn.mises.org/rae6 1 2 2.pdf.
- **536** Murray N. Rothbard, "A Radical Prescription for the Socialist Bloc," *The Free Market*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (March 1990), https://mises.org/library/radical-prescription-socialist-bloc.
- **537** Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

- **538** Dan Josefsson, "Shock Therapy: The Art of Ruining a Country," *Torsdag*, April 1, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20081121100700/http://josefsson.net/artikelarkiv/51-shock-therapy-the-art-of-ruining-a-country.html.
- **539** James K. Galbraith, "Shock Without Therapy," *The American Prospect*, August 12, 2002, https://prospect.org/features/shock-without-therapy.
- **540** Burton W. Folsom Jr., *New Deal or Raw Deal?: How FDR's Economic Legacy Has Damaged America* (New York: Threshold Editions, 2009).
- **541** Anne Williamson, *Unpublished Manuscript*.

542 Anne Williamson, *Unpublished Manuscript*.

543 Anne Williamson, "Russia: Don't Cry for Yukos," Ludwig von Mises Institute, February 18, 2005, https://mises.org/podcasts/austrian-economics-and-financial-markets/russia-dont-cry-yukos.

544 Janine R. Wedel, "Clique-Run Organizations and US Economic Aid: An Institutional Analysis," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Fall 1996), https://demokratizatsiya.pub/archives/04-4 wedel.pdf.

545 James Risen, "Gore Rejected CIA Evidence of Russian Corruption," *New York Times*, November 23, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/11/23/world/gore-rejected-cia-evidence-of-russian-corruption.html.

546 "Text: Tim Russert's Interview With Vice President Gore," NBC News, July 16, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/onpolitics/elections/goretext071600.htm.

547 Klebnikov, 134–35.

548 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0; Klebnikov, 114.

549 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

550 David McClintick, "How Harvard Lost Russia," Institutional Investor, January 12, 2006, https://institutionalinvestor.com/article/2btfpiwkwid6fq6qrokcg/home/how-harvard-lost-russia.

551 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

552 Klebnikov, 27.

553 Steele, 359–63.

554 David McClintick, "How Harvard Lost Russia," Institutional Investor, January 12, 2006, https://institutionalinvestor.com/article/2btfpiwkwid6fq6grokcg/home/how-harvard-lost-russia.

555 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "What I did in Russia," JeffSachs.org, March 12, 2012,

http://acamedia.info/politics/ukraine/jeffrey_sachs/What_I_did_in_Russia.pdf.

556 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "What I did in Russia," JeffSachs.org, March 12, 2012,

http://acamedia.info/politics/ukraine/jeffrey_sachs/What_I_did_in_Russia.pdf.

557 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "Russia Needs Real Aid Now," *Washington Post*, December 18, 1992, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1992/12/18/russia-needs-real-aid-now/9b7eecbe-1c15-4253-a486-cb10cdd647ba.

558 Murray N. Rothbard, *What Has Government Done to Our Money?* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1963), https://mises.org/library/book/what-has-government-done-our-money.

559 Jeffrey Sachs and David Lipton, "Russia on the brink," *Financial Times*, October 16, 1992, https://jeffsachs.org/newspaper-articles/25w2h3ywgysty47ezllaya8ycs4cny; Peter Passell, "Dr. Jeffrey Sachs, Shock Therapist," *New York Times*, June 27, 1993,

https://nytimes.com/1993/06/27/magazine/dr-jeffrey-sachs-shock-therapist.html.

560 Anders Åslund, "Lessons from the Collapse of the Ruble Zone," IFO Institute, December 2016, https://ifo.de/DocDL/forum-2016-4-aslund-ruble-zone-collapse-december.pdf.

561 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "What I did in Russia," JeffSachs.org, March 12, 2012,

http://acamedia.info/politics/ukraine/jeffrey_sachs/What_I_did_in_Russia.pdf.

562 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "What I did in Russia," JeffSachs.org, March 12, 2012,

http://acamedia.info/politics/ukraine/jeffrey_sachs/What_I_did_in_Russia.pdf.

563 Jeffrey D. Sachs, "Good decisions on economy needed to secure Russia's future," *Taipei Times*, February 24, 2014, https://taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2014/02/24/2003584208; Jeffrey Sachs, Interview with Tyler Cowen, April 9, 2015, https://conversationswithtyler.com/episodes/jeffrey-sachs.

564 Steven Erlanger, "2 Western Economists Quit Russia Posts," *New York Times*, January 22, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/01/22/world/2-western-economists-quit-russia-posts.html.

565 Jeff Hayes, "Russian Privatization and Oligarchs," Facts and Details, May 2016,

https://factsanddetails.com/russia/Economics Business Agriculture/sub9 7b/entry-5169.html.

566 Peter J. Boettke, "Yeltsin's Shock Therapy Applied Too Little Voltage," *Orange County Register*, January 31, 1994,

https://web.archive.org/web/20100627175313/https://econfaculty.gmu.edu/pboettke/pubs/03%20Journa 1%20Articles/1993/yeltsin shock therapy.pdf.

567 Peter J. Boettke, "Yeltsin's Shock Therapy Applied Too Little Voltage," *Orange County Register*, January 31, 1994,

https://web.archive.org/web/20100627175313/https://econfaculty.gmu.edu/pboettke/pubs/03%20Journa 1%20Articles/1993/yeltsin shock therapy.pdf.

568 Peter J. Boettke, "Promises Made and Promises Broken in the Russian Transition," *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1998), 127–36, https://ssrn.com/abstract=1531111.

569 Peter J. Boettke, "Promises Made and Promises Broken in the Russian Transition," *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1998), 127–36, https://ssrn.com/abstract=1531111.

570 Peter J. Boettke, "The Russian Crisis: Perils and Prospects for Post-Soviet Transition," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1999), 371–84, http://jstor.org/stable/3487768.

571 Michael Kelly, "Clinton Says He's Not Leaning Left but Taking a New 'Third Way," *New York Times*, September 26, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/09/26/us/1992-campaign-democrats-clinton-says-he-s-not-leaning-left-but-taking-new-third.html; Thomas B. Edsall, "Clinton and Blair Envision a 'Third Way' International Movement," *Washington Post*, June 27, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/06/28/clinton-and-blair-envision-a-third-way-

572 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

573 Steele, 282.

574 Steele, 298–99.

575 Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "Yeltsin Shelled Russian Parliament 30 Years Ago – US Praised 'Superb Handling," National Security Archive, October 4, 2023,

https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2023-10-04/yeltsin-shelled-russian-parliament-30-years-ago-us-praised.

576 "CNN Coverage of Crisis in Moscow," CNN, October 4, 1993,

international-movement/0bc00486-bd6d-4da4-a970-5255d7aa25d8.

https://youtube.com/watch?v=veuAEUwqNg8.

577 "Yeltsin Under Siege – The October 1993 Constitutional Crisis," ADST, October 2, 2014, https://adst.org/2014/10/yeltsin-under-siege-the-october-1993-constitutional-crisis.

578 Steele, 384.

579 Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, "Yeltsin Shelled Russian Parliament 30 Years Ago – US Praised 'Superb Handling," National Security Archive, October 4, 2023,

https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2023-10-04/yeltsin-shelled-russian-parliament-30-years-ago-us-praised.

580 James Bennet, "True to Form, Clinton Shifts Energies Back To US Focus," *New York Times*, July 5, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/07/05/us/true-to-form-clinton-shifts-energies-back-to-us-focus.html. **581** Interview of Thomas Graham, PBS *Frontline*, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/graham.html.

582 Janine R. Wedel, "The Harvard Boys Do Russia," *The Nation*, May 14, 1998,

https://thenation.com/article/world/harvard-boys-do-russia.

583 Interview of E. Wayne Merry, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/merry.html.

584 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

585 Interview of E. Wayne Merry, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/merry.html.

586 Interview of E. Wayne Merry, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/merry.html.

587 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

588 Anne Williamson, *Unpublished Manuscript*.

589 Interview of Thomas Graham, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/graham.html.

590 Graham T. Allison and Matthew Lantz, "Assessing Russia's Democratic Presidential Election," Belfer Center, March 1997, https://belfercenter.org/publication/assessing-russias-democratic-presidential-election.

591 George Soros, "Who Lost Russia?" *New York Review of Books*, April 13, 2000, https://nybooks.com/articles/2000/04/13/who-lost-russia.

592 Matt Taibbi, "Putin the Apostate," Racket News, February 28, 2022, https://racket.news/p/putin-the-apostate; Chrystia Freeland, "To Russia with love," *New Statesman*, June 19, 2000, https://newstatesman.com/politics/2000/06/to-russia-with-love; Klebnikov, 212–15.

593 Klebnikov, 115.

594 Klebnikov, 220–21.

595 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

596 Chris Kaspar De Ploeg, *Ukraine in the Crossfire* (Atlanta: Clarity Press, 2017), 301.

597 Sarotte, 262.

598 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

599 Michael Kramer, "Yanks to the Rescue," *Time*, July 15, 1996,

https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,984833,00.html.

600 Eleanor Randolph, "Americans Claim Role in Yeltsin Win," *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-07-09-mn-22423-story.html.

601 Michael Kramer, "Yanks to the Rescue," Time, July 15, 1996,

https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,984833,00.html.

602 See Chapter Five.

603 Klebnikov, 211.

604 Chrystia Freeland, et al., "Moscow's Group of Seven," *Financial Times*, November 1, 1996, https://archive.is/qmAA8.

605 Interview of Donald Jensen, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/jensen.html.

606 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

607 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0; Klebnikov, 236–37.

608 Klebnikov, 224-25.

609 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0; Graham T. Allison and Matthew Lantz, "Assessing Russia's Democratic Presidential Election," Belfer Center, March 1997,

https://belfercenter.org/publication/assessing-russias-democratic-presidential-election.

610 Klebnikov, 218.

611 Alexander Gentelev, *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Oligarchs*, January 3, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=oay8GsSxU4Y.

612 Alexander Gentelev, *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Oligarchs*, January 3, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=oay8GsSxU4Y.

613 Klebnikov, 21.

614 Klebnikov, 119.

615 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0; Klebnikov, 236–37.

616 Alexander Gentelev, *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Oligarchs*, January 3, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=oay8GsSxU4Y.

617 Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000,

https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000_rpt/russias-road.pdf; Klebnikov, 204-08.

618 Klebnikov, 210.

619 Interview of Boris Fyodorov, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/fyodorov.html.

620 Interview of Donald Jensen, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/jensen.html.

621 Klebnikov, 208-10.

622 Klebnikov, 253.

623 Chrystia Freeland, et al., "Moscow's Group of Seven," *Financial Times*, November 1, 1996, https://archive.is/qmAA8.

624 Alexander Gentelev, *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Oligarchs*, January 3, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=oay8GsSxU4Y.

625 Gary Dempsey, "Mafia Capitalism or Red Legacy?" Cato Institute, January 7, 1998, https://cato.org/commentary/mafia-capitalism-or-red-legacy.

626 Interview of Donald Jensen, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/jensen.html.

627 Sherry Jones, "Return of the Czar," PBS Frontline, May 9, 2000,

 $\underline{https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/etc/script.html}.$

628 Klebnikov, 269.

- **629** Robert I. Friedman, "The Money Plane," *New York* magazine, January 22, 1996, https://swisscorruption.info/royalties/MoneyPlane_english.pdf.
- **630** Ben Aris, "Russia's 1998 crisis redux," BNE IntelliNews, August 20, 2018, https://intellinews.com/moscow-blog-russia-s-1998-crisis-redux-147140.
- **631** Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.
- **632** Richard C. Paddock, "Russia Lied to Get Loans, Says Aide to Yeltsin," *Los Angeles Times*, September 9, 1998, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1998-sep-09-mn-21002-story.html. **633** Klebnikov, 281.
- **634** Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.
- **635** Richard C. Paddock, "Russia Plays Loose With IMF Billions," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1998, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1998-sep-24-mn-26054-story.html.
- **636** Richard C. Paddock, "Russia Plays Loose With IMF Billions," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1998, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1998-sep-24-mn-26054-story.html.
- **637** Raymond Bonner and Timothy L. O'Brien, "Activity at Bank Raises Suspicions of Russian Mob Tie," *New York Times*, August 19, 1999,
- https://archive.www.nytimes.com/nytimes.com/library/world/global/081999russians-launder.html. **638** Klebnikov, 281–82.
- **639** David McClintick, "How Harvard Lost Russia," Institutional Investor, January 12, 2006, https://institutionalinvestor.com/article/2btfpiwkwid6fq6qrokcg/home/how-harvard-lost-russia; Emma S. Mackinnon, "Harvard's Dirty Hands," *Harvard Crimson*, October 23, 2002, https://thecrimson.com/article/2002/10/23/harvards-dirty-hands-today-is-at.
- **640** See Chapter Four.
- **641** Peter J. Boettke, "The Russian Crisis: Perils and Prospects for Post-Soviet Transition," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1999), 371–84, http://jstor.org/stable/3487768.
- **642** Steven Rosefielde, "Premature Deaths: Russia's Radical Economic Transition in Soviet Perspective," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 8 (December 2001), 1159–176, https://jstor.org/stable/826265.
- **643** Dan Josefsson, "Shock Therapy: The Art of Ruining a Country," *Torsdag*, April 1, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20081121100700/http://josefsson.net/artikelarkiv/51-shock-therapy-the-art-of-ruining-a-country.html.
- 644 Klebnikov, 5.
- 645 Klebnikov, 103-05.
- **646** David Satter, "Boris Yeltsin," *Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 2007, https://wsj.com/articles/SB117737318737979751.
- **647** Christopher Davis, "The Health Sector: Illness, Medical Care and Mortality," in *Russia's Post-Communist Economy* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), ed. Brigitte Granville and Peter Oppenheimer, 516.
- **648** Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.
- 649 Klebnikov, 103-09.

- **650** James K. Galbraith, "Shock without Therapy," *The American Prospect*, August 12, 2002, https://prospect.org/features/shock-without-therapy.
- **651** Staff, "Trans-Turkish pipeline deal signed," BBC, November 18, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/526515.stm.
- **652** Mark MacKinnon, *The New Cold War: Revolutions, Rigged Elections and Pipeline Politics in the Former Soviet Union* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2008), 150. (Not to be confused with Mark McKinnon, the Republican Party adviser.)
- **653** "Testimony of Anne Williamson," US House of Representatives Committee on Banking and Financial Services, September 21, 1999, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/testimony-of-anne-williamson.
- **654** Senator Joe Biden, "Speech on NATO Enlargement to the Atlantic Council," C-SPAN, June 20, 1996, https://c-span.org/video/?c5073373/user-clip-joe-biden-russias-response-nato-expansion-baltics.
- 655 See Chapter Six.
- 656 Sarotte, 266, 270.
- **657** Michael R. Gordon, "The Anatomy of a Misunderstanding," *New York Times*, May 25, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/05/25/weekinreview/the-anatomy-of-a-misunderstanding.html.
- **658** "NATO-Russia Founding Act," White House, May 15, 1997, https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/eur/fs_nato_whitehouse.html.
- **659** Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.
- **660** Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, "NATO Expansion," US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, October 7, 1997, https://c-span.org/video/?92584-1/nato-expansion.
- **661** Zbigniew Brzezinski and Anthony Lake, "For a New World, a New NATO," *New York Times*, June 30, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/06/30/opinion/for-a-new-world-a-new-nato.html.
- 662 Alexey Pushkov, "Don't Isolate Us: A Russian View of NATO Expansion," *The National Interest*, March 1, 1997, https://nationalinterest.org/article/dont-isolate-us-a-russian-view-of-nato-expansion-722; Once again, the author must note that this all could have been worked out between European powers without US involvement, but the contrast between the American and Russian governments' positions is what remains at issue.
- 663 "Memorandum of Conversation, Clinton-Yeltsin Summit, Helsinki, Finland, Subject: Morning Meeting with Russian President Yeltsin: NATO-Russia, START, ABM/TMD," White House, March 21, 1997, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32237-document-14-memorandum-conversation-clinton-yeltsin-summit-helsinki-finland-subject.
- **664** "Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Secretary of Defense William Cohen Interview on NBC-TV Today," July 9, 1997, https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/970709.html.
- **665** Andrew Tully, "Albright Says Russia Still Concerned With NATO," RFERL, October 23, 2009, https://rferl.org/a/Albright_Says_Russia_Still_Concerned_With_NATO/1859178.html. **666** Albright, 320.
- 667 Olivier Knox and Caroline Anders, "Some Americans (and others) are questioning Putin's mental state," *Washington Post*, February 28, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/28/some-americans-others-are-questioning-putin-mental-state; Carl Bildt, "Why Putin's gamble on Ukraine is insane," *Washington Post*, January 28, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/01/28/putin-gamble-ukraine-russia; Ted Snider, "Six Things the Media Won't Tell You About Ukraine," Antiwar.com, January 6, 2022, https://original.antiwar.com/ted_snider/2022/01/05/six-things-the-media-wont-tell-you-about-ukraine.
- **668** Paul Sonne, et al., "US plans to discuss missile deployments with Russia as part of effort to defuse Ukraine crisis," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-russia-talks-ukraine/2022/01/07/2fb5874e-6ff6-11ec-974b-d1c6de8b26b0_story.html.

669 Goldgeier and McFaul, 204–05.

670 Jonathan Masters, "Why NATO Has Become a Flash Point With Russia in Ukraine," Council on Foreign Relations, January 20, 2022, https://cfr.org/backgrounder/why-nato-has-become-flash-point-russia-ukraine.

671 Frederick Kempe, "Brent Scowcroft on the Fall of the Berlin Wall," *New Atlanticist*, November 2, 2009, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/brent-scowcroft-on-the-fall-of-the-berlin-wall.

672 "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine," NATO, July 9, 1997, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 25457.htm.

673 Staff, "Russia Angry About NATO Exercise on Crimea," BBC, August 25, 1997, https://bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/news/08/0825/ukraine.shtml.

674 Carol J. Williams, "US-Ukraine Military Exercises Rub Russians the Wrong Way," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-aug-29-mn-27057-story.html.

675 "Memorandum of Conversation, Clinton-Yeltsin Summit, Helsinki, Finland, Subject: Morning Meeting with Russian President Yeltsin: NATO-Russia, START, ABM/TMD," White House, March 21, 1997, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32237-document-14-memorandum-conversation-clinton-yeltsin-summit-helsinki-finland-subject.

676 Brzezinski, 121.

677 David Binder, "In Yugoslavia, Rising Ethnic Strife Brings Fears of Worse Civil Conflict," *New York Times*, November 1, 1987, https://nytimes.com/1987/11/01/world/in-yugoslavia-rising-ethnic-strife-brings-fears-of-worse-civil-conflict.html.

678 Szamuely, 340; George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

679 Alex N. Dragnich and Slavko Todorovich, *The Saga of Kosovo: Focus on Serbian-Albanian Relations* (Boulder: Eastern European Monographs, 1984), 158.

680 Gibbs, 175–77.

681 "Speech of Slobodan Milosevic at Kosovo Polje," April 24–25, 1987, http://slobodan-milosevic.org/news/milosevic-1987-3-eng.htm; Tim Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 52–53.

682 David Binder, "In Yugoslavia, Rising Ethnic Strife Brings Fears of Worse Civil Conflict," *New York Times*, November 1, 1987, https://nytimes.com/1987/11/01/world/in-yugoslavia-rising-ethnic-strife-brings-fears-of-worse-civil-conflict.html.

683 Gibbs, 177–78.

684 Gibbs, 178–80.

685 Szamuely, 49.

686 Staff, "Albanians Reject Belgrade Conditions for Talks," AFP, March 2, 1998, cited in Szamuely, 351.

687 Owen, 80–81.

688 Szamuely, 340.

689 Szamuely, 339; Slocombe is the same guy who in a previous stint as deputy secretary of defense for policy helped President Jimmy Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski come up with the plan to support mujahideen fighters against the Communists in Afghanistan in order to try to lure the USSR into "their own Vietnam," in 1979 (Gates, 144–46) and helped later-Deputy Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith give the order to Viceroy Paul Bremer to disband the Iraqi army in 2003, a major turning point toward the creation of the broad-based Sunni insurgency that killed more than 4,000 American troops in Iraq War II ("Interview with Walter Slocombe," PBS *Frontline*, October 26, 2004, https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/pentagon/interviews/slocombe.html). It is nice to know he helped lie us into Kosovo too.

690 "Transcript: Clinton justifies US involvement in Kosovo," CNN, May 13, 1999, https://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/05/13/clinton.kosovo/transcript.html; Tom Doggett,

"Cohen Fears 100,000 Kosovo Men Killed by Serbs," Reuters, May 16, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/cohen051699.htm.

691 Chris Hedges, "The World: Fog of War – Coping With the Truth About Friend and Foe; Victims Not Quite Innocent," *New York Times*, March 28, 1999,

https://nytimes.com/1999/03/28/weekinreview/world-fog-war-coping-with-truth-about-friend-foe-victims-not-quite-innocent.html.

692 Michel Chossudovsky, "Kosovo 'Freedom Fighters' Financed by Organized Crime," *Peace Research* 31, No. 2 (1999), 29–42. http://jstor.org/stable/23607667.

693 Chris Stephen, "Bin Laden opens European terror base in Albania," Sunday *Times*, November 29, 1998, https://archive.is/G1pi8; Staff, "Bin Laden operated terrorist network based in Albania," AP, November 29, 1998, https://archive.is/Qe8St; Chris Stephen, "US Tackles Islamic Militancy in Kosovo," *The Scotsman*, November 30, 1998, https://archive.is/zywXy; Steve Rodan, "Kosovo seen as new Islamic bastion," *Jerusalem Post*, September 14, 1998, https://archive.is/r5EBY; Tom Walker, "US alarmed as Mujahidin join Kosovo rebels," London *Times*, November 26, 1998, https://archive.is/GPozj.

694 US Constitution, Article 1, Section 8, Clause 11, June 21, 1788, https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/essay/artI-S8-C11-3/ALDE 00013589.

695 Not justifying it, just being descriptive. For the real story, see Horton, *Enough Already*, 21–31.

696 Staff, "Bush News Conference: 'I Have Not Given Up," Los Angeles Times, January 10, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-01-10-mn-11298-story.html; John Elson, "Just Who Can Send Us to War?" *Time*, December 17, 1990,

https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,971967,00.html; "ArtII.S2.C1.1.12 Congressional Control Over President's Discretion," Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute, https://law.cornell.edu/constitution-conan/article-2/section-2/clause-1/congressional-control-over-presidents-discretion.

697 Staff, "Senate tables Kosovo resolution authorizing 'all necessary force," CNN, May 4, 1999, https://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/05/04/kosovo.congress.

698 Doug Bandow, "Clinton Stepped Beyond Constitutional Limits," Cato Institute, April 30, 1999, https://cato.org/commentary/clinton-stepped-beyond-constitutional-limits; Staff, "ACLU Says Military Action in Kosovo Violates Constitution and War Powers Act," ACLU, April 28, 1999, https://aclu.org/press-releases/aclu-says-military-action-kosovo-violates-constitution-and-war-powers-

699 Szamuely, 341.

act.

700 Wolf Blitzer, "President Clinton talks with 'Late Edition," CNN, June 20, 1999, https://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/06/20/clinton.transcript.

701 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.

702 "S.Con.Res. 21 (106th): Kosovo Resolution," US House of Representatives, April 28, 1999, https://govtrack.us/congress/votes/106-1999/h103.

703 Bill Miller, "Clinton's War Powers Upheld," *Washington Post*, June 9, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/daily/june99/dismiss09.htm.

704 John F. Harris, "Clinton Not Thrown By Balkans Setbacks, Aides Say," *Washington Post*, June 8, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/june99/clinton8.htm.

705 John Norris, Collision Course: NATO, Russia and Kosovo (Westport: Praeger, 2005), xxii-xxiii, 293.

706 Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden at the Conclusion of a Bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Vucic of Serbia," Office of the Vice President, August 19, 2016, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/08/19/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-conclusion-bilateral-meeting-prime.

707 "US Invasion Ousts Panama's Noriega," *CQ Almanac*, 45th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1990), 595–609, http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/cqal89-1139591; Jeremy Scahill, "Joe Biden Supported Panama Invasion," Intercept, April 27, 2021,

https://theintercept.com/2021/04/27/biden-panama-manuel-noriega.

708 Barry Bearak, "Day Two Ushers In a Different Reality," *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1991, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-01-18-mn-251-story.html; "Vintage Operation Desert Shield 1990 Saddam Hussein So Damn Insane Shirt Small," Ebay.com, August 2024, https://ebay.com/itm/364408969703.

709 Brian Blomquist, "Was Army Active at Waco?: Ex-CIA Man Says Elite Commandos Took Part," *New York Post*, August 28, 1999, https://nypost.com/1999/08/28/was-army-active-at-waco-ex-cia-man-says-elite-commandos-took-part.

710 The Justice Department found that "the Davidians sent out a videotape of the children in the compound. The negotiators' log shows that when the tape was reviewed there was concern that if the tape were released to the media Koresh would gain much sympathy." Edward S.G. Dennis Jr., "Evaluation of the Handling of the Branch Davidian Stand-off in Waco, Texas February 28 to April 19, 1993," US Department of Justice, October 8, 1993,

 $\frac{https://justice.gov/archives/publications/waco/evaluation-handling-branch-davidian-stand-waco-texas-february-28-april-19-1993.$

711 Arianna Huffington, "Clinton Plays into Milosevic's Hand," *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 11, 1999, cited in Bovard, *Feeling Your Pain: The Explosion and Abuse of Government Power in the Clinton-Gore Years* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 331.

712 First Lady Laura Bush, "Radio Address by Mrs. Bush," White House, November 17, 2001, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011117.html.

713 Staff, "US President gives Saddam 48 hour ultimatum," AP, March 18, 2003, https://youtube.com/watch?v=bkzZfvYNnBQ.

714 Louis Charbonneau, "US envoy: Gaddafi troops raping, issued Viagra," Reuters, April 29, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/business/healthcare-pharmaceuticals/us-envoy-gaddafi-troops-raping-issued-viagra-idUSTRE73S74B.

715 Michael O'Hanlon, "The case for deconstructing Syria," *Washington Post*, September 24, 2015, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/deconstructing-syria/2015/09/24/44c4e3e0-6211-11e5-8e9e-dce8a2a2a679 story.html.

716 Stephen F. Cohen, "Who Putin Is Not," *The Nation*, September 20, 2018, https://thenation.com/article/archive/who-putin-is-not.

717 Peter Bergen, Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden (New York: Free Press, 2001), 176.

718 Interview with author, Chris Deliso, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 20, 2008, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-chris-deliso.

719 Quoted in Curtis, 240–41.

720 "The Kosovo Liberation Army: Does Clinton Policy Support Group with Terror, Drug Ties?" US Senate Republican Policy Committee, March 31, 1999,

https://irp.fas.org/world/para/docs/fr033199.htm; Curtis, 238–41.

721 Davidson, 140–43.

722 Deliso, 37.

723 Albright, 172.

724 Press Statement by James P. Rubin, US State Department Office of the Spokesman, March 2, 1998, https://1997-2001.state.gov/briefings/statements/1998/ps980302b.html.

725 Curtis, 239.

- **726** Chris Hedges, "In New Balkan Tinderbox, Ethnic Albanians Rebel Against Serbs," *New York Times*, March 2, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/03/02/world/in-new-balkan-tinderbox-ethnic-albanians-rebel-against-serbs.html.
- 727 Marcia Christoff Kurop, "Al Qaeda's Balkan Links," *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 2001, https://wsj.com/articles/SB1004563569751363760; Colleen Sullivan, "Kosovo Liberation Army," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 28, 2014, https://britannica.com/topic/Kosovo-Liberation-Army.
- **728** Barton Gellman, "US Reaching Out to Kosovo Rebels," *Washington Post*, July 1, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/07/01/us-reaching-out-to-kosovo-rebels/e5cea352-c7a1-433c-afdc-f9917e4a1743.
- **729** Steven Erlanger, "US Meets With Kosovo Rebel Army Leaders," *New York Times*, June 28, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/06/28/world/us-meets-with-kosovo-rebel-army-leaders.html.
- **730** Staff, "On This Day: US Embassy bombings kill 224 people," UPI, August 7, 2024, https://upi.com/Top_News/2024/08/07/On-This-Day-US-Embassy-bombings-kill-224-people/2311723002035.
- **731** R. Jeffrey Smith, "US Probes Blasts' Possible Mideast Ties," *Washington Post*, August 12, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/eafricabombing/stories/albania081298.htm. **732** Deliso, 40–41.
- **733** Chris Stephen, "Bin Laden opens European terror base in Albania," London *Times*, November 29, 1998, https://archive.is/G1pi8; Staff, "Report says bin Laden has network in Albania," AP, November 30, 1998, https://newspapers.com/newspage/527790053.
- 734 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.
- 735 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.
- **736** Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, "The Legendary Commander: The Construction of an Albanian Master Narrative in Post-War Kosovo," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2006), http://annadilellio.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Adem-Jashari-NN.pdf. **737** Szamuely, 363–64.
- **738** Gibbs, 185–87; Szamuely, 371; Mike O'Connor, "Yugoslav Forces on the Move from Positions in Kosovo," *New York Times*, October 28, 1998, https://nytimes.com/library/world/europe/102898yugo-kosovo.html.
- 739 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt; Mike O'Connor, "Kosovo Rebels Gain Ground Under NATO Threat," *New York Times*, December 4, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/12/04/world/kosovo-rebels-gain-ground-under-nato-threat.html. 740 Szamuely, 379–81.
- **741** Guy Gugliotta and Douglas Farah, "12 Years of Tortured Truth on El Salvador," *Washington Post*, March 21, 1993, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/03/21/12-years-of-tortured-truth-on-el-salvador/9432bb6f-fbd0-4b18-b254-29caa919dc98.
- **742** Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt. **743** Szamuely, 387–88.
- 744 Barton Gellman, "The Path to Crisis: How the United States and Its Allies Went to War," *Washington Post*, April 18, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/04/18/the-path-to-crisis-how-the-united-states-and-its-allies-went-to-war/52533b73-cf3e-4e21-a771-8f1806bc0577.
- 745 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,
- $\underline{http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.}$
- **746** Szamuely, 399.
- 747 Albright, 386.

- **748** Barton Gellman, "Slaughter in Racak Changed Kosovo Policy," *Washington Post*, April 18, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/policy041899.htm.
- 749 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.
- **750** Staff, "Media Ignore Questions About Incident That Sparked Kosovo War," FAIR, February 1, 2001, https://fair.org/press-release/media-ignore-questions-about-incident-that-sparked-kosovo-war.
- **751** Szamuely, 407.
- **752** President Clinton, "Excerpt from press conference released by the White House Office of the Press Secretary," US State Department, March 19, 1999, https://1997-
- 2001.state.gov/policy remarks/1999/990319 clinton kosovo.html.
- **753** Staff, "Excerpts of President Clinton's Address on NATO Attacks on Yugoslav Military Forces," *Washington Post*, March 24, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/03/25/excerpts-of-president-clintons-address-on-nato-attacks-on-yugoslav-military-forces/ce1ce942-9bf2-490b-817e-e06acc7731f4.
- **754** Christophe Châtelot, "Were the Racak Dead Really Massacred in Cold Blood?" *Le Monde*, January 21, 1999, https://archive.is/0tlvL.
- 755 Szamuely, 403–05; Peter Worthington, "The Hoax That Started a War," *Toronto Sun*, April 1, 2001, https://archive.is/VyzVx; Staff, "Kosovo: Massacre Victims Discovered Near Racak," AP, January 16, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=olFYg-Nh1BI.
- 756 Peter Worthington, "The Hoax That Started a War," *Toronto Sun*, April 1, 2001, https://archive.is/VYzVx; Staff, "Media Ignore Questions About Incident That Sparked Kosovo War," FAIR, February 1, 2001, https://fair.org/press-release/media-ignore-questions-about-incident-that-sparked-kosovo-war; Bo Adam, et al., "'I Sensed Something Was Wrong," *Berliner Zeitung*, March 23, 2000, https://archive.is/yP0Ws.
- **757** R. Jeffrey Smith, "Kosovo Killings Called a Massacre," *Washington Post*, March 17, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/03/17/kosovo-killings-called-a-massacre/30015d06-76ea-4413-9693-a50df689f8d8.
- **758** Szamuely, 411–15.
- **759** Staff, "New fighting near scene of Kosovo massacre," CNN, January 17, 1999, http://cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9901/17/kosovo.02/index.html; "Massacre at Racak, Kosova Joe DioGuardi Interview," CNN World News, January 18, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=cWwogF-L30Y.
- **760** Tom Walker and Aidan Laverty, "CIA aided Kosovo guerrilla army," Sunday *Times*, March 12, 2000, https://archive.is/i1Qvk.
- **761** Allan Little, "Behind the Kosovo crisis," BBC, March 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/674056.stm.
- **762** "Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo (Rambouillet Accord)," Peace Agreements Database, February 23, 1999, https://peaceagreements.org/view/405.
- 763 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.
- 764 Szamuely, 435.
- **765** Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo (Rambouillet Agreement), US State Department, February 23, 1999, https://peaceagreements.org/wview/405.
- **766** Noam Chomsky, "A Review of NATO's War over Kosovo," *Z Magazine*, April–May 2001, https://chomsky.info/200005.
- **767** Szamuely, 440–42.
- **768** Steven Erlanger, "Crisis in the Balkans: The Serbs; In Milosevic's Government, Resignation Over Pact, Confidence in His Strength," *New York Times*, June 5, 1999,

 $\underline{https://nytimes.com/1999/06/05/world/crisis-balkans-serbs-milosevic-s-government-resignation-over-pact-confidence-his.html.}$

769 Boris Johnson, "Cold War warrior scorns 'new morality," *Telegraph*, June 28, 1999, https://archive.is/mijk2.

770 John Pilger, "John Pilger Reminds Us of Kosovo," *New Statesman*, December 13, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20050215122027/http://newstatesman.com/200412130010.

771 George Kenney, "Rolling Thunder: the Rerun," *The Nation*, May 27, 1999, https://thenation.com/article/archive/rolling-thunder-rerun.

772 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.

773 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.

774 George Bogdanich, Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War, 1999,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

775 Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.

776 Search results for "Kissinger," Antiwar.com, October 17, 2024,

https://google.com/search?&q=site%3aantiwar.com+kissinger.

777 Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.

778 Debate on Authorization to Use Military Force in Serbia, US Senate, March 23, 1999, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CREC-1999-03-23/html/CREC-1999-03-23-pt1-PgS3110.htm; Jeremy Scahill, "1999: NATO Bombing of Serbia and Montenegro," Intercept, April 27, 2021, https://theintercept.com/2021/04/27/biden-nato-bombing-serbia-montenegro.

779 George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.

780 Szamuely, 449–51.

781 Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.

782 Randolph Bourne, "Part One of the Unfinished Essay, 'The State,'" Antiwar.com, 1918, https://antiwar.com/bourne.php.

783 Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.

784 Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.

785 "Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Interview on PBS Newshour with Jim Lehrer," March 24, 1999, https://1997-2001.state.gov/www/statements/1999/990324.html.

786 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.

787 Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.

788 Philip Hammond, "The Tragedy of Kosovo," Spiked, March 22, 2019, https://spiked-online.com/2019/03/22/the-tragedy-of-kosovo.

789 Norris, 115.

790 James Bovard, "Kosovo Indictment Proves Bill Clinton's Serbian War Atrocities," Libertarian Institute, June 25, 2020, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/kosovo-indictment-proves-bill-clintons-serbian-war-atrocities.

791 Bovard, 332–33.

792 Staff, "Civilian Deaths 'necessary price," BBC, May 31, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/357355.stm.

793 John F. Harris, "Clinton Urges Patience With NATO Bombing Campaign," *Washington Post*, April 25, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/clinton25.htm.

794 "Jeremy Scahill Confronts Wesley Clark Over His Bombing Of Civilians, Use Of Cluster Bombs And Depleted Uranium And The Bombing Of Serb Television," Democracy Now!, January 26, 2004, https://democracynow.org/2004/1/26/exclusive democracy now confronts wesley clark.

795 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.

796 Staff, "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) /NATO: 'Collateral damage' or unlawful killings? – Violations of the Laws of War by NATO during Operation Allied Force," Amnesty International, June 5, 2000, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR70/018/2000/en.

797 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.

798 Staff, "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) /NATO: 'Collateral damage' or unlawful killings? – Violations of the Laws of War by NATO during Operation Allied Force," Amnesty International, June 5, 2000, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR70/018/2000/en.

799 Staff, "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) /NATO: 'Collateral damage' or unlawful killings? – Violations of the Laws of War by NATO during Operation Allied Force," Amnesty International, June 5, 2000, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/EUR70/018/2000/en.

800 "Jeremy Scahill Confronts Wesley Clark Over His Bombing Of Civilians, Use Of Cluster Bombs And Depleted Uranium And The Bombing Of Serb Television," Democracy Now!, January 26, 2004, https://democracynow.org/2004/1/26/exclusive democracy now confronts wesley clark.

801 Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, "Aerospace Power and the Use of Force," AFA Policy Forum, September 14, 1999, https://secure.afa.org/media/scripts/rlstn999.asp.

802 Philip Sherwell, "SAS Teams Move in to Help KLA 'Rise From the Ashes," *Telegraph*, April 18, 1999,

 $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20030708041432/https://telegraph.co.uk/htmlContent.jhtml?/html=/archive/1999/04/18/wwar18.html.}$

803 Ian Bruce, "SAS faces own trainees in Balkans," *Sunday Herald*, March 27, 2001, https://archive.is/dCwH2.

804 Szamuely, 397–98.

805 Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://archive.is/bHrXn.

806 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt; Staff, "Cause of Kosovar Exodus from Pristina Disputed: Serbs Are Forcing Exit, Some Claim; Others Go on Own," *Washington Times*, March 31, 1999, https://irp.fas.org/world/para/docs/fr033199.htm.

807 "Monthly Report on the Situation in Kosovo Pursuant to the Requirements Set Out in Security Council Resolutions 1160 (1998) and 1203 (1998)," S/1999/315, March 23, 1999, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1489702/files/S 1999 315-EN.pdf?ln=en.

808 Norris, 6.

809 Szamuely, 447.

810 Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.

811 Boyard, 328–29.

812 William A. Sayers, "Operation Allied Force," *Air & Space Forces Magazine*, April 16, 2019, https://airandspaceforces.com/article/operation-allied-force-how-airpower-won-the-war-for-kosovo. **813** Szamuely, 456.

- **814** Szamuely, 458–59.
- 815 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.

816 John F. Harris, "Clinton Not Thrown By Balkans Setbacks, Aides Say," *Washington Post*, June 8, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/june99/clinton8.htm.

817 Boyard, 330.

- **818** William Cohen Department of Defense Briefing, "Military Strikes on Yugoslavia," C-SPAN, April 7, 1999, https://c-span.org/video/?122356-1/military-strikes-yugoslavia.
- **819** Francis X. Clines, "NATO Hunting for Serb Forces; US Reports Signs of 'Genocide,'" *New York Times*, March 30, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/03/30/world/crisis-balkans-overview-nato-hunting-for-serb-forces-us-reports-signs-genocide.html.
- **820** George F. Will, "Waging war based on polls, not sensible strategy," *Baltimore Sun*, April 28, 1999, https://baltimoresun.com/1999/04/28/waging-war-based-on-polls-not-sensible-strategy-the-united-states-is-disastrously-conducting-a-war-without-having-been-attacked-or-an-ally-having-been-attacked-or-any-other-emergency-that-would-preclu.
- **821** Szamuely, 464–65.
- **822** Richard Norton-Taylor, "Nato bombs kill 17 in sanatorium," *Guardian*, May 31, 1999, https://theguardian.com/world/1999/jun/01/balkans.
- **823** Bovard, 332.
- **824** Ben Wedeman, et al., "Yugoslavia breaks ties with Albania as NATO raids continue," CNN, April 18, 1999, http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9904/18/kosovo.02.
- **825** Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1999, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/1999-09-01/perfect-failure.
- **826** "Transcript: Clinton justifies US involvement in Kosovo," CNN, May 13, 1999, https://cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/05/13/clinton.kosovo/transcript.html; Tom Doggett, "Cohen Fears 100,000 Kosovo Men Killed by Serbs," Reuters, May 16, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/cohen051699.htm.
- **827** Charles Duelfer, "Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD, with Addendums (Duelfer Report)," Central Intelligence Agency/Iraq Survey Group, April 25, 2005, https://govinfo.gov/app/details/GPO-DUELFERREPORT.
- **828** Jonathan Steele, "Serb killings 'exaggerated' by west," *Guardian*, August 17, 2000, https://theguardian.com/world/2000/aug/18/balkans3; Steven Erlanger, "Early Count Hints at Fewer Kosovo Deaths," *New York Times*, November 11, 1999,

https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/111199kosovo-un.html; John Laughland, "I Was Right About Kosovo," *The Spectator*, November 20, 1999, https://antiwar.com/rep/laughland1.html.

829 John Pilger, "Kosovo Killing Fields?" *New Statesman*, November 21, 1999, https://archive.is/7Wfju.

830 See above.

831 Daniel Pearl and Robert Block, "War in Kosovo Was Cruel, Bitter, Savage; Genocide It Wasn't," *Wall Street Journal*, December 31, 1999,

http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/pearl123199.htm.

- **832** Nicholas Rufford, "Robin Cook accused of misleading public on Kosovo massacres," Sunday *Times*, October 31, 1999, https://archive.is/xpkr7.
- **833** Peter Finn, "Kosovo Awaits Enumeration of Its Dead," *Washington Post*, January 17, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/2000-01/17/060r-011700-idx.html.
- **834** "Statement to the Press by Carla Del Ponte, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda," United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former

- Yugoslavia, The Hague, December 20, 2000, https://icty.org/en/press/statement-press-carla-del-ponte-prosecutor-international-criminal-tribunals-former-yugoslavia.
- **835** George Bogdanich, *Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War*, 1999, https://youtube.com/watch?v=XpUJ2CZNKfY.
- **836** Staff, "Chinese Embassy Hit in NATO Bombing Of Belgrade; NATO Expresses Regret," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 1999, https://wsj.com/articles/SB926144864693007660; Daniel Williams, "Missiles Hit Chinese Embassy," *Washington Post*, May 8, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/belgrade050899.htm.
- **837** Deliso, 44; John Sweeney, et al., "Nato bombed Chinese deliberately," *Guardian*, October 17, 1999, https://theguardian.com/world/1999/oct/17/balkans.
- **838** Mark Cozad, et al., "Gaining Victory in Systems Warfare," RAND Corporation, December 2021, https://rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RRA1500/RRA1535-1/RAND_RRA1535-1.pdf.
- **839** Kristen Gunness and Phillip C. Saunders, "Averting Escalation and Avoiding War: Lessons from the 1995–1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis," Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, December 2022,
- https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/stratperspective/china/china-perspectives-17.pdf. **840** Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.
- **841** Staff, "Kosovo: Civilian Deaths in the NATO Air Campaign," Human Rights Watch, February 1, 2000, https://refworld.org/reference/countryrep/hrw/2000/en/32567.
- **842** Daniel Williams, "NATO's Blunder Ignites Rage in Belgrade," *Washington Post*, May 9, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/belgrade050999.htm.
- **843** Richard Hatfield, "Kosovo: Ground Force Options," Minister of State for the Armed Forces, April 29, 1999, https://thegrayzone.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/British-Invasion-Plans-Yugoslavia.pdf.
- **844** Kit Klarenberg, "Kosovo War at 25: Blair's secret invasion plot to 'topple Milosevic' revealed," Grayzone, March 24, 2024, https://thegrayzone.com/2024/03/24/kosovo-war-blairs-secret-invasion-plot-milosevic.
- **845** Norris, 47–50, 57, 110–11, 114, 190–91.
- 846 Szamuely, 500; Martin Walker, "Revealed: How deal was done in Stalin's hideaway," *Guardian*, June 5, 1999, https://theguardian.com/world/1999/jun/05/1; Aidan Hehir, *Humanitarian Intervention:* An Introduction (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 232; Simon Chesterman, Just War or Just Peace?: Humanitarian Intervention and International (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 54.

 847 Steven Erlanger, "NATO Was Closer to Ground War in Kosovo Than Is Widely Realized," New York Times, November 7, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/11/07/world/nato-was-closer-to-ground-war-in-kosovo-than-is-widely-realized.html; William Drozdiak, "Russia's Concession Led to Breakthrough," Washington Post, June 6, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/diplomacy060699.htm.
- **848** Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.
- **849** Allan Little, "Behind the Kosovo crisis," BBC, March 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/674056.stm.
- **850** Years later he did excellent work showing the al Qaeda origins of the 2011 war against Libya: Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), 105–36; Alan J. Kuperman, "America's Little-Known Mission to Support Al Qaeda's Role in Libya," *The National Interest*, August 13, 2019, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/americas-little-known-mission-support-al-qaedas-role-libya-73271. **851** Alan Kuperman, "Botched Diplomacy Led to War," *Wall Street Journal*, June 17, 1999, https://wsj.com/articles/SB929565648195034583.

852 John Pilger, "Moral Tourism," Guardian, June 15, 1999,

https://theguardian.com/comment/story/0,,288528,00.html.

853 Boyard, 335.

854 John Barry and Evan Thomas, "The Kosovo Cover-Up," *Newsweek*, May 14, 2000, https://newsweek.com/kosovo-cover-160273.

855 Richard Norton-Taylor, "How the Serb army escaped Nato," *Guardian*, March 9, 2000, https://theguardian.com/world/2000/mar/09/balkans1.

856 Boyard, 336.

857 Philip Hammond, "The Tragedy of Kosovo," Spiked, March 22, 2019, https://spiked-online.com/2019/03/22/the-tragedy-of-kosovo.

858 Norris, 270.

859 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.

860 Robert G. Kaiser and David Hoffman, "Secret Russian Troop Deployment Thwarted," *Washington Post*, June 25, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-

srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/russians062599.htm.

861 "Singer James Blunt 'Prevented World War III," BBC, November 14, 2010, https://bbc.com/news/uk-politics-11753050.

862 Jamie McIntyre, "Top NATO commanders clashed over Russians' actions in Kosovo," CNN, August 2, 1999,

https://web.archive.org/web/20180530000749/http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9908/02/jackson_clark; Mark Tran, "'I'm not going to start Third World War for you,' Jackson told Clark," *Guardian*, August 2, 1999, https://theguardian.com/world/1999/aug/02/balkans3.

863 Gen. Sir Mike Jackson, "My clash with Nato chief," *Telegraph*, September 4, 2007, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1562161/Gen-Sir-Mike-Jackson-My-clash-with-Nato-chief.html; Jonathan Beale and Ruth Comerford, "Former army head Gen Sir Mike Jackson dies at 80," BBC, October 16, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/articles/c8djnnel0170.

864 Norris, 284–87; Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript 12 03 00.txt.

865 NBC News Dateline, November 29, 1999,

http://archive.mrc.org/cyberalerts/1999/cyb19991130.asp#2; Michael Eskenazi, "I'll Give You One More Chance – If You Bomb the Balkans," *Time*, November 29, 1999,

 $\underline{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20140915084935/http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,35171,00.html.}$

866 Lucinda Franks, "The Intimate Hillary," Talk, August 8, 1999, https://archive.is/023Dw.

867 Gail Sheehy, Hillary's Choice (New York: Random House, 1999), 345.

868 Peter Beaumont, et al., "CIA's Bastard Army Ran Riot in Balkans," *Observer*, March 11, 2001, https://theguardian.com/world/2001/mar/11/edvulliamy.peterbeaumont.

869 Bill Clinton, "Videotaped Address to the Serbian People," The American Presidency Project, March 25, 1999, https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/videotaped-address-the-serbian-people.

870 Allan Little, "Moral Combat: NATO at War," BBC2, March 12, 2000,

 $\underline{http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/panorama/transcripts/transcript_12_03_00.txt.}$

871 Chris Hedges, "Fog of War – Coping With the Truth About Friend and Foe; Victims Not Quite Innocent," *New York Times*, March 28, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/03/28/weekinreview/world-fog-war-coping-with-truth-about-friend-foe-victims-not-quite-innocent.html.

872 Christian Jennings, "Terrorism hits world support for Kosovo," *Telegraph*, February 22, 2001, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/1323700/Terrorism-hits-world-support-for-Kosovo.html.

- **873** Thomas Harding, "Kosovo's Serbs Face a Bleak Future," *Telegraph*, December 30, 2008, http://telegraph.co.uk/comment/3554939/Kosovos-Serbs-face-a-bleak-future.html.
- **874** Douglas A. Macgregor, "The Balkan Limits to Power and Principle," *ORBIS*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 2001), 93, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/the-balkan-limits-to-power-and-principle.
- **875** Peter Finn, "NATO Losing Kosovo Battle," *Washington Post*, August 4, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/08/04/nato-losing-kosovo-battle/8b85fe47-09b7-
- https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/08/04/nato-losing-kosovo-battle/8b85fe47-09b7-44a3-8d01-10adc9a37e52.
- 876 Deliso, 44.
- 877 Boyard, 337.
- **878** John Pilger, "John Pilger Reminds Us of Kosovo," *New Statesman*, December 13, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20050215122027/http://newstatesman.com/200412130010.
- **879** Edward S. Herman, et al., "Yugoslavia: Human Rights Watch in Service to the War Party," Electric Politics, February 26, 2007, https://globalresearch.ca/yugoslavia-human-rights-watch-in-service-to-the-war-party/5021.
- **880** "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Abuses Against Serbs and Roma in the New Kosovo," Human Rights Watch, August 1999, Volume 11, No. 10 (D), https://hrw.org/reports/1999/kosov2.
- **881** Staff, "Kosovo: Six Months On, Climate of Violence and Fear Flies in the Face of UN Mission," Amnesty International, December 23, 1999, https://reliefweb.int/report/serbia/kosovo-six-months-climate-violence-and-fear-flies-face-un-mission.
- **882** James Bovard, "When the Spoils of War Are Human Organs," *Washington Times*, August 4, 2014, http://washingtontimes.com/news/2014/aug/4/bovard-when-the-spoils-of-war-are-human-organs.
- **883** James Bovard, "Kosovo Indictment Proves Bill Clinton's Serbian War Atrocities," Libertarian Institute, June 25, 2020, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/kosovo-indictment-proves-bill-clintons-serbian-war-atrocities.
- **884** Daniel McLaughlin, "Bittersweet homecoming for forgotten victims of war," *Irish Times*, March 8, 2008, https://irishtimes.com/news/bittersweet-homecoming-for-forgotten-victims-of-war-1.901134.
- **885** George Robertson, Testimony before the Select Committee on Defense, UK House of Commons, March 24, 1999, https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmdfence/39/9032403.htm.
- **886** John Pilger, "John Pilger Reminds Us of Kosovo," *New Statesman*, December 13, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20050215122027/http://newstatesman.com/200412130010.
- **887** Paul Watson, "Extremist Albanians Target Moderates in Kosovo Strife," *Los Angeles Times*, November 20, 1999, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-nov-20-mn-35576-story.html.
- **888** Editorial, "Bin Laden's new special envoys," *Washington Times*, June 22, 2001, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2001/jun/22/20010622-023905-6115r.
- **889** Deliso, 57–61; Curtis, 246–47; Peter Beaumont, et al., "CIA's bastard army ran riot in Balkans,' backed extremists," *Guardian*, March 11, 2001,
- https://theguardian.com/world/2001/mar/11/edvulliamy.peterbeaumont.
- **890** "Who Are Our Fundamentalists?" UNMIK Local Media Monitoring, October 30, 2001, cited in Deliso, 60.
- **891** John Kiriakou and Joseph Hickman, *The Convenient Terrorist: Two Whistleblowers' Stories of Torture, Terror, Secret Wars, and CIA Lies* (New York: Hot Books, 2017), 38, 40.
- 892 Sen. Diane Feinstein, et al., "Report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program," US Senate,
- December 9, 2014, https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/publications/CRPT-113srpt288.pdf.
- **893** Edin Hamzic and Nick Fielding, "Balkan zealots planned suicide attacks," London *Times*, October 28, 2001, <a href="https://web.archive.org/web/20011103094133/http://sunday-planned.com/web/2001110309413/http://sunday-planned.com/web/2001110
- times.co.uk/news/pages/sti/2001/10/28/stiusausa01019.html.
- **894** Marija Ristic, "Kosovo Organ-Trafficking: How the Claims were Exposed," Balkan Insight, September 4, 2015, <a href="https://balkaninsight.com/2015/09/04/kosovo-organ-trafficking-how-the-claims-number-12015/09/04

were-exposed-09-04-2015-1; Nicholas Schmidle, "Bring Up the Bodies," *The New Yorker*, April 29, 2013, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2013/05/06/bring-up-the-bodies; Dick Marty, et al., "Inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs in Kosovo," Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights, December 12, 2010,

https://assembly.coe.int/CommitteeDocs/2010/20101218_ajdoc462010provamended.pdf.

895 Interview with author, Nebojsa Malic, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, December 20, 2010, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-nebojsa-malic-2.

896 "When the new president of the USA, Joe Biden, called Hashim Thaçi the 'George Washington' of Kosovo," Top Channel Albania, https://youtube.com/watch?v=BiNuGeceiTE.

897 James Bovard, "When the Spoils of War Are Human Organs," *Washington Times*, August 4, 2014, http://washingtontimes.com/news/2014/aug/4/bovard-when-the-spoils-of-war-are-human-organs.

898 Ted Galen Carpenter, "Empowering the Body Snatchers: Washington's Appalling Kosovo Policy," *The National Interest*, December 30, 2010, https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/empowering-the-body-snatchers-washington%E2%80%99s-appalling-kosovo-4650.

899 Peter Beaumont, "War crimes tribunal centres on how much former Kosovan president knew," *Guardian*, April 10, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/2023/apr/10/hashim-thaci-war-crimes-tribunal-hague-kla-commander-kosovo.

900 Frank Viviano, "KLA Linked To Enormous Heroin Trade," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1999, https://sfgate.com/crime/article/KLA-Linked-To-Enormous-Heroin-Trade-Police-2932516.php.

901 Maggie O'Kane, "Kosovo drug mafia supply heroin to Europe," *Guardian*, March 13, 2000, https://theguardian.com/world/2000/mar/13/balkans.

902 Peter Klebnikov, "Heroin Heroes," *Mother Jones*, January/February 2000, https://motherjones.com/politics/2000/01/heroin-heroes.

903 "Global Organized Crime Index," Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/GITOC-Global-Organized-Crime-Index-2021.pdf.

904 Barton Gellman, "Allied Air War Struck Broadly in Iraq," *Washington Post*, June 23, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/06/23/allied-air-war-struck-broadly-in-iraq/e469877b-b1c1-44a9-bfe7-084da4e38e41; Rod Nordland, "Saddam's Long Shadow," *Newsweek*, July 30, 2000, https://newsweek.com/saddams-long-shadow-161483; Madeleine K. Albright, "Policy Speech on Iraq," US State Department, March 26, 1997,

https://web.archive.org/web/20001207054600/http://fas.org/news/iraq/1997/03/bmd970327b.htm; Leslie Stahl, "Secretary of State Madeleine Albright Interview," CBS 60 Minutes, May 12, 1996, https://youtube.com/watch?v=omnskeu-puE.

905 Staff, "US, EU Split on Yugoslav Aid Plans," *Orlando Sentinel*, October 11, 1999, https://orlandosentinel.com/1999/10/11/us-eu-split-on-yugoslav-aid-plans.

906 Jonathan Guyer, "How America's NATO expansion obsession plays into the Ukraine crisis," Vox.com, January 27, 2022, https://vox.com/platform/amp/22900113/nato-ukraine-russia-crisis-clinton-expansion.

907 Boris Bondarev, "The Sources of Russian Misconduct," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/sources-russia-misconduct-boris-bondarev.

908 Thomas W. Lippman, "Russian Leader Cancels Trip in Protest," *Washington Post*, March 24, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/daily/march99/russia032499.htm.

909 Sarotte, 309; Talbott, 300.

910 Talbott, 307.

911 Norris, 32.

912 "Telephone Conversation with Russian President Yeltsin," White House, April 19, 1999, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32239-document-16-memorandum-telephone-conversation-russian; "Memorandum to Sec. Albright, APNSA Berger, OVP Fuerth

from Strobe Talbott, Trip Report No. 2 (from Moscow)," White House, May 21, 1999, https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/32240-document-17-memorandum-sec-albright-apnsa-berger-ovp-fuerth-strobe-talbott-trip; Sarotte, 319.

- 913 Sarotte, 317.
- 914 Sarotte, 326.
- 915 Norris, 4.
- **916** Viktor Chernomyrdin, "Bombs Rule Out Talk of Peace," *Washington Post*, May 27, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/stories/chernomyrdin052799.htm.
- **917** George Friedman, "Syria, America and Putin's Bluff," Stratfor, September 10, 2013, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/syria-america-and-putins-bluff.
- 918 Lothar Gorris, "Putin Lives in Historic Analogies and Metaphors," Interview of Ivan Krastev, *Der Spiegel*, March 7, 2022, https://spiegel.de/international/world/ivan-krastev-on-russia-s-invasion-of-ukraine-putin-lives-in-historic-analogies-and-metaphors-a-1d043090-1111-4829-be90-c20fd5786288.
- **919** Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.
- **920** Henry Kissinger, "New World Disorder," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1999, https://newsweek.com/new-world-disorder-166550.
- **921** Vladimir Putin, First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), excerpt at
- https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/chapter9.html.
- **922** Mark Kramer, "Putin Is Only Part Of the Russian Picture," *Washington Post*, January 23, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/2000-01/23/086r-012300-idx.html.
- **923** "First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self Portrait by Vladimir Putin," PBS *Frontline*, May 2000, https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/chapter9.html.
- **924** Michael Mandelbaum, "A Perfect Failure: NATO's War Against Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1999, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/1999-09-01/perfect-failure.
- **925** Ron Paul, "US Foreign Policy and Involvement in Yugoslavia and Kosovo," in *A Foreign Policy of Freedom: Peace, Commerce and Honest Friendship*, April 21, 1999, (Lake Jackson: Foundation for Rational Economics and Education, 2007), 117.
- **926** Philip Hammond, "The Tragedy of Kosovo," Spiked, March 22, 2019, https://spiked-online.com/2019/03/22/the-tragedy-of-kosovo.
- **927** "A comprehensive review of the situation in Kosovo," United Nations Security Council, October 7, 2005, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/559052/files/S 2005 635-EN.pdf.
- **928** James Crisp, "KLA guerrillas harvested murdered Serbs' organs, say EU investigators," Euractiv, July 29, 2014, https://euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/kla-guerrillas-harvested-murdered-serbs-organs-say-eu-investigators.
- **929** Carlotta Gall, "How Kosovo Was Turned Into Fertile Ground for ISIS," *New York Times*, May 21, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/05/22/world/europe/how-the-saudis-turned-kosovo-into-fertile-ground-for-isis.html.
- **930** Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
- **931** Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Azerbaijan's Riches Alter the Chessboard," *Washington Post*, October 4, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/europe/caspian100498.htm.
- **932** Steve LeVine, *The Oil and the Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* (New York: Random House, 2007), 101, 114–15.
- **933** David Hoffman, "Baker, Azerbaijan Discuss Ties," *Washington Post*, February 12, 1992, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/02/13/baker-azerbaijan-discuss-ties/ddd07e83-0d00-4e5e-93fa-c958690a2d9b.

934 Robert A. Manning, "The Myth of the Caspian Great Game and the 'New Persian Gulf," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2000), 15–33, https://jstor.org/stable/24590437.

935 David Leppard, et al., "BP Accused of Backing 'Arms for Oil' Coup," Sunday *Times*, March 26, 2000, https://archive.is/mMHBm.

936 Greg Palast, "Lap Dancers, the CIA, Payoffs and BP's Deepwater Horizon," Truthdig, April 18, 2014, https://truthdig.com/articles/lap-dancers-the-cia-payoffs-and-bps-deepwater-horizon.

937 "Azerbaijan: Presidential Elections 2003," Human Rights Watch, October 13, 2003, https://hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/eca/azerbaijan/azerbaijan-elections 2003.pdf.

938 Glen Owen, "Hookers, spies, cases full of dollars. How BP spent £45m to win 'Wild East' oil rights," *The Mail on Sunday*, May 13, 2007, https://cryptome.org/bp-mi6.htm.

939 David Leppard, et al., "BP Accused of Backing 'Arms for Oil' Coup," Sunday *Times*, March 26, 2000, https://archive.is/mMHBm.

940 Klebnikov, 192.

941 LeVine, 222.

942 Martin Indyk, "The Clinton Administration's Approach to the Middle East," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 18, 1993, https://washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/clinton-administrations-approach-middle-east.

943 David B. Ottaway and Dan Morgan, "US Backs Non-Iranian, 'Eurasian,' Corridor West For Caspian Sea Oil," *Washington Post*, November 20, 1997,

 $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/11/20/us-backs-non-iranian-eurasian-corridor-west-for-caspian-sea-oil/d7aaf9f8-9e32-4583-a2c0-8883b78cb44d; LeVine, 347-48.$

944 LeVine, 210-15.

945 Stephen Kinzer, "On Piping Out Caspian Oil, US Insists the Cheaper, Shorter Way Isn't Better," *New York Times*, November 8, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/11/08/world/on-piping-out-caspian-oil-us-insists-the-cheaper-shorter-way-isn-t-better.html.

946 Brzezinski, 144.

947 Brzezinski, 129.

948 Brzezinski, 46–47.

949 Brzezinski, 52.

950 LeVine, 210–15.

951 LeVine, 223–25.

952 Sheila Heslin, "Unlocking the Assets: Energy and the Future of Central Asia and the Caucasus," The James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University, April 1998,

https://scholarship.rice.edu/bitstream/handle/1911/91605/key-constraints-to-caspian-energy-development-status-significance-and-outlook.pdf.

953 Sheila Heslin, "The New Pipeline Politics," *New York Times*, November 10, 1997, https://nytimes.com/1997/11/10/opinion/the-new-pipeline-politics.html.

954 LeVine, 234.

955 MacKinnon, 94.

956 "Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline," BP Azerbaijan, October 2024,

https://bp.com/en az/azerbaijan/home/who-we-are/operationsprojects/pipelines/btc.html.

957 Stephen Kinzer, "On Piping Out Caspian Oil, US Insists the Cheaper, Shorter Way Isn't Better," *New York Times*, November 8, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/11/08/world/on-piping-out-caspian-oil-us-insists-the-cheaper-shorter-way-isn-t-better.html.

958 John Pike, "Nagorno-Karabakh/Republic of Artsakh," Global Security, July 21, 2024, https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/nagorno-karabakh.htm.

959 Patrick Reevell, "Nagorno-Karabakh enclave emptied after entire ethnic Armenian population flees," ABC News, October 2, 2023, https://abcnews.go.com/International/nagorno-karabakh-enclave-emptied-entire-armenian-population-flees/story?id=103655356; See Chapter Six.

960 Scott Horton, *Fool's Errand: Time to End the War in Afghanistan* (Austin: Libertarian Institute, 2017), 62, 93, 128, https://amazon.com/dp/1548650218.

961 Cooley, 150-51.

962 LeVine, 187–88.

963 LeVine, 188.

964 Cooley, 151.

965 Greg Palast, "OPEC On the March," Harper's, April 2005,

https://harpers.org/archive/2005/04/opec-on-the-march.

966 Ariel Cohen, "The New 'Great Game': Oil Politics in the Caucasus and Central Asia," Heritage Foundation, January 25, 1996, https://heritage.org/europe/report/the-new-great-game-oil-politics-the-caucasus-and-central-asia.

967 Stephen Kinzer, "On Piping Out Caspian Oil, US Insists the Cheaper, Shorter Way Isn't Better," *New York Times*, November 8, 1998, https://nytimes.com/1998/11/08/world/on-piping-out-caspian-oil-us-insists-the-cheaper-shorter-way-isn-t-better.html.

968 "US-Caspian Energy Policy: Promoting Sovereignty and Prosperity," White House, April 15, 1999, https://clintonwhitehouse5.archives.gov/textonly/WH/EOP/NSC/html/nsc-14.html.

969 David B. Ottaway and Dan Morgan, "Gas Pipeline Bounces Between Agendas," *Washington Post*, October 5, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/europe/caspian100598.htm.

970 Greg Palast, *Vultures' Picnic: In Pursuit of Petroleum Pigs, Power Pirates, and High-Finance Carnivores* (New York: Plume, 2012), 181–203.

971 Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Drilling for Influence in Russia's Back Yard," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1997, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/09/22/drilling-for-influence-in-russias-back-yard/c5ea0998-0e2f-4605-8123-300cefdf85d8.

972 Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Kazakh Field Stirs US-Russian Rivalry," *Washington Post*, October 6, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/europe/caspian100698.htm.

973 MacKinnon, 119.

974 LeVine, 195.

975 David B. Ottaway and Dan Morgan, "Gas Pipeline Bounces Between Agendas," *Washington Post*, October 5, 1998, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/europe/caspian100598.htm.

976 Rashid, Taliban, 5-6, 168-80.

977 Sheila Heslin, Testimony before the US Senate, September 17, 1997, cited in Rashid, *Taliban*, 174. 978 Rashid, *Taliban*, 175; Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Drilling for Influence in Russia's Back Yard," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1997,

https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1997/09/22/drilling-for-influence-in-russias-back-vard/c5ea0998-0e2f-4605-8123-300cefdf85d8.

979 Staff, "Axis of Evil Shaping Against Moscow," *Kommersant*, March 3, 2005, http://kommersant.com/page.asp?id=-5141.

980 Anatol Lieven, "The (Not So) Great Game," *The National Interest*, Winter 1999–2000, https://nationalinterest.org/article/the-not-so-great-game-411.

981 Paul Rogers, *Losing Control: Global Security in the 21st Century* (New York: Pluto, 2001), 60. **982** Helge Blakkisrud, "OSCE Disapproves 'The Most Democratic Elections Ever' in Azerbaijan,"

Security Dialogue, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1999), 126–28. http://jstor.org/stable/44472174; Staff, "Report on Azerbaijan's 2000 Parliamentary Elections," CSCE, November 1, 2001, https://csce.gov/international-impact/publications/report-azerbaijans-parlimentary-elections.

983 "Azerbaijan, Presidential Election, 15 October 2003: Final Report," OSCE, November 12, 2013, https://osce.org/odihr/elections/azerbaijan/13467.

984 Staff, "Azerbaijan: Presidential Elections 2003," Human Rights Watch, October 13, 2003, https://hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/eca/azerbaijan/azerbaijan-elections2003.pdf.

985 Jonathan Steele, "The new cold war," Guardian, January 2, 2004,

https://theguardian.com/world/2004/jan/03/russia.usa.

986 Jeremy Page, "West Balks at Backing Revolution as Elections Loom in Oil Rich State," London Times, November 4, 2005, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/west-balks-at-backing-revolution-as-electionsloom-in-oil-rich-state-7fr5rxtgvpd.

987 Staff, "Violence mars Azerbaijan oil pipeline protest," AFP, May 21, 2005,

https://abc.net.au/news/2005-05-22/violence-mars-azerbaijan-oil-pipeline-protest/1575758.

988 Staff, "Nicaragua: I'm the Champ," Time, November 15, 1948,

https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,853420-1,00.html.

989 "Azerbaijan announces election winner – before vote." AP. October 10, 2013.

https://nbcnews.com/news/world/azerbaijan-announces-election-winner-vote-flna8c11367197.

990 Staff, "Azeri election marred by serious shortcomings – observers," Reuters, October 10, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/azerbaijan-election-observers/azeri-election-marred-by-seriousshortcomings-observers-idUSL6N0I01AO20131010.

991 Eric Margolis, American Raj: Liberation or Domination?: Resolving the Conflict Between the West and the Muslim World (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2008), 275–77.

992 Celestine Bohlen, "Split by Muslim Region Rattles the Yeltsin Camp," New York Times, November 11, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/11/11/world/split-by-muslim-region-rattles-the-yeltsin-camp.html. **993** Klebnikov, 40–42.

994 Aaron Glantz, "Did defense secretary nominee James Mattis commit war crimes in Iraq?" Reveal, January 11, 2017, https://revealnews.org/article/did-defense-secretary-nominee-james-mattis-commitwar-crimes-in-iraq; Brett Wilkins, "Duncan Hunter Admits His Marine Unit 'Killed Probably Hundreds of Civilians' in Iraq," Common Dreams, June 4, 2009,

https://commondreams.org/views/2019/06/04/duncan-hunter-admits-his-marine-unit-killed-probablyhundreds-civilians-iraq.

995 Staff, "Russian Ultimatum to Grozny Condemned," Human Rights Watch, December 7, 1999, https://hrw.org/news/1999/12/07/russian-ultimatum-grozny-condemned.

996 Margolis, 280.

997 Klebnikov, 43.

998 Burns, 98; Rep. Christopher Cox, et al., "Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People," US House of Representatives Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, September 2000, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2000 rpt/russias-road.pdf.

999 Margolis, 282–83; Robert W. Schaefer, The Insurgency in Chechnya and the North Caucasus: From Gazavat to Jihad (New York: Praeger, 2011), 140; Michael R. Gordon, "Chechen Rebels Say Leader Died in Russian Air Attack," New York Times, April 25, 1996,

https://nytimes.com/1996/04/25/world/chechen-rebels-say-leader-died-in-russian-air-attack.html.

1000 Cooley, 152.

1001 Jason Burke, Al Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2003), 133.

1002 Brian Glyn Williams, "The 'Chechen Arabs': An Introduction To The Real Al-Qaeda Terrorists From Chechnya," Jamestown Foundation *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (May 5, 2005),

https://jamestown.org/program/the-chechen-arabs-an-introduction-to-the-real-al-qaeda-terrorists-fromchechnya.

1003 Marcin Mamon and Mariusz Pilis, "The Smell of Paradise," BBC Four, April 13, 2013, https://youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaF5gJlsY.

1004 Margolis, 281.

1005 Marcin Mamon and Mariusz Pilis, "The Smell of Paradise," BBC Four, April 13, 2013, https://youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaF5gJlsY.

1006 "Footage from the 1996 Shatoi Ambush, carried out by fighters under the command of Ibn Al-Khattab in Chechnya," r/combatfootage, March 12, 2022,

https://reddit.com/r/CombatFootage/comments/tcdud9/rare_footage_from_the_1996_shatoi_ambush_c arried.

1007 Schaefer, 132–34; Klebnikov, 43–44, 254–55.

1008 Klebnikov, 255.

1009 Lt. Col. Eric A. Beene, et al., "US, Russia and the Global War on Terror: 'Shoulder' Into Battle?" Air University, March 2005, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA477122.pdf.

1010 Lt. Col. Eric A. Beene, et al., "US, Russia and the Global War on Terror: 'Shoulder' Into Battle?" Air University, March 2005, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA477122.pdf.

1011 Paul Tumelty, "The Rise and Fall of Foreign Fighters in Chechnya," Jamestown Foundation *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (January 31, 2006), https://jamestown.org/program/the-rise-and-fall-of-foreign-fighters-in-chechnya.

1012 Schaefer, 172.

1013 Lt. Col. Eric A. Beene, et al., "US, Russia and the Global War on Terror: 'Shoulder' Into Battle?" Air University, March 2005, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA477122.pdf.

1014 Steve Gutterman, "The Rasputin of post-Soviet Russia: Boris Berezovsky," Reuters, March 23, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-britain-russia-berezovsky-newsmaker/the-rasputin-of-post-soviet-russia-boris-berezovsky-idUKBRE92M0EY20130323.

1015 Klebnikov, 258-61.

1016 Klebnikov, 262–64.

1017 Klebnikov, 301.

1018 John Daniszewski, "Russian Politician Lebed Killed in Crash," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 2002, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-apr-29-mn-40623-story.html.

1019 Christopher Miller, "Ukraine arrests suspect in 2004 murder of Forbes editor Paul Klebnikov," Committee to Protect Journalists, November 21, 2017, https://cpj.org/2017/11/ukraine-arrests-suspect-in-2004-murder-of-forbes.

1020 Paul Tumelty, "The Rise and Fall of Foreign Fighters in Chechnya," Jamestown Foundation *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (January 31, 2006), https://jamestown.org/program/the-rise-and-fall-of-foreign-fighters-in-chechnya; Justine A. Rosenthal, "A Confusing Target for the United States," Brookings Institution, October 6, 2004, https://brookings.edu/articles/a-confusing-target-for-the-united-states.

1021 Loretta Napoleoni, *Insurgent Iraq: Al Zarqawi and the New Generation* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005).

1022 See below.

1023 John Pike, "Armed Islamic Group (GIA)," Federation of American Scientists Intelligence Resource Program, April 30, 2004, https://irp.fas.org/world/para/gia.htm.

1024 "Libyan Islamic Fighting Group," Mapping Militants Project, July 1, 2018, https://mappingmilitants.org/profiles/libyan-islamic-fighting-group.

1025 David D. Kirkpatrick, "Libya Singles Out Islamist as a Commander in Consulate Attack, Libyans Say," *New York Times*, October 17, 2012, https://nytimes.com/2012/10/18/world/africa/libya-singles-out-islamist-as-a-commander-in-benghazi-consulate-attack.html.

1026 Victoria Nuland, "Terrorist Designations of the al-Nusrah Front as an Alias for al-Qa'ida in Iraq," US State Department, December 11, 2012, https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/12/201759.htm.

- **1027** Sharon LaFraniere, "How Jihad Made Its Way to Chechnya," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/04/26/how-jihad-made-its-way-to-chechnya/5b941796-ed50-4f65-9a2b-18a90155e571.
- **1028** Marcin Mamon and Mariusz Pilis, "The Smell of Paradise," BBC Four, April 13, 2013, https://youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaF5gJlsY.
- **1029** Patrick Cockburn, "Iraq crisis: How Saudi Arabia helped Isis take over the north of the country," *Independent*, July 14, 2014, https://independent.co.uk/voices/comment/iraq-crisis-how-saudi-arabia-helped-isis-take-over-the-north-of-the-country-9602312.html.
- **1030** "Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1267 (1999) Concerning Al-Qaida and the Taliban and Associated Individuals and Entities," United Nations Security Council, October 15, 1999,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20110514193822/http://un.org/sc/committees/1267/NSQE09903E.shtml.
- **1031** Staff, "Russian and Ingush Authorities Blame Umarov and Al-Qaeda," *North Caucasus Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 35 (September 13, 2007),
- https://web.archive.org/web/20081009161344/https://jamestown.org/chechnya_weekly/article.php?articleid=2373648.
- **1032** Sharon LaFraniere, "How Jihad Made Its Way to Chechnya," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/04/26/how-jihad-made-its-way-to-chechnya/5b941796-ed50-4f65-9a2b-18a90155e571.
- 1033 Schaefer, 177.
- **1034** Maura Reynolds, "Fears of Bombing Turn to Doubts for Some in Russia," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 2000, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-jan-15-mn-54302-story.html.
- **1035** Brian Whitmore, "Russia: Ghosts Of 1999 Haunt Presidential Succession," RFERL, August 9, 2007, https://rferl.org/a/1078057.html.
- **1036** Pavel Voloshin, "What was in Ryazan: sugar or hexogen?" *Novaya Gazeta*, February 14, 2000, https://web.archive.org/web/20020702063704/http://2000.novayagazeta.ru/nomer/2000/06n/n06n-s01.shtml.
- 1037 David Satter, *The Less You Know, The Better You Sleep: Russia's Road to Terror and Dictatorship under Yeltsin and Putin* (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2017); David Satter, "The Unsolved Mystery Behind the Act of Terror That Brought Putin to Power," *National Review*, August 17, 2016, https://nationalreview.com/2016/08/vladimir-putin-1999-russian-apartment-house-bombings-was-putin-responsible; Scott Anderson, "None Dare Call It a Conspiracy," *GQ*, March 30, 2017, https://gq.com/story/moscow-bombings-mikhail-trepashkin-and-putin; Amy Knight, "Finally, We

Know About the Moscow Bombings," New York Review of Books, November 22, 2012,

https://nybooks.com/articles/2012/11/22/finally-we-know-about-moscow-bombings; John McCain, "New Authoritarianism in Russia," American Enterprise Institute, November 4, 2003,

https://aei.org/research-products/speech/senator-mccain-decries-new-authoritarianism-in-russia; Staff,

"Rubio: Trump's Friend Putin Bombed An Apartment Building As A Pretext To Attack Chechnya," RealClearPolitics, December 20, 2015,

https://realclearpolitics.com/video/2015/12/20/rubio putin bombed an apartment building as a pret ext to attack chechnya.html.

1038 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.

1039 Oleg Gordievsky, "Putin may be worse than we think," *Telegraph*, November 5, 2000, http://russialist.org/archives/4623.html##3.

1040 Klebnikov, 296–97.

1041 Andrew Kramer, "Fact Check: Marco Rubio's Claim on Putin's Acts," *New York Times*, December 23, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/12/24/us/politics/fact-check-marco-rubios-claim-on-putins-acts.html.

1042 Staff, "Attacks in Moscow: 1996–2011," CBC News, January 24, 2011, https://cbc.ca/news/world/attacks-in-moscow-1996-2011-1.1008425.

1043 Klebnikov, 304–05.

1044 Robert Bruce Ware and Enver Kisriev, *Dagestan: Russian Hegemony and Islamic Resistance in the North Caucasus* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2009).

1045 Robert Bruce Ware, "Revisiting Russia's Apartment Block Blasts," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2005), 599–606, https://doi.org/10.1080/13518040590914118.

1046 Robert Bruce Ware, "Revisiting Russia's Apartment Block Blasts," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2005), 599–606, https://doi.org/10.1080/13518040590914118.

1047 "Chechnya: Campaign of Terror Against Russia Threat," AP, September 11, 1999,

 $\underline{https://newsroom.ap.org/editorial-photos-videos/detail?itemid=f5261f18c72b98b7e264c48033ee6f8a.}$

1048 Staff, "Attacks in Moscow: 1996–2011," CBC News, January 24, 2011, https://cbc.ca/news/world/attacks-in-moscow-1996-2011-1.1008425.

1049 Interview of Shamil Basayev, Lidove Noviny, September 9, 1999, cited in Ware.

1050 Matthew Brzezinski, "Surrealpolitik – How a Chechen terror suspect wound up living on taxpayers' dollars near the National Zoo," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A38200-2005Mar15.html.

1051 George Soros, "Who Lost Russia?" *New York Review of Books*, April 13, 2000, https://nybooks.com/articles/2000/04/13/who-lost-russia.

1052 George Soros, "Who Lost Russia?" *New York Review of Books*, April 13, 2000, https://nybooks.com/articles/2000/04/13/who-lost-russia.

1053 MacKinnon, 4, 29. Many American conservatives have been convinced that Soros is some sort of Marxist due to his support for so-called "woke" cultural policies in the United States, but he is best understood as a center-left, liberal, anti-Communist, Truman-type Cold War Democrat. He is a billionaire, after all. More on Soros and his politics below.

1054 Scott Peterson, "Heavy civilian toll in Chechnya's 'unlimited violence," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 11, 2000, https://csmonitor.com/2000/1211/p7s1.html.

1055 Schaefer, 183.

1056 Schaefer, 187–92.

1057 Staff, "Clinton's Words to Press: On the Mideast, Chechnya and Other Matters," *New York Times*, December 9, 1999, https://nytimes.com/1999/12/09/world/clinton-s-words-to-press-on-the-mideast-chechnya-and-other-matters.html.

1058 Richard C. Paddock and Anthony Kuhn, "Yeltsin Reminds US of Moscow's Nuclear Capability," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1999, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-dec-10-mn-42521-story.html.

1059 Schaefer, 193.

1060 Schaefer, 213.

1061 Schaefer, 231–32; See Chapter Three.

1062 President Bill Clinton, "Remarks at the Opening of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Summit in Istanbul," The American Presidency Project, November 18, 1999, <a href="https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-opening-the-organization-for-security-and-documents/remarks-the-opening-th

cooperation-europe-summit-istanbul.

1063 "US, Saudi Arabia: Holding the Chechen Card," Stratfor, August 14, 2008,

https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/us-saudi-arabia-holding-chechen-card.

1064 Staff, "Who is Osama Bin Laden?" BBC, September 18, 2001,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south asia/155236.stm.

1065 Soufan, 61.

1066 Soufan, 62.

1067 "US, Saudi Arabia: Holding the Chechen Card," Stratfor, August 14, 2008,

https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/us-saudi-arabia-holding-chechen-card.

1068 The same guy who predicted the 1999 Kosovo War in 1996. See above.

1069 Horton, *Enough Already*, 39–43.

1070 Yossef Bodansky, "The Great Game for OIL," *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*, June–July 2000, https://archive.is/EW9E8.

1071 Yossef Bodansky, "The New Azerbaijan Hub; How Islamist operations are targeting Russia, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh," *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*, October 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20010629041938/http://aliyev.com/archive/199909DefenseForeignAffairs.htm.

1072 "Country Reports on Terrorism 2004," US State Department, April 2005, https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/45313.pdf.

1073 Sergei Blagov, "Petrodollars Behind the Chechen Tragedy," Inter Press Service, December 7, 1999, https://archive.globalpolicy.org/security/natres/oil/centralasia/1999/1207groz.htm.

1074 Ariel Cohen, "The New 'Great Game': Oil Politics in the Caucasus and Central Asia," Heritage Foundation, January 25, 1996, https://heritage.org/europe/report/the-new-great-game-oil-politics-the-caucasus-and-central-asia.

1075 John Daly, "Boston Marathon Attacks, Chechnya and Oil – the Hidden US Connection," OilPrice.com, April 22, 2013, https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/International/Boston-Marathon-Attacks-Chechnya-and-Oil-the-Hidden-US-Connection.html.

1076 Richard Labévière, *Dollars for Terror: The United States and Islam* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2000), 6.

1077 Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 204.

1078 Eric Margolis, *War at the Top of the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 69; Interview with author, Eric Margolis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, June 25, 2007, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-eric-margolis.

1079 Margolis, 281–82.

1080 Staff, "Moscow fingers warlord in school takeover," AP, September 9, 2004, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna5951331.

1081 Scott Peterson, "Al Qaeda among the Chechens," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 7, 2004, https://csmonitor.com/2004/0907/p01s02-woeu.html.

1082 Kevin Cirilli, "Chechen Rebels' Ties to Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden," *Politico*, April 19, 2013, http://politico.com/story/2013/04/chechnya-primer-090326.

1083 Staff, "Bin Laden Group Aiding Chechen Rebels, US Says," AP, December 4, 1999, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-dec-04-mn-40305-story.html.

1084 "Swift Knight: Usam Ben Laden's Current and Historical Activities," DIA Document NC 3095345, Judicial Watch, October 16, 1998,

 $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20090610200903/https://judicialwatch.org/cases/102/dia.pdf.}$

1085 "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 24, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843.

1086 Breffni O'Rourke, "OSCE: Summit Hears Clinton, Yeltsin Comment On Chechnya," RFERL, November 9, 1999, https://rferl.org/a/1092699.html. More on Chechnya in Chapter Three.

1087 Sharon LaFraniere, "How Jihad Made Its Way to Chechnya," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/04/26/how-jihad-made-its-way-to-chechnya/5b941796-ed50-4f65-9a2b-18a90155e571; Lawrence Wright, "The Man Behind Bin Laden,"

The New Yorker, September 8, 2002, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2002/09/16/the-man-behind-bin-laden.

1088 Shindler, 281.

1089 Martin F. Piechot, "Who Were the Fifteen Saudis," Naval Postgraduate School, June 2003, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA417628.pdf; Lara Keay, "Who were the September 11th attackers and what are the links with the new Taliban regime?" Sky News, September 11, 2021,

https://news.sky.com/story/9-11-anniversary-who-were-the-september-11th-attackers-and-what-are-the-links-with-the-new-taliban-regime-12402917.

1090 Paul Salopek, "Terrorism finds foot soldiers in Saudis," *Chicago Tribune*, October 7, 2001, https://chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2001-10-07-0110070175-story.html.

1091 Lara Keay, "Who were the September 11th attackers and what are the links with the new Taliban regime?" Sky News, September 11, 2021, https://news.sky.com/story/9-11-anniversary-who-were-the-september-11th-attackers-and-what-are-the-links-with-the-new-taliban-regime-12402917.

1092 Sharon LaFraniere, "How Jihad Made Its Way to Chechnya," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/04/26/how-jihad-made-its-way-to-chechnya/5b941796-ed50-4f65-9a2b-18a90155e571.

1093 Sharon LaFraniere, "How Jihad Made Its Way to Chechnya," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/04/26/how-jihad-made-its-way-to-chechnya/5b941796-ed50-4f65-9a2b-18a90155e571.

1094 "Coleen Rowley's Memo to FBI Director Robert Mueller," May 21, 2002, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/coleen-rowleys-memo-to-fbi-director-robert-mueller.

1095 Interview with author, Coleen Rowley, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 31, 2020, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-29-20-coleen-rowley-on-the-dangerous-failings-of-the-fbi. **1096** Atwan, 266.

1097 Laurie P. Cohen, et al., "Moussaoui May Have Recruited Chechen Fighters, Evidence Shows," *Wall Street Journal*, February 4, 2002, https://wsj.com/articles/SB1012773398275634680.

1098 Philip Shenon, "The Terrible Missed Chance," *Newsweek*, September 4, 2011, https://newsweek.com/terrible-missed-chance-67401.

1099 Dale Watson, Memo to FBI Director Louis Freeh, "Bin Laden/Ibn Khattab Threat Reporting," April 2001, https://coop.vaed.uscourts.gov/moussaoui/exhibits/defense/792.pdf.

1100 Coleen Rowley, "Chechen Terrorists and the Neocons," Consortium News, April 19, 2013, https://consortiumnews.com/2013/04/19/chechen-terrorists-and-the-neocons; Philip Shenon, "The Terrible Missed Chance," *Newsweek*, September 4, 2011, https://newsweek.com/terrible-missed-chance-67401.

1101 Richard H. Schultz Jr., "Showstoppers: Nine Reasons Why We Never Sent Our Special Operations Forces After Al Qaeda Before 9/11," *Weekly Standard*, January 26, 2004, https://washingtonexaminer.com/magazine/1255154/showstoppers.

1102 "Hosea 8:7," The Bible, https://biblehub.com/hosea/8-7.htm.

1103 "New WTC 9/11 Video Helicopter view," 9/11 Kevin Palmgren, February 10, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=wZ34eWqbayk; Aaron Katersky, "2 new 9/11 victims identified as medical examiner vows to continue testing remains," ABC News, September 8, 2023, https://abcnews.go.com/US/2-new-911-victims-identified-medical-examiner-vows/story?id=103032291.

1104 Fittingly, the Bangladeshis call NGOs "Next-to-Government Organizations." Susanne Heim, "Sandwich at the round table," Taz, July 5, 1994, https://taz.de/!1554681.

1105 David Ignatius, "Innocence Abroad: The New World of Spyless Coups," *Washington Post*, September 21, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1991/09/22/innocence-abroad-the-new-world-of-spyless-coups/92bb989a-de6e-4bb8-99b9-462c76b59a16.

1106 See above.

1107 Andrew Mollison, "Overseas Political Gifts? It's US Policy," *Austin American-Statesman*, February 23, 1997, cited in James Bovard, *Attention Deficit Democracy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 61; MacKinnon, 30.

1108 MacKinnon, 31; Justin Raimondo, "The Next Balkan War," Antiwar.com, January 7, 2000, https://antiwar.com/justin/pf/p-j010700.html; Staff, "Montenegro's new president sworn in," CNN, January 15, 1998, https://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9801/15/montenegro.update.

1109 Christine Stone, "Some Thoughts on the Killings in Armenia – Who did it and Why?" Antiwar.com, November 1, 1999, https://original.antiwar.com/christine-stone/1999/11/01/some-thoughts-on-the-killings-in-armenia-who-did-it-and-why.

1110 Sussman, 126; MacKinnon, 30–33; Barbara Rieffer and Kristan Mercer, "US Democracy Promotion: The Clinton and Bush Administrations," *Global Society*, Vol. 19 (2005), 398, https://tandfonline.com/doi/10.1080/13600820500242654; Bovard, *Attention Deficit Democracy*, 61–62; Christine Stone, "McCain Rocks the Vote," Antiwar.com, February 9, 2000, https://antiwar.com/orig/stone5.html.

1111 MacKinnon, 31.

1112 MacKinnon, 30-33.

1113 MacKinnon, 33–34.

1114 Sussman, 130.

1115 Staff, "Madeleine Albright Assumes Chairmanship of NDI," NDI Reports, No. 1, 2001, https://ndi.org/sites/default/files/1326_ww_newdemocs301_1.pdf.

1116 MacKinnon, 35.

1117 MacKinnon, 36.

1118 Jürgen Hogrefe, "Help For the Revolution," *Der Spiegel*, October 8, 2000, https://spiegel.de/politik/hilfe-zur-revolution-a-22b5f7a5-0002-0001-0000-000017540534.

1119 MacKinnon, 39.

1120 Tina Rosenberg, "Revolution U," *Foreign Policy*, February 17, 2011, https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/02/17/revolution-u-2.

1121 MacKinnon, 40.

1122 Sussman, 142; Roger Cohen, "Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?" *New York Times*, November 26, 2000, https://nytimes.com/2000/11/26/magazine/who-really-brought-down-milosevic.html.

1123 Christopher Ingraham, "Somebody just put a price tag on the 2016 election. It's a doozy," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/04/14/somebody-just-put-a-price-tag-on-the-2016-election-its-a-doozy; Edith Olmsted, "Harris Raised \$1 Billion. Where Did it All Go?" *The New Republic*, November 8, 2024, https://newrepublic.com/post/188216/kamala-harris-campaign-billion-fundraising.

1124 MacKinnon, 30.

1125 MacKinnon, 41.

1126 Jürgen Hogrefe, "Help For the Revolution," *Der Spiegel*, October 8, 2000, https://spiegel.de/politik/hilfe-zur-revolution-a-22b5f7a5-0002-0001-0000-000017540534.

1127 MacKinnon, 46.

1128 Michael Dobbs, "US Advice Guided Milosevic Opposition," *Washington Post*, December 10, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/12/11/us-advice-guided-milosevic-opposition/ba9e87e5-bdca-45dc-8aad-da6571e89448.

1129 Sussman, 145-46.

1130 MacKinnon, 51.

1131 Roger Cohen, "Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?" *New York Times*, November 26, 2000, https://nytimes.com/2000/11/26/magazine/who-really-brought-down-milosevic.html.

- **1132** Jürgen Hogrefe, "Help For the Revolution," *Der Spiegel*, October 8, 2000, https://spiegel.de/politik/hilfe-zur-revolution-a-22b5f7a5-0002-0001-0000-000017540534. 1133 MacKinnon, 52.
- **1134** Jürgen Hogrefe, "Help for the revolution," *Der Spiegel*, October 8, 2000, https://spiegel.de/politik/hilfe-zur-revolution-a-22b5f7a5-0002-0001-0000-000017540534.
- **1135** R. Jeffrey Smith, "Milosevic Maneuvers For Election Runoff," *Washington Post*, September 27, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/09/27/milosevic-maneuvers-for-election-runoff/135c9d1c-163d-4282-8662-0308d1653852.
- 1136 Staff, "Yugoslav Protesters Set Parliament on Fire," *New York Times*, October 5, 2000, https://nytimes.com/2000/10/05/continuous/yugoslav-protesters-set-parliament-on-fire.html.
- **1137** Steve York, *Bringing Down a Dictator*, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2001, https://youtube.com/watch?v=r7dNLt5mC1A.
- **1138** Jürgen Hogrefe, "Help for the revolution," *Der Spiegel*, October 8, 2000, https://spiegel.de/politik/hilfe-zur-revolution-a-22b5f7a5-0002-0001-0000-000017540534.
- **1139** Roger Cohen, "Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?" *New York Times*, November 26, 2000, https://nytimes.com/2000/11/26/magazine/who-really-brought-down-milosevic.html.
- 1140 MacKinnon, 59.
- **1141** Steve York, *Bringing Down a Dictator*, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2001, https://youtube.com/watch?v=r7dNLt5mC1A.
- **1142** Gerald Sussman, *Branding Democracy: US Regime Change in Post-Soviet Eastern Europe* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 96–97.
- **1143** No relation to the Libertarian Institute's Jeremy R. Hammond. https://libertarianinstitute.org/author/jhammond.
- 1144 Press Release, "Jeremy Hammond Sentenced To 10 Years In Prison For Hacking Into The Stratfor Website And Other Company, Federal, State, And Local Government Websites," US Department of Justice, November 15, 2013, https://justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/jeremy-hammond-sentenced-10-years-prison-hacking-stratfor-website-and-other-company.
- 1145 Carl Gibson and Steve Horn, "WikiLeaks Docs Expose Famed Serbian Activist's Ties to 'Shadow CIA," *In These Times*, December 2, 2013, https://inthesetimes.com/article/WikiLeaks-docs-expose-famed-serbian-activists-ties-to-shadow-cia.
- **1146** O-Gon Kwon, et al., "Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić," Paras 3275–3297, 3460, Footnote 11027, International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991, March 24, 2016, https://icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tjug/en/160324_judgement.pdf.
- **1147** Anna Holligan, "Radovan Karadžić sentence increased to life at UN tribunal," BBC, March 20, 2019, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-47642327; "UN court upholds Ratko Mladić convictions and life sentence," UN, June 8, 2021, https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/06/1093582.
- 1148 Staff, "Clinton Policies to Blame, says Kostunica," Radio B92, September 21, 2001, https://archive.is/Ojlih.
- **1149** Jolyon Naegele, "Yugoslavia: In Belgrade, Kostunica-Djindjic Rivalry Worsens," RFERL, June 13, 2002, https://rferl.org/a/1099985.html.
- **1150** Staff, "Arrest and Transfer," International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, June 29, 2001, https://icty.org/en/content/arrest-and-transfer.
- 1151 Daniel Simpson, "Yugoslavia Is Again Reinvented, in Name and Structure," *New York Times*, February 5, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/02/05/world/yugoslavia-is-again-reinvented-in-name-and-structure.html.
- **1152** Staff, "Serbia: Kostunica Blames Djindjic For Election Failure," RFERL, October 15, 2002, https://rferl.org/a/1101074.html.

1153 Mark Tran, "Serbian PM shot dead," Guardian, March 12, 2003,

https://theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/12/balkans.

1154 Dusan Stojanovic, "Serbian president's victory moves nation closer to EU," AP, February 4, 2008, https://sfgate.com/politics/article/serbian-president-s-victory-moves-nation-closer-3295639.php.

1155 Staff, "US-sanctioned Serbian deputy premier disavows West as he defends Russia and Putin," AP, September 4, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-serbia-putin-vulin-sanctions-relations-3950358c5d75e8334001d22f156b2abe.

1156 MacKinnon, 277.

1157 Julian Barnes, "Ex-CIA Officer's Brief Detention Deepens Mystery in Montenegro," *New York Times*, November 23, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/11/23/us/politics/cia-montenegro-russia-coup-joseph-assad.html.

1158 Brzezinski, 46.

1159 Halford John Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1919), 186.

1160 Brzezinski, 35, 38.

1161 Brzezinski, xiv.

1162 Brzezinski, 35.

1163 Brzezinski, 40.

1164 Samuel Helfont, "From Iraq to Ukraine: A New Perspective on the Russian-Western Confrontation," War on the Rocks, May 16, 2022, https://warontherocks.com/2022/05/from-iraq-to-ukraine-a-new-perspective-on-the-russian-western-confrontation.

1165 Eugene J. Carroll Jr., "NATO Expansion Would Be an Epic 'Fateful Error," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-jul-07-me-10464-story.html.

1166 Jason Cooper, "Washington calls 5,500 US troops 'hardly any' but 1,200 Russians in PMR must go," *Tiraspol Times*, June 13, 2007,

https://web.archive.org/web/20070927192504/http://tiraspoltimes.com/news/for_washington_5_500_u_s_troops_are_hardly_any_but_1_200_russian_troops_must_go.html; Staff, "Bulgaria OKs 3 bases for US troops," *Washington Times*, April 24, 2006,

https://washingtontimes.com/news/2006/apr/24/20060424-121528-1841r.

1167 Daryl Kimball, "The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the Adapted CFE Treaty at a Glance," Arms Control Association, November 2023,

 $\underline{https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/conventional-armed-forces-europe-cfe-treaty-and-adapted-cfe-treaty-glance.}$

1168 Thomas W. Lippman, "NATO Embraces 3 From Warsaw Pact," *Washington Post*, March 13, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/daily/april99/nato0313.htm.

1169 "The Alliance's Strategic Concept (1999)," NATO, April 24, 1999,

https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 27433.htm.

1170 Sarotte, 320.

1171 Sarotte, 320.

1172 Sarotte, 321–22.

1173 Tim Hains, "Putin Says He Asked Bill Clinton About Russia Joining NATO In Year 2000," RealClearPolitics, February 22, 2022,

https://realclearpolitics.com/video/2022/02/22/putin_says_he_asked_bill_clinton_about_russia_joining_nato_in_year_2000.html.

1174 Talbott, 132.

1175 Brzezinski, 100-02.

1176 Brzezinski, 52.

1177 Interview of Boris Fyodorov, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/fyodorov.html.

1178 Richard C. Paddock, "Putin Says He Tried to Dissuade Yeltsin," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2000, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-jan-05-mn-50919-story.html.

1179 Klebnikov, 290–92.

1180 "Yeltsin Sacks PM Sergei Stepashin to Make Way for Putin," BBC, August 9, 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/415459.stm.

1181 Klebnikov, 296–97.

1182 Klebnikov, 298.

1183 Talbott, 365.

1184 Celestine Bohlen, "Yeltsin Resigns, Naming Putin as Acting President To Run in March Election," *New York Times*, January 1, 2000, https://nytimes.com/2000/01/01/world/yeltsin-resigns-overview-yeltsin-resigns-naming-putin-acting-president-run-march.html.

1185 Interview of Strobe Talbott, PBS *Frontline*, October 25, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/strobe-talbott.

1186 Talbott, 7.

1187 Matt Taibbi, "Putin the Apostate," Racket News, February 28, 2022, https://racket.news/p/putin-the-apostate.

1188 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

1189 David Leppard, et al., "The bastards got me," London *Times*, November 26, 2006, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/the-bastards-got-me-5hxsdrn09r0.

1190 Yevgenia Borisova, et al., "And the Winner Is?" *Moscow Times*, September 9, 2000, https://web.archive.org/web/20001202075400/http://themoscowtimes.com/stories/2000/09/09/119.html; Scott Peterson and Fred Weir, "Russians shrug off stolen votes," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 18, 2000, https://csmonitor.com/2000/0918/p6s1.html.

1191 "The Russian Presidential Elections," US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 12, 2000, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-106shrg67222/html/CHRG-106shrg67222.htm.

1192 Chrystia Freeland, "To Russia With Love," *New Statesman*, June 19, 2000, https://newstatesman.com/politics/2000/06/to-russia-with-love.

1193 Ambassador Thomas Hart Armbruster, "Russian Far East: Chukotkans Worry as Their 'Hero,' Billionaire Roman Abramovich, Steps Down as Governor," US State Department, July 9, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08VLADIVOSTOK68_a.html; Samuel Petrequin, "EU imposes sanctions on Chelsea owner Roman Abramovich," AP, March 15, 2022,

https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-new-sanctions-target-abramovich-ab2fd335f68c9b877a71c54413e9c757.

1194 Staff, "Leonid Nevzlin: The One Who Got Away," Forbes, August 1, 2008,

https://forbes.com/2008/08/01/nevzlin-khodorkovsky-yukos-face-cx vr 0801autofacescan01.html;

Ellen Barry, "Putin Plays Sheriff for Cowboy Capitalists," New York Times, June 4, 2009,

https://nytimes.com/2009/06/05/world/europe/05russia.html; "Vladimir Putin takes Oleg Deripaska to task," June 4, 2009, https://youtube.com/watch?v=48Kk7kobMQY.

1195 Interview of Boris Fyodorov, PBS Frontline, May 2000,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/interviews/fyodorov.html.

1196 Vladimir Pozner, "How the United States Created Vladimir Putin," Yale University, September 27, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=8X7Ng75e5gQ.

1197 Adam Curtis, "Russia 1985–1999: Trauma Zone: What It Felt Like to Live Through the Collapse of Communism and Democracy," BBC, October 13, 2022,

https://youtube.com/watch?v=ke600MgW1F0.

1198 Simon Bell, et al., "Rothschild is the new power behind Yukos," Sunday *Times*, November 2, 2003, https://thetimes.com/article/rothschild-is-the-new-power-behind-yukos-9wtmr3d90nz.

1199 Peter Baker and Susan B. Glasser, "Russia Jails Executive Of Media Company," *Washington Post*, January 16, 2001, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/01/17/russia-jails-executive-of-media-company/411020ac-cc46-48ed-90ff-c17302b31236; David Hoffman, "Russian Media Magnate Arrested at Villa in Spain," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2000, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/12/13/russian-media-magnate-arrested-at-villa-in-spain/c99cf364-ad0b-4182-9e3d-d3241fc9a5f9; Staff, "Russian Court Orders Media-Most Liquidation," PBS *NewsHour*, May 29, 2001, https://pbs.org/newshour/nation/media-jan-june01-russia 05-29.

1200 Alexander Gentelev, *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Oligarchs*, January 3, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=oay8GsSxU4Y.

1201 David Hoffman, "Russian Tycoon Faces Charges," *Washington Post*, April 7, 1999, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/russiagov/stories/berez040799.htm.

1202 Melissa Kite and Richard Beeston, "Asylum for tycoon threatens Blair's links with Putin," London *Times*, September 11, 2003, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/asylum-for-tycoon-threatens-blairs-links-with-putin-625lz51358g.

1203 Toby Melville, "UK coroner records open verdict on death of Russian oligarch Berezovsky," Reuters, March 27, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/idUSBREA2Q250.

1204 Matt Taibbi, "Putin's Night Of The Long Knives," *The eXile*, December 21, 2000, https://wkemonde.com/putin/longknives.html.

1205 Rep. Ron Paul, "Relations with Russia," Texas Straight Talk, January 31, 2000, https://ronpaulquotes.com/Texas_Straight_Talk/tst013100.html.

Chapter 3: George W. Bush

- 1 Jonathan Rauch, "Putin Is Right: Russia Belongs in NATO," *The Atlantic*, July 31, 2001, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2001/08/putin-is-right-russia-belongs-in-nato/377557.
- 2 This is not a brief for Russian entry into the alliance, or for the alliance at all; just noting the powers' discussions at the time.
- 3 Patrick E. Tyler, "Russia and China Sign 'Friendship' Pact," *New York Times*, July 17, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/07/17/world/russia-and-china-sign-friendship-pact.html; Aaron Brown, "Poll Shows Half of Russia Thinks NATO is a Threat," CNN, May 27, 2002, http://cnn.com/transcripts/0205/27/asb.00.html.
- **4** Vladimir Putin, et al., *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President* (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), 169.
- **5** Madeleine Albright, "Putin Is Making a Historic Mistake," *New York Times*, February 23, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/23/opinion/putin-ukraine.html.
- **6** "Interview of Vladimir Putin," *Breakfast with Frost*, BBC, March 5, 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/breakfast_with_frost/transcripts/putin5 .mar.txt.
- 7 Richard Sakwa, Russia Against the Rest (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 86.
- **8** Vladimir Putin, "Russia and the changing world," Moscow News, February 27, 2012, https://mn.ru/politics/78738.
- **9** Vladimir Putin, "Speech in the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany," Kremlin, September 25, 2001, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/21340.
- **10** Suzanne Daley, "Putin Softens His Stance Against NATO Expansion," *New York Times*, October 4, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/10/04/world/a-nation-challenged-the-allies-putin-softens-his-stance-against-nato-expansion.html.
- 11 Eric Engleman, "Putin Calls Bush on Sept. 11," AP, September 11, 2002, https://apnews.com/article/5373d96aa8ed8f3fe3a2010b7ad521c7.

- 12 George W. Bush, Decision Points, 196.
- 13 Oliver Stone, The Putin Interviews (New York: Hot Books, 2017), 32.
- **14** Staff, "Worldview," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 13, 2001, https://csmonitor.com/2001/0913/p24s3-nbgn.html.
- **15** Jack F. Matlock Jr., "Today's Crisis Over Ukraine Was Predictable and Avoidable," Antiwar.com, February 15, 2022, https://original.antiwar.com/jack_matlock/2022/02/14/todays-crisis-over-ukraine-was-avoidable-and-predictable.
- **16** David Ignatius, "The moment when Putin turned away from the West," *Washington Post*, March 9, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/03/09/putin-bush-chechnya-ukraine-war. **17** Burns, 208.
- **18** William Burns, "CSTO: Russia's Counter to NATO," US State Department, March 14, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW1105 a.html.
- 19 Suzanne Daley, "Putin Softens His Stance Against NATO Expansion," *New York Times*, October 4, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/10/04/world/a-nation-challenged-the-allies-putin-softens-his-stance-against-nato-expansion.html.
- **20** Paul Reynolds, "Analysis: Bush and Putin on nickname terms," BBC, May 23, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2000197.stm.
- **21** Robin Wright, "Ties That Terrorism Transformed," *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 2002, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-mar-13-mn-32572-story.html.
- 22 Charap and Colton, 68.
- **23** Suzanne Daley, "Putin Softens His Stance Against NATO Expansion," *New York Times*, October 4, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/10/04/world/a-nation-challenged-the-allies-putin-softens-his-stance-against-nato-expansion.html.
- **24** Marc Grossman, "US Grossman Delegation Consults With Italian Officials on Prague Summit," US State Department, April 17, 2002, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/02ROME1918 a.html.
- **25** Michael Klare, "Bush-Cheney Energy Strategy: Procuring the Rest of the World's Oil," Oil & Politics, January 18, 2004,
- $\underline{https://laohamutuk.org/OilWeb/Bground/War/PetroPol\%20Bush\%20Klare.pdf.}$
- **26** Burns, 208.
- **27** David Rohde and Arshad Mohammed, "How the US made its Putin problem worse," Reuters, April 19, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-putin-diplomacy-special-repor/special-report-how-the-u-s-made-its-putin-problem-worse-idUSBREA3H0OQ20140418.
- **28** Terence Neilan, "Bush Pulls Out of ABM Treaty; Putin Calls Move a Mistake," *New York Times*, December 13, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/12/13/international/bush-pulls-out-of-abm-treaty-putin-calls-move-a-mistake.html.
- **29** Daryl Kimball and Kingston Reif, "The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty at a Glance," Arms Control Association, December 2020, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/anti-ballistic-missile-abm-treaty-glance.
- **30** Carla Anne Robbins, "How Little-Debated Expansion Plan Will Alter the Structure of NATO," *Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 1998, https://wsj.com/articles/SB889655079880546500.
- **31** Daryl Kimball, "START II and Its Extension Protocol at a Glance," Arms Control Association, July 2022, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/start-ii-and-its-extension-protocol-glance.
- **32** Sharon LaFraniere, "Russia Quits Arms Pact," *Washington Post*, June 14, 2002, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2002/06/15/russia-quits-arms-pact/3565c2d1-47ae-471a-a2a7-d2786f29140a.
- **33** Presidents George H.W. Bush and Boris Yeltsin, "Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II)," January 3, 1993, https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102887.htm.

- **34** Andrew Cockburn, *Rumsfeld: His Rise, Fall and Catastrophic Legacy* (New York: Scribner, 2011), 95–96.
- **35** Peter Certo, "John Bolton," Militarist Monitor, January 3, 2020, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/john-bolton.
- **36** "Arms Control Today Interview With Undersecretary John Bolton," *Arms Control Today*, February 20, 2002, https://armscontrol.org/pressroom/2002-02/arms-control-today-interview-undersecretary-john-bolton-available.
- **37** Staff, "Russian Federation ratifies Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty," CTBTO, May 23, 2008, https://ctbto.org/resources/for-the-media/press-releases/russian-federation-ratifies-comprehensive-nuclear-test-ban.
- **38** "Text of Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty," White House, May 24, 2002, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020524-3.html.
- **39** Corey Flintoff, "Bush, Critics Face Off on European Missile Shield," NPR News, October 28, 2007, https://npr.org/2007/10/28/15674582/bush-critics-face-off-on-european-missile-shield.
- **40** Chargé d'Affaires Daniel Russell, "Local Pundits on Russia's Escalating Rhetoric," US State Department, June 5, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW2659_a.html.
- **41** Daniel A. Russell, "US-Russia Strategic Security Talks," April 23, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW1877_a.html.
- 42 See Chapter Seven; Ray McGovern, "Peeking Past the Pall Put Over Arms Talks With Russia," Antiwar.com, January 14, 2022, https://original.antiwar.com/mcgovern/2022/01/13/peeking-past-the-pall-put-over-arms-talks-with-russia; Corey Flintoff, "Bush, Critics Face Off on European Missile Shield," NPR News, October 28, 2007, https://npr.org/2007/10/28/15674582/bush-critics-face-off-on-european-missile-shield; J. David Goodman, "Microphone Catches a Candid Obama," https://nytimes.com/2012/03/27/us/politics/obama-caught-on-microphone-telling-medvedev-of-flexibility.html; Andrew Higgins, "On the Edge of a Polish Forest, Where Some of Putin's Darkest Fears Lurk," https://nytimes.com/2012/03/27/us/politics/obama-caught-on-microphone-telling-medvedev-of-flexibility.html; Andrew Higgins, "On the Edge of a Polish Forest, Where Some of Putin's Darkest Fears Lurk," https://nytimes.com/2012/03/27/us/politics/obama-caught-on-microphone-telling-medvedev-of-flexibility.html; Andrew Higgins, "On the Edge of a Polish Forest, Where Some of Putin's Darkest Fears Lurk," https://nytimes.com/2012/03/27/us/politics/obama-caught-on-microphone-telling-medvedev-of-flexibility.html; https://nytimes.com/2012/03/27/us/politics/obama-caught
- $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2022/02/16/world/europe/poland-missile-base-russia-ukraine.html}.$
- 43 Corey Flintoff, "Bush, Critics Face Off on European Missile Shield," NPR News, October 28, 2007, https://npr.org/2007/10/28/15674582/bush-critics-face-off-on-european-missile-shield; Robert Gates, "Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence in the 21st Century," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 28, 2008, https://carnegieendowment.org/2008/10/28/gates-nuclear-weapons-and-deterrence-in-21st-century-event-1202.
- **44** Steven Lee Myers, "Bush Stands by Plan for Missile Defenses," *New York Times*, October 24, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/10/24/washington/24prexy.html.
- **45** Gareth Porter, "Was There Ever an Iranian Nuclear Weapons Program?" *The American Conservative*, May 14, 2018, https://theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-if-there-never-was-an-iranian-nuclear-weapons-program; Shemuel Meir, "Was the Iranian Threat Fabricated by Israel and the US?" *Haaretz*, May 31, 2014, https://haaretz.com/premium-an-imaginary-iran-threat-1.5250169; Gareth Porter, "When the Ayatollah Said No to Nukes," *Foreign Policy*, October 16, 2014, https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/16/when-the-ayatollah-said-no-to-nukes.
- **46** Theodore A. Postol, "Russia may have violated the INF Treaty. Here's how the United States appears to have done the same," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February 14, 2019, https://thebulletin.org/2019/02/russia-may-have-violated-the-inf-treaty-heres-how-the-united-states-appears-to-have-done-the-same.
- **47** Katrina vanden Heuvel, "Missile Defense: 'Longest Running Scam' Exposed," *The Nation*, March 7, 2008, https://thenation.com/article/archive/missile-defense-longest-running-scam-exposed; Eric Lipton, "Insider's Projects Drained Missile-Defense Millions," *New York Times*, October 11, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/10/12/washington/12missile.html.

- **48** Leo J. Schneider Jr., "VLS: A Challenge Met, An Old Rule Kept," US Navy, April 1987, https://web.archive.org/web/20170222163407/https://dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a183944.pdf; Jack Detsch, "Putin's Fixation With an Old-School US Missile Launcher," *Foreign Policy*, January 12, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/01/12/putin-russia-us-missile-defense-nato-ukraine.
- **49** Mikhail Kamynin, "Spokesman of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Answers a Question from ITAR-TASS Regarding US Intention to Deploy Elements of Its National Missile Defense System in Poland and Czech Republic," Russian Foreign Ministry, January 26, 2007, https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1722988.

50 Burns, 231.

- **51** Gareth Porter, *Manufactured Crisis: The Untold Story of the Iran Nuclear Scare* (Washington, D.C.: Just World Books, 2014); That was a generation ago, and Iran still has not chosen to attempt to make nuclear weapons. Thomas Fingar, et al., "National Intelligence Estimate: Iran Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities," National Intelligence Council, November 2007,
- https://dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Reports%20and%20Pubs/20071203_release.pdf; The Director of National Intelligence reported in February 2024, "Iran is not currently undertaking the key nuclear weapons-development activities necessary to produce a testable nuclear device," "Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 5, 2024, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf.
- **52** "President Vladimir Putin Press Conference following the end of the G8 Summit," Kremlin, June 8, 2007, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24322.
- **53** Adrian Blomfield and Mike Smith, "Gorbachev: US Could Start New Cold War," *Telegraph*, May 6, 2008, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/1933223/Gorbachev-US-could-start-new-Cold-War.html.
- **54** William Burns, "Senator Hagel's Meeting With FM Lavrov," US State Department, January 18, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW142_a.html; Staff, "Russia tested a new missile," Russian Forces Blog, May 29, 2007,

https://russianforces.org/blog/2007/05/russia tested a new missile.shtml.

- **55** John Koenig, "Germany/Russia: Merel [sic] Goes to Moscow," US State Department, March 10, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BERLIN303_a.html.
- **56** Chargé d'Affaires Daniel Russell, "Local Pundits on Russia's Escalating Rhetoric," US State Department, June 5, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW2659_a.html.
- **57** Staff, "Russian leader talks tough," AP, November 5, 2008, https://denverpost.com/2008/11/05/russian-leader-talks-tough.
- **58** William Burns, "Fundamentals of Russian Foreign Policy Contribute to Tension With the West," US State Department, September 13, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW4505 a.html.
- **59** Mitchell Prothero, "The 'Cedar Revolution' meets Hezbollah," Salon.com, March 5, 2005, https://salon.com/2005/03/05/hezbollah.
- 60 Daniel McAdams, "How Lukashenko Won," Antiwar.com, March 27, 2006,
- https://original.antiwar.com/daniel-mcadams/2006/03/27/how-lukashenko-won; Vladimir Radyuhin and John Cherian, "Snub to the West," *The Hindu*, April 21, 2006,

https://frontline.thehindu.com/world-affairs/article30209035.ece.

- **61** Kenneth Timmerman, "State Department Backs 'Reformists' in Wild Iranian Election," Newsmax.com, June 11, 2009, https://newsmax.com/kentimmerman/iran-elections-reformists/2009/06/11/id/348747.
- **62** "US Democracy Group Rebuts Hong Kong Meddling Allegations," Voice of America, October 23, 2014, https://voanews.com/a/voa-exclusive-us-democracy-group-rebuts-hong-kong-meddling-allegations/2493257.html.

- **63** "George W. Bush on Humble Foreign Policy 2000," C-SPAN, October 11, 2000, https://c-span.org/video/?c4788564/user-clip-george-w-bush-humble-foreign-policy-2000.
- **64** Alan Bock, "Dubya's Expansive Vision," Antiwar.com, November 25, 1999, https://antiwar.com/bock/b112599.html.
- **65** MacKinnon, 61–65.
- **66** MacKinnon, 60, 66.
- **67** Yauheniya Nechyparenka, "Democratic Transition in Belarus: Cause(s) of Failure," *Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals*, 2011, http://jstor.com/stable/pdf/resrep14202.5.pdf.
- 68 MacKinnon, 67.
- **69** Benjamin Smith, "US Plays Its Part in Belarus In Efforts to Oust Lukashenko," *Wall Street Journal*, September 3, 2001, https://wsj.com/articles/SB999464004722987441.
- 70 MacKinnon, 67.
- 71 MacKinnon, 68.
- **72** Ian Traynor, "Belarussian foils dictator-buster . . . for now," *Guardian*, September 13, 2001, https://theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/14/iantraynor.
- **73** Ian Traynor, "Belarussian foils dictator-buster . . . for now," *Guardian*, September 13, 2001, https://theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/14/iantraynor.
- 74 MacKinnon, 71.
- **75** Ian Traynor, "Belarussian foils dictator-buster . . . for now," *Guardian*, September 13, 2001, https://theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/14/iantraynor.
- 76 Giorgio Comai and Bernardo Venturi, "Language and education laws in multi-ethnic de facto states: the cases of Abkhazia and Transnistria," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (November 2015), https://researchgate.net/publication/283535510_Language_and_education_laws_in_multi-ethnic de facto states the cases of Abkhazia and Transnistria.
- 77 Steele, 148.
- 78 Charap and Colton, 70.
- **79** William H. Hill, *Russia, The Near Abroad and the West: Lessons from the Moldova-Transdniestria Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012), xii.
- **80** See Chapter Two.
- **81** MacKinnon, 97; Jonathan Steele, "The new cold war," *Guardian*, January 2, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/jan/03/russia.usa.
- **82** Heidi Tagliavini, et al., "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Report, Volume I–III," 2009,

https://mpil.de/en/pub/publications/archive/independent_international_fact.cfm.

- **83** Zeyno Baran, "Deals Give Russian Companies Influence Over Georgia's Energy Infrastructure," Eurasianet, August 18, 2003, https://eurasianet.org/deals-give-russian-companies-influence-over-georgias-energy-infrastructure.
- **84** Jonathan Steele, "The new cold war," *Guardian*, January 2, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/jan/03/russia.usa.
- **85** MacKinnon, 106–07.
- **86** See Chapter Two.
- **87** "Biography: Richard Miles," US State Department, April 11, 2002, https://2001-2009.state.gov/outofdate/bios/m/9527.htm.
- **88** MacKinnon, 101–02.
- 89 MacKinnon, 107.
- **90** Hugh Pope, "Pro-West Leaders In Georgia Push Shevardnadze Out," *Wall Street Journal*, November 24, 2003, https://wsj.com/articles/SB1069507873431700.
- 91 Sussman, 148, 154.
- **92** MacKinnon, 110.

- **93** Mark MacKinnon, "Georgia Revolt Carried Mark of Soros," *Globe and Mail*, November 26, 2003, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/world/georgia-revolt-carried-mark-of-soros/article18437463; MacKinnon, 114.
- **94** George Melloan, "Putin Is Not Amused By the Coup in Georgia," *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2003, https://wsj.com/articles/SB107032301988570800.
- 95 MacKinnon, 103.
- **96** MacKinnon, 112.
- **97** Christopher Marquis, "US Sending Officials to Georgia to Offer Help on Transition," *New York Times*, November 27, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/11/27/world/us-sending-officials-to-georgia-to-offer-help-on-transition.html.
- **98** Staff, "Ruling party takes lead in parliamentary elections," *Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 2003, https://chicagotribune.com/2003/11/04/ruling-party-takes-lead-in-parliamentary-elections.
- **99** MacKinnon, 117.
- **100** Mark MacKinnon, "Georgia Revolt Carried Mark of Soros," *Globe and Mail*, November 26, 2003, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/world/georgia-revolt-carried-mark-of-soros/article18437463.
- **101** MacKinnon, 118.
- **102** Peter Baker and Susan B. Glasser, "Protesters Storm Georgia Parliament," *Washington Post*, November 23, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/11/23/protesters-storm-georgia-parliament/4a24b5a6-8e32-4326-bfa7-a7e04d6ad193.
- **103** MacKinnon, 118.
- **104** MacKinnon, 121.
- **105** MacKinnon, 123.
- **106** MacKinnon, 124.
- **107** Peter Baker and Susan B. Glasser, "Protesters Storm Georgia Parliament," *Washington Post*, November 23, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/11/23/protesters-storm-georgia-parliament/4a24b5a6-8e32-4326-bfa7-a7e04d6ad193.
- **108** Peter Baker and Susan B. Glasser, "Protesters Storm Georgia Parliament," *Washington Post*, November 23, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/11/23/protesters-storm-georgia-parliament/4a24b5a6-8e32-4326-bfa7-a7e04d6ad193.
- **109** Mark MacKinnon, "Georgia Revolt Carried Mark of Soros," *Globe and Mail*, November 26, 2003, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/world/georgia-revolt-carried-mark-of-soros/article18437463.
- **110** Richard W. Carlson, "Georgia on His Mind George Soros's Potemkin Revolution," *Weekly Standard*, May 24, 2004, https://washingtonexaminer.com/weekly-standard/georgia-on-his-mind.
- **111** Interview with author, Joshua Eaton, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 12, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/021214-joshua-eaton.
- 112 Tweet by Joshua Eaton, March 22, 2023,
- https://x.com/joshua eaton/status/1638666761884278784.
- 113 MacKinnon, 25–26.
- 114 MacKinnon, 24-25.
- 115 Carey Goldberg, "Wealthy Ally for Dissidents in the Drug War," *New York Times*, September 11, 1996, https://nytimes.com/1996/09/11/us/wealthy-ally-for-dissidents-in-the-drug-war.html.
- **116** Scott Bland, "George Soros' quiet overhaul of the US justice system," *Politico*, August 30, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/08/george-soros-criminal-justice-reform-227519.
- 117 MacKinnon, 26.
- **118** George Soros, *The Bubble of American Supremacy: Correcting The Misuse Of American Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003).
- **119** Connie Bruck, "The World According to George Soros," *The New Yorker*, January 15, 1995, https://newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/the-world-according-to-soros.

120 The author is occasionally confused with The Other Scott Horton, as I affectionately call him. Other Scott (no relation) is an international human rights lawyer, journalist for *Harper's* magazine, professor at Columbia University, co-founder of the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek and author of *Lords of Secrecy: The National Security Elite and America's Stealth Warfare* (New York: Nation Books, 2015). He taught Saakashvili law and Hayekian economics at Columbia, inspiring his initial anti-corruption push, and has been associated with Mr. Soros in various capacities over the years. There is zero reason to believe that has been in anything but the most honorable circumstances. He is a great guy. I have interviewed him many times. But just to be clear: we are different people, and the author has no such associations. And for his sake, I am sure he would disagree with many conclusions in this book. Myron A. Farber, "The Reminiscences of Scott Horton," The Rule of Law Oral History Project, Columbia University, November 21, 2012,

https://columbia.edu/cu/libraries/inside/ccoh assets/ccoh 10571338 transcript.pdf.

121 Connie Bruck, "The World According to George Soros," *The New Yorker*, January 15, 1995, https://newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/the-world-according-to-soros; Luke Baker, "Israel backs Hungary, says financier Soros is a threat," Reuters, July 10, 2017,

https://reuters.com/article/idUSKBN19V1IY; Bernd Debusmann, "Soros adds voice to debate over Israel lobby," Reuters, August 9, 2007, https://reuters.com/article/idUSN13215323; Staff, "Hacked Soros e-mails reveal plans to fight Israel's 'racist' policies," *Jerusalem Post*, August 15, 2016, https://jpost.com/israel-news/politics-and-diplomacy/hacked-soros-e-mails-reveal-plans-to-fight-israels-racist-policies-464149.

- **122** Arthur Bloom, "The Case for George Soros," Arthuriana, January 29, 2024, https://arthuriana.substack.com/p/the-case-for-george-soros.
- **123** For Soros's more off-the-wall statements about considering himself 'some kind of god,' see, Gail Counsell, "The billionaire who built on chaos," *Independent*, June 3, 1993,

https://independent.co.uk/news/business/the-billionaire-who-built-on-chaos-gail-counsell-charts-the-rise-of-a-speculator-who-considers-himself-some-kind-of-god-1489380.html.

124 Nora Boustany, "A Georgian Reborn, Still Straddling Two Cultures," *Washington Post*, June 4, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2004/06/04/a-georgian-reborn-still-straddling-two-cultures/a5d37ba3-3c97-463d-9d56-c939107d3d14.

125 Staff, "Georgia a 'trailblazer for democracy in Caucasus' or facing 'uncertain future'?" NED, December 6, 2018, https://demdigest.org/georgia-a-trailblazer-for-democracy-in-caucasus-or-facing-uncertain-future.

126 Interview with Salomé Zourabichvilii, "The Rose Revolution at an impasse," *Hérodote*, No. 129, August 14, 2008, https://legrandsoir.info/nouvelle-attaque-de-l-internationale-noire.html.

127 MacKinnon, 274.

128 MacKinnon, 129–30.

129 "Georgia's Rose Revolution," CSCE, July 1, 2004, https://csce.gov/international-impact/publications/georgias-rose-revolution.

130 George Melloan, "Putin Is Not Amused By the Coup in Georgia," *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2003, https://wsj.com/articles/SB107032301988570800.

131 Christopher Marquis, "US Sending Officials to Georgia to Offer Help on Transition," *New York Times*, November 27, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/11/27/world/us-sending-officials-to-georgia-to-offer-help-on-transition.html.

132 Wendell Steavenson, "Marching Through Georgia," *The New Yorker*, December 15, 2008, http://newyorker.com/magazine/2008/12/15/marching-through-georgia.

133 "Text: Bush's speech in Georgia," BBC, May 10, 2005,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4534267.stm; The Iraqi January 2005 'purple finger' election of the United Iraqi Alliance and their prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, under American military occupation, belongs in a separate category from the rest of the revolutions/coups he cited. After all,

- they were trying to rig it for Iyad Allawi: Seymour Hersh, "Get Out the Vote," *The New Yorker*, July 17, 2005, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2005/07/25/get-out-the-vote.
- **134** Christian Caryl, "The Georgian Paradox," *Foreign Policy*, January 31, 2012, https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/01/31/the-georgian-paradox.
- **135** C.J. Chivers, "Thousands Rally in Capital Against Georgia President," *New York Times*, November 3, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/europe/03tbilisi.html.
- **136** Joshua Keating, "The dictator's dilemma: To win with 95 percent or 99?" *Foreign Policy*, February 13, 2012, https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/13/the-dictators-dilemma-to-win-with-95-percent-or-99.
- **137** Staff, "Russian MPs Condemn Arrest of Giorgadze Allies," Civil.ge, September 7, 2006, https://old.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=13483.
- **138** Wendell Steavenson, "Marching Through Georgia," *The New Yorker*, December 15, 2008, http://newyorker.com/magazine/2008/12/15/marching-through-georgia.
- **139** Simon Shuster, "Inside the Prison That Beat a President: How Georgia's Saakashvili Lost His Election," *Time*, October 2, 2012, https://world.time.com/2012/10/02/inside-the-prison-that-beat-a-president-how-georgias-saakashvili-lost-his-election.
- **140** C.J. Chivers, "Thousands Rally in Capital Against Georgia President," *New York Times*, November 3, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/europe/03tbilisi.html.
- **141** Staff, "Georgia: Riot Police Violently Disperse Peaceful Protesters," Human Rights Watch, November 7, 2007, https://hrw.org/news/2007/11/07/georgia-riot-police-violently-disperse-peaceful-protesters.
- **142** Melinda Haring and Michael Cecire, "Why the Color Revolutions Failed," *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/18/why-the-color-revolutions-failed.
- **143** Transcript, "Bush's Vision: 'We Will Not Trade Away the Fate of Free European Peoples," *New York Times*, June 16, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/06/16/world/president-europe-bush-s-vision-wewill-not-trade-away-fate-free-european-peoples.html.
- 144 Charap and Colton, 90.
- **145** Press Release, "President Bush Welcomes Seven Nations to the NATO Alliance," White House, March 29, 2004, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/03/20040329-4.html.
- **146** Seth Mydans, "Putin Doubts Expanded NATO Meets New Threats," *New York Times*, April 9, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/04/09/world/putin-doubts-expanded-nato-meets-new-threats.html.
- **147** Steven Lee Myers, "As NATO Finally Arrives on Its Border, Russia Grumbles," *New York Times*, April 3, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/04/03/world/as-nato-finally-arrives-on-its-border-russia-grumbles.html.
- **148** Staff, "Russia Defends 'Paranoia' Over NATO Enlargement," AFP, https://spacewar.com/2004/040402185237.gy0eladg.html.
- **149** Thom Shanker, "Russian Faults NATO Opening To Baltic States," *New York Times*, August 15, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/08/15/world/russian-faults-nato-opening-to-baltic-states.html.
- **150** David Rohde and Arshad Mohammed, "How the US made its Putin problem worse," Reuters, April 19, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-putin-diplomacy-special-repor/special-report-how-the-u-s-made-its-putin-problem-worse-idUSBREA3H0OQ20140418.
- **151** Interview with author, Pat Buchanan, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 5, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/030514-pat-buchanan; Patrick J. Buchanan, "Where Does NATO Enlargement End?" Antiwar.com, January 11, 2022,
- https://original.antiwar.com/buchanan/2022/01/10/where-does-nato-enlargement-end.
- **152** Tim Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: DoubleDay, 2007), 128–35; John Prados, *Safe For Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 158.
- 153 Staff, "Prague Spring 1968 Broadcasts of Radio Free Europe Released," Hoover Institution, October 31, 2014, https://hoover.org/news/prague-spring-1968-broadcasts-radio-free-europe-released.

154 Sussman, 128; David Ignatius, "Innocence Abroad: The New World of Spyless Coups," *Washington Post*, September 21, 1991,

https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1991/09/22/innocence-abroad-the-new-world-of-spyless-coups/92bb989a-de6e-4bb8-99b9-462c76b59a16.

155 President Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Statement by the President on the Developments in Hungary," October 25, 1956, https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-president-the-developments-hungary; Transcript of President Lyndon Johnson phone call with former Vice President Richard Nixon, Miller Center, August 20, 1968, https://prde.upress.virginia.edu/conversations/4006029.

156 Staff, "New Study on US-Russia nuclear war: 91.5 million casualties in first few hours," ICAN, September 18, 2019, https://icanw.org/new study on us russia nuclear war.

157 See below.

158 "NATO-Ukraine Action Plan," NATO, November 22, 2002,

https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_19547.htm.

159 Stephen D. Krasner and Carlos Pascual, "Addressing State Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005, https://foreignaffairs.com/addressing-state-failure.

160 Stephen D. Krasner, "Building Democracy after Conflict: The Case for Shared Sovereignty," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2005), 69–83, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/177520.

161 Naomi Klein, "The Rise of Disaster Capitalism," *The Nation*, April 14, 2005, https://thenation.com/article/archive/rise-disaster-capitalism.

162 Petro, 80–81.

163 Heiko Pleines, "Ukraine's gas industry: Rent-seeking and corruption," *Alexander's Gas & Oil Connections*, October 3, 2000,

https://web.archive.org/web/20051128090522/http://gasandoil.com/goc/company/cnr04017.htm.

164 "Amended Complaint: Universal Trading & Investment Co. Inc. vs. Yulia Tymoshenko-Alexander Tymoshenko, Andrey Vavilov, Case 1:22-cv-07877-PAC Document 38," US District Court for the Southern District of New York, June 4, 2013,

https://issuu.com/singa/docs/tymoshenkoamendedcmplnt.june.6.13.s.

165 "Yulia Tymoshenko: Ukraine's 'Iron Lady," Telegraph, June 24, 2011,

https://web.archive.org/web/20110627164005/http://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/8 597402/Yulia-Tymoshenko-Ukrains-Iron-Lady.html; Staff, "Ukraine. . .," Jamestown Foundation, September 13, 2000, https://jamestown.org/program/ukraine-18; Peter Byrne, "Tymoshenko lashes out at opponents," *Kyiv Post*, January 12, 2001, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/tymoshenko-lashes-out-at-opponents-6905.html; "Yuliya Tymoshenko," Eurasian Home, https://web.archive.org/web/20120303072454/https://eurasianhome.org/xml/t/databases.xml?lang=en&nic=databases&country=188&letter=all&person=478.

166 "News Brief: Release of PricewaterhouseCoopers Report on the National Bank of Ukraine," IMF, May 4, 2000, https://imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/29/18/03/nb0026.

167 MacKinnon, 81.

168 "Tymoshenko implicated in crimes by USA Federal Prosecutor," Exhibit A, Case 1:04-cv-00798-PLF Document 152-3, Department of Justice, April 8, 2010,

 $\underline{https://archive.org/stream/TymoshenkoImplicatedInCrimesByUsaFederalProsecutor/TYMOSHENKOatUSACourtofLaw.divu.txt.}$

169 Michael Meacher, "One for oil and oil for one," *The Spectator*, March 5, 2005, https://spectator.co.uk/article/one-for-oil-and-oil-for-one.

170 MacKinnon, 82–83.

171 Tim Vickery, "Putin to Back Common Economic Space," AP, May 4, 2003, https://beaumontenterprise.com/news/article/putin-to-back-common-economic-space-757091.php. **172** MacKinnon, 84.

173 Staff, "US Spent \$65M To Aid Ukrainian Groups," AP, December 10, 2004,

https://foxnews.com/story/u-s-spent-65m-to-aid-ukrainian-groups.

174 William Branigin, "US Rejects Tally, Warns Ukraine," *Washington Post*, November 25, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2004/11/25/us-rejects-tally-warns-ukraine/5ad29403-b545-486f-9733-65866f17c87a.

175 Mark Rachkevych, "Orange Evolution," Kyiv Post, January 15, 2010,

https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/orange-evolution-57094.html.

176 Connie Bruck, "The World According to George Soros," *The New Yorker*, January 15, 1995, https://newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/the-world-according-to-soros.

177 MacKinnon, 82, 159.

178 Jeremy Bransten, "Ukraine: Part Homegrown Uprising, Part Imported Production?" RFERL, December 20, 2004, https://rferl.org/a/1056498.html.

179 "Ukraine's Cold War Déjà vu," CBS News/AP, December 14, 2004,

https://cbsnews.com/news/ukraines-cold-war-deja-vu.

180 Staff, "US Spent \$65M To Aid Ukrainian Groups," AP, December 10, 2004, https://foxnews.com/story/u-s-spent-65m-to-aid-ukrainian-groups.

181 MacKinnon, 161.

182 Sussman, 149; MacKinnon, 174.

183 MacKinnon, 161, 171.

184 MacKinnon, 167–69.

185 Sussman, 149; Stephen F. Cohen, "The Media's New Cold War," *The Nation*, January 13, 2005, https://thenation.com/article/archive/medias-new-cold-war.

186 Staff, "Madeleine Albright Assumes Chairmanship of NDI," NDI Reports, No. 1, 2001, https://ndi.org/sites/default/files/1326_www_newdemocs301_0.pdf; Staff, "Democracy group gives donors access to McCain," *New York Times*, July 28, 2008,

https://nytimes.com/2008/07/28/world/americas/28iht-lobbyists.1.14830046.html.

187 MacKinnon, 154–55.

188 Andrew Osborn, "Berezovsky 'funded revolution," *Independent*, November 12, 2005, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berezovsky-funded-revolution-514948.html.

189 Jeffrey Clark and Jason Stout, "Elections, Revolution and Democracy in Ukraine," Development Associates, October 2005, https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnade309.pdf.

190 Staff, "The man who survived Russia's poison chalice," *The Age*, January 23, 2005, https://theage.com.au/world/the-man-who-survived-russias-poison-chalice-20050123-gdzf3h.html.

191 C.J. Chivers, "How Top Spies in Ukraine Changed the Nation's Path," *New York Times*, January 17, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/01/17/world/europe/how-top-spies-in-ukraine-changed-the-nations-path.html.

192 Mark Rachkevych, "Orange Evolution," Kyiv Post, January 15, 2010,

 $\underline{https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/orange-evolution-57094.html}.$

193 Staff, "The man who survived Russia's poison chalice," *The Age*, January 23, 2005, https://theage.com.au/world/the-man-who-survived-russias-poison-chalice-20050123-gdzf3h.html.

194 Taras Kuzio, "Yushchenko Poisoning Investigation Nearing Climax," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 2, No. 35 (February 18, 2005), http://taraskuzio.com/media14_files/39.pdf.

195 Yuras Karmanau, "Yushchenko blames government for poisoning," *Irish Examiner*, December 17, 2004, https://irishexaminer.com/world/arid-10109542.html.

196 C.J. Chivers, "How Top Spies in Ukraine Changed the Nation's Path," *New York Times*, January 17, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/01/17/world/europe/how-top-spies-in-ukraine-changed-the-nations-path.html.

197 Staff, "Yushchenko Aide Alleges 'KGB' Plot," ABC News, December 12, 2004, https://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=322922.

198 Staff, "Poison Assertion Rejected," Reuters, September 29, 2004,

https://nytimes.com/2004/09/29/world/europe/poison-assertion-rejected.html.

199 Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Ukraine Candidate's Illness Stumps Doctors," *New York Times*, December 4, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/12/04/world/ukraine-candidates-illness-stumps-doctors.html.

200 Erna Lackner, "Kiev election campaign in Vienna," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 12, 2004, https://faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/ukraine-kiewer-wahlkampf-in-wien-1193320.html.

201 Bojan Pancevski, "I received death threats, says doctor who denied that Ukrainian leader was poisoned," *Telegraph*, March 27, 2005,

 $\frac{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20051226142658/http://telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/03/27/wukr27.xml\&sSheet=/portal/2005/03/27/ixportal.html}.$

202 MacKinnon, 185.

203 MacKinnon, 185, 199-200.

204 MacKinnon, 186.

205 MacKinnon, 187–88.

206 MacKinnon, 193.

207 Brian Knowlton, "Powell Says US Will Not Accept Final Tally in Ukraine," *International Herald Tribune*, November 24, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/11/24/international/middleeast/powell-says-us-will-not-accept-final-tally-in.html.

208 Steven Lee Myers, "Parliament Says Votes in Ukraine Were Not Valid," *New York Times*, November 28, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/11/28/world/europe/parliament-says-votes-in-ukraine-were-not-valid.html.

209 MacKinnon, 204.

210 MacKinnon, 205.

211 MacKinnon, 206-08.

212 Ian Traynor, "US campaign behind the turmoil in Kiev," *Guardian*, November 25, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/nov/26/ukraine.usa.

213 Jonathan Steele, "Ukraine's Postmodern Coup D'etat," *Guardian*, November 26, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/nov/26/ukraine.comment.

214 MacKinnon, 208.

215 MacKinnon, 208.

216 Ron Paul, "US Hypocrisy on Ukraine," Speech to US House of Representatives, December 9, 2004, https://original.antiwar.com/paul/2004/12/09/us-hypocrisy-on-ukraine.

217 Michael McFaul, "'Meddling' In Ukraine Democracy is Not an American Plot," *Washington Post*, December 21, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A15131-2004Dec20.html.

218 Michael McFaul, "Transitions From Postcommunism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (July 2005), 5–19, https://journalofdemocracy.org/articles/transitions-from-postcommunism.

219 "Vote in eastern Ukraine fuels fears of break-up," *Irish Times*, November 28, 2004, https://irishtimes.com/news/vote-in-eastern-ukraine-fuels-fears-of-break-up-1.995932.

220 Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007), 45–83, http://jstor.org/stable/30133875.

221 See Chapter Four.

222 Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007), 45–83, http://jstor.org/stable/30133875.

223 Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007), 45–83, http://jstor.org/stable/30133875.

224 Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2007), 45–83, http://jstor.org/stable/30133875.

225 Rusel DeMaria, "Taking a Look at A Force More Powerful," Game Developer, December 1, 2005, https://gamedeveloper.com/business/taking-a-look-at-i-a-force-more-powerful-i-.

- **226** David Goldman, "Americans Play Monopoly, Russians Chess," Asia Times, August 19, 2008, https://asiatimes.com/2008/08/americans-play-monopoly-russians-chess.
- **227** Jonathan Steele, "Ukraine's Postmodern Coup D'etat," *Guardian*, November 26, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/nov/26/ukraine.comment.
- **228** Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine—and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.
- **229** George Friedman, "Syria, America and Putin's Bluff," Stratfor, September 10, 2013, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/syria-america-and-putins-bluff.
- **230** Charles Krauthammer, "Why Only in Ukraine?" *Washington Post*, December 2, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2004/12/03/why-only-in-ukraine/a172f244-64af-4123-a3a5-d7b680eb2744.
- **231** Simon Jeffery, "Yushchenko's outspoken lieutenant," *Guardian*, December 3, 2004, https://theguardian.com/news/blog/2004/dec/03/yushchenkosout.
- **232** Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973).
- **233** Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Rebuilding Russia*, trans. Alexis Limoff (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991), 20.
- **234** Paul Klebnikov, "Alexander Solzhenitsyn On The New Russia," *Forbes*, Spring 1994, https://forbes.com/2008/08/05/solzhenitsyn-forbes-interview-oped-cx pm 0804russia.html.
- **235** Staff, "Kravchuk bet with Savchenko about three different Ukraines," RIA Novosti, January 3, 2020, https://ria.ru/20200103/1563095636.html.
- 236 Petro, 49.
- 237 Petro, 36.
- 238 See Chapter Four.
- 239 Petro, 39-40.
- **240** See Chapter Four.
- **241** Steele, 217.
- **242** Gordon M. Hahn, *Ukraine Over the Edge: Russia, the West and the "New Cold War"* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2018), 117.
- **243** Randall Lesaffer, "The Peace of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918)," Oxford Public International Law, https://opil.ouplaw.com/page/679.
- **244** Ukrainian War of Independence November 8, 1917–November 14, 1921, History Maps, September 26, 2023, https://history-maps.com/story/History-of-Ukraine/event/Ukrainian-War-of-Independence.
- **245** Omer Bartov, "On Eastern Galicia's Past & Present," *Daedalus*, Fall 2007, https://amacad.org/publication/eastern-galicias-past-present.
- **246** James Bovard, "Yalta and the Death of the 'Good War," *The American Conservative*, February 18, 2020, https://theamericanconservative.com/yalta-and-the-death-of-the-good-war.
- 247 Hahn, 267.
- 248 Hahn, 141.
- **249** Murray N. Rothbard, *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1978), 334–36.
- **250** Justin Raimondo, "The Fallacy of '39," Antiwar.com, December 27, 2004, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2004/12/27/the-fallacy-of-39.
- **251** See Chapters One and Two.
- 252 See Chapter Four.

- **253** Staff, "US Secretary of State Powell Urges Ukraine to Remain Intact," Mos News, November 30, 2004,
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20041208133052/https://mosnews.com/news/2004/11/30/powukr1.shtml.}$
- 254 MacKinnon, 208.
- 255 Diane Francis, "In Ukraine, 'how little has changed' even after Orange Revolution," Financial Post, March 10, 2012, https://financialpost.com/diane-francis/in-ukraine-how-little-has-changed-even-after-orange-revolution.
- 256 See Chapter Two.
- **257** Connie Bruck, "The World According to George Soros," *The New Yorker*, January 15, 1995, https://newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/the-world-according-to-soros.
- 258 Tweet by Anders Åslund, November 15, 2022,
- https://x.com/anders_aslund/status/1592616431291535360.
- 259 Staff, "Correction: Russia-Ukraine-War story," AP, November 16, 2022,
- https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-zelenskyy-kherson-
- 9202c032cf3a5c22761ee71b52ff9d52.
- 260 Anders Åslund, "Betraying a Revolution," Washington Post, May 17, 2005,
- https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2005/05/18/betraying-a-revolution/57b7f2ce-3ac1-4a51-906f-7112b1e030bd.
- **261** Steven Lee Myers, "Ukraine president fires his cabinet," *New York Times*, September 9, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/09/09/world/europe/ukraine-president-fires-his-cabinet.html.
- **262** Staff, "Ukrainian president appoints onetime foe," *International Herald Tribune*, August 3, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/08/03/world/europe/03iht-ukraine.2375004.html; Vladimir Radyuhin and John Cherian, "Snub to the West," *The Hindu*, April 21, 2006, https://frontline.thehindu.com/world-affairs/article30209035.ece.
- **263** Andrew Osborn, "Ukraine Election: Viktor Yanukovych Claims Victory," *Telegraph*, February 7, 2010, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/7184349/Ukraine-election-Viktor-Yanukovych-claims-victory.html.
- **264** Philip Pan, "World Digest: International observers say Ukrainian election was free and fair," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2010, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/08/AR2010020803583.html.
- **265** Yuras Karmanau, "Ukrainian ends vote protest, blames court," AP, February 21, 2010, https://arkansasonline.com/news/2010/feb/21/ukrainian-ends-vote-protest-blames-court-20100221.
- **266** Pamala Brogan, *The Torturer's Lobby: How Human Rights-Abusing Nations are Represented in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Public Integrity, 1992), https://cloudfront-files-1.publicintegrity.org/legacy projects/pdf reports/THETORTURERSLOBBY.pdf.
- **267** Sussman, 161–62.
- **268** "The Future of Democracy in the Black Sea Area," US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, March 8, 2005, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-109shrg23171/html/CHRG-109shrg23171.htm.
- **269** Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden to The Ukrainian Rada," White House, December 9, 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/09/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-rada.
- **270** Staff, "Former president testifies in Tymoshenko trial," France 24, August 17, 2011, https://france24.com/en/20110817-europe-ukraine-justice-former-president-testify-tymoshenko-trial-russia-gas-deal-yushchenko-Yanukovych.
- **271** Paul Richter, "Russia Policy Under Review," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 2004, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-dec-12-fg-usrussia12-story.html.
- **272** Zlatica Hoke, "Promoting Democracy Abroad or Interfering?" Voice of America, October 26, 2009, https://voanews.com/a/a-13-a-2004-02-11-58-1-66339577/544955.html.

- **273** Staff, "Profile: Askar Akayev," BBC, April 4, 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4371819.stm.
- **274** Staff, "Kyrgyz President Implicated In Aksy Killings," RFERL, September 14, 2007, https://rferl.org/a/1078671.html.
- 275 Staff, "Kyrgyzstan: the perpetrators of the Aksy tragedy, in which several persons were wounded and at least five died, are still enjoying total impunity," World Organisation Against Torture, August 21, 2002, https://omct.org/en/resources/urgent-interventions/kyrgyzstan-the-perpetrators-of-the-aksy-tragedy-in-which-several-persons-were-wounded-and-at-least-five-died-are-still-enjoying-total-impunity.
- **276** John C.K. Daly, "Kyrgyzstan's Manas Airbase: A Key Asset in the War on Terrorism," Jamestown Foundation *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (February 21, 2007),
- $\underline{https://jamestown.org/program/kyrgyzstans-manas-airbase-a-key-asset-in-the-war-on-terrorism.}$
- **277** David S. Cloud, "Pentagon's Fuel Deal Is Lesson in Risks of Graft-Prone Regions," *New York Times*, November 15, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/11/15/world/asia/Pentagons-fuel-deal-is-lesson-in-risks-of-graftprone-regions.html.
- **278** Gulnoza Saidazimova, "Kyrgyzstan: Is Bishkek Moving Toward Russia Ahead Of Elections?" Eurasianet, February 15, 2005, http://eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp021505.shtml.
- **279** Letter from Gary Schmitt, "Democracy in Russia," Project for a New American Century, February 17, 2005, https://scotthorton.org/pnac/memorandum-to-opinion-leaders-on-the-subject-of-democracy-in-russia.
- **280** Gulnura Toralieva, "Kyrgyz Officials Criticise Western Contact With Islamists," IWPR, July 9, 2004,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20040714034829/http://iwpr.net/index.pl?archive/rca/rca_200407_298_2_eng.txt.
- **281** Assistant Secretary for European Affairs Daniel Fried Testimony before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Overview of Islamist Extremism in Europe," April 5, 2006, https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/64192.htm.
- **282** "On the Detention of Members of the Terrorist Organization, 'Islamic Liberation Party' ('Hizb ut-Tahrir al Islami')," Russian Foreign Ministry, June 6, 2003,
- $\underline{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20051112034459/http://ln.mid.ru/brp}}\underline{\text{4.nsf/0/692f13b763610543c3256ec9}}\underline{\text{001d19bb?OpenDocument.}}$
- **283** "2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Uzbekistan," Office of International Religious Freedom, June 2, 2022, https://state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/uzbekistan.
- **284** Richard Spencer, "Quiet American Behind Tulip Revolution," *Telegraph*, April 2, 2005, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/kyrgyzstan/1486983/Quiet-American-behind-tulip-revolution.html; Michael Steen, "4 Officers Said Beaten to Death; Opposition Protests Vote Results," Reuters, March 21, 2005,
- http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2005/03/21/violence_rocks_south_kyrgyzstan. **285** International Election Observer Mission, "Parliamentary Elections, The Kyrgyz Republic," February 27, 2005,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20050916151153/https://osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/02/4334_en.pdf. **286** John Laughland, "The mythology of people power," *Guardian*, March 31, 2005, https://theguardian.com/world/2005/apr/01/usa.russia.
- **287** Philip Shishkin, "In Putin's Backyard, Democracy Stirs With US Help," *Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2005, https://wsj.com/articles/SB110929289650463886.
- **288** Staff, "A Tulip Revolution," *The Economist*, March 24, 2005, https://economist.com/unknown/2005/03/24/a-tulip-revolution.

- **289** John Laughland, "The mythology of people power," *Guardian*, March 31, 2005, https://theguardian.com/world/2005/apr/01/usa.russia.
- **290** Craig S. Smith, "US Helped to Prepare the Way for Kyrgyzstan's Uprising," *New York Times*, March 30, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/03/30/world/asia/us-helped-to-prepare-the-way-for-kyrgyzstans-uprising.html.
- **291** Marat Kazakpaev, "US-Kyrgyzstan: partners in different weight divisions," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2006), https://ca-c.org/CAC/index.php/cac/article/view/899.
- **292** Daniel Drezner, "The Fourth Wave of Democratization?" Daniel Drezner.com, March 24, 2005, http://danieldrezner.com/archives/001960.html.
- 293 Charap and Colton, 75.
- **294** Robert McMahon, "Russia: Putin 'Foreign Funding' Remarks Draw Civil Society Concerns," RFERL, July 21, 2005, https://rferl.org/a/1060072.html.
- **295** Burns, 222, 228–29.
- 296 MacKinnon, 228.
- **297** MacKinnon, 231–33; Jim Lobe, "US Caught Up Short by Uzbekistan Violence," IPS News, May 19, 2005, https://ipsnews.net/2005/05/politics-us-caught-up-short-by-uzbekistan-violence.
- 298 MacKinnon, 232-33.
- **299** See Chapter Three.
- 300 See below.
- **301** Julian Borger, "Russian hostility 'partly caused by west', claims former US defence head," *Guardian*, March 9, 2016, https://theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/09/russian-hostility-to-west-partly-caused-by-west.
- **302** Alan Cullison, et al., "Kyrgyz Leaders Say US Enriched Regime," *Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 2010, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304024604575173200994077326.
- **303** Erica Marat, "Public Anger Against US Military Base Grows in Kyrgyzstan," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 4, No. 97 (May 17, 2007),
- https://jamestown.org/program/public-anger-against-u-s-military-base-grows-in-kyrgyzstan.
- **304** The Other Scott Horton (no relation), "The Mess at Manas," *Harper's*, February 4, 2009, https://harpers.org/2009/02/the-mess-at-manas.
- **305** Ethan Wilensky-Lanford, "Kyrgyzstan: Leader Threatens To Shut Down US Base," *New York Times*, April 20, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/04/20/world/world-briefing-asia-kyrgyzstan-leader-threatens-to-shut-down-us-base.html.
- **306** Staff, "Kyrgyz Leader Threatens to Close Down US Military Base," Voice of America, October 31, 2009, https://voanews.com/a/a-13-2006-04-19-voa23/317409.html.
- **307** Bruce Pannier, "Rethinking Kyrgyzstan's Tulip Revolution," RFERL, August 25, 2009, https://rferl.org/a/Rethinking_Kyrgyzstans_Tulip_Revolution/1807335.html.
- **308** Staff, "President flees capital as opposition leaders claim they have taken control," France 24, https://france24.com/en/20100407-president-flees-capital-opposition-leaders-claim-they-have-taken-control07/04/2010; Staff, "Kyrgyz President to Resign if Family's Safety Guaranteed," Voice of America, April 12, 2010, https://voanews.com/a/kyrgyz-president-to-resign-if-familys-safety-guaranteed-90747154/115802.html.
- **309** Staff, "Kyrgyz president defies rebels," *Toronto Star*, April 9, 2010, https://thestar.com/news/world/2010/04/09/kyrgyz president defies rebels.html; Staff, "Kyrgyz military joining ethnic violence: report," ABC News Australia, June 16, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20190722114530/https://abc.net.au/news/2010-06-17/kyrgyz-military-joining-ethnic-violence-report/870642.
- **310** Steve LeVine, "The End of the Great Game," *The New Republic*, October 5, 2010, https://newrepublic.com/article/78168/obama-central-asia-great-game.

- **311** Johannes F. Linn, "An American Opportunity in Kyrgyzstan," Brookings Institution, April 14, 2010, https://brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2010/04/14/an-american-opportunity-in-kyrgyzstan.
- **312** Michael Schwirtz, "New Leader Says US Base in Kyrgyzstan Will Be Shut," *New York Times*, November 1, 2011, https://nytimes.com/2011/11/02/world/asia/kyrgyzstan-says-united-states-manas-air-base-will-close.html; Morgan Hartley and Chris Walker, "The US Spent Billions in Kyrgyzstan, but Is Leaving Without a Trace," *Forbes*, September 25, 2013,

 $\underline{https://forbes.com/sites/morganhartley/2013/09/25/the-us-spent-billions-in-kyrgyzstan-but-is-leaving-without-a-trace.}$

- **313** Staff, "US air base at center of Kyrgyz crisis," NBC News, April 7, 2010, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna36214883.
- 314 Olga Dzyubenko, "US vacates base in Central Asia as Russia's clout rises," Reuters, June 3, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-kyrgyzstan-usa-manas/u-s-vacates-base-in-central-asia-as-russias-clout-rises-idUSKBN0EE1LH20140603; Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "The United States Just Closed Its Last Base in Central Asia," The Diplomat, June 10, 2014, https://thediplomat.com/2014/06/the-united-states-just-closed-its-last-base-in-central-asia.
- **315** Nenad Pejic, "Serbia: The First Colored Revolution?" RFERL, January 17, 2008, https://rferl.org/a/1079368.html; Justin Raimondo, "The 'Color' Revolutions: Fade to Black," Antiwar.com, September 29, 2006, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2006/09/29/the-color-revolutions-fade-to-black.
- **316** Christopher J. Coyne, "The 'New' Fatal Conceit: The Errors of Foreign Intervention," Mercatus Center, July 2008,

https://researchgate.net/publication/255607240_The_New_Fatal_Conceit_The_Errors_of_Foreign_Intervention.

317 MacKinnon, 238.

318 MacKinnon, 237.

319 Staff, "Rice calls for political 'change' in Belarus," NBC News, April 19, 2005, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna7558665.

320 Nick Paton Walsh, "Europe's 'last dictator' defies calls for change," *Guardian*, May 6, 2005, https://theguardian.com/world/2005/may/06/russia.nickpatonwalsh.

321 MacKinnon, 241.

322 MacKinnon, 242.

323 MacKinnon, 244.

324 Jonathan Steele, "Europe and the US decide the winner before the vote," *Guardian*, March 10, 2006, https://theguardian.com/Columnists/Column/0,1727954,00.html.

325 Staff, "Police, Protesters Clash In Belarus," CBS News, March 25, 2006,

https://cbsnews.com/news/police-protesters-clash-in-belarus.

326 Daniel McAdams, "How Lukashenko Won," Antiwar.com, March 27, 2006, https://original.antiwar.com/daniel-mcadams/2006/03/27/how-lukashenko-won.

327 Interview with author, Daniel McAdams, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 22, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-22-24-daniel-mcadams-on-color-revolutions-past-and-present.

328 Jonathan Steele, "Europe and the US decide the winner before the vote," *Guardian*, March 10, 2006, https://theguardian.com/Columnists/Column/0,1727954,00.html.

329 Steven Lee Myers, "Bringing Down Europe's Last Ex-Soviet Dictator," *New York Times*, February 26, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/02/26/magazine/26belarus.html.

330 Steven Lee Myers, "Bringing Down Europe's Last Ex-Soviet Dictator," *New York Times*, February 26, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/02/26/magazine/26belarus.html.

331 Jonathan Steele, "Europe and the US decide the winner before the vote," *Guardian*, March 10, 2006, https://theguardian.com/Columnists/Column/0,1727954,00.html.

- **332** Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006, https://foreignaffairs.com/united-states/backlash-against-democracy-promotion.
- **333** Matt Spetalnick and Tabassum Zakaria, "Bush says committed to Saudi arms deal," Reuters, January 14, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/idUSL14495091.
- **334** Peter Baker, "Bush: US to Sell F-16s to Pakistan," *Washington Post*, March 25, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2005/03/26/bush-us-to-sell-f-16s-to-pakistan/a6bafaf5-0a17-4ebf-ae3e-0e9e58e05829; Staff, "Bush, Mubarak discuss Mideast arms ship," UPI, January 10, 2002, https://upi.com/Archives/2002/01/10/Bush-Mubarak-discuss-Mideast-arms-ship/4761010638800.
- **335** Rep. Ron Paul, "Congress Must Say Yes or No to War," US House of Representatives, October 8, 2002, https://antiwar.com/paul/paul50.html.
- 336 Larry Siems, "Family of Afghan man tortured by CIA demands US reveal location of his body," *Guardian*, April 19, 2018, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/apr/18/gul-rahman-cia-black-site-torture-family-demands-body; "CIA officer's role in Abu Ghraib death probed," CBS News, July 13, 2011, https://cbsnews.com/news/ex-cia-officers-role-in-abu-ghraib-death-probed; The Other Scott Horton (no relation), "The Guantánamo 'Suicides,"" *Harper's*, March 2010, https://harpers.org/archive/2010/03/the-guantanamo-suicides; Jeffrey Kaye, "Recently Released Autopsy Reports Heighten Guantanamo 'Suicides' Mystery," Truthout.org, February 29, 2012, https://truthout.org/articles/recently-released-autopsy-reports-heighten-guantanamo-suicides-mystery.
- 337 Staff, "108 Died In US Custody," CBS News, March 16, 2005, https://cbsnews.com/news/report-108-died-in-us-custody.
- **338** Solomon Moore, "Killings by Shiite Militias Detailed," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 2006, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-sep-28-fg-intel28-story.html; "Preventing Torture and Upholding the Rights of Detainees in Afghanistan: A Factor for Peace," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 2021,
- https://ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/AF/2021report/2021-Torture-Public-Report.pdf; Michael Kirk, et al., "The Torture Question," PBS Frontline, October 18, 2005, https://pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/torture/etc/script.html.
- **339** James Risen and Eric Lichtblau, "Bush Lets US Spy on Callers Without Courts," *New York Times*, December 16, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/12/16/politics/bush-lets-us-spy-on-callers-without-courts.html.
- **340** Thomas E. Woods, *Meltdown: A Free-Market Look at Why the Stock Market Collapsed, the Economy Tanked, and Government Bailouts Will Make Things Worse* (New York: Regnery, 2009).
- **341** "President Bush's Second Inaugural Address," NPR News, January 20, 2005, https://npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4460172.
- **342** Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006, https://foreignaffairs.com/united-states/backlash-against-democracy-promotion.
- **343** MacKinnon, 275.
- **344** It was a Freudian slip, but after catching his mistake, Bush muttered, "Iraq too": Libby Cathey, "Bush condemns 'unjustified and brutal invasion of Iraq,' instead of Ukraine, in speech gaffe," ABC News, May 19, 2022, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/bush-condemns-unjustified-brutal-invasion-iraq-ukraine-speech/story?id=84831140.
- **345** Anne Williamson, "Russia: Don't Cry for Yukos," Ludwig von Mises Institute, February 18, 2005, https://mises.org/podcasts/austrian-economics-and-financial-markets/russia-dont-cry-yukos.
- **346** MacKinnon, 142–43.
- 347 Burns, 207; See Chapter Two.
- **348** Ben Aris, "Russia's 1998 crisis redux," BNE IntelliNews, August 20, 2018, https://intellinews.com/moscow-blog-russia-s-1998-crisis-redux-147140.

- **349** Jill Dougherty, "Putin's Fight Against the Oligarchs," CNN, October 28, 2003, https://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/europe/10/28/russia.oligarchs; Susan B. Glasser and Peter Baker, "Russian Tycoon And Putin Critic Arrested in Raid," *Washington Post*, October 25, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/10/26/russian-tycoon-and-putin-critic-arrested-in-raid/22e60f62-2db0-4dc3-b95c-cc90c0cbc1bf.
- **350** Sabrina Tavernise, "Fortune in Hand, Russian Tries to Polish Image," *New York Times*, August 18, 2001, https://nytimes.com/2001/08/18/business/international-business-fortune-in-hand-russian-tries-to-polish-image.html.
- **351** MacKinnon, 133; Anne Applebaum, "This man is now the people's billionaire," *Telegraph*, June 13, 2004, https://telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3607189/This-man-is-now-the-peoples-billionaire.html.
- **352** William Safire, "Siloviki Versus Oligarchy," *New York Times*, November 5, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/11/05/opinion/siloviki-versus-oligarchy.html.
- **353** Susan B. Glasser and Peter Baker, "Russian Tycoon And Putin Critic Arrested in Raid," *Washington Post*, October 25, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/10/26/russian-tycoon-and-putin-critic-arrested-in-raid/22e60f62-2db0-4dc3-b95c-cc90c0cbc1bf.
- **354** Peter Baker and Susan B. Glasser, "Russia Freezes Stock of Oil Giant," *Washington Post*, October 30, 2003, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/10/31/russia-freezes-stock-of-oil-giant/d5f0ea31-7d67-46a1-81d1-2fb3bb99f9ac.
- **355** "Russian oil tycoon sentenced to 9 years," NBC News, May 13, 2005, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna7845597.
- **356** Tom Parfitt, "Mikhail Khodorkovsky sentenced to 14 years in prison," *Guardian*, December 30, 2010, https://theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/30/mikhail-khodorkovsky-jail-term. **357** MacKinnon, 134, 286.
- **358** Tweet by author, "28 Articles About How the Neoconservatives Lied Us Into Iraq War II," February 23, 2024, https://x.com/scotthortonshow/status/1628868264120971264.
- **359** Kim Murphy, "Financier's Institute in Moscow Is Raided," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 2003, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-nov-07-fg-soros7-story.html; Staff, "Hawk: Kick Russia out of G-8 over Yukos," UPI, October 31, 2003, https://upi.com/Top_News/2003/10/31/Hawk-Kick-Russia-out-of-G-8-over-Yukos/66151067616727.
- **360** John McCain speech, "The New Authoritarianism in Russia," American Enterprise Institute, November 4, 2003, https://aei.org/research-products/speech/senator-mccain-decries-new-authoritarianism-in-russia.
- **361** "Testimony of Bruce Pitcairn Jackson Before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations On Democracy in Russia," US Senate, February 17, 2005,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20050222221918/http://newamericancentury.org/russia-20050217.htm.
- **362** Sheldon Richman, "Social Cooperation," Foundation for Economic Education, October 26, 2011, https://fee.org/articles/social-cooperation.
- **363** Anne Williamson, "Russia: Don't Cry for Yukos," Ludwig von Mises Institute, February 18, 2005, https://mises.org/podcasts/austrian-economics-and-financial-markets/russia-dont-cry-yukos.
- **364** Kim Murphy, "Financier's Institute in Moscow Is Raided," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 2003, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-nov-07-fg-soros7-story.html.
- **365** Paul Sonne, "Russia Frees Mikhail Khodorkovsky," *Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304773104579269582372351584.
- **366** Alexander Litvinenko and Yuri Felshtinsky, *Blowing Up Russia: The Secret Plot to Bring Back KGB Terror* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007); See below.
- 367 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- $\frac{https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938}{55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf}.$

- 368 UK MP Tom Brake, "Litvinenko Inquiry, Volume 604: debate," January 21, 2016,
- https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-01-21/debates/16012124000003/LitvinenkoInquiry.
- **369** Oleg Gordievsky, "Putin may be worse than we think," *Telegraph*, November 5, 2000, http://russialist.org/archives/4623.html##3.
- **370** Charlie Rose, "Alexander Litvinenko Panel," *Charlie Rose*, December 5, 2006, https://charlierose.com/videos/12780.
- **371** David Leppard, et al., "The bastards got me," London *Times*, November 26, 2006, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/the-bastards-got-me-5hxsdrn09r0.
- 372 The same man President Clinton had prevented from making peace in Bosnia. See Chapter Two.
- 373 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- 374 David Leppard, et al., "The bastards got me," London Times, November 26, 2006,
- https://thetimes.co.uk/article/the-bastards-got-me-5hxsdrn09r0; Ian Cobain, et al., "Detectives fly to Russia to question businessmen," *Guardian*, December 3, 2006,

https://theguardian.com/uk/2006/dec/04/russia.world.

- 375 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf; Staff, "Nuclear poison: the deadly trade," *Guardian-*
- Observer, November 26, 2006, https://theguardian.com/uk/2006/nov/26/politics.russia1; Philip Jarke,
- "Germans find radiation linked to Litvinenko contact," Reuters, January 20, 2007,
- $\underline{https://reuters.com/article/us-britain-poisoning/germans-find-radiation-linked-to-litvinenko-contact-idUKL0837387320061209.}$
- 376 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- **377** Alan Cowell and Steven Lee Myers, "Russian Is Accused of Poisoning Ex-KGB Agent," *New York Times*, May 23, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/05/23/world/europe/23poison.html.
- **378** Jeevan Vasagar, et al., "Former KGB officer was poisoned because he was enemy of Putin, say friends," *Guardian*, November 20, 2006, https://theguardian.com/world/2006/nov/20/russia.uk.
- 379 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- $\underline{https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938}\\ \underline{55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf}.$
- **380** "President Putin 'probably' approved Litvinenko murder," BBC, January 21, 2016, https://bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35370819.
- 381 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- **382** Pjotr Sauer, "Alexander Litvinenko assassination suspect dies of Covid," *Guardian*, June 4, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/04/alexander-litvinenko-assassination-suspect-dies-of-covid-dmitry-kovtun.
- **383** C.J. Chivers, "Journalist Critical of Chechen War Is Shot Dead," *New York Times*, October 8, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/10/08/world/europe/08russia.html.
- **384** Andrew Osborn and Cahal Milmo, "Former Russian PM Gaidar poisoned, say his doctors," *Independent*, December 1, 2006, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/former-russian-pm-gaidar-poisoned-say-his-doctors-426569.html.
- **385** Justin Raimondo, "Alexander Litvinenko: Blackmailer, Smuggler, Gangster Extraordinaire," Antiwar.com, December 4, 2006, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2006/12/04/alexander-litvinenko-blackmailer-smuggler-gangster-extraordinaire.

- **386** Cahal Milmo and Arifa Akbar, "Litvinenko 'smuggled nuclear material," *Independent*, November 29, 2006, https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/litvinenko-smuggled-nuclear-material-426266.html.
- **387** Uwe Klußmann und Andreas Ulrich, "Germany Plays Central Role in Polonium Investigation," *Der Spiegel*, December 19, 2006, https://spiegel.de/international/spiegel/the-litvinenko-poisoning-germany-plays-central-role-in-polonium-investigation-a-455396.html.
- **388** Staff, "Man detained over spy poisoning," Australian, December 4, 2006,
- http://theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0%2C20867%2C20865991-2703%2C00.html.
- 389 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- **390** Staff, "Judge rejects bid to extradite Chechen rebel leader," *Guardian*, November 13, 2003, https://theguardian.com/uk/2003/nov/13/world.russia.
- 391 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- $\underline{https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938}\\ \underline{55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf}.$
- **392** Mark Townsend, et al., "'I can blackmail them. We can make money," *Guardian-Observer*, December 3, 2006, https://theguardian.com/uk/2006/dec/03/world.russia.
- 393 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- **394** Mark Townsend, et al., "Revealed: Litvinenko's Russian 'blackmail plot," *Guardian*, December 3, 2006, https://theguardian.com/uk/2006/dec/03/russia.world.
- **395** Mark Townsend, et al., "I can blackmail them. We can make money," *Guardian*, December 2, 2006, https://theguardian.com/uk/2006/dec/03/world.russia.
- 396 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- $\frac{https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938}{55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf}.$
- 397 Lord David Owen, "The Litvinenko Inquiry," January 2016,
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/4938 55/The-Litvinenko-Inquiry-H-C-695.pdf.
- **398** Staff, "Poisoned spy Litvinenko was working for Spain," *El País*, December 13, 2012, https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2012/12/13/inenglish/1355417591_555937.html.
- **399** Chargé d'Affaires Arnold A. Chacon, "Updates in Spain's Investigation of Russian Mafia," State Department, August 31, 2009, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09MADRID869_a.html.
- **400** Staff, "Spain Acquits Group of Russians Suspected of Mafia Ties," *Moscow Times*, October 19, 2018, https://themoscowtimes.com/2018/10/19/chinese-port-refuses-to-service-stranded-russian-ship-over-us-sanctions-fears-company-says-a63240.
- **401** Steve Gutterman, "The Rasputin of post-Soviet Russia: Boris Berezovsky," Reuters, March 23, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-britain-russia-berezovsky-newsmaker/the-rasputin-of-post-soviet-russia-boris-berezovsky-idUKBRE92M0EY20130323.
- **402** Luke Harding and Esther Addley, "Putin ordered Alexander Litvinenko murder, inquiry into death told," *Guardian*, January 27, 2015, https://theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/27/putin-ordered-alexander-litvinenko-murder-inquiry-told; Scott Neuman, "Russia Fatally Poisoned A Prominent Defector In London, A Court Concludes," NPR News, September 22, 2021,
- https://npr.org/2021/09/21/1039224996/russia-alexander-litvinenko-european-court-human-rights-putin; Alan Cowell, "Putin 'Probably Approved' Litvinenko Poisoning, British Inquiry Says," *New York Times*, January 21, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/01/22/world/europe/alexander-litvinenko-
- poisoning-inquiry-britain.html; Staff, "Sen. John McCain calls Vladimir Putin a thug amid reports of

- connection to murdered spy," CBS News, January 21, 2016, https://cbsaustin.com/news/nation-world/sen-john-mccain-calls-vladimir-putin-a-thug-amid-reports-of-connection-to-murdered-spy.
- **403** "National Security Strategy of the United States of America," White House, March 2006, https://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/nss/nss2006.pdf.
- **404** Staff, "Bulgaria OKs 3 bases for US troops," *Washington Times*, April 24, 2006, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2006/apr/24/20060424-121528-1841r.
- **405** See Chapter Two.
- 406 Hahn, 159-60.
- **407** Transcript, "Vice President's Remarks at the 2006 Vilnius Conference Reval Hotel Lietuva, Vilnius, Lithuania," Office of the Vice President, May 4, 2006, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/05/20060504-1.html.
- **408** Peter Baker, "US Warns Russia to Act More Like A Democracy," *Washington Post*, May 4, 2006, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2006/05/05/us-warns-russia-to-act-more-like-a-democracy-span-classbankheadst-petersburg-hosts-g-8-summit-in-julyspan/2dcf2ae0-a470-4b67-a858-0f7dca9353c0; MacKinnon, 253.
- 409 Charap and Colton, 80.
- **410** C.J. Chivers, "Putin calls for steps to end drop in population," *New York Times*, May 10, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/05/10/world/europe/10iht-russia.html.
- **411** Simon Pirani, "The Russo-Ukrainian Gas Dispute, 2009," *Russian Analytical Digest*, Vol. 53, No. 9 (January 20, 2009), https://files.ethz.ch/isn/95596/Russian_Analytical_Digest_53.pdf.
- **412** Hahn, 162; Jérôme Guillet and John Evans, "The battle of the oligarchs behind the gas dispute," *Financial Times*, January 6, 2009, https://ft.com/content/2accfea0-dc17-11dd-b07e-000077b07658. **413** MacKinnon, 259.
- **414** Paul Quinn-Judge, "The Forbidden Valley," *Time*, March 25, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20130112235829/http://time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,219938,00.html.
- **415** John B. Dunlop, "The Forgotten War," Hoover Digest, January 30, 2002, https://hoover.org/research/forgotten-war.
- **416** Steven R. Weisman, "US Lists 3 Chechen Groups As Terrorist and Freezes Assets," *New York Times*, March 1, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/03/01/world/threats-responses-terror-links-us-lists-3-chechen-groups-terrorist-freezes.html.
- **417** Matthew Brzezinski, "Surrealpolitik How a Chechen terror suspect wound up living on taxpayers' dollars near the National Zoo," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A38200-2005Mar15.html.
- **418** C.J. Chivers, "The School," *Esquire*, March 14, 2007, https://esquire.com/news-politics/a1173/esq0606beslan-140.
- **419** Maj. John J. Donahoe, "The Moscow Hostage Crisis: An Analysis of Chechen Terrorist Goals," Naval Postgraduate School Center for Contemporary Conflict, May 1, 2003, https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/si/si 2 5/si 2 5 doj01.pdf.
- **420** Sharon LaFraniere, "Britain Arrests Key Chechen Envoy," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2002, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2002/12/07/britain-arrests-key-chechen-envoy/8b5400c3-eeb3-4473-a548-ea2e95db7de2.
- **421** Ryan Chilcote, "Toll rises from Russia attack," CNN, June 23, 2004, https://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/06/23/russia.toll/index.html.
- **422** Jill Dougherty, "Chechen 'claims Beslan attack," CNN, September 17, 2004, https://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/09/17/russia.beslan.
- **423** Staff, "Deadly Blast Hits Moscow," AP, August 31, 2004, https://cbsnews.com/news/deadly-blast-hits-moscow.

- **424** C.J. Chivers, "The School," *Esquire*, March 14, 2007, https://esquire.com/news-politics/a1173/esq0606beslan-140.
- **425** MacKinnon, 216.
- 426 Staff, "Many dead in Moscow metro blast," BBC, February 6, 2004,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3464545.stm.

427 "President Bush's Speech," New York Times, October 6, 2005,

https://nytimes.com/2005/10/06/politics/president-bushs-speech.html.

428 Burns, 208–09.

429 Matthew Brzezinski, "Surrealpolitik – How a Chechen terror suspect wound up living on taxpayers' dollars near the National Zoo," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A38200-2005Mar15.html.

430 Jeremy Page, "Siege fallout deepens Russia's rift with the West," Sunday *Times*, September 11, 2004, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/siege-fallout-deepens-russias-rift-with-the-west-x5vv25mqgqm.

431 Jason M. Breslow, "Colin Powell: U.N. Speech 'Was a Great Intelligence Failure," PBS *Frontline*, May 17, 2016, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/colin-powell-u-n-speech-was-a-great-intelligence-failure.

432 Matt Barganier, "Scheuer Corrects National Review, Weekly Standard," Antiwar.com, April 18, 2007, https://antiwar.com/blog/2007/04/18/scheuer-corrects-national-review-weekly-standard; Walter Pincus, "CIA Learned in '02 That Bin Laden Had No Iraq Ties, Report Says," *Washington Post*, September 15, 2006, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-

<u>dyn/content/article/2006/09/14/AR2006091401545.html</u>; David Stout, "Voice Said to Be Bin Laden's Urges Muslims to Fight 'Despots,'" *New York Times*, February 11, 2003,

 $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2003/02/11/international/voice-said-to-be-bin-ladens-urges-muslims-to-fight-despots.html}.$

433 President George W. Bush, "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours," White House, March 17, 2003, https://georgewbush-

whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html.

434 Staff, "Who is Osama Bin Laden?" BBC, September 18, 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south asia/155236.stm.

435 Steven R. Weisman, "US Lists 3 Chechen Groups As Terrorist and Freezes Assets," *New York Times*, March 1, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/03/01/world/threats-responses-terror-links-us-lists-3-chechen-groups-terrorist-freezes.html.

436 Mark Bassin, "On the eve of Beslan," UCL, March 16, 2005, https://ucl.ac.uk/news/2005/mar/eve-beslan.

437 "Russia, United States: The Chechen War as a Geopolitical Battle," Stratfor, April 23, 2005, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/russia-united-states-chechen-war-geopolitical-battle.

438 *American Morning*, CNN, September 7, 2004, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ltm/date/2004-09-07/segment/06.

439 Staff, "Claim (in 2004, 2015 and 2017), The US government supported Chechen separatism," Russia Matters/Belfer Center, September 2020, https://russiamatters.org/node/20317.

440 Staff, "US prison due to free Russian mob boss," *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 2021, https://baltimoresun.com/2004/07/08/us-prison-due-to-free-russian-mob-boss.

441 David Ignatius, "The moment when Putin turned away from the West," *Washington Post*, March 9, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/03/09/putin-bush-chechnya-ukraine-war.

442 Matthew Brzezinski, "Surrealpolitik – How a Chechen terror suspect wound up living on taxpayers' dollars near the National Zoo," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A38200-2005Mar15.html.

443 Yuliya Fedorinova, "Putin Says US Special Service Contacted Fighters From Caucasus," Bloomberg News, April 26, 2015, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-04-26/putin-says-u-s-

- special-service-contacted-fighters-from-caucasus; "Putin Claims US Helped Russian Separatists," Sky News, April 26, 2015, https://news.sky.com/story/putin-claims-us-helped-russian-separatists-10361944.
- **444** Staff, "Warlord Killed in Chechnya Was Ex-US Marine," RIA Novosti, March 24, 2005, https://globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2005/03/mil-050324-rianovosti21.htm.
- **445** John C.K. Daly, "UPI Intelligence Watch," UPI, March 24, 2005, https://upi.com/Defense-News/2005/03/24/UPI-Intelligence-Watch/95731111696882.
- **446** John C.K. Daly, "UPI Intelligence Watch," UPI, March 24, 2005, https://upi.com/Defense-News/2005/03/24/UPI-Intelligence-Watch/95731111696882.
- 447 Staff, "Claim (in 2004, 2015 and 2017), The US government supported Chechen separatism," Russia Matters/Belfer Center, September 2020, https://russiamatters.org/node/20317.
- **448** Staff, "Russia's Chechen chief blames CIA for violence," Reuters, September 24, 2009, https://reuters.com/article/idUSTRE58N5S120090924.
- **449** See Chapter Four.
- **450** Kevin Cirilli, "A primer on Chechen ties," *Politico*, April 19, 2013, https://politico.com/story/2013/04/chechnya-primer-090326.
- **451** Staff, "Chechen Militancy: The Path from Nationalism to Islamism," Stratfor, March 24, 2005, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/chechen-militancy-path-nationalism-islamism.
- **452** Bill Kristol, et al., "An Open Letter," American Enterprise Institute, September 28, 2004, https://aei.org/articles/an-open-letter.
- **453** "About" page, American Committee for Peace in Chechnya, http://peaceinchechnya.org/about_members.htm.
- **454** Maria Lipman, "Putin's Burden," *Washington Post*, September 9, 2004, https://carnegieendowment.org/posts/2004/09/putins-burden; Maria Lipman, "Putin's Spreading War," *Washington Post*, October 17, 2005, https://carnegieendowment.org/posts/2005/10/putins-spreading-war
- **455** John Laughland, "The Chechens' American friends," *Guardian*, September 8, 2004, https://theguardian.com/world/2004/sep/08/usa.russia.
- **456** "International Islamic Brigade (IIB)," United Nations Security Council, June 27, 2018, https://un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/islamic-international-brigade-%28iib%29.
- **457** Interview with author, Glen Howard, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, September 11, 2004, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/september-11-2004-hour-1-glen-howard.
- **458** Neil Mackay, "US Neo-Cons: Kremlin is 'Morally' to Blame for the School Massacre," *Sunday Herald*, September 15, 2004, http://sundayherald.com/44741.
- **459** Brian Glyn Williams, "The 'Chechen Arabs': An Introduction To The Real Al-Qaeda Terrorists From Chechnya," Jamestown Foundation *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (May 5, 2005), https://jamestown.org/program/the-chechen-arabs-an-introduction-to-the-real-al-qaeda-terrorists-from-chechnya.
- **460** "Chechen Guerrilla Leader Calls Russians 'Terrorists,'" ABC News *Nightline*, July 29, 2005, https://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/International/story?id=990187.
- **461** "Book Excerpt: 'Imperial Hubris,'" NPR News, June 24, 2004, https://npr.org/2004/06/24/1977111/book-excerpt-imperial-hubris.
- **462** Isn't that hilarious?; Staff, "Networks Agree to Limit al Qaeda Broadcasts," ABC News, October 10, 2001, https://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=92343; Staff, "Bush: Bin Laden sending hidden messages on TV," AP, October 10, 2001, https://helenair.com/news/nation-world/bush-bin-laden-sending-hidden-messages-on-tv/article_acc5b3fa-761b-5e81-9cc0-2ded92f761be.html; Staff, "Caution Advised on Airing Bin Laden Videotapes," Hartford Courant, October 11, 2001, https://courant.com/2001/10/11/caution-advised-on-airing-bin-laden-videotapes; Staff, "2 networks

pass on showing bin Laden tape," AP, October 15, 2001,

https://universityofleeds.github.io/philtaylorpapers/vp01e3d9.html.

- **463** "Chechen Guerrilla Leader Calls Russians 'Terrorists," ABC News *Nightline*, July 29, 2005, https://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/International/story?id=990187.
- 464 Paul J. Gough, "Russia raises curtain for ABC News," Reuters, October 5, 2007,

https://reuters.com/article/us-russia-idUSN0541485120071005; Staff, "Network's Aim Was to Inform Americans About Global Terrorism," ABC News, October 28, 2005,

https://abcnews.go.com/Nightline/story?id=1260609.

- **465** Robert Parsons, "Basayev's Death Confirmed," RFERL, July 10, 2006, https://rferl.org/a/1069732.html.
- **466** Angela Charlton, "Russia accuses British mine-clearing charity of aiding Chechens," AP, August 10, 2000, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russia-accuses-british-mineclearing-charity-of-aiding-chechens-711627.html.
- **467** Saudi omitted from their list because they are the key to it all.
- **468** Michael Dobbs, "Britain a Refuge for Mideast Dissidents," *Washington Post*, October 7, 2001, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/10/07/britain-a-refuge-for-mideast-dissidents/45633c48-c5cc-49c5-846b-8479cab09c62.
- 469 Atwan, 255–56.
- **470** Michael Dobbs, "Britain a Refuge for Mideast Dissidents," *Washington Post*, October 7, 2001, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/10/07/britain-a-refuge-for-mideast-dissidents/45633c48-c5cc-49c5-846b-8479cab09c62.
- **471** Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), 105–36; Alan J. Kuperman, "America's Little-Known Mission to Support Al Qaeda's Role in Libya," *The National Interest*, August 13, 2019, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/americas-little-known-mission-support-al-qaedas-role-libya-73271; Horton, *Enough Already*, 163–66.
- **472** Annie Machon, *Spies, Lies and Whistleblowers: MI5, MI6 and the Shayler Affair* (Leicestershire: Book Guild Ltd., 2005); Mark Hollingsworth, "Secrets, lies and David Shayler," *Guardian*, March 17, 2000, https://theguardian.com/comment/story/0,,181807,00.html.
- **473** Michael Dobbs, "Britain a Refuge for Mideast Dissidents," *Washington Post*, October 7, 2001, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/10/07/britain-a-refuge-for-mideast-dissidents/45633c48-c5cc-49c5-846b-8479cab09c62.
- **474** The Rt. Hon. Dr. Kim Howells, MP, "Intelligence and Security Committee Could 7/7 Have Been Prevented? Review of the Intelligence on the London Terrorist Attacks on 7 July 2005," UK House of Commons, May 2009, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7c153540f0b61a825d6582/7-7 attacks intelligence.pdf.
- 475 Horton, Enough Already, 271–72.
- 476 Staff, "Heroes of terror attack praised 10 years on," BBC, June 29, 2017, https://bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-40442186; "Counter-terrorism inquiry: Met Police briefing over Lee Rigby murder," UK Parliament Home Affairs Committee's Counter-terrorism inquiry, May 30, 2013,

https://parliament.uk/external/committees/committee-news-pre-oct-2020/2013/may/130530-terrorismev; Andrew Griffin, "London attacker was known to MI5 but had no terror convictions," *Independent*, March 23, 2017, https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/khalid-masood-terrorist-westminster-london-attack-who-is-he-profile-a7646336.html; Staff, "London Bridge attack: What happened," BBC, May 3, 2019, https://bbc.com/news/live/uk-40147014; Staff, "London attack: Seven killed in vehicle and stabbing incidents," BBC, June 4, 2017, https://bbc.com/news/live/uk-40147014; Staff, "London Bridge all my hair': What Parsons Green terror attack witnesses saw," https://telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/15/parsons-green-terror-attack-witnesses-saw; Staff, "London Bridge: Attacker had been convicted of terror offence," BBC, November 30, 2019,

https://bbc.com/news/uk-50610215; Costas Pitas, "Libyan jailed for life for UK attack that killed three," Reuters, January 11, 2021, https://reuters.com/article/uk-britain-security-reading-idUSKBN29G2BO.

477 "Profile: Abu Qatada," BBC, June 26, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/uk-16584923.

478 Staff, "Britain 'sheltering al-Qaeda leader," BBC, July 8, 2002,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2115371.stm.

479 Bruce Crumley, "Sheltering A Puppet Master?" *Time*, July 7, 2002, https://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,300609,00.html.

480 Jason Burke, "Al-Qaeda trained hundreds from UK," *Guardian*, February 24, 2002, https://theguardian.com/uk/2002/feb/24/religion.september111.

481 Daniel McGrory and Richard Ford, "Al Qaeda cleric exposed as an MI5 double agent," London *Times*, March 25, 2004, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/al-qaeda-cleric-exposed-as-an-mi5-double-agent-fs0zcfp390s.

482 Lee Elliot Major, "Muslim student group linked to terrorist attacks," *Guardian*, September 19, 2001, https://theguardian.com/education/2001/sep/19/students.september11.

483 Daniel McGrory and Shirley English, "Europe's police round up terror suspects," London *Times*, December 19, 2002, http://timesonline.co.uk/printFriendly/0%2C%2C1-3-518387%2C00.html.

484 Not to be confused with Khaled El-Masri, an innocent man brutally tortured by W. Bush and the CIA: Darian Pavli, "Mistaken identity, abuse and rendition: Khaled El-Masri finally has day in court," *Guardian*, May 15, 2012, https://theguardian.com/law/2012/may/15/el-masri-rendition-european-court.

485 Staff, "Web sting links Hamza to terror camps," London *Times*, July 20, 2003, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/web-sting-links-hamza-to-terror-camps-9dc5xgn35hh.

486 Kohlmann, xi.

487 Kohlmann, xii, 63, 190–91.

488 Joseph Ax London, "Imam Abu Hamza convicted of US terrorism charges," Reuters, May 19, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/uk-usa-security-imam/london-imam-abu-hamza-convicted-of-u-sterrorism-charges-idUKKBN0DZ1QK20140519.

489 "Suspected bomb mastermind caught," *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 22, 2005, https://smh.com.au/world/suspected-bomb-mastermind-caught-20050722-gdlqce.html.

490 John Loftus interview, "Haroon Ashid Aswat is an MI6 double agent," Fox News, July 25, 2005, https://youtube.com/watch?v=MoxPY3H5EqA.

491 Press Release, "Haroon Aswat, Abu Hamza Co-Conspirator, Pleads Guilty to Terrorism Charges in Federal Court," US Department of Justice, March 30, 2015, https://justice.gov/opa/pr/haroon-aswat-abu-hamza-co-conspirator-pleads-guilty-terrorism-charges-federal-court.

492 Timur Aliev, "Bloody raid stuns Ingushetia," ReliefWeb, June 23, 2004, https://reliefweb.int/report/russian-federation/bloody-raid-stuns-ingushetia.

493 Paul Reynolds, "Chechnya: Why Putin is implacable," BBC, September 6, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3631792.stm.

494 Marcin Mamon, "The Mujahedeen's Valley," Intercept, July 9, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/07/09/mujahedeensvalley; See Chapter Four.

495 John Davison and Ahmed Tolba, "Egypt's Sisi wins 97 percent in election with no real opposition," Reuters, April 2, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/idUSKCN1H915X.

496 MacKinnon, 136-37.

497 Steven A. Hildreth and Carl Ek, "Long-Range Ballistic Missile Defense in Europe," Congressional Research Service, September 23, 2009, https://sgp.fas.org/crs/weapons/RL34051.pdf.

498 Bruce I. Konviser, "US Missiles in E. Europe Opposed by Locals, Russia Kremlin Calls Proposed Interceptors a 'Clear Threat,'" *Washington Post*, January 28, 2007,

https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2007/01/28/us-missiles-in-e-europe-opposed-by-locals-

russia-span-classbankheadkremlin-calls-proposed-interceptors-a-clear-threatspan/b1c7ef2a-92f6-4b8d-9955-8adc63d7b537.

499 "Transcript: 2007 Putin Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy," Johnson's Russia List, March 27, 2014, https://russialist.org/transcript-putin-speech-and-the-following-discussion-at-the-munich-conference-on-security-policy; Doug Bandow, "We Poked The Bear," *The American Conservative*, March 17, 2022,

https://theamericanconservative.com/articles/we-poked-the-bear.

500 Vladimir Putin, "Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy," Kremlin, February 10, 2007, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034.

501 David Ignatius, "Putin warned the West 15 years ago. Now, in Ukraine, he's poised to wage war," *Washington Post*, February 20, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/02/20/putin-ukraine-nato-2007-munich-conference.

502 Ian Traynor, "Putin hits at US for triggering arms race," *Guardian*, February 11, 2007, https://theguardian.com/world/2007/feb/11/usa.russia.

503 Burns, 224.

504 William Burns, "Fundamentals of Russian Foreign Policy Contribute to Tension with the West," US State Department, September 13, 2007,

https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW4505 a.html.

505 Vovan and Lexus, "Russian Prank Call Duo Trick George W Bush into Talking About Ukraine [FULL] Must See!" The Court Jester's Club, May 24, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=-U10s50baCw.

506 Benson Whitney, "Norway's FM Praises New NATO, Stresses Relations With Russia," US State Department, April 11, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08OSLO206 a.html.

507 See below.

508 See Chapter Six.

509 Kingston Reif, "Russia Completes CFE Treaty Suspension," *Arms Control Today*, April 2015, https://armscontrol.org/act/2015-04/news-briefs/russia-completes-cfe-treaty-suspension.

510 William Burns, "Nyet Means Nyet: Russia's NATO Enlargement Redlines," US State Department, February 1, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW265_a.html.

511 William Burns, "Nyet Means Nyet: Russia's NATO Enlargement Redlines," US State Department, February 1, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW265 a.html.

512 Joe Lauria, "UN Torture Report: 'Demonized' Assange Has Faced 'Psychological Torture," Consortium News, May 31, 2019, https://consortiumnews.com/2019/05/31/un-torture-report-demonized-assange-has-faced-psychological-torture; Brett Wilkins, "Top UN Anti-Torture Official Urges Trump to Send Message of 'Justice, Truth, and Humanity' by Pardoning Julian Assange," Common Dreams, December 22, 2020, https://commondreams.org/news/2020/12/22/top-un-anti-torture-official-urges-trump-send-message-justice-truth-and-humanity; Peter Hobson and Kirsty Needham, "WikiLeaks founder Assange welcomed home in Australia a free man after US deal," Reuters, June 26, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/wikileaks-assange-arrives-mariana-islands-us-pleadeal-2024-06-25.

513 William Burns, "Acting U/S Fried's Meeting With DFM Karasin," US State Department, March 18, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW748_a.html; Douglas Hamilton, "US and EU powers recognize Kosovo as some opposed," Reuters, February 17, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/us-kosovo-serbia/u-s-and-eu-powers-recognize-kosovo-as-some-opposed-idUSHAM53437920080218.

514 Burns, 237–38.

515 Burns, 232–33.

516 Burns, 111, 230–31.

- **517** Craig Stapleton, "Eur A/S Fried's September 1 Meetings With Senior MFA and Presidency Officials on Improving Relations With Europe," US State Department, September 9, 2005, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05PARIS6125 a.html.
- **518** State Department Staff, "EUR A/S Freid's September 1 Meetings With Senior MFA and Presidency Officials on Improving Relations With Europe," WikiLeaks.org, September 9, 2005, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05PARIS6125 a.html.
- **519** Branko Marcetic, "Diplomatic Cables Show Russia Saw NATO Expansion as a Red Line," ACURA, January 16, 2023, https://usrussiaaccord.org/acura-viewpoint-guest-post-by-branko-marcetic-diplomatic-cables-show-russia-saw-nato-expansion-as-a-red-line.
- **520** "La Russie a un plan global pour le monde' (Maurice Gourdault-Montagne)," Europe 1, March 24, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=9Evk2FM5cg0; Pedro L. Gonzalez, "The Blood on George W. Bush's Hands," Contra, May 19, 2022, https://contra.substack.com/p/the-blood-on-george-w-bushs-hands.
- **521** "The North Atlantic Treaty," NATO, April 4, 1949, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 17120.htm.
- **522** "NATO-Ukraine Action Plan adopted at Prague," NATO, November 22, 2002, https://nato.int/docu/update/2002/11-november/e1122c.htm.
- 523 Robert M. Gates, Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War (New York: Vintage, 2014), 158.
- **524** Darryl Cooper, "Thoughts on Ukraine (Remastered)," *Martyr Made*, March 17, 2022, https://martyrmade.substack.com/p/thoughts-on-ukraine-remastered.
- **525** Peter Finn, "Putin Threatens Ukraine On NATO," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2008, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/12/AR2008021201658.html.
- **526** Peter Finn, "Putin Threatens Ukraine On NATO," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2008, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/12/AR2008021201658.html.
- **527** Staff, "France won't back Ukraine and Georgia NATO bids," Reuters, April 1, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/us-nato-france-ukraine/france-wont-back-ukraine-and-georgia-nato-bids-idUSL0115117020080401.
- **528** George W. Bush, *Decision Points*, 430–31.
- **529** Ambassador William R. Timken, "Germany: Still Not Enthusiastic About Missile Defense, But Can Support Bucharest Deliverable," US State Department, March 20, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BERLIN358 a.html.
- **530** Andrew Cockburn, "Undelivered Goods," *Harper's*, August 13, 2015, https://harpers.org/2015/08/undelivered-goods.
- **531** Steven Lee Myers, "Bush backs Ukraine's bid to join NATO," *New York Times*, April 1, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/04/01/world/europe/01iht-prexy.4.11593095.html.
- **532** Steven Erlanger and Steven Lee Myers, "NATO Allies Oppose Bush on Georgia and Ukraine," *New York Times*, April 3, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/04/03/world/europe/03nato.html.
- **533** "Framework document on the establishment of the NATO-Georgia Commission," NATO, September 15, 2008, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news/46406.htm.
- **534** "NATO-Ukraine Commission (1997-2023)," NATO, July 13, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50319.htm.
- **535** Interview with author, John J. Mearsheimer, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, August 21, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/082114-john-j-mearsheimer.
- **536** David Brunnstrom and Susan Cornwell, "NATO promises Ukraine, Georgia entry one day," Reuters, April 3, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20180609124905/https://reuters.com/article/us-nato/nato-promises-ukraine-georgia-entry-one-day-idUSL0179714620080403.
- **537** "Bucharest Summit Declaration," NATO, April 3, 2008, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 8443.htm.

- **538** William Burns, "Russia's Expectations For NATO Summit Depend on MAP for Ukraine and Georgia," US State Department, March 25, 2008,
- https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW806 a.html.
- **539** "Press Statement and Answers to Journalists' Questions Following a Meeting of the Russia-NATO Council," Kremlin, April 4, 2008, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24903; Helene Cooper, C.J. Chivers, and Clifford J. Levy, "US Watched as a Squabble Turned Into a Showdown," *New York Times*, August 17, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/18/washington/18diplo.html.
- **540** Mikhail Zygar, *All the Kremlin's Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin* (New York: Public Affairs, 2016), 153–54.
- **541** Staff, "Russia Talks Tough in Response to NATO's Eastward Expansion," DW, April 11, 2008, https://dw.com/en/russia-talks-tough-in-response-to-natos-eastward-expansion/a-3261078.
- 542 Brzezinski, 84.
- **543** Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine—and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.
- **544** Ambassador William R. Timken, "Germany/Russia: Chancellery Views on Map for Ukraine and Georgia," US State Department, June 6, 2008,
- https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BERLIN749 a.html.
- **545** Maura Reynolds, "'Yes, He Would': Fiona Hill on Putin and Nukes," *Politico Magazine*, February 28, 2022, https://politico.com/news/magazine/2022/02/28/world-war-iii-already-there-00012340.
- **546** Fiona Hill, "Putin Has the US Right Where He Wants It," *New York Times*, January 24, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/24/opinion/russia-ukraine-putin-biden.html.
- **547** Robert Draper, "'This Was Trump Pulling a Putin,'" *New York Times Magazine*, April 11, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/04/11/magazine/trump-putin-ukraine-fiona-hill.html.
- **548** Peter Baker, "The Seduction of George W. Bush," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/11/06/the-seduction-of-george-w-bush.
- **549** Maura Reynolds, "'Yes, He Would': Fiona Hill on Putin and Nukes," *Politico Magazine*, February 28, 2002, https://politico.com/news/magazine/2022/02/28/world-war-iii-already-there-00012340.
- **550** Chargé d'Affaires Daniel Russell, "Russian-Ukrainian Relations Monopolized by Ukraine's NATO Bid," US State Department, May 30, 2008,
- https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW1517 a.html.
- **551** Burns, 239; Becky Sullivan, "How NATO's expansion helped drive Putin to invade Ukraine," NPR News, February 24, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/01/29/1076193616/ukraine-russia-nato-explainer; Samuel Charap, "Nato honesty on Ukraine could avert conflict with Russia," *Financial Times*, January 13, 2022, https://ft.com/content/74089d46-abb8-4daa-9ee4-e9e9e4c45ab1.
- 552 MacKinnon, 75.
- **553** John Koenig, "Germany/Russia: Merel [sic] Goes to Moscow," US State Department, March 10, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BERLIN303_a.html.
- **554** William R. Timken, "Chancellor Merkel's June 5 Meeting With President Medvedev in Berlin," US State Department, June 6, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BERLIN755_a.html.
- 555 Chargé d'Affaires Daniel Russell, "Medvedev's New European Security Treaty?" June 16, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW1714_a.html.
- **556** "Bill Bradley on Russia and NATO," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, March 4, 2008, https://youtube.com/watch?v=K-alxZvUCS8.
- **557** David Rohde and Arshad Mohammed, "How the US made its Putin problem worse," Reuters, April 19, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-putin-diplomacy-special-repor/special-report-how-the-u-s-made-its-putin-problem-worse-idUSBREA3H0OQ20140418.
- **558** Brian Rohan, "Saakashvili 'planned S. Ossetia invasion': ex-minister," Reuters, September 14, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/us-georgia-russia-opposition-idUSLD12378020080914.

- **559** Pavel Felgenhauer, "Putin Confirms the Invasion of Georgia Was Preplanned," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 9, No. 152 (August 9, 2012),
- https://jamestown.org/program/putin-confirms-the-invasion-of-georgia-was-preplanned.
- **560** Andrew Cockburn, "The ghost of Georgia 2008 should be haunting Kiev right now," Responsible Statecraft, December 15, 2021, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/12/15/the-ghost-of-georgia-2008-should-be-haunting-kiev-right-now.
- **561** "US Troops Start Training Exercise in Georgia," Reuters, July 15, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/topNews/idUSL1556589920080715.
- 562 See Chapter Two.
- **563** Charles Clover and Demetri Sevastopulo, "US military trained Georgian commandos," *Financial Times*, September 5, 2008, https://ft.com/content/bdffd9a6-7b71-11dd-b839-000077b07658.
- **564** Peter Baker, "The Seduction of George W. Bush," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/11/06/the-seduction-of-george-w-bush.
- **565** "Study on NATO Enlargement," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, September 3, 1995 (updated November 5, 2008), https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_24733.htm; Brett V. Benson and Bradley C. Smith, "NATO's membership rules invite conflict and benefit Putin," *Washington Post*, February 22, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/02/22/natos-membership-rules-invite-conflict-benefit-putin.
- **566** Michael Dobbs, "Soviet Georgian Republic Proclaims Independence," *Washington Post*, April 10, 1991, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/04/10/soviet-georgian-republic-proclaims-independence/f0c3d67c-e38e-46f7-8a27-0991eab22080.
- **567** "South Ossetia Profile," BBC, April 21, 2016, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-18269210; "Abkhazia Profile," BBC, January 13, 2020, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-18175030.
- **568** Richard Foltz, "South Ossetia: The Case For International Recognition," The Conversation, June 9, 2019, https://theconversation.com/south-ossetia-the-case-for-international-recognition-118299.
- **569** James Brooke, "As Centralized Rule Wanes, Ethnic Tension Rises Anew in Soviet Georgia," *New York Times*, October 2, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/10/02/world/as-centralized-rule-wanes-ethnic-tension-rises-anew-in-soviet-georgia.html.
- 570 Hahn, 103.
- **571** James Brooke, "As Centralized Rule Wanes, Ethnic Tension Rises Anew in Soviet Georgia," *New York Times*, October 2, 1991, https://nytimes.com/1991/10/02/world/as-centralized-rule-wanes-ethnic-tension-rises-anew-in-soviet-georgia.html.
- **572** Richard Foltz, "South Ossetia: The Case For International Recognition," The Conversation, June 9, 2019, https://theconversation.com/south-ossetia-the-case-for-international-recognition-118299; Philip Remler, "Russia and Cooperative Security in Europe: Times Change, Tactics Remain," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, August 1, 2019, https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/08/01/russia-and-cooperative-security-in-europe-times-change-tactics-remain-pub-79611. **573** Hahn, 103.
- **574** Helene Cooper, et al., "US Watched as a Squabble Turned Into a Showdown," *New York Times*, August 17, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/18/washington/18diplo.html.
- **575** "US Boosts Successful Military Cooperation with Georgia," Civil.ge, May 8, 2004, https://civil.ge/archives/115803.
- **576** Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, "US Recognizes Kosovo as Independent State," US State Department, February 18, 2008, https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/02/100973.htm.
- 577 Charap and Colton, 91.
- 578 Charap and Colton, 92.
- **579** "Georgia 'triggered' war with Russia, EU investigation finds," France 24, September 30, 2009, https://france24.com/en/20090930-georgia-war-russia-eu-south-ossetia-tskhinvali-putin-military.

580 "Georgia accused of targeting civilians," BBC, October 28, 2008,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in depth/7692751.stm.

581 Mark Tran, "Russia defies west by recognising Georgian rebel regions," *Guardian*, August 26, 2008, https://theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/26/russia.georgia1.

582 See Chapter Two.

583 Heidi Tagliavini, et al., "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Report, Volume I–III," 2009,

https://mpil.de/en/pub/publications/archive/independent international fact.cfm.

584 "Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo," International Court of Justice, July 22, 2010, https://icj-cij.org/node/101885; Staff, "Kosovo independence move not illegal, says UN court," BBC, July 22, 2010, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-10730573.

585 Burns, 200-02.

586 Burns, 241.

587 Burns, 236–37.

588 Staff, "South Ossettia leader says 1,400 killed in conflict," *Independent*, August 8, 2008, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/south-ossettia-leader-says-1-400-killed-in-conflict-888487.html.

589 Robert Kagan, "Putin Makes His Move," *Washington Post*, August 11, 2008, https://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/08/10/AR2008081001871.html.

590 John McCormack, "'Today, We Are All Georgians," *Washington Examiner*, August 12, 2008, https://washingtonexaminer.com/weekly-standard/today-we-are-all-georgians.

591 Melvin A. Goodman, "David Ignatius: CIA's Senior Apologist Strikes Again," Truthout, May 8, 2010, https://truthout.org/david-ignatius-cias-senior-apologist-strikes-again59215; Dylan Byers, "Ignatius is national security go-to guy," *Politico*, March 19, 2012,

https://politico.com/story/2012/03/ignatius-is-national-security-go-to-guy-074164.

592 David Ignatius, "The Georgia Strategy," *Denver Post*, September 10, 2008, https://denverpost.com/2008/09/10/the-georgia-strategy.

593 Heidi Tagliavini, et al., "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Report, Volume I–III," 2009,

https://mpil.de/en/pub/publications/archive/independent_international_fact.cfm.

594 Andrew Cockburn, "Game On," *Harper's*, January 2015,

https://harpers.org/archive/2015/01/game-on.

595 Peter Certo, "Stephen Hadley," Militarist Monitor, May 29, 2017, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/stephen-hadley; Jim Lobe, "Pentagon Office Home to Neocon Network," Antiwar.com, August 7, 2003, https://antiwar.com/ips/lobe080703.html.

596 Barton Gellman, *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 189. **597** Hahn, 113.

598 Ben Smith, "'Invasion of Georgia' a '3 a.m. moment," *Politico*, August 9, 2008, https://politico.com/story/2008/08/invasion-of-georgia-a-3-am-moment-012409.

599 Susan Cornwell and Sue Pleming, "US urges Russia to pull forces out of Georgia," Reuters, August 8, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/uk-georgia-ossetia-usa/u-s-tells-russia-to-pull-forces-out-of-georgia-idUKN0850115420080809.

600 Deborah Tedford, "Georgia-Russia Conflict Escalates Over Separatists," NPR News, August 8, 2008, https://npr.org/2008/08/08/93410345/georgia-russia-conflict-escalates-over-separatists; Staff, "South Ossettia leader says 1,400 killed in conflict," *Independent*, August 8, 2008, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/south-ossettia-leader-says-1-400-killed-in-conflict-888487.html.

- **601** Anne Barnard, "Georgia and Russia Nearing All-Out War," *New York Times*, August 9, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/10/world/europe/10georgia.html; Staff, "Georgia makes a power play—and a big gamble," AP, August 9, 2008, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna26105019.
- **602** Peter Baker, "The Seduction of George W. Bush," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/11/06/the-seduction-of-george-w-bush.
- **603** Michael Schwirtz, et al., "Russia and Georgia Clash Over Separatist Region," *New York Times*, August 8, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/09/world/europe/09georgia.html; Anne Barnard, "Georgia and Russia Nearing All-Out War," *New York Times*, August 9, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/10/world/europe/10georgia.html.
- **604** C.J. Chivers, et al., "Georgia Offers Fresh Evidence on War's Start," *New York Times*, September 15, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/09/16/world/europe/16georgia.html.
- **605** C.J. Chivers and Ellen Barry, "Georgia Claims on Russia War Called Into Question," *New York Times*, November 6, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/11/07/world/europe/07georgia.html.
- **606** C.J. Chivers, "Embracing Georgia, US Misread Signs of Rifts," *New York Times*, December 1, 2010, https://nytimes.com/2010/12/02/world/europe/02WikiLeaks-georgia.html.
- **607** Hans Mouritzen, "WikiLeaks, South Ossetia and the Russian 'reset," Open Democracy, April 4, 2011, https://opendemocracy.net/en/odr/WikiLeaks-south-ossetia-and-russian-reset.
- **608** Ralf Beste, et al., "The West Begins to Doubt Georgian Leader," *Der Spiegel*, September 15, 2008, https://spiegel.de/international/world/did-saakashvili-lie-the-west-begins-to-doubt-georgian-leader-a-578273.html.
- **609** Heidi Tagliavini, et al., "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Report, Volume I–III," 2009,
- https://mpil.de/en/pub/publications/archive/independent_international_fact.cfm; Staff, "Georgia 'started unjustified war," BBC, September 30, 2009, https://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8281990.stm; Timothy Heritage, "Georgia started war with Russia: EU-backed report," Reuters, September 30, 2009, https://reuters.com/article/us-georgia-russia-report-idustre58t4mo20090930.
- **610** James Brooke, "Georgia's David Attacks the Russian Goliath And Lives to Tell the Tale," Voice of America, August 4, 2011, https://blogs.voanews.com/russia-watch/2011/08/04/georgias-david-attacks-the-russian-goliath-and-lives-to-tell-the-tale.
- **611** Robert Wood, "Daily Press Briefing," US State Department, November 7, 2008, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2008/nov/111653.htm.
- **612** Mikhail Gorbachev, "Russia Never Wanted a War," *New York Times*, August 19, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/08/20/opinion/20gorbachev.html.
- **613** Burns, 241–42.
- **614** Kurt Volker, "Ukraine, MAP and the Georgia-Russia Conflict," US State Department, August 14, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08USNATO290_a.html.
- **615** Press Release, "US, Ukraine Sign Charter on Strategic Partnership," US State Department, December 19, 2008, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2008/dec/113367.htm.
- **616** Niko Mchedlishvili and Matt Robinson, "Threat of war hangs over Georgian energy routes," Reuters, July 31, 2009, https://reuters.com/article/georgia-war-energy/feature-threat-of-war-hangs-over-georgian-energy-routes-idUSLU68069920090731.
- **617** Hugh Macleod, "From Syrian fishing port to naval power base: Russia moves into the Mediterranean," *Guardian*, October 8, 2008, https://theguardian.com/world/2008/oct/08/syria.russia.
- **618** Chicago Council on Global Affairs, "George Friedman, 'Europe: Destined for Conflict?" February 4, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Wijd10BZS1w.
- **619** George Friedman, "Syria, America and Putin's Bluff," Stratfor, September 10, 2013, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/syria-america-and-putins-bluff.

- **620** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **621** Ben Smith, "US pondered military use in Georgia," *Politico*, February 3, 2010, https://politico.com/story/2010/02/us-pondered-military-use-in-georgia-032487; Staff, "Georgian parliamentarian slams Saakashvili recollection of US role in August 2008 war," Interfax, April 17, 2013, https://russialist.org/georgian-parliamentarian-slams-saakashvili-recollection-of-u-s-role-in-august-2008-war.
- **622** "US-Russian Relations under Bush and Putin," Interview of Steven Pifer, SMU Center for Presidential History, September 28, 2021, https://smu.edu/-

/media/site/dedman/academics/institutescenters/cph/bush-putin-project/transcripts/pifer-steven-final.pdf; Tweet by Steven Pifer to author, January 18, 2023, https://x.com/steven_pifer/status/1615765593382359040.

- **623** Peter Baker, "The Seduction of George W. Bush," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/11/06/the-seduction-of-george-w-bush.
- **624** Ron Asmus, *A Little War that Shook the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 186–87; Gideon Rachman, "Did Dick Cheney want to start a war with Russia?" *Financial Times*, February 19, 2010, https://ft.com/content/3189c20b-251d-3345-a475-0d9093a98567.
- **625** Staff, "Russia: Will begin pullout from Georgia on Monday," AP, August 17, 2008, https://gainesville.com/story/news/2008/08/17/russia-will-begin-pullout-from-georgia-on-monday/31575284007.
- **626** Staff, "Russia says troops leave most of Georgia," AP, August 21, 2008, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna26329053.
- **627** Condoleezza Rice, "Will America heed the wake-up call of Ukraine?" *Washington Post*, March 7, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/condoleezza-rice-will-america-heed-the-wake-up-call-of-ukraine/2014/03/07/cf087f74-a630-11e3-84d4-e59b1709222c_story.html.
- **628** Ambassador John Beyrle, "Human Rights Ombudsman Lukin on Recognition, Russian Interests, Need For US Dialogue," US State Department, August 28, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08MOSCOW2586 a.html.
- **629** Tabassum Zakaria, "Russia, NATO loom in Cheney's Ukraine visit," Reuters, September 4, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20180609130011/https://reuters.com/article/us-georgia-ossetia/russia-nato-loom-in-cheneys-ukraine-visit-idUSL272497420080904.
- **630** Andrew Cockburn, "Game On," *Harper's*, January 2015, https://harpers.org/archive/2015/01/game-on.
- **631** Staff, "Deep and Abiding Interest," DW, September 4, 2008, https://dw.com/en/cheney-vows-to-support-georgia-slams-russia/a-3617603; Damien McElroy, et al., "Dick Cheney to take fight against Russia's oil dominance to Azerbaijan," *Telegraph*, September 2, 2008,
- $\frac{https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/2669248/Dick-Cheney-to-take-fight-against-Russias-oil-dominance-to-Azerbaijan.html.$
- **632** Lada Yevgrashina, "Cheney to Rally US Allies in Russia's Backyard," Reuters, September 2, 2008, https://rferl.org/a/Cheney_To_Rally_US_Allies_In_Russias_Backyard/1195949.html.
- **633** "US, Saudi Arabia: Holding the Chechen Card," Stratfor, August 14, 2008, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/us-saudi-arabia-holding-chechen-card.
- **634** Dan Bilefsky and Michael Schwirtz, "News Media Feel Limits to Georgia's Democracy," *New York Times*, October 6, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/10/07/world/europe/07georgia.html.
- **635** Staff, "Ex-Minister Says Georgian President Ordered Killings," RFERL, September 25, 2007, https://rferl.org/a/1078790.html.
- **636** Sophia Kishkovsky, "Georgia: Ex-Minister Arrested After Assailing President," *New York Times*, September 28, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/09/28/world/europe/28briefs-minister.html.

- 637 Edita Badasyan, "In Georgia, nine witnesses in case against Irakli Okruashvili recall their testimonies," Caucasian Knot, January 9, 2013, https://eng.kavkaz-uzel.eu/articles/24482; "Pressure on me took place in forms of inhuman torture of my friends' Irakli Okruashvili," Georgian Journal, January 19, 2013, https://georgianjournal.ge/politics/21898-pressure-on-me-took-place-in-forms-of-inhuman-torture-of-my-friends-irakli-okruashvili.html.
- **638** Misha Dzhindzhikhashvili, "Georgia Ex-Minister Retracts Allegations," AP, October 8, 2007, https://oklahoman.com/story/news/2007/10/08/georgia-ex-minister-retracts-allegations/61698016007.
- **639** D'Arcy Doran, "Billionaire prominent in Georgian opposition dies in Britain after alleging murder plot," AP, February 13, 2008,
- http://archive.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2008/02/14/russian_billionaire_dies_in_london_a_fter_alleging_murder_plot; Staff, "Investigation launched into alleged assassination plot of Georgian billionaire Patarkatsishvili," JAMnews, October 17, 2018, https://jam-news.net/georgian-prosecutors-office-opens-case-into-alleged-assassination-plot-of-georgian-billionaire-patarkatsishvili; Staff, "Prosecution: Security Service Planned Patarkatsishvili Murder in 2007," Civil.ge, October 17, 2018, https://civil.ge/archives/259396.
- **640** Ambassador John F. Tefft, "Why Patarkatsishvili Scares the GOG," US State Department, November 30, 2007, WikiLeaks, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07TBILISI3002_a.html.
- **641** Nikolaj Nielsen, "EU condemns Georgia prison rape, torture," EU Observer, September 21, 2012, https://euobserver.com/world/117627.
- **642** Matthew Chance, "Former Georgia prison guard: I witnessed abuse for years," CNN, September 23, 2012, https://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/21/world/europe/georgia-prison/index.html.
- **643** Paul Rimple, "Saakashvili's party loses as Georgian democracy takes step forward," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 2, 2012, https://csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2012/1002/Saakashvili-s-party-loses-as-Georgian-democracy-takes-step-forward.
- **644** Giorgi Lomsadze, "Georgia Revokes Citizenship of Billionaire Ivanishvili," Eurasianet, October 11, 2011, https://eurasianet.org/georgia-revokes-citizenship-of-billionaire-ivanishvili; Staff,
- "Saakashvili Restores Georgian Citizenship For Rival Ivanishvili," RFERL, October 16, 2012, https://rferl.org/a/saakashvili-restores-georgian-citizenship-for-rival-ivanishvili/24741347.html.
- 645 Interview of Daniel Fried, PBS Frontline, June 21, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbb/frontline/interview/deniel fried
- https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/daniel-fried.
- **646** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- **647** Thomas Graham, "Was the Collapse of US-Russia Relations Inevitable?" *The Nation*, August 22, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/archive/us-russia-putin-relations-nato.
- **648** Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 171–207.
- 649 See Chapter Two.
- 650 Staff, "Moscow fingers warlord in school takeover," AP, September 9, 2004,
- https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna5951331; Nick Paton Walsh, "Foreign minister attacks Britain for granting asylum to Chechen," *Guardian*, September 9, 2004,
- https://theguardian.com/world/2004/sep/10/chechnya.russia1.
- **651** Thomas Graham, "Was the Collapse of US-Russia Relations Inevitable?" *The Nation*, August 22, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/archive/us-russia-putin-relations-nato.

Chapter 4: Barack Obama

1 David S. Cloud, "Wrong red button," *Politico*, March 6, 2009, https://politico.com/story/2009/03/video-wrong-red-button-019719.

- **2** Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011, https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century.
- **3** Oleg Shchedrov and Matt Spetalnick, "Obama, Medvedev to reset ties with arms pact," Reuters, April 1, 2009,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20090406131738/http://reuters.com/article/idUSL194925620090401.
- 4 David Usborne, "US and Russia seek nuclear deal," Independent, April 2, 2009,
- https://independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/us-and-russia-seek-nuclear-deal-1659987.html.
- **5** Ian Traynor, "Europe reacts to Obama dropping missile defence shield," *Guardian*, September 17, 2009, https://theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/17/poland-czech-missile-defence-shield.
- 6 Christian Parenti, "With Friends Like These: On Pakistan," *The Nation*, April 30, 2013, https://thenation.com/article/friends-these-pakistan; Richard Norton-Taylor, et al., "Convoy Attacks Trigger Race to Open New Afghan Supply Lines," *Guardian*, December 9, 2008, https://theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/09/afghanistan-nato-supply-routes; Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 131.
- 7 Hahn, 77.
- 8 Barack Obama, A Promised Land (New York: Crown, 2020), 464.
- 9 Peter Baker and Thom Shanker, "Obama Plans to Retain Gates at Defense Department," *New York Times*, November 25, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/11/26/us/politics/26gates.html; Richard A. Oppel Jr., "Strikes in Pakistan Underscore Obama's Options," *New York Times*, January 23, 2009, https://nytimes.com/2009/01/24/world/asia/24pstan.html; Spencer Ackerman, "Victim of Obama's first drone strike: 'I am the living example of what drones are," *Guardian*, January 23, 2016, https://theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/23/drone-strike-victim-barack-obama; Helene Cooper, "Putting Stamp on Afghan War, Obama Will Send 17,000 Troops," *New York Times*, February 17, 2009, https://nytimes.com/2009/02/18/washington/18web-troops.html.
- 10 Michael Froman, "Email to John Podesta," WikiLeaks, October 6, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20170223020043/https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/8190; Michael Froman, "Email to Barack Obama," WikiLeaks, October 6, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20170222030238/https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/15560.
- 11 The post-Soviet Russian counterpart to NATO which includes Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.
- 12 Their answer to the EU, which includes Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
- **13** Ulrich Kühn, "Medvedev's Proposals for a New European Security Order: A Starting Point or the End of the Story?" *Connections*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 2010), 1–16, https://jstor.org/stable/26326200.
- 14 Staff, "Russia Unveils Proposal For European Security Treaty," RFERL, November 30, 2009, https://rferl.org/a/Russia Unveils Proposal For European Security Treaty/1891161.html.
- 15 William Burns, "CSTO: Russia's Counter to NATO," US State Department, March 14, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW1105_a.html; Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011,
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century.
- 16 Ambassador John Beyrle, "Russian Analysts Complain US Has Betrayed Russia's Trust Meeting With Codel Tauscher," US State Department, January 1, 2009,
- https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09MOSCOW2 a.html.
- 17 Darwin BondGraham, "New START: Arms Affirmation Treaty," Antiwar.com, November 1, 2010, https://original.antiwar.com/bondgraham/2010/10/31/new-start-arms-affirmation-treaty.
- **18** Shannon Bugos, "New START at a Glance," Arms Control Association, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/NewSTART.
- **19** Shannon Bugos, "Russia Suspends New START," Arms Control Association, March 2023, https://armscontrol.org/act/2023-03/news/russia-suspends-new-start.

- **20** Staff, "Obama tells Russia's Medvedev more flexibility after election," Reuters, March 26, 2012, https://reuters.com/article/us-nuclear-summit-obama-medvedev-idUSBRE82P0JI20120326.
- **21** Ryan Browne, "US launches long-awaited European missile defense shield," CNN, May 12, 2016, https://edition.cnn.com/2016/05/11/politics/nato-missile-defense-romania-poland/index.html.
- **22** Petar Komnenic, "Russia's Deripaska sues Montenegro for lost aluminium investment," Reuters, December 7, 2016, https://reuters.com/article/markets/commodities/russias-deripaska-sues-montenegro-for-lost-aluminium-investment-idUSL5N1E2544.
- **23** Alan J. Kuperman, "Lessons from Libya: How Not to Intervene," *International Security*, September 2013, https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/pbei/isp/0029207/f 0029207 23703.pdf.
- **24** Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), 105–36; Alan J. Kuperman, "America's Little-Known Mission to Support Al Qaeda's Role in Libya," *The National Interest*, August 13, 2019, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/americas-little-known-mission-support-al-qaedas-role-libya-73271.
- **25** Annie Machon, *Spies, Lies and Whistleblowers: MI5, MI6 and the Shayler Affair* (Leicestershire: Book Guild Ltd., 2005); Mark Hollingsworth, "Secrets, lies and David Shayler," *Guardian*, March 17, 2000, https://theguardian.com/comment/story/0,,181807,00.html.
- **26** Scott Neuman, "US Ambassador To Libya, Three Other Americans Killed In Benghazi Attack," NPR News, September 12, 2012, https://npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2012/09/12/160992840/u-s-ambassador-to-libya-three-other-americans-killed-in-benghazi-attack.
- 27 Horton, Enough Already, 155-73.
- 28 Keith Gessen, "How Russia Went from Ally to Adversary," *The New Yorker*, June 12, 2023, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2023/06/19/how-the-west-lost-the-peace-philipp-ther-book-review.

 29 David Sanger and Judith Miller, "Libya to Give Up Arms Programs, Bush Announces," *New York Times*, December 20, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/12/20/world/libya-to-give-up-arms-programs-bush-announces.html; Christopher Dickey, "How Gaddafi Friended Bush, Blair, and Berlusconi," *Newsweek*, March 6, 2011, https://newsweek.com/how-gaddafi-friended-bush-blair-and-berlusconi-philipp-ther-book-review.
- 30 Gates, 530.

66117.

- **31** Ewen MacAskill, "Robert Gates announces plan to step down as US defence secretary next year," *Guardian*, August 16, 2010, https://theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/16/robert-gates-announces-retirement-plan.
- 32 David Jackson and Ken Dilanian, "Obama Scraps Bush Missile Defense Plan," *USA Today*, September 17, 2009, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obama-scraps-bush-missile-defense-plan/story?id=8602322; Julian Barnes and Megan K. Stack, "Russia's Putin praises Obama's missile defense decision," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 2009, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2009-sep-19-fg-missile-defense19-story.html.
- **33** Glenn Kessler, "The GOP claim that Obama scrapped a missile defense system as 'a gift' to Putin," *Washington Post*, March 28, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2014/03/28/the-gop-claim-that-obama-scrapped-a-missile-defense-system-as-a-gift-to-putin.
- **34** Robert Gates, "A Better Missile Defense for a Safer Europe," *New York Times*, September 19, 2009, https://nytimes.com/2009/09/20/opinion/20gates.html.
- 35 Gates, Duty, 402.
- 36 Darryl Cooper, "Thoughts on Ukraine," *Martyr Made*, March 17, 2022, https://martyrmade.substack.com/p/thoughts-on-ukraine-remastered. (Yes, the author is aware that the Party held a big Two Minutes Hate against Cooper in September 2024, but it was based on misrepresentations of what he said and baseless assumptions about what he must have really meant: Darryl Cooper, "The True History of the Jonestown Cult, WWII, and How Winston Churchill Ruined Europe," *The Tucker Carlson Show*, September 2, 2024, https://tuckercarlson.com/tucker-show-darryl-cooper; Brian Stelter, "White House condemns Tucker Carlson's 'Nazi propaganda' interview as

- 'disgusting and sadistic insult," CNN, September 5, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/09/05/media/white-house-condemns-tucker-carlson-nazi-propaganda-interview/index.html; Darryl Cooper, "My response to the mob," Martyr Made, September 7, 2024,
 https://subscribe.martyrmade.com/p/to-the-perplexed-waudio; Darryl Cooper, "Fear and Loathing in the New Jerusalem, Part One," https://martyrmade.com/podcast-parts/1-fear-and-loathing-in-the-new-jerusalem; Interview with author, Darryl Cooper, Scott Horton Show radio archive, September 12, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/9-12-24-darryl-cooper-on-wwii-the-holocaust-and-winston-churchill).
- 37 Burns, 284–85.
- **38** Elizabeth Alexander, "Building on the 'Reset' The Vice President's Visit to Moscow," Obama White House Archives, March 10, 2011,
- https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/03/10/building-reset-vice-president-s-visit-moscow; Steve Gutterman, "Biden meets Putin, opposition leaders in Moscow," Reuters, March 10, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/idUSTRE7293LQ.
- **39** Nikolaus von Twickel, "Biden 'Opposes' 3rd Putin Term," *Moscow Times*, March 10, 2011, https://themoscowtimes.com/2011/03/10/biden-opposes-3rd-putin-term-a5538.
- **40** Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461; Alan Cullison, "Putin Blames US for Protests Under Fire, Premier Takes Jab at Clinton in Sharp Escalation in Rhetoric, Gets Tougher on Opposition," *Wall Street Journal*, December 9, 2011,
- https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203501304577086081121083576.
- **41** Michael Schwirtz and David M. Herszenhorn, "Voters Watch Polls in Russia, and Fraud Is What They See," *New York Times*, December 5, 2011, http://nytimes.com/2011/12/06/world/europe/russian-parliamentary-elections-criticized-by-west.html.
- **42** Julia Ioffe, "Snow Revolution," *The New Yorker*, December 10, 2011, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/snow-revolution.
- 43 Tweet by Then-CIA Director John O. Brennan, October 9, 2020, https://x.com/JohnBrennan/status/1314587438568833025; Royce Kurmelovs and Katya Kazbek, "Who is Alexei Navalny? Behind the Myth of the West's Favorite Russian Opposition Figure," Grayzone, January 28, 2021, https://thegrayzone.com/2021/01/28/alexei-navalny-myth-wests-russian-opposition-figure.
- **44** Ellen Barry and Michael Schwirtz, "Vast Rally in Moscow Is a Challenge to Putin's Power," *New York Times*, December 24, 2011, https://nytimes.com/2011/12/25/world/europe/tens-of-thousands-of-protesters-gather-in-moscow-russia.html.
- **45** Steve Gutterman and Gleb Bryanski, "Putin says US stoked Russian protests," Reuters, December 8, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20180202010819/https://reuters.com/article/us-russia/putin-says-u-s-stoked-russian-protests-idUSTRE7B610S20111208; David M. Herszenhorn and Ellen Barry, "Putin Contends Clinton Incited Unrest Over Vote," *New York Times*, December 8, 2011, https://nytimes.com/2011/12/09/world/europe/putin-accuses-clinton-of-instigating-russian-protests.html.
- **46** "The Central Election Commission recognized as invalid 90 percent of complaints about the Duma elections," Lenta.ru, February 4, 2012, https://lenta.ru/news/2012/02/04/ninety.
- **47** Andrew Kramer and David M. Herszenhorn, "Boosted by Putin, Russia's Middle Class Turns on Him," *New York Times*, December 11, 2011, https://nytimes.com/2011/12/12/world/europe/huge-moscow-rally-suggests-a-shift-in-public-mood.html.
- **48** Will Englund, "Kremlin critic Alexei Navalny has strong showing in Moscow mayoral race, despite loss," *Washington Post*, September 9, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/world/kremlin-critic-alexei-

- $\frac{navalny-has-strong-showing-in-moscow-mayoral-race-despite-loss/2013/09/09/dc9504e4-1924-11e3-a628-7e6dde8f889d_story.html.$
- **49** Michael Schwirtz, "Russian Liberals Growing Uneasy With Alliances," *New York Times*, January 28, 2012, https://nytimes.com/2012/01/29/world/europe/russian-liberals-weigh-alliance-with-nationalists.html.
- **50** Ellen Barry and Michael Schwirtz, "After Election, Putin Faces Challenges to Legitimacy," *New York Times*, March 5, 2012, http://nytimes.com/2012/03/06/world/europe/observers-detail-flaws-in-russian-election.html.
- **51** Susan Cornwell, "US pro-democracy groups pulling out of Russia," Reuters, December 14, 2012, https://reuters.com/article/russia-usa-democracy/u-s-pro-democracy-groups-pulling-out-of-russia-idUSL1E8NE7FF20121214.
- **52** Grant F. Smith, *Big Israel: How Israel's Lobby Moves America* (Washington: Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy, 2016); Ben Freeman, "Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America," Center for International Policy, January 2020,
- https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1 4f06e99f35d4485b801f8dbfe33b6a3f.pdf.
- **53** Kathy Lally, "McFaul leaves Moscow and two dramatic years in relations between US and Russia," *Washington Post*, February 26, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/mcfaul-leaves-moscow-and-two-dramatic-years-in-relations-between-us-and-russia/2014/02/26/bb360742-9ef5-11e3-9ba6-800d1192d08b story.html.
- **54** Burns, 287.
- **55** Olzhas Auyezov, "Ukraine-Russia gas deal: Tymoshenko's biggest bet," Reuters, October 11, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-tymoshenko-gas-idUSTRE79A4AV20111011.
- **56** Tom Parfitt, "I want to work a miracle," *Guardian*, February 6, 2006, https://theguardian.com/world/2006/feb/02/ukraine.tomparfitt.
- **57** Myroslava Gongadze, "Zbigniew Brzezinski on the US-Russia-Ukraine Triangle," Voice of America Ukrainian Service, October 12, 2009, https://youtube.com/watch?v=MBxH3sfpmEA.
- **58** Zbigniew Brzezinski, "NATO and World Security," *New York Times*, August 19, 2009, https://nytimes.com/2009/08/20/opinion/20iht-edbrzezinski.html.
- **59** Staff, "Biden: US supports Ukraine's NATO bid," AP, July 21, 2009, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna32026748.
- **60** Jeffrey Mankoff, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution Referendum," Council on Foreign Relations, January 19, 2010, https://cfr.org/expert-brief/ukraines-orange-revolution-referendum.
- **61** Staff, "Ukraine drops NATO membership aim," Reuters, May 27, 2010, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-nato/ukraine-drops-nato-membership-aim-idUSTRE64Q3S620100527.
- **62** David Stern, "Ukraine's parliament votes to abandon Nato ambitions," BBC, June 3, 2010, https://bbc.com/news/10229626.
- **63** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **64** John E. Herbst, "Ukraine on the Road to NATO: A Status Report," US State Department, February 15, 2006, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KIEV604 a.html.
- 65 Charap and Colton, 84.
- 66 Staff, "Moscow buys sea power with Ukraine gas deal," London *Times*, April 22, 2010, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/moscow-buys-sea-power-with-ukraine-gas-deal-nnsp9rpxh7d; Staff, "Kremlin fills the void left by an indifferent America and inept EU," London *Times*, April 28, 2010, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/kremlin-fills-the-void-left-by-an-indifferent-america-and-inept-eu-8nls7w3qbqw.

- **67** Kit Klarenberg, "Hostile takeover: NATO's annexation of Montenegro," Grayzone, November 22, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/11/22/hostile-natos-annexation-montenegro.
- **68** Jim Dobson, "Porto Montenegro Is Becoming The Ultimate Superyacht Sanctuary Along The Adriatic Coast," *Forbes*, July 22, 2018, https://forbes.com/sites/jimdobson/2018/07/22/portomontenegro-is-becoming-the-ultimate-superyacht-sanctuary-along-the-adriatic-coast.
- **69** Dušica Tomović, "Montenegro PM Accuses Opposition Over 'Plot to Kill Him," Balkan Insight, November 10, 2016, https://balkaninsight.com/2016/11/10/djukanovic-accuses-pro-russian-opposition-over-plot-to-kill-him-11-10-2016.
- **70** Andrew Higgins, "Finger Pointed at Russians in Alleged Coup Plot in Montenegro," *New York Times*, November 26, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/11/26/world/europe/finger-pointed-at-russians-in-alleged-coup-plot-in-montenegro.html.
- 71 Ben Farmer, "Russia plotted to overthrow Montenegro's government by assassinating Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic last year, according to senior Whitehall sources," *Telegraph*, February 19, 2017, http://telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/18/russias-deadly-plot-overthrow-montenegros-government-assassinating.
- **72** Ben Farmer, "Reconstruction: The full incredible story behind Russia's deadly plot to stop Montenegro embracing the West," *Telegraph*, February 18, 2017,
- $\underline{http://telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/18/reconstruction-full-incredible-story-behind-russias-deadly-plot}.$
- **73** Cynthia Kroet, "Prosecutor: Russia behind attempted Montenegro coup," *Politico Europe*, February 20, 2017, https://politico.eu/article/prosecutor-russia-behind-attempted-montenegro-coup.
- 74 Nebojša Redžić, "Prosecutor Katnić claims that he did not accuse Serbia and Russia," Voice of America, November 17, 2017, https://glasamerike.net/a/tuzilac-katnic-tvrdi-da-nije-optuzivao-srbiju-i-rusiju/4120399.html.
- 75 Dušica Tomović, "Two eyes in the head," Vreme, October 26, 2016, https://vreme.com/vreme/dva-oka-u-glavi.
- **76** Staff, "I signed a false statement, otherwise I'd be killed," CDM, July 4, 2017, https://cdm.me/english/signed-false-statement-otherwise-id-killed.
- 77 Eli Lake, "Montenegro Takes On Russia, America and a Former CIA Officer," Bloomberg News, August 14, 2018, https://bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-08-14/montenegro-takes-on-russia-america-and-a-former-cia-officer.
- **78** Samir Kajosevic, "Montenegro Extradites 'Coup Plot' Witness Sindjelic to Croatia," Balkan Insight, October 30, 2019, https://balkaninsight.com/2019/10/30/montenegro-extradites-coup-plot-witness-sindjelic-to-croatia.
- **79** "President Milo Djukanovic," Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, December 31, 2015, https://occrp.org/personoftheyear/2015.
- **80** Leo Sisti, "The Montenegro connection," The Center for Public Integrity, June 2, 2009, https://publicintegrity.org/health/the-montenegro-connection.
- **81** Kit Klarenberg, "Hostile takeover: NATO's annexation of Montenegro," Grayzone, November 22, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/11/22/hostile-natos-annexation-montenegro.
- **82** Staff, "Two Russian Agents Sentenced for Montenegrin Coup Plot," Voice of America, May 9, 2019, https://voanews.com/a/russians-others-sentenced-in-2016-montenegro-failed-coup/4910829.html.
- **83** Staff, "Montenegro overturns coup verdict for 2 Russians, 11 others," AP, February 5, 2021, https://apnews.com/general-news-99f6088f797f46fefac4866931083d5f.
- **84** Senator John McCain, "Russia threat is dead serious. Montenegro coup and murder plot proves it," *USA Today*, June 29, 2017, https://usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/06/29/russian-hacks-john-mccain-column/436354001.
- **85** Gordon N. Bardos, "Montenegro and NATO's Faustian Bargain," *The Nation*, August 10, 2018, https://thenation.com/article/archive/montenegro-natos-faustian-bargain.

- **86** Richard Hanania, "Russia as the 'Great Satan' in the Liberal Imagination," Richard Hanania's Newsletter, January 26, 2022, https://richardhanania.com/p/russia-as-the-great-satan-in-the.
- **87** Jeffrey M. Jones, "Americans' Favorable Rating of Russia Sinks to New Low of 9%," Gallup, March 13, 2023, https://news.gallup.com/poll/471872/americans-favorable-rating-russia-sinks-new-low.aspx; Richard Wike, et al., "Views of Russia and Putin," Pew Research Center, May 8, 2024, https://pewresearch.org/global/2024/05/08/views-of-russia-and-putin.
- **88** Madison Park, "Russia's lower house approves bill to ban US adoption," CNN, December 27, 2012, https://cnn.com/2012/12/21/world/europe/russia-us-adoption-ban/index.html.
- **89** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **90** Interview with author, Kenneth Rapoza, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 31, 2016, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/33116-kenneth-rapoza.
- **91** Susan B. Glasser, "Investors Rally Around Putin, Discounting Alarm of Critics," *Washington Post*, February 26, 2004, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2004/02/26/investors-rally-around-putin-discounting-alarm-of-critics/707267c4-7a0e-4599-a9fc-0cecea328c62.
- **92** Jay Nordlinger, "A Family in History," *National Review*, January 22, 2018, https://nationalreview.com/2018/01/family-history-strange-odyssey-browders.
- **93** Clifford J. Levy, "Expelled by Kremlin, an investor fights back," *New York Times*, July 23, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/07/23/news/23iht-23kremlin.14734905.html.
- 94 See Chapter Two.
- **95** Clifford J. Levy, "Expelled by Kremlin, an investor fights back," *New York Times*, July 23, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/07/23/news/23iht-23kremlin.14734905.html.
- **96** Clifford J. Levy, "Expelled by Kremlin, an investor fights back," *New York Times*, July 23, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/07/23/news/23iht-23kremlin.14734905.html.
- **97** Robert Parry, "A Blacklisted Film and the New Cold War," Consortium News, August 2, 2017, https://consortiumnews.com/2017/08/02/a-blacklisted-film-and-the-new-cold-war.
- 98 "Oversight of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and Attempts to Influence US Elections: Lessons Learned from Current and Prior Administrations (Day 2)," US Senate Judiciary Committee, July 27, 2017, https://judiciary.senate.gov/meetings/oversight-of-the-foreign-agents-registration-act-and-attempts-to-influence-us-elections-lessons-learned-from-current-and-prior-administrations-day-2.

 99 Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019,
- https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **100** "Magnitsky and Others vs. Russia," European Court of Human Rights, August 27, 2019, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-195527.
- **101** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html; "Record of Evidence," Interrogation of Sergey Magnitsky, October 18, 2006, June 5, 2008, October 7, 2008, https://100r.org/media/2017/10/Magnitsky-Testimonies-Oct-2006-June-2008-Oct-2008.pdf.
- **102** Editors, "Why Der Spiegel Stands Behind Its Magnitsky Reporting," *Der Spiegel*, December 12, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-responds-to-browder-criticisms-of-magnitsky-story-a-1301716.html.
- **103** Jason Bush, "Hijacking the Hermitage Fund," Bloomberg News, April 4, 2008, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2008-04-04/hijacking-the-hermitage-fundbusinessweek-business-news-stock-market-and-financial-advice.
- **104** Neil Buckley and Catherine Belton, "Hermitage in Russian fraud claim," *Financial Times*, April 3, 2008, https://ft.com/content/da0bbffe-01b7-11dd-a323-000077b07658.

- **105** Guy Chazan, "Hermitage Capital Management Runs Into Trouble in Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 2008, https://wsj.com/articles/SB120725601229787559.
- **106** Clifford J. Levy, "An Investment Gets Trapped in Kremlin's Vise," *New York Times*, July 24, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/07/24/world/europe/24kremlin.html.
- **107** Editors, "Why Der Spiegel Stands Behind Its Magnitsky Reporting," *Der Spiegel*, December 12, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-responds-to-browder-criticisms-of-magnitsky-story-a-1301716.html.
- **108** Bill Browder, *Red Notice: A True Story of High Finance, Murder, and One Man's Fight for Justice* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015), 233.
- **109** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **110** Editors, "Why Der Spiegel Stands Behind Its Magnitsky Reporting," *Der Spiegel*, December 12, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-responds-to-browder-criticisms-of-magnitsky-story-a-1301716.html.
- **111** Lucy Komisar, "The Man Behind the Magnitsky Act," 100 Reporters, October 20, 2017, https://100r.org/2017/10/magnitsky.
- **112** Alissa de Carbonnel, "Russian lawyer likely beaten to death: Kremlin council," Reuters, July 6, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/us-russia-lawyer-death/russian-lawyer-likely-beaten-to-death-kremlin-council-idUSTRE76521120110706.
- 113 Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **114** Robert C. Bux M.D., "Re: Forensic Review of Sergei Magnitsky documents submitted by Hermitage Fund," June 28, 2011, https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/magnitsky-report-july2011.pdf.
- **115** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **116** Nataliya Vasilyeva, "Official acquitted in Russian jail death case," AP, December 28, 2012, https://sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-official-acquitted-in-russian-jail-death-case-2012dec28-story.html.
- 117 Samuel Rubenfeld, "Browder Escapes Subpoena Attempt After 'Daily Show," *Wall Street Journal*, February 11, 2015, https://wsj.com/articles/BL-252B-6212; Press Release, "William Browder Ordered to Give Testimony Regarding Claims Made About Prevezon Holdings Ltd," Newswire, March 12, 2015, https://newswire.com/news/william-browder-ordered-to-give-testimony-regarding-claims-made.
- **118** "Prevezon Holdings Ltd Settlement Stipulation," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2017, https://justice.gov/usao-sdny/press-release/file/966166/dl.
- 119 See Chapter Five.
- **120** Robert Parry, "Guardians of the Magnitsky Myth," Consortium News, October 28, 2017, https://consortiumnews.com/2017/10/28/guardians-of-the-magnitsky-myth.
- **121** Andrei Nekrasov, *The Magnitsky Act: Behind the Scenes*, 2016, https://archive.org/details/magnitsky-act-movie.
- 122 See Chapter Three.
- **123** Andrei Nekrasov, *The Magnitsky Act: Behind the Scenes*, 2016, https://archive.org/details/magnitsky-act-movie.
- **124** Rosie Gray, "Bill Browder's Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee," *The Atlantic*, July 25, 2017, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/07/bill-browders-testimony-to-the-senate-judiciary-committee/534864.

- **125** Henry Johnson, "Millionaire Tries to Stop Documentary Claiming to Tell the True Story of Russia's Missing \$230 Million," *Foreign Policy*, June 10, 2016,
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/10/millionaire-tries-to-shut-down-screening-of-documentary-claiming-to-tell-the-true-story-of-russias-missing-230-million-putin-sergei-magnitsky-bill-browder.
- **126** Robert Parry, "A Blacklisted Film and the New Cold War," Consortium News, August 2, 2017, https://consortiumnews.com/2017/08/02/a-blacklisted-film-and-the-new-cold-war.
- 127 Andrei Nekrasov, The Magnitsky Act: Behind the Scenes, 2016,
- https://archive.org/details/magnitsky-act-movie; Lucy Komisar, "Browder commits identity theft! His victim of police violence in Moscow 2007' is a 1961 US Freedom Rider!" The Komisar Scoop, April 16, 2018, https://thekomisarscoop.com/2018/04/browder-commits-identity-theft-his-victim-of-police-violence-in-moscow-2007-is-a-1961-us-freedom-rider-2.
- **128** Robert Parry, "A Blacklisted Film and the New Cold War," Consortium News, August 2, 2017, https://consortiumnews.com/2017/08/02/a-blacklisted-film-and-the-new-cold-war.
- **129** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html; "Karpov vs. Browder," The High Court of Justice, https://web.archive.org/web/20160823180734/https://bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/QB/2013/3071.html.
- 130 Editors, "Why Der Spiegel Stands Behind Its Magnitsky Reporting," *Der Spiegel*, December 12, 2019 https://spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-responds-to-browder-criticisms-of-magnitsky-
- 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-responds-to-browder-criticisms-of-magnitsky-story-a-1301716.html.
- **131** Benjamin Bidder, "The Case of Sergei Magnitsky," *Der Spiegel*, November 26, 2019, https://spiegel.de/international/world/the-case-of-sergei-magnitsky-anti-corruption-champion-or-corrupt-anti-hero-a-1297796.html.
- **132** "Russell Tice, National Security Whistleblower," National Whistleblower Center, April 7, 2018, https://whistleblowers.org/whistleblowers/russell-tice.
- 133 Edward Loomis, NSA's Transformation: An Executive Branch Black Eye (Edward Loomis, 2014).
- **134** "J. Kirk Wiebe Interview," PBS *Frontline*, May 10, 2008, https://ket.org/program/frontline/the-frontline-interview-j-kirk-wiebe.
- **135** "Thomas Drake Biography," Americans Who Tell the Truth, https://americanswhotellthetruth.org/portraits/thomas-drake.
- 136 James Bamford, "NSA Chief Denies Domestic Spying But Whistleblowers Say Otherwise," Wired, March 21, 2012, https://wired.com/2012/03/nsa-whistleblower; Staff, "NSA Whistleblower Explains How the US Government Is Spying on Every Single Electronic Communication You Have," ACLU, August 23, 2012, https://aclu.org/news/national-security/video-nsa-whistleblower-explains-how-us-government.
- 137 James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace: Inside the National Security Agency, America's Most Secret Intelligence Organization* (New York: Penguin, 1983); James Bamford, *Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002); James Bamford, *The Shadow Factory: The Ultra-Secret NSA from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).
- **138** Glenn Greenwald, "NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizon customers daily," *Guardian*, June 6, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/nsa-phone-records-verizon-court-order; Barton Gellman and Ashkan Soltani, "NSA infiltrates links to Yahoo, Google data centers worldwide, Snowden documents say," *Washington Post*, October 30, 2013,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nsa-infiltrates-links-to-yahoo-google-data-centers-worldwide-snowden-documents-say/2013/10/30/e51d661e-4166-11e3-8b74-d89d714ca4dd story.html.
- **139** Ewen MacAskill, et al., "The National Security Agency: surveillance giant with eyes on America," *Guardian*, June 7, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/national-security-agency-surveillance.

- **140** Glenn Greenwald, et al., "NSA shares raw intelligence including Americans' data with Israel," *Guardian*, September 11, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/11/nsa-americans-personal-data-israel-documents.
- **141** "The Snowden Archive Timeline of Revelations (2013–2018)," Github.com, August 2024, https://github.com/iamcryptoki/snowden-archive; "NSA Primary Sources," Electronic Frontier Foundation, https://eff.org/nsa-spying/nsadocs.
- 142 The same guy who helped to plan the "Operation Storm" atrocity in Croatia in 1995. See Chapter Two. Previously, as head of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, Clapper had also famously lied that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (Mark Hosenball, "Will Clapper Nomination Reopen the Saddam WMD Controversy?" Newsweek, June 6, 2010, https://newsweek.com/will-clapper-nomination-reopen-saddam-wmd-controversy-217378; "Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons on Mass Destruction," White House, March 31, 2005, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/wmd/text/report.html) telling CNN, "I think we do a very good job of satisfying all of our masters." (David Ensor, "Secretive map agency opens its doors," CNN, December 13, 2002, https://edition.cnn.com/2002/US/12/09/map.makers.) He also lied that those weapons had been moved to Syria right before the invasion. (Douglas Jehl, "Iraqis Removed Arms Material, US Aide Says," New York Times, October 29, 2003,
- $\frac{https://nytimes.com/2003/10/29/world/the-struggle-for-iraq-weapons-search-iraqis-removed-arms-material-us-aide-says.html).$
- **143** Steven Nelson, "Lock Him Up? Lawmakers Renew Calls for James Clapper Perjury Charges," US News and World Report, November 17, 2016, https://usnews.com/news/articles/2016-11-17/lawmakers-resume-calls-for-james-clapper-perjury-charges.
- **144** Edward Jay Epstein, "Was Snowden's Heist a Foreign Espionage Operation?" *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2014, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304831304579542402390653932.
- **145** Matthew Lee, "NSA leaker Snowden's passport revoked," AP, June 23, 2013, https://apnews.com/general-news-587786e6e63b4dc2b70c471606d7f584; Edward Snowden, *Permanent Record* (New York: Metropolitan, 2019), 307–10.
- **146** Interview with author, Glenn Greenwald, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, January 18, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/1-18-24-glenn-greenwald-on-the-legacy-of-the-edward-snowden-leaks.
- 147 Burns, 288.
- **148** Mike Murphy, "This is what Edward Snowden says it will take for him to return to the US," MarketWatch, September 16, 2019, https://marketwatch.com/story/this-is-what-edward-snowden-says-it-will-take-for-him-to-return-to-the-us-2019-09-16.
- **149** Kevin Gosztola, "Proposed Reform to US Espionage Act Would Create Public Interest Defense," Consortium News, October 12, 2020, https://consortiumnews.com/2020/10/12/proposed-reform-to-us-espionage-act-would-create-public-interest-defense.
- **150** Snowden, 6–8, 135, 228–53, 325–33.
- 151 Tweet by Edward Snowden, June 25, 2016, https://x.com/Snowden/status/746671700247457792.
- 152 Tweet by Michael McFaul, July 9, 2016, https://x.com/mcfaul/status/751752731769999360.
- **153** George Friedman, "Syria, America and Putin's Bluff," Stratfor, September 10, 2013, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/syria-america-and-putins-bluff.
- **154** Deborah Kotz, "Injury toll from Marathon bombs reduced to 264," *Boston Globe*, April 24, 2013, https://bostonglobe.com/lifestyle/health-wellness/2013/04/23/number-injured-marathon-bombing-revised-downward/NRpaz5mmvGquP7KMA6XsIK/story.html.
- **155** Chelsea J. Carter and Greg Botelho, "Captured!' Boston police announce Marathon bombing suspect in custody," CNN, April 19, 2013, https://cnn.com/2013/04/19/us/boston-area-violence/index.html.

- **156** John Miller, "Police believe Tsarnaev brothers killed officer for his gun," CBS News, April 23, 2013, https://cbsnews.com/news/police-believe-tsarnaev-brothers-killed-officer-for-his-gun.
- **157** Lt. Col. Eric A. Beene, et al., "US, Russia and the Global War on Terror: 'Shoulder' Into Battle?" Air University, March 2005, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA477122.pdf.
- **158** Haroon Siddique, "Boston bombing suspect was put on terrorist database 18 months ago," *Guardian*, April 25, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/25/boston-bombing-suspect-terrorist-database.
- **159** "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **160** Tom Winter, "Russia Warned US About Tsarnaev, But Spelling Issue Let Him Escape," NBC News, March 25, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/boston-bombing-anniversary/russia-warned-u-s-about-tsarnaev-spelling-issue-let-him-n60836.
- **161** Eric Schmitt, et al., "Bombing Inquiry Turns to Motive and Russian Trip," *New York Times*, April 20, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html.
- **162** "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **163** "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **164** Greg Miller, "CIA pushed to add Boston bomber to terror watch list," *Washington Post*, April 24, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/cia-pushed-to-add-boston-bomber-to-terror-watch-list/2013/04/24/cf02b43c-ad10-11e2-a8b9-2a63d75b5459 story.html.
- **165** Eric Schmitt, et al., "Bombing Inquiry Turns to Motive and Russian Trip," *New York Times*, April 20, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html.
- **166** Tom Winter, "Russia Warned US About Tsarnaev, But Spelling Issue Let Him Escape," NBC News, March 25, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/boston-bombing-anniversary/russia-warned-u-s-about-tsarnaev-spelling-issue-let-him-n60836.
- 167 "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **168** "User Clip: Secretary Napolitano On Tsarnaev System Ping," C-SPAN, April 23, 2013, https://c-span.org/video/?c4672514/user-clip-secretary-napolitano-tsarnaev-system-ping.
- **169** "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **170** Josh Gerstein, "FBI's Mueller concedes slip-up on alleged Boston bomber's travel," *Politico*, May 16, 2013, https://politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2013/05/fbis-mueller-concedes-slip-up-on-alleged-boston-bombers-travel-164151.
- **171** Staff, "Congressional Report Confirms Boston Bomber Name Misspelled in Security Database," ABC News, March 26, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/congressional-report-confirms-boston-bomber-misspelled-security-database/story?id=23068330.
- **172** Alan Cullison, "Dagestan Islamists Were Uneasy About Boston Bombing Suspect," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324059704578473160866108832.
- **173** Jamie Bologna, "Unanswered Questions About Tamerlan Tsarnaev," WBUR Radio Boston, June 15, 2017, https://wbur.org/radioboston/2017/06/15/tsarnaev-mcphee-fbi.

- 174 "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **175** Scott Shane and Michael S. Schmidt, "FBI Did Not Tell Police in Boston of Russian Tip," *New York Times*, May 9, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/05/10/us/boston-police-werent-told-fbi-gotwarning-on-tsarnaev.html.
- 176 "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- 177 Michael Cooper, et al., "Boston Suspects Are Seen as Self-Taught and Fueled by Web," *New York Times*, April 23, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/24/us/boston-marathon-bombing-developments.html; Scott Wilson, et al., "Boston bombing suspect cites US wars as motivation, officials say," *Washington Post*, April 23, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/national/boston-bombing-suspect-cites-us-wars-as-motivation-officials-say/2013/04/23/324b9cea-ac29-11e2-b6fd-ba6f5f26d70e">https://washingtonpost.com/national/boston-bombing-suspect-cites-us-wars-as-motivation-officials-say/2013/04/23/324b9cea-ac29-11e2-b6fd-ba6f5f26d70e story.html.
- **178** Scott Shane and David M. Herszenhorn, "Agents Pore Over Suspect's Trip to Russia," *New York Times*, April 28, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/29/us/tamerlan-tsarnaevs-contacts-on-russian-trip-draw-scrutiny.html.
- 179 Kirit Radia, "Lawmakers Traveling to Russia to Investigate Boston Bombing," ABC News, May 21, 2013, https://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2013/05/lawmakers-traveling-to-russia-to-investigate-boston-bombing; John Zaremba and Matt Stout, "Jihadi told Russians about Tamerlan," *Boston Herald*, May 4, 2013 (updated November 17, 2018),
- https://bostonherald.com/2013/05/04/jihadi-told-russians-about-tamerlan.
- **180** Michele McPhee, *Mayhem: Unanswered Questions About the Tsarnaev Brothers, the US Government and the Boston Marathon Bombing* (Lebanon: Steerforth Press, 2020), 122–24.
- **181** Staff, "Feds Probe Boston Marathon Bombing Suspect's Link to Russian Militants," ABC News, April 30, 2013, https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/feds-probe-boston-bomb-suspects-link-russian-militants/story?id=19072494.
- **182** Alan Cullison, "Dagestan Islamists Were Uneasy About Boston Bombing Suspect," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324059704578473160866108832.
- **183** Alan Cullison, "Dagestan Islamists Were Uneasy About Boston Bombing Suspect," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324059704578473160866108832.
- **184** Katharine Q. Seelye, "2nd Bombing Suspect Caught After Frenzied Hunt Paralyzes Boston," *New York Times*, April 19, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/20/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html.
- **185** Michael S. Schmidt and Eric Schmitt, "Russia Didn't Share All Details on Boston Bombing Suspect, Report Says," *New York Times*, April 9, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/10/us/russia-failed-to-share-details-on-boston-marathon-bombing-suspect.html.
- **186** Ellen Barry, "Suspect in Boston Bombing Talked Jihad in Russia," *New York Times*, May 9, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/05/10/world/europe/in-russia-marathon-bombing-suspect-talked-jihad.html. **187** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 107–10.
- **188** Alan Cullison, "Dagestan Islamists Were Uneasy About Boston Bombing Suspect," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324059704578473160866108832.
- **189** Ellen Barry, "Suspect in Boston Bombing Talked Jihad in Russia," *New York Times*, May 9, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/05/10/world/europe/in-russia-marathon-bombing-suspect-talked-jihad.html.
- **190** Staff, "The Road to Boston: Counterterrorism Challenges and Lessons from the Marathon Bombings," US House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, March 2014, https://irp.fas.org/congress/2014 rpt/boston.pdf.
- **191** Rachel Paiste, "Tamerlan Tsarnaev Was Approached To Be An Informant, Defense Says," WBUR Boston, March 28, 2014, https://wbur.org/news/2014/03/28/tamerlan-tsarnaev-fbi-informant.

- **192** Ian Gallagher and Will Steward, "Was Boston bomber inspired by Russia's Bin Laden?" *Daily Mail*, April 20, 2013, https://dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2312331/Was-Boston-bomber-inspired-Doku-Umarov-Mother-claims-FBI-tracked-older-brother-years-told-Moscow-links-Chechenterrorists.html.
- **193** Peter Weber, "6 gripping new details about the Boston bombing endgame," *The Week*, April 22, 2013, https://theweek.com/articles/465278/6-gripping-new-details-about-boston-bombing-endgame.
- **194** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 11–19.
- 195 McPhee, Mayhem, 15, 16.
- **196** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 64.
- **197** Masha Gessen, *The Brothers: The Road to an American Tragedy* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2015), 255.
- **198** Staff, "Could the Boston Marathon bombings have been prevented?" CBS News, April 15, 2014, https://cbsnews.com/news/could-the-boston-marathon-bombings-have-been-prevented.
- 199 McPhee, Mayhem, vii.
- **200** Michele McPhee, *Maximum Harm: The Tsarnaev Brothers, The FBI, and the Road to the Marathon Bombing* (Lebanon: ForeEdge, 2017), 142, 143.
- **201** Jamie Bologna, "Unanswered Questions About Tamerlan Tsarnaev," WBUR Radio Boston, June 15, 2017, https://wbur.org/radioboston/2017/06/15/tsarnaev-mcphee-fbi.
- **202** FBI 302, April 23, 2011, https://vault.fbi.gov/tamerlan-tsarnaev.
- **203** Michele McPhee, "Tamerlan Tsarnaev: Terrorist. Murderer. Federal Informant?" *Boston Magazine*, April 9, 2017, https://bostonmagazine.com/news/2017/04/09/tamerlan-tsarnaev-fbi-informant.
- **204** "Unclassified Summary of Information Handling and Sharing Prior to the April 15, 2013, Boston Marathon Bombings," combined Inspectors General report, April 10, 2014, https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2014/s1404.pdf.
- **205** Jamie Bologna, "Unanswered Questions About Tamerlan Tsarnaev," WBUR Radio Boston, June 15, 2017, https://wbur.org/radioboston/2017/06/15/tsarnaev-mcphee-fbi.
- **206** Jamie Bologna, "Unanswered Questions About Tamerlan Tsarnaev," WBUR Radio Boston, June 15, 2017, https://wbur.org/radioboston/2017/06/15/tsarnaev-mcphee-fbi.
- **207** Michael S. Schmidt and Eric Schmitt, "Russia Didn't Share All Details on Boston Bombing Suspect, Report Says," *New York Times*, April 9, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/10/us/russia-failed-to-share-details-on-boston-marathon-bombing-suspect.html.
- **208** Michele McPhee, "Tamerlan Tsarnaev: Terrorist. Murderer. Federal Informant?" *Boston Magazine*, April 9, 2017, https://bostonmagazine.com/news/2017/04/09/tamerlan-tsarnaev-fbi-informant.
- **209** McPhee, *Maximum Harm*, 104–50.
- **210** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 124–25.
- **211** Tom Parfitt, "Boston bombs: the Canadian boxer and the terror recruiter who 'led Tsarnaev on path to jihad," *Telegraph*, April 28, 2013,
- https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/10024185/Boston-bombs-the-Canadian-boxer-and-the-terror-recruiter-who-led-Tsarnaev-on-path-to-jihad.html. Graham Fuller—former CIA officer, director of the National Intelligence Council in the Ronald Reagan years and experienced Central Asia hand—was tangentially related to the story in that his daughter, Samantha Fuller, had been married to the Tsarnaevs' uncle Ruslan in the 1990s. This was probably just a coincidence. Laura Rozen, "Former CIA officer: 'Absurd' to link uncle of Boston suspects, Agency," Al-Monitor, April 27, 2013,
- http://backchannel.al-monitor.com/index.php/2013/04/5090/former-cia-officer-absurd-to-link-uncle-of-boston-suspects-agency-over-daughters-brief-marriage. It was strange, though, because his specialty had been using Muslims against Russia; Labévière, 6.
- **212** Trevor Aaronson, *The Terror Factory: Inside the FBI's Manufactured War on Terrorism* (New York: IG, 2013).

- **213** Eric Lichtblau, "Prosecutor in Terror Case Quits Agency," *New York Times*, May 17, 2005, https://nytimes.com/2005/05/17/politics/prosecutor-in-terror-case-quits-agency.html.
- **214** Editorial Board, "Commentary: Liberty City case sets low standard for preemptive arrest," *Miami Herald*, May 18, 2009, https://mcclatchydc.com/opinion/article24538699.html.
- **215** Joel Rose, "Fort Dix Trial May Be Tied To Informant's Story," NPR News, November 14, 2008, https://npr.org/2008/11/14/96954400/fort-dix-trial-may-be-tied-to-informants-story.
- **216** Staff, "Feds: Informant key to foiling alleged JFK plot," AP, June 4, 2007, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna19025847.
- **217** Hal Bernton, "Was FBI grooming Portland suspect for terror?" *Seattle Times*, November 29, 2010, https://seattletimes.com/seattle-news/was-fbi-grooming-portland-suspect-for-terror.
- **218** Mark Arax, "The Agent Who Might Have Saved Hamid Hayat," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2006, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-may-28-tm-wedick22-story.html.
- **219** Staff, "Pakistani Convicted In Subway Threat," CBS News, March 24, 2006, https://cbsnews.com/news/pakistani-convicted-in-subway-threat; Rozina Ali, "The 'Herald Square Bomber' Who Wasn't," *New York Times Magazine*, April 15, 2021,
- https://nytimes.com/2021/04/15/magazine/fbi-international-terrorism-informants.html.
- **220** Erica Orden, "Najibullah Zazi, who plotted to bomb the New York subway, gets a second chance," CNN, September 28, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/05/01/us/najibullah-zazi-new-york-subway-bomb-plot-sentencing/index.html.
- **221** Amy Goodman, "Judge Says FBI Invented a Conspiracy in Fake Bomb Plot, Orders Release of 3 Men," Democracy Now!, July 31, 2023, https://truthout.org/video/judge-says-fbi-invented-a-conspiracy-in-fake-bomb-plot-orders-release-of-3-men.
- **222** Ben Nuckols, "FBI: Md. bomb plot suspect knew about Oregon sting," AP, December 9, 2010, https://nbcnews.com/id/wbna40587513.
- **223** Avi Selk, "'Tear up Texas,' undercover FBI agent told Islamic State shooter before Garland attack," *Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 2016, https://dallasnews.com/news/crime/2016/08/05/tear-up-texas-undercover-fbi-agent-told-islamic-state-shooter-before-garland-attack.
- **224** Ian Cummings, "FBI undercover stings foil terrorist plots but how many are agency-created?" McClatchy, March 3, 2017, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/mcclatchys-america/article135983268.html.
- 225 McPhee, Mayhem, 11-19.
- **226** Carol Cratty and Michael Martinez, "Man, 26, charged in plot to bomb Pentagon using model airplane," CNN, September 29, 2011, https://cnn.com/2011/09/28/us/massachusetts-pentagon-plot-arrest/index.html.
- **227** Trevor Aaronson, "How the FBI in Boston May Have Pursued the Wrong Terrorist," *Mother Jones*, April 23, 2013, https://motherjones.com/politics/2013/04/fbi-boston-tamerlan-tsarnaev-sting-operations.
- **228** Fatima Tlisova, "FBI Probes Exiled Chechen Rebel for Link to Bombing Suspect," Voice of America, May 15, 2013, https://voanews.com/a/boston-marathon-bombing/1661874.html.
- **229** Staff, "Daghestani Insurgency Denies Any Role In Boston Bombings," RFERL, August 22, 2013, https://rferl.org/a/daghestan-insurgency-denies-any-role-in-boston-bombing/24964774.html.
- **230** Alissa de Carbonnel and Stephanie Simon, "Special Report: The radicalization of Tamerlan Tsarnaev," Reuters, April 23, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-explosions-radicalisation-special-idUSBRE93M0CZ20130423.
- **231** Mark Arsenault, "Dead suspect broke angrily with Muslim speakers," *Boston Globe*, April 22, 2013, https://boston.com/news/national-news/2013/04/22/dead-suspect-broke-angrily-with-muslim-speakers.

- **232** Scott Wilson, et al., "Boston bombing suspect cites US wars as motivation, officials say," *Washington Post*, April 23, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/national/boston-bombing-suspect-cites-us-wars-as-motivation-officials-say/2013/04/23/324b9cea-ac29-11e2-b6fd-ba6f5f26d70e story.html.
- **233** Eric Levenson, "Here's the Note Dzhokhar Tsarnaev Wrote Inside the Boat Where He Was Captured," *Boston Globe*, March 10, 2015, https://boston.com/news/local-news/2015/03/10/heres-the-note-dzhokhar-tsarnaev-wrote-inside-the-boat-where-he-was-captured.
- **234** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 83.
- 235 See Chapter Two.
- **236** Matt Spetalnick, et al., "US, Russian spies' 'trust deficit' may have clouded Boston case," Reuters, April 25, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/uk-usa-explosions-boston-distrust/u-s-russian-spies-trust-deficit-may-have-clouded-boston-case-idUKBRE93O1DW20130425.
- 237 The same guy who had helped plan the "Operation Storm" atrocity in Croatia in 1995. See Chapter Two. He also lied that Iraq had WMD, and then lied that they had moved it all to Syria. Then he lied to Congress that the NSA was not spying on Americans. See above. It gets worse. See below.
- **238** Matt Spetalnick, et al., "US, Russian spies' 'trust deficit' may have clouded Boston case," Reuters, April 25, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/uk-usa-explosions-boston-distrust/u-s-russian-spies-trust-deficit-may-have-clouded-boston-case-idUKBRE93O1DW20130425.
- **239** Staff, "Complete Inspire Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) Magazine," Public Intelligence, July 14, 2010, http://info.publicintelligence.net/CompleteInspire.pdf.
- **240** Staff, "FBI Feared Boston Bombers 'Received Training' And Aid From Terror Group, Docs Say," ABC News, May 21, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/fbi-feared-boston-bombers-received-training-aid-terror/story?id=23819429.
- **241** Staff, "Could the Boston Bombers Have Been Stopped?" ABC News, April 15, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/boston-bombers-stopped/story?id=23331603.
- **242** Alexandra Field and Steve Almasy, "Did the Tsarnaev brothers have help making Boston Marathon bombs?" CNN, March 5, 2015, https://cnn.com/2015/03/05/us/boston-marathon-bombing-trial-help/index.html.
- **243** McPhee, *Maximum Harm*, 191–94.
- **244** McPhee, *Maximum Harm*, 199–201.
- 245 McPhee, Mayhem, 188–201.
- **246** Michael S. Schmidt, "Deadly End to FBI Queries on Tsarnaev and a Triple Killing," *New York Times*, May 22, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/05/23/us/officer-involved-in-shooting-of-man-tied-to-tsarnaev.html.
- **247** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 171–76.
- **248** Serge F. Kovaleski and Richard A. Oppel Jr., "In 2011 Murder Inquiry, Hints of Missed Chance to Avert Boston Bombing," *New York Times*, July 10, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/07/11/us/boston-bombing-suspect-is-said-to-be-linked-to-2011-triple-murder-case.html.
- **249** McPhee, *Mayhem*, 99.
- **250** Katharine Q. Seelye, "2nd Bombing Suspect Caught After Frenzied Hunt Paralyzes Boston," *New York Times*, April 19, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/20/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html.
- **251** Svea Herbst-Bayliss and Stephanie Simon, "Gunfire heard in search for Boston Marathon bomb suspect," Reuters, April 19, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-explosions-boston-shooting-idUSBRE93I0GO20130419.
- **252** James Bovard, "Boston: Death Sentence for Looking out Window?" JimBovard.com, April 22, 2013, https://jimbovard.com/blog/2013/04/22/boston-death-sentence-for-looking-out-window; Radley Balko, "Was the police response to the Boston bombing really appropriate?" *Washington Post*, April 22, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2014/04/22/the-police-response-to-the-boston-marathon-bombing.

- **253** Brian Ross, et al., "Boston Bombing Day 5: Never-Before-Heard 911 Call That Ended It All," ABC News, April 22, 2016, https://abcnews.go.com/US/boston-bombing-day-heard-911-call-ended/story?id=38375731.
- **254** Katharine Q. Seelye, "2nd Bombing Suspect Caught After Frenzied Hunt Paralyzes Boston," *New York Times*, April 19, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/04/20/us/boston-marathon-bombings.html.
- **255** Staff, "Islamist rebel says he ordered Russian bombing," Reuters, February 7, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/uk-russia-bomb-umarov/islamist-rebel-says-he-ordered-russian-bombing-idUKTRE7166JI20110208.
- **256** Staff, "Putin Talks About Boston Bombings, Navalny, Berezovsky In Q&A Session," RFERL, April 25, 2013, https://rferl.org/a/putin-conducts-annual-phone-in/24968071.html.
- **257** "An interview with General Valery Zaluzhny, head of Ukraine's armed forces," *The Economist*, December 15, 2022, https://economist.com/zaluzhny-transcript.
- **258** Andrew Kramer, "'Where Is the Money?' Military Graft Becomes a Headache for Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 4, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/09/04/world/europe/ukraine-military-spending-corruption.html.
- **259** Elena Chernenko and Alexander Gabuev, "The interests of the Russian Federation and the United States in relation to Ukraine are incompatible with each other," *Kommersant*, December 19, 2014, https://kommersant.ru/doc/2636177.
- **260** David J. Kramer, "If Ukraine wins against Russian aggression, freedom wins," *Washington Post*, March 17, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/if-ukraine-wins-against-russian-aggression-freedom-wins/2014/03/17/8619f806-ae05-11e3-9627-c65021d6d572 story.html.
- **261** Peter Certo, "Carl Gershman," Militarist Monitor, March 25, 2014, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/carl-gershman.
- **262** Carl Gershman, "Former Soviet States Stand Up to Russia. Will the US?" *Washington Post*, September 26, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/former-soviet-states-stand-up-to-russia-will-the-us/2013/09/26/b5ad2be4-246a-11e3-b75d-5b7f66349852 story.html.
- **263** Staff, "Ukraine has no alternative but European integration Yanukovych," Interfax-Ukraine, November 21, 2013, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/176156.html.
- **264** "EU Ukraine Association Agreement (2014)," Electronic Database of Investment Treaties, 2014, https://edit.wti.org/document/show/3400de00-caef-47c1-9863-fc982207040a.
- **265** Elizabeth Piper, "Special Report: Why Ukraine Spurned the EU and Embraced Russia," Reuters, December 19, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-russia-deal-special-report/special-report-why-ukraine-spurned-the-eu-and-embraced-russia-idUSBRE9BI0DZ20131219.
- **266** "EU and Ukraine Draft EU Association Agreement approved by Ukraine Government," Import and Trade Remedies Blog, September 30, 2013,
- https://internationaltradecomplianceupdate.com/2013/09/30/eu-and-ukraine-draft-eu-association-agreement-approved-by-ukraine-government.
- **267** Andrew Cockburn, "Undelivered Goods," *Harper's*, August 13, 2015, https://harpers.org/2015/08/undelivered-goods.
- **268** Damien McElroy, "Ukraine Receives Half Price Gas and \$15 Billion to Stick With Russia," *Telegraph*, December 17, 2013,
- $\underline{https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/10523225/Ukraine-receives-half-price-gas-and-15-billion-to-stick-with-Russia.html.}$
- 269 See Chapter Three.
- 270 "Free Trade Agreement Between Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russian Federation: Agreement on the Establishment of the Common Economic Zone," September 19, 2003,
- https://investmentpolicy.unctad.org/international-investment-agreements/treaty-files/4731/download.
- **271** Charap and Colton, 119; Lee Smith, "Ukraine's Deadly Gamble," *Tablet*, February 25, 2022, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/ukraines-deadly-gamble.

- **272** Interview with author, Eric Margolis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, January 27, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/012714-eric-margolis; Hahn, 175.
- **273** Jettie Word, et al., "Walking on the West Side: the World Bank and the IMF in the Ukraine Conflict," Oakland Institute, July 28, 2014,
- https://oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/OurBiz_Brief_Ukraine.pdf.
- **274** Timothy Heritage and Richard Balmforth, "Russia Steals 'Ukrainian Bride' at the Altar," Reuters, November 22, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/ukraine-eu-russia/russia-steals-ukrainian-bride-at-the-altar-idINDEE9AL0DW20131122; Shaun Walker, "Ukraine's EU trade deal will be catastrophic, says Russia," *Guardian*, September 22, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/22/ukraine-european-union-trade-russia.
- 275 Staff, "Ukraine drops EU plans and looks to Russia," Al Jazeera, November 21, 2013, https://aljazeera.com/news/2013/11/21/ukraine-drops-eu-plans-and-looks-to-russia; Ian Traynor and Oksana Grytsenko, "Ukraine suspends talks on EU trade pact as Putin wins tug of war," *Guardian*, November 21, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/21/ukraine-suspends-preparations-eu-trade-pact.
- **276** Petro, 146; Hahn, 170–71; Staff, "Ukraine to resume preparing agreement with EU when compensation for production drop found Boiko," Interfax-Ukraine, November 21, 2013, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/176144.html.
- **277** Staff, "Trading insults," *The Economist*, August 24, 2013, https://economist.com/europe/2013/08/24/trading-insults.
- **278** James Marson, "Russia Bails Out Ukraine In Rebuke to US, Europe," *Wall Street Journal*, December 17, 2013, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304403804579263963348323966.
- **279** David Kashi, "Is Russia's Hold On Ukraine & Europe Dwindling?" *International Business Times*, November 8, 2013, https://ibtimes.com/russias-hold-ukraine-europe-dwindling-how-chevron-cvx-may-unlock-energy-security-1460970.
- **280** Pavel Polityuk and Richard Balmforth, "Ukraine signs \$10 billion shale gas deal with Chevron," Reuters, November 5, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-chevron/ukraine-signs-10-billion-shale-gas-deal-with-chevron-idUSBRE9A40ML20131105.
- **281** Staff, "Ukraine wants trade agreements with EU and Russia," Euractiv, January 4, 2013, https://euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/news/ukraine-wants-trade-agreements-with-eu-and-russia.
- **282** Jonathan Steele, "Ukraine's protests are not about a yearning for European values," *Guardian*, December 12, 2013, http://theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/12/solution-to-ukraine-crisi-political-not-economic; Will Englund and Kathy Lally, "Ukraine, under pressure from Russia, puts brakes on EU deal," *Washington Post*, November 21, 2013,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/ukraine-under-pressure-from-russia-puts-brakes-on-eudeal/2013/11/21/46c50796-52c9-11e3-9ee6-2580086d8254\ story.html.$
- **283** "Threats in Ukraine: Coup, Fascism and War And Western Culpability," Accuracy.org, February 20, 2014, https://accuracy.org/release/threats-in-ukraine-coup-fascism-and-war-and-western-culpability. **284** Staff, "How the EU Lost Russia over Ukraine," *Der Spiegel*, November 24, 2014,
- https://spiegel.de/international/europe/war-in-ukraine-a-result-of-misunderstandings-between-europe-and-russia-a-1004706.html.
- **285** George Soros, "Sustaining Ukraine's breakthrough: EU expertise and markets are essential," *Guardian*, February 27, 2014, https://theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2014/feb/27/ukraine-eu-expertise-markets-george-soros.
- **286** Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine's Premier Hails Russian Aid, Saying Crisis Has Passed," *New York Times*, December 18, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/12/19/world/europe/ukraine.html.
- **287** "EU Ukraine Association Agreement (2014)," Electronic Database of Investment Treaties, 2014, https://edit.wti.org/document/show/3400de00-caef-47c1-9863-fc982207040a.

- **288** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- **289** Ian Traynor and Oksana Grytsenko, "Ukraine suspends talks on EU trade pact as Putin wins tug of war," *Guardian*, November 21, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/21/ukraine-suspends-preparations-eu-trade-pact.
- **290** Hahn, 163–64; Tom Balmforth, "Out Of Ukrainian Protests, A New Media Outlet Is Born," RFERL, December 13, 2013, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-media-protests-hromadske-euromaidan/25199816.html.
- 291 Mustafa Nayyem Facebook post 1, November 21, 2013,
- https://facebook.com/Mustafanayyem/posts/10201177280260151; Mustafa Nayyem Facebook post 2, November 21, 2013, https://facebook.com/Mustafanayyem/posts/10201178184682761; Staff, "Mustafa Nayem, Ukrainian Journalist and Activist," *The Interview*, France 24, January 16, 2014,
- $\underline{https://france24.com/en/20140116\text{-}interview-mustafa-nayem-ukrainian-journalist-activist-kiev-protests}.$
- **292** Staff, "Huge Ukraine Rally over EU Agreement Delay," BBC, November 24, 2013, http://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-25078952; Olga Onuch and Gwendolyn Sasse, "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (March 2016), 573, https://researchgate.net/publication/299518223.
- **293** Alexander J. Motyl, "Yanukovych Must Go," *Foreign Affairs*, December 11, 2013, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/eastern-europe-caucasus/2013-12-11/yanukovych-must-go.
- **294** Staff, "Ukraine's president tries to calm tensions as clashes continue," Business News Europe, November 26, 2013, https://russialist.org/ukraines-president-tries-to-calm-tensions-as-clashes-continue.
- **295** "EuroMaidan rallies in Ukraine Nov. 25 coverage," *Kyiv Post*, November 27, 2013, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/euromaidan/euromaidan-rallies-in-ukraine-nov-25-coverage-332512.html.
- **296** David Stern, "Ukraine police disperse EU-deal protesters," BBC, November 30, 2013, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-25164990.
- **297** Staff, "EuroMaidan rallies on Dec. 1. The peaceful morning," *Kyiv Post*, December 1, 2013, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/euromaidan-rallies-on-dec-1-12-am-to-2-pm-euromaidan-rallies-in-ukraine-332752.html; Olga Onuch and Gwendolyn Sasse, "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (March 2016), 573, https://researchgate.net/publication/299518223.
- **298** Anders Åslund, "Euro revolution in Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, December 3, 2013, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/anders-aslund-euro-revolution-in-ukraine-332865.html.
- **299** Hahn, 186–87.
- **300** Shaun Walker, "Kiev anti-government protesters remain in control in parts of city," *Guardian*, December 2, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/02/kiev-anti-government-protesters-viktor-yanukovych.
- **301** Corey Flintoff and Robert Siegel, "Ukrainian President Withstands No-Confidence Vote Amid Protests," NPR News, December 3, 2013, https://npr.org/2013/12/03/248568492/ukrainian-president-withstands-no-confidence-vote-amid-protests.
- **302** Jim Lobe, "All in the Neocon Family," AlterNet, March 27, 2003, https://alternet.org/2003/03/all in the neocon family.
- **303** Victoria Nuland, "Terrorist Designations of the al-Nusrah Front as an Alias for al-Qa'ida in Iraq," US State Department, December 11, 2012, <a href="https://2009-parent-pa
- 2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/12/201759.htm.
- **304** Staff, "Ukraine Protests: Police Pull Back From Camp," Sky News, December 10, 2013, https://news.sky.com/story/ukraine-protests-police-pull-back-from-camp-10425037.

- **305** Staff, "Top US official visits protesters in Kiev as Obama admin. ups pressure on Ukraine president Yanukovich," CBS News, December 11, 2013, https://cbsnews.com/news/us-victoria-nuland-wades-into-ukraine-turmoil-over-yanukovich.
- **306** Staff, "John McCain Tells Ukraine Protesters: 'We Are Here to Support Your Just Cause," *Guardian*, December 15, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/15/john-mccain-ukraine-protests-support-just-cause.
- **307** Staff, "John McCain Tells Ukraine Protesters: 'We Are Here to Support Your Just Cause," *Guardian*, December 15, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/15/john-mccain-ukraine-protests-support-just-cause.
- 308 Brzezinski, 46.
- **309** Barry Goldwater, *With No Apologies: The Personal and Political Memoirs of United States Senator Barry M. Goldwater* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1979), 277–85.
- 310 Defense Department spokesman Adm. John Kirby later confirmed that number: Press Release, "Pentagon Press Secretary John F. Kirby Holds a Press Briefing," US Defense Department, April 6, 2022, https://defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/2991964/pentagon-press-secretary-john-f-kirby-holds-a-press-briefing, as did Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Melia: "Statement of Thomas O. Melia Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor," US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 15, 2014, https://foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Melia Testimony4.pdf.
- 311 "Remarks by Victoria Nuland at the US-Ukraine Foundation Conference," US State Department, December 13, 2013, https://geneva.usmission.gov/2013/12/17/assistant-secretary-nuland-speaks-at-u-s-ukraine-foundation-conference; Victoria Nuland, "Victoria Nuland at 'Ukraine in Washington 2013': Ukrainians deserve a government that respects them," December 13, 2013, https://youtube.com/watch?v=xtMwcE9K NA.
- 312 William Jay Risch, "Heart of Europe, Heart of Darkness: Ukraine's Euromaidan and Its Enemies," in *The Unwanted Europeanness? Understanding Division and Inclusion in Contemporary Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), ed. Branislav Radeljić, 144–45. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684216. 313 Matthias Gebauer, et al., "Berlin Alarmed by Aggressive NATO Stance on Ukraine," *Der Spiegel*, March 6, 2015, http://spiegel.de/international/world/germany-concerned-about-aggressive-nato-stance-on-ukraine-a-1022193.html.
- **314** Keith Darden and Lucan Way, "Who are the protesters in Ukraine?" *Washington Post*, February 12, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/12/who-are-the-protesters-in-ukraine.
- **315** Olga Onuch and Gwendolyn Sasse, "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (March 2016), 573, https://researchgate.net/publication/299518223.
- **316** Max Fisher, "This One Map Helps Explain Ukraine's Protests," *Washington Post*, December 9, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2013/12/09/this-one-map-helps-explain-ukraines-protests.
- **317** "Fuck the EU!' (Original File) Victoria Nuland phoning with Geoffrey Pyatt," FreiBILDfuerAlle, February 10, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=KIvRljAaNgg; "Ukraine Crisis: Transcript of Leaked Nuland-Pyatt Call," BBC, February 7, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26079957.
- 318 Vladimir Matveyev, "Ukrainian party picks xenophobic candidate," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, May 25, 2009, https://jta.org/2009/05/25/global/ukrainian-party-picks-xenophobic-candidate.
 319 David M. Herszenhorn, "Ukraine's Ultranationalists Show Surprising Strength at Polls," *New York*
- Times, November 8, 2012, https://nytimes.com/2012/11/09/world/europe/ukraines-ultranationalists-do-well-in-elections.html.

- **320** Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **321** Adam Taylor, "John McCain Went To Ukraine And Stood On Stage With A Man Accused Of Being An Anti-Semitic Neo-Nazi," AP, December 16, 2013, https://finance.yahoo.com/news/john-mccain-went-ukraine-stood-202343813.html.
- **322** Alina Pastukhova, "Tyahnybok: Nationalist, fearful of Russia, favors NATO," *Kyiv Post*, October 29, 2008, https://kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/tyahnybok-nationalist-fearful-of-russia-favors-nat-30697.html.
- **323** De Ploeg, 47; William Taylor, "Yatsenyuk, Rising Politician," US State Department, July 3, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08KYIV1300 a.html.
- **324** Peter Nicholas, "As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton Hosted at Dinner a Ukrainian Donor to Family Foundation," *Wall Street Journal*, August 23, 2016, http://wsj.com/articles/as-secretary-of-state-hillary-clinton-hosted-at-dinner-a-ukrainian-donor-to-family-foundation-1471995857.
- **325** Staff, "US blames Russia for leak of undiplomatic language from top official," AFP, February 6, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/06/us-russia-eu-victoria-nuland; "limited hangout," Urban Dictionary, July 8, 2020, https://urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=limited%20hangout.
- **326** Interview with author, Daniel McAdams, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 8, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/020914-daniel-mcadams.
- **327** Nicolas Revise and Jerome Rivet, "West presses Ukraine to heed protesters' demands," AFP, December 5, 2013, https://sg.news.yahoo.com/west-sides-ukraine-protesters-39-calls-reform-140415798.html; Laura Smith-Spark, et al., "Ukraine government resigns, parliament scraps antiprotest laws amid crisis," CNN, January 28, 2014,
- https://edition.cnn.com/2014/01/28/world/europe/ukraine-protests/index.html; Simon Shuster, "Ukraine's Prime Minister Resigns, but Protesters Don't Care," *Time*, January 28, 2014, https://world.time.com/2014/01/28/ukraines-prime-minister-resigns-but-protesters-dont-care.
- 328 Will Englund, "Ukraine president says he'll name rival as prime minister, but opposition demands more," *Washington Post*, January 25, 2014, https://dw.com/en/ukraine-opposition-shuns-yanukovych-power-share-offer/a-17387381.
- **329** Will Englund, "Ukraine president says he'll name rival as prime minister, but opposition demands more," *Washington Post*, January 25, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/ukraine-president-says-hell-name-rival-as-prime-minister-but-opposition-demands-more/2014/01/25/571f5e9c-860a-11e3-8742-668814928ae4_story.html.
- **330** Dan Murphy, "A Piece of News That Should Have Vladimir Putin Grinning," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 11, 2014, https://csmonitor.com/World/Security-Watch/Backchannels/2014/0304/A-piece-of-news-that-should-have-Vladimir-Putin-grinning.
- **331** Dan Murphy, "Amid US-Russia tussle over Ukraine, a leaked tape of Victoria Nuland," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 6, 2014, https://csmonitor.com/World/Security-
- $\underline{Watch/Backchannels/2014/0206/Amid-US-Russia-tussle-over-Ukraine-a-leaked-tape-of-Victoria-Nuland}.$
- **332** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- **333** Elise Labott, "Top US diplomat launches f-bomb on EU in leaked recorded conversation," CNN, February 6, 2014,
- $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20140208071645/http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2014/02/06/top-u-s-diplomat-launches-f-bomb-on-eu-in-leaked-recorded-conversation.}$

- **334** Anne Gearan, "In recording of US diplomat, blunt talk on Ukraine," *Washington Post*, February 6, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-purported-recording-of-us-diplomat-blunt-talk-on-ukraine/2014/02/06/518240a4-8f4b-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb_story.html.
- **335** Carl Gershman, "Ukraine's Success after 25 years," National Endowment for Democracy, September 14, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20161212145839/https://ned.org/ukraines-success-after-25-years.
- **336** William J. Daugherty, *Executive Secrets: Covert Action and the Presidency* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 131.
- 337 Oleh Rybachuk Profile, National Endowment for Democracy,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20220509175621/https://ned.org/fellows/oleh-rybachuk.
- **338** See Chapter Three.
- **339** "New Citizen (Centre UA)," Portfolios, Omidyar Network, March 10, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120310103804/http://omidyar.com/portfolio/new-citizen-centre-ua.
- **340** George Soros, "Sustaining Ukraine's breakthrough: EU expertise and markets are essential," *Guardian*, February 27, 2014, https://theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2014/feb/27/ukraine-eu-expertise-markets-george-soros.
- **341** "Understanding Ukraine's Euromaidan Protests," Open Society Foundation, May 2019, https://opensocietyfoundations.org/explainers/understanding-ukraines-euromaidan-protests.
- **342** Mark Rachkevych, "Rybachuk: Democracy-promoting nongovernmental organization faces 'ridiculous' investigation," *Kyiv Post*, February 10, 2014, https://kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/rybachuk-democracy-promoting-nongovernmental-organization-faces-ridiculous-investigation-336583.html.
- 343 Hahn, 164.
- **344** Steve Weissman, "Meet the Americans Who Put Together the Coup in Kiev," Ron Paul Institute, March 25, 2014, https://ronpaulinstitute.org/meet-the-americans-who-put-together-the-coup-in-kiev.
- **345** "Euromaidan Press Annual Report," August 2015–2016, https://euromaidanpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/annualreport2016-1.pdf.
- 346 Euromaidan Press, "Patrons, donors, and partners," https://euromaidanpress.com/about/partners.
- **347** Staff, "IRF Board Dinner Meeting with GS," International Renaissance Foundation, March 31, 2014, https://drishtikone.com/content/files/2023/11/Ukraine-Working-Group-2014-gs-ukraine-visitmarch-2014notes.pdf.
- **348** Roman Olearchyk, "Ukraine: inside the pro-EU protest camp," *Financial Times*, December 14, 2013, https://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/2013/12/14/ukraine-inside-the-pro-eu-protest-camp.
- **349** Diane Francis, "In Ukraine, 'how little has changed' even after Orange Revolution," Financial Post, March 10, 2012, http://opinion.financialpost.com/2012/03/10/in-ukraine-how-little-has-changed-even-after-orange-revolution.
- **350** Mustafa Nayyem, "Uprising in Ukraine: How It All Began," Open Societies Foundation, April 4, 2014, http://opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/uprising-ukraine-how-it-all-began.
- **351** "Omidyar Network Supports 15 Transparency and Accountability Organizations with Grants Totaling \$9.7m," Omidyar Network, December 11, 2014, https://prnewswire.com/news-releases/omidyar-network-supports-15-transparency-and-accountability-organizations-with-grants-totaling-97m-300008325.html.
- **352** Kit Klarenberg, "Anatomy of a Coup: How CIA Front Laid Foundations for Ukraine War," Kit's Newsletter, July 1, 2022, https://kitklarenberg.substack.com/p/anatomy-of-a-coup-how-cia-front-laid.
- **353** Will Porter, "Ukraine's NATO Bid Risks Even Worse US-Russia Ties," Consortium News, April 18, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/04/18/ukraines-nato-bid-risks-even-worse-u-s-russia-relations; Porter is this book's editor.
- **354** Kenneth Rapoza, "Look Who Funds Ukraine's 'Anti-Putin' Internet TV," *Forbes*, April 27, 2016, https://forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2016/04/27/look-who-funds-ukraines-anti-putin-internet-tv.

- **355** Wayne Sharpe and Josh Machleder, "Ukraine Media Project (U-Media) Annual Report, October 1, 2012 September 30, 2013," December 2013, https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00SVFT.pdf.
- **356** Robert Parry, "A Shadow US Foreign Policy," Consortium News, February 27, 2014, https://consortiumnews.com/2014/02/27/a-shadow-us-foreign-policy.
- **357** David J. Kramer, "Yanukovych should resign," *Kyiv Post*, December 9, 2013, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/ukraine-president-should-resign-sanctions-warranted-if-more-violence-against-protesters-press-333329.html.
- **358** "Ihor Kolomoyskyy," *Forbes*, April 4, 2023, https://forbes.com/profile/ihor-kolomoyskyy. **359** Graham Stack, "Ukraine seeks to reassert control over Ukrnafta with new CEO," BNE IntelliNews, February 25, 2011, https://intellinews.com/ukraine-seeks-to-reassert-control-over-ukrnafta-with-new-ceo-500015396/?archive=bne.
- **360** Natalya Ryabinska, "Ukraine Local Media on the Euromaidan protests," Cultures of History Forum, April 10, 2015, https://cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/focus/ukrainian-crisis/ukraine-local-media-on-the-euromaidan-protests.
- **361** Petro, 98.
- 362 Staff, "Groups at the sharp end of Ukraine unrest," BBC, February 1, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26001710; Simon Shuster, "Right-Wing Thugs Are Hijacking Ukraine's Liberal Uprising," *Time*, January 28, 2014, https://world.time.com/2014/01/28/ukraine-kiev-protests-thugs; Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Insufficiently diverse: The problem of nonviolent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine's Maidan uprising, 2013–2014," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (March 2, 2020), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363.
- 363 "C14 a.k.a. Sich," Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium, 2017, https://trackingterrorism.org/group/c14-aka-sich-ukraine. They claim it just resembles the Ukrainian word for Sich (Січ), which means fort, and is another name for the group. "A Fine Line: Defining Nationalism and Neo-Nazism in Ukraine," Hromadske, May 10, 2018, https://en.hromadske.ua/posts/does-neo-nazism-exist-in-ukraine.
- **364** Staff, "Police release earlier detained activists lawyer," 112 International, February 10, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20190210092603/https://112.international/society/police-release-earlier-detained-activists-lawyer-36864.html.
- **365** Anton Troianovski, "Why Vladimir Putin Invokes Nazis to Justify His Invasion of Ukraine," *New York Times*, March 17, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/17/world/europe/ukraine-putin-nazis.html; Charlie Smart, "How the Russian Media Spread False Claims About Ukrainian Nazis," *New York Times*, July 2, 2022, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2022/07/02/world/europe/ukraine-nazis-russia-media.html; Rachel Treisman, "Putin's claim of fighting against Ukraine 'neo-Nazis' distorts history, scholars say," NPR News, March 1, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/03/01/1083677765/putin-denazify-ukraine-russia-history.
- 366 Alison Smale, "Tending Their Wounds, Vowing to Fight On," *New York Times*, April 5, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/06/world/europe/tending-their-wounds-vowing-to-fight-on.html.

 367 Anthony Zurcher, "Why Harris moved from 'joy' to calling Trump 'a fascist," BBC, October 24, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c1dp7xnyr51o.amp.
- **368** Jonathan Capehart, "Trump's MSG rally draws comparisons to 1939 pro-Nazi rally," MSNBC, October 27, 2024, https://www.msnbc.com/jonathan-capehart/watch/trump-s-msg-rally-draws-comparisons-to-1939-pro-nazi-rally-222807621632.
- **369** Brakkton Booker, "How Trump won one-fifth of Black men and nearly half of Latino men," *Politico*, November 7, 2024, https://www.politico.com/news/2024/11/07/trump-black-latino-menworking-class-00188185.
- **370** Lev Golinkin, "The Heartbreaking Irony of 'Winter on Fire," *The Nation*, February 18, 2016, https://thenation.com/article/archive/the-heartbreaking-irony-of-winter-on-fire.

- **371** Jon Lee Anderson, "Maidan: Tonight Tomorrow," *The New Yorker*, May 27, 2014, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/maidan-tonight-tomorrow.
- **372** Hannah Thoburn, "For the Kremlin, Ukrainian Anti-Semitism Is a Tool for Scaring Russians in Crimea," *Tablet*, March 6, 2014, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/ukraines-wedge-issue.
- **373** David M. Herszenhorn, "Ukraine's Forces Move Against Protesters, Dimming Hopes for Talks," *New York Times*, December 9, 2013, https://nytimes.com/2013/12/10/world/europe/ukraine-unrest.html.
- **374** Staff, "Groups at the sharp end of Ukraine unrest," BBC, February 1, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26001710.
- **375** Alison Smale, "Tending Their Wounds, Vowing to Fight On," *New York Times*, April 5, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/06/world/europe/tending-their-wounds-vowing-to-fight-on.html.
- **376** Palash Ghosh, "Euromaidan: The Dark Shadows Of The Far-Right In Ukraine Protests," *International Business Times*, February 19, 2014. https://ibtimes.com/euromaidan-dark-shadows-far-right-ukraine-protests-1556654.
- **377** Simon Shuster, "Right-Wing Thugs Are Hijacking Ukraine's Liberal Uprising," *Time*, January 28, 2014, https://world.time.com/2014/01/28/ukraine-kiev-protests-thugs.
- 378 Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Insufficiently diverse: The problem of nonviolent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine's Maidan uprising, 2013–2014," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (March 2, 2020), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363; Stratfor, "Protesters In Lviv Raise The Stakes In Ukraine's Crisis," *Forbes*, February 20, 2014, https://forbes.com/sites/stratfor/2014/02/20/protesters-in-lviv-raise-the-stakes-in-ukraines-crisis; Hahn, 194–95.
- **379** Shaun Walker, "Kiev protesters occupy government building amid uneasy truce," *Guardian*, January 24, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/24/kiev-protesters-occupy-government-building-truce-ukraine.
- **380** Staff, "Far-right group at heart of Ukraine protests meet US senator," Channel 4, December 16, 2013, http://channel4.com/news/ukraine-mccain-far-right-svoboda-anti-semitic-protests. **381** De Ploeg, 30.
- **382** Kapranovy Brothers, *Maidan. X-files: A Journalist Investigation* (Kiev: Nora-Druk, 2017), 127–28; Cited in, Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Insufficiently diverse: The problem of nonviolent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine's Maidan uprising, 2013–2014," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (March 2, 2020), 201–15. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363.
- **383** Colborne, 30.
- 384 Hahn, 180-81.
- **385** "The Bonus March," USHistory.org, https://ushistory.org/us/48c.asp.
- **386** Terence McArdle, "The veterans were desperate. Gen. MacArthur ordered US troops to attack them," *Washington Post*, July 28, 2017,
- $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/07/28/the-veterans-were-desperate-gen-macarthur-ordered-u-s-troops-to-attack-them.\\$
- **387** Mark Berman and Emily Wax-Thibodeaux, "Police keep using force against peaceful protesters, prompting sustained criticism about tactics and training," *Washington Post*, June 4, 2020,
- $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/national/police-keep-using-force-against-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-training/2020/06/03/5d2f51d4-a5cf-11ea-bb20-peaceful-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactics-and-tactic-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactic-protesters-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactic-protesters-prompting-sustained-criticism-about-tactic-protesters-protester-prote$
- <u>ebf0921f3bbd_story.html</u>; "Police in riot gear break up protests at UCLA as hundreds are arrested at campuses across US," CBS News, May 2, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/ucla-tense-scene-police-order-protesters-to-leave-nationwide-pro-palestinian-protests; Jacqueline Rose and Eric Levenson,
- "Buffalo protester Martin Gugino has a fractured skull and cannot walk," CNN, June 16, 2020, https://cnn.com/2020/06/16/us/martin-gugino-protester-skull/index.html.

- **388** Julian Pecquet, "Obama threatens 'consequences' for Ukraine violence," *The Hill*, February 19, 2014, https://thehill.com/policy/international/198732-obama-threatens-consequences-for-ukraine-violence.
- **389** Maria Danilova, "Ukraine: Yanukovych ordered snipers to shoot," AP, April 3, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-f5855b135cc741c68bcd72357c9e7833.
- **390** Kirit Radia, "Inside Kiev's Ukraine Hotel the Makeshift Hospital and Morgue," ABC News, February 20, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2014/02/inside-kievs-ukraina-hotel-the-makeshift-hospital-and-morgue.
- **391** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **392** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **393** Alison Smale, "Tending Their Wounds, Vowing to Fight On," *New York Times*, April 5, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/06/world/europe/tending-their-wounds-vowing-to-fight-on.html.
- **394** Simon Shuster, "Exclusive: Leader of Far-Right Ukrainian Militant Group Talks Revolution With TIME," *Time*, February 4, 2014, https://time.com/4493/ukraine-dmitri-yarosh-kiev.
- **395** Katya Gorchinskaya, "He Killed for the Maidan," *Foreign Policy*, February 26, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/02/26/he-killed-for-the-maidan.
- **396** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **397** "Ukraine Maidan deaths: Who fired shots?" BBC, February 12, 2015, https://bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-31435719.
- **398** Gordon M. Hahn, "The Real Ukrainian 'Snipers' Massacre,' February 20, 2014," March 9, 2016, https://gordonhahn.com/2016/03/09/the-real-snipers-massacre-ukraine-february-2014-updatedrevised-working-paper.
- **399** De Ploeg, 36.
- **400** Colborne, 31.
- **401** Nick Paton Walsh, et al., "Truce declared in bloodied Ukraine, but will it last through talks?" CNN, February 19, 2014, https://edition.cnn.com/2014/02/19/world/europe/ukraine-protests/index.html.
- **402** Graham Stack, "What Triggered the Maidan Massacre?" BNE IntelliNews, February 13, 2015, https://intellinews.com/kyiv-blog-what-triggered-the-maidan-massacre-500444157/?archive=bne.
- **403** Gordon M. Hahn, "The Real Ukrainian 'Snipers' Massacre,' February 20, 2014," March 9, 2016, https://gordonhahn.com/2016/03/09/the-real-snipers-massacre-ukraine-february-2014-updatedrevised-working-paper.
- **404** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **405** Konrad Schuller, "How did the bloodbath on the Maidan come about?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 8, 2015, https://faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/ukraine-die-hundertschaften-und-die-dritte-kraft-13414018.html.
- **406** Dan Peleschuk, "Ukrainian court sentences ex-police officers over 2014 Maidan shootings," Reuters, October 18, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukrainian-court-sentences-ex-police-officers-over-2014-maidan-shootings-2023-10-18.
- **407** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **408** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **409** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Ukraine crisis: Sniper fires from Ukraine media hotel," BBC, February 20, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-26284100.

- **410** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg; "Video A," Maidan, October 12, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=1RNCNQpeTqI.
- **411** Gabriel Gatehouse, Twitter Direct Messages to author, August 8–9, 2023 (slightly edited for grammar).
- **412** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Ukraine crisis: Sniper fires from Ukraine media hotel," BBC, February 20, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-26284100.
- 413 Tweet by Steffen Dobbert, February 20, 2014,
- https://x.com/steffendobbert/status/436423960574451712; Tweet by Paul Waldie, February 20, 2014, https://x.com/pwaldieGLOBE/status/436424673698807808.
- **414** Staff, "Poroshenko says evidence shows Kremlin aide Surkov directed snipers in Kiev," Reuters, February 20, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-surkov-idUSKBN0LO1B620150220.
- **415** Maxim Tucker, "The politics of corruption in Kiev," *Politico Europe*, November 19, 2015, https://politico.eu/article/politics-of-corruption-kiev-west-friendly-states.
- **416** Serhiy Leshchenko, "Nalyvaichenko vs. Surkov scenario for Medvedchuk?" Ukrainska Pravda, April 16, 2015, https://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/552ee534b5a10.
- **417** Valery Kalnysh, "Andrey Parubiy: Russian special forces 'worked' on Maidan both on us and on Berkut," RBC, February 18, 2015, https://daily.rbc.ua/rus/show/andrey-parubiy-na-maydane-i-po-nam-i-po-berkutu-rabotal--17022015132900; Gabriel Gatehouse, "Snipers at Maidan: The untold story of a massacre in Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 12, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mJhJ6hks0Jg.
- **418** Mike Eckel, "Russia, Ukraine feud over sniper carnage," AP, March 8, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-c88695ddc12e4568ae2741b6059af852.
- **419** Maria Danilova, "Ukraine: Yanukovych ordered snipers to shoot," AP, April 3, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-f5855b135cc741c68bcd72357c9e7833.
- **420** Andrei Veselov, "'Shoot at All Targets on Maidan': New Evidence of Georgian Snipers," Sputnik, February 14, 2018, https://sputniknews.com/20180214/ukraine-maidan-georgian-snipers-evidence-1061632008.html.
- **421** Gian Micalessin, "The Hidden Truth of Maidan Three Snipers From Georgia Confess," GM News, November 21, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=3cSnrSnYItE.
- **422** Anna Stephen, "The Square of Broken Hopes," May 4, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=C-7xjDxFSQc.
- **423** Staff, "Georgian snipers Maidan testified at the General Prosecutor's Office of Belarus," Strana, October 24, 2019, https://strana.today/news/229688-hruzinskie-snajpery-majdana-dali-pokazanija-v-belarusskoj-henprokuratura.html.
- **424** Daniel Sandford, "Ukraine death toll rises as truce unravels," BBC, February 20, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-26271824.
- **425** Staff, "Estonia: Leaked Ashton Ukraine Conversation 'Authentic," RFERL, March 5, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-ashton-conversation-leaked/25286848.html.
- **426** "Interview with Organizer of Emergency Care for Maidan Protesters about Rising Death Toll in Kiev," CNN, February 20, 2014, http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1402/20/nwsm.01.html.
- **427** "Breaking: Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet and Catherine Ashton Discuss Ukraine Over the Phone," March 5, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZEgJ0oo3OA8; Dana Ford, "Leaked call raises questions about who was behind sniper attacks in Ukraine," CNN, March 6, 2014,
- https://edition.cnn.com/2014/03/05/world/europe/ukraine-leaked-audio-recording/index.html.
- **428** Staff, "Estonia: Leaked Ashton Ukraine Conversation 'Authentic," RFERL, March 5, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-ashton-conversation-leaked/25286848.html.
- **429** Barney Henderson, "Ukraine Crisis: US and Russia Hold Talks Live," *Telegraph*, March 5, 2014, http://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/10677370/Ukraine-Russia-crisis-live.html.

- 430 Alex Padalka, "Who were the Maidan snipers?" AFP, July 30, 2016,
- https://theworld.org/stories/2016/07/30/who-were-maidan-snipers.
- **431** Mike Eckel, "Russia, Ukraine feud over sniper carnage," AP, March 8, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-c88695ddc12e4568ae2741b6059af852.
- **432** Valery Kalnysh, "Andrey Parubiy: Russian special forces 'worked' on Maidan both on us and on Berkut," RBC, February 18, 2015, https://daily.rbc.ua/rus/show/andrey-parubiy-na-maydane-i-po-nam-i-po-berkutu-rabotal--17022015132900.
- **433** Mike Eckel, "Russia, Ukraine feud over sniper carnage," AP, March 8, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-c88695ddc12e4568ae2741b6059af852.
- **434** Staff, "Ukraine Arrests Former Riot Police For Alleged Role In Maidan Killings," RFERL, June 24, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-former-berkut-arrested-maidan-killings-2014/27817717.html.
- **435** Steve Stecklow and Oleksandr Akymenko, "Special Report: Flaws found in Ukraine's probe of Maidan massacre," Reuters, October 10, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-killings-probe-special-report-flaws-found-in-ukraines-probe-of-maidan-massacre-idUSKCN0HZ0UH20141010.
- **436** Dan Peleschuk, "Ukrainian court sentences ex-police officers over 2014 Maidan shootings," Reuters, October 18, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukrainian-court-sentences-ex-police-officers-over-2014-maidan-shootings-2023-10-18.
- 437 Ivan Katchanovski, "Buried trial verdict confirms false-flag Maidan massacre in Ukraine," Canadian Dimension, February 20, 2024, https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/buried-trial-verdict-confirms-false-flag-maidan-massacre-in-ukraine-2024; Ivan Katchanovski, "Maidan Massacre Trial Verdict Selected Excerpts Confirming False-Flag Massacre (English Google Translation)," 2023, <a href="https://academia.edu/109357708/Maidan_Massacre_Trial_Verdict_Selected_Excerpts_Confirming_False-Flag Massacre_English Google Translation .
- **438** Coilin O'Connor, "Winter On Fire Blazes Oscar Trail With Gripping Account Of Ukraine's Maidan Moment," RFERL, January 15, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-winter-fire-oscar-documentary-afineevsky/27490371.html.
- 439 Hahn, 210.
- **440** Phil Black, et al., "Sadness,' uncertainty in Ukraine even after landmark deal," CNN, February 21, 2014, https://cnn.com/2014/02/21/world/europe/ukraine-protests/index.html; Toby Vogel, "Yanukovych signs transition deal with Ukraine opposition," *Politico Europe*, February 21, 2014,
- https://politico.eu/article/yanukovych-signs-transition-deal-with-ukraine-opposition.
- **441** Editorial Board, "Ukraine's next chapter," *Washington Post*, February 24, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/ukraines-next-chapter/2014/02/24/a26822be-9d87-11e3-a050-dc3322a94fa7 story.html.
- 442 Transcript, Amanpour, CNN, February 26, 2014,
- http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1402/26/ampr.01.html; Mick Krever, "Putin phone call convinced Yanukovych to change attitude, says Polish foreign minister," CNN, February 26, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20140307115403/http://amanpour.blogs.cnn.com/2014/02/26/vladimir-putin-viktor-yanukovych-radoslaw-sikorski-ukraine-poland-russia.
- **443** "Readout of President Obama's Call with President Putin," White House, February 21, 2014, https://presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/readout-president-obamas-call-with-president-putin-3.
- **444** Valery Kalnysh, "Andrey Parubiy: Russian special forces 'worked' on Maidan both on us and on Berkut," RBC, February 18, 2015, https://daily.rbc.ua/rus/show/andrey-parubiy-na-maydane-i-po-nam-i-po-berkutu-rabotal--17022015132900.
- **445** Staff, "If there is no demand for resignation, we will go on an assault centurion," hromadske, February 21, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=4ys0FDfXQak.

- **446** Staff, "Protesters threaten violence if Yanukovych doesn't resign now," *Kyiv Post*, February 21, 2014, https://kyivpost.com/article/content/euromaidan/protesters-threaten-violence-if-yanukovych-doesnt-resign-now-337343.html.
- **447** Staff, "If there is no demand for resignation, we will go on an assault centurion," hromadske, February 21, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=4ys0FDfXQak; Graham Stack, "What triggered the Maidan massacre?" BNE IntelliNews, February 13, 2015, https://intellinews.com/kyiv-blog-what-triggered-the-maidan-massacre-500444157/?archive=bne; Konrad Schuller, "How did the bloodbath on the Maidan come about?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 8, 2015,
- $\underline{https://faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/ukraine-die-hundertschaften-und-die-dritte-kraft-13414018.html}.$
- **448** Richard Balmforth, "In Ukraine turbulence, a lad from Lviv becomes the toast of Kiev," Reuters, February 25, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/uk-ukraine-crisis-hero-insight/in-ukraine-turbulence-a-lad-from-lviv-becomes-the-toast-of-kiev-idUKBREA100JL20140225.
- **449** Konrad Schuller, "How did the bloodbath on the Maidan come about?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 8, 2015, https://faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/ukraine-die-hundertschaften-und-die-dritte-kraft-13414018.html.
- **450** Andrew Higgins and Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Leader Was Defeated Even Before He Was Ousted," *New York Times*, January 3, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/01/04/world/europe/ukraine-leader-was-defeated-even-before-he-was-ousted.html.
- **451** Sikorski, the former defense minister, admitted he knew about the Bush administration's illegal plot to torture al Qaeda suspects. Watch the man insist: "We don't apologize" for it, and complain, "I hope that in the future our allies keep our secrets rather better." Tim Sebastian, "When did Sikorski know about CIA torture?" DW News *Conflict Zone*, https://youtube.com/watch?v=qjosWra6Zgk.
- **452** Adam Easton, "Poland's Crucial Role as Yanukovych's Rule Crumbled," BBC, February 25, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-26342882.
- **453** Photo of White Supremacist Banners at Kiev City Hall, February 21, 2014, https://i1.ytimg.com/vi/q-dHVZTtTxQ/maxresdefault.jpg.
- **454** Anastasia Zanuda, "How Yanukovych left Ukraine: the versions from the first mouth," BBC Ukraine, February 22, 2017, https://bbc.com/ukrainian/features-russian-39049755.
- **455** Murray Brewster, "Canadian Embassy Used as Safe Haven During Ukraine Uprising, Investigation Finds," The Canadian Press, July 12, 2015, https://cbc.ca/news/politics/canadian-embassy-used-as-safe-haven-during-ukraine-uprising-investigation-finds-1.3148719.
- **456** Olga Onuch and Gwendolyn Sasse, "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (March 2016), 573, https://researchgate.net/publication/299518223.
- **457** Serhiy Kudelia, "When Numbers Are Not Enough: The Strategic Use of Violence in Ukraine's 2014 Revolution," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (July 2018), 501–21, https://jstor.org/stable/26532701.
- **458** Andrew Higgins, "Mystery Surrounds Death of Ukrainian Activist," *New York Times*, April 11, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/12/world/europe/mystery-surrounds-death-of-fiery-ukrainian-activist.html.
- **459** Oksana Kovalenko, "The centurion who changed the course of history: It was necessary to push," Ukrainska Pravda, February 24, 2014, https://pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/02/24/7016048.
- **460** Staff, "The Verkhovna Rada, the Presidential Administration, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Internal Affairs came under the control of the Maidan," Unian.net, February 22, 2014, https://unian.net/politics/888104-verhovnaya-rada-administratsiya-prezidenta-kabmin-i-mvd-pereshli-pod-kontrol-maydana.html.
- **461** "Watch Yevhen Karas the leader of Ukraine's neo-Nazi terror gang C14's," War Diary Project, February 28, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=DOBntnuYCMA.

- **462** James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS *Frontline*, May 27, 2014, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine.
- **463** Olga Onuch and Gwendolyn Sasse, "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (March 2016), 573, https://researchgate.net/publication/299518223.
- **464** Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Insufficiently diverse: The problem of nonviolent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine's Maidan uprising, 2013–2014," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (March 2, 2020), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363.
- **465** Volodymyr Ishchenko Archive at Jacobin, https://jacobin.com/author/volodymyr-ishchenko.
- **466** Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Insufficiently diverse: The problem of nonviolent leverage and radicalization of Ukraine's Maidan uprising, 2013–2014," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (March 2, 2020), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366520928363. **467** Colborne, 31.
- **468** Press Release, "NewsGuard wins Pentagon-State Department contest for detecting COVID-19 misinformation and disinformation," Newsguard, August 18, 2020,
- https://newsguardtech.com/press/newsguard-wins-pentagon-state-department-contest-for-detecting-covid-19-misinformation-and-disinformation; Matt Taibbi, "Newsguard Case Highlights the Pentagon's Censorship End-Around," Racket News, October 25, 2023, https://racket.news/p/newsguard-case-highlights-the-pentagons.
- **469** Joe Lauria, "Evidence of US-Backed Coup in Kiev," Consortium News, December 29, 2022, https://consortiumnews.com/2022/12/29/evidence-of-us-backed-coup-in-kiev.
- **470** Fred Weir, "Militaristic and anti-democratic, Ukraine's far-right bides its time," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 15, 2019, https://csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2019/0415/Militaristic-and-anti-democratic-Ukraine-s-far-right-bides-its-time.
- **471** Robert Parry, "Cheering a 'Democratic' Coup in Ukraine," Consortium News, December 10, 2019, https://consortiumnews.com/2019/12/10/cheering-a-democratic-coup-in-ukraine.
- **472** Staff, "Ukraine: Speaker Oleksandr Turchynov named interim president," BBC, February 23, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-26312008.
- **473** Staff, "Profile: Petro Poroshenko," *Forbes*, April 6, 2021, https://forbes.com/profile/petro-poroshenko.
- **474** Andrew Cockburn, "Undelivered Goods," *Harper's*, August 13, 2015, https://harpers.org/2015/08/undelivered-goods.
- **475** James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS *Frontline*, May 27, 2014, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine.
- 476 De Ploeg, 208; See below.
- **477** Anne Gearan, "In recording of US diplomat, blunt talk on Ukraine," *Washington Post*, February 6, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-purported-recording-of-us-diplomat-blunt-talk-on-ukraine/2014/02/06/518240a4-8f4b-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb_story.html.
- **478** Dan De Luce and Reid Standish, "What Will Ukraine Do Without Uncle Joe?" *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/30/what-will-ukraine-do-without-joe-biden-putin-war-kiev-clinton-trump.
- **479** Daisy Sindelar, "Was Yanukovych's Ouster Constitutional?" RFERL, February 23, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/was-yanukovychs-ouster-constitutional/25274346.html.
- **480** Staff, "Parliament Removes Yanukovych," *Kyiv Post*, February 22, 2016, https://kyivpost.com/article/content/euromaidan/as-yanukovych-flees-kyiv-parliament-takes-charge-337361.html.
- **481** Staff, "Interim leader Turchynov stresses 'European choice," BBC, February 24, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26317912.

- **482** Elena Chernenko and Alexander Gabuev, "'The interests of the Russian Federation and the United States in relation to Ukraine are incompatible with each other," *Kommersant*, December 19, 2014, https://kommersant.ru/doc/2636177; 'Heприкрытый' has been translated from Russian variously as 'overt,' 'blatant,' 'undisguised' or 'naked.'
- **483** Tweet by Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt, February 22, 2014, https://x.com/USAmbPyatt/status/437308686810492929.
- 484 Charap and Colton, 126.
- 485 "Fact Sheet: US Support for Ukraine," White House, September 18, 2014,
- https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/18/fact-sheet-us-support-ukraine.
- **486** Interview with author, Jeffrey Sachs, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, April 4, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/4-4-23-jeffery-sachs-on-what-led-to-war-in-ukraine.
- **487** Carla Marinucci, "Chevron redubs ship named for Bush aide," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 2001, https://sfgate.com/politics/article/Chevron-redubs-ship-named-for-Bush-aide-2922481.php.
- **488** Condoleezza Rice, "Will America heed the wake-up call of Ukraine?" *Washington Post*, March 7, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/condoleezza-rice-will-america-heed-the-wake-up-call-of-ukraine/2014/03/07/cf087f74-a630-11e3-84d4-e59b1709222c_story.html.
- **489** Norman Podhoretz, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: The Free Press, 1995); Justin Raimondo, "Trotsky, Strauss and the Neocons," Antiwar.com, June 13, 2003, https://antiwar.com/justin/j061303.html; Jeet Heer, "Trotsky's Ghost Wandering the White House," *National Post*, June 7, 2003, https://archive.is/rDKEh; John B. Judis, "Trotskyism to Anachronism," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1995, https://foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/1995-07-01/trotskyism-anachronism.
- **490** Justin Raimondo, "Coup in Kiev," Antiwar.com, February 24, 2014, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2014/02/23/coup-in-kiev.
- **491** Interview with author, Justin Raimondo, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 26, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/022614-justin-raimondo.
- **492** Interview with author, Pat Buchanan, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 5, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/030514-pat-buchanan.
- **493** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **494** Staff, "Yanukovych signs order on last conscription and switching to contract service army," Interfax-Ukraine, October 14, 2013, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/yanukovych-signs-order-on-last-conscription-and-switching-to-contract-service-army-330496.html.
- **495** Staff, "Ukraine reinstates conscription as crisis deepens," BBC, May 2, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-27247428.
- **496** Gideon Rose interview, "Crisis in Ukraine," *The Colbert Report*, February 24, 2014, https://cc.com/video/8067fc/the-colbert-report-crisis-in-ukraine-gideon-rose.
- **497** Kenneth Rapoza, "Ukraine Welcomes IMF Austerity Regime," *Forbes*, March 28, 2014, https://forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2014/03/28/ukraine-welcomes-imf-austerity-regime.
- **498** Kenneth Rapoza, "Ukraine Welcomes IMF Austerity Regime," *Forbes*, March 28, 2014, https://forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2014/03/28/ukraine-welcomes-imf-austerity-regime.
- **499** Sandrine Rastello, "Ukraine Premier Promises Economic Overhaul to Win IMF Aid," Bloomberg News, March 13, 2014, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-03-13/ukraine-s-yatsenyuk-sees-commitment-to-change-helping-imf-loan.
- **500** Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden to The Ukrainian Rada," White House, December 9, 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/09/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-rada.

- **501** De Ploeg, 74–79.
- **502** Graham Stack, "Money laundering in Ukraine," *Journal of Money Laundering Control*, Vol. 18 (July 2015), 382–94, https://researchgate.net/publication/281431366 Money laundering in Ukraine; De Ploeg, 88–90.
- **503** De Ploeg, 94–97; Maria Zartovskaya, "If you go, go. How Yatsenyuk is persuaded to resign, and who will become the next prime minister," Ukrainska Pravda, March 6, 2016, https://pravda.com.ua/articles/2016/03/6/7101127.
- **504** Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden and Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko at a Bilateral Meeting," US Embassy Kiev, December 7, 2015,
- https://ua.usembassy.gov/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-bilateral-meeting.
- **505** Sergii Leshchenko, "The Media's Role," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July 2014), 52–57, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/549496.
- **506** Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Turns to Its Oligarchs for Political Help," *New York Times*, March 2, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/03/03/world/europe/ukraine-turns-to-its-oligarchs-for-political-help.html.
- **507** "Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part," May 29, 2014, https://publications.europa.eu/resource/cellar/4589a50c-e6e3-11e3-8cd4-01aa75ed71a1.0006.03/DOC_1; Laura Smith-Spark, et al., "Ukraine Signs EU Deal that Sparked Months of Upheaval; Extends Cease-fire," CNN, June 27, 2014, https://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/27/world/europe/ukraine-crisis.
- **508** Danny Hakim, "Ukraine Faces Hurdles in Restoring Its Farming Legacy," *New York Times*, May 27, 2014, http://nytimes.com/2014/05/28/business/ukraine-faces-hurdles-in-restoring-its-farming-legacy.html.
- **509** J.P. Sottile, "Corporate Interests Behind Ukraine Putsch," Consortium News, March 16, 2014, https://consortiumnews.com/2014/03/16/corporate-interests-behind-ukraine-putsch; Jettie Word, et al., "Walking on the West Side: the World Bank and the IMF in the Ukraine Conflict," Oakland Institute, July 28, 2014, https://oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/OurBiz_Brief_Ukraine.pdf; Elizabeth Fraser and Frédéric Mousseau, "The Corporate Takeover of Ukrainian Agriculture," Oakland Institute, December 2014,
- https://oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/Brief_CorporateTakeoverofUkraine_0.pdf; Luca Celada, "The truth about corporations taking over Ukrainian agricultural lands," *Il Manifesto*, June 1, 2022, https://ilmanifesto.it/corporation-allarrembaggio-delle-terre-agricole-ucraine.
- **510** Staff, "Ukraine Votes To Abandon Neutrality, Set Sights On NATO," RFERL, December 23, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-parliament-abandons-neutrality/26758725.html.
- **511** Leonid Bershidsky, "Ukraine Is in Danger of Becoming a Failed State," Bloomberg News, November 6, 2015, https://bloomberg.com/view/articles/2015-11-06/unreformed-ukraine-is-self-destructing.
- **512** "Testimony of Victoria Nuland, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing: 'Ukrainian Reforms Two Years after the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion,'" March 15, 2016,
- https://foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/031516_Nuland_Testimony.pdf.
- **513** Leonid Bershidsky, "Ukraine Is in Danger of Becoming a Failed State," Bloomberg News, November 6, 2015, https://bloomberg.com/view/articles/2015-11-06/unreformed-ukraine-is-self-destructing.
- **514** Timothy Heritage, "Putin says West may use NGOs to stir unrest in Russia," Reuters, April 7, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-russia-putin-security/putin-says-west-may-use-ngos-to-stir-unrest-in-russia-idUSBREA3619X20140407; He had previously been convinced to water down his 2005

restrictions: Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006, https://foreignaffairs.com/united-states/backlash-against-democracy-promotion.

515 James Brooke, "Ukraine Protesters Warn Against Trade Pact with Moscow," Voice of America, December 15, 2013, https://voanews.com/a/eu-suspends-work-on-trade-deal-with-ukraine/1810652.html.

516 Will Englund, "In Ukraine, Sens. McCain, Murphy address protesters, promise support," *Washington Post*, December 15, 2013, https://washingtonpost.com/world/in-ukraine-us-sens-mccain-murphy-address-protesters/2013/12/15/be72cffe-65b0-11e3-997b-9213b17dac97 story.html.

517 Senator Chris Murphy, "US Policy Toward Ukraine," *Washington Journal*, February 25, 2014, https://c-span.org/video/?317883-4/washington-journal-developments-ukraine; Glenn Greenwald, "Who Caused This War – The US' Twisted Interference in Ukraine," *System Update*, March 23, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Vwjy7yIACDs.

518 Ludovica Iaccino, "Ukraine Nazis: Is America Backing EuroMaidan Extremists?" *International Business Times*, February 25, 2014, https://ibtimes.co.uk/america-backing-neo-nazis-euromaidan-1437848.

519 John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: The OUN and UPA's Participation of the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry 1941–1944* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2021), 128; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2014), 58–59.

520 Petro, 57–58.

521 Stéphane Courtois, et al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 98–107.

522 Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, 53.

523 Sheldon L. Richman, "War Communism to NEP: The Road from Serfdom," *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1981), https://cdn.mises.org/5 1 5 0.pdf.

524 Courtois, et al., 159–68; Conquest, 303; Slavko Nowytski, *Harvest of Despair: the 1933 Ukrainian Famine* (1983), https://youtube.com/watch?v=M dnRA5NFhs.

525 Gareth Jones, "Communists' Five-Year Plan: How it is Working in Russia," *The Western Mail*, April 7, 1931, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/how it is working.htm.

526 Conquest, 89.

527 Conquest, 118–19; Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country: 1924–1926*, Vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1958), 99.

528 Gareth Jones, "Russia's Future," *The Western Mail*, April 8, 1931,

https://garethjones.org/soviet articles/russias future.htm.

529 Joseph Stalin, "Speech on Agrarian Policy," December 27, 1929,

https://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111stalin.html.

530 Moshe Lewin, *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 176.

531 Conquest, 89–93.

532 Gareth Jones, "The Peasant on the Farm," London Times, October 14, 1931,

https://garethjones.org/soviet articles/peasant on the farm.htm.

533 Conquest, 223.

534 Conquest, 117–43.

535 Gareth Jones, "Communists' Five-Year Plan: Forces Behind Stalin's Dictatorship," *The Western Mail*, April 9, 1931, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/forces_behind_stalin.htm; Conquest, 235.

536 Rupert Butler, *Stalin's Instruments of Terror: KGB, CHEKA, NKVD, OGPU, from 1913 to 1953* (London: Amber Books, 2006), 40–41, 61.

537 Conquest, 124–25, 170, 246–47.

538 Conquest, 220.

539 Gareth Jones, "Newspaper Articles Regarding Trips to Russia and Ukraine 1930–1933," https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/soviet_articles.htm.

540 Gareth Jones, *Experiences in Russia 1931: A Diary* (Pittsburgh: Alton Press, Inc., 1932), https://garethjones.org/soviet-articles/experiences-in-russia-1931.htm.

541 Gareth Jones, "Will there be Soup? Part One," *The Western Mail*, October 15, 1932, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/will_there_be_soup1.htm.

542 Gareth Jones, "Will there be Soup? Part Two," *The Western Mail*, October 17, 1932, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/will_there_be_soup2.htm.

543 Conquest, 223–27.

544 Conquest, 243.

545 Gareth Jones, "Famine grips Russia Millions Dying. Idle on Rise, Says Briton," *Evening Post*, March 19, 1933, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/millions_dying.htm.

546 Gareth Jones, "Famine Rules Russia," *London Evening Standard*, March 31, 1933, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/famine_rules_russia.htm.

547 Gareth Jones, "Seizure of Land and Slaughter of Livestock," *The Western Mail*, April 8, 1933, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/siezure_of_land.htm.

548 Malcolm Muggeridge, "Famine in North Caucasus," *Manchester Guardian*, March 25, 1933, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/soviet_and_the_peasantry_1.htm; Malcolm Muggeridge, "Hunger in the Ukraine," *Manchester Guardian*, March 27, 1933,

https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/soviet_and_the_peasantry_2.htm; Malcolm Muggeridge, "Poor Harvest in Prospect," *Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1933,

https://garethjones.org/soviet articles/soviet and the peasantry 3.htm.

549 Whiting Williams, "My Journey Through Famine-Stricken Russia," Answers, February 24, 1934, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/whiting_williams_1934.htm; Whiting Williams, "Why Russia is Hungry!" *Answers*, March 3, 1934, https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/williams_hungry.htm.

550 546 search results for "Holodomor" at JSTOR,

https://jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=Holodomor.

551 Conquest, 249–59.

552 Okay, well, I mean, after I realized it was a pun, I left it. So.

553 Gareth Jones, "Famine Rules Russia," *London Evening Standard*, March 31, 1933, https://garethjones.org/soviet articles/famine rules russia.htm.

554 This is where that saying comes from.

555 Walter Duranty, "Russians Hungry But Not Starving," *New York Times*, March 31, 1933, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1933/03/31/99218053.pdf.

556 Staff, "Foreign News: Russia," *Time*, April 10, 1933,

https://garethjones.org/soviet_articles/duranty_rebuttal.htm.

557 David D. Kirkpatrick, "Pulitzer Board Won't Void 32 Award to Times Writer," *New York Times*, November 22, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/11/22/us/pulitzer-board-won-t-void-32-award-to-times-writer.html.

558 Walter Duranty, "Soviet Advanced by Farm Victory," *New York Times*, January 1, 1931, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1931/01/96180501.pdf.

559 Simon Sebag Montefiore, "Donald Rayfield: A Seditious and Sinister Tribe—the war-torn history of Crimea's Tatars," *Financial Times*, August 8, 2024, https://ft.com/content/93b50116-0cc5-4a25-a48d-1ab6c58d6307.

560 Arūnas Bubnys, et al., "The Baltic States: Auxiliaries and Waffen-SS soldiers from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania," in Jochen Böhler and Robert Gerwarth (eds), *The Waffen-SS: A European History* (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2016), https://academic.oup.com/book/1399/chapter-abstract/140732828; Joseph Berger, "Some in Estonia Greeted Nazis in '41 as Liberators," *New York Times*, April 22, 1987, https://nytimes.com/1987/04/22/world/some-in-estonia-greeted-nazis-in-41-as-liberators.html.

```
561 John Prados, Safe For Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 70.
```

562 Timothy Snyder, "A Fascist Hero in Democratic Kiev," *New York Review of Books*, February 24, 2010, https://nybooks.com/daily/2010/02/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev.

563 Himka, 136–37; Rossoliński-Liebe, 72–73.

564 Petro, 60; Himka, 143–44; Rossoliński-Liebe, 167.

565 Rossoliński-Liebe, 117–51.

566 Rossoliński-Liebe, 139.

567 Himka, 143; Rossoliński-Liebe, 166.

568 Joe Conason, "To Catch a Nazi," Village Voice, February 11, 1986,

https://villagevoice.com/2020/02/26/to-catch-a-nazi.

569 Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: The First Full Account of America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Disastrous Effect on the Cold War, Our Domestic and Foreign Policy* (New York: Collier Books, 1989), 161.

570 Volodymyr Martynets, *Zhydivs'ka problema v Ukraïni* (London: Williams, Lea & Co., 1938), 10, 14–15, cited in Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust."

571 Iaroslav Orshan, "The Age of Nationalism," in Al'manakh Avanhardi (Paris: 1938), 41.

572 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

573 Rossoliński-Liebe, 74–77; Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

574 Himka, 146.

575 Petro, 60.

576 Rossoliński-Liebe, 78.

577 Rossoliński-Liebe, 79–80.

578 Rossoliński-Liebe, 107.

579 Rossoliński-Liebe, 83, 177.

580 Rossoliński-Liebe, 168.

581 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

582 Himka, 219.

583 Himka, 225.

584 Himka, 226.

585 Rossoliński-Liebe, 193.

586 Ksenya Kiebuzinski and Alexander Motyl (eds.), *The Great West Ukrainian Prison Massacre of* 1941 – A Sourcebook (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016),

https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/53241/9789048526826.pdf; Staff, "The 1941 NKVD Prison Massacres in Western Ukraine," National World War II Museum, June 7, 2021, https://nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/1941-nkvd-prison-massacres-western-ukraine; Himka, 194–97; Kai Struve, *Deutsche Herrschaft* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 219–21, 278–88, cited in Himka, 195. A year before, the Soviet regime had slaughtered 22,000 Polish military and civilian leaders in a mass execution in the Katyn Forest, a crime which British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt were well aware of and covered up, blaming the atrocity on the Germans: "Records Relating to the Katyn Forest Massacre," National Archives, June 5, 2023, https://archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/katyn-massacre; Staff, "Memos show US helped cover up Soviet massacre," AP, September 10, 2012, https://cbsnews.com/news/memos-show-us-helped-cover-up-soviet-massacre.

- **587** Himka, 203, 232, 255, 260–61; Simpson, 164.
- **588** Marco Carynnyk, "Foes of our rebirth: Ukrainian nationalist discussions about Jews, 1929–1947," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (May 2011), 332–33,
- https://researchgate.net/publication/233467822 Foes of our rebirth Ukrainian nationalist discussion s about Jews 1929-1947; Rossoliński-Liebe, 215.
- **589** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **590** Stepan Bandera, "Proclamation of Ukrainian Statehood," *Samostiyna Ukraina*, June 30, 1941, https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/9105859.
- **591** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160; Himka, 208–09.
- 592 Rossoliński-Liebe, 216.
- **593** Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Volume 1 (Munich: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 1925), 584; Petro, 62; Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2008), 44–45.
- **594** Rossoliński-Liebe, 246.
- 595 CIA Report on Stepan Bandera, December 5, 1951,
- https://cia.gov/readingroom/docs/BANDERA%2C%20STEFAN 0016.pdf; Rossoliński-Liebe, 247.
- 596 Himka, 227; Rossoliński-Liebe, 285.
- **597** Richard Breitman, et al., *US Intelligence and the Nazis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 250.
- **598** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **599** Himka, 157–72, 191–94.
- **600** Omer Bartov, "On Eastern Galicia's Past & Present," *Daedalus*, Fall 2007, https://amacad.org/publication/eastern-galicias-past-present.
- **601** Marco Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 Zhyttiepys," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, January 1999, https://researchgate.net/profile/Marco-
- <u>Carynnyk/publication/283606261 The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude to ward Germans and Jews Iaroslav Stets%27ko%27s 1941 Zhyttiepys/links/5728f1b308ae2efbfdb7e bf3/The-Organization-of-Ukrainian-Nationalists-and-Its-Attitude-toward-Germans-and-Jews-Iaroslav-Stetskos-1941-Zhyttiepys.pdf; Himka, 238, 241.</u>
- 602 Rossoliński-Liebe, 242.
- 603 Thomas Sandkühler, "Endlösung" in *Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 113; Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 Zhyttiepys," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3/4 (January 1999), 149–84, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41036794; Himka, 238, 241.
- **604** Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Survivor Testimonies and the Coming to Terms with the Holocaust in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia: The Case of the Ukrainian Nationalists," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (September 16, 2019), 221–40,

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0888325419831351; Himka, 301, 302.

- **605** Himka, 13, 199, 201, 241–55.
- 606 Rossoliński-Liebe, 205–13.
- 607 Rossoliński-Liebe, 218–19.

- 608 Breitman, et al.
- 609 Richard Breitman and Norman J.W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, US Intelligence and the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 2012),
- https://archives.gov/files/iwg/reports/hitlers-shadow.pdf, 75.
- **610** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- 611 Himka, 256–85, 286–303.
- **612** Alexander Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (eds.) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 274.
- 613 Himka, 217.
- 614 Larry Luxner, "New center sheds light on previously unknown details of Holocaust's Babyn Yar massacre," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, September 29, 2020, https://jta.org/2020/09/29/global/new-center-sheds-light-on-previously-unknown-details-of-holocausts-babyn-yar-massacre.
- **615** Hahn, 39; Karel C. Berkhoff, "Dina Pronicheva's Story of Surviving the Babi Yar Massacre: German, Jewish, Soviet, Russian, and Ukrainian Records," in Brandon and Lower, 293, 301, 302–03, 309.
- **616** Kruglov, 274–75.
- **617** Jennifer Popowycz, "The 'Holocaust by Bullets,' in Ukraine," National World War II Museum, January 24, 2022, https://nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/ukraine-holocaust.
- 618 Brandon and Lower, 11.
- 619 Rossoliński-Liebe, 241.
- **620** Himka, 13.
- 621 Himka, 308.
- **622** Himka, 339–51.
- **623** Himka, 321–33; Philip Friedman, "The Destruction of the Jews of Lwów," in Philip Friedman, *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, edited by Ada June Friedman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 263.
- **624** Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 101–20; Himka, 333–37.
- **625** Alexander Prusin and Gabriel N. Finder, "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia: The Ukrainian police and the Holocaust," *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (December 2004), 95–118, https://researchgate.net/publication/233073604 Collaboration in Eastern Galicia The Ukrainian police and the Holocaust.
- 626 Rossoliński-Liebe, 255.
- **627** Conn Hallinan, "The Dark Side of the Ukraine Revolt," Foreign Policy in Focus, March 4, 2014, https://fpif.org/dark-side-ukraine-revolt.
- **628** Omer Bartov, "On Eastern Galicia's Past & Present," *Daedalus*, Fall 2007, https://amacad.org/publication/eastern-galicias-past-present.
- 629 Himka, 13; Rossoliński-Liebe, 241–42.
- **630** Rob Gillies, "Zelenskyy speaks before Canadian Parliament in his campaign to shore up support for Ukraine," AP, September 22, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/zelenskyy-trudeau-canada-ukraine-parliament-b0f23d207592031cedb030292eb3ae01.
- 631 "Research Starters: Worldwide Deaths in World War II," National World War II Museum, https://nationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-world-war.

- 632 Yaroslav Hunka, "Photo," Combatant's News, October 29, 2010, https://komb-a-ingwar.blogspot.com/2010/10/blog-post_4610.html; Yaroslav Hunka, "Photo," Combatant's News, October 31, 2010, https://komb-a-ingwar.blogspot.com/2010/10/blog-post_31.html.
- **633** Lev Golinkin, "Zelenskyy joins Canadian Parliament's ovation to 98-year-old veteran who fought with Nazis," *The Forward*, September 24, 2023, https://forward.com/fast-forward/561927/zelenskyy-joins-canadian-parliaments-ovation-to-98-year-old-veteran-who-fought-with-nazis.
- **634** Yaroslav Hunka, "My Generation," Combatant's News, March 21, 2011, https://komb-a-ingwar.blogspot.com/2011/03/blog-post 21.html.
- **635** Ellen Francis, "Polish official wants Canada to extradite Ukrainian veteran of Nazi unit," *Washington Post*, September 27, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/09/27/poland-ukrainian-nazi-veteran-canada-extradition.
- **636** Lev Golinkin, "Zelenskyy joins Canadian Parliament's ovation to 98-year-old veteran who fought with Nazis," *The Forward*, September 24, 2023, https://forward.com/fast-forward/561927/zelenskyy-joins-canadian-parliaments-ovation-to-98-year-old-veteran-who-fought-with-nazis.
- **637** Chrystia Freeland, "My Ukraine," Brookings Institution, May 12, 2015, http://csweb.brookings.edu/content/research/essays/2015/myukraine.html.
- **638** David Pugliese, "Chrystia Freeland's granddad was indeed a Nazi collaborator so much for Russian disinformation," Ottawa Citizen, March 8, 2017,

https://ottawacitizen.com/news/national/defence-watch/chrystia-freelands-granddad-was-indeed-a-nazi-collaborator-so-much-for-russian-disinformation; Jeremy Appel, "Canada's Future Prime Minister Needs to Come Clean About Her Nazi Collaborationist Grandfather," *Tablet*, May 12, 2022, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/chrystia-freeland-needs-to-come-clean-about-her-nazi-collaborationist-grandfather.

639 Rossoliński-Liebe, 254–55.

640 Alan Freeman, "Russia should stop calling my grandfather a Nazi, says Canada's foreign minister," *Washington Post*, March 9, 2017,

https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/03/09/canadas-foreign-minister-says-russia-is-spreading-disinformation-about-her-grandfather.

641 Freeland's uncle, Chomiak's son-in-law, is historian John-Paul Himka, author of *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: The OUN and UPA's Participation of the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry 1941–1944*, which is dedicated to her; John-Paul Himka, "*Krakivski visti* and the Jews, 1943: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Second World War," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1–2 (1996); Robert Fife, "Freeland knew her grandfather was editor of Nazi newspaper," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 7, 2017,

https://theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/freeland-knew-her-grandfather-was-editor-of-nazinewspaper/article34236881.

642 Max Blumenthal, "Canada's honoring of Nazi vet exposes Ottawa's longstanding Ukraine policy," Grayzone, September 26, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/09/26/canadas-ukrainian-nazi-ottawas-policy; Tweet by Max Blumenthal, May 7, 2023,

https://x.com/MaxBlumenthal/status/1655314116360151041.

643 Rossoliński-Liebe, 316; Robert Scheinberg, "Canada knowingly admitted SS members after World War II," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 5, 1997, https://jta.org/1997/06/05/lifestyle/canada-knowingly-admitted-ss-members-after-world-war-ii.

644 Prados, *Safe*, 70.

645 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

646 Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, Vol. 12 (1959), 184,

https://degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110970449.358/html.

647 Rossoliński-Liebe, 258-60.

648 Himka, 352–56.

649 Rossoliński-Liebe, 266–79.

650 Colborne, 23.

651 Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Survivor Testimonies and the Coming to Terms with the Holocaust in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia: The Case of the Ukrainian Nationalists," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (September 16, 2019), 221–40,

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0888325419831351.

652 Richard Breitman and Norman J.W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, US Intelligence and the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 2012),

https://archives.gov/files/iwg/reports/hitlers-shadow.pdf, 75.

653 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

654 Timothy Snyder, "A Fascist Hero in Democratic Kiev," *New York Review of Books*, February 24, 2010, https://nybooks.com/daily/2010/02/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev.

655 Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 169.

656 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160; Rossoliński-Liebe, 268.

657 Breitman and Goda, Hitler's Shadow, 75.

658 Prados, *Safe*, 70; Breitman, et al., 250–25.

659 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

660 Simpson, 162–63.

661 Rossoliński-Liebe, 288.

662 John Prados, *The Ghosts of Langley: Into the Heart of the CIA* (New York: The New Press, 2017), 81; Prados, *Safe*, 70–71.

663 Hahn, 41–42; Rossoliński-Liebe, 296–97, 316.

664 Piotr Zychowicz, "The Polish Operation," Institute of National Remembrance, March 3, 2021, https://ipn.gov.pl/en/digital-resources/articles/7150,The-Polish-Operation.html.

665 Rossoliński-Liebe, 291.

666 Rossoliński-Liebe, 291–93.

667 Peter Nimitz, "Roots of the Donbas Wars," Nemets, March 4, 2023,

https://nemets.substack.com/p/roots-of-the-Donbas-war.

668 Konstantin Skorkin, "A Counter-Elite Takes Power: the New Leaders of the Donbas," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 16, 2018,

https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/75549.

669 Carl Ogelsby, "The Secret Treaty of Fort Hunt," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Fall 1990, https://aarclibrary.org/the-secret-treaty-of-fort-hunt-an-article-by-carl-oglesby.

670 Simpson, 40–42.

671 Simpson, 43.

672 Reinhard Gehlen, *The Service: The Memoirs of General Reinhard Gehlen* (New York: Popular Library, 1972), 122.

673 Gehlen, 123.

674 Carl Ogelsby, "The Secret Treaty of Fort Hunt," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Fall 1990, https://aarclibrary.org/the-secret-treaty-of-fort-hunt-an-article-by-carl-oglesby.

675 Rossoliński-Liebe, 295–309.

676 Simpson, 46.

677 Kevin C. Ruffner, *Cold War Allies: The Origins of CIA's Relationship with Ukrainian Nationalists*, Central Intelligence Agency, January 1, 1998, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/cold-war-allies-the-origins-of-cias-relationship-with-ukrainian-nationalists.

678 "NSC 50," Report by Secretary of State Acheson and Secretary of Defense Johnson to the National Security Council, July 1, 1949, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945-50Intel/d384.

679 John Prados, *Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations from World War II Through the Persian Gulf* (Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, 1986, 1996), 55.

680 Simpson, 53.

681 Rossoliński-Liebe, 310-11.

682 Prados, Presidents', 56.

683 Joe Conason, "To Catch a Nazi," Village Voice, February 11, 1986,

https://villagevoice.com/2020/02/26/to-catch-a-nazi; Reinhard Gehlen, *The Service: The Memoirs of General Reinhard Gehlen* (New York: Popular Library, 1972), 241.

684 Carl Ogelsby, "The Secret Treaty of Fort Hunt," Covert Action Quarterly, Fall 1990,

https://aarclibrary.org/the-secret-treaty-of-fort-hunt-an-article-by-carl-oglesby; Rossoliński-Liebe, 252.

685 Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback, America's Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2001), 98.

686 Rossoliński-Liebe, 321.

687 Rossoliński-Liebe, 327, 331.

688 Simpson, 163.

689 Simpson, 166, 168.

690 Rossoliński-Liebe, 332-33.

691 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

692 Richard Breitman and Norman J.W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, US Intelligence and the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 2012)

https://archives.gov/files/iwg/reports/hitlers-shadow.pdf.

693 Breitman, et al., 252-55.

694 Eric Lichtblau, *The Nazis Next Door: How America Became a Safe Haven for Hitler's Men* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014).

695 Dave Davies, "How Thousands Of Nazis Were 'Rewarded' With Life In The US," NPR News, November 5, 2014, https://npr.org/2014/11/05/361427276/how-thousands-of-nazis-were-rewarded-with-life-in-the-u-s.

696 Grose, 180-82.

697 Kevin C. Ruffner, *Cold War Allies: The Origins of CIA's Relationship with Ukrainian Nationalists*, Central Intelligence Agency, January 1, 1998, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/cold-war-allies-the-origins-of-cias-relationship-with-ukrainian-nationalists.

698 Grose, 45, 46.

699 Simpson, 172.

700 President Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Annual Observance of Captive Nations Week," White House, July 19, 1983, https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-ceremony-marking-annual-observance-captive-nations-week.

- **701** Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.
- 702 Paul H. Rosenberg, "Seven Decades of Nazi Collaboration: America's Dirty Little Ukraine Secret, An interview with Russ Bellant, author of *Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party*," Foreign Policy in Focus, March 18, 2014, https://fpif.org/seven-decades-nazi-collaboration-americas-dirty-little-ukraine-secret; Moss Robeson, "Ally of the Month The far-right Svoboda party," Bandera Lobby Blog, March 6, 2023, https://banderalobby.substack.com/p/ally-of-the-month.
- **703** Andreas Umland, "Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine: The Prehistory and Emergence of the 'Azov' Battalion in 2014," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2019),

https://researchgate.net/publication/331360561_Irregular_Militias_and_Radical_Nationalism_in_Post-Euromaydan Ukraine The Prehistory and Emergence of the Azov Battalion in 2014.

704 Rossoliński-Liebe, 480–92.

705 Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.

706 Rossoliński-Liebe, 465–66.

- **707** Amb. William Taylor, "Ukraine's Main Extremist Groups," US State Department, November 26, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08KYIV2323 a.html.
- **708** Aleksandar Vasovic, "Far-right group flexes during Ukraine 'revolution," *Seattle Times*, January 3, 2005, https://seattletimes.com/nation-world/far-right-group-flexes-during-ukraine-revolution.
- **709** Yuriy Gorodnichenko, "Ukraine's economy went from Soviet chaos to oligarch domination to vital global trader of wheat and neon and now Russian devastation," The Conversation, March 21, 2022, https://theconversation.com/ukraines-economy-went-from-soviet-chaos-to-oligarch-domination-to-vital-global-trader-of-wheat-and-neon-and-now-russian-devastation-178971.

710 See above.

- **711** Taras Kuzio, *Ukraine Under Kuchma: Political Reform, Economic Transformation and Security Policy in Independent Ukraine* (Birmingham: Centre for Russian and East European Studies, 1997), 55–56, 60.
- **712** "Chronology of Events: March 1994—August 1995," UN Refugee Agency, November 1, 1995, https://refworld.org/reference/countryrep/irbc/1995/en/97463.
- **713** Misha Glenny, "Ukraine's Great Divide," *New York Times*, July 14, 1994, https://nytimes.com/1994/07/14/opinion/ukraines-great-divide.html.
- **714** Andrew Higgins, "Nationalists in Ukraine braced for a new enemy," *Independent*, July 14, 1994, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/nationalists-in-ukraine-braced-for-a-new-enemy-1413915.html.
- 715 Staff, "Violent Hate Crimes in Ukraine," Human Rights First, October 2010, https://uprinfo.org/sites/default/files/documents/2013-10/hrfuprukrs142012humanrightsfirste.pdf.
- **716** Anton Shekhovtsov, "The Creeping Resurgence of the Ukrainian Radical Right? The Case of the Freedom Party," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (2011), 203–28, http://jstor.org/stable/27975531.
- 717 Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.

718 Hahn, 149.

- **719** Oksana Faryna, "Extreme Choices: Svoboda plays nationalist card," *Kyiv Post*, October 18, 2012, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/extreme-choices-svoboda-plays-nationalist-card-314617.html.
- **720** Amb. William Taylor, "Ukraine's Main Extremist Groups," US State Department, November 26, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08KYIV2323_a.html.

721 Hahn, 150-51.

- **722** Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **723** Andriy Biletsky, "The Current War in Donbas is a War of Two Civilizations," Informant, April 25, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=vkhIE-sAb1c; Colborne, 15.
- **724** Colborne, 74–77.
- **725** David Pugliese, "Whitewashing The SS: The Attempt to Re-Write the History of Hitler's Collaborators," *Esprit de Corps*, October 30, 2020, https://espritdecorps.ca/history-feature/whitewashing-the-ss-the-attempt-to-re-write-the-history-of-hitlers-collaborators.
- **726** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160; Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Vol. 12 (1959), 259–96, reprinted in Philip Friedman, *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (New York, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), 176–208; Rossoliński-Liebe, 274–75. **727** Rossoliński-Liebe, 252–53.
- **728** Paul H. Rosenberg, "Seven Decades of Nazi Collaboration: America's Dirty Little Ukraine Secret, An interview with Russ Bellant, author of *Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party*," Foreign Policy in Focus, March 18, 2014, https://fpif.org/seven-decades-nazi-collaboration-americas-dirty-little-ukraine-secret.
- 729 Himka, 215, 361; Rossoliński-Liebe, 283–84.
- **730** John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainians, Jews, and the Holocaust* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2009), 46–47; Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust*, 111–12.
- 731 Rossoliński-Liebe, 322.
- **732** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **733** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- 734 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160; Himka, 149–51, 367–69; Marco Carynnyk, "A Knife in the Back of Our Revolution,' A Reply to Alexander J. Motyl's 'The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Jews: Theoretical Reflections on Nationalism, Fascism, Rationality, Primordialism, and History," American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies, 2014, https://academia.edu/6313351/A Knife in the Back of Our Revolution A Reply to Alexander J. Motyls The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Jews Theoretical Reflections on Nationalist m Fascism Rationality Primordialism and History.
- **735** Himka, 370–71; Ivan Lysiak Rudnytsky, "Natsionalizm I Totalitarianism," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 1982), 85,

https://archive.org/details/journalofukraini72cana/page/80/mode/2up.

736 Himka, 372–74, 378–91.

737 De Ploeg, 23–24.

738 Gregg J. Rickman, "Contemporary Global Anti-Semitism: A Report Provided to the United States Congress," US State Department, March 13, 2008, https://2001-2009.state.gov/g/drl/rls/102406.htm. 739 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.

- **740** Ludwig von Mises, *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1922).
- **741** Jason Steinhauer, "Interview of Sarah Cameron: 'The Kazakh Famine of the 1930s,'" Library of Congress, August 24, 2016, https://blogs.loc.gov/kluge/2016/08/the-kazakh-famine-of-the-1930s. **742** Hahn, 145–46.
- 743 Rossoliński-Liebe, 469–80.
- 744 Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- 745 Petro, 82.
- **746** Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10. **747** Petro, 82.
- 748 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **749** Photo of Oleh Tyahnybok giving a proud Hitler salute, http://i.imgur.com/s0sR7dL.jpg; Photo of Vice-President Joe Biden shaking Tyahnybok's hand with a big smile on their faces, https://pbs.twimg.com/media/FJgCT7qVUAAXzc-?format=jpg.
- **750** Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **751** Philip Friedman, *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada June Friedman, introduction by Salo Wittmeyer Baron, *New York: Conference on Jewish Social Studies* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), 203–04.
- **752** John-Paul Himka, "How does the OUN treat the Jews? Reflections on the book of Volodymyr Viatrovich," *Ukraina Moderna*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2008), 252–65; Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists*, 112–15, https://utppublishing.com/doi/10.3138/ukrainamoderna.13.252.
- 753 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **754** Jared McBride, "Ukraine's Invented a 'Jewish-Ukrainian Nationalist' to Whitewash Its Nazi-era Past," *Haaretz*, November 9, 2017, https://haaretz.com/opinion/2017-11-09/ty-article/ukraine-nationalists-are-using-a-jew-to-whitewash-their-nazi-era-past/0000017f-e717-d97e-a37f-f777b9fe0000.
- **755** Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.
- **756** Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 22–23.
- **757** Bartov, 61–70, 73–75.
- **758** Bartov, 52–53.
- 759 Bartov, 91–93.
- **760** Staff, "European parliament hopes new Ukraine's leadership will reconsider decision to award Bandera title of hero," Interfax-Ukraine, February 25, 2010,
- https://kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/european-parliament-hopes-new-ukraines-leadership-60430.html.
- **761** Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.

- **762** Staff, "Polish president condemns hero title award for Bandera," Interfax-Ukraine, February 5, 2010, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/world/polish-president-condemns-hero-title-award-for-ban-58755.html.
- **763** Jan Cienski, "Why Poles cheered Yushchenko's ouster," GlobalPost, March 10, 2017, https://theworld.org/stories/2017/03/10/why-poles-cheered-yushchenkos-ouster.
- **764** Timothy Snyder, "A Fascist Hero in Democratic Kiev," *New York Review of Books*, February 24, 2010, https://nybooks.com/daily/2010/02/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev.
- 765 Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacture of Historical Myths," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (November 2011), https://carlbeckpapers.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/cbp/article/view/164/160.
- **766** Palash Ghosh, "Euromaidan: The Dark Shadows Of The Far-Right In Ukraine Protests," *International Business Times*, February 19, 2014, https://ibtimes.com/euromaidan-dark-shadows-far-right-ukraine-protests-1556654.
- 767 "President proclaimed October 14 the Day of Defender of Ukraine," Consulate General of Ukraine in New York, October 14, 2014, https://ny.mfa.gov.ua/en/news/28702-prezident-vstanoviv-14-zhovtnya-dnem-zahisnika-ukrajini.
- **768** Max Blumenthal, "Is the US Backing Neo-Nazis in Ukraine?" AlterNet, February 24, 2014, <a href="https://web.archive.org/web/20140302022450/http://alternet.org/tea-party-and-right/us-backing-neo-nazis-ukraine.
- **769** Josh Cohen, "Vladimir Putin calls Ukraine fascist and country's new law helps make his case," Reuters, May 20, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/idUS2080246569.
- 770 Staff, "Statement on Ukrainian Legislation on Historical Research and Debate," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 11, 2015, https://ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/statement-on-ukrainian-legislation-on-historical-research-and-debate.
- 771 Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.
- 772 Rossoliński-Liebe, 469–80.
- 773 Georgiy Kasianov, "Nationalist Memory Narratives and the Politics of History in Ukraine since the 1990s," *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.10.
- 774 "Historian Volodymyr Vyatrovych about the Ukrainian SS Halychyna division," BBC, June 13, 2011, https://bbc.com/ukrainian/multimedia/2011/06/110613 vyatrovych galychyna video.
- 775 Josh Cohen, "The Historian Whitewashing Ukraine's Past," *Foreign Policy*, May 2, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/05/02/the-historian-whitewashing-ukraines-past-volodymyr-viatrovych.
- 776 Lev Golinkin, "Nazi Collaborator Monuments in Ukraine," *The Forward*, January 26, 2021, https://forward.com/news/462916/nazi-collaborator-monuments-in-ukraine.
- 777 Rossoliński-Liebe, 492–99.
- 778 Rossoliński-Liebe, 496–97.
- 779 Staff, "Ukraine to Honor Groups That Killed Jews in World War II," *Haaretz*, May 21, 2015, https://haaretz.com/2015-05-21/ty-article/ukraine-to-honor-wwii-jews-killers/0000017f-e78b-dea7-adff-f7fb08bd0000; Anna Nemtsova, "Ukraine Tears Down Soviet Symbols, Winks At Nazi Ones," Daily Beast, May 29, 2015, https://thedailybeast.com/ukraine-tears-down-soviet-symbols-winks-at-nazi-ones.
- **780** Vladimir Kozlov, "Ukraine Bans All New Russian Film Releases," The Hollywood Reporter, February 6, 2015, https://hollywoodreporter.com/news/general-news/ukraine-bans-all-new-russian-770842.
- **781** Staff, "Ukraine bans Russian media outlets, websites," Committee to Protect Journalists, May 17, 2017, https://cpj.org/2017/05/ukraine-bans-russian-media-outlets-websites.
- **782** Staff, "Ukraine imposes language quotas for radio playlists," BBC, November 8, 2016, https://bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-37908828.

- **783** Tweet by the World Jewish Congress, May 3, 2018,
- $\underline{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20211219195221/https://x.com/WorldJewishCong/status/99212858530041}}{4466}.$
- **784** Zakon Ukrainy, Law of Ukraine, "On Amendments to the Art.6 of the Law 'On the Status of the Veterans of War and Guarantees of Their Social Protection' in Terms of Enhancing the Social Protection of the Participants of the Struggle for Independence of Ukraine in the 20th Century," December 6, 2018, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2640-19.
- 785 Cnaan Liphshiz, "Ukraine celebrates Nazi collaborator, bans book critical of pogroms leader," *Times of Israel*, December 27, 2018, https://timesofisrael.com/ukraine-celebrates-nazi-collaborator-bans-book-critical-of-pogroms-leader; Cnaan Liphshiz, "Ukraine designates national holiday for Nazi collaborator," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 27, 2018, https://jta.org/quick-reads/ukraine-bans-history-book-on-leader-of-anti-semitic-pogroms.
- 786 "Wiesenthal Center Harshly Criticizes Decision By Ukrainian Parliament To Designate Birthday Of Nazi Collaborator Bandera As National Holiday," Simon Wiesenthal Center, December 27, 2018, https://wiesenthal.com/about/news/wiesenthal-center-harshly-4.html; Jason Lemon, "Ukraine Makes Birthday of Nazi Collaborator a National Holiday and Bans Book Critical of Anti-Semitic Leader," https://newsweek.com/ukraine-nazi-collaborator-birthday-holiday-anti-semitic-1272911.
- **787** Jochen Hellbeck, "Ukraine Makes Amnesia the Law of the Land," *The New Republic*, May 21, 2015, https://newrepublic.com/article/121880/new-laws-ukraine-make-it-illegal-bring-its-ugly-past. **788** Petro, 82–83.
- 789 Rossoliński-Liebe, 81, 168, 273-80.
- **790** Erika Solomon, "History Haunts Ukraine's Undiplomatic Voice in Berlin," *New York Times*, July 13, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/07/13/world/europe/ukraine-germany-ambassador-melnyk.html.
- **791** Kateryna Iakovlenko, "Meet the man in charge of Ukraine's national memory," Open Democracy, June 11, 2020, https://opendemocracy.net/en/odr/anton-drobovich-natsionalnaya-pamyat-en.
- **792** Sam Sokol, "Ukrainian General Calls for Destruction of Jews," *The Jewish Chronicle*, May 11, 2017, https://thejc.com/news/world/ukrainian-general-calls-for-destruction-of-jews-1.438400.
- **793** Eduard Dolinsky, "What Ukraine's Jews Fear," *New York Times*, April 11, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/04/11/opinion/what-ukraines-jews-fear.html.
- **794** Robert Parry, "The Mess that Nuland Made," Consortium News, July 13, 2015, https://consortiumnews.com/2015/07/13/the-mess-that-nuland-made.
- **795** "Staffs of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, The 2018 Pulitzer Prize Winner in National Reporting," The Pulitzer Prizes, https://pulitzer.org/winners/staffs-new-york-times-and-washington-post.
- **796** JTA, "Ukraine city to hold festival in honor of Nazi collaborator," *Jerusalem Post*, June 28, 2017, https://jpost.com/Diaspora/Ukraine-city-to-hold-festival-in-honor-of-Nazi-collaborator-498159.
- **797** Staff, "Nazi symbols, salutes on display at Ukrainian nationalist march," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, April 30, 2018, https://timesofisrael.com/nazi-symbols-salutes-on-display-at-ukrainian-nationalist-march.
- **798** Staff, "Ukrainian marchers in Kiev chant 'Jews out," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 3, 2017, https://jta.org/2017/01/03/global/ukrainian-marchers-in-kiev-chant-jews-out.
- **799** Staff, "US embassy in Kiev criticized for praising Ukrainian nationalist," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 29, 2017, https://jta.org/2017/03/29/global/us-embassy-in-kiev-criticized-for-praising-for-ukrainian-nationalist.
- **800** "Museum Expresses Deep Concern About Anti-Romani Violence and Antisemitism in Ukraine," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 14, 2018, https://ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-expresses-deep-concern-about-anti-romani-violence-and-antisemitism-i.

- **801** Simon Shuster, "Is Ukraine's New Holocaust Memorial Also an Instrument of Kremlin Propaganda?" *Time*, September 29, 2021, https://time.com/6102593/ukraine-holocaust-memorial-kremlin-propaganda.
- **802** Gabriel Gatehouse, "Neo-Nazi Threat in New Ukraine," BBC *Newsnight*, February 28, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=5SBo0akeDMY.
- **803** Andrew Foxall and Oren Kessler, "Yes, There Are Bad Guys in the Ukrainian Government," *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2014, https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/03/18/yes-there-are-bad-guys-in-the-ukrainian-government.
- **804** "Far-right group at heart of Ukraine protests meet US senator," Channel 4, December 16, 2013, http://channel4.com/news/ukraine-mccain-far-right-svoboda-anti-semitic-protests.
- **805** Jon Sebastian Shifrin, "It's all relative," *Baltimore Sun*, June 7, 2019, https://baltimoresun.com/2014/04/22/its-all-relative-commentary.
- **806** Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **807** Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **808** Rossoliński-Liebe, 480; Taras Wosnjak, "Neo-Nazism and 'Svoboda," Ukrainska Pravda, October 27, 2011, https://pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/10/27/6708115.
- **809** Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **810** Andrew Foxall and Oren Kessler, "Yes, There Are Bad Guys in the Ukrainian Government," *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2014, http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/03/18/yes-there-are-bad-guys-in-the-ukrainian-government.
- **811** Sabina Zawadzki, et al., "In Ukraine, Nationalists Gain Influence and Scrutiny," Reuters, March 18, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-farright-insight/in-ukraine-nationalists-gain-influence-and-scrutiny-idUSBREA2H0K620140318.
- 812 Jamelle Bouie, "What the Reactionary Politics of 2019 Owe to the Politics of Slavery," *New York Times*, August 14, 2019, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/republicans-racism-african-americans.html; James Risen, "Racism Is Why Trump Is So Popular," Intercept, August 10 2024, https://theintercept.com/2024/08/10/republicans-trump-vance-racism-white-nationalism; Simon Clark, "How White Supremacy Returned to Mainstream Politics," Center for American Progress, July 1, 2020, https://americanprogress.org/article/white-supremacy-returned-mainstream-politics/; Dana Milbank, "199 House Republicans have embraced anti-Semitism and violence," https://washington.post.com/opinions/2021/02/05/199-house-republicans-have-embraced-anti-semitism-violence; Lindsay Kornick, "Scientific American editor blasts 'f---ing fascists' who elected Donald Trump," Fox News, November 7, 2024, https://foxnews.com/media/scientific-american-editor-blast-f-ing-fascists-who-elected-donald-trump.
- **813** Robert Beckhusen, "Ukrainian Election's Real Losers Far Right Parties," War Is Boring, October 26, 2014, https://medium.com/war-is-boring/ukrainian-elections-real-losers-far-right-parties-94f4f7c0cdab.
- **814** Joe Sommerlad, "Who are Ukraine's neo-Nazi Azov Battalion?" *Independent*, March 24, 2022, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-azov-battalion-mariupol-neo-nazis-b2043022.html.
- **815** Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.
- 816 See below.

- **817** Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.
- 818 Hahn, 190.
- **819** Staff, "Rada appoints Andriy Parubiy its speaker," Interfax-Ukraine, April 14, 2016, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/337629.html.
- **820** Staff, "Analysis: US Cozies Up to Kiev Government Including Far Right," NBC News, March 30, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/ukraine-crisis/analysis-u-s-cozies-kiev-government-including-far-right-n66061.
- **821** "Resolution on the situation in Ukraine," 2012/2889(RSP), EU Parliament, December 13, 2012, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/summary.do?id=1239823&t=e&l=en.
- **822** "How the far-right took top posts in Ukraine's power vacuum," Channel 4, March 5, 2014, https://channel4.com/news/svoboda-ministers-ukraine-new-government-far-right.
- **823** Staff, "US Cozies Up to Kiev Government Including Far Right," NBC News, March 30, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/ukraine-crisis/analysis-u-s-cozies-kiev-government-including-far-right-n66061.
- **824** Damien Sharkov, "Ukraine's Parliament Fully Behind Joining NATO: Speaker," *Newsweek*, June 14, 2016, https://newsweek.com/ukraines-parliament-fully-behind-joining-nato-speaker-470313.
- **825** Staff, "Ukraine Parliament Speaker Signs New Electoral Code Long Pushed For By The West," RFERL, August 27, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-parliament-speaker-signs-new-electoral-code-long-pushed-for-by-the-west/30132165.html.
- **826** Marcus Lütticke, "Far-right millstone," DW, March 26, 2014, https://dw.com/en/far-right-weighs-on-ukraine-government/a-17519960.
- **827** Simon Shuster, "Many Ukrainians Want Russia To Invade," *Time*, March 1, 2014, https://time.com/11005/many-ukrainians-want-russia-to-invade; Roman Olearchyk, "Arseniy Yatseniuk poised to become Ukraine prime minister," *Financial Times*, February 26, 2014, https://ft.com/content/88987cf8-9f12-11e3-8663-00144feab7de.
- **828** Mustafa Nayyem, "Behind the scenes of the Right Sector," Ukrainska Pravda, April 1, 2014, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/articles/2014/04/1/7020952.
- **829** Oksana Grytsenko and Shaun Walker, "Ukraine's new parliament sits for first time," *Guardian*, November 27, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/27/ukraine-new-parliament--war-east-mps.
- **830** David Stern, "Ukraine crisis: Tension over rise of nationalist Yarosh," BBC, April 8, 2015, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-32216738; Staff, "Former leader of Right Sector becomes advisor to Commander-in-Chief of Ukrainian Armed Forces," UA Wire, November 3, 2021, https://uawire.org/former-leader-of-right-sector-becomes-advisor-to-commander-in-chief-of-ukrainian-armed-forces.
- **831** Harriet Salem, "Who exactly is governing Ukraine?" *Guardian*, March 4, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/04/who-governing-ukraine-olexander-turchynov.
- **832** Press Release, "Environment Minister Andriy Mokhnyk held a telephone conversation with his Russian counterpart," Ukrainian Government Portal, March 19, 2014, https://kmu.gov.ua/en/news/247117920.
- **833** Staff, "Agriculture minister declares almost Hr 339,000 income in 2013," Interfax-Ukraine, April 1, 2014, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/agriculture-minster-declares-almost-hr-339000-income-in-2013-341686.html.
- **834** Guy Faulconbridge, et al., "Toppled 'mafia' president cost Ukraine up to \$100 billion, prosecutor says," Reuters, April 30, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/world/toppled-mafia-president-cost-ukraine-up-to-100-billion-prosecutor-says-idUSBREA3T0KA.

- **835** Serhiy Kvit, "Serhiy Kvit: The ideology of the EuroMaidan Revolution," *Kyiv Post*, March 24, 2014, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/serhiy-kvit-the-ideology-of-the-euromaidan-revolution-340665.html.
- **836** Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.
- **837** Sam Sokol, "Kiev regional police head accused of neo-Nazi ties," *Jerusalem Post*, November 12, 2014, http://jpost.com/Diaspora/Kiev-regional-police-head-accused-of-neo-Nazi-ties-381559.
- **838** Staff, "Cabinet appoints Troyan as deputy interior minister of Ukraine," Interfax-Ukraine, February 8, 2017, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/cabinet-appoints-troyan-deputy-interior-minister-ukraine.html.
- **839** Daria Zubkova, "National Police Deputy Head Troyan Resigns," Ukra News, November 5, 2021, https://ukranews.com/en/news/812359-national-police-deputy-head-troyan-resigns.
- **840** Cited in Per Anders Rudling, "The Return of the Ukrainian Far Right The Case of VO Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson (eds.), *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 228–55, http://academia.edu/2481420.
- **841** Paul Moreira, *Ukraine: Masks of the Revolution*, Notre Monde, November 6, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=VLXtWfTcLC4.
- 842 David Broder, "The Far Right Wants to Take Over Europe, and She's Leading the Way," *New York Times*, April 22, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/22/opinion/meloni-europe-elections.html; Antony Paone and Leigh Thomas, "Far-right French presidential hopeful promises 'reconquest' at rally," Reuters, December 6, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/europe/far-right-french-presidential-hopeful-promises-reconquest-rally-2021-12-05; Francesc Badia i Dalmases and Sergio Calderón, "Reconquering Europe? VOX and the extreme right in Spain," Open Democracy, March 27, 2019, https://opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/reconquering-europe-vox-and-extreme-right-spain; James Masters and Laura Perez-Maestro, "Spain's Vox party wins seats as far-right party surges for first time since Franco," CNN, December 3, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/12/03/europe/spain-far-right-vox-andalucia-intl/index.html; Ishaan Tharoor, "Right-wing nationalists are marching into the future by rewriting the past," https://washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/02/11/history-patriotism-right-wing-politics.
- **843** Anne Applebaum, *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism* (New York: Doubleday, 2020).
- **844** Murray N. Rothbard, "World War I as Fulfillment: Power and the Intellectuals," *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 1989), https://cdn.mises.org/9 1 5 0.pdf.
- **845** Anne Applebaum, "Nationalism Is Exactly What Ukraine Needs," *The New Republic*, May 12, 2014, https://newrepublic.com/article/117505/ukraines-only-hope-nationalism.
- **846** Nataliya Vasilyeva, "15,000 Ukraine nationalists march for divisive Bandera," AP, January 1, 2014, https://apnews.com/international-news-general-news-bbc1075c59c44076b6284dcb008ac6c7.
- **847** Devansh Dutt, "Chief rabbi of Ukraine orders Jews to flee after recent violent attacks on yeshiva students," Your Jewish News, March 12, 2014,
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20140312203245/http://yourjewishnews.com/2014/02/n31613.html}.$
- **848** Sam Sokol, "Ukrainian Jews split on dangers of protest movement," *Jerusalem Post*, December 4, 2013, http://jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-Features/Ukrainian-Jews-split-on-dangers-of-protest-movement-333907.
- **849** Brian Whelan, "Far-right group at heart of Ukraine protests meet US senator," Channel 4, December 16, 2013, http://channel4.com/news/ukraine-mccain-far-right-svoboda-anti-semitic-protests. **850** Cnaan Liphshiz, "Hundreds march in Ukraine in annual tribute to Nazi collaborator," *Times of Israel*, January 4, 2021, https://timesofisrael.com/hundreds-march-in-ukraine-in-annual-tribute-to-nazi-collaborator; Cnaan Lipshiz, "Far-right protesters in Ukraine demand Israel apologize for

communism," *Jerusalem Post*, January 8, 2021, https://jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/far-right-protesters-in-ukraine-demand-israel-apologize-for-communism-654711.

851 Sam Sokol, "Kiev regional police head accused of neo-Nazi ties," *Jerusalem Post*, November 9, 2014, http://jpost.com/Diaspora/Russians-accuse-Kiev-of-hiding-crimes-against-Jews-381252.

852 Oleksandr Feldman, "Op-Ed: Ukraine protest movement must shun anti-Semitic elements," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 15, 2014, https://jta.org/2014/01/15/opinion/ukrainian-protest-movement-must-shun-anti-semitic-elements.

853 Christopher Miller, "In Ukraine, Ultranationalist Militia Strikes Fear In Some Quarters," RFERL, January 30, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-azov-right-wing-militia-to-patrol-kyiv/29008036.html.

854 "WJC: Ukrainian priests must stop glorifying Nazis," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, August 23, 2013, http://jta.org/2013/08/23/news-opinion/world/wjc-ukrainian-priest-must-stop-glorifying-nazis.

855 Efraim Zuroff, "Wiesenthal Center Condemns Initiative to Name Kiev Streets for Ukrainian Nazi Collaborators Stefan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych," Simon Wiesenthal Center, July 5, 2017, https://wiesenthal.com/about/news/wiesenthal-center-condemns-37.html.

856 Staff, "WJC concerned by Ukraine's decision to rename Kyiv boulevard after ultra-nationalist complicit in murdering Jews during Holocaust," World Jewish Congress, July 8, 2016, https://worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/wjc-concerned-by-ukraines-decision-to-rename-kyiv-boulevard-after-ultra-nationalist-complicit-in-murdering-jews-during-holocaust-7-1-2016.

857 Daniel Rubin, et al., "Letter to President Petro Poroshenko," National Coalition Supporting Eurasian Jewry, January 23, 2017,

https://d2zhgehghqjuwb.cloudfront.net/accounts/10513/original/2017_01_23_Poroshenko_Kvasnovsky_Order of Freedom.pdf.

858 Mark B. Levin, "Statement of Ukrainian Jewish Organizations on Anti-Semitism," National Coalition Supporting Eurasian Jewry (NCSEJ), May 22, 2018,

https://robly.com/archive?id=17a4e5aba5a15e798f16c80277e534a5.

859 Cnaan Liphshiz, "Report: Ukraine had more anti-Semitic incidents than all former Soviet countries combined," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 28, 2018, https://jta.org/2018/01/28/israel/report-ukraine-had-more-anti-semitic-incidents-than-all-former-soviet-countries-combined.

860 Staff, "Ukraine Unveils Statue Honoring Nationalist Leader Behind Regime That Killed Up to 50,000 Jews," *Haaretz*, October 17, 2017, https://haaretz.com/world-news/europe/2017-10-17/ty-article/ukraine-unveils-statue-honoring-leader-who-killed-up-to-50-000-jews/0000017f-db18-d856-a37f-ffd846110000.

861 Jeffrey Veidlinger, "The Killing Fields of Ukraine," *Tablet*, February 22, 2022, https://tabletmag.com/sections/history/articles/killing-fields-ukraine.

862 James Angelos, "German far-right leader intentionally used banned Nazi slogan, court rules," *Politico Europe*, May 14, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/german-far-right-leader-found-guilty-of-using-banned-nazi-slogan-bjorn-hocke-afd-alternative-for-germany-thuringia.

863 Petro, 75.

864 Hahn, 147–48.

865 Petro, 75–76.

866 Hahn, 150.

867 Palash Ghosh, "Watch Your Tongue: Language Controversy One Of Fundamental Conflicts In Ukraine," International Business Times, March 3, 2014, https://ibtimes.com/watch-your-tongue-language-controversy-one-fundamental-conflicts-ukraine-1559069.

868 Staff, "Ukrainian President Signs Controversial Language Bill Into Law," RFERL, September 26, 2017, https://rferl.org/a/ukrainian-poroshenko-signs-controversial-language-bill-into-law/28757195.html.

869 Staff, "Zhytomyr region bans movies, books, songs in Russian language," UNIAN, October 26, 2018, https://unian.info/society/10313430-zhytomyr-region-bans-movies-books-songs-in-russian-

<u>language.html</u>; Staff, "Lviv region bans movies, books, songs in Russian until end of Russian occupation," UNIAN, September 19, 2018, https://unian.info/society/10266729-lviv-region-bans-movies-books-songs-in-russian-until-end-of-russian-occupation.html; Staff, "Russian music, movies banned in public places in Ternopil region," July 11, 2018, https://ukrinform.net/rubric-society/2574636-russian-music-movies-banned-in-public-places-in-ternopil-region.html.

870 Staff, "Rada approves Ukrainian language TV quotas," *Kyiv Post*, May 23, 2017, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/rada-approves-ukrainian-language-tv-quotas.html; Staff, "Ukraine imposes language quotas for radio playlists," BBC, November 8, 2016, https://bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-37908828.

871 See below.

- **872** Kateryna Choursina, "Ukrainians Fight Police Over Recognition [sic] of WWII Rebels," Bloomberg News, October 14, 2014, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-10-14/ukrainians-fight-police-over-recognition-of-wwii-rebels.
- **873** April Gordon, "Special Report 2020: A New Eurasian Far Right Rising," Freedom House, https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-report/2020/new-eurasian-far-right-rising.
- **874** Natalia Zinets and Alessandra Prentice, "US Warns Putin Against Ukraine Grab Amid Break-up Fears," Reuters, February 22, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/ukraine-crisis-idINDEEA1M00520140223.
- **875** Staff, "Crimean War, 1853–1856," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 28, 2024, https://britannica.com/event/Crimean-War.
- **876** Ludwig H. Dyck, "Sturgeon Catch 1942: The Siege of Sevastopol," *WWII History Magazine*, March 2005, https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/sturgeon-catch-1942-the-siege-of-sevastopol; Robert Beckhusen, "Sevastopol's Soviet Defenders Helped Save Stalingrad," War is Boring, June 10, 2017, https://warisboring.com/sevastopols-red-army-defenders-helped-save-stalingrad.
- **877** Alan Yuhas and Raya Jalabi, "Ukraine crisis: why Russia sees Crimea as its naval stronghold," *Guardian*, March 7, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/07/ukraine-russia-crimea-naval-base-tatars-explainer.
- **878** "Meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet," February 19, 1954, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/meeting-presidium-supreme-soviet-union-soviet-socialist-republics.
- **879** Mark Kramer, "Why Did Russia Give Away Crimea Sixty Years Ago?" Cold War International History Project, No. 47, https://wilsoncenter.org/publication/why-did-russia-give-away-crimea-sixty-years-ago.
- **880** Campana Aurélie, "Sürgün: The Crimean Tatars' deportation and exile," Centre for History of Sciences Po, June 16, 2008, https://sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/fr/document/suerguen-crimean-tatars-deportation-and-exile.html.
- **881** Staff, "All Ukrainian Population Census 2001," State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20120618190710/http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/estimatee
- **882** Viktor Lyashchenko, "Crimean Autonomy 23 Years Later," KIA News, http://kianews.com.ua/page/krymskaya-avtonomiya-23-goda-spustya-kak-sberegli-mir-i-ne-pustili-v-dom-voynu.
- **883** Serge Schmemann, "Crimea Parliament Votes to Back Independence From Ukraine," *New York Times*, May 6, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/05/06/world/crimea-parliament-votes-to-back-independence-from-ukraine.html; Serge Schmemann, "Russia Votes to Void Cession of Crimea to Ukraine," *New York Times*, May 22, 1992, http://nytimes.com/1992/05/22/world/russia-votes-to-void-cession-of-crimea-to-ukraine.html.
- **884** Phil Miller, "British intelligence predicted Ukraine war 30 years ago," Declassified UK, October 3, 2022, https://declassifieduk.org/british-intelligence-predicted-ukraine-war-30-years-ago.

```
885 Hahn, 132.
```

886 Hahn, 133.

887 Sarotte, 167.

888 Interview with author, John Quigley, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 13, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-13-22-john-quigley-on-the-russian-enclaves-of-eastern-europe;; John Quigley, "I led talks on Donbas and Crimea in the 90s. Here's how the war should end," Responsible Statecraft, May 9, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/05/09/i-led-talks-on-the-donbas-and-crimea-in-the-1990s-heres-how-the-war-should-end">https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/05/09/i-led-talks-on-the-donbas-and-crimea-in-the-1990s-heres-how-the-war-should-end.

889 Hahn, 135.

890 Petro, 181.

891 "Background Notes: Ukraine," US State Department, June 1997, https://1997-2001.state.gov/background notes/ukraine 0697 bgn.html.

892 Steven Erlanger, "Russia and Ukraine Settle Dispute Over Black Sea Fleet," *New York Times*, June 10, 1995, https://nytimes.com/1995/06/10/world/russia-and-ukraine-settle-dispute-over-black-sea-fleet.html; Mary Mycio, "Russia, Ukraine Report Agreement on Black Sea Fleet," *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1997, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-05-29-mn-63737-story.html.

893 Tyler Felgenhauer, "WWS Case Study: Ukraine, Russia, and the Black Sea Fleet Accords," Defense Technical Information Center, February 1999, https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA360381.pdf. **894** Editorial Board, "Ukraine's next chapter," *Washington Post*, February 24, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/ukraines-next-chapter/2014/02/24/a26822be-9d87-11e3-a050-dc3322a94fa7 story.html.

895 Eugene Robinson, "Ukraine's ultra-nationalists present a need for US caution," *Washington Post*, March 10, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/eugene-robinson-ukraines-ultra-nationalists-present-a-need-for-us-caution/2014/03/10/2bdfd92a-a890-11e3-8d62-419db477a0e6 story.html.

896 "Three Former Ukrainian Presidents Seek Termination of Kharkiv Agreements on Black Sea Fleet and Signature of Association Agreement with EU," Euromaidan Press, March 2, 2014, <a href="https://euromaidanpress.com/2014/03/02/three-former-ukrainian-presidents-seek-termination-of-kharkiv-agreements-on-black-sea-fleet-and-signature-of-association-agreement-with-eu;" "Kravchuk, Kuchma and Yushchenko Call to Denounce Kharkiv Pact," *Kyiv Post*, March 3, 2014, http://kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/media-kravchuk-kuchma-and-yuschenko-call-to-denounce-kharkiv-pact-338252.html; "The EU and Russia: Before and Beyond the Crisis in Ukraine," UK House of Commons European Union Committee, February 10, 2015,

 $\underline{https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldeucom/115/11508.htm}.$

897 Staff, "Russia ties Ukraine gas price relief to better terms for Black Sea fleet," Reuters, December 11, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/ukraine-russia/russia-ties-ukraine-gas-price-relief-to-better-terms-for-black-sea-fleet-idUSL1N0JQ25T20131211.

898 Graham Allison, "A 'Belgian Solution' for Ukraine?" *The National Interest*, March 15, 2014, https://nationalinterest.org/commentary/"belgian-solution"-ukraine-10062.

899 "The crimes of Euromaidan Nazis: The pogrom of Korsun on February 20, 2014," Ukraine-Human-Rights.org, August 14, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=loKajkXoTBU.

900 Christo Grozev, "Crimea: The Road to Motherland (teaser)," YouTube.com, March 8, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=rCIGAE-VvGI.

901 De Ploeg, 116; Alissa de Carbonnel, "How the separatists delivered Crimea to Moscow," Reuters, March 13, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/world/how-the-separatists-delivered-crimea-to-moscow-idUSBREA2B13M.

902 Aleksandar Vasovic and Gabriela Baczynska, "Acknowledging defeat, Ukraine pulls troops from Crimea," Reuters, March 24, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/idUSBREA2N09J; Staff, "How Russia Invaded Crimea," War Is Boring, March 1, 2014, https://medium.com/war-is-boring/how-russia-invaded-crimea-af7a59ff4ad8.

903 "Russian marine kills Ukraine navy officer in Crimea, says ministry," Reuters, April 7, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-military-idUSBREA360GB20140407; Staff, "The brutally murdered Crimean Tatar was the name of Resat Ametov. Three young children were orphaned," Censor.net, March 18, 2014, https://censor.net/ru/n276351.

904 Heather Saul and Kim Sengupta, "Pro-Russian troops storm naval base as Clinton warns of 'aggression' from Putin," *Independent*, March 19, 2014,

https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-crisis-prorussian-troops-storm-naval-base-asclinton-warns-of-aggression-from-putin-9201317.html.

905 Anastasia Moryleva, "Under Volgograd buried Ruslan Kazakov, who died at the hands of a sniper in Simferopol," Volgograd, March 24, 2014, https://volgograd.kp.ru/online/news/1692759.

906 Staff, "Crimea referendum: Voters 'back Russia union," BBC, March 16, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-26606097.

907 Staff, "Crimea exit poll: About 93% back Russia union," BBC, March 16, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-26598832.

908 Staff, "Despite Concerns about Governance, Ukrainians Want to Remain One Country," Pew Research Center, May 8, 2014, https://pewresearch.org/global/2014/05/08/despite-concerns-about-governance-ukrainians-want-to-remain-one-country; Kenneth Rapoza, "One Year After Russia Annexed Crimea, Locals Prefer Moscow To Kiev," *Forbes*, March 20, 2015, https://forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2015/03/20/one-year-after-russia-annexed-crimea-locals-prefer-moscow-to-kiev; John O'Loughlin, et al., "To Russia With Love," *Foreign Affairs*, April 3, 2020, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2020-04-03/russia-love; Gerard Toal, et al., "Six years and \$20 billion in Russian investment later, Crimeans are happy with Russian annexation," *Washington Post*, March 18, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/03/18/six-years-20-billion-russian-investment-later-crimeans-are-happy-with-russian-annexation; Staff, "Contemporary Media Use in Ukraine," Gallup/Broadcasting Board of Governors, June 2014, https://usagm.gov/wp-content/media/2014/06/Ukraine-research-brief.pdf.

909 Philip Shishkin, et al., "Crimean Tatars Appear to Boycott Voting," *Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 2014, https://wsj.com/articles/many-crimean-tatars-boycott-voting-1394991154; Shaun Walker, "Crimean Tatars divided between Russian and Ukrainian promises," *Guardian*, March 17, 2015, https://theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/17/crimean-tatars-divided-between-russian-and-ukrainian-promises.

910 Petro, 183.

911 Gwendolyn Sasse, "Terra Incognita – The Public Mood in Crimea," *ZOiS Report*, No. 3, November 2017, https://academia.edu/41598187/zois_report_terra_incognita_the_public_mood_in_crimea.

912 Rick Sterling, "Why Zelensky Will Not Take Back Crimea," Antiwar.com, April 4, 2023, https://original.antiwar.com/Rick_Sterling/2023/04/03/why-zelensky-will-not-take-back-crimea.

913 Vladimir Putin, "Address by President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, March 18, 2014, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603.

914 See Chapter Two.

915 Vladimir Putin, "Address by President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, March 18, 2014, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603.

916 Chelsea J. Carter, et al., "Obama warns Russia against Ukraine intervention, says 'there will be costs," CNN, February 28, 2014, https://cnn.com/2014/02/28/world/europe/ukraine-politics/index.html.

917 Charap and Colton, 128, 134.

918 Testimony Victoria Nuland Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Ukraine – Countering Russian Intervention and Supporting a Democratic State," May 6, 2014, https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2014/may/225674.htm.

- **919** Hahn, 239–41.
- **920** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **921** "President Obama's Interview with Fareed Zakaria," CNN, February 1, 2015, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/fzgps/date/2015-02-01/segment/01.
- **922** Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, April 2016, https://theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525.
- **923** Nicolas Camut, "Ukraine slams Obama for making 'excuses' over his Russia policy," *Politico Europe*, June 23, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/ukraine-slams-us-barack-obama-for-excuses-over-russia-policy-war.
- **924** David A. Graham, "Why Putin Turned Against the US," *The Atlantic*, July 2, 2014, https://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/michael-mcfaul-what-turned-putin-against-the-us/373866.
- **925** "Interview of John Brennan," PBS *Frontline*, July 27, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/john-brennan.
- **926** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- 927 Stephanie Pezard and Ashley Rhoades, "What Provokes Putin's Russia?" RAND Corporation, January 2020, https://rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE338/RAND_PE338.pdf. 928 Daniel Treisman, "Why Putin Took Crimea," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2016-04-18/why-russian-president-putin-took-crimea-from-ukraine.
- **929** Isaac Chotiner, "Why John Mearsheimer Blames the US for the Crisis in Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, March 1, 2022, https://newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/why-john-mearsheimer-blames-the-us-for-the-crisis-in-ukraine.
- **930** Fiona Hill, "Putin Has the US Right Where He Wants It," *New York Times*, January 24, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/24/opinion/russia-ukraine-putin-biden.html.
- 931 Tabassum Zakaria, "Russia, NATO loom in Cheney's Ukraine visit," Reuters, September 4, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20180609130011/https://reuters.com/article/us-georgia-ossetia/russia-nato-loom-in-cheneys-ukraine-visit-idUSL272497420080904.
- 932 See Chapter Three.
- 933 Chalmers Johnson, "Blowback," The Nation, September 27, 2001,

https://thenation.com/article/blowback; James Risen, "Oh, What a Fine Plot We Hatched. (And Here's What to Do the Next Time)," *New York Times*, June 18, 2000,

http://nytimes.com/2000/06/18/weekinreview/word-for-word-abc-s-coups-oh-what-fine-plot-we-hatched-here-s-what-next-time.html; Donald Wilber, "Appendix E. Military Critique—Lessons Learned from TPAJAX re Military Planning Aspect of Coup d'Etat," in, "CIA Clandestine Service History, Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952–August 1953," CIA, March 1954, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/ciacase/EXL.pdf; Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Holt, 2001), 8.

- **934** Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 230–31.
- **935** James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS *Frontline*, May 27, 2014, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine.
- **936** Peter Baker, "In Cold War Echo, Obama Strategy Writes Off Putin," *New York Times*, April 19, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/20/world/europe/in-cold-war-echo-obama-strategy-writes-off-putin.html.

937 Katrina vanden Heuvel and Stephen F. Cohen, "Cold War Against Russia – Without Debate," *The Nation*, April 30, 2014, http://thenation.com/article/179579/cold-war-against-russia-without-debate.

938 Luke Johnson and Carl Schreck, "Obama's New Security Strategy Sharply Shifts Tone On Russia," RFERL, February 6, 2015, https://rferl.org/a/us-security--strategy-shifts-tone-on-russia/26834320.html.

939 Andrew Cockburn, "Game On," *Harper's*, January 2015, https://harpers.org/archive/2015/01/game-on.

940 Mark MacKinnon, "In Kharkiv, revolution meets a Russophile resistance," *Globe and Mail*, February 24, 2014, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/world/globe-in-kharkiv-where-russia-is-close-to-the-heart/article17076303.

941 "Pro-Russia protesters seize eastern Ukraine state buildings," France 24, March 6, 2014, https://france24.com/en/20140406-ukraine-russia-donetsk-riots-buildings.

942 James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS *Frontline*, May 27, 2014, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine.

943 Adam Taylor, "The battle for Kiev may well be over, but is the battle for Crimea about to begin?" *Washington Post*, February 22, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/02/22/the-battle-for-kiev-may-well-be-over-but-is-the-battle-for-crimea-about-to-begin; Natalia Zinets and Alessandra Prentice, "Ukraine sets European course after ouster of Yanukovych," Reuters, February 22, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/uk-ukraine/ukraine-sets-european-course-after-ouster-of-Yanukovych-idUKBREA1H0EM20140223.

944 Shaun Walker, et al., "Ukraine: pro-Russia separatists set for victory in eastern region referendum," *Guardian*, May 12, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/may/11/eastern-ukraine-referendum-donetsk-luhansk; Alexander Zhuchkovsky, *85 Days in Slavyansk* (2022), 10–11, 47–50.

945 Jacques Baud, "The Military Situation in the Ukraine," *Janata Weekly*, April 24, 2022, https://janataweekly.org/the-military-situation-in-the-ukraine.

946 Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Sends Force to Stem Unrest in East," *New York Times*, April 15, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/16/world/europe/ukraine-russia.html.

947 Steve Woehrel, "Ukraine's Uncertain Future and US Policy," Congressional Research Service, September 21, 1994, https://everycrsreport.com/files/19940921_94-738 799b4c5c34e11ee98903b32d34aab8a5dc279117.pdf.

948 Hahn, 124–29.

949 Hahn, 122-23.

950 Konstantin Skorkin, "A Counter-Elite Takes Power: the New Leaders of the Donbas," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 16, 2018, https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/75549.

951 Vladimir Socor, "Moscow Encourages Centrifugal Forces in South-Eastern Ukraine," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 11, No. 36 (February 25, 2014),

https://jamestown.org/program/moscow-encourages-centrifugal-forces-in-south-eastern-ukraine.

952 Simon Shuster, "Many Ukrainians Want Russia To Invade," *Time*, March 1, 2014, https://time.com/11005/many-ukrainians-want-russia-to-invade.

953 Staff, "Pro-Russian Protest Leader In Eastern Ukraine Said Taken To Kyiv," RFERL, March 6, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-activist-donetsk-detention/25288316.html.

954 "Eastern Ukrainian region declares independence," CBS News, April 7, 2014, https://cbsnews.com/pictures/eastern-ukrainian-region-declares-independence.

955 Matt Smith and Victoria Butenko, "Ukraine says it retakes building seized by protesters," CNN, April 7, 2014, https://cnn.com/2014/04/07/world/europe/ukraine-crisis/index.html.

956 "Maidan supporters and separatists clashed in Nikolaev. Putin lovers forced to leave," Ukrainska Pravda, April 7, 2014, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/04/7/021682. **957** Hahn, 252–53.

958 Staff, "Ukrainian troops in control of Donetsk Oblast's Kramatorsk airfield, Ukrainian deputy prime minister says several hundred Russian troops in Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, April 16, 2014, https://kyivpost.com/post/9072.

959 Hahn, 253; Jim Maceda, "Tour of Ukraine-Russia Border Finds No Signs of Military Buildup," NBC News, March 30, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/ukraine-crisis/tour-ukraine-russia-border-finds-no-signs-military-buildup-n67336.

960 Hahn, 270-71.

961 Zhuchkovsky, 25–28.

962 Hahn, 254.

963 Zhuchkovsky, 44–45.

964 William Jay Risch, "Heart of Europe, Heart of Darkness: Ukraine's Euromaidan and Its Enemies," in *The Unwanted Europeanness? Understanding Division and Inclusion in Contemporary Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), ed. by Branislav Radeljić, 144–45, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684216. 965 Von Uwe Klußmann and Matthias Schepp, "Moscow Moves to Destabilize Eastern Ukraine," *Der Spiegel*, March 18, 2014, https://spiegel.de/international/europe/how-moscow-is-moving-to-destablize-eastern-ukraine-a-959224.html; Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.

966 Interview of Victoria Nuland, Christiane Amanpour, CNN, April 21, 2014, https://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1404/21/ampr.01.html,

https://dissentradio.com/radio/nulandcnn1.mp3.

967 Staff, "Deadline for Ukrainian Protesters Expires, but No Crackdown," ABC News, April 14, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/International/deadline-ukrainian-protesters-expires-crackdown/story?id=23315532.

968 Alec Luhn, "Russia issues warning after fatal clashes in Ukraine city of Donetsk," *Guardian*, March 14, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/14/russia-warning-fatal-clashes-ukraine-donetsk-protect-compatriots.

969 Hahn, 242-43.

970 Alec Luhn, "Ukrainian troops begin military operation to 'destroy foreign invader," *Guardian*, April 15, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/15/ukrainian-troops-anti-terrorist-operation-kiev.

971 Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.

972 "The views and opinions of South-Eastern regions residents of Ukraine: April 2014," Kiev International Institute of Sociology, April 2014, https://kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=302; Elise Giuliano, "The Origins of Separatism: Popular Grievances in Donetsk and Luhansk," *PONARS Eurasia*, October 28, 2015, https://ponarseurasia.org/the-origins-of-separatism-popular-grievances-indonetsk-and-luhansk.

973 Hahn, 264-66.

974 Staff, "Rebels without a Cause: Russia's Proxies in Eastern Ukraine," Crisis Group Europe Report 254, July 16, 2019, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/254-rebels-without-acause%20%281%29.pdf.

975 Paul Robinson, "Rebels without a cause," Irrussianality, July 18, 2019, https://irrussianality.wordpress.com/2019/07/18/rebels-without-a-cause.

976 Thomas Grove and Aleksandar Vasovic, "Ukraine's pro-Russia separatists reject diplomatic agreement to disarm," Reuters, April 18, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/uk-ukraine-crisis/ukraine-separatists-reject-diplomatic-deal-to-disarm-idINKBN0D40C220140418; Zhuchkovsky, 56, 78. 977 Igor Kossov, "A Putin Climb-Down on Ukraine?" Daily Beast, May 7, 2014, https://thedailybeast.com/a-putin-climb-down-on-ukraine.

- 978 Adam Taylor, "Meet the 'nobodies' who said no to Putin," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/05/08/meet-the-nobodies-who-said-no-to-putin;; Staff, "Ukraine rebels snub Putin to press ahead with referendum," AFP,
- https://straitstimes.com/world/europe/ukraine-rebels-snub-putin-to-press-ahead-with-referendum; Zhuchkovsky, 141–42.
- **979** Adam Taylor, "Meet the 'nobodies' who said no to Putin," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/05/08/meet-the-nobodies-who-said-no-to-putin. **980** Zhuchkovsky, 55.
- **981** Staff, "East Ukraine separatists seek union with Russia," BBC, May 12, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-27369980.
- **982** "Borodai announced that he was leaving the post of prime minister of the DPR," RIA Novosti, August 7, 2014, https://ria.ru/20140807/1019193894.html.
- 983 Marc Bennetts, "Rebel leader Alexander Zakharchenko killed in explosion in Ukraine," *Guardian*, August 31, 2018, https://theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/31/rebel-leader-alexander-zakharchenko-killed-in-explosion-in-ukraine; Staff, "Inside Ukraine's assassination programme," *The Economist*, September 5, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/09/05/inside-ukraines-assassination-programme.
- **984** "Why do some Ukrainians want to be part of Russia?" BBC, April 24, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=0QGFZev_h7g.
- **985** Anna Nemtsova, "In a city near Russia, a commander's call to battle is answered," *Washington Post*, May 3, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/in-a-city-near-russia-a-commanders-call-to-battle-is-answered/2014/05/03/9b822cb0-d30b-11e3-aae8-c2d44bd79778 story.html.
- **986** "Audio evidence of Putin's Adviser Glazyev involvement in war in Ukraine (English translation)," UA Position, August 29, 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=0w78QuxBUe0. **987** De Ploeg, 125–26.
- **988** Anton Zverev, "Ex-rebel leaders detail role played by Putin aide in east Ukraine," Reuters, May 11, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-russia-surkov-insight/ex-rebel-leaders-detail-role-played-by-putin-aide-in-east-ukraine-idUSKBN1870TJ.
- **989** Shaun Walker, et al., "Ukraine: pro-Russia separatists set for victory in eastern region referendum," *Guardian*, May 12, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/may/11/eastern-ukraine-referendum-donetsk-luhansk.
- **990** Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.
- **991** David Ignatius, "Putin is winging it on Ukraine," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-putin-is-winging-it-on-ukraine/2014/05/08/d14dac64-d6f0-11e3-95d3-3bcd77cd4e11 story.html.
- **992** Paul Moreira, *Ukraine: Masks of the Revolution*, Notre Monde, November 6, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=VLXtWfTcLC4.
- 993 Hahn, 260.
- **994** Paul Moreira, *Ukraine: Masks of the Revolution*, Notre Monde, November 6, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=VLXtWfTcLC4.
- **995** Fergal Keane, "Russia sympathisers vent anger at Ukraine Odessa deaths," BBC, May 3, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-27268775.
- **996** Sergei L. Loiko and Carol J. Williams, "Police say 42 killed in Odessa in worst violence of Ukraine crisis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 2014, https://latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-wn-ukraine-russia-odessa-clash-20140502-story.html.
- **997** Sergei L. Loiko and Carol J. Williams, "Police say 42 killed in Odessa in worst violence of Ukraine crisis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 2014, https://latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-wn-ukraine-russia-odessa-clash-20140502-story.html.

998 Hahn, 260.

999 Tweet by Howard Amos, May 2, 2014, https://x.com/howardamos/status/462245077918965760. **1000** Paul Moreira, *Ukraine: Masks of the Revolution*, Notre Monde, November 6, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=VLXtWfTcLC4.

1001 Christof Heyns, "End of visit statement of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, September 18, 2015, https://ohchr.org/en/statements/2015/09/end-visit-statement-special-rapporteur-extrajudicial-summary-or-arbitrary.

1002 "The War in Ukraine," Watchdog Media, April 13, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=hyN3yWMFs8w.

1003 Michael Winter, "Fire kills 31 in Odessa after pro-Russia clashes," *USA Today*, May 2, 2014, https://usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/05/02/ukraine-odessa-fire/8620829.

1004 Yevhen Trofimenko, "ATO Popularly, Or why not Vladimir Putin did not introduce troops," [sic], Right Sector, May 2, 2014, https://archive.is/y12mT; Hahn, 261.

1005 Matilda Bogner, "7 years with no answers. What is lacking in the investigations of the events in Odesa," May 2, 2014, https://ukraine.un.org/en/126054-7-years-no-answers-what-lacking-investigations-events-odesa-2-may-2014; "Report of the International Advisory Panel on its Review of the Investigations into the Events in Odesa on 2 May 2014," Council of Europe, November 4, 2015, https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000 168048610f.

1006 Hahn, 264.

1007 Alec Luhn and Oksana Grytsenko, "Ukraine fails to break stalemate with pro-Russian protesters in east," *Guardian*, April 11, 2014, http://theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/11/ukraine-interim-prime-minister-fail-break-stalemate-east.

1008 Staff, "White House: Brennan was in Kiev this weekend," *USA Today*, April 14, 2014, https://usatoday.com/story/theoval/2014/04/14/obama-john-brennan-kiev-russia-ukraine-jay-carney/7705755.

1009 Melik Kaylan, "Why CIA Director Brennan Visited Kiev: In Ukraine The Covert War Has Begun," *Forbes*, April 16, 2014, https://forbes.com/sites/melikkaylan/2014/04/16/why-cia-director-brennan-visited-kiev-in-ukraine-the-covert-war-has-begun.

1010 Staff, "Ukraine says Donetsk 'anti-terror operation' under way," BBC, April 16, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-27035196.

1011 "Ukraine crisis: Kiev launches 'anti-terror operation' in east," *Guardian*, April 15, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/15/ukraine-military-forces-russia-live-blog.

1012 Zach Dorfman, "Secret CIA training program in Ukraine helped Kyiv prepare for Russian invasion," Yahoo News, March 16, 2022, https://news.yahoo.com/exclusive-secret-cia-training-program-in-ukraine-helped-kyiv-prepare-for-russian-invasion-090052743.html.

1013 Martin Lambeck and Alexander Rackow, "CIA & FBI Agents Advise Kiev," *Bild*, April 5, 2014, https://bild.de/politik/ausland/nachrichtendienste-usa/dutzende-agenten-von-cia-und-fbi-beraten-kiew-35807724.bild.html.

1014 De Ploeg, 224-29.

1015 Maggie Ybarra, "Obama orders Pentagon advisers to Ukraine to fend off Putin-backed rebels," *Washington Times*, July 22, 2014, http://washingtontimes.com/news/2014/jul/22/pentagon-team-dispatched-to-ukraine-amid-crisis-wi.

1016 Press Release, "Wales Summit Declaration," NATO, September 5, 2014, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official texts 112964.htm.

1017 Mark MacKinnon, "NATO to take part in joint exercises with Ukrainian army," *Globe and Mail*, September 3, 2014, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/world/nato-to-take-part-in-joint-exercises-with-

<u>ukrainian-army/article20332348</u>; Staff, "US and Nato troops begin Ukraine military exercise," BBC, September 15, 2014, <u>https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-29204505</u>.

1018 Staff, "British Infantry In Ukraine Training Mission," Sky News, February 24, 2015, https://news.sky.com/story/british-infantry-in-ukraine-training-mission-10370187; Murray Brewster, "Instructing Ukrainian troops a wake-up call for Canadian soldiers," *Globe and Mail*, January 7, 2016, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/national/instructing-ukrainian-troops-a-wake-up-call-for-canadian-trainers/article28048695.

1019 Interview with author, Eric Margolis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, April 24, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/042414-eric-margolis.

1020 Interview with author, Eric Margolis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, June 6, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/060614-eric-margolis.

1021 See Chapter Five.

1022 Adam Entous and Michael Schwirtz, "The Spy War: How the CIA Secretly Helps Ukraine Fight Putin," *New York Times*, February 25, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/25/world/europe/the-spywar-how-the-cia-secretly-helps-ukraine-fight-putin.html.

1023 Interview with author, Eric Margolis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, January 27, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/012714-eric-margolis.

1024 Lucian Kim, "Should Putin fear the man who 'pulled the trigger of war' in Ukraine?" Reuters, November 26, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/kim-strelkov-idUSL2N0TG1CM20141126.

1025 Staff, "East Ukraine separatists seek union with Russia," BBC, May 12, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-27369980.

1026 Neil MacFarquhar, "Russia Keeps Its Distance After Ukraine Secession Referendums," *New York Times*, May 12, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/05/13/world/europe/ukraine.html.

1027 Noah Sneider, "Pro-Russian rebels in Ukraine collect their dead and ask, Where is Putin?" Al Jazeera America, May 30, 2014, http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/5/30/pro-russian-rebelsinukrainecollecttheirdeadandaskwhereisputin.html; Zhuchkovsky, 19–20, 34, 55, 57, 104, 136–37, 140–42, 202, 255.

1028 Zhuchkovsky, 56.

1029 "Chronology for Crimean Russians in Ukraine," UN Refugee Agency, March 14, 2023, https://refworld.org/docid/469f38ec2.html.

1030 Gary Brecher, "The War Nerd: Everything you know about Crimea is wrong(-er)," Pando.com, March 17, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20140318031105/http://pando.com/2014/03/17/the-war-nerd-everything-you-know-about-crimea-is-wrong-er.

1031 Anthony H. Cordesman, "Russia and the 'Color Revolution," Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 28, 2014, https://csis.org/analysis/russia-and-color-revolution.

1032 "Joint Geneva Statement on Ukraine from April 17: The full text," *Washington Post*, April 17, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://washingtonpost.com/world/joint-geneva-statement-on-ukraine-from-april-17-the-full-text/2014/04/17/89bd0ac2-c654-11e3-9f37-7ce307c56815">https://www.https://w

1033 Staff, "Ukraine's Poroshenko is sworn in and sets out peace plan," BBC, June 7, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-27746346.

1034 Petro, 212-13.

1035 Daryna Shevchenko, "Poroshenko pledges to step up anti-terrorism operation, bring success within 'hours,' not months," *Kyiv Post*, May 26, 2014, https://kyivpost.com/post/10257. **1036** Hahn, 256–57.

1037 "Dmytro Yarosh: 'The First Offensive of the War Took Place on April 20, 2014," Censor.net, April 22, 2016,

https://censor.net/ru/resonance/385673/dmitro_yarosh_pershiyi_nastupalniyi_byi_vyini_vdbuvsya_20_kvtnya_2014go_dobrovolts_atakuvali_blokpost; Petro, 103.

1038 Petro, 212–13.

1039 Peter Leonard and Vladimir Isachenkov, "Insurgents in eastern Ukraine declare independence," AP, May 12, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-4f4ade7d52f646118ab030b7c828d564. **1040** Hahn, 260.

1041 Staff, "A year in the struggle for status: life in the republics of Donbas on the background of the conflict with Kiev," TASS, May 11, 2015, https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/1878693.

1042 Staff, "Country Policy and Information Note, Ukraine: Military service," UK Home Office, April 2017, https://refworld.org/reference/countryrep/ukho/2017/en/116582.

1043 Maria Stromova, "Ukraine Enacts Compulsory Military Draft," NBC News, May 1, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/ukraine-crisis/ukraine-enacts-compulsory-military-draft-n94906.

1044 Ruslan Kotsaba, "Internet campaign 'I refuse to mobilize," January 17, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Ve AJRn-HJA.

1045 Aric Toler, "Ukraine Arrests Journalist on Treason Charges for Calls to Boycott Mobilization," Global Voices, February 9, 2015, https://globalvoices.org/2015/02/09/ukraine-journalist-treason-mobilization.

1046 John Dalhuisen, "Ukraine's spate of suspicious deaths must be followed by credible investigations," Amnesty International, April 17, 2015,

https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/ukraine-suspicious-deaths-need-credible-investigations.

1047 Staff, "The Court of Appeal dropped the charges against Kotsaba, and he was released from custody," Radio Svoboda, July 14, 2016, https://radiosvoboda.org/a/news/27858251.html.

1048 "Ukraine: Ruslan Kotsaba on trial again," War Resisters' International, October 4, 2021, https://wri-irg.org/en/programmes/rrtk/co-action-alert/2021/ukraine-ruslan-kotsaba-trial-again.

1049 "Out of Control: Ukraine's Rogue Militias," Vice, May 25, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=wMMXuKB0BoY.

1050 Terror there A is the Describing A is it 15, 2014

1050 Tweet by Andriy Parubiy, April 15, 2014,

https://x.com/andriyparubiy/status/456075805223706624; Staff, "For the settlement of the situation in the South-East of the Ministry of Internal Affairs creates special units for the protection of public order," Arena, April 15, 2014,

https://web.archive.org/web/20160304212811/http://arena.in.ua/politka/186488-Dlya-uregulirovaniya-situaciya-na-YUgo-Vostoke-MVD-sozdaet-specpodrazdeleniya-po-ohrane-obshestvennogo-poryadka.html.

1051 Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat," *Guardian*, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis.

1052 Hahn, 276.

1053 Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Sends Force to Stem Unrest in East," *New York Times*, April 15, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/16/world/europe/ukraine-russia.html.

1054 Anastasia Bereza, "Andriy Biletsky. How the war turned the political politician into the commander of the Azov battalion," New Voice, October 22, 2014,

https://web.archive.org/web/20150119152837/http://nvua.net/publications/Andrey-Bileckiy-Kak-voyna-prevratila-polituznika-v-komandira-batalona-Azov--17031.html; Vyacheslav Likhachev, "The 'Right Sector' and Others: The Behavior and Role of Radical Nationalists in the Ukrainian Political Crisis of Late 2013–Early 2014," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 48, No. 2/3 (2015), 257–71. https://jstor.org/stable/48610452.

1055 It does sound like a misdemeanor, at worst.

1056 Andreas Umland, "Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine: The Prehistory and Emergence of the 'Azov' Battalion in 2014," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2019),

https://researchgate.net/publication/331360561 Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine The Prehistory and Emergence of the Azov Battalion in 2014.

1057 Hahn, 248–49; "Right Sector storms Supreme Court of Ukraine," Extraordinary News, ICTV, April 7, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=jitMYO-xCc8.

1058 Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.

1059 Andreas Umland, "Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine: The Prehistory and Emergence of the 'Azov' Battalion in 2014," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2019),

https://researchgate.net/publication/331360561 Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine The Prehistory and Emergence of the Azov Battalion in 2014.

1060 Colborne, 33–34.

1061 Tweet by MilitaryLand.net, February 26, 2014,

https://x.com/Militarylandnet/status/1497607811596959744.

1062 James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS Frontline, May 27, 2014,

https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine; "Ukraine crisis: Kiev forces win back Mariupol," BBC, June 13, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-27829773.

1063 Colborne, 34.

1064 "Decree of the President of Ukraine, About being awarded state awards of Ukraine," June 31, 2014, https://president.gov.ua/documents/6312014-17512.

1065 Staff, "Andriy Biletski," Nackor.org, August 12, 2015,

https://web.archive.org/web/20180722155641/http://nackor.org/en/andrey-bileckiy.

1066 Nicolai N. Petro, *The Tragedy of Ukraine: What Classical Greek Tragedy Can Teach Us About Conflict Resolution* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 111.

1067 Interview with author, Daniel McAdams, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, June 16, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/061614-daniel-mcadams.

1068 Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat," *Guardian*, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis; Guy Chazan and Roman Olearchyk, "Tide turns for Ukraine forces in fight against pro-Russia rebels," *Financial Times*, August 12, 2014, https://ft.com/content/d98edf62-1951-11e4-8730-00144feabdc0.

1069 Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Strategy Bets on Restraint by Russia," *New York Times*, August 9, 2014, http://nytimes.com/2014/08/10/world/europe/ukraine.html.

1070 James Jones, "The Battle For Ukraine," PBS *Frontline*, May 27, 2014, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/battle-for-ukraine.

1071 David Stern, "Ukraine underplays role of far right in conflict," BBC, December 13, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-30414955.

1072 Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.

1073 "Wolfsangel," Reporting Radicalism, https://reportingradicalism.org/en/hate-symbols/movements/nazi-symbols/wolfsangel.

1074 Carlotta Gall and Ivor Prickett, "On the River at Night, Ambushing Russians," *New York Times*, November 21, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/11/21/world/europe/ukraine-russia-war-river.html; Staff, "Ukrainian Soldiers Seen Wearing Helmets With Nazi Swastika and SS Symbols," *Haaretz*, September 9, 2014, https://haaretz.com/2014-09-09/ty-article/ukrainian-soldiers-seen-wearing-nazi-symbols/0000017f-e17a-d568-ad7f-f37b64d50000; "German TV Shows Nazi Symbols on Helmets of Ukraine Soldiers," NBC News, September 9, 2014, https://nbcnews.com/storyline/ukraine-crisis/german-tv-shows-nazi-symbols-helmets-ukraine-soldiers-n198961.

1075 "Cap, M1932 Service Dress Schirmmütze: General's, Allgemeine-SS," Imperial War Museums, https://iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30092609.

1076 Andrew Kramer, "Islamic Battalions, Stocked With Chechens, Aid Ukraine in War With Rebels," *New York Times*, July 7, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/07/08/world/europe/islamic-battalions-stocked-with-chechens-aid-ukraine-in-war-with-rebels.html; Patrick Kingsley, "New Zealand Massacre Highlights Global Reach of White Extremism," *New York Times*, March 15, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/03/15/world/asia/christchurch-mass-shooting-extremism.html.

1077 Tom Parfitt, "Ukraine Crisis: the Neo-Nazi Brigade Fighting Pro-Russian Separatists," *Telegraph*, August 11, 2014, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11025137/Ukraine-crisis-the-neo-Nazi-brigade-fighting-pro-Russian-separatists.html.

1078 Will Cathcart and Joseph Epstein, "Is America Training Neonazis in Ukraine?" Daily Beast, July 4, 2015, https://thedailybeast.com/is-america-training-neonazis-in-ukraine.

1079 Leonid Bershidsky, "Ukraine's Neo-Nazis Won't Get US Money," Bloomberg News, June 12, 2015, https://bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2015-06-12/ukraine-s-neo-nazis-won-t-get-u-s-money.

1080 James Carden, "Congress Has Removed a Ban on Funding Neo-Nazis From Its Year-End Spending Bill," *The Nation*, January 14, 2016, https://thenation.com/article/politics/congress-has-removed-a-ban-on-funding-neo-nazis-from-its-year-end-spending-bill; Sam Sokol, "US Lifts Ban on Funding 'Neo-Nazi' Ukrainian Militia," *Jerusalem Post*, January 18, 2016,

https://jpost.com/Diaspora/US-lifts-ban-on-funding-neo-Nazi-Ukrainian-militia-441884.

1081 Will Cathcart and Joseph Epstein, "Is America Training Neonazis in Ukraine?" Daily Beast, July 4, 2015, https://thedailybeast.com/is-america-training-neonazis-in-ukraine.

1082 Will Cathcart and Joseph Epstein, "How Many Neo-Nazis Is the US Backing in Ukraine?" Daily Beast, April 14, 2017, https://thedailybeast.com/how-many-neo-nazis-is-the-us-backing-in-ukraine.

1083 Alec Luhn, "Preparing for War With Ukraine's Fascist Defenders of Freedom," *Foreign Policy*, August 30, 2014, https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/30/preparing-for-war-with-ukraines-fascist-defenders-of-freedom.

1084 Rebecca Kheel, "Congress bans arms to Ukraine militia linked to neo-Nazis," *The Hill*, March 27, 2018, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/380483-congress-bans-arms-to-controversial-ukrainian-militia-linked-to-neo-nazis.

1085 Ian Collier, "Ukraine: The Rise of The Right," Sky News, January 3, 2015, http://features.sky.com/ross-kemp-ukraine.

1086 Tom Parfitt, "Ukraine Crisis: the Neo-Nazi Brigade Fighting Pro-Russian Separatists," *Telegraph*, August 11, 2014, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11025137/Ukraine-crisis-the-neo-Nazi-brigade-fighting-pro-Russian-separatists.html.

1087 Alec Luhn, "The Draft Dodgers of Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, February 18, 2015, http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/18/the-draft-dodgers-of-ukraine-russia-putin.

1088 Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat," *Guardian*, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis.

1089 Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat," *Guardian*, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis.

1090 Oren Dorell, "Volunteer Ukrainian unit includes Nazis," *USA Today*, March 10, 2015, http://usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/03/10/ukraine-azov-brigade-nazis-abuses-separatists/24664937.

1091 Colborne, 118; See below.

1092 Oleksiy Kuzmenko, "Far-Right Group Made Its Home in Ukraine's Major Western Military Training Hub," IERES Occasional Papers, No. 11, September 2021, Transnational History of the Far Right Series, https://illiberalism.org/far-right-group-made-its-home-in-ukraines-major-western-military-training-hub; Staff, "Western countries training far-right extremists in Ukraine – report," **Jerusalem Post*, October 19, 2021, https://jpost.com/diaspora/western-countries-training-far-right- <u>extremists-in-ukraine-report-682411</u>; Christy Somos, "Far-right extremists in Ukrainian military bragged about Canadian training, report says," CTV News, October 20, 2021, https://ctvnews.ca/world/far-right-extremists-in-ukrainian-military-bragged-about-canadian-training-

report-says-1.5631304.

1093 Xiaoli Li, "Canada's Meeting With Ukraine's Self-professed Nazi Paramilitary," Toronto City News, November 10, 2021, https://toronto.citynews.ca/video/2021/11/10/canadas-meeting-with-ukraines-self-professed-nazi-paramilitary.

1094 Andriy Biletsky, "Ukrainian Social Nationalism," Patriot of Ukraine official website, https://web.archive.org/web/20080409023834/http:/patriotukr.org.ua/index.php?rub=stat&id=267.

1095 "Social-National Assembly Program," November 18, 2006,

https://web.archive.org/web/20140413045104/http://snaua.info/programa.

1096 Simon Shuster and Billy Perigo, "Like, Share, Recruit: How a White-Supremacist Militia Uses Facebook to Radicalize and Train New Members," *Time*, January 7, 2021, https://time.com/5926750/azov-far-right-movement-facebook.

1097 Staff, "Protesters Vow To Indefinitely Block Rail Lines To Eastern Ukraine," RFERL, January 28, 2017, https://rferl.org/a/ukrainian-nationalist-protestrs-vow-indefinitely-block-rail-lines-eastern-ukraine/28264370.html.

1098 "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine 16 November 2015 to 15 February 2016," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, March 2016,

 $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20220401092259/https://ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/UA/Ukraine_13th_HRMMU_Report_3March2016.pdf.$

1099 Staff, "Breaking Bodies: Torture and Summary Executions in Eastern Ukraine," Amnesty International, May 2015, https://amnesty.org/en/wp-

content/uploads/2021/05/EUR5016832015ENGLISH.pdf; Staff, "You Don't Exist," Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, July 21, 2016, https://hrw.org/report/2016/07/21/you-dont-exist/arbitrary-detentions-enforced-disappearances-and-torture-eastern; Staff, "Ukraine: Abuses and War Crimes by the Aidar Volunteer Battalion in the North Luhansk Region," Amnesty International, September 8, 2014, https://amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/eur500402014en.pdf; Staff, "Eastern Ukraine: Humanitarian disaster looms as food aid blocked," Amnesty International, December 24, 2014, https://amnesty.org/en/news/eastern-ukraine-humanitarian-disaster-looms-food-aid-blocked. 1100 Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat,"

Guardian, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis.

1101 Sophia Kishkovsky and Alison Smale, "Tatars, Foes of Russia in Crimea, Block Shipments of Food," *New York Times*, September 21, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/09/22/world/europe/tatars-block-land-route-into-crimea-from-ukraine.html.

1102 Oren Dorell, "Ukrainian Tatars blockade Russian-held Crimea," *USA Today*, September 22, 2015, https://usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/09/22/ukrainian-tatars-blockade-russian-held-crimea/72629660.

1103 Paul Moreira, *Ukraine: Masks of the Revolution*, Notre Monde, November 6, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=VLXtWfTcLC4.

1104 "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine 16 August to 15 November 2015," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, December 9, 2015,

https://ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/UA/12thOHCHRreportUkraine.pdf.

1105 Staff, "Ukraine: Unguided Rockets Killing Civilians," Human Rights Watch, July 24, 2014, https://hrw.org/news/2014/07/24/ukraine-unguided-rockets-killing-civilians.

1106 Hahn, 282.

- 1107 Staff, "Convicted for torture former combatant 'Tornado' Onishchenko went free," Focus.ua, July 11, 2022, https://focus.ua/uk/amp/ukraine/521825-osuzhdennyy-za-pytki-byvshiy-kombat-tornado-onishchenko-vyshel-na-svobodu-eks-nardep.
- **1108** Amanda Taub, "Pro-Kiev militias are fighting Putin, but has Ukraine created a monster it can't control?" Vox.com, February 20, 2015, https://vox.com/2015/2/20/8072643/ukraine-volunteer-battalion-danger.
- **1109** Josh Cohen, "Commentary: Ukraine's neo-Nazi problem," Reuters, March 20, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/us-cohen-ukraine-commentary/commentary-ukraines-neo-nazi-problem-idukkbn1gv2ty.
- **1110** Sudarsan Raghavan, "Right-wing Azov Battalion Emerges as a Controversial Defender of Ukraine," *Washington Post*, April 6, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/06/ukraine-military-right-wing-militias.
- 1111 Scott Horton vs. Cathy Young, "Should the US Be Arming Ukraine Against Russia?" Soho Forum/*Reason* magazine, June 23, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=7OH5grR7deQ.
- 1112 Andri Biletsky, The Word of the White Leader (2013),
- https://web.archive.org/web/20140924041340/http://rid.org.ua/knigarnya/AB/slovo.pdf.
- 1113 Valeriy Akimenko, "Ukraine's Toughest Fight: The Challenge of Military Reform," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 22, 2018,
- https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/22/ukraine-s-toughest-fight-challenge-of-military-reform-pub-75609.
- 1114 Phil Miller, "Revealed: Russian neo-Nazi leader obtained UK missiles in Ukraine," Declassified UK, May 17, 2023, https://declassifieduk.org/revealed-russian-neo-nazi-leader-obtained-uk-missiles-in-ukraine.
- **1115** "Azov Brigade," MilitaryLand, September 1, 2024, https://militaryland.net/ukraine/national-guard/azov-brigade.
- 1116 Daria Zubkova, "AFU Wipe Out 72nd Brigade Of Russian Armed Forces Near Bakhmut," Ukrainian News Agency, May 10, 2023, https://ukranews.com/en/news/931957-afu-wipe-out-72nd-brigade-of-russian-armed-forces-near-bakhmut.
- 1117 Colborne, 109–10; Azov Battalion Twitter Account, October 26, 2022,
- https://x.com/Polk_Azov/status/1585288556884512770; Alona Mazurenko, "Special operations forces of Azov regiment become separate assault brigade of Ground Forces and fight in Bakhmut," Ukrainska Pravda, January 26, 2023, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2023/01/26/7386607; Andriy Biletsky,
- Statement on Bakhmut, Telegram, May 9, 2023, https://t.me/BiletskyAndriy/5117; Rebecca Rommen, "The crack Ukrainian assault brigade sent to launch counterattacks around Avdiivka has a murky past," Business Insider, February 17, 2024, https://businessinsider.in/international/news/the-crack-ukrainian-assault-brigade-sent-to-launch-counterattacks-around-avdiivka-has-a-murky-
- <u>past/articleshow/107784877.cms</u>; Andriy Biletsky, Statement on Avdiivka, Telegram, March 13, 2024, https://t.me/s/ab3army; Rebecca Rommen, "The crack Ukrainian assault brigade sent to launch counterattacks around Avdiivka has a murky past," Business Insider, February 17, 2024,
- https://businessinsider.in/international/news/the-crack-ukrainian-assault-brigade-sent-to-launch-counterattacks-around-avdiivka-has-a-murky-past/articleshow/107784877.cms; Staff, "Biletsky about situation in Avdiyivka axis: This campaign certainly most difficult, there are definitely signs of stabilization now," Interfax-Ukraine, March 22, 2024,
- https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/975396.html.
- 1118 Oleksiy Kuzmenko, "The Azov Regiment has not depoliticized," Atlantic Council, March 19, 2020, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/the-azov-regiment-has-not-depoliticized.
- 1119 Alexander Rubinstein, "Zelensky holds court with Ukraine's most notorious neo-Nazi," Grayzone, August 16, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/08/16/zelensky-ukraines-notorious-neo-nazi; More on Biletsky's threats against President Zelensky below.

- **1120** Julia Struck, "'Attacked a Superior Enemy and Won' Ukraine Gains Ground in Kharkiv," *Kyiv Post*, August 23, 2024, https://kyivpost.com/post/37853.
- **1121** Staff, "Zelensky awarded the 3rd Separate Mechanized Brigade with the 'For Courage and Bravery' award," UNN, August 24, 2024, https://unn.ua/en/news/zelensky-awarded-the-3rd-separate-mechanized-brigade-with-the-for-courage-and-bravery-award.
- **1122** Andreas Umland, "Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine: The Prehistory and Emergence of the 'Azov' Battalion in 2014," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 2019),
- https://researchgate.net/publication/331360561 Irregular Militias and Radical Nationalism in Post-Euromaydan Ukraine The Prehistory and Emergence of the Azov Battalion in 2014.
- **1123** Alexander Rubinstein, "Zelensky holds court with Ukraine's most notorious neo-Nazi," Grayzone, August 16, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/08/16/zelensky-ukraines-notorious-neo-nazi.
- **1124** Cathy Young, "Heroes of Mariupol or Neo-Nazi Menace?" The Bulwark, May 25, 2022, https://thebulwark.com/heroes-of-mariupol-or-neo-nazi-menace.
- 1125 Staff, "US Counts 108 Deaths in Custody in Iraq, Afghanistan," *Los Angeles Times*, March 17, 2005, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-mar-17-fg-abuse17-story.html; Adam Goldman and Kathy Gannon, "Gul Rahman's death in the Salt Pit: A cautionary tale from CIA prison in Afghanistan," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 28, 2010,
- https://cleveland.com/world/2010/03/gul_rahman_death_in_the_salt_p.html; The other Scott Horton (no relation), "The Guantánamo 'Suicides," *Harper's*, March 2010, https://harpers.org/archive/2010/03/the-guantanamo-suicides.
- 1126 Cathy Young, "Liberty's Paradoxes," Reason, December 2001,
- https://reason.com/2001/12/01/libertys-paradoxes-2; Cathy Young, "Feminism and Iraq," *Reason*, March 25, 2003, https://reason.com/2003/03/25/feminism-and-iraq; Cathy Young, "Unresolved," *Reason*, February 26, 2003, https://reason.com/2003/02/26/unresolved; Cathy Young, "A Silver Lining in Iraq," *Reason*, November 2, 2005, https://reason.com/2005/11/02/a-silver-lining-in-iraq.
- **1127** Lev Golinkin, "Neo-Nazis and the Far Right Are On the March in Ukraine," *The Nation*, February 22, 2019, https://thenation.com/article/politics/neo-nazis-far-right-ukraine.
- 1128 Amy Mackinnon, "Bellingcat Can Say What US Intelligence Can't," *Foreign Policy*, December 17, 2020, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/12/17/bellingcat-can-say-what-u-s-intelligence-cant; Aaron Maté, "NATO-backed network of Syria dirty war propagandists identified," Aaron Maté Substack, August 1, 2022, https://mate.substack.com/p/nato-backed-network-of-syria-dirty; Aaron Maté, "Elon Musk is right: Bellingcat is a Western 'psy-op," Aaron Maté Substack, May 18, 2023, https://mate.substack.com/p/elon-musk-is-right-bellingcat-is; Kit Klarenberg, "Bellingcat funded by US and UK intelligence contractors that aided extremists in Syria," Grayzone, October 9, 2021, https://thegrayzone.com/2021/10/09/bellingcat-intelligence-contractors-extremists-syria.
- **1129** Michael Colborne, "Why Does No One Care That Neo-Nazis Are Gaining Power In Ukraine?" *The Forward*, December 31, 2018, https://forward.com/opinion/416751/why-does-no-one-care-that-neo-nazis-are-gaining-power-in-ukraine.
- 1130 Oleksiy Kuzmenko, "Defend the White Race': American Extremists Being Co-Opted by Ukraine's Far-Right," Bellingcat, February 15, 2019, https://bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2019/02/15/defend-the-white-race-american-extremists-being-co-opted-by-ukraines-far-right.

 1131 Michael Colborne, *From the Fires of War: Ukraine's Azov Movement and the Global Far Right* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2022), 9.
- **1132** Christo Grozev, "The Remote Control Killers Behind Russia's Cruise Missile Strikes on Ukraine," Bellingcat, October 24, 2022, https://bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2022/10/24/the-remote-control-killers-behind-russias-cruise-missile-strikes-on-ukraine.

- 1133 Charlie Smart, "How the Russian Media Spread False Claims About Ukrainian Nazis," *New York Times*, July 2, 2022, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2022/07/02/world/europe/ukraine-nazis-russia-media.html; Robert Farley, "The Facts on 'De-Nazifying' Ukraine," FactCheck.org, March 31, 2022, https://factcheck.org/2022/03/the-facts-on-de-nazifying-ukraine; Rachel Treisman, "Putin's claim of fighting against Ukraine 'neo-Nazis' distorts history, scholars say," NPR News, March 1, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/03/01/1083677765/putin-denazify-ukraine-russia-history.
- **1134** "Are we the baddies?" *That Mitchell and Webb Look*, September 14, 2006, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ToKcmnrE5oY.
- 1135 Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Nazi Symbols on Ukraine's Front Lines Highlight Thorny Issues of History," *New York Times*, June 5, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/06/05/world/europe/nazi-symbols-ukraine.html.
- 1136 Colborne, 10.
- 1137 Staff, "Ukraine's Azov Regiment Opens Boot Camp For Kids," RFERL, November 10, 2015, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-azov-regiment-military/27355932.html.
- 1138 "Ukraine's far-right children's camp: 'I want to bring up a warrior," *Guardian*, September 5, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=jiBXmbkwiSw.
- 1139 Staff, "Inside a Ukrainian nationalist camp training kids to kill," CBS News, November 12, 2018, https://cbsnews.com/news/ukrainian-nationalist-camp-training-kids-to-kill.
- **1140** Colborne, 31–32.
- 1141 Staff, "Death toll in eastern Ukraine crosses 6,000, Zeid says, as UN releases new report Ukraine human rights report," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, March 2, 2015, https://ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2015/03/death-toll-eastern-ukraine-crosses-6000-zeid-says-un-releases-new-report.
- **1142** Max Rose and Ali H. Soufan, "We Once Fought Jihadists. Now We Battle White Supremacists," *New York Times*, February 11, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/02/11/opinion/politics/white-supremacist-terrorism.html.
- **1143** Palash Ghosh, "Euromaidan: The Dark Shadows Of The Far-Right In Ukraine Protests," *International Business Times*, February 19, 2014, https://ibtimes.com/euromaidan-dark-shadows-far-right-ukraine-protests-1556654.
- 1144 Adrien Nonjon, "Olena Semenyaka, The 'First Lady' of Ukrainian Nationalism," Illiberalism Studies Program Working Papers, September 2020, https://illiberalism.org/wp-
- $\underline{content/uploads/2020/10/Nonjon-Olena-Semenyaka-The-First-Lady-of-Ukrainian-Nationalism.pdf}.$
- 1145 Jordan Green, "The lost boys of Ukraine: How the war abroad beckoned American white supremacists," *Triad City Beat*, January 19, 2020, https://triad-city-beat.com/the-lost-boys-of-ukraine. 1146 Facebook post by Olena Semenyaka, October 29, 2018,
- https://facebook.com/olena.semenyaka/posts/2193069517369915; Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On US, Europe," RFERL, November 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html.
- 1147 Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On US, Europe," RFERL, November 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html.
- **1148** Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On US, Europe," RFERL, November 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html.
- 1149 Tim Lister, "The Nexus Between Far-Right Extremists in the United States and Ukraine," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (April 2020), https://ctc.usma.edu/the-nexus-between-far-right-extremists-in-the-united-states-and-ukraine.

- 1150 Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On US, Europe," RFERL, November 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html.
- 1151 Kevin Rawlinson, "Neo-Nazi groups recruit Britons to fight in Ukraine," *Guardian*, March 2, 2018, https://theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/02/neo-nazi-groups-recruit-britons-to-fight-in-ukraine; Michael Moynihan, "The Swedish Neo-Nazis 'Volunteers' of Kiev," Daily Beast, February 28, 2014, https://thedailybeast.com/the-swedish-neo-nazis-volunteers-of-kiev; Dina Newman, "Ukraine conflict: 'White power' warrior from Sweden," BBC, July 16, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-28329329.
- **1152** Janet Reitman, "All-American Nazis," *Rolling Stone*, May 2, 2018, https://rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/all-american-nazis-628023.
- **1153** Tom Parfitt, "Ukraine Crisis: the Neo-Nazi Brigade Fighting Pro-Russian Separatists," *Telegraph*, August 11, 2014, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11025137/Ukraine-crisis-the-neo-Nazi-brigade-fighting-pro-Russian-separatists.html.
- 1154 Dina Newman, "Ukraine conflict: 'White power' warrior from Sweden," BBC, July 16, 2014, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-28329329.
- 1155 JTA, "Brazilian neo-Nazis recruited to fight in Ukrainian civil war," *Haaretz*, January 12, 2017, https://haaretz.com/world-news/americas/2017-01-12/ty-article/brazilian-neo-nazis-recruited-to-fight-in-ukraine/0000017f-f097-d223-a97f-fddf70f30000; Marcus Moraes, "Brazilian Neo-Nazis Head To Ukraine To Fight in Civil War," *The Forward*, January 12, 2017, https://forward.com/news/breaking-news/359770/brazilian-neo-nazis-head-to-ukraine-to-fight-in-civil-war;; Joe Leahy, "Brazil neo-Nazi claim challenges myth of nation's racial harmony," *Financial Times*, January 10, 2017, https://ft.com/content/f9ee01ca-ce49-11e6-864f-20dcb35cede2.
- 1156 Ali Soufan, "White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement," The Soufan Center, September 2019, https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Report-by-The-Soufan-Center-White-Supremacy-Extremism-The-Transnational-Rise-of-The-Violent-White-Supremacist-Movement.pdf; "Germans join right-wing extremist Ukrainian battalion," *Der Spiegel*, November 11, 2017, https://spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/ukraine-deutsche-soeldner-heuern-bei-rechtsextremem-freiwilligenbataillon-an-a-1177400.html.
- **1157** Kevin Rawlinson, "Neo-Nazi groups recruit Britons to fight in Ukraine," *Guardian*, March 1, 2018, https://theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/02/neo-nazi-groups-recruit-britons-to-fight-in-ukraine; "Britons join neo-Nazi militia in Ukraine," *The Week*, March 2, 2018, https://theweek.co.uk/92041/britons-join-neo-nazi-militia-in-ukraine.
- 1158 Phil Miller, "Russian neo-Nazi leader obtained UK missiles in Ukraine," Declassified UK, May 17, 2023, https://declassifieduk.org/revealed-russian-neo-nazi-leader-obtained-uk-missiles-in-ukraine. 1159 Michael Colborne, "Croatia Key to Ukrainian Far-Right's International Ambitions," Balkan Insight, July 18, 2019, https://balkaninsight.com/2019/07/18/croatia-key-to-ukrainian-far-rights-international-ambitions.
- **1160** Rina Bassist, "Wiesenthal Center calls on French mayor to prevent 'neo-Nazi' gathering," *Jerusalem Post*, January 8, 2016, https://jpost.com/diaspora/wiesenthal-center-calls-on-french-mayor-to-prevent-neo-nazi-gathering-440834.
- **1161** Sam Sokol, "French mayor pledges to prevent gathering of Ukrainian 'neo-Nazi' militia," *Jerusalem Post*, January 13, 2016, https://jpost.com/diaspora/french-mayor-pledges-to-prevent-gathering-of-ukrainian-neo-nazi-militia-441441.
- **1162** Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukrainewar-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.

- **1163** Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-war-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.
- **1164** Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-war-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.
- **1165** Ali Soufan, "White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement," The Soufan Center, September 2019, https://thesoufancenter.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/Report-by-The-Soufan-Center-White-Supremacy-Extremism-The-Transnational-Rise-of-The-Violent-White-Supremacist-Movement.pdf.
- 1166 John Wojcik, "From Charlottesville to Christchurch, Ukraine's Azov Battalion is training the world's right-wing extremists," People's World, March 24, 2022,
- https://peoplesworld.org/article/ignoring-the-influence-of-the-extreme-right-in-ukraine-is-dangerous.
- 1167 Brenton Tarrant, "The Great Replacement," Observer+, March 15, 2019,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20190315145113/https://observer.news/assets/The-Great-Replacement.pdf; Tim Lister, "The Nexus Between Far-Right Extremists in the United States and Ukraine," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (April 2020), https://ctc.usma.edu/the-nexus-between-far-right-extremists-in-the-united-states-and-ukraine; Colborne, 130–31.
- **1168** Patrick Kingsley, "New Zealand Massacre Highlights Global Reach of White Extremism," *New York Times*, March 15, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/03/15/world/asia/christchurch-mass-shooting-extremism.html.
- 1169 Colborne, 131.
- 1170 Tweety Beneduce, "Campania, Neo-Nazi Cell Discovered: 4 Arrests," *Corriere del Mezzogiorno*, November 15, 2022,
- https://corrieredelmezzogiorno.corriere.it/napoli/cronaca/22 novembre 15/campania-scoperta-cellula-neonazista-4-arresti-napoli-caserta-avellino-28d08bb0-64b3-11ed-86e0-7bd3cb81bfd3.shtml;
- Alexander Rubinstein, "Blowback: Italian Police Bust Azov-tied Nazi Cell Planning Terror Attacks," Grayzone, November 15, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/2022/11/15/blowback-italian-azov-tied-nazi-terror.
- **1171** L.A. office FBI Special Agent Scott J. Bierwirth Affidavit, US District Court for the Central District of California, October 20, 2018, https://courthousenews.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/RAM-rioting-Rundo-et-al-COMPLAINT133873.pdf.
- 1172 Christopher Miller, "Soldier of Misfortune," BuzzFeed News, April 9, 2021,
- https://buzzfeednews.com/article/christopherm51/craig-lang-ukraine-far-right-extremists-true-crime; Christopher Miller, "The DOJ Is Investigating Americans For War Crimes Allegedly Committed While
- Fighting With Far-Right Extremists In Ukraine," BuzzFeed News, October 8, 2021,
- https://buzzfeednews.com/article/christopherm51/craig-lang-ukraine-war-crimes-alleged.
- 1173 Jared Kofsky, et al., "Army vet charged in Florida double murder may remain at large in Ukraine," ABC News, February 28, 2022, https://abcnews.go.com/International/us-army-vet-charged-florida-double-murder-remains/story?id=83066233.
- 1174 Christopher Miller, "Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On US, Europe," RFERL, November 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html.
- 1175 Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-war-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.
- **1176** Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukrainewar-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.

- 1177 Tim Lister, "The Nexus Between Right-Wing Extremists in the United States and Ukraine," Counterterrorism Center at West Point, April 2020, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042020.pdf.
- 1178 Simon Shuster, "Inside A White Supremacist Militia in Ukraine," *Time*, January 8, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=fy910FG46C4.
- 1179 Phil Miller, "Russian neo-Nazi leader obtained UK missiles in Ukraine," Declassified UK, May 17, 2023, https://declassifieduk.org/revealed-russian-neo-nazi-leader-obtained-uk-missiles-in-ukraine. 1180 Mansur Mirovalev, "Russian neo-Nazis get life in jail for 27 murders," AP, July 11, 2011, https://sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-russian-neo-nazis-get-life-in-jail-for-27-murders-2011iul11-
- $\underline{https://sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-russian-neo-nazis-get-life-in-jail-for-27-murders-2011 jul11-story.html}.$
- **1181** Tom O'Connor, "As Ukraine Rallies Nation to Defend from Russia, Far-Right Joins the Fight," *Newsweek*, March 2, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-rallies-nation-defend-russia-far-right-joins-fight-1684187.
- **1182** Staff, "Yarosh: I can send several battalions to Kyiv and resolve the government issue," Euromaidan Press, October 18, 2014, https://euromaidanpress.com/2014/10/18/yarosh-i-can-send-several-battalions-to-kyiv-and-resolve-the-government-issue.
- **1183** Roland Oliphant, "Far-Right group Pravy Sektor challenges Ukraine government after shootout," *Telegraph*, July 12, 2015, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11734520/Ukrainian-forces-surround-nationalist-militia-following-deadly-attack-in-western-Ukraine.html.
- **1184** Oleksiy Kuzmenko, "Ukraine Nationalists: Country Headed for Coup," Voice of America, July 13, 2015, https://voanews.com/a/ukraine-nationalists-say-country-headed-for-coup/2860024.html.
- **1185** Interfax Staff, "Defense Ministry: Yarosh to be Armed Forces Commander in Chief's Advisor," *Kyiv Post*, April 6, 2015, https://kyivpost.com/post/9538.
- 1186 Lilia Ragutskaya, "Yarosh: If Zelensky Betrays Ukraine, He Will Lose Not His Position, But His Life," Obozrevatel, May 27, 2019, https://incident.obozrevatel.com/ukr/crime/dmitro-yarosh-1-chastina-intervyu.htm; See below.
- **1187** Staff, "Together we will win: Yarosh became an adviser to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine," Perild, November 2, 2021, https://perild.com/2021/11/02/together-we-will-win-yarosh-became-an-adviser-to-the-commander-in-chief-of-the-armed-forces-of-ukraine.
- **1188** Interview with author, Max Blumenthal, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, November 29, 2018, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/11-27-18-max-blumenthal-on-u-s-funded-neo-nazism.
- 1189 Elsa Court, "Attacks on Roma People Fuel Concerns About Far-Right Groups in Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, July 3, 2018, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/attacks-on-roma-people-fuel-concerns-about-far-right-groups-in-ukraine.html; Christopher Miller, "Ukrainian Militia Behind Brutal Romany Attacks Getting State Funds," RFERL, June 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/ukrainian-militia-behind-brutal-romany-attacks-getting-state-funds/29290844.html; Bernard Rorke, "Three anti-Roma pogroms in Ukraine," European Roma Rights Center, June 12, 2018, https://errc.org/news/anti-roma-pogroms-in-ukraine-on-c14-and-tolerating-terror.
- **1190** Staff, "Ukrainian Nationalists Disrupt Peace Presentation On War In East," RFERL, March 12, 2020, https://rferl.org/a/ukrainian-nationalists-disrupt-peace-presentation-on-war-in-east/30484359.html.
- **1191** Joshua Cohen, "Ukraine's ultra-right militias are challenging the government to a showdown," *Washington Post*, June 15, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2017/06/15/ukraines-ultra-right-militias-are-challenging-the-government-to-a-showdown.
- 1192 Christopher Miller, "Ukrainian Nationalists Stage Torchlight March In Kyiv As New Far-Right Party Is Born," RFERL, October 14, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-nationalists-torchlight-march-azov-party/28053936.html; Staff, "Nationalists Mark 75th Anniversary Of Ukrainian Insurgent Army," RFERL, October 14, 2017, https://rferl.org/a/nationalists-mark-75th-anniversary-of-ukrainian-insurgent-army/28794861.html; Staff, "Ukrainians Mark Holiday With Nationalist March,

- Thanksgiving Prayer In Kyiv," RFERL, October 14, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/nationalists-commemorate-creation-of-ukrainian-insurgent-army/29543105.html.
- 1193 Not to be confused with the group of high-level Nazi military officers mentioned above.
- 1194 See below.
- 1195 Sam Sokol, "Kiev regional police head accused of neo-Nazi ties," *Jerusalem Post*, November 12, 2014, https://jpost.com/diaspora/kiev-regional-police-head-accused-of-neo-nazi-ties-381559.
- 1196 Jonah Fisher, "On patrol with the far-right National Militia," BBC *Newsnight*, April 3, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=hE6b4ao8gAQ.
- 1197 Staff, "Police open case over anti-Semitic slogans at far-right rally in Odesa," LB.ua, May 4, 2018, https://en.lb.ua/news/2018/05/04/5968 police open case over antisemitic.html.
- 1198 "2018 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Ukraine," US State Department, https://state.gov/reports/2018-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ukraine.
- 1199 "2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Ukraine," US State Department, https://state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ukraine.
- **1200** Christopher Miller, "Police Break Silence After Video Shows Far-Right Attack On Kyiv Roma," RFERL, April 26, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-police-break-silence-after-video-shows-far-right-attack-on-kyiv-roma/29194216.html.
- **1201** "National Squads Destroyed the Roma Camp in Holosiivskyi Park," EuroMaydan, June 7, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=X73xIGsQLvw.
- **1202** Christopher Miller, "With Axes And Hammers, Far-Right Vigilantes Destroy Another Romany Camp In Kyiv," RFERL, June 8, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-far-right-vigilantes-destroy-another-romany-camp-in-kyiv/29280336.html.
- **1203** "Ukraine Roma Camp Attack Leaves One Dead," BBC, June 24, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-44593995.
- **1204** Alex Sturrock, "'They Wanted to Kill Us': Masked Neo-Fascists Strike Fear Into Ukraine's Roma," *Guardian*, August 27, 2018, https://theguardian.com/global-development/2018/aug/27/theywanted-to-kill-us-masked-neo-fascists-strike-fear-into-ukraines-roma.
- **1205** Lev Golinkin, "The Ukrainian Far Right and the Danger It Poses," *The Nation*, December 5, 2016, https://thenation.com/article/archive/the-ukrainian-far-right-and-the-danger-it-poses.
- **1206** "Azovites' threatened physical violence to people's deputies," Korrespondent.net, May 20, 2016, https://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3685301-azovtsy-pryhrozyly-fyzycheskoi-raspravoi-nardepam.
- **1207** Joshua Cohen, "Ukraine's ultra-right militias are challenging the government to a showdown," *Washington Post*, June 15, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-
- post/wp/2017/06/15/ukraines-ultra-right-militias-are-challenging-the-government-to-a-showdown.
- 1208 Staff, "Ukraine: Investigate, Punish Hate Crimes," Human Rights Watch, June 14, 2018, https://hrw.org/news/2018/06/14/ukraine-investigate-punish-hate-crimes; Staff, "Joint Letter to Ukraine's Minister of Interior Affairs and Prosecutor General Concerning Radical Groups," Human Rights Watch, et al., June 14, 2018, https://hrw.org/news/2018/06/14/joint-letter-ukraines-minister-interior-affairs-and-prosecutor-general-concerning.
- **1209** John Dalhuisen, "Ukraine's spate of suspicious deaths must be followed by credible investigations," Amnesty International, April 17, 2015,
- $\underline{https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/ukraine-suspicious-deaths-need-credible-investigations}.$
- **1210** Christopher Miller, "'Banderite' Rebrand: Ukrainian Police Declare Admiration For Nazi Collaborators To Make A Point," RFERL, February 13, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/banderite-rebrand-ukrainian-police-declare-admiration-for-nazi-collaborators-to-make-a-point/29764110.html.
- **1211** Josh Cohen, "Ukraine's Got a Real Problem with Far-Right Violence (And No, RT Didn't Write This Headline)," Atlantic Council, June 20, 2018, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraines-got-a-real-problem-with-far-right-violence-and-no-rt-didn-t-write-this-headline.
- 1212 Colborne, 88–91.

- **1213** Staff, "Russian Police Detain Student Over Beheading Video," RFERL, August 15, 2007, https://rferl.org/a/1078162.html.
- 1214 Colborne, 96–100.
- **1215** Gabriela Baczynska, "Ultra-nationalist Ukrainian Battalion Gears Up For More Fighting," Reuters, March 25, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-azov/ultra-nationalist-ukrainian-battalion-gears-up-for-more-fighting-idUSKBN0ML0XJ20150325.
- **1216** Tweet by Christopher Miller of RFE/RL, October 25, 2018, https://x.com/ChristopherJM/status/1055507370871271428.
- **1217** Max Blumenthal, "John McCain and Paul Ryan Hold 'Good Meeting' With Veteran Ukrainian Nazi Demagogue Andriy Parubiy," AlterNet, June 23, 2017, https://alternet.org/grayzone-project/john-mccain-and-paul-ryan-hold-good-meeting-veteran-ukrainian-nazi-demagogue-andriy.
- **1218** Erin Mundahl, "Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova Stress Importance of American Energy, Stopping Nord Stream 2," Inside Sources, June 28, 2018, http://insidesources.com/lithuania-ukraine-moldova-georgia-stress-importance-of-american-energy-stopping-nord-stream-2.
- **1219** Max Blumenthal, "Congress welcomes an actual fascist as Nazi violence rages in Ukraine," Grayzone, July 2, 2018, https://thegrayzone.com/2018/07/02/video-congress-welcomes-an-actual-fascist-as-nazi-violence-rages-in-ukraine.
- 1220 Petro, 88.

posts.html.

- 1221 "Reporters Michael Colborne and Oleksiy Kuzmenko Threatened and Harassed," Council of Europe, September 27, 2019, https://fom.coe.int/en/alerte/detail/52442747; "Reporters Michael Colborne and Oleksiy Kuzmenko Threatened and Harassed," Response by the Government of Ukraine, December 16, 2019, https://rm.coe.int/ukraine-reply-en-reporters-michael-colborne-and-oleksiy-kuzmenko-16dec/1680994779.
- **1222** Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.
- **1223** Staff, "Ukraine conflict: President Zelensky warns Russia: We will defend ourselves," BBC, February 23, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-60497510.
- 1224 Diana Magnay and Tim Lister, "Air attack on pro-Russian separatists in Luhansk kills 8, stuns residents," CNN, June 3, 2014, https://cnn.com/2014/06/03/world/europe/ukraine-luhansk-building-attack/index.html; "Ukraine conflict: Air strikes 'hit Luhansk targets," BBC, July 14, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-28292338; Sabrina Tavernise and Sergey Ponomarev, "Border Guards in Ukraine Abandon Posts," *New York Times*, June 4, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/06/05/world/europe/rebels-in-eastern-ukraine-capture-government-
- **1225** Staff, "Ukraine: Unguided Rockets Killing Civilians," Human Rights Watch, July 24, 2014, https://hrw.org/news/2014/07/24/ukraine-unguided-rockets-killing-civilians,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=yR6dX56amW4; Staff, "Ukraine: Forces must stop firing on civilians after nine killed in Donetsk," Amnesty International, October 1, 2014,
- https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/10/ukraine-forces-must-stop-firing-civilians-after-nine-killed-donetsk; Staff, "Ukraine: Shelling endangers civilians in Lugansk," International Committee of the Red Cross, September 3, 2014, https://icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/2014/09-14803-ukraine-lugansk-civilians-shelling.htm; John Reed, "Kiev anti-terror operation takes toll on Slavyansk residents," *Financial Times*, June 10, 2014, https://ft.com/content/d8aa9386-f0b9-11e3-9e26-00144feabdc0; Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://irb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.
- **1226** Andrew Roth, "Ukraine Used Cluster Bombs, Evidence Indicates," *New York Times*, October 20, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/ukraine-used-cluster-bombs-report-charges.html; Staff, "Ukraine: Widespread Use of Cluster Munitions," Human Rights Watch, October 20, 2014, https://hrw.org/news/2014/10/20/ukraine-widespread-use-cluster-munitions; Harriet Salem, "I

- Couldn't Move for Five Minutes from Fear': An Investigation Into Cluster Bombs in Eastern Ukraine," Vice, October 22, 2014, https://news.vice.com/article/i-couldnt-move-for-five-minutes-from-fear-an-investigation-into-cluster-bombs-in-eastern-ukraine.
- **1227** Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.
- **1228** De Ploeg, 140–41.
- **1229** Nils Muižnieks, "Eastern Ukraine: urgent need to guarantee freedom of movement and humanitarian access," Council of Europe, March 11, 2015, https://coe.int/en/web/commissioner/eastern-ukraine-urgent-need-to-guarantee-freedom-of-movement-and-humanitarian-access.
- **1230** Christof Heyns, "End of visit statement of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, September 18, 2015, https://ohchr.org/en/statements/2015/09/end-visit-statement-special-rapporteur-extrajudicial-summary-or-arbitrary.
- **1231** Arlette Saenz, "Obama Praises Ukraine's President-Elect, Offers US Support," ABC News, June 4, 2014, https://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2014/06/obama-praises-ukraines-president-elect-offers-us-support.
- **1232** "McCain to Sputnik: Ukraine's Use of Cluster Bombs Is US' Fault," Sputnik, February 5, 2015, https://sputniknews.com/20150205/1017844947.html.
- **1233** Diana Magnay and Laura Smith-Spark, "Misery in Ukraine as deadly conflict drives civilians from homes," CNN, September 2, 2014, https://cnn.com/2014/09/02/world/europe/ukraine-crisis/index.html.
- **1234** Staff, "Ukraine: The Line," Crisis Group Europe Briefing Number 81, July 18, 2016, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/ukraine-the-line.pdf.
- 1235 Zhuchkovsky, 170–71.
- **1236** "Conflict-related civilian casualties in Ukraine," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 27, 2022, <a href="https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/Conflict-related%20civilian%20casualties%20as%20of%2031%20December%202021%20(rev%2027%20January%202022)%20corr%20EN 0.pdf.
- **1237** Mark Warren, "Why the Best War Reporter in a Generation Had to Suddenly Stop," *Esquire*, September 14, 2015, https://esquire.com/news-politics/a37838/end-of-war-1015.
- **1238** C.J. Chivers and Noah Sneider, "Behind the Masks in Ukraine, Many Faces of Rebellion," *New York Times*, May 3, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/05/04/world/europe/behind-the-masks-in-ukraine-many-faces-of-rebellion.html.
- **1239** Jonathan Ferguson and N.R. Jenzen-Jones, "Raising Red Flags: An Examination of Arms & Munitions in the Ongoing Conflict in Ukraine, 2014," ARES Research Report No. 3, Armament Research Services, November 18, 2014, https://armamentresearch.com/ares-research-report-no-3-raising-red-flags-an-examination-of-arms-munitions-in-the-ongoing-conflict-in-ukraine-2014.
- **1240** "SIPRI Yearbook 2015 Summary: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security," Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), October 1, 2015, https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2016-03/YB-15-Summary-EN.pdf.
- **1241** Zhuchkovsky, 19, 30, 49, 63–65, 69–71, 145, 159–60, 226–30.
- **1242** Keith Gessen, "Why not kill them all?" *London Review of Books*, September 11, 2014, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n17/keith-gessen/why-not-kill-them-all.
- **1243** Staff, "Ukraine: The Line," Crisis Group Europe Briefing Number 81, July 18, 2016, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/ukraine-the-line.pdf.
- **1244** Staff, "Rebels without a Cause: Russia's Proxies in Eastern Ukraine," Crisis Group Europe Report 254, July 16, 2019, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/254-rebels-without-a-cause%20%281%29.pdf.

1245 Staff, "OSCE SMM doesn't confirm presence of Russian troops in Donbas, sees only 'fighters from outside the region' – Zannier," Interfax-Ukraine, September 9, 2016, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/369129.html.

1246 Amy Mackinnon, "Counting the Dead in Europe's Forgotten War," *Foreign Policy*, October 25, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/25/counting-the-dead-in-europes-forgotten-war-ukraine-conflict-Donbas-osce.

1247 "Weekly updates on the security in Ukraine and OSCE SMM activities," UCMC, October 26, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Wc6BHQRaHdI.

1248 Jacques Baud, "Former NATO Military Analyst Blows the Whistle on West's Ukraine Invasion Narrative," ScheerPost, April 9, 2022, https://scheerpost.com/2022/04/09/former-nato-military-analyst-blows-the-whistle-on-wests-ukraine-invasion-narrative.

1249 Mark Memmott, "In Ukraine: Reports Of Soldiers Switching To Pro-Russia Side," NPR News, April 16, 2014, https://npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2014/04/16/303646309/in-ukraine-reports-of-soldiers-switching-to-pro-russia-side.

1250 Mark Franchetti, "Pinned to the ground by blizzard of bullets," Sunday *Times*, June 8, 2014, https://archive.is/uEDRq.

1251 Mark Franchetti, "The truth about the war in Donbas," June 16, 2014, https://youtube.com/watch?v=YfHFupR3Md0.

1252 Simon Shuster, "Meet the Cossack 'Wolves' Doing Russia's Dirty Work in Ukraine," *Time*, May 12, 2014, https://time.com/95898/wolves-hundred-ukraine-russia-cossack.

1253 Samuel Charap and Scott Boston, "The West's Weapons Won't Make Any Difference to Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, January 21, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/01/21/weapons-ukraine-russia-invasion-military.

1254 Viacheslav Shramovych, "Ukraine's deadliest day: The battle of Ilovaisk, August 2014," BBC, August 29, 2019, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-49426724.

1255 De Ploeg, 124.

1256 Petro, 215.

1257 See Chapter Two.

1258 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Russia needs to be offered a 'Finland option' for Ukraine," *Financial Times*, February 22, 2014, https://ft.com/content/e855408c-9bf6-11e3-afe3-00144feab7de.

1259 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Confronting Russian Chauvinism," Speech to the Woodrow Wilson Center, June 16, 2014, https://the-american-interest.com/2014/06/27/confronting-russian-chauvinism.

1260 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The West Should Arm Ukraine," Atlantic Council, July 2, 2014, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/natosource/brzezinski-the-west-should-arm-ukraine.

1261 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The West Should Arm Ukraine," Atlantic Council, July 2, 2014, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/natosource/brzezinski-the-west-should-arm-ukraine.

1262 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "What Obama Should Tell Americans About Ukraine," *Politico* magazine, May 2, 2014, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2014/05/what-obama-should-tell-americans-about-ukraine-106277.

1263 "Horton's Law," Urban Dictionary, June 28, 2019,

 $\underline{https://urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Horton\%E2\%80\%99s\%20Law.}$

1264 Petro, 158.

1265 Petro, 151.

1266 Petro, 177.

1267 Petro, 158-61.

1268 De Ploeg, 106.

1269 Peter Baker, "In Ukraine, Joe Biden Pushes a Message of Democracy," *New York Times*, December 8, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/12/09/world/europe/joe-biden-ukraine.html. **1270** Charap and Colton, 153–54.

- **1271** Press Release, "Wales Summit Declaration," NATO, September 5, 2014, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm.
- **1272** Hillary Clinton, "Speech on Donald Trump and National Security," *Time*, June 26, 2016, https://time.com/4355797/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-foreign-policy-speech-transcript.
- **1273** "Remarks by President Obama and President Poroshenko of Ukraine After Bilateral Meeting," White House, September 18, 2014, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/18/remarks-president-obama-and-president-poroshenko-ukraine-after-bilateral.
- **1274** Sabrina Tavernise and Sergey Ponomarev, "Border Guards in Ukraine Abandon Posts," *New York Times*, June 4, 2014, http://nytimes.com/2014/06/05/world/europe/rebels-in-eastern-ukraine-capture-government-posts.html.
- **1275** Laura Smith-Spark and Jim Acosta, "Obama vows to stand with Ukraine as he meets President-elect in Poland," CNN, June 4, 2014, http://cnn.com/2014/06/04/politics/obama-europe.
- 1276 Jennifer Steinhauer and David M. Herszenhorn, "Defying Obama, Many in Congress Press to Arm Ukraine," *New York Times*, June 11, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/06/12/world/europe/defying-obama-many-in-congress-press-to-arm-ukraine.html; Peter Baker, "Obama Said to Resist Growing Pressure From All Sides to Arm Ukraine," *New York Times*, March 10, 2015,
- $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2015/03/11/us/politics/obama-said-to-resist-growing-pressure-from-all-sides-to-arm-ukraine.html}.$
- **1277** Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- **1278** Matthias Gebauer, et al., "Berlin Alarmed by Aggressive NATO Stance on Ukraine," *Der Spiegel*, March 6, 2015, http://spiegel.de/international/world/germany-concerned-about-aggressive-nato-stance-on-ukraine-a-1022193.html.
- **1279** Derek Chollet, *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2016), 175.
- **1280** Staff, "Obama pledges \$5M in military aid to Ukraine," AP, June 4, 2014, https://cbc.ca/news/world/obama-pledges-5m-in-military-aid-to-ukraine-1.2664206.
- **1281** Guy Chazan and Roman Olearchyk, "Tide turns for Ukraine forces in fight against pro-Russia rebels," *Financial Times*, August 12, 2014, https://ft.com/content/d98edf62-1951-11e4-8730-00144feabdc0.
- 1282 Cami McCormick, "Re-tooling an Army From Scratch, as It Fights a War," CBS News, February 1, 2016, https://cbsnews.com/news/us-ukraine-army-re-tool-troops-training-russia-backed-rebels; Austin Ramzy, "The base attacked in western Ukraine has been a hub for foreign militaries," *New York Times*, March 13, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/13/world/europe/yavoriv-military-base-ukraine.html; Zach Dorfman, "CIA-trained Ukrainian paramilitaries may take central role if Russia invades," Yahoo News, January 13, 2022, https://news.yahoo.com/cia-trained-ukrainian-paramilitaries-may-take-central-role-if-russia-invades-185258008.html.
- **1283** Martin Lambeck and Alexander Rackow, "CIA & FBI Agents Advise Kiev," *Bild*, May 4, 2014, https://bild.de/politik/ausland/nachrichtendienste-usa/dutzende-agenten-von-cia-und-fbi-beraten-kiew-35807724.bild.html.
- **1284** Guy Chazan and Roman Olearchyk, "Tide turns for Ukraine forces in fight against pro-Russia rebels," *Financial Times*, August 12, 2014, https://ft.com/content/d98edf62-1951-11e4-8730-00144feabdc0.
- **1285** "American Lethal Weapons Could Already Be on the Ukrainian Front Line," Atlantic Council, January 9, 2018, https://medium.com/dfrlab/american-lethal-weapons-could-already-be-on-the-ukrainian-front-line-9dc6fd98630d.
- **1286** George Friedman, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, "Europe: Destined for Conflict?" February 4, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Wijd10BZS1w.

- **1287** Mark Landler, *Alter Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power* (New York: Random House, 2016), 282–83.
- **1288** "Transcript of the MH17 judgment hearing," https://courtmh17.com/en/news/2022/transcript-of-the-mh17-judgment-hearing.html.
- **1289** Mary Ilyushina, "Dutch court convicts three of murder in MH17 jet downing over Ukraine," *Washington Post*, November 17, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/11/17/mh17-verdict-conviction-flight.
- **1290** "Life sentences for crashing flight MH17 and murdering the 298 occupants," The Court of The Hague, November 17, 2022, https://rechtspraak.nl/Organisatie-en-
- contact/Organisatie/Rechtbanken/Rechtbank-Den-Haag/Nieuws/Paginas/MH17.aspx.
- **1291** Corey Flintoff, "The Russian Who Claims Credit For Fanning The Flames In Ukraine," NPR News, January 6, 2015, https://npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/01/06/372872870/the-russian-who-claims-credit-for-fanning-the-flames-in-ukraine.
- **1292** T.H.J. Joustra, et al., "Crash of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 Above, Ukraine, July 17, 2014," Dutch Safety Board, October 2015, https://onderzoeksraad.nl/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/debcd724fe7breport mh17 crash.pdf.
- **1293** Ken Dilanian, "US: No link to Russian gov't in plane downing," AP, July 22, 2014, https://apnews.com/general-news-07a6800fa3df463eaee3246fc45cd0ed.
- **1294** Vladimir Isachenkov, "Russian TV claims it has photo of downing of MH17," AP, November 15, 2014, https://apnews.com/article/c9edc22e62a34f57ada44cb6bbec7b69.
- 1295 Scott Locklin, "Can the Su-25 intercept and shoot down a 777?" Locklin on Science, July 21,
- $2014, \underline{https://scottlocklin.wordpress.com/2014/07/21/can-the-su-25-intercept-and-shoot-down-a-777}.$
- **1296** Nathan Patin, "Tracking the Vehicle that Transported the MH17 Buk," Bellingcat, June 30, 2015, https://bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2015/06/30/low-loader.
- **1297** "Militants partially seized the military part of the air defense," Ukrainska Pravda, June 29, 2014, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/06/29/7030482.
- **1298** Von Hubert Gude and Fidelius Schmid, "German Intelligence Claims Pro-Russian Separatists Downed MH17," *Der Spiegel*, October 19, 2014, https://spiegel.de/international/europe/german-intelligence-blames-pro-russian-separatists-for-mh17-downing-a-997972.html.
- **1299** "President Obama Speaks on Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17, Russia and Ukraine, and the Situation in Gaza," White House, July 18, 2014,
- $\underline{https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2014/07/18/president-obama-speaks-malaysia-airlines-flight-mh17-russia-and-ukraine-and-situatio.}$
- **1300** Shane Harris, "US Intelligence No Closer to Pinning MH17 Downing on Russia," *Foreign Policy*, July 22, 2014, https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/22/u-s-intelligence-no-closer-to-pinning-mh17-downing-on-russia.
- 1301 "MH17 plane crash: Kerry points finger at Russia," BBC, July 21, 2014,
- https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-28396862; Jason Miks, "Hillary Clinton: Putin 'bears responsibility' in downing of MH17," CNN, July 27, 2014,
- https://cnn.com/2014/07/25/world/europe/hillary-clinton-vladimir-putin-mh17/index.html; Becky Anderson, "Ukraine President Calls MH17 Downing 'Terrorist Act," CNN *Connect the World*, July 21, 2014, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ctw/date/2014-07-21/segment/01; Sen. Richard Blumenthal, "Blumenthal Statement on Russian Involvement in Downing of MH17," July 20, 2014,
- https://blumenthal.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/blumenthal-statement-on-russian-involvement-in-downing-of-mh17; Mike Corder, "MH17 inquiry: 'Strong indications' Putin OK'd missile supply," AP, February 8, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/politics-russia-government-donetsk-netherlands-business-443d74853abceb3c9eab7770c7a1a6d2.
- **1302** Hahn, 268–72; Andrew Higgins, et al., "Photos Link Masked Men in East Ukraine to Russia," *New York Times*, April 20, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/21/world/europe/photos-link-masked-

men-in-east-ukraine-to-russia.html; Michael Gordon and Andrew Kramer, "Scrutiny Over Photos Said to Tie Russia Units to Ukraine," *New York Times*, April 22, 2014,

https://nytimes.com/2014/04/23/world/europe/scrutiny-over-photos-said-to-tie-russia-units-to-ukraine.html; Robert Mackey, "Sifting Ukrainian Fact From Ukrainian Fiction," *New York Times*, February 13, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/02/14/world/europe/sifting-ukrainian-fact-from-ukrainian-fiction.html.

1303 Viacheslav Shramovych, "Ukraine's deadliest day: The battle of Ilovaisk, August 2014," BBC, August 29, 2019, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-49426724.

1304 Hahn, 272–73.

1305 Viacheslav Shramovych, "Ukraine's deadliest day: The battle of Ilovaisk, August 2014," BBC, August 29, 2019, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-49426724.

1306 Allison Quinn, "Vladimir Putin sent Russian mercenaries to 'fight in Syria and Ukraine," *Telegraph*, March 30, 2016, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/30/vladimir-putin-sent-russian-mercenaries-to-fight-in-syria-and-uk.

1307 Anne Applebaum, "War in Europe," Slate, August 29, 2014, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2014/08/vladimir-putins-troops-have-invaded-ukraine-should-we-prepare-for-war-with-russia.html.

1308 Tim Judah, "Ukraine: A Catastrophic Defeat," *New York Review of Books*, September 5, 2014, https://nybooks.com/online/2014/09/05/ukraine-catastrophic-defeat.

1309 Staff, "FACTBOX-Positions before Minsk summit on Ukraine," Reuters, September 5, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20150715103930/http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/02/10/ukraine-crisis-summit-idUKL5N0VK2C520150210.

1310 Staff, "Ukraine crisis: Heavy bombardment in rebel-held Donetsk," BBC, November 9, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-29975341.

1311 "Ukraine death toll may be far higher than known 5,000: U.N.," Reuters, January 23, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-un/ukraine-death-toll-may-be-far-higher-than-known-5000-u-n-idUSKBN0KW13P20150123.

1312 "Memorandum of 19 September 2014," Peace Agreements Database, September 19, 2014, https://peaceagreements.org/view/1362.

1313 Staff, "Civilians killed and wounded in strike with cluster munitions in Izvestkova Street in Luhansk city," OSCE, February 3, 2015, http://osce.org/ukraine-smm/138906; Carol J. Williams, "Cluster bombs reported in Ukraine conflict as US rethinks lethal aid," *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2015, https://latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-ukraine-russia-cluster-bombs-evacuations-20150204-story.html.

1314 Charap and Colton, 18–20.

1315 Alec Luhn and Oksana Grytsenko, "Ukrainian soldiers share horrors of Debaltseve battle after stinging defeat," *Guardian*, February 18, 2015, https://theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/18/ukrainian-soldiers-share-horrors-of-debaltseve-battle-after-stinging-defeat; David Stern, "Ukraine crisis: Poroshenko bruised by army retreat," BBC, February 20, 2015, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-31552773; Mehdi Chebil, "The fall of Debaltseve, a strategic defeat for Ukraine," France 24, January 18, 2015, https://france24.com/en/20150218-ukraine-debaltseve-strategic-defeat-rebel.

1316 Mark Raczkiewycz, "Looking back at the Battle of Debaltseve," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 8, 2019, https://ukrweekly.com/uwwp/looking-back-at-the-battle-of-debaltseve.

1317 Elena Kostyuchenko, "We all knew what we were going to and what could be," *Novaya Gazeta*, March 2, 2015, https://novayagazeta.ru/society/67490.html.

1318 Maj. Amos C. Fox, "Battle of Debal'tseve: the Conventional Line of Effort in Russia's Hybrid War in Ukraine," https://benning.army.mil/armor/earmor/content/issues/2017/Winter/1Fox17.pdf. **1319** "Full text of the Minsk agreements," RIA Novosti, February 12, 2015,

https://ria.ru/20150212/1047311428.html.

- 1320 Petro, 227.
- 1321 Hahn, 284-85.
- 1322 Staff, "Dmytro Yarosh: 'Right Sector' to fight until complete liberation of Ukraine from Russian occupants," Euromaidan Press, February 14, 2015, https://euromaidanpress.com/2015/02/14/dmytro-yarosh-right-sector-fight-complete-liberation-ukraine-russian-occupants.
- **1323** Duncan Allan, "The Minsk Conundrum: Western Policy and Russia's War in Eastern Ukraine," Chatham House, May 22, 2020, https://chathamhouse.org/2020/05/minsk-conundrum-western-policy-and-russias-war-eastern-ukraine-0/minsk-2-agreement.
- **1324** Andrian Prokip, "Implementing the Minsk Agreements Would Pose a Russian Trojan Horse for Ukraine, but There Is a Third Way," Woodrow Wilson Center, December 7, 2021,
- https://wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/implementing-minsk-agreements-would-pose-russian-trojan-horse-ukraine-there-third-way; Duncan Allan, "The Minsk Conundrum: Western Policy and Russia's War in Eastern Ukraine," Chatham House, May 22, 2020, https://chathamhouse.org/2020/05/minsk-
- conundrum-western-policy-and-russias-war-eastern-ukraine-0/minsk-2-agreement; Stephen Bryen,
- "War looms as US and Kiev ignore Minsk II Protocols," Asia Times, February 21, 2022, https://asiatimes.com/2022/02/war-looms-as-us-and-kiev-ignore-minsk-ii-protocols.
- **1325** "Full Text of the Minsk Agreement," *Financial Times*, February 12, 2015, https://ft.com/content/21b8f98e-b2a5-11e4-b234-00144feab7de.
- **1326** Eugen Tomiuc, "Nuland: No Deadline For Ukraine Vote, Sanctions To Stay Until Minsk Fulfilled," RFERL, April 27, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/nuland-ukraine-signs-of-reform/27701280.html.
- 1327 "Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2202 (2015), Security Council Calls on Parties to Implement Accords Aimed at Peaceful Settlement in Eastern Ukraine," UNSC, February 17, 2015, https://press.un.org/en/2015/sc11785.doc.htm.
- **1328** Dmytro Kaniewski, "Will Kyiv swallow the bitter pill?" DW, October 2, 2015, https://dw.com/en/the-morel-plan-will-kyiv-swallow-the-bitter-pill/a-18756951.
- **1329** Staff, "Ukraine views 'Morel's plan' as his personal opinion Poroshenko," UNIAN, September 21, 2015, https://unian.info/politics/1129284-ukraine-considers-morels-plan-as-his-personal-opinion-poroshenko.html.
- **1330** De Ploeg, 195–96; Staff, "Ukraine: The Line," Crisis Group Europe Briefing Number 81, July 18, 2016, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/ukraine-the-line.pdf.
- 1331 Charap and Colton, 143.
- **1332** Staff, "Ukraine: The Line," Crisis Group Europe Briefing Number 81, July 18, 2016, https://crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/ukraine-the-line.pdf.
- **1333** Ivan Nechepurenko, "Putin Refused Poroshenko's Offer to 'Take Donbas' Forbes," *Moscow Times*, April 6, 2015, https://themoscowtimes.com/2015/04/06/putin-refused-poroshenkos-offer-to-take-Donbas-forbes-a45478.
- **1334** David Samuels, "The Aspiring Novelist Who Became Obama's Foreign-Policy Guru," *New York Times*, May 5, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/05/08/magazine/the-aspiring-novelist-who-became-obamas-foreign-policy-guru.html.
- **1335** Robert Kagan, "On Iraq, Short Memories," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2005, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2005/09/12/on-iraq-short-memories/86b7c3ac-4a8c-4ce6-9baf-0651b5711aa9.
- **1336** He is the guy who said about the Kosovo War in 1999 that Bill Clinton "never considered that in fact, rather than [the Serbs] giving in or even hunkering down, it would escalate to these massive proportions." See Chapter Two.
- **1337** Robert Siegel, "As Tension Grows, Should US Offer 'Lethal Aid' To Ukraine?" NPR News, February 2, 2015, https://npr.org/2015/02/02/383346073/as-tension-grows-should-u-s-offer-lethal-aid-to-ukraine.

- **1338** Ivo Daalder, et al., "Preserving Ukraine's Independence, Resisting Russian Aggression," Brookings Institution, February 1, 2015, https://brookings.edu/research/preserving-ukraines-independence-resisting-russian-aggression-what-the-united-states-and-nato-must-do.
- **1339** Gabriela Baczynska, "Ultra-nationalist Ukrainian battalion gears up for more fighting," Reuters, March 25, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-azov/ultra-nationalist-ukrainian-battalion-gears-up-for-more-fighting-idUSKBN0ML0XJ20150325.
- **1340** Lev Golinkin, "Ukraine's far-right menace," *Politico Europe*, September 1, 2015, https://politico.eu/article/ukraine-far-right-menace-radical-militants-ultranationalists.
- 1341 Hahn, 295.
- **1342** David Stern, "Ukraine crisis: Deadly anti-autonomy protest outside parliament," BBC, August 31, 2015, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-34105925.
- 1343 Statement by International Renaissance Foundation spokeswoman to author, August 15, 2016.
- 1344 Elias Groll, "Turns Out You Can't Trust Russian Hackers Anymore," Foreign Policy, August 22,
- 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/22/turns-out-you-cant-trust-russian-hackers-anymore.
- **1345** George Soros, Letter to Petro Poroshenko and Arseniy Yatsenyuk, December 23, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20151006235223/http://cyber-
- berkut.org/docs/Poroshenko, Petro and Yatsenyuk, Arseniy 23DEC14.pdf.
- **1346** George Soros, "A short and medium-term comprehensive strategy for the new Ukraine," March 12, 2015, https://scribd.com/document/267364428/Soros-Ukraine-Strategy.
- **1347** Staff, "Breakfast with US Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt," International Renaissance Foundation, March 31, 2014, https://drishtikone.com/content/files/2023/11/Ukraine-Working-Group-2014-gs-ukraine-visitmarch-2014notes.pdf.
- **1348** Staff, "Strategic Advisory Group Meeting with GS," International Renaissance Foundation, Spring 2014, https://drishtikone.com/content/files/2023/11/Ukraine-Working-Group-2014-gs-ukraine-visitmarch-2014notes.pdf.
- **1349** Staff, "Breakfast with US Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt," International Renaissance Foundation, March 31, 2014, https://drishtikone.com/content/files/2023/11/Ukraine-Working-Group-2014-gs-ukraine-visitmarch-2014notes.pdf.
- 1350 See Chapter Three.
- **1351** Lee Fang and Zaid Jilani, "Hacked Emails Reveal NATO General Plotting Against Obama on Russia Policy," Intercept, July 1, 2016, https://theintercept.com/2016/07/01/nato-general-emails.
- **1352** Paul McLeary, "US Trainers To Deploy To Ukraine," Defense News, January 21, 2015, http://defensenews.com/story/defense/land/army/2015/01/21/ukraine-us-army-russia/22119315.
- 1353 "Conflict-related civilian casualties in Ukraine," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 27, 2022, <a href="https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/Conflict-related%20civilian%20casualties%20as%20of%2031%20December%20201%20(rev%2027%20January%202022)%20corr%20EN_0.pdf.
- **1354** Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden to the Ukrainian Rada," White House, December 9, 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/09/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-rada.
- **1355** President Petro Poroshenko, "On Internal and External Situation of Ukraine in 2016," Annual address of President to Verkhovna Rada, September 7, 2016,
- $\underline{https://thailand.mfa.gov.ua/en/news/50590-annual-address-of-president-to-verkhovna-rada-on-internal-and-external-situation-of-ukraine-in-2016.}$
- 1356 Bill Gertz, "Russian Troop Movements Near Eastern Ukraine Trigger Fears of Imminent Invasion," Free Beacon, March 27, 2014, https://freebeacon.com/national-security/russian-troop-movements-near-eastern-ukraine-trigger-fears-of-imminent-invasion; Staff, "Top Ukrainian general says Russian invasion imminent," AFP, July 15, 2014, https://firstpost.com/world/top-ukrainian-general-says-russian-invasion-imminent-1619877.html; Paul D. Shinkman, "Report: Russia Invades

Ukraine, Prompts Emergency UN Meeting," US News and World Report, August 28, 2014, https://usnews.com/news/articles/2014/08/28/un-security-council-to-meet-following-reports-of-russian-invasion-into-ukraine; Jeremy Bender, "Former NATO commander: A new Russian offensive in eastern Ukraine is 'imminent," Business Insider, April 7, 2015, https://businessinsider.com/new-russian-offensive-in-ukraine-is-imminent-2015-4; Adam Entous and Julian Barnes, "Russian Buildup Stokes Worries," *Wall Street Journal*, March 28, 2014,

https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702303779504579465830294243784; Paul Goble, "Moscow Readying a Massive Russian Invasion of Ukraine, Golts Says," The Interpreter, February 3, 2015, https://interpretermag.com/moscow-readying-a-massive-russian-invasion-of-ukraine-golts-says.

1357 Matthias Gebauer, et al., "Berlin Alarmed by Aggressive NATO Stance on Ukraine," *Der Spiegel*, March 6, 2015, http://spiegel.de/international/world/germany-concerned-about-aggressive-nato-stance-on-ukraine-a-1022193.html.

1358 "Testimony of Victoria Nuland, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing: 'Ukrainian Reforms Two Years after the Maidan Revolution and the Russian Invasion,'" March 15, 2016,

https://foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/031516 Nuland Testimony.pdf.

1359 "Conflict-related civilian casualties in Ukraine," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 27, 2022, <a href="https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/Conflict-related%20civilian%20casualties%20as%20of%2031%20December%20201%20(rev%2027%20January%202022)%20corr%20EN 0.pdf.

1360 "Article 33 – Individual responsibility, collective penalties, pillage, reprisals," Geneva Convention IV, August 12, 1949, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/gciv-1949/article-33.

1361 Staff, "North Crimean Canal Fills With Water After Russian Forces Destroyed Dam," *Moscow Times*, March 4, 2022, https://themoscowtimes.com/2022/03/04/north-crimean-canal-fills-with-water-after-russian-forces-destroyed-dam-a76755.

1362 Staff, "Ukraine halts canal water supply to Crimea," TASS, April 26, 2014, https://tass.com/world/729666.

1363 Olav Bing Orgland, "Water Wars: Drought by the Dnipro, the new conflict between Russia and Ukraine," SDAFA, April 7, 2021, https://sdafa.co.uk/water-wars-drought-by-the-dnipro-the-new-conflict-between-russia-and-ukraine.

1364 Lily Hyde, "Crimea's Water Troubles," New Eastern Europe, February 8, 2017, https://neweasterneurope.eu/2017/02/08/crimea-s-water-troubles.

1365 Sharon Udasin, "How a Ukrainian dam played a key role in tensions with Russia," *The Hill*, March 12, 2022, https://thehill.com/policy/equilibrium-sustainability/597910-how-a-ukrainian-dam-played-a-key-role-in-tensions-with.

1366 Jason Beaubien, "Russia has achieved at least 1 of its war goals: return Ukraine's water to Crimea," NPR News, June 13, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/06/12/1104418128/russia-ukraine-crimea-water-canal.

1367 Robert Parry, "How Ukraine's Finance Chief Got Rich," Consortium News, November 10, 2015, https://consortiumnews.com/2015/11/10/how-ukraines-finance-chief-got-rich.

1368 Dan De Luce and Reid Standish, "What Will Ukraine Do Without Uncle Joe?" *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/30/what-will-ukraine-do-without-joe-biden-putin-war-kiev-clinton-trump; "IMF signs off \$17.5bn loan for Ukraine in second attempt to stave off bankruptcy," Reuters, March 11, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/ukraine-crisis-imf/imf-approves-17-5-billion-loan-program-for-ukraine-idINW1N0VS03T20150311.

1369 Andrew Scurria and Ian Talley, "Puerto Rico Oversight Board Director Jaresko to Resign After Landmark Debt Deal Natalie Jaresko, who restructured Ukraine's debt before Puerto Rico's, is resigning effective April 1," *Wall Street Journal*, February 3, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/puerto-rico-boards-director-to-resign-after-landmark-debt-deal-11643904378.

1370 Max Seddon, "Washington's Man In Ukraine Can't Stop His Country's Corrupt Cronies," BuzzFeed News, October 21, 2015, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/maxseddon/washingtons-man-in-ukraine-cant-stop-his-countrys-corrupt-cr.

1371 "A Year After Maidan, Ukraine is Still the Most Corrupt Country in Europe," Transparency International, December 3, 2014, https://transparency.org/en/press/a-year-after-maidan-ukraine-is-still-the-most-corrupt-country-in-europe.

1372 Oliver Bullough, "Welcome to Ukraine, the most corrupt nation in Europe," *Guardian*, February 6, 2015, https://theguardian.com/news/2015/feb/04/welcome-to-the-most-corrupt-nation-in-europe-ukraine.

1373 William Van Wagenen, "Salafis Throwing Bombs: How American and British Planners Partnered With Al-Qaeda Affiliated Groups At the Start of the Syrian Civil War," Libertarian Institute, December 28, 2021, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/salafis-throwing-bombs-how-american-and-british-planners-partnered-with-al-qaeda-affiliated-groups-at-the-start-of-the-syrian-civil-war; William Van Wagenen, "Creative Chaos: How U.S. Planners Sparked the Anti-Government Protests of the So-Called Arab Spring in Syria," Libertarian Institute, January 31, 2022,

https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/creative-chaos-how-u-s-planners-sparked-the-anti-government-protests-of-the-so-called-arab-spring-in-syria; Horton, Enough Already, 182–200.

1374 William Van Wagenen, "There is No FSA, There is Only Al-Qaeda," Libertarian Institute, December 27, 2017, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/no-fsa-al-qaeda.

1375 Victoria Nuland, "Terrorist Designations of the al-Nusrah Front as an Alias for al-Qa'ida in Iraq," US State Department, December 11, 2012, https://2009-

2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/12/201759.htm.

1376 For a more comprehensive explanation of the Syrian war and Iraq War III, see Horton, *Enough Already*, 177–234.

1377 Horton, Enough Already, 213-16.

1378 "Leaked audio of John Kerry's meeting with Syrian revolutionaries/UN," Angel North, October 4, 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=e4phB-_pXDM; William Van Wagenen, "For 18 Months, as ISIS Advanced, the US Did Nothing to Stop Them," Libertarian Institute, September 2, 2022, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/for-18-months-as-isis-advanced-the-u-s-did-nothing-to-stop-them.

1379 Staff, "Patterns of civilian harm from Russia's military actions in Syria (2015-2022)," Airwars, March 2022, https://airwars.org/research/patterns-of-civilian-harm-from-russias-military-actions-in-syria-2015-2022.

1380 Samuel Oakford, "Death in the City: High Levels of Civilian Harm in Modern Urban Warfare Resulting from Significant Explosive Weapons Use," Airwars, May 2018, https://airwars.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Airwars-Death-in-the-City-web.pdf; Interview with author, Chris Woods, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/12-4-20-chris-woods-on-the-real-civilian-death-toll-in-iraq.

1381 Burns, 325, 327.

1382 Horton, Enough Already, 189.

1383 David Brennan, "US Syria Representative Says His Job Is to Make the War a 'Quagmire' for Russia," *Newsweek*, May 13, 2020, https://newsweek.com/us-syria-representative-james-jeffrey-job-make-war-quagmire-russia-1503702.

1384 Horton, Enough Already, 219–22.

1385 Kelsey Davenport and Julia Masterson, "The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) at a Glance," Arms Control Association, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/joint-comprehensive-plan-action-icpoa-glance.

1386 Karl Vick, "Why the US Owed Iran That \$400 Million," *Time*, August 5, 2016, https://time.com/4441046/400-million-iran-hostage-history.

- **1387** Thomas L. Friedman, "Obama Makes His Case on Iran Nuclear Deal," *New York Times*, July 14, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/07/15/opinion/thomas-friedman-obama-makes-his-case-on-iran-nuclear-deal.html; Trita Parsi, *Losing An Enemy: Obama, Iran and the Triumph of Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2017), 309–10.
- **1388** Carlotta Gall, "How Kosovo Was Turned Into Fertile Ground for ISIS," *New York Times*, May 21, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/05/22/world/europe/how-the-saudis-turned-kosovo-into-fertile-ground-for-isis.html.
- **1389** "Public pulse analysis on prevention of violent extremism in Kosovo," UN Development Program, June 28, 2017, https://undp.org/kosovo/publications/public-pulse-analysis-prevention-violent-extremism-kosovo.
- **1390** Marcin Mamon, "How a Chechen from Georgia Became a Feared Leader of ISIS," Intercept, July 13, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/07/13/chechen-georgia-became-feared-leader-isis.
- **1391** Suhaib Anjarini, "Chechen jihadists in Syria: The case of Omar al-Shishani," May 1, 2014, http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/19615.
- 1392 Mitchell Prothero, "Star pupil': Pied piper of ISIS recruits was trained by US," *Seattle Times*, September 15, 2015, https://seattletimes.com/nation-world/the-us-trained-pied-piper-of-chechen-recruits-to-the-islamic-state-group; Mitchell Prothero, "How I met the man who became the Islamic State's military No. 1," McClatchy, September 15, 2015, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article35322882.html. September 15, 2015, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article35322882.html.
- **1393** Eric Schmitt and Michael S. Schmidt, "Omar the Chechen, a Senior Leader in ISIS, Dies After US Airstrike," *New York Times*, March 15, 2016,
- https://nytimes.com/2016/03/15/world/middleeast/omar-chechen-isis-killed-us-airstrike-syria.html. **1394** Thomas Grove and Mariam Karouny, "Militants from Russia's North Caucasus join 'jihad' in Syria," Reuters, March 6, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-russia-militants/militants-
- from-russias-north-caucasus-join-jihad-in-syria-idUSBRE9251BT20130306.
- **1395** Marcin Mamon, "In Turkey, a Chechen Commander Makes Plans for War in Syria," Intercept, September 3, 2016, https://theintercept.com/2016/09/03/in-turkey-a-chechen-commander-makes-plans-for-war-in-syria.
- **1396** Thomas Grove and Mariam Karouny, "Militants from Russia's North Caucasus join 'jihad' in Syria," Reuters, March 6, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-russia-militants/militants-from-russias-north-caucasus-join-jihad-in-syria-idUSBRE9251BT20130306.
- **1397** Staff, "Russian President, Saudi Spy Chief Discussed Syria, Egypt," Al-Monitor, August 22, 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/20130822222033/http://al-
- monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/08/saudi-russia-putin-bandar-meeting-syria-egypt.html; Fred Weir, "Did the Saudis offer to pay Russia to back off on Syria?" *Christian Science Monitor*, August 27, 2013, https://csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2013/0827/Did-the-Saudis-offer-to-pay-Russia-to-back-off-on-Syria; Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "Saudis offer Russia secret oil deal if it drops Syria," *Telegraph*, August 27, 2013, https://telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/energy/oilandgas/10266957/Saudis-offer-Russia-secret-oil-deal-if-it-drops-Syria.html.
- **1398** David Sanger and Anne Barnard, "Russia and the United States Reach New Agreement on Syria Conflict," *New York Times*, September 9, 2016,
- $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2016/09/10/world/middleeast/syria-john-kerry-cease fire-deal-russia.html}.$
- 1399 Gareth Porter, "How the Pentagon Sank the US-Russia Deal in Syria and the Ceasefire," Antiwar.com, September 26, 2016, https://original.antiwar.com/porter/2016/09/25/pentagon-sank-us-russia-deal-syria-ceasefire; Gareth Porter, "US strikes on Syrian troops: Report data contradicts 'mistake' claims," Middle East Eye, December 7, 2016, https://middleeasteye.net/news/us-strikes-syrian-troops-report-data-contradicts-mistake-claims.

- **1400** Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "How a 4-Hour Battle Between Russian Mercenaries and US Commandos Unfolded in Syria," *New York Times*, May 24, 2018,
- https://nytimes.com/2018/05/24/world/middleeast/american-commandos-russian-mercenaries-syria.html.
- 1401 James Jeffrey, "US Air Support for Tikrit: The Right Decision," WINEP, March 26, 2015, https://washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/us-air-support-tikrit-right-decision; Rod Nordland and Peter Baker, "Opening New Iraq Front, US Strikes ISIS in Tikrit," *New York Times*, March 25, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/03/26/world/middleeast/iraq-islamic-state-tikrit-united-states-airstrikes.html; Helene Cooper, "A US Concession to Reality in the Battle Against Islamic State," *New York Times*, April 3, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/04/04/world/middleeast/a-us-concession-to-reality-in-the-battle-against-islamic-state.html.
- **1402** Staff, "Islamic State calls on members to carry out jihad in Russia," Reuters, August 1, 2016, https://reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-russia/islamic-state-calls-on-members-to-carry-out-jihad-in-russia-idUSKCN10B0WI.
- **1403** Andrew Kramer, "Islamic Battalions, Stocked With Chechens, Aid Ukraine in War With Rebels," *New York Times*, July 7, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/07/08/world/europe/islamic-battalions-stocked-with-chechens-aid-ukraine-in-war-with-rebels.html.
- **1404** Aleksandar Vasovic, "Far-right group flexes during Ukraine 'revolution," *Seattle Times*, January 3, 2005, https://seattletimes.com/nation-world/far-right-group-flexes-during-ukraine-revolution.
- **1405** Andrew Kramer, "Islamic Battalions, Stocked With Chechens, Aid Ukraine in War With Rebels," *New York Times*, July 7, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/07/08/world/europe/islamic-battalions-stocked-with-chechens-aid-ukraine-in-war-with-rebels.html.
- **1406** Marcin Mamon, "In Midst of War, Ukraine Becomes Gateway for Jihad," Intercept, February 26, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/02/26/midst-war-ukraine-becomes-gateway-europe-jihad.
- **1407** Shaun Walker, "'We like partisan warfare.' Chechens fighting in Ukraine on both sides," *Guardian*, July 24, 2015, https://theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/24/chechens-fighting-in-ukraine-on-both-sides.
- **1408** Andrew Higgins, "Mystery Surrounds Death of Ukrainian Activist," *New York Times*, April 11, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/04/12/world/europe/mystery-surrounds-death-of-fiery-ukrainian-activist.html.
- **1409** Marcin Mamon, "In Midst of War, Ukraine Becomes Gateway for Jihad," Intercept, February 26, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/02/26/midst-war-ukraine-becomes-gateway-europe-jihad.
- **1410** Robert Parry, "Ukraine Merges Nazis and Islamists," Consortium News, July 7, 2015, https://consortiumnews.com/2015/07/07/ukraine-merges-nazis-and-islamists.
- **1411** Marcin Mamon, "Isa Munayev's War," Intercept, February 27, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/02/27/isa-munayevs-war.
- **1412** Marcin Mamon, "The Making of a Christian Taliban in Ukraine," Intercept, March 18, 2015, https://theintercept.com/2015/03/18/ukraine-part-3.
- **1413** Elizabeth Piper and Sergiy Karazy, "Special Report: Ukraine struggles to control maverick battalions," Reuters, July 29, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-battalions-special-rep/special-report-ukraine-struggles-to-control-maverick-battalions-idUSKCN0Q30YT20150729.
- 1414 Elena Chernenko and Alexander Gabuev, "The interests of the Russian Federation and the United States in relation to Ukraine are incompatible with each other," *Kommersant*, December 19, 2014, http://kommersant.ru/doc/2636177 translated by Paul R. Grenier at http://us-russia.org/2902-in-ukraine-us-interests-are-incompatible-with-the-interests-of-the-russian-federation-stratfor-chief-george-friedman-on-the-roots-of-the-ukraine-crisis.html; For a more comprehensive take on the Syrian war and Iraq War III, see Horton, *Enough Already*, 177–234.

 1415 Petro, 81.

- **1416** Richard Balmforth, "Yanukovych vows to keep Ukraine out of NATO," Reuters, January 7, 2010, https://reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6062P3.
- **1417** Kathleen Holzwart Sprehe, "Ukraine Says 'No' to NATO," Pew Global Attitudes Project, March 29, 2010, https://pewresearch.org/global/2010/03/29/ukraine-says-no-to-nato.

1418 Hahn, 158.

- **1419** Staff, "Ukraine's parliament votes to abandon Nato ambitions," BBC, June 3, 2010, https://bbc.com/news/10229626.
- 1420 Hahn, 157.
- **1421** Interview of Steven Pifer, "Understanding Ukraine's Presidential Shift," Brookings Institution, February 8, 2010, https://brookings.edu/articles/understanding-ukraines-presidential-shift.
- **1422** Richard Sakwa, "The March of Folly Resumed: Russia, Ukraine and the West," Public Reading Rooms, March 10, 2022, https://prruk.org/the-march-of-folly-resumed-russia-ukraine-and-the-west.
- **1423** Interview of Richard Sakwa, "Biden's Escalation With Russia Over Ukraine Is a Terrible Idea," Jacobin, January 26, 2022, https://jacobin.com/2022/01/putin-nato-us-war-Donbas-minsk-2.
- **1424** Amb. William Taylor, "Ukraine: NATO Information Campaign Gains Momentum," US State Department, June 11, 2008, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08KYIV1144_a.html.
- **1425** Staff, "Ukraine Votes To Abandon Neutrality, Set Sights On NATO," RFERL, December 23, 2014, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-parliament-abandons-neutrality/26758725.html.
- **1426** John Reed, "Ukraine's Ex-president Petro Poroshenko: 'The Army is Like My Child, and I Am Very Proud," *Financial Times*, May 20, 2022, https://ft.com/content/39356ee4-a505-4391-a7a9-998252cb67ee.
- 1427 "Budapest Memorandum of 1994," Signed December 5, 1994,
- https://policymemos.hks.harvard.edu/files/policymemos/files/2-23-22_ukraine-the budapest memo.pdf.
- 1428 "The North Atlantic Treaty," NATO, April 4, 1949,
- https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm; Senator Rand Paul, "NATO's Article 5 does not override Congress's war powers," Responsible Statecraft, June 22, 2023,
- https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2023/06/22/natos-article-5-does-not-override-congresss-war-powers.
- 1429 Sarotte, 203-04.
- **1430** Azmi Haroun and Erin Snodgrass, "Bill Clinton says he feels 'terrible' for pushing a 1994 agreement with Russia that resulted in Ukraine giving up its nuclear weapons," Business Insider, April 4, 2023, https://businessinsider.com/bill-clinton-feels-terrible-convincing-ukraine-to-give-up-nukes-2023-4.
- **1431** Mitchell Reiss, *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain Their Nuclear Capabilities* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), 126–27.
- **1432** Cheryl Rofer, "Could Ukraine Have Retained Soviet Nuclear Weapons?" Nuclear Diner, February 6, 2022, https://nucleardiner.wordpress.com/2022/02/06/could-ukraine-have-retained-soviet-nuclear-weapons.
- **1433** Yuri Kostenko, *Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2021), 28.
- **1434** Mitchell Reiss, *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain Their Nuclear Capabilities* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), 126–27.
- 1435 Simon Pirani, "Ukraine's Gas Sector," Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, June 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20080216014741/http://oxfordenergy.org/pdfs/NG21.pdf; Ukraine Energy Policy Review 2006 (Paris: International Energy Agency, 2006), 220–21,

https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/010dab6e-15a2-4165-bbc4-

<u>6a28ce869d76/EnergyPolicyReview2006Ukraine.pdf;</u> Staff, "Ukraine 'stealing Europe's gas," BBC, January 2, 2006, <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4574630.stm.</u>

- 1436 Hahn, 188–89; "Budapest Memorandum of 1994," Signed December 5, 1994, https://policymemos.hks.harvard.edu/files/policymemos/files/2-23-22_ukraine-the_budapest_memo.pdf; "Helsinki Final Act," OSCE, August 1, 1975, https://osce.org/files/f/documents/5/c/39501.pdf.
- **1437** James Monroe, "December 2, 1823: Seventh Annual Message," Miller Center, https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-2-1823-seventh-annual-message-monroe-doctrine.
- **1438** Staff, "General Grant and the Fight to Remove Emperor Maximilian from Mexico," National Park Service, January 14, 2021, https://nps.gov/articles/000/general-grant-and-the-fight-to-remove-emperor-maximilian-from-mexico.htm.
- **1439** "Zimmermann Telegram (1917)," National Archives, https://archives.gov/milestone-documents/Zimmermann-telegram.
- **1440** Woodrow Wilson, "Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany (1917)," White House, April 2, 1917, https://archives.gov/milestone-documents/address-to-congress-declaration-of-war-against-germany.
- 1441 Howard Jones, The Bay of Pigs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- **1442** Ivan Eland, "On the 50th Anniversary of JFK's Assassination, Let's Examine His True Legacy," Independent Institute, November 13, 2013, https://independent.org/news/article.asp?id=4789.
- **1443** Benjamin Schwarz and Christopher Layne, "Why Are We in Ukraine?" *Harper's*, June 2023, https://harpers.org/archive/2023/06/why-are-we-in-ukraine.
- 1444 Horton, Enough Already, 236–56.
- **1445** Nino Bucci, "US warns Solomon Islands against China military base as Australian MPs trade blame," *Guardian*, April 23, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/23/us-warns-solomon-islands-against-china-military-base-as-australian-mps-trade-blame.
- **1446** Staff, "Read Putin's UN General Assembly speech," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2015, https://washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/28/read-putins-u-n-general-assembly-speech.
- **1447** Zach Dorfman, "In closer ties to Ukraine, US officials long saw promise and peril," Yahoo News, April 28, 2022, https://news.yahoo.com/in-closer-ties-to-ukraine-us-officials-long-saw-promise-and-peril-090006105.html.
- **1448** Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 230.
- 1449 Horton, Enough Already, 92–97.
- **1450** Horton, *Enough Already*, 141–256.
- **1451** "Who Is at Fault in Ukraine? Foreign Affairs' Brain Trust Weighs In," *Foreign Affairs*, November 9, 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-11-09/who-fault-ukraine.
- 1452 Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); John J.
- Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 2001).
- **1453** Interview with author, Stephen Walt, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, November 5, 2018, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/11-5-18-stephen-walt-on-a-realist-foreign-policy.
- **1454** Michael Hastings, "Inside Obama's War Room," *Rolling Stone*, October 13, 2011, https://rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/inside-obamas-war-room-238074.
- **1455** Tweet by author, "28 Articles About How the Neoconservatives Lied Us Into Iraq War II," February 23, 2024, https://x.com/scotthortonshow/status/1628868264120971264.
- **1456** Benjamin H. Friedman and Justin Logan, "Why Washington Doesn't Debate Grand Strategy," Strategic Studies Quarterly, Winter 2016, https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/resources/docs/AFRI_Friedman.pdf.

- **1457** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **1458** Interview with author, John J. Mearsheimer, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, August 21, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/082114-john-j-mearsheimer.
- **1459** John J. Mearsheimer, "Don't Arm Ukraine," *New York Times*, February 8, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/02/09/opinion/dont-arm-ukraine.html.
- **1460** Juliane von Mittelstaedt and Erich Follath, "Interview with Henry Kissinger, 'Do We Achieve World Order Through Chaos or Insight?"" *Der Spiegel*, November 13, 2014,
- https://spiegel.de/international/world/interview-with-henry-kissinger-on-state-of-global-politics-a-1002073.html.
- 1461 Henry Kissinger, "To settle the Ukraine crisis, start at the end," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2014, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/henry-kissinger-to-settle-the-ukraine-crisis-start-at-the-end/2014/03/05/46dad868-a496-11e3-8466-d34c451760b9_story.html.
- **1462** Stephen M. Walt, "Why Arming Kiev Is a Really, Really Bad Idea," *Foreign Policy*, February 9, 2015, https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/09/how-not-to-save-ukraine-arming-kiev-is-a-bad-idea.
- **1463** Stephen M. Walt, "Why Arming Kiev Is a Really, Really Bad Idea," *Foreign Policy*, February 9, 2015, https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/09/how-not-to-save-ukraine-arming-kiev-is-a-bad-idea. **1464** Brzezinski, 55, 74, 78.
- **1465** Elena Chernenko and Alexander Gabuev, "The interests of the Russian Federation and the United States in relation to Ukraine are incompatible with each other," *Kommersant*, December 19, 2014, https://kommersant.ru/doc/2636177.
- **1466** Mackinder, 191.
- **1467** George Friedman, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, "Europe: Destined for Conflict?" February 4, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Wijd10BZS1w.
- **1468** Anatol Lieven, "For years, Putin didn't invade Ukraine. What made him finally snap in 2022?" *Guardian*, February 24, 2023, https://theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/feb/24/vladimir-putin-invade-ukraine-2022-russia.
- **1469** Yossef Bodansky, "The Great Competition Over Energy Shoves and Shapes the Emergence of the 'New Caucasus," OilPrice.com, December 12, 2009, https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/Europe/The-Great-Competition-Over-Energy-Shoves-And-Shapes-The-Emergence-Of-The-New-Caucasus.html.
- **1470** Staff, "Obama: No 'immediate plans' to bring Ukraine, Georgia into NATO," CBS News, March 26, 2014, https://cbsnews.com/video/obama-no-immediate-plans-to-bring-ukraine-georgia-into-nato;; President Barack Obama, "Remarks by President Obama to the People of Estonia," White House, September 3, 2014, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/remarks-president-obama-people-estonia.
- 1471 National Security Strategy, Obama White House, February 6, 2015,
- https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf; Carl Schreck and Luke Johnson, "Obama's New Security Strategy Sharply Shifts Tone On Russia,"
- RFERL, February 6, 2015, https://rferl.org/a/us-security--strategy-shifts-tone-on-russia/26834320.html.

 1472 Mark Landler and Helene Cooper, "US Fortifying Europe's East to Deter Putin," *New York Times*, February 1, 2016, <a href="https://nytimes.com/2016/02/world/europe/us-fortifying-europes-east-to-deter-
- <u>putin.html</u>; Louisa Brooke-Holland, "NATO's military response to Russia: November 2016 update," UK House of Commons, November 3, 2016,
- https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7276/CBP-7276.pdf.
- 1473 "BALTOPS 16," NATO, https://sfn.nato.int/activities/current-and-future/exercises/baltops-16.

Chapter 5: Donald Trump

- 1 MacKinnon, 16.
- **2** Pamela Brown and Jeremy Herb, "The frantic scramble before Mueller got the job," CNN, December 7, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/06/politics/rosenstein-comey-firing-obstruction-probe/index.html.
- **3** Staff, "Trump Seeks Kissinger's Advice On Relations With China, Russia, Iran," RFERL, November 18, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/trump-seeks-kissinger-advice-relations-china-russia-iran-
- <u>europe/28125432.html</u>; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, et al., "Henry Kissinger Pushed Trump to Work With Russia to Box In China," Daily Beast, July 31, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/henry-kissinger-pushed-trump-to-work-with-russia-to-box-in-china.
- **4** Ashley Parker, "Donald Trump Says NATO is 'Obsolete,' UN is 'Political Game,'" *New York Times*, April 2, 2016, https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2016/04/02/donald-trump-tells-crowd-hed-be-fine-if-nato-broke-up.
- **5** Eliot A. Cohen, et al., "Open Letter on Donald Trump from GOP National Security Leaders," War on the Rocks, March 2, 2016, https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/open-letter-on-donald-trump-from-gop-national-security-leaders.
- **6** Matthew Kroenig, et al., "Trump Is Right on NATO Spending," *Foreign Policy*, March 7, 2024, https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/03/07/trump-nato-europe-russia-defense-spending.
- 7 Ali Vitali, "Trump Reverses on NATO: 'It Is No Longer Obsolete," NBC News, April 12, 2017, https://nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-reverses-nato-it-no-longer-obsolete-n745601.
- **8** Andrew Kaczynski, et al., "80 times Trump talked about Putin," CNN, March 1, 2017, https://cnn.com/interactive/2017/03/politics/trump-putin-russia-timeline.
- **9** Marc Santora, "Trump Derides NATO as 'Obsolete.' Baltic Nations See It Much Differently," *New York Times*, July 10, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/07/10/world/europe/trump-nato-summit-latvia-baltics.html.
- 10 Seymour Hersh, "Military to Military," *London Review of Books*, January 7, 2016, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v38/n01/seymour-m.-hersh/military-to-military; "Who is to blame for the rise of ISIL? Interview of Gen. Michael T. Flynn," Al Jazeera, July 29, 2015, https://aljazeera.com/program/head-to-head/2015/7/29/who-is-to-blame-for-the-rise-of-isil; Brad Hoff, "2012 Defense Intelligence Agency document: West will facilitate rise of Islamic State 'in order to
- isolate the Syrian regime," Levant Report, May 19, 2015, https://levantreport.com/2015/05/19/2012-defense-intelligence-agency-document-west-will-facilitate-rise-of-islamic-state-in-order-to-isolate-the-syrian-regime.
- 11 Walead Farwana, "The History of the Islamic State," Antiwar.com, August 24, 2014, https://original.antiwar.com/walead_farwana/2014/08/23/the-history-of-the-islamic-state; Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution* (New York: Verso, 2015).
- 12 Ginger Gibson and Steve Holland, "Trump calls Obama, Clinton Islamic State 'co-founders,' draws rebuke," Reuters, August 12, 2016, https://reuters.com/article/world/trump-calls-obama-clinton-islamic-state-co-founders-draws-rebuke-idUSKCN10M1C9.
- 13 "Interview with Donald Trump," CNN *Erin Burnett Outfront*, September 28, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20160912084840/http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1509/28/ebo.01. html.
- **14** Greg Jaffe and Adam Entous, "Trump ends covert CIA program to arm anti-Assad rebels in Syria, a move sought by Moscow," *Washington Post*, July 19, 2017,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-ends-covert-cia-program-to-arm-anti-assad-rebels-in-syria-a-move-sought-by-moscow/2017/07/19/b6821a62-6beb-11e7-96ab-5f38140b38cc story.html.
- 15 See Chapter Four; Horton, Enough Already, 177–234.

- 16 Michael Crowley, "Trump's praise of Russia, Iran and Assad regime riles GOP experts," *Politico*, October 10, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/10/trump-praise-russia-iran-assad-criticism-229546; Steve Holland, "Trump says Clinton policy on Syria would lead to World War Three," Reuters, October 25, 2016, https://reuters.com/article/world/exclusive-trump-says-clinton-policy-on-syria-would-lead-to-world-war-three-idUSKCN12P2Q0; F. Brinley Bruton, et al., "Trump Tells Rally Syria Refugees 'Probably' ISIS As Muslim Protester Removed," NBC News, January 9, 2016, https://nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/trump-tells-rally-syria-refugees-probably-isis-muslim-protester-removed-n493316.
- 17 "Joint Statement from the Department Of Homeland Security and Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security," ODNI/DHS, October 7, 2016,
- https://dhs.gov/news/2016/10/07/joint-statement-department-homeland-security-and-office-director-national.
- **18** Paul Sperry, "James Clapper, Mr. October Surprise," RealClearInvestigations, June 26, 2024, https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2024/06/26/james_clapper_mr_october_surprise_how_obam as intel czar rigged 2016 and 2020 debates against trump 1040444.html.
- 19 Paul Sperry, "James Clapper, Mr. October Surprise," RealClearInvestigations, June 26, 2024, https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2024/06/26/james_clapper_mr_october_surprise_how_obam as intel czar rigged 2016 and 2020 debates against trump 1040444.html.
- **20** Joe Stromberg, "The 'Loss' of China, McCarthy, Korea, and the New Right," Antiwar.com, August 31, 1999, https://antiwar.com/stromberg/s083199.html.
- **21** Felicia Sonmez, "Hillary Clinton compares Russian interference in 2016 to 9/11 attacks," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/hillary-clinton-compares-russian-interference-in-2016-to-911-attacks/2018/10/02/6197a226-c674-11e8-9b1c-a90fldaae309 story.html.
- **22** Ian Schwartz, "Friedman: Flynn Resignation Shows Russia Hacking Was On Scale With 9/11, Pearl Harbor," RealClearPolitics, February 14, 2017,
- https://realclearpolitics.com/video/2017/02/14/friedman_flynn_resignation_shows_russia_hacking_was_on_scale_with_911_pearl_harbor.html.
- **23** Joseph A. Wulfsohn, "MSNBC Contributor: Trump's Performance Will 'Live in Infamy' as Much as Pearl Harbor or Kristallnacht," Mediaite, July 17, 2018, https://mediaite.com/tv/msnbc-contributor-trumps-performance-will-live-in-infamy-as-much-as-pearl-harbor-or-kristallnacht.
- **24** Christopher Steele Dossier, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.
- **25** Paul Krugman, "Donald Trump, the Siberian Candidate," *New York Times*, July 22, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/07/22/opinion/donald-trump-the-siberian-candidate.html.
- **26** Max Boot, "The Case for American Empire," *Weekly Standard*, October 15, 2001, https://washingtonexaminer.com/magazine/170364/the-case-for-american-empire.
- 27 Max Boot, "Here are 18 reasons Trump could be a Russian asset," *Washington Post*, January 13, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/here-are-18-reasons-why-trump-could-be-a-russian-asset/2019/01/13/45b1b250-174f-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bcb6c_story.html. He is not even from here, and never risked more than a broken fingernail in his life, certainly not for America. Boot's wife, a former CIA and NSC official, was later arrested for representing South Korea without registering under the Foreign Agent Registration Act. "United States of America v. Sue Mi Terry," US Justice Department, July 17, 2024, https://justice.gov/d9/2024-07/u.s. v. terry indictment 0.pdf.
- **28** Carroll Doherty, "Fast facts about Americans' views on Russia amid allegations of 2020 election Interference," Pew Research Center, February 21, 2020, https://pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/02/21/fast-facts-about-americans-views-on-russia-amid-allegations-of-2020-election-interference.

- 29 "The Economist/YouGov Poll," November 4–6, 2018,
- https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/ylp5ygohjs/econTabReport.pdf.
- **30** Peter Van Buren, "It Was All a Lie," *The American Conservative*, March 25, 2019, https://theamericanconservative.com/it-was-all-a-lie.
- **31** Horton, *Enough Already*; I did root for him against Hillary, Biden and Harris in the elections, however.
- **32** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **33** Chris Kahn, "Despite report findings, almost half of Americans think Trump colluded with Russia: Reuters/Ipsos poll," Reuters, March 26, 2019, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-russia-poll/despite-report-findings-almost-half-of-americans-think-trump-colluded-with-russia-reuters-ipsos-poll-idUSKCN1R72S0.
- **34** "2020 Vision: Intelligence and the US Presidential Election," George Washington University, November 7, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=iOJThbDmzZQ&t=3176s.
- **35** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **36** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 37 Kenneth P. Vogel and Isaac Arnsdorf, "DNC sought to hide details of Clinton funding deal," *Politico*, July 26, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/07/dnc-leak-clinton-team-deflected-state-cash-concerns-226191; Dylan Byers, "Donna Brazile out at CNN amid leaks to Clinton campaign," CNN, October 31, 2016, https://money.cnn.com/2016/10/31/media/donna-brazile-cnn-resignation/index.html; Jeff Stein, "Donna Brazile's bombshell about the DNC and Hillary Clinton, explained," Vox.com, November 2, 2017, https://vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/11/2/16599036/donna-brazile-hillary-clinton-sanders; Donna Brazil, "Inside Hillary Clinton's Secret Takeover of the DNC," https://politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/02/clinton-brazile-hacks-2016-215774; Jonathan Martin and Alan Rappeport, "Debbie Wasserman Schultz to Resign DNC Post," https://politico.com/magazine/story/2016/07/25/us/politics/debbie-wasserman-schultz-dnc-wikileaks-emails.html; Jeff Zeleny and Tal Kopan, "DNC CEO resigns in wake of email controversy," https://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/02/politics/dnc-ceo-resigns-in-wake-of-email-scandal/index.html.
- **38** Jeremy Herb, "Mook suggests Russians leaked DNC emails to help Trump," *Politico*, July 24, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/07/robby-mook-russians-emails-trump-226084.
- **39** "Clinton campaign 'hacked' along with other Democratic groups," BBC, July 29, 2016, https://bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-36927523.
- **40** John R. Bolton, "To Stop Iran's Bomb, Bomb Iran," *New York Times*, March 26, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/03/26/opinion/to-stop-irans-bomb-bomb-iran.html.
- **41** Sean Davis, "In 2010 Fox Interview, John Bolton Confessed He Would 'Absolutely' Lie About National Security Matters," The Federalist, January 29, 2020, https://thefederalist.com/2020/01/29/in-2010-fox-interview-john-bolton-confessed-he-would-absolutely-lie-about-national-security-matters.
- **42** Pamela Engel, "Trump secretary of state candidate says Russian hacking reports might be 'false flag," Business Insider, December 12, 2016, https://businessinsider.com/john-bolton-russian-hacking-false-flag-2016-12.
- **43** "Donald Trump on Russia & Missing Hillary Clinton emails," C-SPAN, July 27, 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=3kxG8uJUsWU.

- **44** Dmitri Alperovitch, "Bears in the Midst: Intrusion into the Democratic National Committee," CrowdStrike, June 15, 2016,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20160726214255/https://crowdstrike.com/blog/bears-midst-intrusion-democratic-national-committee; Humorously, the original link now contains a whole new post protesting the company's innocence in this plot to seize the White House: Editorial Team, "CrowdStrike's work with the Democratic National Committee: Setting the record straight," CrowdStrike, June 5, 2020, https://crowdstrike.com/blog/bears-midst-intrusion-democratic-national-committee.
- **45** "Marble Framework," CIA's Vault 7 Leak, WikiLeaks.org, https://wikileaks.org/ciav7p1/cms/page 14588467.html.

dnc-emails.html.

- 46 Jeffrey Carr, "The DNC Breach and the Hijacking of Common Sense," Medium.com, June 19, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160726121630/https://medium.com/@jeffreycarr/the-dnc-breach-and-the-hijacking-of-common-sense-20e89dacfc2b; Jeffrey Carr, "The Publicly Available Evidence Doesn't Support Russian Gov Hacking of 2016 Election," Medium.com, July 9, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20180121081512/https://medium.com/@jeffreycarr/the-publicly-available-evidence-doesnt-support-russian-gov-hacking-of-2016-election-3ab928758a2f; Jeffrey Carr, "Fact-Checking That 'Trump & Putin' Thing," Medium.com, July 24, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160726135447/https://medium.com/@jeffreycarr/fact-checking-that-trump-putin-thing-8ed9fd850d40; Interview with author, Jeffrey Carr, Scott Horton Show radio archive, July 25, 2016, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/72516-jeffrey-carr.
- **47** James Bamford, *The Shadow Factory: The Ultra-Secret NSA from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 180–81. (Bamford revealed Dishfire, Mainway, XKeyscore and many other later-famous NSA programs almost five years before Edward Snowden's leak to Glenn Greenwald, et al., 149).
- **48** Ramon Antonio Vargas, "Reality Winner says she leaked file on Russia election hacking because 'public was being lied to," *Guardian*, July 25, 2022, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2022/jul/25/reality-winner-leaked-file-on-russia-election-hacking-because-public-was-being-lied-to.
- **49** Matthew Cole, et al., "Top-Secret NSA Report Details Russian Hacking Effort Days Before 2016 Election," Intercept, June 5, 2017, https://theintercept.com/2017/06/05/top-secret-nsa-report-details-russian-hacking-effort-days-before-2016-election.
- **50** Ben Smith, "The Intercept Promised to Reveal Everything. Then Its Own Scandal Hit," *New York Times*, September 13, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/09/13/business/media/the-intercept-source-reality-winner.html.
- **51** Interview with author, Craig Murray, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, December 16, 2016, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/121316-craig-murray-dnc-podesta-emails-leaked-by-americans-not-hacked-by-russia.
- 52 "Interview of Shawn Henry," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 5, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/sh21.pdf.
 53 Sam Varghese, "CrowdStrike chief admits no proof that Russia exfiltrated DNC emails," IT Wire, May 13, 2020, https://itwire.com/security/crowdstrike-chief-admits-no-proof-that-russia-exfiltrated-
- **54** Adam Meyers, "Danger Close: Fancy Bear Tracking of Ukrainian Field Artillery Units," CrowdStrike, December 22, 2016, https://crowdstrike.com/blog/danger-close-fancy-bear-tracking-ukrainian-field-artillery-units.
- **55** Oleksiy Kuzmenko and Pete Cobus, "Cyber Firm Rewrites Part of Disputed Russian Hacking Report," Voice of America, March 24, 2017, https://voanews.com/a/cyber-firm-rewrites-part-disputed-russian-hacking-report/3781411.html.

- **56** "Dmitri Alperovitch," The National Security Institute (NSI) at the Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason University, https://nationalsecurity.gmu.edu/dmitri-alperovitch.
- **57** Ray McGovern, "FBI Never Saw CrowdStrike Unredacted or Final Report on Alleged Russian Hacking Because None was Produced," Consortium News, June 17, 2019,
- https://consortiumnews.com/2019/06/17/fbi-never-saw-crowdstrike-unredacted-or-final-report-on-alleged-russian-hacking-because-none-was-produced; "Stone de 123 DOJ Response To MTC CrowdStrike Reports," https://scribd.com/document/413428947/Stone-De-123-DOJ-Response-to-MTC-Crowdstrike-Reports.
- **58** Aaron Maté, "Russiagate Prober Durham Neglected DNC Hack Claim, Despite Evidence It Too Was a Democrat Sham," RealClearInvestigations, June 6, 2023,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2023/06/06/what_durham_skipped_903673.htm; "Interview of Shawn Henry," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 5, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/sh21.pdf.
- **59** Matt Taibbi and UndeadFOIA, "Forget Collusion. Was 'Interference' Also Fake News?" Racket News, September 26, 2023, https://racket.news/p/forget-collusion-was-interference; Anon, "FOIA Files: Did Special Counsel Robert Mueller Rely on Clinton Campaign Operatives to Point to Russia?" Racket News, August 13, 2024, https://racket.news/p/foia-files-did-special-counsel-robert.
- **60** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf. **61** See below.
- **62** Erik Wemple, "The Media and the Steele Dossier" (series), *Washington Post*, December 13, 2019–August 19, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/media-steele-dossier.
- **63** The author sent Wemple a very nice email encouraging him to revisit the question, and he did seem to seriously consider it. Email to author, January 30, 2020.
- **64** "USA v Viktor Borisovich Netyksho, et al.," US Department of Justice, July 13, 2018, https://cdn.cnn.com/cnn/2018/images/07/13/gru.indictment.pdf.
- **65** Manu Raju and Jeremy Herb, "Email pointed Trump campaign to WikiLeaks documents," CNN, December 8, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/12/08/politics/email-effort-give-trump-campaign-WikiLeaks-documents/index.html.
- **66** Oliver Darcy, "CNN corrects story on email to Trumps about WikiLeaks," CNN, December 8, 2017, https://money.cnn.com/2017/12/08/media/cnn-correction-email-story/index.html.
- 67 Stefania Maurizi, Secret Power: WikiLeaks and Its Enemies (New York: Pluto Press, 2022).
- **68** Stefania Maurizi, "Inside WikiLeaks: Working with the Publisher that Changed the World," Consortium News, July 19, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/07/19/inside-WikiLeaks-working-with-the-publisher-that-changed-the-world.
- **69** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **70** "USA v Viktor Borisovich Netyksho, et al.," US Department of Justice, July 13, 2018, https://cdn.cnn.com/cnn/2018/images/07/13/gru.indictment.pdf.
- 71 Ellen Nakashima, "Russian government hackers penetrated DNC, stole opposition research on Trump," *Washington Post*, June 14, 2016, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russian-government-hackers-penetrated-dnc-stole-opposition-research-on-trump/2016/06/14/cf006cb4-316e-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html.
- 72 Robert Peston, "Assange on Peston on Sunday: 'More Clinton leaks to come," ITV, June 12, 2016, https://itv.com/news/update/2016-06-12/assange-on-peston-on-sunday-more-clinton-leaks-to-come;; Raffi Khatchadourian, "What the Latest Mueller Indictment Reveals About WikiLeaks' Ties to Russia and What It Doesn't," *The New Yorker*, July 24, 2018, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/what-the-latest-mueller-indictment-reveals-about-WikiLeaks-ties-to-russia-and-what-it-doesnt.

- 73 Raffi Khatchadourian, "What the Latest Mueller Indictment Reveals About WikiLeaks' Ties to Russia and What It Doesn't," *The New Yorker*, July 24, 2018, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/what-the-latest-mueller-indictment-reveals-about-WikiLeaks-ties-to-russia-and-what-it-doesnt.
- 74 Staff, "What is WikiLeaks?" GCF Global, https://edu.gcfglobal.org/en/thenow/what-is-wikileaks/1.
- 75 Raffi Khatchadourian, "What the Latest Mueller Indictment Reveals About WikiLeaks' Ties to Russia and What It Doesn't," *The New Yorker*, July 24, 2018, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/what-the-latest-mueller-indictment-reveals-about-WikiLeaks-ties-to-russia-and-what-it-doesnt.
- **76** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- 77 "Interview of John Brennan," PBS *Frontline*, July 27, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/john-brennan.
- **78** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **79** The same guy who had helped plan the "Operation Storm" atrocity in Croatia in 1995 (see Chapter Two), lied about Iraqi WMD in 2002–2003 (see Chapter Four), and lied to Congress that the NSA was not spying on Americans (see Chapter Four).
- **80** Katie Bo Williams, "Russian hacking of election infrastructure 'curtailed' after US statement," *The Hill*, November 17, 2016, https://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/306538-russian-hacking-of-election-infrastructure-curtailed-after-us-statement.
- **81** Scott Horton, "Mueller Report: It Was All a Bunch of Nothing," Libertarian Institute, April 20, 2019, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/mueller-report-released.
- **82** Luke Harding and Dan Collyns, "Manafort held secret talks with Assange in Ecuadorian embassy, sources say," *Guardian*, November 27, 2018, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/nov/27/manafort-held-secret-talks-with-assange-in-ecuadorian-embassy.
- **83** Paul Farhi, "The Guardian offered a bombshell story about Paul Manafort. It still hasn't detonated," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/the-guardian-offered-a-bombshell-story-about-paul-manafort-it-still-hasnt-detonated/2018/12/03/60e38182-f71c-11e8-863c-9e2f864d47e7 story.html.
- **84** David Holley, "Hijack Suspect and Iraqi Met, Official Says," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 2001, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-oct-27-mn-62270-story.html.
- **85** Staff, "CIA Questions Saddam's Ties to Al Qaeda," ABC News, October 7, 2004, https://abcnews.go.com/WNT/IraqCoverage/story?id=144396.
- **86** See below.
- **87** Sara Murray and Kate Sullivan, "Text messages show Roger Stone discussing WikiLeaks plans days before hack," CNN, November 23, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/11/14/politics/text-messages-roger-stone-wikileaks-hack/index.html.
- **88** Judy Maltz, "A Discreet Man for Sensitive Missions: Meet Isaac Molho, Netanyahu's Confidant Detained by Israeli Police," *Haaretz*, November 7, 2017, https://haaretz.com/israel-news/2017-11-07/ty-article/premium/meet-isaac-molho-netanyahus-confidant-detained-by-israeli-police/0000017f-dc78-db5a-a57f-dc7a5b5d0000.
- **89** Andrew Blake, "John Podesta: It's Roger Stone's 'time in the barrel," *Washington Times*, January 25, 2019, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2019/jan/25/john-podesta-its-roger-stones-time-barrel.
- **90** James Bamford, "The Trump Campaign's Collusion With Israel," *The Nation*, March 23, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/world/trump-israel-collusion.
- **91** That may sound like an extraordinary claim. So here are 10 citations for it: Jeff Stein, "Hillary Clinton's campaign wants the Electoral College briefed on Russian interference," Vox.com, December 12, 2016, https://vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/12/12/13922454/hillary-clinton-electors-podesta;

```
Dan Merica, "Clinton campaign backs intelligence briefing for Electoral College electors," CNN, December 13, 2016, <a href="https://cnn.com/2016/12/12/politics/hillary-clinton-electoral-college-electors/index.html">https://cnn.com/2016/12/12/politics/hillary-clinton-electoral-college-electors/index.html</a>; Kyle Cheney and Gabriel Debenedetti, "Electors demand intelligence briefing before Electoral College vote," Politico, December 12, 2016,
```

https://politico.com/story/2016/12/electors-intelligence-briefing-trump-russia-232498; Joseph O'Sullivan, "Washington state electors join movement seeking to deny Trump the presidency," *Seattle Times*, November 30, 2016, https://seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/washington-state-electors-join-movement-seeking-to-deny-trump-the-presidency; David Halperin, "Electoral College Can Stop Unfit Trump – With Another Republican," Republic Report, November 11, 2016,

https://republicreport.org/2016/electoral-college-can-stop-unfit-trump-with-another-republican; Kyle Cheney, "Democratic presidential electors revolt against Trump," *Politico*, November 22, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/11/democrats-electoral-college-faithless-trump-231731; Christine Pelosi, "Bipartisan Electors Ask James Clapper: Release Facts on Outside Interference in US Election," December 12, 2016,

https://web.archive.org/web/20161213122605/https://extranewsfeed.com/bipartisan-electors-ask-james-clapper-release-facts-on-outside-interference-in-u-s-election-c1a3d11d5b7b?gi=ee2728428c2c; Lilly O'Donnell, "Meet the 'Hamilton Electors' Hoping for an Electoral College Revolt," *The Atlantic*, November 21, 2016, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/meet-the-hamilton-electors-hoping-for-an-electoral-college-revolt/508433; Matthew Rozsa, "Donald Trump isn't yet president, and the Hamilton Electors have one shot to make sure he never is," Salon.com, December 10, 2016, https://salon.com/2016/12/10/donald-trump-isnt-yet-president-and-the-hamilton-electors-have-one-shot-to-make-sure-he-never-is; Tweet by P. Bret Chiafalo, December 10, 2016, https://x.com/Hypnopaedia13/status/807792638791282688.

- **92** Michael J. Morell, "I Ran the CIA. Now I'm Endorsing Hillary Clinton," *New York Times*, August 5, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/08/05/opinion/campaign-stops/i-ran-the-cia-now-im-endorsing-hillary-clinton.html.
- 93 Paul Sperry, "Secret Report: How CIA's Brennan Overruled Dissenting Analysts Who Concluded Russia Favored Hillary," RealClearInvestigations, September 24, 2020, https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2020/09/24/secret_report_how_cias_brennan_overruled_dis
- 94 "Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 Election," Vol. 4, US Senate, August 2020, https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report Volume4.pdf.
- **95** Andrea Kendall-Taylor, et al., "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," Intelligence Community Assessment, January 6, 2017,

https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ICA 2017 01.pdf.

senting analysts who thought russia favored hillary 125315.html.

96 Andrea Kendall-Taylor, et al., "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," Intelligence Community Assessment, January 6, 2017,

https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ICA 2017 01.pdf.

97 Press Release, "US Sens. Johnson, Grassley: Release declassified annex to intelligence community assessment that was based on the debunked Steele Dossier," WisPolitics, June 11, 2020, https://wispolitics.com/2020/u-s-sens-johnson-grassley-release-declassified-annex-to-intelligence-

community-assessment-that-was-based-on-the-debunked-steele-dossier.

- **98** Colby Itkowitz, "Hillary Clinton: Trump is an 'illegitimate president," *Washington Post*, September 26, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/hillary-clinton-trump-is-an-illegitimate-president/2019/09/26/29195d5a-e099-11e9-b199-f638bf2c340f story.html.
- **99** Matthew Nussbaum, "The 14 biggest moments of the final debate," *Politico*, October 19, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/10/biggest-moments-last-2016-debate-230018.
- **100** Lauren Carroll, "Hillary Clinton blames high-up Russians for WikiLeaks releases," Politifact, October 20, 2016, https://politifact.com/factchecks/2016/oct/19/hillary-clinton/hillary-clinton-blames-

- <u>russia-putin-wikileaks-rele</u>; Eliza Collins, "Yes, 17 intelligence agencies really did say Russia was behind hacking," *USA Today*, October 21, 2016,
- https://usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/10/21/17-intelligence-agencies-russia-behind-hacking/92514592.
- **101** Staff, "Corrections: June 29, 2017," *New York Times*, June 29, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/06/29/pageoneplus/corrections-june-29-2017.html.
- **102** Paul Sperry, "Secret Report: How CIA's Brennan Overruled Dissenting Analysts Who Concluded Russia Favored Hillary," RealClearInvestigations, September 24, 2020,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2020/09/24/secret report how cias brennan overruled dissenting analysts who thought russia favored hillary 125315.html.
- **103** Matt Taibbi, et al., "CIA 'Cooked The Intelligence' To Hide That Russia Favored Clinton, Not Trump, In 2016, Sources Say," Public, February 15, 2024, https://public.substack.com/p/cia-cooked-the-intelligence-to-hide.
- **104** Mallory Shelbourne, "Schumer: Trump 'really dumb' for attacking intelligence agencies," *The Hill*, January 3, 2017, https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/312605-schumer-trump-being-really-dumb-by-going-after-intelligence-community.
- **105** Cristiano Lima, "CIA chief calls Trump Nazi Germany comparison 'outrageous," *Politico Europe*, January 15, 2017, https://politico.eu/article/cia-chief-calls-trump-nazi-germany-comparison-outrageous.
- 106 Shane Goldmacher and Matthew Nussbaum, "At CIA headquarters, Trump boasts about himself, denies feud," *Politico*, January 21, 2017, https://politico.com/story/2017/01/trump-cia-langley-233971; Robin Wright, "Trump's Vainglorious Affront to the CIA," *The New Yorker*, January 22, 2017, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/trumps-vainglorious-affront-to-the-c-i-a.
- **107** Interview of John O. Brennan, PBS *Frontline*, July 27, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/john-brennan.
- **108** Michael S. Schmidt, et al., "Trump Campaign Aides Had Repeated Contacts With Russian Intelligence," *New York Times*, February 14, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/02/14/us/politics/russia-intelligence-communications-trump.html.
- **109** Charlie Savage and Adam Goldman, "FBI Agent in Russia Inquiry Saw Basis in Early 2017 to Doubt Dossier," *New York Times*, July 17, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/07/17/us/politics/steeledossier-peter-strzok.html.
- **110** Staff, "FBI agent Peter Strzok 'fired over anti-Trump texts," BBC, August 13, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-45173015.
- 111 More on the framing of Page below.
- **112** Declassified notations by FBI agent Peter Strzok on *New York Times* article, "Trump Campaign Aides Had Repeated Contacts With Russian Intelligence,"
- $\underline{https://judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Annotated\%20New\%20York\%20Times\%20Article.pdf.}$
- 113 Michael S. Schmidt, et al., "Comey Disputes New York Times Article About Russia Investigation," *New York Times*, June 8, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/06/08/us/politics/james-comey-new-york-times-article-russia.html.
- **114** Mark Moore, "Disgraced FBI agent had doubts about Mueller probe," *New York Post*, January 23, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/01/23/disgraced-fbi-agent-had-doubts-about-mueller-probe.
- 115 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 116 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.

- 117 Christopher Steele Dossier, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.
- **118** Christopher Steele Dossier, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.
- 119 Daniel Kreps, "Watch Stephen Colbert Visit 'Trump Pee Pee Tape' Hotel Room in Moscow," *Rolling Stone*, July 21, 2017, https://rollingstone.com/tv-movies/tv-movie-news/watch-stephen-colbert-visit-trump-pee-pee-tape-hotel-room-in-moscow-203782; Jonathan Chait, "I'm a Peeliever and You Should Be, Too," *New York* magazine, April 13, 2018, https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/04/im-a-peeliever-and-you-should-be-too.html; Naomi Fry, "When We Think About the Pee Tape," *The New Yorker*, April 18, 2018, https://newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/when-we-think-about-the-pee-tape.

 120 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **121** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **122** "Ex-FBI Director James Comey's Memos," https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/4442900/Ex-FBI-Director-James-Comey-s-memos.pdf.
- 123 Evan Perez, et al., "Intel chiefs presented Trump with claims of Russian efforts to compromise him," CNN, January 12, 2017, https://us.cnn.com/2017/01/10/politics/donald-trump-intelligence-report-russia/index.html; Ken Bensinger, et al., "These Reports Allege Trump Has Deep Ties To Russia," BuzzFeed, January 10, 2017, https://buzzfeed.com/kenbensinger/these-reports-allege-trump-has-deep-ties-to-russia.
- **124** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part two," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-2.php.
- **125** Stephen Collinson, "James Comey hoped leak would lead to special counsel on Russia," CNN, June 8, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/06/08/politics/james-comey-testimony-donald-trump/index.html. **126** Jonathan Easley, "GOP report: Clapper told CNN host about Trump dossier in 2017," *The Hill*, April 27, 2018, https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/385278-gop-report-clapper-told-cnn-host-about-trump-dossier-in-2017.
- 127 George Khoury, Esq., "What Are the Penalties for Lying to Congress?" Find Law, March 21, 2019, https://findlaw.com/legalblogs/criminal-defense/what-are-the-penalties-for-lying-to-congress. 128 The same guy who helped to plan the "Operation Storm" atrocity in Croatia in 1995. See Chapter Two. He also lied to Congress that the NSA was not spying on Americans. See Chapter Four. Previously, as head of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, Clapper also famously lied that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (Mark Hosenball, "Will Clapper Nomination Reopen the Saddam WMD Controversy?" Newsweek, June 6, 2010, https://newsweek.com/will-clapper-nomination-reopensaddam-wmd-controversy-217378; "Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons on Mass Destruction," White House, March 31, 2005, https://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/wmd/text/report.html) telling CNN, "I think we do a very good job of satisfying all of our masters." (David Ensor, "Secretive map agency opens its doors," CNN, December 13, 2002, https://edition.cnn.com/2002/US/12/09/map.makers.) He also lied that those weapons had been moved to Syria right before the invasion. (Douglas Jehl, "Iraqis Removed Arms Material, US Aide Says," New York Times, October 29, 2003, https://nytimes.com/2003/10/29/world/the-strugglefor-iraq-weapons-search-iraqis-removed-arms-material-us-aide-says.html). At least he discouraged Obama from invading Syria in 2013. (Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," The Atlantic, April 2016, https://theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525).

- **129** Jack Shafer, "The Spies Who Came in to the TV Studio," *Politico*, February 6, 2018, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2018/02/06/john-brennan-james-claper-michael-hayden-former-cia-media-216943.
- 130 Jim Sciutto and Evan Perez, "US investigators corroborate some aspects of the Russia dossier," CNN, February 10, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/02/10/politics/russia-dossier-update/index.html; John Sipher, "A Lot of the Steele Dossier Has Since Been Corroborated," Slate, September 11, 2017, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/09/a-lot-of-the-steele-dossier-has-since-beencorroborated.html; Jack Moore, "Isn't It Strange How More of the Steele Dossier Keeps Checking Out?" GO, November 10, 2017, https://gq.com/story/trump-russia-steele-dossier-update; Amy Knight, "Was This Russian General Murdered Over the Steele Dossier?" Daily Beast, January 23, 2018. https://thedailybeast.com/was-this-russian-general-murdered-over-the-steele-dossier; Nancy LeTourneau, "What the Steele Dossier Got Right," Washington Monthly, October 27, 2017, https://washingtonmonthly.com/2017/10/27/what-the-steele-dossier-got-right; Erik Wemple, "Rachel Maddow rooted for the Steele dossier to be true. Then it fell apart," Washington Post, December 26, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/26/rachel-maddow-rooted-steele-dossier-be-truethen-it-fell-apart; Greg Price, "What's True in Trump-Russia Dossier? Key Parts Proved Over Last Year," Newsweek, May 17, 2018, https://newsweek.com/trump-russia-dossier-true-proven-929839; David Rutz, "10 times the media declared the discredited Steele dossier was not 'disproven," Fox News, November 10, 2021, https://foxnews.com/media/10-times-the-media-steele-dossier-disproven. 131 Staff, "British ex-spy behind Trump dossier seen as a cool operator," CBS News, January 14, 2017, https://cbsnews.com/news/christopher-steele-british-ex-spy-behind-donald-trump-dossier-seen-as-cooloperator.
- 132 Greg Myre, "A Russian Word Americans Need To Know: 'Kompromat,'" NPR News, January 11, 2017, https://npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/01/11/509305088/a-russian-word-americans-need-to-know-kompromat; Andrew Kramer, "The Master of 'Kompromat' Believed to Be Behind Trump Jr.'s Meeting," *New York Times*, July 17, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/07/17/world/europe/russia-donald-trump-ir-kompromat-yuri-chaika.html.
- **133** "Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 US Election," Vol. 4, US Senate, July 28, 2020,
- https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report Volume4.pdf.
- 134 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **135** John Solomon, "FBI's spreadsheet puts a stake through the heart of Steele's dossier," *The Hill*, July 16, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/453384-fbis-spreadsheet-puts-a-stake-through-the-heart-of-steeles-dossier.
- **136** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **137** Alan Cullison and Aruna Viswanatha, "Three Friends Chatting: How the Steele Dossier Was Created," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/the-surprising-backstory-of-how-the-steele-dossier-was-created-11652103582.
- **138** John Solomon, "FBI's Steele story falls apart: False intel and media contacts were flagged before FISA," *The Hill*, May 9, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/442944-fbis-steele-story-falls-apart-false-intel-and-media-contacts-were-flagged.
- **139** "Nunes Memo, Letter from Rep. Devin Nunes to Donald F. McGahn II," February 2, 2018, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4365340/Read-the-GOP-memo.pdf.

- **140** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **141** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 142 Scott Shane, et al., "How a Sensational, Unverified Dossier Became a Crisis for Donald Trump," *New York Times*, January 11, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/01/11/us/politics/donald-trump-russia-intelligence.html; Zeke Miller, et al., "Correction: Trump-Russia Probe Story," AP, February 3, 2018, https://apnews.com/article/63c883156e314b68b86209d3b63890f5; Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part two," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cir.org/special report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-2.php.
- **143** Rebecca Ballhaus, "Clinton Campaign, DNC Helped Fund Trump-Russia Dossier," *Wall Street Journal*, October 25, 2017, https://wsj.com/articles/clinton-campaign-dnc-helped-fund-trump-russia-dossier-1508942615.
- **144** Jill Colvin, "DNC, Clinton campaign agree to Steele dossier funding fine," AP, March 31, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-2022-midterm-elections-business-elections-presidential-elections-5468774d18e8c46f81b55e9260b13e93.
- **145** Staff, "Anne Kristol and Matthew Continetti," *New York Times*, February 19, 2012, https://nytimes.com/2012/02/19/fashion/weddings/anne-kristol-matthew-continetti-weddings.html; Steve Peoples and Zeke Miller, "Neoconservative Website Washington Free Beacon Hired Fusion GPS," RealClearPolitics, October 28, 2017,
- https://realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/10/28/neoconservative_website_washington_free_beacon_hi red_fusion_gps_135394.html.
- **146** Steve Peoples and Zeke Miller, "Trump dossier research triggered by website with GOP ties," AP, October 28, 2017, https://apnews.com/article/3b1ce552d4d94cc98a071c4d5702dee5.
- **147** "Interview of Michael Goldfarb," Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 12, 2017, https://dni.gov/files/HPSCI Transcripts/2019-05-01-MichaelGo-MTR.pdf.
- **148** Adam Entous, et al., "Clinton campaign, DNC paid for research that led to Russia dossier," *Washington Post*, October 24, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/clinton-campaign-dnc-paid-for-research-that-led-to-russia-dossier/2017/10/24/226fabf0-b8e4-11e7-a908-a3470754bbb9_story.html.
- **149** Tweet by Maggie Haberman, October 24, 2017, https://x.com/maggieNYT/status/922962880206647297.
- **150** Peter Van Buren, "Christopher Steele: The Real Foreign Influence in the 2016 Election?" *The American Conservative*, February 15, 2018, https://theamericanconservative.com/christopher-steele-the-real-foreign-influence-in-the-2016-election.
- **151** Ken Dilanian, "Why Team Trump is wrong about Carter Page, the dossier and that secret warrant," NBC News, July 23, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/news/crime-courts/why-team-trump-wrong-about-carter-page-dossier-secret-warrant-n893666.
- **152** "Nunes Memo, Letter from Rep. Devin Nunes to Donald F. McGahn II," February 2, 2018, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4365340/Read-the-GOP-memo.pdf.
- 153 Greg Sargent and Paul Waldman, "The Nunes memo is out. It's a joke and a sham," *Washington Post*, February 2, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/blogs/plum-line/wp/2018/02/02/the-nunes-memo-is-out-its-a-joke-and-a-sham; John Sipher, "The smearing of Christopher Steele," *Politico Europe*, February 6, 2018, https://politico.eu/article/devin-nunes-donald-trump-the-smearing-of-christopher-steele; Kevin Drum, "Now We Know For Sure: Devin Nunes Lied About Everything," *Mother Jones*,

- July 24, 2018, https://motherjones.com/kevin-drum/2018/07/now-we-know-for-sure-devin-nunes-lied-about-everything.
- **154** Michael Isikoff, "US intel officials probe ties between Trump adviser and Kremlin," Yahoo News, September 23, 2016, https://news.yahoo.com/u-s-intel-officials-probe-ties-between-trump-adviser-and-kremlin-175046002.html.
- **155** Peter Van Buren, "The Durham report unmasks the Deep State," *The Spectator*, May 17, 2023, https://thespectator.com/topic/durham-report-unmasks-deep-state-fbi-media.
- **156** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **157** Lawrence O'Donnell, *The Last Word*, July 23, 2018, https://msnbc.com/transcripts/the-last-word/2018-07-23-msna1126901.
- **158** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **159** Aaron Blake, "Vindication for the Nunes memo?" *Washington Post*, December 13, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/12/13/vindication-nunes-memo.
- **160** "Interview of Andrew McCabe," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/am33.pdf.
- **161** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 162 Sen. Chuck Grassley, "Debunked Anti-Trump Dossier Sub-Source Who Sought to Traffic Classified Information Remained on FBI Payroll until late 2020," September 26, 2002, https://grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/debunked-anti-trump-dossier-sub-source-who-sought-to-traffic-classified-information-remained-on-fbi-payroll-until-late-2020; Jake Gibson and Brooke Singman, "FBI paid Igor Danchenko more than \$200,000 to serve as confidential human source," Fox News, October 13, 2022, https://foxnews.com/politics/fbi-paid-igor-danchenko-more-200000-serve-confidential-human-source.
- **163** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 164 "Marc Andreessen claims nuclear test footage is fake," Reddit.com/r/samharris, August 6, 2023, https://reddit.com/r/samharris/comments/15jve20/marc andreessen claims nuclear test footage is; Akio Nakatani, *Death Object: Exploding the Nuclear Weapons Hoax*, 2017, https://ia903201.us.archive.org/6/items/8d-0de-2/8d0de2.pdf.
- **165** Justin Vallejo and Phil Thomas, "Why some QAnon believers think JFK Jr is still alive and about to become vice president," *Independent*, January 18, 2022,
- $\underline{https://independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/qanon-jfk-jr-alive-trump-b1995594.html}.$
- **166** Mike Chiari, "Kyrie Irving Explains Flat Earth Stance, Says There Is No Real Picture of Planet," Bleacher Report, November 1, 2017, https://bleacherreport.com/articles/2741935-kyrie-irving-explains-flat-earth-stance-says-there-is-no-real-picture-of-earth.
- **167** Demetri Sevastopulo, et al., "Donald Trump Jr welcomed offer of Russian help to damage Clinton," *Financial Times*, July 11, 2017, https://ft.com/content/d517e576-65ea-11e7-8526-7b38dcaef614.
- **168** Kelly McEvers, "Trump Stories: Collusion," NPR News, February 8, 2018, https://npr.org/transcripts/584353948; Terry Gross, "Fusion GPS Founders On Russian Efforts To Sow Discord: "They Have Succeeded," NPR News, *Fresh Air*, November 26, 2019,

- $\underline{https://npr.org/2019/11/26/782908119/fusion-gps-founders-on-russian-efforts-to-sow-discord-they-have-succeeded.}$
- ${\bf 169}\ Christopher\ Steele\ Dossier,\ \underline{https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.}$
- **170** Christopher Steele Dossier, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.
- 171 Adam Goldman, "Barr Says CIA 'Stayed in Its Lane' in Examining Russian Election Interference," *New York Times*, December 18, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/12/18/us/politics/william-barr-cia-russia-investigation.html.
- **172** Interview with author, Daniel Lazare, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, September 27, 2019, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/9-27-19-daniel-lazare-on-what-trump-ukraine-is-really-about.
- **173** Matt Taibbi, "It's official: Russiagate is this generation's WMD," Racket News, March 23, 2019, https://racket.news/p/russiagate-is-wmd-times-a-million.
- 174 Staff, "Comey felt obliged to send letter to Congress," AP, October 28, 2016, https://apnews.com/article/technology-entertainment-joe-biden-campaign-2016-events-0747b3d1c5d84418b324de932e4f0965; Tom McCarthy, "Comey: I was sure Clinton would win election when I reopened email inquiry," *Guardian*, April 13, 2018, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/apr/13/james-comey-book-hillary-clinton-email-investigation.
- 175 Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, *Shattered: Inside Hillary Clinton's Doomed Campaign* (New York: Crown, 2017).
- 176 Jonathan Chait, "Why Liberals Should Support the War," *The New Republic*, October 10, 2002, http://wadinet.de/news/iraq/nw785_liberals.htm; "The Liberal Case for War," *On Point*, WBUR, October 23, 2002, https://wbur.org/onpoint/2002/10/23/the-liberal-case-for-war; Jonathan Chait, "Blinded by Bush-Hatred," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2003,
- https://washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/05/08/blinded-by-bush-hatred/e48bdcde-ee52-4f75-8b5c-0d188874a6ab; Jonathan Chait, "Iraq: What I Got Wrong, and What I Still Believe," *New York* magazine, March 19, 2013, https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2013/03/iraq-what-i-got-wrong-and-what-i-still-believe.html.
- **177** Jonathan Chait, "What If Trump Has Been a Russian Asset Since 1987?" *New York* magazine, July 8, 2018, https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/07/trump-putin-russia-collusion.html.
- **178** Chris Hayes, "Could Trump be a Russian intelligence asset?" *All In*, July 9, 2018, https://msnbc.com/all-in/watch/could-trump-be-a-russian-intelligence-asset-1273436739894.
- **179** Willa Paskin, "Rachel Maddow's Conspiracy Brain," Slate, March 29, 2019, https://slate.com/culture/2019/03/rachel-maddow-mueller-report-trump-barr.html.
- **180** Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned Into a War on American Ideals* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).
- **181** Jane Mayer, "Christopher Steele, the Man Behind the Trump Dossier," *The New Yorker*, March 12, 2018, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2018/03/12/christopher-steele-the-man-behind-the-trump-dossier.
- **182** Erik Wemple, "How Politico's Natasha Bertrand bootstrapped dossier credulity into MSNBC gig," *Washington Post*, February 28, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/02/28/how-politicos-natasha-bertrand-bootstrapped-dossier-credulity-into-tv-gig.
- **183** Rachel Maddow, "Key Dem points to evidence of collusion between Russia, Team Trump," MSNBC, March 23, 2017, https://msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/key-dem-points-evidence-collusion-between-russia-team-trump-msna974841.
- **184** Rep. Adam Schiff, "Intelligence Committee Ranking Member Schiff Opening Statement During Hearing on Russian Active Measures," March 20, 2017, <a href="https://schiff.house.gov/news/press-releases/intelligence-committee-ranking-member-schiff-opening-statement-during-hearing-on-russian-active-measures.

- **185** Scott Horton, *Enough Already* excerpt, "Iraq War II, Part 3: Lying Us Into War," *Scott Horton Show* Substack, February 10, 2023, https://scotthortonshow.substack.com/p/iraq-war-ii-part-3-lying-us-into.
- **186** Samuel Ashworth, "Mueller's report is done. Is there still a point in having a prayer candle with his image on it?" *Washington Post*, May 13, 2019,

https://washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/muellers-report-is-done-is-there-still-a-point-in-having-a-prayer-candle-with-his-image-on-it/2019/05/10/f8aecd98-6506-11e9-a1b6-b29b90efa879_story.html; Claire Galofaro, "Mueller's fans venerate him – and nervously await report," AP, March 20, 2019, https://apnews.com/article/370551cfc5334f3ba617c7e2bf77261a; Katherine Miller, "The Robert Mueller Fan Club," BuzzFeed News, February 1, 2019,

https://buzzfeednews.com/article/katherinemiller/robert-mueller-candles-investigation.

187 Aaronson, *The Terror Factory*.

- **188** Robert S. Mueller, III, "Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate," FBI, February 11, 2003, https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/war-on-terrorism.
- **189** Kayla Kumari Upadhyaya, "Women of 'SNL' Sing 'All I Want for Christmas Is You' to Robert Mueller," Billboard, February 2, 2018, https://billboard.com/culture/tv-film/snl-all-i-want-for-christmas-is-you-mueller-8487684; Stephen Colbert, "Robert Mueller's 12 Days Of Christmas," *The Late Show*, December 5, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=rrexj7-E4gA.
- **190** "Nunes Memo, Letter from Rep. Devin Nunes to Donald F. McGahn II," February 2, 2018, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4365340/Read-the-GOP-memo.pdf.
- **191** Matthew Mosk, "Durham probe offers fresh support for man who has long denied being 'Steele dossier' source," ABC News, November 11, 2021, https://abcnews.go.com/US/durham-probe-offers-fresh-support-man-long-denied/story?id=81119325.
- **192** Paul Sperry, "Ex-DOJ Official and Wife Had Bigger Roles in Dossier Than Known: Durham Report," RealClearInvestigations, May 16, 2023,

https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2023/05/16/ex-

- doj official and wife had bigger roles in dossier than known durham report 899718.html.
- **193** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **194** Scott Shane, "Trump Campaign Got Early Word Russia Had Democrats' Emails," *New York Times*, October 30, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/10/30/us/politics/trump-russia-mueller-indictment.html. **195** See above.
- **196** Sharon LaFraniere, et al., "How the Russia Inquiry Began: A Campaign Aide, Drinks and Talk of Political Dirt," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/politics/how-fbi-russia-investigation-began-george-papadopoulos.html.
- **197** Ellen Nakashima, et al., "FBI obtained FISA warrant to monitor former Trump adviser Carter Page," *Washington Post*, April 11, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/fbi-obtained-fisa-warrant-to-monitor-former-trump-adviser-carter-page/2017/04/11/620192ea-1e0e-11e7-ad74-3a742a6e93a7_story.html.
- **198** James Comey, "No 'treason.' No coup. Just lies and dumb lies at that," *Washington Post*, May 28, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/james-comey-no-treason-no-coup-just-lies--and-dumb-lies-at-that/2019/05/28/45f8d802-8175-11e9-bce7-40b4105f7ca0_story.html.
- **199** Peter Strzok, "Crossfire Hurricane," Federal Bureau of Investigation, July 31, 2016, https://judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/JW-v-DOJ-reply-02743.pdf.
- **200** "Papadopoulos denies Downer drinks story," SBS News, September 8, 2018, https://sbs.com.au/news/article/papadopoulos-denies-downer-drinks-story/kv87vyxj9.

- **201** Jacquelin Magnay, "I didn't blab to Alexander Downer, says George Papadopoulos," *The Australian*, September 12, 2018, https://theaustralian.com.au/nation/world/i-didnt-blab-to-alexander-downer-says-george-papadopoulos/news-story/fda6d0b3ac1d2e80f4645dabc6bd865b.
- **202** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **203** Edmund DeMarche, "Mysterious Maltese professor denied making offer to Papadopoulos, new docs show," Fox News, September 2, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/mysterious-maltese-professor-denied-making-offer-to-papadopoulos-new-docs-show.
- **204** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **205** Sharon LaFraniere, et al., "How the Russia Inquiry Began: A Campaign Aide, Drinks and Talk of Political Dirt," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/politics/how-fbi-russia-investigation-began-george-papadopoulos.html.
- 206 Chris Frates, "Hillary Clinton deleted all email from personal server," CNN, March 28, 2015, https://cnn.com/2015/03/27/politics/hillary-clinton-personal-email-server/index.html; Seth Fiegerman, "What is BleachBit? Little-known tool at center of Clinton email controversy," CNN, August 26, 2016, https://money.cnn.com/2016/08/26/technology/hillary-clinton-bleachbit; FBI Director James Comey, "Statement by FBI Director James B. Comey on the Investigation of Secretary Hillary Clinton's Use of a Personal E-Mail System," FBI, July 5, 2016, https://fbi.gov/news/press-releases/statement-by-fbi-director-james-b-comey-on-the-investigation-of-secretary-hillary-clinton2019s-use-of-a-personal-e-mail-system.
- **207** "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript_Redacted.pdf.
- **208** Kimberley A. Strassel, "The Curious Case of Mr. Downer," *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2018, https://wsj.com/articles/the-curious-case-of-mr-downer-1527809075.
- **209** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **210** FBI-AAA-EC-00007239 (Aug. 11, 2016 at 14:40:27); Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **211** Sharon LaFraniere, et al., "How the Russia Inquiry Began: A Campaign Aide, Drinks and Talk of Political Dirt," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/politics/how-fbi-russia-investigation-began-george-papadopoulos.html.
- **212** Chuck Ross, "DNC Said Joseph Mifsud Could Be Dead—His Adviser Pours Cold Water On The Theory," Daily Caller, September 10, 2018, https://dailycaller.com/2018/09/10/joseph-mifsud-alive; Matthew Vella, "Joseph Mifsud's lawyer claims Russiagate's Maltese professor was Western spy," Malta Today, November 11, 2019,
- https://maltatoday.com.mt/news/world/98582/joseph_mifsuds_lawyer_claims_russiagates_maltese_pro_fessor_was_western_spy.
- **213** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **214** David Lindsay, "Russiagate: Maltese professor Joseph Mifsud due in US court today 'living under an alias," *Malta Independent*, September 13, 2018,

- https://web.archive.org/web/20181017104558/https://independent.com.mt/articles/2018-09-13/local-news/Russiagate-Maltese-professor-Joseph-Mifsud-due-in-US-court-today-living-under-an-alias-6736196262.
- **215** Carole Cadwalladr, "Boris Johnson met 'London professor' linked to FBI's Russia investigation," *Guardian*, November 11, 2017, https://theguardian.com/politics/2017/nov/11/boris-johnson-met-london-professor-linked-to-fbis-russia-investigation.
- **216** Tweet by Defend Assange Campaign, March 22, 2018, https://x.com/DefendAssange/status/976943598049558528.
- **217** Daniel Lazare, "The Tale of a 'Deep State Target," Consortium News, April 4, 2019, https://consortiumnews.com/2019/04/04/the-tale-of-a-deep-state-target.
- **218** Rowan Scarborough, "Joseph Mifsud identity called Trump-Russia probe origin key," *Washington Times*, October 20, 2019, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2019/oct/20/joseph-mifsud-identity-called-trump-russia-probe-o.
- 219 Tweet by Chris Blackburn, August 23, 2020,
- https://x.com/cjbdingo25/status/1297457485767417856; Tweet by Chris Blackburn, January 12, 2020, https://x.com/CJBdingo25/status/1216558971055636480; "Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 Elections," Vol. 5, US Senate,
- https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/report_volume5.pdf.
- **220** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **221** "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript Redacted.pdf.
- **222** "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript Redacted.pdf.
- **223** McCarthy supported Iraq War II: Andrew McCarthy, "Iraq Is The War On Terror," *National Review*, April 17, 2006, https://nationalreview.com/2006/04/iraq-war-terror-andrew-c-mccarthy; But he was good on this: Andrew McCarthy, "The FBI's Trump-Russia Investigation Was Formally Opened on False Pretenses," *National Review*, May 6, 2019, https://nationalreview.com/2019/05/fbi-trump-russia-investigation-george-papadopoulos.
- **224** Staff, "Dark Side: Secret Origins of Evidence in US Criminal Cases," Human Rights Watch, January 9, 2018, https://hrw.org/report/2018/01/09/dark-side/secret-origins-evidence-us-criminal-cases.
- **225** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf; See next section.
- **226** "Michael Tracey interviews George Papadopoulos," Michael Tracey YouTube channel, April 16, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZjGLCCP_lPg.
- 227 "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript_Redacted.pdf; "Michael Tracey interviews George Papadopoulos," Michael Tracey YouTube channel, April 16, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZjGLCCP_IPg.
- **228** "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript_Redacted.pdf.
- **229** "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript_Redacted.pdf.

- **230** T.A. Frank, "The Surreal Life of George Papadopoulos," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/news/magazine/wp/2019/05/20/feature/the-surreal-life-of-george-papadopoulos.
- **231** di Paolo G. Brera, "Russiagate, mystery professor Joseph Mifsud speaks out: 'Dirt on Hillary Clinton? Nonsense," *La Repubblica*, November 1, 2017,
- https://repubblica.it/esteri/2017/11/01/news/russiagate_mystery_professor_joseph_mifsud_speaks_out_dirt on hillary_clinton_nonsense -179948962.
- 232 "Interview of George Papadopoulos," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2018, https://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Papadopoulos-110.25.18-Interview-Transcript_Redacted.pdf; "Michael Tracey interviews George Papadopoulos," Michael Tracey YouTube channel, April 16, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZjGLCCP_lPg.

 233 Mark Mazzetti, "Excerpts From the New York Times Interview With George Papadopoulos." New
- York Times, September 7, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/09/07/us/politics/george-papadopoulos-interview-trump.html.
- **234** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **235** T.A. Frank, "The Surreal Life of George Papadopoulos," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/news/magazine/wp/2019/05/20/feature/the-surreal-life-of-george-papadopoulos.
- **236** Adam Goldman, et al., "FBI Sent Investigator Posing as Assistant to Meet With Trump Aide in 2016," *New York Times*, May 2, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/05/02/us/politics/fbi-government-investigator-trump.html; Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 237 Chuck Ross, "A London Meeting Before The Election Aroused George Papadopoulos's Suspicions," Daily Caller, March 25, 2018, https://dailycaller.com/2018/03/25/george-papadopoulos-london-emails; John Solomon, "The damning proof of innocence that FBI likely withheld in Russian probe," *The Hill*, March 14, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/434054-the-damning-proof-of-innocence-that-fbi-likely-withheld-in-russian-probe.
- **238** Adam Goldman, et al., "FBI Sent Investigator Posing as Assistant to Meet With Trump Aide in 2016," *New York Times*, May 2, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/05/02/us/politics/fbi-government-investigator-trump.html.
- **239** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **240** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **241** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **242** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **243** In late October 2024, it was revealed that an anonymous FBI whistleblower had contacted Congress regarding accusations that Director Comey had launched an "off the books . . . fishing expedition" using female so-called "honey pot" informants against Papadopoulos. It was not clear if this allegation was in direct regard to Putin's alleged "niece" from the dinner or others attached to the

- Trump campaign. It seemed this was worth a footnote. Kerry Picket, "Whistleblower: James Comey had FBI 'honey pot' spies infiltrate Trump's 2016 campaign," *Washington Times*, October 29, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/oct/29/whistleblower-james-comey-fbi-honey-pot-spies-infi.
- **244** Robert Costa, et al., "Secret FBI source for Russia investigation met with three Trump advisers during campaign," *Washington Post*, May 18, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-fbi-source-for-russia-investigation-met-with-three-trump-advisers-during-campaign/2018/05/18/9778d9f0-5aea-11e8-b656-a5f8c2a9295d story.html.
- **245** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **246** Robert Costa, et al., "Secret intelligence source who aided Mueller probe is at center of latest clash between Nunes and Justice Dept.," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2018,
- https://washingtonpost.com/politics/risk-to-intelligence-source-who-aided-russia-investigation-atcenter-of-latest-showdown-between-nunes-and-justice-dept/2018/05/08/d6fb66f8-5223-11e8-abd8-265bd07a9859 story.html.
- **247** Senator Chuck Grassley, "Letter to Justice Department General Counsel James Baker: Halper Docs Raise New Questions about Office of Net Assessment's Purpose & Compliance," January 22, 2020, https://grassley.senate.gov/news/news-releases/halper-docs-raise-new-questions-about-office-net-assessment-s-purpose-compliance.
- **248** Leslie H. Gelb, "Reagan Aides Describe Operation to Gather Inside Data on Carter," *New York Times*, July 7, 1983, https://nytimes.com/1983/07/07/us/reagan-aides-describe-operation-to-gather-inside-data-on-carter.html; Jack Lesar, "A former Ronald Reagan campaign official charged Thursday administration conservatives are trying to manipulate the Jimmy Carter papers controversy to force the ouster of White House Chief of Staff James Baker," UPI, July 7, 1983,
- https://upi.com/Archives/1983/07/07/A-former-Ronald-Reagan-campaign-official-charged-Thursday-administration/4669426398400.
- **249** David Stockman, "No Joy In Never-Trumpville: Mighty Mueller Has Struck Out," Antiwar.com, April 26, 2019, https://original.antiwar.com/david_stockman/2019/04/25/no-joy-in-never-trumpville-mighty-mueller-has-struck-out.
- **250** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **251** "Interview of Andrew McCabe," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/am33.pdf.
- **252** Aaron Maté, "Five Trump-Russia 'Collusion' Corrections We Need From the Media Now Just for Starters," RealClearInvestigations, November 24, 2021,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2021/11/24/five trump-
- russia collusion corrections we need from the media now just for starters 804205.html.
- **253** Eli Watkins, et al., "Clinton campaign, DNC helped fund dossier research," CNN, October 25, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/10/24/politics/fusion-gps-clinton-campaign/index.html.
- **254** Sharon LaFraniere, et al., "How the Russia Inquiry Began: A Campaign Aide, Drinks and Talk of Political Dirt," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/politics/how-fbi-russia-investigation-began-george-papadopoulos.html.
- **255** Paul R. Gregory, "Why Was The Steele Dossier Not Dismissed As A Fake?" Hoover Institution, February 3, 2020, https://hoover.org/research/why-was-steele-dossier-not-dismissed-fake.
- **256** Tuvana Şahintürk, "Bob Woodward says US wasted time on 'garbage' Trump and Russia claims in 'Steele dossier," *National Post*, November 15, 2021, https://nationalpost.com/news/world/bob-woodward-says-u-s-wasted-time-on-garbage-trump-and-russia-claims-in-steele-dossier.

- **257** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 258 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf; Adam Goldman, et al., "FBI Used Informant to Investigate Russia Ties to Campaign, Not to Spy, as Trump Claims," *New York Times*, May 18, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/18/us/politics/trump-fbi-informant-russia-investigation.html; John Solomon, "The damning proof of innocence that FBI likely withheld in Russian probe," *The Hill*, March 14, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/434054-the-damning-proof-of-innocence-that-fbi-likely-withheld-in-russian-probe">https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/434054-the-damning-proof-of-innocence-that-fbi-likely-withheld-in-russian-probe.
- **259** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **260** Maria Bartiromo, "Steven Schrage on relationship with Carter Page, FBI informant Stefan Halper," *Sunday Morning Futures*, Fox News, August 9, 2020, https://foxnews.com/video/6179646682001.
- **261** As head of MI6, Dearlove had infamously written to PM Blair in July 2002 in regards to the WMD pretext for Iraq War II that "intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy; Matthew Rycroft, "Iraq: Prime Minister's Meeting," 10 Downing Street, July 23, 2002,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20060108193238/http://timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-
- <u>1593607_1,00.html</u>; Mark Danner, "The Secret Way to War," *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 2005, https://nybooks.com/articles/2005/06/09/the-secret-way-to-war.
- **262** Steven P. Schrage, "The Spies Who Hijacked America," Racket News, August 9, 2020, https://racket.news/p/the-spies-who-hijacked-america.
- **263** "FBI Interview of Igor Danchenko," Federal Bureau of Investigation, February 9, 2017, https://judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/February%209,%202017%20Electronic%20Communication.pdf.
- 264 Matthew Mosk and Mike Levine, "FBI believed Trump campaign aide Carter Page was recruited by Russians," ABC News, July 22, 2018, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/fbi-believed-trump-campaign-aide-carter-page-recruited/story?id=56737033; Oliver Laughland and Martin Pengelly, "Trump-Russia: FBI believed Carter Page 'collaborated and conspired' with Moscow," *Guardian*, July 22, 2018, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jul/22/trump-administration-releases-carter-page-wiretap-documents.
- **265** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **266** Eric Tucker, "Ex-FBI lawyer admits to false statement during Russia probe," AP, August 19, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/election-2020-b9b3c7ef398d00d5dfee9170d66cefec.
- **267** John Kruzel, "Judge blasts FBI over misleading info for surveillance of Trump campaign adviser," *The Hill*, December 17, 2019, https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/474964-surveillance-court-accuses-fbi-agents-of-giving-misleading-basis-for.
- **268** Ronn Blitzer, "Comey admits 'I was wrong' on FISA conduct, remains defiant on dossier in tense interview," Fox News, December 15, 2019, https://foxnews.com/politics/comey-defends-fbis-fisa-process-after-scathing-ig-report.
- **269** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.

- **270** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **271** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **272** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **273** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **274** Luke Harding, "Why Carter Page Was Worth Watching," *Politico*, February 3, 2018, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2018/02/03/carter-page-nunes-memo-216934.
- 275 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **276** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- 277 Not that he was a Russian agent either. See below.
- **278** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **279** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **280** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **281** Matt Zapotosky, "Rosenstein says, in hindsight, he would not have signed application to surveil former Trump campaign adviser," *Washington Post*, June 3, 2020,
- $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/fbi-obtained-fisa-warrant-to-monitor-former-trump-adviser-carter-page/2017/04/11/620192ea-1e0e-11e7-ad74-3a742a6e93a7_story.html.$
- **282** Alexandra Hutzler, "John Brennan Says Donald Trump Sees the 'Walls Closing In' and Feels 'Increasingly Desperate' Amid Mueller Probe," *Newsweek*, December 7, 2018,
- https://newsweek.com/donald-trump-john-brennan-mueller-1249336; Frida Ghitis, "The walls are closing in on Trump," CNN, December 19, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/19/opinions/walls-closing-in-on-trump-opinion-ghitis/index.html; Nicolle Wallace, "Under siege': Trump ready to blow as walls close in on Russia investigation?" MSNBC, September 20, 2018, https://msnbc.com/deadline-white-house/watch/-under-siege-trump-ready-to-blow-as-walls-close-in-on-russia-investigation-
- <u>1325476931742</u>; "Trump Bombshell Montage Walls Are Closing In (no collusion)," Wired4Fun YouTube channel, March 24, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=flab6uxg908; Matt Taibbi, "Russiagate Was Journalist QAnon (Part 1)," Racket News, April 23, 2019, https://racket.news/p/russiagate-was-journalist-qanon-part.
- **283** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf; Greg Price, "FBI's Peter Strzok Told Lisa Page 'We'll Stop' Trump From Being

- President, Newly Released Text Messages Suggest," *Newsweek*, June 14, 2018, https://newsweek.com/strzok-page-stop-trump-977479.
- **284** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **285** Ken Armstrong, et al., "Staffs of The New York Times and The Washington Post," 2018 Pulitzer Prize Winners, https://pulitzer.org/winners/staffs-new-york-times-and-washington-post.
- **286** Greg Miller, et al., "National security adviser Flynn discussed sanctions with Russian ambassador, despite denials, officials say," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2017,
- $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/national-security-adviser-flynn-discussed-sanctions-with-russian-ambassador-despite-denials-officials-say/2017/02/09/f85b29d6-ee11-11e6-b4ff-ac2cf509efe5_story.html.$
- **287** Maggie Haberman, et al., "Michael Flynn Resigns as National Security Adviser," *New York Times*, February 13, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/02/13/us/politics/donald-trump-national-security-adviser-michael-flynn.html.
- **288** Steven P. Schrage, "The Spies Who Hijacked America," Racket News, August 9, 2020, https://racket.news/p/the-spies-who-hijacked-america.
- **289** Maria Bartiromo, "Steven Schrage on relationship with Carter Page, FBI informant Stefan Halper," *Sunday Morning Futures*, Fox News, August 9, 2020, https://foxnews.com/video/6179646682001.
- **290** David Ignatius, "Why did Obama dawdle on Russia's hacking?" *Washington Post*, January 12, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/why-did-obama-dawdle-on-russias-hacking/2017/01/12/75f878a0-d90c-11e6-9a36-1d296534b31e_story.html.
- **291** Greg Miller, et al., "National security adviser Flynn discussed sanctions with Russian ambassador, despite denials, officials say," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2017,
- $\frac{https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/national-security-adviser-flynn-discussed-sanctions-with-russian-ambassador-despite-denials-officials-say/2017/02/09/f85b29d6-ee11-11e6-b4ff-ac2cf509efe5_story.html.$
- **292** Transcripts of Calls Between Mike Flynn and Sergey Kislyak, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/6976-flynn-kislyak-transcripts/cd9e96e708a9b0c8ba58/optimized/full.pdf.
- **293** Catherine Herridge, "Attorney General William Barr on Michael Flynn, Obamacare and coronavirus restrictions —Transcript," CBS News, May 12, 2020, https://cbsnews.com/news/attorney-general-william-barr-on-michael-flynn-obamacare-and-coronavirus-restrictions-transcript.
- **294** Michael Ray, "The Logan Act," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 31, 2024, https://britannica.com/event/Logan-Act.
- **295** Aaron Maté, "Five Trump-Russia 'Collusion' Corrections We Need From the Media Now Just for Starters," RealClearInvestigations, November 24, 2021,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2021/11/24/five_trump-
- russia collusion corrections we need from the media now just for starters 804205.html.
- **296** Margot Cleveland, "Your Guide To The Obama Administration's Hit On Michael Flynn," The Federalist, May 4, 2020, https://thefederalist.com/2020/05/04/your-guide-to-the-obama-administrations-hit-on-michael-flynn.
- **297** Catherine Herridge, "Attorney General William Barr on Michael Flynn, Obamacare and coronavirus restrictions –Transcript," CBS News, May 12, 2020, https://cbsnews.com/news/attorney-general-william-barr-on-michael-flynn-obamacare-and-coronavirus-restrictions-transcript.
- **298** Colin Kalmbacher, "Weeks Before Flynn's Fateful FBI Interview, Peter Strzok Derailed Attempt to Close the Case," Law & Crime, April 30, 2020, https://lawandcrime.com/high-profile/weeks-before-michael-flynn-fateful-fbi-interview-peter-strzok-derailed-attempt-to-close-the-case.

- **299** Spencer S. Hsu, et al., "Michael Flynn's defense claims FBI notes show agents tried to entrap the former national security adviser," *Washington Post*, April 30, 2020,
- https://washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/michael-flynns-defense-claims-fbi-notes-show-agents-tried-to-entrap-the-former-national-security-adviser/2020/04/29/fbbe0f30-8a67-11ea-9dfd-990f9dcc71fc story.html.
- **300** Harvey Silverglate and Monika Greco, "The Remarkable Prosecution Of Michael Flynn," WGBH Boston, May 22, 2020, https://wgbh.org/news/commentary/2020-05-22/the-remarkable-prosecution-of-michael-flynn.
- **301** Spencer S. Hsu, et al., "Michael Flynn's defense claims FBI notes show agents tried to entrap the former national security adviser," *Washington Post*, April 30, 2020,
- https://washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/michael-flynns-defense-claims-fbi-notes-show-agents-tried-to-entrap-the-former-national-security-adviser/2020/04/29/fbbe0f30-8a67-11ea-9dfd-990f9dcc71fc_story.html.
- **302** Staff, "Flynn charged with lying about bid to stop anti-Israel UN resolution," *Times of Israel*, December 1, 2017, https://timesofisrael.com/flynn-charged-with-lying-about-bid-to-stop-anti-israel-un-resolution.
- **303** Brian Ross, "Troubling Anthrax Additive Found; Atta Met Iraqi," ABC News, October 29, 2001, https://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=92270; Dylan Byers, "Fleischer: Ross's news 'too good to check," *Politico*, July 23, 2012, https://politico.com/blogs/media/2012/07/fleischer-rosss-news-too-good-to-check-129800.
- **304** "ABC News statement on Michael Flynn report," ABC News, December 2, 2017, https://abcnews.go.com/US/abc-news-statement-michael-flynn-report/story?id=51536475.
- **305** Brian Ross, et al., "Flynn prepared to testify that Trump directed him to contact Russians about ISIS, confidant says," ABC News, December 1, 2017, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/michael-flynn-charged-making-false-statements-fbi-documents/story?id=50849354.
- **306** Seymour Hersh, "Military to Military," *London Review of Books*, January 7, 2016, https://lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v38/n01/seymour-m.-hersh/military-to-military; "Who is to blame for the rise of ISIL? Interview of Gen. Michael T. Flynn," Al Jazeera, July 29, 2015,
- https://aljazeera.com/program/head-to-head/2015/7/29/who-is-to-blame-for-the-rise-of-isil; Brad Hoff, "2012 Defense Intelligence Agency document: West will facilitate rise of Islamic State 'in order to isolate the Syrian regime," Levant Report, May 19, 2015, https://levantreport.com/2015/05/19/2012-defense-intelligence-agency-document-west-will-facilitate-rise-of-islamic-state-in-order-to-isolate-the-syrian-regime.
- **307** Daniel Larison, "Flynn's Warped Worldview," *The American Conservative*, July 11, 2016, https://theamericanconservative.com/flynns-warped-worldview.
- 308 Michael Ledeen, "Faster, Please," National Review, February 7, 2005,
- https://nationalreview.com/2005/02/faster-please-michael-ledeen; John Laughland, "Flirting with Fascism," *The American Conservative*, June 30, 2003, https://theamericanconservative.com/flirting-with-fascism.
- **309** Michael T. Flynn and Michael Ledeen, *The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam and Its Allies* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2017).
- **310** They did the man so wrong that the author would like to ignore this. But no: Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 178–90.
- **311** Olivia Beavers, "House Intel report: McCabe said agents who interviewed Flynn 'didn't think he was lying," *The Hill*, May 4, 2018, https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/386323-house-intel-report-comey-mccabe-testified-that-the-two-agents-who.
- **312** "Case 1:17-cr-00232-EGS Document 129-8 Filed 10/24/19," US Department of Justice, October 24, 2019,
- https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.dcd.191592/gov.uscourts.dcd.191592.129.8 1.pdf.

- **313** Rowan Scarborough, "FBI ambushed Michael Flynn, then celebrated," *Washington Times*, October 25, 2019, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2019/oct/25/fbi-ambushed-michael-flynn-then-celebrated.
- **314** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- 315 Karen Kwiatkowski, "Open Door Policy," *The American Conservative*, January 19, 2004, https://theamericanconservative.com/open-door-policy; Colonel Lawrence Wilkerson, who was chief of staff to then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, later said he believed Feith was an Israeli agent of influence. Feith had been investigated by the FBI for passing secrets to Israel numerous times and was forced to resign from Reagan's NSC over it in 1982. So that would make sense. Interview with author, Col. Lawerence Wilkerson, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, July 2, 2010,
- https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-lawrence-wilkerson-3; Stephen Green, "Serving Two Flags: Neocons, Israel and the Bush Administration," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, May 2004, https://wrmea.org/2004-may/serving-two-flags-neocons-israel-and-the-bush-administration.html.
- **316** "Michael Tracey interviews George Papadopoulos," Michael Tracey YouTube channel, April 16, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZjGLCCP_lPg.
- **317** Josh Gerstein, et al., "Flynn pleads guilty to lying to the FBI," *Politico*, December 1, 2017, https://politico.com/story/2017/12/01/muellers-office-announces-flynn-will-plead-guilty-274349.
- **318** Andrew C. McCarthy, "Something seems rotten in Flynn's case—and maybe others, too," *The Hill*, April 30, 2020, https://thehill.com/opinion/judiciary/495366-something-seems-rotten-in-flynns-case-and-maybe-others-too.
- **319** Margot Cleveland, "Robert Mueller's Case Against Michael Flynn Is About To Implode," The Federalist, April 27, 2020, https://thefederalist.com/2020/04/27/robert-muellers-case-against-michael-flynn-is-about-to-implode.
- **320** Chuck Ross, "Here's What Prompted Michael Flynn To Register As An Agent Of Turkey," Daily Caller, March 31, 2017, https://dailycaller.com/2017/03/31/heres-what-prompted-michael-flynn-to-register-as-an-agent-of-turkey.
- **321** Deanna Paul, "A judge implied that Flynn was a 'traitor' who committed 'treason.' What does that actually mean?" *Washington Post*, December 20, 2018,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/12/20/judge-implied-flynn-was-traitor-who-committed-\underline{treason-what-does-that-actually-mean}.$
- **322** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part two," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special_report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-2.php; Frida Ghitis, "The walls are closing in on Trump," CNN, December 19, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/19/opinions/walls-closing-in-on-trump-opinion-ghitis/index.html; Alex Shephard, "With Michael Flynn's guilty plea, the walls are closing in on Donald Trump," *The New Republic*, December 1, 2017,
- https://newrepublic.com/article/146071/michael-flynns-guilty-plea-walls-closing-donald-trump.
- **323** Spencer S. Hsu, et al., "Justice Dept. moves to drop case against Michael Flynn," *Washington Post*, May 7, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/justice-dept-moves-to-void-michael-flynns-conviction-in-muellers-russia-probe/2020/05/07/9bd7885e-679d-11ea-b313-df458622c2cc story.html.
- **324** Eric Tucker, "Court appears reluctant to order dismissal of Flynn case," AP, June 12, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/e929d3e3235f988c574265b14722ac92.
- **325** Eric Tucker, "Trump pardons Flynn despite guilty plea in Russia probe," AP, November 26, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-pardon-michael-flynn-russia-aeef585b08ba6f2c763c8c37bfd678ed.
- **326** Scott Wiper, *Flynn: Deliver the Truth. Whatever the Cost*, Aquidneck Island Productions, 2024, https://flynnmovie.com.

- **327** Luke Harding, et al., "Michael Flynn: new evidence spy chiefs had concerns about Russian ties," *Guardian*, March 31, 2017, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/31/michael-flynn-new-evidence-spy-chiefs-had-concerns-about-russian-ties.
- **328** Gordon Corera, "A Russian honeytrap for Gen Flynn? Not me. . .," BBC, May 12, 2017, https://bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-39863781.
- **329** Svetlana Lokhova, *The Spy Who Changed History: The Untold Story of How the Soviet Union Stole America's Top Secrets* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2019).
- 330 Tweet by Dr. Dena Grayson, April 16, 2017,
- https://x.com/DrDenaGrayson/status/853627928235487233; Tweet by Malcolm Nance, April 1, 2017, https://x.com/MalcolmNance/status/848108731896352768.
- **331** Christopher Andrews, "Impulsive General Misha shoots himself in the foot," Sunday *Times*, February 19, 2017, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/impulsive-general-misha-shoots-himself-in-the-foot-l7gfpbghr.
- **332** Carol E. Lee, "Mike Flynn Didn't Report 2014 Interaction With Russian-British National," *Wall Street Journal*, March 18, 2017, https://wsj.com/articles/mike-flynn-didnt-report-2014-interaction-with-russian-british-national-1489809842.
- **333** Luke Harding, et al., "Michael Flynn: new evidence spy chiefs had concerns about Russian ties," *Guardian*, March 31, 2017, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/31/michael-flynn-new-evidence-spy-chiefs-had-concerns-about-russian-ties.
- **334** "Interview of David J. Kramer," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, December 19, 2017,
- https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/david kramer testimony dec 19 2017.pdf.
- **335** Svetlana Lokhova, *Spygate Exposed: The Conspiracy to Topple President Trump* (Independently published, 2020); Gordon Corera, "A Russian honeytrap for Gen Flynn? Not me. . .," BBC, May 12, 2017, https://bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-39863781.
- **336** Staff, "Woman enjoined from suing scholar again," *Virginia Lawyers Weekly*, December 15, 2022, https://valawyersweekly.com/2022/12/15/woman-enjoined-from-suing-scholar-again.
- **337** Agent Stephen M. Somma, "Meeting with CHS to Discuss Crossfire Hurricane," FBI, August 15, 2016, https://justthenews.com/sites/default/files/2021-02/Halper%20Source%20Documents final.pdf.
- **338** Tony Allen-Mills, "Svetlana Lokhova: I'm a mum under siege, not Mata Hari," Sunday *Times*, May 27, 2018, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/svetlana-lokhova-im-a-mum-under-siege-not-mata-hari-bkggndttq; Aaron Hanscom, "Svetlana Lokhova: I Was Smeared as Flynn's Honeypot," RealClearPolitics, July 6, 2020,
- https://realclearpolitics.com/video/2020/07/06/svetlana_lokhova_i_was_smeared_as_flynns_honeypot.html.
- 339 Svetlana Lokhova v. Stefan A. Halper, Dow Jones and Company [Wall Street Journal], The New York Times Company, WP Company LLC [Washington Post] and NBC-Universal Media LLC [MSNBC] defendants, US District Court For the Eastern District of Virginia, May 23, 2019, https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.vaed.442627/gov.uscourts.vaed.442627.1.0_5.pdf; Staff, "Woman enjoined from suing scholar again," Virginia Lawyers Weekly, December 15, 2022, https://valawyersweekly.com/2022/12/15/woman-enjoined-from-suing-scholar-again.
- **340** Josh Gerstein, "Appeals court rejects academic's libel suit over claims of affair with Flynn," *Politico*, April, 15, 2021, https://politico.com/news/2021/04/15/appeals-court-rejects-libel-suit-affair-flynn-481868.
- **341** "Special Counsel Mueller Investigation Records Part 14," https://vault.fbi.gov/special-counsel-mueller-investigation-records-part-14/view.
- **342** Luke Harding, et al., "British spies were first to spot Trump team's links with Russia," *Guardian*, April 13, 2017, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/apr/13/british-spies-first-to-spot-trump-team-links-russia.

- **343** Matt Taibbi, "It's official: Russiagate is this generation's WMD," Racket News, March 23, 2019, https://racket.news/p/russiagate-is-wmd-times-a-million.
- **344** Jim Sciutto, et al., "British intelligence passed Trump associates' communications with Russians on to US counterparts," CNN, April 14, 2017, https://edition.cnn.com/2017/04/13/politics/trump-russia-british-intelligence/index.html.
- **345** "Interview of John Brennan," PBS *Frontline*, July 27, 2017, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interview/john-brennan.
- **346** Michael Shellenberger, et al., "CIA Had Foreign Allies Spy On Trump Team, Triggering Russia Collusion Hoax, Sources Say," Public, February 13, 2024, https://public.substack.com/p/cia-had-foreign-allies-spy-on-trump.
- **347** Matt Taibbi, "Explaining Russiagate Exposé," Racket News, February 14, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZSRszPj1WKA.
- **348** "US Code, Title 50, Chapter 36, Section 1809: Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, 'Criminal Sanctions," US House of Representatives, 1978,
- https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title50/chapter36&edition=prelim.
- **349** Elena Chernenko and Nikolai Sergeev, "Living without a trace," *Kommersant*, September 10, 2019, https://kommersant.ru/doc/4087921.
- **350** Greg Miller, et al., "Obama's secret struggle to punish Russia for Putin's election assault," *Washington Post*, June 23, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/national-security/obama-putin-election-hacking.
- **351** Julian Barnes, et al., "CIA Informant Extracted From Russia Had Sent Secrets to US for Decades," *New York Times*, September 9, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/09/09/us/politics/cia-informant-russia.html.
- **352** Jim Sciutto, "US extracted top spy from inside Russia in 2017," CNN, September 9, 2019, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/09/09/politics/russia-us-spy-extracted/index.html; See below.
- **353** Ken Dilanian and Tatyana Chistikova, "Possible Russian spy for CIA now living in Washington area," NBC News, September 9, 2019, https://nbcnews.com/news/us-news/possible-ex-russian-spy-cia-living-washington-area-n1051741.
- 354 See below.
- **355** Brittany Bernstein, "Durham: Tech Exec Working with Clinton-Tied Lawyer Spied on Trump Tower, White House," Yahoo News, February 13, 2022, https://yahoo.com/video/durham-tech-execworking-clinton-145141701.html; See below.
- **356** Matt Taibbi and UndeadFOIA, "Forget Collusion. Was 'Interference' Also Fake News?" Racket News, September 26, 2023, https://racket.news/p/forget-collusion-was-interference; Anon, "FOIA Files: Did Special Counsel Robert Mueller Rely on Clinton Campaign Operatives to Point to Russia?" Racket News, August 13, 2024, https://racket.news/p/foia-files-did-special-counsel-robert.
- **357** Jill Colvin, "DNC, Clinton campaign agree to Steele dossier funding fine," AP, March 31, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-2022-midterm-elections-business-elections-presidential-elections-5468774d18e8c46f81b55e9260b13e93.
- **358** "Nunes Memo, Letter from Rep. Devin Nunes to Donald F. McGahn II," February 2, 2018, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4365340/Read-the-GOP-memo.pdf.
- **359** Brooke Singman, "DNI declassifies Brennan notes, CIA memo on Hillary Clinton 'stirring up' scandal between Trump, Russia," Fox News, October 6, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/dni-brennan-notes-cia-memo-clinton; John O. Brennan, Handwritten Briefing Notes for President Barack Obama, July 28, 2016,
- https://static.foxnews.com/foxnews.com/content/uploads/2020/10/ENCLOSURE 1 Brennan Notes <u>U.pdf</u>.

- **360** Charlie Savage, et al., "How Barr's Quest to Find Flaws in the Russia Inquiry Unraveled," *New York Times*, January 26, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/26/us/politics/durham-trump-russia-barr.html.
- **361** Aaron Maté, "Unchastened by Russiagate, the NY Times doubles down to dismiss Durham," Aaron Maté Substack, February 15, 2023, https://mate.substack.com/p/unchastened-by-russiagate-the-ny.
- **362** Criminal Referral by CIA Assistant Director for Counterintelligence to FBI Director James Comey and Deputy Director of the FBI's Counterintelligence Division Peter Strzok, September 7, 2016, https://static.foxnews.com/foxnews.com/content/uploads/2020/10/67e5fad5-

ENCLOSURE 2 DCIA Memo 09-07-16 U.pdf.

- **363** Brooke Singman, "DNI declassifies Brennan notes, CIA memo on Hillary Clinton 'stirring up' scandal between Trump, Russia," Fox News, October 6, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/dnibrennan-notes-cia-memo-clinton.
- **364** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **365** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **366** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **367** Amber Phillips, "Clinton campaign manager: Russians leaked Democrats' emails to help Donald Trump," *Washington Post*, July 24, 2016, https://washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/07/24/clinton-campaign-manager-russians-leaked-democrats-emails-to-help-donald-trump.
- **368** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **369** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **370** Isaac Stanley-Becker, "A spin doctor with ties to Russia allegedly fed the Steele dossier before fighting to discredit it," *Washington Post*, November 6, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/11/06/charles-dolan-steele-dossier-igor-danchenko-indictment.
- **371** Adam Goldman, "Authorities Arrest Analyst Who Contributed to Steele Dossier," *New York Times*, November 4, 2021, https://nytimes.com/2021/11/04/us/politics/igor-danchenko-arrested-steele-dossier.html.
- **372** Paul Farhi, "The Washington Post corrects, removes parts of two stories regarding the Steele dossier," *Washington Post*, November 12, 2021, https://washington-post-steele-dossier/2021/11/12/f7c9b770-43d5-11ec-a88e-2aa4632af69b_story.html.
- **373** "United States of America v. Igor Y. Danchenko," US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, November 3, 2021, https://justice.gov/sco/press-release/file/1446386/download; Rosalind S. Helderman and Tom Hamburger, "Sergei Millian: High-level access to Trump or unwitting bystander?" *Washington Post*, November 12, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/who-is-sergei-millian/2017/03/29/379846a8-0f53-11e7-9d5a-a83e627dc120 story.html; Alan Cullison and Aruna
- Viswanatha, "Three Friends Chatting: How the Steele Dossier Was Created," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/the-surprising-backstory-of-how-the-steele-dossier-was-created-11652103582; Paul Sperry, "Danchenko Indictment: How Dossier Non-Source Sergei Millian Was

- Framed," RealClearInvestigations, November 10, 2021,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2021/11/10/danchenko_indictment_how_dossier_non-source_sergei_millian_was_framed_803079.html.
- **374** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- 375 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **376** "United States of America v. Igor Y. Danchenko," US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, November 3, 2021, https://justice.gov/sco/press-release/file/1446386/download.
- **377** Brooke Singman, "DNI declassifies Brennan notes, CIA memo on Hillary Clinton 'stirring up' scandal between Trump, Russia," Fox News, October 6, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/dnibrennan-notes-cia-memo-clinton.
- **378** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- **379** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **380** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **381** John Solomon, "The biggest loser of the Durham indictments: James Comey's FBI," Just the News, November 6, 2021, https://justthenews.com/accountability/russia-and-ukraine-scandals/biggest-loser-durham-indictments-james-comeys-fbi.
- **382** Rowan Scarborough, "Democratic lawyer Michael Sussman [sic] took debunked Russia Alfa Bank conspiracy to CIA," *Washington Times*, May 8, 2020,
- https://washingtontimes.com/news/2020/may/8/michael-sussman-took-debunked-russia-alfa-bank-con.
- **383** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **384** Jerry Dunleavy, "FBI agent at Sussmann trial says he rejected Alfa-Bank claims within days," *Washington Examiner*, May 17, 2022, https://washingtonexaminer.com/news/76426/fbi-agent-at-sussmann-trial-says-he-rejected-alfa-bank-claims-within-days.
- **385** Marshall Cohen, "Hillary Clinton personally approved plan to share Trump-Russia allegation with the press in 2016, campaign manager says," CNN, May 20, 2022,
- https://cnn.com/2022/05/20/politics/hillary-clinton-robby-mook-fbi/index.html.
- 386 Tweet by Hillary Clinton, August 16, 2016,
- https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/765554761231892480; Tweet by Hillary Clinton, October 7, 2016, https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/784564986953728000; Tweet by Hillary Clinton, October 31, 2016, https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/793250312119263233; Tweet by Hillary Clinton, October 31, 2016, https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/793234169576947712; Tweet by Hillary Clinton, October 31, 2016 https://x.com/HillaryClinton/status/793163559475838976.
- **387** Franklin Foer, "Was a Trump Server Communicating With Russia?" Slate, October 31, 2016, http://slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/cover_story/2016/10/was_a_server_registered_to_the_trum-p_organization_communicating_with_russia.html.

- **388** Dexter Filkins, "Was There a Connection Between a Russian Bank and the Trump Campaign?" *The New Yorker*, October 8, 2018, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2018/10/15/was-there-a-connection-between-a-russian-bank-and-the-trump-campaign.
- **389** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf; Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **390** Eric Lichtblau and Steven Lee Myers, "Investigating Donald Trump, FBI Sees No Clear Link to Russia," *New York Times*, October 31, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/11/01/us/politics/fbi-russia-election-donald-trump.html.
- **391** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **392** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part one," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special_report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-1.php.
- **393** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf.
- **394** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf.
- 395 Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021,
- https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf.
- **396** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf.
- **397** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf;
- Margot Cleveland, "Researcher Tells Durham He Saw Holes In The Alfa Bank Hoax Before Democrats Shopped It To The FBI," The Federalist, March 14, 2022,
- https://thefederalist.com/2022/03/14/exclusive-researcher-tells-durham-he-saw-holes-in-the-alfa-bank-hoax-before-democrats-shopped-it-to-the-fbi.
- **398** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **399** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part one," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special_report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-1.php.
- **400** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **401** "Memorandum in Opposition Re Sussmann Motion in Limine by USA," US District Court for the District of Columbia, May 15, 2022, https://scribd.com/document/570091923/70-Memorandum-in-Opposition-Re-Sussmann-Motion-in-Limine-by-USA; Technofog, "CIA Bombshell: The Sussmann data was 'user created," Techno Fog, April 16, 2022, https://technofog.substack.com/p/cia-bombshell-the-sussmann-data-was.
- **402** Indictment, "USA v. Michael Sussmann," US Department of Justice, September 16, 2021, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenttools/indictment-of-michael-sussmann/a144a1b67111e832/full.pdf; Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.

- **403** Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **404** Adam Goldman and Michael S. Schmidt, "Rod Rosenstein Suggested Secretly Recording Trump and Discussed 25th Amendment," *New York Times*, September 21, 2018,
- https://nytimes.com/2018/09/21/us/politics/rod-rosenstein-wear-wire-25th-amendment.html; Dan Mangan, "Justice Department officials discussed if Trump could be removed as president via 25th Amendment after firing FBI Director James Comey: Andrew McCabe," CNBC, February 14, 2019, https://cnbc.com/2019/02/14/andrew-mccabe-doj-officials-discussed-using-25th-amendment-to-remove-trump.html.
- **405** Casey Quackenbush, "Read the Full Transcript of Former FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe's 60 Minutes Interview," *Time*, February 18, 2019, https://time.com/5531604/andrew-mccabe-60-minutes-interview-transcript.
- **406** Adam Goldman, et al., "FBI Opened Inquiry Into Whether Trump Was Secretly Working on Behalf of Russia," *New York Times*, January 11, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/01/11/us/politics/fbi-trump-russia-inquiry.html.
- **407** Pamela Brown and Jeremy Herb, "The frantic scramble before Mueller got the job," CNN, December 7, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/06/politics/rosenstein-comey-firing-obstruction-probe/index.html.
- **408** Bob Woodward, *Fear*, 171–72.
- **409** Pamela Brown and Jeremy Herb, "The frantic scramble before Mueller got the job," CNN, December 7, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/06/politics/rosenstein-comey-firing-obstruction-probe/index.html.
- **410** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part one," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-1.php.
- 411 Adam Entous, et al., "Sessions met with Russian envoy twice last year, encounters he later did not disclose," *Washington Post*, March 1, 2017, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/sessions-spoke-twice-with-russian-ambassador-during-trumps-presidential-campaign-justice-officials-say/2017/03/01/77205eda-feac-11e6-99b4-9e613afeb09f_story.html; Julia Ioffe, "Why Did Jeff Sessions Really Meet With Sergey Kislyak?" *The Atlantic*, June 13, 2017, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/06/why-did-jeff-sessions-really-meet-sergey-kislyak/530091.
- **412** Mark Landler and Eric Lichtblau, "Jeff Sessions Recuses Himself From Russia Inquiry," *New York Times*, March 2, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/03/02/us/politics/jeff-sessions-russia-trump-investigation-democrats.html.
- **413** Ken Armstrong, et al., "Staffs of The New York Times and The Washington Post," 2018 Pulitzer Prize Winners, https://pulitzer.org/winners/staffs-new-york-times-and-washington-post.
- **414** Julia Ioffe, "Why Did Jeff Sessions Really Meet With Sergey Kislyak?" *The Atlantic*, June 13, 2017, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/06/why-did-jeff-sessions-really-meet-sergey-kislyak/530091.
- **415** Manu Raju and Evan Perez, "First on CNN: AG Sessions did not disclose Russia meetings in security clearance form, DOJ says," CNN, May 25, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/05/24/politics/jeff-sessions-russian-officials-meetings/index.html.
- **416** Attorney General Jeff Sessions, "Appointment of Special Counsel to Investigate Russian Interference with the 2016 Presidential Election and Related Matters," US Department of Justice, May 17, 2017, https://justice.gov/archives/opa/press-release/file/967231/dl.
- **417** Evan Perez, "FBI email: Sessions wasn't required to disclose foreign contacts for security clearance," CNN, December 11, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/12/10/politics/jeff-sessions-fbi-russian-contacts/index.html; Rebecca R. Ruiz, "Sessions Was Advised Not to Disclose Russia Meetings on

- Security Forms," *New York Times*, May 24, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/05/24/us/politics/jeff-sessions-russia.html.
- **418** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **419** "Sen. Kamala Harris Goes After Atty. Gen Jeff Sessions," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mK HmEFxCpI.
- **420** Scott Detrow, "Sen. Harris' Russia Probe Questioning Gets Her Noticed Nationally," NPR News, June 26, 2017, https://npr.org/2017/06/26/534365551/sen-harris-russia-probe-questioning-gets-her-noticed-nationally.
- 421 See below.
- **422** USA v. Viktor Borisovich Netyksho, et al., US District Court for the District of Columbia, July 13, 2018, https://justice.gov/file/1080281/download; Matt Apuzzo and Sharon LaFraniere, "13 Russians Indicted as Mueller Reveals Effort to Aid Trump Campaign," *New York Times*, February 16, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/02/16/us/politics/russians-indicted-mueller-election-interference.html.
- **423** Katie Benner and Sharon LaFraniere, "Justice Dept. Moves to Drop Charges Against Russian Firms Filed by Mueller," *New York Times*, March 16, 2020,
- https://nytimes.com/2020/03/16/us/politics/concord-case-russian-interference.html.
- **424** Colin Kalmbacher, "The Russians Try to Call Mueller's Bluff, File Request to View Secret Grand Jury Info," Law & Crime, May 14, 2018, https://lawandcrime.com/high-profile/the-russians-call-out-mueller-file-request-to-view-secret-grand-jury-instruction.
- **425** Katie Benner and Sharon LaFraniere, "Justice Dept. Moves to Drop Charges Against Russian Firms Filed by Mueller," *New York Times*, March 16, 2020,
- https://nytimes.com/2020/03/16/us/politics/concord-case-russian-interference.html.
- **426** Matt Taibbi, "Twitter Files: Why Twitter Let the Intelligence Community In," Racket News, January 3, 2023, https://racket.news/p/twitter-files-why-twitter-let-the.
- **427** Adrian Chen, "The Agency," *New York Times*, June 2, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/06/07/magazine/the-agency.html.
- **428** Scott Shane, "The Fake Americans Russia Created to Influence the Election," *New York Times*, September 7, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/09/07/us/politics/russia-facebook-twitter-election.html; Scott Shane and Mark Mazzetti, "The Plot to Subvert an Election," *New York Times*, November 20, 2018, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2018/09/20/us/politics/russia-interference-election-trump-clinton.html.
- **429** Ken Dilanian and Ben Popken, "Russia favored Trump, targeted African-Americans with election meddling, reports say," NBC News, December 17, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/russia-favored-trump-targeted-african-americans-election-meddling-reports-say-n948731.
- **430** Thomas Grove, "Kremlin Caterer Accused in US Election Meddling Has History of Dishing Dark Arts," *Wall Street Journal*, February 16, 2018, https://wsj.com/articles/kremlin-caterer-accused-in-u-selection-meddling-has-history-of-dishing-dark-arts-1518823765.
- **431** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **432** Staff, "Russia's Prigozhin admits interfering in US elections," Reuters, November 7, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/us/russias-prigozhin-admits-interfering-us-elections-2022-11-07.
- **433** Gareth Porter, "33 Trillion Reasons Why The New York Times Gets It Wrong on Russia-gate," Consortium News, November 5, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/11/02/33-trillion-more-reasons-why-the-new-york-times-gets-it-wrong-on-russia-gate.
- **434** Paul Sperry, "Team Biden Flogs Russian 'Interference' in US Vote, No Matter What Its Intel Agencies Say," RealClearInvestigations, May 7, 2021,

- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2021/05/07/team_biden_flogs_russian_interference_in_us_v_ote_no_matter_what its intel_agencies_say_776083.html.
- **435** Oliver Roeder, "Why We're Sharing 3 Million Russian Troll Tweets," 538, July 31, 2018, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-were-sharing-3-million-russian-troll-tweets.
- **436** Gareth Porter, "The Shaky Case That Russia Manipulated Social Media to Tip the 2016 Election," Consortium News, October 10, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/10/10/the-shaky-case-that-russia-manipulated-social-media-to-tip-the-2016-election.
- **437** Gregory Eady, et al., "Exposure to the Russian Internet Research Agency foreign influence campaign on Twitter in the 2016 US election and its relationship to attitudes and voting behavior," *Nature Communications*, Vol. 14, No. 62 (January 9, 2023), https://nature.com/articles/s41467-022-35576-9.
- **438** Staff, "Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement," WTOE 5 News (satire), July 8, 2016,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20161115024211/http://wtoe5news.com/us-election/pope-francis-shocks-world-endorses-donald-trump-for-president-releases-
- statement/https://web.archive.org/web/20161115024211/http://wtoe5news.com/us-election/pope-francis-shocks-world-endorses-donald-trump-for-president-releases-statement.
- **439** Staff, "ISIS Leader Calls for American Muslim Voters to Support Hillary Clinton," World News Daily Report (hoax site), October 11, 2016,
- $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20161014101327/http://worldnewsdailyreport.com/isis-leader-calls-for-american-muslim-voters-to-support-hillary-clinton.$
- 440 Alexander Smith and Vladimir Banic, "Fake News: How a Partying Macedonian Teen Earns Thousands Publishing Lies," NBC News, December 8, 2016, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/fake-news-how-partying-macedonian-teen-earns-thousands-publishing-lies-n692451; Craig Silverman and Lawrence Alexander, "How Teens In The Balkans Are Duping Trump Supporters With Fake News," BuzzFeed News, November 3, 2016, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/how-macedonia-became-a-global-hub-for-pro-trump-misinfo; Dan Tynan, "How Facebook powers money machines for obscure political 'news' sites," Guardian, August 24, 2016,
- https://theguardian.com/technology/2016/aug/24/facebook-clickbait-political-news-sites-us-election-trump; Mike Wendling, "The (almost) complete history of 'fake news," BBC, January 21, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-42724320.
- **441** Philip Bump, "That sophisticated, specific Russian 2016 voter targeting effort doesn't seem to exist," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/09/that-sophisticated-specific-russian-voter-targeting-effort-doesnt-seem-exist.
- **442** Kenzi Abou-Sabe, et al., "What Did Ex-Trump Aide Paul Manafort Really Do in Ukraine?" NBC News, June 27, 2017, https://nbcnews.com/news/us-news/what-did-ex-trump-aide-paul-manafort-really-do-ukraine-n775431.
- 443 "Clinton Foundation," Olena Pinchuk Foundation,
- https://olenapinchuk.foundation/eng/news/clinton.html; Peter Nicholas, "As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton Hosted at Dinner a Ukrainian Donor to Family Foundation," *Wall Street Journal*, August 23, 2016, https://wsj.com/articles/as-secretary-of-state-hillary-clinton-hosted-at-dinner-a-ukrainian-donor-to-family-foundation-1471995857; Amy Chozick and Steve Eder, "Foundation Ties Bedevil Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign," *New York Times*, August 20, 2016,
- https://nytimes.com/2016/08/21/us/politics/hillary-clinton-presidential-campaign-charity.html.
- **444** Sharon LaFraniere, "Trial of High-Powered Lawyer Gregory Craig Exposes Seamy Side of Washington's Elite," *New York Times*, August 26, 2019,
- https://nytimes.com/2019/08/26/us/politics/gregory-craig-trial.html.

- **445** John Solomon, "Key figure that Mueller report linked to Russia was a State Department intel source," *The Hill*, June 6, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/447394-key-figure-that-mueller-report-linked-to-russia-was-a-state-department.
- **446** Sharon LaFraniere, et al., "Manafort Accused of Sharing Trump Polling Data With Russian Associate," *New York Times*, January 8, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/01/08/us/politics/manafort-trump-campaign-data-kilimnik.html.
- 447 "Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 Election," Vol. 5, US Senate, August 18, 2020, https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/report_volume5.pdf; Max Boot, "Even if the Steele dossier is discredited, there's plenty of evidence of Trump's collusion with Russia," https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/11/18/even-if-steele-dossier-is-discredited-theres-plenty-evidence-trumps-collusion-with-russia">https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/11/18/even-if-steele-dossier-is-discredited-theres-plenty-evidence-trumps-collusion-with-russia.
- **448** Sue Halpern, "Why Would Paul Manafort Share Polling Data with Russia?" *The New Yorker*, January 10, 2019, https://newyorker.com/news/news-desk/why-would-paul-manafort-share-polling-data-with-russia.
- **449** Margot Cleveland, "11 Key Things Inside The House Interview With Spygate Figure Bruce Ohr," The Federalist, March 11, 2019, https://thefederalist.com/2019/03/11/11-key-things-inside-house-interview-spygate-figure-bruce-ohr.
- **450** Byron York, "Emails show 2016 links among Steele, Ohr, Simpson with Russian oligarch in background," *Washington Examiner*, August 8, 2018, https://washingtonexaminer.com/news/emails-show-2016-links-among-steele-ohr-simpson-with-russian-oligarch-in-background; Kenneth P. Vogel and Matthew Rosenberg, "Agents Tried to Flip Russian Oligarchs. The Fallout Spread to Trump," *New York Times*, September 1, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/09/01/us/politics/deripaska-ohr-steele-fbi.html.
- **451** Kenneth P. Vogel and Matthew Rosenberg, "Agents Tried to Flip Russian Oligarchs. The Fallout Spread to Trump," *New York Times*, September 1, 2018,
- https://nytimes.com/2018/09/01/us/politics/deripaska-ohr-steele-fbi.html.
- **452** Tom Hamburger, et al., "Manafort offered to give Russian billionaire 'private briefings' on 2016 campaign," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/manafort-offered-to-give-russian-billionaire-private-briefings-on-2016-campaign/2017/09/20/399bba1a-9d48-11e7-8ea1-ed975285475e_story.html.
- **453** Spriha Srivastava and Natasha Turak, "Oleg Deripaska calls allegations over ties with Paul Manafort 'very absurd,'" CNBC, March 17, 2019, https://cnbc.com/2019/03/18/oleg-deripaska-calls-allegations-over-ties-with-manafort-very-absurd.html.
- **454** Simon Shuster, "Russian Ex-Spy Pressured Manafort Over Debts to an Oligarch," *Time*, December 29, 2018, https://time.com/5490169/paul-manafort-victor-boyarkin-debts.
- **455** Philip Bump, "There's still little evidence that Russia's 2016 social media efforts did much of anything," *Washington Post*, December 28, 2017,
- https://washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/12/28/theres-still-little-evidence-that-russias-2016-social-media-efforts-did-much-of-anything; Philip Bump, "That sophisticated, specific Russian 2016 voter targeting effort doesn't seem to exist," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2019,
- https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/09/that-sophisticated-specific-russian-voter-targeting-effort-doesnt-seem-exist.
- **456** Kenneth P. Vogel and David Stern, "Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire," *Politico*, January 11, 2017, https://politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446.
- **457** Andrew Kramer, et al., "Secret Ledger in Ukraine Lists Cash for Donald Trump's Campaign Chief," *New York Times*, August 14, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/08/15/us/politics/what-is-the-black-ledger.html.
- **458** Roman Olearchyk, "Ukraine's leaders campaign against 'pro-Putin' Trump," *Financial Times*, August 28, 2016, https://ft.com/content/c98078d0-6ae7-11e6-a0b1-d87a9fea034f.

- **459** Konstantin Kilimnik, "Email to State Department," August 22, 2016, https://scribd.com/document/413787915/Kilim-Nik-Aug-222016-Email-Schultz.
- **460** John Solomon, "FBI, warned early and often that Manafort file might be fake, used it anyway," *The Hill*, July 19, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/449206-fbi-warned-early-and-often-that-manafort-file-might-be-fake-used-it-anyway.
- **461** Kenneth P. Vogel and David Stern, "Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire," *Politico*, January 11, 2017, https://politico.com/story/2017/01/ukraine-sabotage-trump-backfire-233446.
- **462** Lisa Bryant, "New Ukrainian President Meets EU Leaders in Brussels," Voice of America, February 28, 2010, https://voanews.com/a/new-ukraine-president-meets-with-eu-leaders-in-brussels-85808367/169812.html.
- **463** Patrick Bet-David, "Political Consultant Paul Manafort," *PBD Podcast*, April 28, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=GtiUVm3Z4eo.
- **464** Reporter Biography, Kenneth P. Vogel, *New York Times*, 2024, https://nytimes.com/by/kenneth-p-vogel.
- **465** Reporter Biography, David L. Stern, *Washington Post*, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/people/david-l-stern.
- 466 See above.
- **467** David Smith, "Fiona Hill: stop 'fictional narrative' of Ukraine meddling in US election," *Guardian*, November 21, 2019, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2019/nov/21/trump-impeachment-inquiry-fiona-hill-david-holmes-testimony.
- **468** Jack Gillum, et al., "AP Exclusive: Manafort firm received Ukraine ledger payout," AP, April 12, 2017, https://apnews.com/article/20cfc75c82eb4a67b94e624e97207e23.
- **469** Miles Parks and Ryan Lucas, "Paul Manafort, Former Trump Campaign Chairman, Sentenced To Just Under 4 Years," NPR News, March 7, 2019, https://npr.org/2019/03/07/701045248/paul-manafort-former-trump-campaign-chairman-sentenced-to-just-under-4-years.
- **470** John Solomon, "FBI, warned early and often that Manafort file might be fake, used it anyway," *The Hill*, July 19, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/449206-fbi-warned-early-and-often-that-manafort-file-might-be-fake-used-it-anyway.
- **471** Christopher Steele Dossier, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/3259984/Trump-Intelligence-Allegations.pdf.
- 472 Greg Gordon and Peter Stone, "Sources: Mueller has evidence Cohen was in Prague in 2016, confirming part of dossier," McClatchy, April 18, 2019, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/white-house/article208870264.html; Peter Stone and Greg Gordon, "Cell signal puts Cohen outside Prague around time of purported Russian meeting," McClatchy, April 18, 2019, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/investigations/article219016820.html.
- **473** Kevin G. Hall, "Mueller report states Cohen was not in Prague. It is silent on whether a Cohen device pinged there," McClatchy, April 18, 2019,
- https://mcclatchydc.com/news/investigations/article229424084.html.
- **474** Alan Cullison and Aruna Viswanatha, "Three Friends Chatting: How the Steele Dossier Was Created," *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/the-surprising-backstory-of-how-the-steele-dossier-was-created-11652103582.
- **475** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **476** Jonathan Alter and Maxwell Tani, "Is the Michael Cohen 'Prague' Story True?" Daily Beast, December 30, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/is-the-michael-cohen-prague-story-true.
- **477** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part one," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special_report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-1.php.

- **478** Tom Hamburger, et al., "Inside Trump's financial ties to Russia and his unusual flattery of Vladimir Putin," *Washington Post*, June 17, 2016, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/dbdcaac8-31a6-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0 story.html.
- **479** Marshall Cohen and Tal Yellin, "How Trump Tower Moscow fits into Russian interference," CNN, December 1, 2018, https://cnn.com/interactive/2018/politics/trump-tower-moscow-timeline/index.html.
- **480** "It's Always Sunny In Philadelphia Season 4 Ep. 10: Pepe Silvia Highlight," FXX, August 7, 2020, https://youtube.com/watch?v=1NBfZcNU4O0.
- **481** Bonnie Berkowitz, et al., "Here's what we learned about Team Trump's ties to Russian interests," *Washington Post*, March 31, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/trump-russia.
- **482** Katelyn Polantz, "Felix Sater was informant for feds on mob and bin Laden, docs reveal," CNN, August 23, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/08/23/politics/felix-sater/index.html.
- **483** Erica Orden, et al., "Michael Cohen pleads guilty, says he lied about Trump's knowledge of Moscow project," CNN, November 29, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/11/29/politics/michael-cohenguilty-plea-misleading-congress/index.html.
- **484** Leonid Bershidsky, "Trump's Low-Level Russian Connection," Bloomberg News, July 11, 2017, https://bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2017-07-11/trump-s-low-level-russian-connection; See Chapter Four.
- **485** Ken Dilanian, et al., "Former Soviet Counterintelligence Officer at Meeting With Donald Trump Jr. and Russian Lawyer," NBC News, July 14, 2017, https://nbcnews.com/news/us-news/russian-lawyer-brought-ex-soviet-counter-intelligence-officer-trump-team-n782851.
- **486** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **487** Dartunorro Clark, "Steve Bannon calls Trump Tower Russian meeting 'treasonous' in new book," NBC News, January 3, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/steve-bannon-calls-trump-tower-russian-meeting-treasonous-new-book-n834286.
- **488** Mark Hosenball, "Trump, Clinton camps both offered slice of dossier firm's work: sources," Reuters, November 9, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-russia-fusion/trump-clinton-camps-both-offered-slice-of-dossier-firms-work-sources-idUSKBN1D937W; Catherine Herridge, et al., "Fusion GPS official met with Russian operative before and after Trump Jr. sit-down," Fox News, November 9, 2017, https://foxnews.com/politics/fusion-gps-official-met-with-russian-operative-before-and-after-trump-ir-sit-down.
- **489** Carl Bernstein, et al., "Cohen claims Trump knew in advance of 2016 Trump Tower meeting," CNN, July 27, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/07/26/politics/michael-cohen-donald-trump-june-2016-meeting-knowledge/index.html.
- **490** Staff, "Lanny Davis Admits He Lied About Being Source for CNN Trump Tower Story," Daily Beast, August 28, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/lanny-davis-admits-he-lied-about-being-source-for-cnn-trump-tower-story.
- **491** "Sen. Brakey Argues for Restraint with Russia," Clip Of Republican National Committee Platform Hearings, Part 1, C-SPAN, July 12, 2016, https://c-span.org/video/?c4610664/user-clip-sen-brakey-argues-restraint-russia.
- **492** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- **493** Byron York, "What really happened with the GOP platform and Russia," *Washington Examiner*, November 26, 2017, https://washingtonexaminer.com/byron-york-what-really-happened-with-the-gop-platform-and-russia.

494 The former Israeli military prison guard (*Prisoners*, 2008, 28–29) most famous for a preposterous tall tale he told in 2002 in *The New Yorker* about Saddam Hussein's supposed alliance with al Qaeda ("The Great Terror," *The New Yorker*, March 25, 2002,

https://newyorker.com/magazine/2002/03/25/the-great-terror), and for Slate about Iraq's pretended germ weapons program ("Aflatoxin," Slate, October 3, 2002, https://slate.com/news-and-

<u>politics/2002/10/aflatoxin.html</u>), to help get the center-left, neo-liberal set on board for attacking Iraq and ruthlessly smearing journalists and academics who dared cross Israel as anti-Semites: David Klion, "Jeffrey Goldberg Doesn't Speak for the Jews," Jewish Currents, August 2, 2018,

https://jewishcurrents.org/jeffrey-goldberg-doesnt-speak-for-the-jews, and who was promoted to editor of *The Atlantic* for his deadly sins.

495 Jeffrey Goldberg, "It's Official: Hillary Clinton Is Running Against Vladimir Putin," *The Atlantic*, July 21, 2016, https://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/07/clinton-trump-putin-nato/492332.

496 Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.

497 Anonymous, "The YYYcampaignYYY," PropOrNot, November 25, 2016, https://propornot.com/p/the-yyycampaignyyy.html.

498 Craig Timberg, "Russian propaganda effort helped spread 'fake news' during election, experts say," *Washington Post*, November 24, 2016, https://washingtonpost.com/business/economy/russian-propaganda-effort-helped-spread-fake-news-during-election-experts-say/2016/11/24/793903b6-8a40-4ca9-b712-716af66098fe story.html.

499 Tweet by Sheera Frenkel, November 25, 2016, https://x.com/sheeraf/status/802230504086851584. https://atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/2022-honor-roll-of-contributors.

501 Yves Smith, "PropOrNot – Setting Up the Atlantic Council for Lawsuits," Naked Capitalism, May 25, 2018, https://nakedcapitalism.com/2018/05/propornot-setting-atlantic-council-lawsuits.html.

502 Michael Weiss, "Break the Stalemate! A Blueprint For a Military Intervention in Syria," *The New Republic*, February 8, 2012, https://newrepublic.com/article/100599/syrian-intervention-humanitarian-alawite-assad-crisis; Dan Wright, "Neoconservative Michael Weiss Says He Knows More Than All The Generals About Syria," Shadowproof, October 27, 2016,

https://shadowproof.com/2016/10/27/neoconservative-michael-weiss-says-knows-generals-syria. **503** Daisuke Wakabayashi, "As Google Fights Fake News, Voices on the Margins Raise Alarm," *New York Times*, September 26, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/09/26/technology/google-search-bias-claims.html.

504 Andre Damon and David North, "Google's new search protocol is restricting access to 13 leading socialist, progressive and anti-war web sites," World Socialist Website, August 2, 2017, https://wsws.org/en/articles/2017/08/02/pers-a02.html.

505 Staff, "Trump/Russia – Stories about the Trump team's possible involvement with Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election," Media Matters, 2015–2024, https://mediamatters.org/trumprussia.

506 "David Cay Johnston: As Jeff Sessions Scandal Brews, We Need a Public Probe of Trump's Ties to Russia," Democracy Now!, March 2, 2017,

https://democracynow.org/2017/3/2/david_cay_johnston_as_jeff_sessions.

507 Joe Conason, "'Russia, Russia, Russia' is not a hoax," AlterNet, September 9, 2024, https://alternet.org/russia-russia-russia.

508 James Risen, "Is Donald Trump a Traitor?" Intercept, February 16, 2018,

https://theintercept.com/2018/02/16/trump-russia-election-hacking-investigation; Glenn Greenwald was an exception. "Beyond BuzzFeed: The 10 Worst, Most Embarrassing US Media Failures on the Trump-

- Russia Story," Intercept, January 20, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/01/20/beyond-buzzfeed-the-10-worst-most-embarrassing-u-s-media-failures-on-the-trumprussia-story.
- **509** Staff, "Our Anti-Imperialist Heritage: Murray N. Rothbard on War," *Reason*, February 1973, https://antiwar.com/orig/rothbard on war.html.
- **510** Ron Paul, *A Foreign Policy of Freedom: Peace, Commerce and Honest Friendship* (Lake Jackson: Foundation for a Rational Economic Education, 2007); Ron Paul archive at the Ron Paul Institute for Peace and Prosperity, https://ronpaulinstitute.org/author/ron-paul; The author is editorial director of Antiwar.com and is close with the Ron Paul Institute.
- **511** Gareth Porter, "The Real Motive Behind the FBI Plan to Investigate Trump as a Russian Agent," Consortium News, February 13, 2019, https://consortiumnews.com/2019/02/13/the-real-motive-behind-the-fbi-plan-to-investigate-trump-as-a-russian-agent.
- **512** Clint Watts and Andrew Weisburd, "How Russia Dominates Your Twitter Feed to Promote Lies (And, Trump, Too)," Daily Beast, August 6, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/how-russia-dominates-your-twitter-feed-to-promote-lies-and-trump-too; Natasha Bertrand, "A new website named after a Founding Father is tracking Russian propaganda in real time," Business Insider, August 2, 2017, https://businessinsider.com/russian-propaganda-website-tracker-2017-8.
- **513** "Nunes Memo, Letter from Rep. Devin Nunes to Donald F. McGahn II," February 2, 2018, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4365340/Read-the-GOP-memo.pdf.
- **514** Matt Taibbi, "Move Over, Jayson Blair: Meet Hamilton 68, the New King of Media Fraud," Racket News, January 27, 2023, https://racket.news/p/move-over-jayson-blair-meet-hamilton.
- **515** Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz, et al., "Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI's Crossfire Hurricane Investigation," US Department of Justice Oversight and Review Division, December 2019, https://justice.gov/storage/120919-examination.pdf.
- 516 Matt Taibbi, "America Needs Truth and Reconciliation on Russiagate," Racket News, January 12, 2023, https://racket.news/p/america-needs-truth-and-reconciliation; Tweet thread by Andrew Lowenthal, "Twitter Files #20," April 25, 2023, https://x.com/NAffects/status/1650954036009398277.
- **517** Matt Orfalea, "MSNBC Repeats Hamilton 68 Lies 279 Times in 11 Minutes," 0rf, April 25, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=eKCkeCXIHTc.
- **518** Jacob Siegel, "A Guide to Understanding the Hoax of the Century," *Tablet*, March 28, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/guide-understanding-hoax-century-thirteen-ways-looking-disinformation.
- **519** Sheera Frenkel and Daisuke Wakabayashi, "After Florida School Shooting, Russian 'Bot' Army Pounced," *New York Times*, February 19, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/02/19/technology/russian-bots-school-shooting.html; Anne Applebaum, "After the Parkland shooting, pro-Russian bots are pushing false-flag allegations again," *Washington Post*, February 16, 2018,
- https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/after-the-parkland-shooting-pro-russian-bots-are-pushing-false-flag-allegations-again/2018/02/16/46c3a674-1356-11e8-9065-e55346f6de81_story.html; Erin Griffith, "Pro-Gun Russian Bots Flood Twitter After Parkland Shooting," Wired, February 15, 2018, https://wired.com/story/pro-gun-russian-bots-flood-twitter-after-parkland-shooting.
- **520** Sheera Frenkel and Daisuke Wakabayashi, "After Florida School Shooting, Russian 'Bot' Army Pounced," *New York Times*, February 19, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/02/19/technology/russian-bots-school-shooting.html.
- **521** Miriam Elder and Charlie Warzel, "Stop Blaming Russian Bots For Everything," BuzzFeed, February 28, 2018, https://buzzfeed.com/miriamelder/stop-blaming-russian-bots-for-everything.
- **522** Miriam Elder and Charlie Warzel, "Stop Blaming Russian Bots For Everything," BuzzFeed, February 28, 2018, https://buzzfeed.com/miriamelder/stop-blaming-russian-bots-for-everything.
- **523** Watts is such a great FBI agent he literally co-wrote an article demanding US material support for bin Laden's men in Syria since their enemies were Shi'ites: Clint Watts, et al., "The Good and Bad of

- Ahrar al-Sham," *Foreign Affairs*, January 23, 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2014-01-23/good-and-bad-ahrar-al-sham.
- **524** Matt Taibbi, "Move Over, Jayson Blair: Meet Hamilton 68, the New King of Media Fraud," Racket News, January 27, 2023, https://racket.news/p/move-over-jayson-blair-meet-hamilton; Matt Taibbi, "Responding to Hamilton 68," Racket News, January 28, 2023, https://racket.news/p/responding-to-hamilton-68.
- **525** Kurt Wagner, "Twitter has a new head of policy communications from the National Security Council," Vox.com, June 7, 2017, https://vox.com/2017/6/7/15757702/twitter-policy-safety-communications-emily-horne-national-security-council.
- **526** Jacob Siegel, "A Guide to Understanding the Hoax of the Century," *Tablet*, March 28, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/guide-understanding-hoax-century-thirteen-ways-looking-disinformation.
- 527 Tweet by Emily Horne, March 30, 2022,
- https://x.com/emilyhorne46/status/1509326890707963905.
- **528** Jacob Siegel, "A Guide to Understanding the Hoax of the Century," *Tablet*, March 28, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/guide-understanding-hoax-century-thirteen-ways-looking-disinformation.
- **529** Tweet thread by Andrew Lowenthal, "Twitter Files #20," April 25, 2023,
- https://x.com/NAffects/status/1650954036009398277; Andrew Lowenthal, "An Insider's Guide to 'Anti-Disinformation," Racket News, April 25, 2023, https://racket.news/p/an-insiders-guide-to-anti-disinformation.
- **530** Tweet by Michael Shellenberger, December 19, 2022, https://x.com/shellenberger/status/1604895371360374784.
- **531** Susan Schmidt, et al., "Report on the Censorship-Industrial Complex: The Top 50 Organizations to Know," Racket News, May 10, 2023, https://racket.news/p/report-on-the-censorship-industrial-74b.
- **532** James Rushmore, "FOIA Files: The University of Washington," Racket News, August 12, 2024, https://racket.news/p/foia-files-university-of-washington.
- **533** James Rushmore, "FOIA Files: Clemson University," Racket News, July 11, 2024, https://racket.news/p/foia-files-clemson-university.
- **534** Michael Shellenberger, "What Censorship Leaders Are Hiding," Public, June 5, 2023, https://public.news/p/what-censorship-leaders-are-hiding.
- **535** Aaron Maté, "FBI helps Ukraine censor Twitter users and obtain their info, including journalists," Grayzone, June 7, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/06/07/fbi-ukraine-twitter-users-including-journalists.
- **536** "State of Missouri v. Joseph R. Biden Jr. et al.," US District Court for the Western District of Louisiana, July 4, 2023,
- https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.lawd.189520/gov.uscourts.lawd.189520.294.0.pdf.
- **537** "The FBI's Collaboration With a Compromised Ukrainian Intelligence Agency to Censor American Speech," Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, July 10, 2023, https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/fbi-sbu-staff-report-7.10.23-sm.pdf.
- **538** Matt Taibbi, "Is the FBI Helping Ukraine's Secret Service Censor Americans?" Racket News, July 11, 2023, https://racket.news/p/is-the-fbi-helping-ukraines-secret.
- **539** Lee Fang, "How The FBI Helps Ukrainian Intelligence Hunt 'Disinformation' On Social Media," April 28, 2023, https://leefang.com/p/how-the-fbi-helps-ukrainian-intelligence.
- **540** Matt Taibbi, "Is the FBI Helping Ukraine's Secret Service Censor Americans?" Racket News, July 11, 2023, https://racket.news/p/is-the-fbi-helping-ukraines-secret.
- **541** Many Tweets by people believing that, May 2023, https://x.com/search?q=taibbi%20irs%20identity.

- **542** Matt Taibbi, "Are Authorities Using the Internet to Sap Our Instinct for Freedom?" Racket News, July 14, 2023, https://racket.news/p/are-authorities-using-the-internet; Matt Taibbi, "Twitter and 'Other Government Agencies," Twitter, December 24, 2022,
- https://x.com/mtaibbi/status/1606701397109796866; Matt Taibbi, "Twitter Files Thread: The Spies Who Loved Twitter," Racket News, December 25, 2022, https://racket.news/p/twitter-files-thread-thespies-who.
- **543** Jacob Siegel, "A Guide to Understanding the Hoax of the Century," *Tablet*, March 28, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/guide-understanding-hoax-century-thirteen-ways-looking-disinformation.
- **544** Rep. Jim Jordan, Tweet thread, July 27, 2023, https://x.com/Jim Jordan/status/1684595375875760128.
- **545** Bob Greenslade, "The Bill of Rights Broken-Down into Declaratory and Restrictive Clauses," Tenth Amendment Center, December 15, 2010, https://blog.tenthamendmentcenter.com/2010/12/the-bill-of-rights-broken-down-into-declaratory-and-restrictive-clauses.
- **546** Jackson Walker, "Zuckerberg admits Meta caved to Biden admin demands to censor COVID-related content," CBS News, August 27, 2024, <a href="https://cbsaustin.com/news/nation-world/zuckerberg-admits-meta-caved-to-biden-admin-demands-to-censor-covid-related-content-mark-zuckerberg-facebook-instagram-social-media-covid-19-pandemic-censorship-white-house-house-judiciary-committee; See below.
- **547** Mark Sherman, "Supreme Court seems favorable to Biden administration over efforts to combat social media posts," *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 2024,
- $\underline{https://chicagotribune.com/2024/03/17/supreme-court-seems-favorable-to-biden-administration-over-\underline{efforts-to-combat-social-media-posts}.$
- **548** Alan MacLeod, "The Federal Bureau of Tweets," MintPress News, June 21, 2022, https://mintpressnews.com/twitter-hiring-alarming-number-spooks-secret-agents.
- **549** Alan MacLeod, "The Federal Bureau of Tweets," MintPress News, June 21, 2022, https://mintpressnews.com/twitter-hiring-alarming-number-spooks-secret-agents.
- **550** Eric Lipton, et al., "Foreign Powers Buy Influence at Think Tanks," *New York Times*, September 6, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/09/07/us/politics/foreign-powers-buy-influence-at-think-tanks.html.
- **551** Thomas Grove and Alan Cullison, "Ukraine Company's Campaign to Burnish Its Image Stretched Beyond Hunter Biden," *Wall Street Journal*, November 7, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-companys-campaign-to-burnish-its-image-stretched-beyond-hunter-biden-11573154199; "Honor Roll of Contributors," Atlantic Council, 2019, https://atlanticcouncil.org/about/donate/honor-roll-of-contributors-2019.
- **552** "Presidents of Ukrainian World Congress and Atlantic Council officially signed Memorandum of Agreement," January 2, 2016, https://ukrainianworldcongress.org/news.php/news/1316.
- **553** Staff, "Disclosing networks of state-linked information operations," Twitter, February 23, 2021, https://blog.x.com/en_us/topics/company/2021/disclosing-networks-of-state-linked-information-operations-.
- **554** Tyler Hummel, "CIA Agent Joins Facebook's Info Crusade," Leaders, July 3, 2023, https://leaders.com/news/tech/cia-agent-joins-facebooks-info-crusade; Alan MacLeod, "National Security Search Engine," MintPress News, July 25, 2022, https://mintpressnews.com/national-security-search-engine-google-ranks-cia-agents/281490.
- 555 Joseph Menn, "Strong ties bind spy agencies and Silicon Valley," Reuters, July 3, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-security-siliconvalley/strong-ties-bind-spy-agencies-and-siliconvalley-idUSBRE96214I20130703; Ellen Mitchell, "How Silicon Valley's Palantir wired Washington," *Politico*, October 14, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/08/palantir-defense-contracts-lobbyists-226969.

556 Zach Dorfman, "How Silicon Valley Became a Den of Spies," *Politico*, July 27, 2018, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2018/07/27/silicon-valley-spies-china-russia-219071.

557 Alan MacLeod, "The Federal Bureau of Tweets," MintPress News, June 21, 2022,

https://mintpressnews.com/twitter-hiring-alarming-number-spooks-secret-agents.

558 Alan MacLeod, "The NATO to TikTok Pipeline," MintPress News, April 29, 2022, https://mintpressnews.com/nato-tiktok-pipeline-why-tiktok-employing-national-securityagents/280336.

559 Alan MacLeod, "Jessica Ashooh: The Taming of Reddit and the National Security State Plant Tabbed to Do It," MintPress News, June 11, 2021, https://mintpressnews.com/jessica-ashooh-redditnational-security-state-plant/277639.

560 Twitter thread by @NameRedacted, December 18, 2022,

https://x.com/NameRedacted247/status/1604641866342756352; Tweet thread by @NameRedacted247, August 4, 2023, https://x.com/NameRedacted247/status/1687358111235932161.

561 Michael Shellenberger, "The Censorship Industrial Complex US Government Support For Domestic Censorship And Disinformation Campaigns, 2016 – 2022," Testimony by Michael Shellenberger to The House Select Committee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, March 9, 2023, https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evomedia-document/shellenberger-testimony.pdf.

562 Judge Terry A. Doughty, "Memorandum Ruling on Request for Preliminary Injunction," US District Court for the Western District of Louisiana, July 4, 2023,

https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.lawd.189520/gov.uscourts.lawd.189520.293.0 1.pd

563 Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 143–202.

564 Jacob Siegel, "A Guide to Understanding the Hoax of the Century," *Tablet*, March 28, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/guide-understanding-hoax-century-thirteen-ways-lookingdisinformation.

565 Horton, *Enough Already*, 178–234.

566 Matt Taibbi, "Note to Philip Bump," Racket News, August 24, 2024, https://racket.news/p/note-tophilip-bump.

567 Philip Bump, "When we talk about Russian meddling, what do we actually mean?" Washington Post, February 13, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2018/02/13/when-we-talkabout-russian-meddling-what-do-we-actually-mean.

568 They lie right in the headline about their lies too. There is nothing "minor" about bearing false witness against American citizens, calling them traitors serving foreign nations, when that was nothing but official US disinformation the whole time. And note the date, they did not even admit what lies they had told until almost six years had passed, long after Watts admitted he was lying, and not until they were forced to by the reporting of the great journalist Matt Taibbi. WashPostPR, "The Post issues minor corrections in coverage of Hamilton 68," Washington Post, May 18, 2023,

https://washingtonpost.com/pr/2023/05/18/post-issues-minor-corrections-coverage-hamilton-68.

569 New Knowledge About Page,

https://web.archive.org/web/20181217144223/https:/www.newknowledge.com/our-company; Sebastian Herrera, "Austin researcher makes a name – and finds controversy – in cybersecurity world," Austin-American Statesman, February 15, 2019,

https://statesman.com/story/business/technology/2019/02/15/who-is-jonathon-morgan-austinresearcher-makes-name-and-finds-controversy-in-cybersecurity-world/5974403007.

570 Craig Timberg, et al., "Secret campaign to use Russian-inspired tactics in 2017 Ala. election stirs anxiety for Democrats," Washington Post, January 6, 2019,

https://washingtonpost.com/business/technology/secret-campaign-to-use-russian-inspired-tactics-in-2017-alabama-election-stirs-anxiety-for-democrats/2019/01/06/58803f26-0400-11e9-8186<u>4ec26a485713_story.html</u>; Duncan Riley, "Reid Hoffman apologizes for funding fake Russian bot campaign in Alabama election," Silicon Angle, December 26, 2018,

https://siliconangle.com/2018/12/26/reid-hoffman-apologizes-funding-fake-russian-bot-campaign-alabama-election.

571 Scott Shane and Alan Blinder, "Secret Experiment in Alabama Senate Race Imitated Russian Tactics," *New York Times*, December 19, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/12/19/us/alabama-senate-roy-jones-russia.html.

572 Craig Silverman, "A NY Times Reporter Spoke At An Event Organized By Alabama Dirty Tricksters," BuzzFeed News, December 27, 2018,

https://buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/alabama-dirty-tricksters-invited-a-new-york-times-reporter.

573 Brian Lyman, "Russian invasion? Roy Moore sees spike in Twitter followers from land of Putin," *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 16, 2017,

https://montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/politics/southunionstreet/2017/10/16/roy-moores-twitter-account-gets-influx-russian-language-followers/768758001; Joe Tacopino, "Roy Moore flooded with fake Russian Twitter followers," *New York Post*, October 16, 2017, https://nypost.com/2017/10/16/roy-moore-flooded-with-fake-russian-twitter-followers; Denise Clifton, "Pro-Russia Propagandists Are Pushing for Roy Moore to Win," *Mother Jones*, December 11, 2017,

https://motherjones.com/politics/2017/12/russian-propagandists-are-pushing-for-roy-moore-to-win; Michael Seale, "Roy Moore Sees Surge In Twitter Followers – From Russia," Patch, October 16, 2017, https://patch.com/alabama/birmingham-al/roy-moore-sees-surge-twitter-followers-russia.

574 Jonathan Martin and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Roy Moore Is Accused of Sexual Misconduct by a Fifth Woman," *New York Times*, November 13, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/11/13/us/politics/roymoore-alabama-senate.html; "Roy Moore Pursued Young Girls For Their 'Purity' And Because After Vietnam War It Was Hard To Get A Date, Pastor Says," *Newsweek*, November 22, 2017, https://newsweek.com/roy-moore-liked-young-girls-their-purity-and-vietnam-war-719654.

575 Matthew Bloch, et al., "Alabama Election Results: Doug Jones Defeats Roy Moore in US Senate Race," *New York Times*, December 12, 2017, https://nytimes.com/elections/results/alabama-senate-special-election-roy-moore-doug-jones.

576 Brian Lyman, "Senate poll: Roy Moore holds 8 point lead over Doug Jones," *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 12, 2017,

https://montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/politics/southunionstreet/2017/10/12/senate-poll-roy-moore-holds-8-point-lead-over-doug-jones/758132001.

577 Craig Silverman, "A NY Times Reporter Spoke At An Event Organized By Alabama Dirty Tricksters," BuzzFeed News, December 27, 2018,

https://buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/alabama-dirty-tricksters-invited-a-new-york-times-reporter.

578 Craig Timberg and Tony Romm, "New report on Russian disinformation, prepared for the Senate, shows the operation's scale and sweep," *Washington Post*, December 17, 2018,

 $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/technology/2018/12/16/new-report-russian-disinformation-prepared-senate-shows-operations-scale-sweep.}$

579 Paul D. Thacker, "Whistleblower: Insider Details How 'New Knowledge' Cybersecurity Firm Created Disinformation in American Election," The Disinformation Chronicle, May 1, 2024, https://disinformationchronicle.substack.com/p/whistleblower-insider-details-how.

580 Horton, Enough Already, 199.

581 Staff, "Tulsi Gabbard's Foreign Policy," Council on Foreign Relations, https://cfr.org/election2020/candidate-tracker/tulsi-gabbard.

582 Miriam Elder and Charlie Warzel, "Stop Blaming Russian Bots For Everything," BuzzFeed, February 28, 2018, https://buzzfeed.com/miriamelder/stop-blaming-russian-bots-for-everything.

- **583** Clint Watts, et al., "The Good and Bad of Ahrar al-Sham," *Foreign Affairs*, January 23, 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2014-01-23/good-and-bad-ahrar-al-sham.
- **584** Glenn Greenwald, "NBC News, to Claim Russia Supports Tulsi Gabbard, Relies on Firm Just Caught Fabricating Russia Data for the Democratic Party," Intercept, February 3, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/02/03/nbc-news-to-claim-russia-supports-tulsi-gabbard-relies-on-firm-just-caught-fabricating-russia-data-for-the-democratic-party.
- **585** Scott Shane and Alan Blinder, "Secret Experiment in Alabama Senate Race Imitated Russian Tactics," *New York Times*, December 19, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/12/19/us/alabama-senate-roy-jones-russia.html.
- **586** Dan Merica, "Hillary Clinton suggests Russians are 'grooming' Tulsi Gabbard for third-party run," CNN, October 21, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/10/18/politics/hillary-clinton-tulsi-gabbard/index.html.
- **587** Eric Bradner, "Dem. congresswoman quits DNC post, endorses Bernie Sanders," CNN, February 28, 2016, https://cnn.com/2016/02/28/politics/tulsi-gabbard-endorses-bernie-sanders/index.html.
- **588** German Lopez, "Green Party candidate Jill Stein got more votes than Trump's victory margin in 3 key states," Vox.com, December 1, 2016, https://vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/12/1/13811344/jill-stein-clinton-trump-nader-spoiler.
- **589** Dan Merica, "Tulsi Gabbard sues Hillary Clinton for defamation over Russia remarks," CNN, January 22, 2020, https://cnn.com/2020/01/22/politics/tulsi-gabbard-hillary-clinton-lawsuit/index.html. **590** Dan Merica, "Hillary Clinton suggests Russians are 'grooming' Tulsi Gabbard for third-party run," CNN, October 21, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/10/18/politics/hillary-clinton-tulsi-gabbard/index.html. **591** Aleks Phillips, "Jill Stein's Ties to Vladimir Putin Explained," *Newsweek*, November 10, 2023, https://newsweek.com/jill-stein-ties-vladimir-putin-explained-1842620.
- **592** Robert Windrem, "Russians launched pro-Jill Stein social media blitz to help Trump win election, reports say," NBC News, December 22, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/russians-launched-pro-jill-stein-social-media-blitz-help-trump-n951166.
- **593** Robert Windrem and Ben Popken, "Russia's propaganda machine discovers 2020 Democratic candidate Tulsi Gabbard," NBC News, February 2, 2019, https://nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/russia-s-propaganda-machine-discovers-2020-democratic-candidate-tulsi-gabbard-n964261.
- **594** Hunter DeRensis, "Are the Democrats Ready for Tulsi Gabbard?" *The National Interest*, January 14, 2019, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/are-democrats-ready-tulsi-gabbard-41592.
- **595** Hunter DeRensis, "Heroic Tulsi Gabbard Will Run on Her Sensible Foreign Policy. Expect Democrats, Faux Progressives to Squeal," January 16, 2019,
- $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20190207015724/https://russia-insider.com/en/heroic-tulsi-gabbard-will-run-her-sensible-foreign-policy-expect-democrats-faux-progressives-squeal.}$
- **596** Charles Bausman, "Why This Site Is the Very Opposite of Hateful A Christian Letter to My Hometown of Lancaster, Pennsylvania," Russia Insider, November 29, 2020, https://russia-insider.com/en/why-site-very-opposite-hateful-christian-letter-my-hometown-lancaster-pennsylvania/ri31075.
- **597** Ben Collins, "Too Racist for Russian Propaganda?" Daily Beast, January 22, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/too-racist-for-russian-propaganda.
- **598** Not that she is good on everything.
- **599** "Jill Stein on Her Green Party Presidential Bid," C-SPAN, *Washington Journal*, August 27, 2024, https://c-span.org/video/?537972-5/jill-stein-green-party-presidential-bid.
- 600 Hunter DeRensis article archive, Libertarian Institute,
- https://libertarianinstitute.org/author/hderensis.
- **601** John Brennan, "President Trump's Claims of No Collusion Are Hogwash," *New York Times*, August 16, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/john-brennan-trump-russia-collusion-security-clearance.html.

- **602** Alex Lockie, "Putin's soccer ball gift to Trump may be bugged, or worse and the US may never know," Business Insider, July 17, 2018, https://businessinsider.com/putins-soccer-ball-to-trump-may-be-bugged-2018-7.
- **603** Tweet by Senator Lindsey Graham, July 16, 2018, https://x.com/LindseyGrahamSC/status/1018891400245600257.
- **604** Vernon Silver, "Putin's Soccer Ball for Trump Had Transmitter Chip, Logo Indicates," Bloomberg News, July 25, 2018, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-25/putin-soccer-ball-for-trump-had-transmitter-chip-logo-indicates#xj4y7vzkg.
- **605** Sharon LaFraniere and Adam Goldman, "Maria Butina, Suspected Secret Agent, Used Sex in Covert Plan, Prosecutors Say," *New York Times*, July 18, 2018,

https://nytimes.com/2018/07/18/us/politics/maria-butina-russia-espionage.html.

- **606** Betsy Swan, "Maria Butina Agrees to Cooperate With US," Daily Beast, December 10, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/maria-butina-pleads-guilty-agrees-to-cooperate-with-us.
- **607** James Bamford, "The Russian Spy Who Wasn't," *The New Republic*, February 11, 2019, https://newrepublic.com/article/153036/maria-butina-profile-wasnt-russian-spy.
- 608 Spencer S. Hsu, "Judge orders Butina to remain in jail, lashes out at attorneys for missteps," *Washington Post*, September 10, 2018, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/judge-orders-accused-russian-agent-maria-butina-to-remain-in-jail-lashes-out-at-both-sides-for-mistakes/2018/09/10/79f0b248-b500-11e8-a7b5-adaaa5b2a57f_story.html; Alberto Luperon, "Judge Owns DOJ: It Took Me 5 Mins to Figure Out Maria Butina's Sex Messages Were Jokes," Law & Crime, September 10, 2018, https://lawandcrime.com/politics/judge-owns-doj-it-took-me-5-mins-to-figure-out-maria-butinas-sex-messages-were-jokes.
- **609** Kadhim Shubber, "Alleged Russian spy tried to offer sex for job, say prosecutors," *Financial Times*, July 18, 2018, https://ft.com/content/19e5dffe-8ac1-11e8-b18d-0181731a0340.
- **610** Sara Murray, "Special counsel briefly interviewed Maria Butina, sources say," CNN, March 27, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/03/27/politics/maria-butina-mueller-russia/index.html.
- **611** Sara Murray, "How the case against Maria Butina began to crumble," CNN, April 26, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/04/25/politics/maria-butina-case/index.html.
- **612** David Smith, "Russian spy Maria Butina pleads guilty to conspiracy against US," *Guardian*, December 13, 2018, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/dec/13/russian-spy-maria-butina-pleads-guilty-conspiracy.
- 613 Lara Seligman and Andrew Desiderio, "Russian spy unit suspected of directed-energy attacks on US personnel," *Politico*, May 10, 2021, https://politico.com/news/2021/05/10/russia-gru-directed-energy-486640; Josh Lederman, "US officials suspect Russia in mystery 'attacks' on diplomats in Cuba, China," NBC News, September 11, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/news/latin-america/u-s-officials-suspect-russia-mystery-attacks-diplomats-cuba-china-n908141.
- **614** Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media," *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977, https://carlbernstein.com/the-cia-and-the-media-rolling-stone-10-20-1977.
- 615 Jason Study, "Acoustic Signals and Physiological Effects on US Diplomats in Cuba," August 2024, https://documentcloud.org/documents/21068770-jason-report-2018-havana-syndrome; Mindy Weisberger, "Mysterious Sounds Recorded at Cuba Embassy Were . . . Crickets," Live Science, January
- 7, 2019, https://livescience.com/64437-crickets-sonic-attack.html; Dan Vergano, "A Declassified State Department Report Says Microwaves Didn't Cause 'Havana Syndrome," BuzzFeed News, September 30, 2021, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/danvergano/havana-syndrome-jason-crickets; Dan Vergano, "Scientists Are Slamming A Report Saying Microwave Attacks Could Have Caused 'Havana
- "Scientists Are Slamming A Report Saying Microwave Attacks Could Have Caused 'Havana Syndrome' In US Diplomats," BuzzFeed News, December 7, 2020,
- https://buzzfeednews.com/article/danvergano/microwave-attacks-havana-syndrome-diplomats; Ken Dilanian and Josh Lederman, "CIA says 'Havana Syndrome' not result of sustained campaign by

hostile power," NBC News, January 19, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/cia-says-havana-syndrome-not-result-sustained-global-campaign-hostile-rcna12838.

616 Cheryl Rofer, "Claims of Microwave Attacks Are Scientifically Implausible," *Foreign Policy*, May 10, 2021, https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/05/10/microwave-attacks-havana-syndrome-scientifically-implausible; Sarah Kaplan and Joel Achenbach, "Scientists and doctors zap theory that microwave weapon injured Cuba diplomats," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2018,

https://washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/scientists-and-doctors-zap-theory-that-microwave-weapon-injured-cuba-diplomats/2018/09/06/aa51dcd0-b142-11e8-9a6a-565d92a3585d_story.html; "Emotional trauma and fear most likely cause of 'Havana Syndrome,'" *Neuroscience Psychology*,

November 2, 2019, https://neurosciencenews.com/fear-emotion-havana-syndrome-15156.

- **617** Shane Harris and John Hudson, "'Havana syndrome' not caused by energy weapon or foreign adversary, intelligence review finds After a years-long assessment," *Washington Post*, March 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/03/01/havana-syndrome-intelligence-report-weapon.
- **618** Julian Borger, "Havana syndrome: NSA officer's case hints at microwave attacks since 90s," *Guardian*, May 2, 2021, https://theguardian.com/world/2021/may/02/havana-syndrome-nsa-officer-microwave-attacks-since-90s; Dr. Robert Bartholomew, et al., "Emotional trauma and fear most likely cause of 'Havana Syndrome," *Royal Society of Medicine*, November 1, 2019, https://rsm.ac.uk/media-releases/2019/emotional-trauma-and-fear-most-likely-cause-of-havana-syndrome.
- **619** Matt Orfalea, "Havana Syndrome," 0rf, December 3, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=V31E5tDtn3w.

From Adversary Involvement in Anomalous Health Incidents.pdf.

- **620** Leighton Chan, MD, et al., "Clinical, Biomarker, and Research Tests Among US Government Personnel and Their Family Members Involved in Anomalous Health Incidents," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 18, 2024,
- https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jama/fullarticle/2816533; Carlo Pierpaoli, MD, et al., "Neuroimaging Findings in US Government Personnel and Their Family Members Involved in Anomalous Health Incidents," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 18, 2024,
- https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jama/fullarticle/2816532; Robert E. Bartholomew, "Politics, scapegoating and mass psychogenic illness: claims of an 'acoustical attack' in Cuba are unsound," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 110, No. 12 (November 24, 2017),
- https://doi.org/10.1177/0141076817745711; Staff, "Updated Assessment of Anomalous Health Incidents," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, March 1, 2023,
- https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/Updated Assessment of Anomalous Health Incidents.pdf; Staff, "IC Targeting and Collection Efforts Point Away From Adversary Involvement in Anomalous Health Incidents," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, March 1, 2023, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/IC_Targeting_and_Collection_Efforts_Point_Away
- **621** Michael Weiss and Elizabeth O'Bagy, "Why Arming the Rebels Isn't Enough," *The Atlantic*, June 14, 2013, https://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/06/why-arming-the-rebels-isnt-enough/276889; Max Blumenthal, "How neocon Michael Weiss went from hosting Islamophobic rallies with far-right hate queen Pamela Geller to lobbying for Islamist rebels in Syria," Grayzone, August 15, 2017, https://thegrayzone.com/2017/08/15/regime-change-michael-weiss-islamophobic-rally-pamela-geller.
- **622** Michael Weiss, et al., "Unraveling Havana Syndrome: New evidence links the GRU's assassination Unit 29155 to mysterious attacks on US officials and their families," The Insider, March 31, 2024, https://theins.ru/en/politics/270425.
- **623** Johanna McGeary, "The FBI Spy It took 15 years to discover," *Time*, March 5, 2001, https://time.com/archive/6953158/the-fbi-spy-it-took-15-years-to-discover-one-of-the-most-damaging-cases-of-espionage-in-u-s-history-an-inside-look-at-the-secret-life-and-final-capture-of-robert-hanssen.

- **624** Lindsay Whitehurst, "Former FBI agent Robert Hanssen, who was convicted of spying for Russia, dies in prison," AP, June 5, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/fbi-spy-russia-prison-died-hanssen-f16ff609b91ba5f84946a2ccf6363df2.
- **625** Juliet Eilperin and Adam Entous, "Russian operation hacked a Vermont utility, showing risk to US electrical grid security, officials say," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2016,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russian-hackers-penetrated-us-electricity-grid-through-a-utility-in-vermont/2016/12/30/8fc90cc4-ceec-11e6-b8a2-8c2a61b0436f_story.html.
- **626** Kalev Leetaru, "'Fake News' And How The Washington Post Rewrote Its Story On Russian Hacking Of The Power Grid," *Forbes*, January 1, 2017,
- https://forbes.com/sites/kalevleetaru/2017/01/01/fake-news-and-how-the-washington-post-rewrote-its-story-on-russian-hacking-of-the-power-grid.
- **627** Ellen Nakashima and Juliet Eilperin, "Russian government hackers do not appear to have targeted Vermont utility, say people close to investigation," *Washington Post*, January 2, 2017,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russian-government-hackers-do-not-appear-to-have-targeted-vermont-utility-say-people-close-to-investigation/2017/01/02/70c25956-d12c-11e6-945a-76f69a399dd5 story.html.
- **628** Kalev Leetaru, "'Fake News' And How The Washington Post Rewrote Its Story On Russian Hacking Of The Power Grid," *Forbes*, January 1, 2017,
- https://forbes.com/sites/kalevleetaru/2017/01/01/fake-news-and-how-the-washington-post-rewrote-its-story-on-russian-hacking-of-the-power-grid.
- **629** Shane Ryan, "Has Rachel Maddow Entered Her Infowars Period?" Paste, January 31, 2019, https://pastemagazine.com/politics/rachel-maddow/has-rachel-maddow-entered-her-infowars-period.
- **630** Fortune Editors and AP, "C-SPAN Was Briefly Interrupted by a Russian News Network," *Fortune*, January 12, 2017, https://fortune.com/2017/01/12/cspan-rt-interruption; Jonah Engel Bromwich, "C-Span Online Broadcast Interrupted by Russian Network," *New York Times*, January 12, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/01/12/business/media/cspan-russia-today.html.
- **631** Erik Wemple, "C-SPAN: No, we weren't hacked," *Washington Post*, January 18, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2017/01/18/c-span-no-we-werent-hacked.
- **632** "*The Rachel Maddow Show*, Transcript," MSNBC, January 12, 2017, https://msnbc.com/transcripts/rachel-maddow-show/2017-01-12-msna973366.
- **633** Emily Sullivan, "Police Fatally Shoot Black Security Guard Who Detained Shooting Suspect," NPR News, November 13, 2018, https://npr.org/2018/11/13/667252788/police-fatally-shoot-black-security-guard-who-detained-suspected-shooter.
- **634** Nicholas Kulish, "After Raising \$90 Million in 2020, Black Lives Matter Has \$42 Million in Assets," *New York Times*, May 17, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/17/business/blm-black-lives-matter-finances.html.
- **635** Sam Levin, "Did Russia fake black activism on Facebook to sow division in the US?" *Guardian*, September 30, 2017, https://theguardian.com/technology/2017/sep/30/blacktivist-facebook-account-russia-us-election.
- **636** Žilvinas Švedkauskas, et al., "Russia's disinformation campaigns are targeting African Americans," *Washington Post*, July 24, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/24/russias-disinformation-campaigns-are-targeting-african-americans.
- 637 William J. Aceves, "Virtual Hatred: How Russia Tried to Start a Race War in the United States," *Michigan Journal of Race & Law*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2019), 177, https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjrl/vol24/iss2/2.
- **638** "IRA Again: Unlucky Thirteen," Graphika, September 2020, https://public-assets.graphika.com/reports/graphika_report_ira_again_unlucky_thirteen.pdf.

- **639** Sheera Frenkel, "A Freelance Writer Learns He Was Working for the Russians," *New York Times*, September 2, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/09/02/technology/peacedata-writer-russian-misinformation.html.
- **640** Ben Norton, "Serious questions remain about shady 'PeaceData' website blamed on Russian trolls," Grayzone, October 1, 2020, https://thegrayzone.com/2020/10/01/fbi-peacedata-russia-censorship.
- **641** Greg Miller and Greg Jaffe, "Trump revealed highly classified information to Russian foreign minister and ambassador," *Washington Post*, May 15, 2017,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-revealed-highly-classified-information-to-russian-foreign-minister-and-ambassador/2017/05/15/530c172a-3960-11e7-9e48-c4f199710b69 story.html.
- **642** "Re: Congrats!" Email from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to John Podesta, August 17, 2014, https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/3774.
- **643** Ahmet S. Yayla and Colin P. Clarke, "Turkey's Double Standard: How Ankara's Actions Contradict Its Claims of Opposing the Islamic State," RAND Corporation, April 13, 2018,
- https://rand.org/blog/2018/04/turkeys-double-standard-how-ankaras-actions-contradict.html.
- **644** Greg Myre, "US, Russia Working On A Plan To Coordinate Bombing In Syria," NPR News, July 14, 2016, https://npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/07/14/486005012/u-s-russia-working-on-a-plan-to-coordinate-bombing-in-syria; Samuel Oakford, "Russia's three years of war in Syria brings victory close for regime," Airwars.org, September 18, 2018, https://airwars.org/news/russia-three-years-of-war.
- **645** Barbara Starr and Catherine E. Shoichet, "Russian plane crash: US intel suggests ISIS bomb brought down jet," CNN, November 4, 2015, https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/04/africa/russian-plane-crash-egypt-sinai/index.html; Jason Hanna, et al., "ISIS publishes photo of what it says is bomb that downed Russian plane," CNN, November 19, 2015,
- https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/18/middleeast/metrojet-crash-dabiq-claim/index.html.
- 646 "Editor's Note," CNN, June 23, 2017, https://cnn.com/2017/06/23/politics/editors-note/index.html.
- **647** Brian Stelter, "Three journalists leaving CNN after retracted article," CNN, June 27, 2017, https://money.cnn.com/2017/06/26/media/cnn-announcement-retracted-article/index.html.
- **648** Rachel Maddow, "US Officials Still Assessing Russia 2016 Hack," MSNBC, June 22, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=BrnmwndVnT0.
- **649** Patrick Marley and Jason Stein, "Russians tried to hack election systems of 21 states in 2016, officials say," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, September 22, 2017,
- $\frac{https://usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2017/09/22/wisconsin-one-20-states-targeted-russian-hacking-elections-systems-2016/694719001.$
- **650** Glenn Greenwald, "Yet Another Major Russia Story Falls Apart. Is Skepticism Permissible Yet?" Intercept, September 28, 2017, https://theintercept.com/2017/09/28/yet-another-major-russia-story-falls-apart-is-skepticism-permissible-yet.
- **651** Alex Padilla, "Information Provided by DHS Regarding Russian Scanning was Incorrect," California Secretary of State's Office, September 27, 2017, https://sos.ca.gov/administration/news-releases-and-advisories/dhs-incorrectly-notified-california-secretary-state-about-russian-scanning.
- **652** Scott Bauer, "Homeland Security now says Wisconsin elections not targeted," AP, September 26, 2017, https://apnews.com/article/10a0080e8fcb4908ae4a852e8c03194d.
- **653** Mark Landler and Stephen Castle, "'No One' Protected British Democracy From Russia, UK Report Concludes," *New York Times*, July 21, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/07/21/world/europe/ukrussia-report-brexit-interference.html.
- **654** Mark Scott and Laurens Cerulus, "Russian groups targeted EU election with fake news, says European Commission," *Politico Europe*, June 14, 2019, https://politico.eu/article/european-commission-disinformation-report-russia-fake-news.

- **655** Staff, "UK says there is no evidence of Russian meddling in Brexit vote," Reuters, July 22, 2020, https://reuters.com/article/us-britain-russia-idUSKCN24N0MZ; Michael Schwirtz, "German Election Mystery: Why No Russian Meddling?" *New York Times*, September 21, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/09/21/world/europe/german-election-russia.html.
- **656** Kysia Hekster and Joost Schellevis, "American billionaire sponsors 'yes' campaign Ukraine referendum," NOS News, January 22, 2016, https://nos.nl/artikel/2082091-amerikaanse-miljardair-sponsort-ja-campagne-oekraine-referendum.
- **657** Andrew Higgins, "Fake News, Fake Ukrainians: How a Group of Russians Tilted a Dutch Vote," *New York Times*, February 16, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/02/16/world/europe/russia-ukraine-fake-news-dutch-vote.html.
- **658** De Ploeg, 309–10.
- **659** Patrick Wintour and Nicola Slawson, "Boris Johnson: Russia has ability to disrupt UK politics with hacking," *Guardian*, March 12, 2017, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/mar/12/british-democracy-at-risk-from-russian-hackers-says-gchq.
- **660** Luke Harding, "Is Donald Trump's Dark Russian Secret Hiding in Deutsche Bank's Vaults?" *Newsweek*, December 21, 2017, https://newsweek.com/2017/12/29/donald-trump-russia-secret-deutsche-bank-753780.html.
- **661** David Enrich, "No, There Isn't Evidence That Trump Owes Money to Russia," *New York Times*, October 13, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/10/13/technology/no-there-isnt-evidence-that-trump-owes-money-to-russia.html.
- **662** Julian Borger, "Rex Tillerson: an appointment that confirms Putin's US election win," *Guardian*, December 13, 2016, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2016/dec/11/rex-tillerson-secretary-of-state-trump-russia-putin; Henry Meyer and Ilya Arkhipov, "Russia Applauds Trump Dream Team as Exxon CEO Eyed for State," Bloomberg News, December 11, 2016,
- $\underline{https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-12-11/putin-awaits-fantastic-trump-team-as-exxon-ally-may-head-state.}$
- **663** Bonnie Berkowitz, et al., "Here's what we learned about Team Trump's ties to Russian interests," *Washington Post*, March 31, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/trump-russia.
- 664 Steve Coll, Private Empire: ExxonMobil and American Power (New York: Penguin, 2012).
- **665** Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1976), 133–34.
- 666 John Cassidy, "Rex Tillerson Gets Fired the Day After He Criticized Russia," *The New Yorker*, March 13, 2018, https://newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/rex-tillerson-gets-fired-the-day-after-he-criticized-russia; Aaron Blake, "Did Trump fire Tillerson because he was too anti-Russia?" *Washington Post*, March 13, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/03/13/did-trump-fire-tillerson-because-he-was-too-anti-russia.
- **667** Andrew Fink, "The founder of the financial pyramid Roman Vasilenko is in London, the leadership is in custody in St. Petersburg for fraud with 15 billion rubles," RusCrime, February 22, 2022, https://ruscrime.com/the-founder-of-the-financial-pyramid-roman-vasilenko-is-in-london-the-leadership-is-in-custody-in-st-petersburg-for-fraud-with-15-billion-rubles-shareholders.
- **668** Rachel Weiner, "GOP operative found guilty of funneling Russian money to Donald Trump," *Washington Post*, November 17, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2022/11/17/benton-trump-russian-vasilenko-guilty.
- **669** Daphne Ewing-Chow, "For Yuri Vanetik, Wine Has Turned Business Into A Cultural Experience," *Forbes*, October 14, 2022, https://forbes.com/sites/daphneewingchow/2022/10/14/for-yuri-vanetik-wine-has-turned-business-into-a-cultural-experience.
- 670 Yuri Vanetik's website, September 2024, https://yurivanetik.net.

- **671** Kevin G. Hall, et al., "Master of selfies with GOP pols, Soviet emigre has a confounding past," McClatchy, February 1, 2018, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/article197764899.html.
- **672** Note that Gordon and Stone were the same two who had published a discredited series on Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen's alleged secret trips to Prague. See above.
- **673** Angela Hart, "Gavin Newsom returns money from a controversial GOP donor," *Sacramento Bee*, January 16, 2019, https://sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article212416434.html.
- **674** Kevin G. Hall and Ben Wieder, "GOP fundraiser adds to work as foreign agent," McClatchy, March 23, 2018, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/article206303354.html.
- 675 Kevin G. Hall and Ben Wieder, "Two controversial GOP fundraisers duking it out in court," McClatchy, January 7, 2019, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/article205215779.html.
- **676** Yuri Vanetik, "Russiagate's Collateral Victims," *Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/russiagates-collateral-victims-11555022432.
- 677 Alexander Kuziv and Pavlo Rud, "Agrarian Party Village defenders or lobbyists of agricultural holdings?" Ukrainska Pravda,
- https://pravda.com.ua/cdn/graphics/2017/08/agrarna_partija_zahysnyky_sela_chy_lobisty_agroholdyng iv.
- **678** Kevin G. Hall, et al., "GOP fundraiser is everywhere on social media, secretive as a foreign agent," McClatchy, March 6, 2018, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article203663079.html.
- **679** Kevin G. Hall and Ben Wieder, "GOP fundraiser adds to work as foreign agent," McClatchy, March 23, 2018, https://mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/article206303354.html.
- **680** Yuri Vanetik, "Russiagate's Collateral Victims," *Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/russiagates-collateral-victims-11555022432.
- **681** Yuri Vanetik, "Lessons Learned As A Target of A Media Disinformation Campaign," Yuri Vanetik, December 30, 2020, https://yurivanetik.net/lessons-learned-media-disinformation.
- **682** Jeff Gerth, "The press versus the president, part four," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30, 2023, https://cjr.org/special_report/trumped-up-press-versus-president-part-4.php.
- **683** Matt Taibbi, "We're in a permanent coup," Racket News, October 11, 2019, https://racket.news/p/were-in-a-permanent-coup.
- **684** Tweet by Matt Taibbi, December 13, 2019, https://x.com/mtaibbi/status/1205610508134555648; Tweet by Matt Taibbi, December 13, 2019, https://x.com/mtaibbi/status/1205835695471955973. **685** Tweet by Ariel Kaminer, November 14, 2017,
- https://x.com/arielkaminer/status/930498080046272512; Tweet by Matt Mittenthal, November 14, 2017, https://x.com/mattmittenthal/status/930503643962527744.
- **686** Jason Leopold, et al., "Secret Finding: 60 Russian Payments 'To Finance Election Campaign Of 2016," BuzzFeed, November 14, 2017, https://buzzfeed.com/jasonleopold/secret-finding-60-russian-payments-to-finance-election.
- **687** Philip Bump, "The lure of the Russian smoking gun," *Washington Post*, November 14, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/11/14/the-lure-of-the-russian-smoking-gun.
- **688** Peter Baker, "For Trump and the System, Mueller's Report Is a Turning Point and a Test," *New York Times*, March 22, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/03/22/us/politics/donald-trump-mueller-report.html.
- **689** Woodward, *Fear*, 171–72.
- **690** "Interview of James Clapper," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, July 17, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/jc7.pdf; Jeremy Herb, "House releases transcripts of closed-door Russia probe interviews," CNN, May 7, 2020, https://edition.cnn.com/2020/05/07/politics/house-transcript-russia-interview/index.html; Zachary Evans, "James Clapper Said He 'Never Saw Direct Empirical Evidence' of Trump-Russia Collusion in

- FBI Interview," Yahoo News, May 8, 2020, https://news.yahoo.com/former-dni-james-clapper-interview-230517504.html.
- **691** "Interview of Susan Rice," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, September 8, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/sr44.pdf.
- **692** "Interview of Susan Rice," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, September 8, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/sr44.pdf.
- **693** "Interview of Benjamin Rhodes," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/br43.pdf.
- **694** "Interview of Samantha Power," US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, October 25, 2017, https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2020/05/sp40.pdf.
- **695** Editorial Board, "All the Adam Schiff Transcripts," *Wall Street Journal*, May 12, 2020, https://wsj.com/articles/all-the-adam-schiff-transcripts-11589326164.
- **696** Oh, Jason. Two in a row? Come on now, man. Jason Leopold and Anthony Cormier, "President Trump Directed His Attorney Michael Cohen To Lie To Congress About The Moscow Tower Project," BuzzFeed News, January 17, 2019, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/jasonleopold/trump-russia-cohen-moscow-tower-mueller-investigation.
- **697** Michael M. Grynbaum, "BuzzFeed News Faces Scrutiny After Mueller Denies a Dramatic Trump Report," *New York Times*, January 19, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/01/19/business/media/buzzfeed-news-trump-michael-cohen-mueller.html.
- **698** Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller III, et al., "Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The 2016 Presidential Election Volume I of II," US Department of Justice, March 2019, https://justice.gov/archives/sco/file/1373816/download.
- 699 Aaronson, The Terror Factory.

64efa7482a77 story.html.

- **700** Ellen Nakashima, "Senate committee unanimously endorses spy agencies' finding that Russia interfered in 2016 presidential race in bid to help Trump," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2020, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/senate-committee-unanimously-endorses-spy-agencies-finding-that-russia-interfered-in-2016-presidential-race-in-bid-to-help-trump/2020/04/21/975ca51a-83d2-11ea-ae26-989cfce1c7c7 story.html.
- **701** "Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 Election," Vol. 4, US Senate, https://intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume4.pdf.
- 702 Adam Goldman, et al., "Lawmakers Are Warned That Russia Is Meddling to Re-elect Trump," *New York Times*, February 20, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/02/20/us/politics/russian-interference-trump-democrats.html; Jim Acosta, et al., "Russia is looking to help Trump win in 2020, election security official told lawmakers," CNN, February 21, 2020, https://cnn.com/2020/02/20/politics/trump-russia-intelligence-2020/index.html; Shane Harris, et al., "Bernie Sanders briefed by US officials that Russia is trying to help his presidential campaign," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2020, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/bernie-sanders-briefed-by-us-officials-that-russia-is-trying-to-help-his-presidential-campaign/2020/02/21/5ad396a6-54bd-11ea-929a-
- **703** Leslie Stahl, "Fiona Hill warns about Russian political meddling in 60 Minutes interview," CBS *60 Minutes*, March 8, 2020, https://cbsnews.com/news/fiona-hill-russia-advisor-president-trump-impeachment-lesley-stahl-60-minutes-2020-03-08.
- **704** About 18,000,000 search results for "Russia supports Sanders 2020," Google, September 2023, https://google.com/search?q=russia+supports+sanders+2020.
- **705** Mark Moore, "Sanders: Trump's response to Russian meddling is a 'horror show," *New York Post*, February 18, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/02/18/sanders-trumps-response-to-russian-meddling-is-a-horror-show.

- **706** Julian Barnes and Sydney Ember, "Russia Is Said to Be Interfering to Aid Sanders in Democratic Primaries," *New York Times*, February 21, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/02/21/us/politics/berniesanders-russia.html.
- **707** Deb Riechmann, "Trump says he was not told that Russia was helping Sanders," AP, February 23, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/politics-latin-america-ap-top-news-donald-trump-michael-pence-ef77c30ba74643f72d6fa60f7ca123c4.
- **708** Mike M. Ahlers, "Russian company seeks to buy US uranium mining operations," CNN, September 25, 2010,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20161018182419/http://cnn.com/2010/US/09/24/russia.uranium.company. 709 Jo Becker and Don Van Natta Jr., "After Mining Deal, Financier Donated to Clinton," New York Times, January 31, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/01/31/us/politics/31donor.html; Amy Chozick, "New Book, 'Clinton Cash,' Questions Foreign Donations to Foundation," New York Times, April 19, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/04/20/us/politics/new-book-clinton-cash-questions-foreign-donations-to-foundation.html; Wilson Andrews, "Donations to the Clinton Foundation, and a Russian Uranium Takeover," New York Times, April 22, 2015, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2015/04/23/us/clinton-foundation-donations-uranium-investors.html; Jo Becker and Mike McIntire, "Cash Flowed to Clinton Foundation Amid Russian Uranium Deal," New York Times, April 23, 2015,
- $\frac{https://nytimes.com/2015/04/24/us/cash-flowed-to-clinton-foundation-as-russians-pressed-for-control-of-uranium-company.html.\\$
- **710** Jo Becker and Mike McIntire, "Cash Flowed to Clinton Foundation Amid Russian Uranium Deal," *New York Times*, April 23, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/04/24/us/cash-flowed-to-clinton-foundation-as-russians-pressed-for-control-of-uranium-company.html.
- 711 Michelle Ye Hee Lee, "The facts behind Trump's repeated claim about Hillary Clinton's role in the Russian uranium deal," *Washington Post*, October 26, 2016, https://washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/10/26/the-facts-behind-trumps-repeated-claim-about-hillary-clintons-role-in-the-russian-uranium-deal.
- **712** Rachel Maddow, "When it comes to conspiracy theories, Republicans are now 0-for-4," MSNBC, March 9, 2018, https://msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/when-it-comes-conspiracy-theories-republicans-are-now-0-4-msna1076671.
- 713 Staff, "Median individual income in United States of America," US Census, 2024, https://datacommons.org/place/country/USA.
- 714 Zachary Fryer-Biggs, "The Hillary Clinton Russia Uranium One Conspiracy Theory Doesn't Make Any Sense," *Newsweek*, October 27, 2017, https://newsweek.com/hillary-clinton-uranium-conspiracy-theory-distraction-trump-russia-694525; Jack Caporal, "Are You Well-Paid? Compare Your Salary to the Average US Income," Motley Fool, February 1, 2023, https://fool.com/the-ascent/research/average-us-income.
- 715 Special Counsel John Durham, "Report on Matters Related to Intelligence Activities and Investigations Arising Out of the 2016 Presidential Campaigns," US Department of Justice, May 12, 2023, https://justice.gov/storage/durhamreport.pdf.
- **716** Glenn Thrush and Gabriel Debenedetti, "Clinton: I used private email account for 'convenience," *Politico*, March 10, 2015, https://politico.com/story/2015/03/hillary-clinton-email-press-conference-115947.
- 717 Laura Meckler, "Bill Clinton Still Doesn't Use Email," *Wall Street Journal*, March 10, 2015, https://wsj.com/articles/BL-WB-53676.
- 718 Paul Waldman, "Democrats strike a blow against GOP efforts to shield Trump," *Washington Post*, March 8, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/blogs/plum-line/wp/2018/03/08/democrats-strike-a-blow-against-gop-efforts-to-shield-trump; Matt Kwong, "Trump is hyping a uranium scandal about Hillary Clinton. Here's why some observers call it 'bogus,'" CBC News, November 4, 2017, https://cbc.ca/news/world/trump-bogus-clinton-uranium-one-deal-conspiracy-1.4383957.

- 719 Shaun Walker and Lauren Gambino, "Obama set to hit Russia with further sanctions before leaving office," *Guardian*, December 29, 2016, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2016/dec/28/obama-poised-to-hit-russia-with-further-sanctions-before-leaving-office; Lauren Gambino, "Trump administration hits 24 Russians with sanctions over 'malign activity," *Guardian*, April 6, 2018,
- $\underline{https://theguardian.com/us-news/2018/apr/06/trump-russia-sanctions-election-meddling-latest.}$
- **720** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- 721 Donald Wrye, Amerika, ABC, February 6, 1987, https://youtube.com/watch?v=KU49MR19CcA.
- **722** Pamela Brown and Jeremy Herb, "The frantic scramble before Mueller got the job," CNN, December 7, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/12/06/politics/rosenstein-comey-firing-obstruction-probe/index.html.
- 723 Julie Pace, "Trump wary of Russian deal; new advisers urge tougher stand," AP, March 4, 2017, https://apnews.com/article/8bf076a9e5314c19a28f79dbc5d967fe; In 2016, President Obama tried to work with Russia against ISIS and was overruled by the military too. See Chapter Four.
- **724** Press Release, "Montenegro joins NATO as 29th Ally," NATO, June 5, 2017, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_144647.htm.
- **725** Press Release, "North Macedonia joins NATO as 30th Ally," NATO, March 27, 2020, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news 174589.htm.
- **726** Video, "Trump: I'm not pro-Russia, I just want our country safe," *Tucker Carlson Tonight*, Fox News, September 10, 2020, https://foxnews.com/video/5810471499001.
- **727** Jonathan Lemire and Deb Reichmann, "1,000 more US troops to Poland as Trump and Duda discuss NATO's eastern flank," AP, June 24, 2020, <a href="https://militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2020/06/24/1000-more-us-troops-to-poland-as-trump-and-duda-discuss-natos-eastern-flank.
- 728 Lukas Milevski, "Developments in Baltic Defense since Trump Took Office," Foreign Policy Research Institute, April 17, 2018, https://fpri.org/article/2018/04/developments-in-baltic-defense-since-trump-took-office; Jari Tanner, "US allocates \$175 million in military aid to Baltics in 2020," AP, December 23, 2019, https://militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2019/12/23/us-allocates-175-million-in-military-aid-to-baltics-in-2020.
- **729** Josh Rogin, "Trump administration approves lethal arms sales to Ukraine," *Washington Post*, December 20, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/12/20/trump-administration-approves-lethal-arms-sales-to-ukraine.
- **730** Joe Gould, "US State Dept. clears \$600M deal with Ukraine for patrol boats, guns and sensors," Defense News, June 17, 2020, https://defensenews.com/congress/2020/06/17/us-selling-ukraine-600m-in-patrol-boats-guns-and-sensors.
- **731** Staff, "Ukraine gets US military aid, including Javelin anti-tank missiles," Reuters, June 17, 2020, https://reuters.com/article/us-security-ukraine-us-idUSKBN23O140.
- **732** See Chapter Four.
- **733** John Hudson, "How Russia Hawks Are Selling Trump On Sending Weapons To Ukraine," BuzzFeed News, November 21, 2017, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/johnhudson/how-russia-hawks-are-selling-trump-on-sending-weapons-to.
- **734** Josh Lederman, "US agrees to send lethal weapons to Ukraine, angering Russia," AP, December 23, 2017, https://apnews.com/article/71fd3f8ee74f488fb788accf1e7978e4.
- **735** Eli Clifton, "Trump's Choice of Bolton Satisfies His Biggest Donor," LobeLog, March 24, 2018, https://lobelog.com/trumps-choice-of-bolton-satisfies-his-biggest-donor.
- **736** Adam Entous and Michael Schwirtz, "The Spy War: How the CIA Secretly Helps Ukraine Fight Putin," *New York Times*, February 25, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/25/world/europe/the-spywar-how-the-cia-secretly-helps-ukraine-fight-putin.html.

- 737 Serbia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, Syria and Yemen. See above; Enough Already; Antiwar.com.
- **738** Adrián Osvaldo Ravier and Peter Lewin, "The Subprime Crisis," *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring 2012), https://mises.org/quarterly-journal-austrian-economics/subprime-crisis.
- **739** Staff, "2000s: 'Apprentice' Helps Donald Trump Finally Launch A White House Bid," NBC News, July 6, 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=TSVPDrR8GyQ.
- **740** Tom Winter, "Trump's DHS chief Kirstjen Nielsen: 'Let me be clear. It was the Russians," NBC News, July 31, 2018, https://nbcnews.com/politics/elections/trump-s-dhs-chief-kirstjen-nielsen-let-me-be-clear-n896191.
- 741 "Novichok nerve agent use in Salisbury: UK government response, March to April 2018," Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, Home Office, and Ministry of Defence, March 14, 2018, https://gov.uk/government/news/novichok-nerve-agent-use-in-salisbury-uk-government-response; "OPCW Issues Report on Technical Assistance Requested by the United Kingdom Incident in Salisbury UK," OPCW, April 12, 2018, https://opcw.org/media-centre/news/2018/04/opcw-issues-report-technical-assistance-requested-united-kingdom.
- **742** James Masters, "Ex-Russian spy Sergei Skripal discharged from Salisbury hospital after poisoning," CNN, May 18, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/05/18/europe/sergei-skripal-discharged-intl/index.html.
- 743 "Yulia Skripal: 'Assassination attempt turned my life upside down," Al Jazeera English, May 24, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=rjRunF_zrrA; Ellen Barry, "Yulia Skripal Describes 'Extremely Painful' Recovery From Poisoning," *New York Times*, May 23, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/23/world/europe/uk-yulia-skripal-poisoning.html.
- 744 Steven Morris and Kevin Rawlinson, "Novichok victim found substance disguised as perfume in sealed box," *Guardian*, July 24, 2018, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jul/24/novichok-victim-ill-within-15-minutes-says-partner-charlie-rowley.
- **745** Richard Pérez-Peña, "Britain Expels 23 Russian Diplomats Over Ex-Spy's Poisoning," *New York Times*, March 14, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/03/14/world/europe/uk-russia-spy-punitive-measures.html.
- **746** Zamira Rahim, "Salisbury attack: Novichok bottle was not recovered for more than three months, police say," *Independent*, September 25, 2019, https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/salisbury-attack-novichok-bottle-perfume-sergei-skripal-russia-a9120576.html.
- 747 Staff, "Russian spy: Salisbury attack was 'brazen and reckless," BBC, March 8, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/uk-43326734.
- 748 Jake Kanter, "Putin will have broken a huge rule of the spy game if he was behind the poisoning of ex-agent Sergei Skripal," Business Insider, March 8, 2018, https://businessinsider.com/sergei-skripal-poisoning-russia-spy-swap-deals-at-risk-2018-3.
- **749** Staff, "It's the Russians, says chemist who uncovered existence of 'Novichok," AFP, March 14, 2018, https://france24.com/en/20180314-its-russians-says-chemist-who-uncovered-existence-novichok.
- **750** Martin Fricker, "Haunting CCTV shows ex-spy Sergei Skripal and daughter driving into town hours before being found poisoned," *Mirror*, March 16, 2018, https://mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/haunting-cctv-shows-ex-spy-12201157.
- **751** Gordon Corera, "Russian spy: Salisbury attack was 'brazen and reckless," BBC, March 8, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/uk-43326734.
- **752** "OPCW Spokesperson's Statement on Amount of Nerve Agent Used in Salisbury," OPCW, May 4, 2018, https://opcw.org/media-centre/news/2018/05/opcw-spokespersons-statement-amount-nerve-agent-used-salisbury.

- 753 "Full Investigation Must Swiftly Identify, Apprehend Perpetrators, Security Council Hears during Heated Discussion on Salisbury Chemical Attack," UNSC, April 5, 2018, https://press.un.org/en/2018/sc13279.doc.htm.
- **754** Staff, "Russian spy: Salisbury diners told to wash possessions," BBC, March 11, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/uk-43362673.
- 755 Amir Vera, et al., "Novichok poisoning: Murder probe opened after UK woman dies," CNN, July 9, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/07/08/uk/uk-woman-dies-after-being-exposed-to-soviet-era-nerve-agent-authorities-say/index.html.
- **756** Steven Morris and Caroline Bannock, "Novichok victim: 'We're being kept in the dark," *Guardian*, June 21, 2019, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jun/21/novichok-victim-partner-kept-in-the-dark-charlie-rowley-dawn-sturgess.
- 757 Andy Coulson, "Nick Bailey on being poisoned, losing everything and finding peace," *Crisis, What Crisis?* June 25, 2021, Series 4, Episode 25, https://crisiswhatcrisis.com/podcasts/nick-bailey-on-being-poisoned-losing-everything-and-finding-peace.
- 758 "Summary of the Report on Activities Carried Out in Support of a Request of Technical Assistance by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland," OPCW, April 12, 2018, https://opcw.org/sites/default/files/documents/S series/2018/en/s-1612-2018 e .pdf.
- **759** Robert Mendick, et al., "Poisoned Russian spy Sergei Skripal was close to consultant who was linked to the Trump dossier," *Telegraph*, March 7, 2018,
- https://telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/07/poisoned-russian-spy-sergei-skripal-close-consultant-linked.
- **760** Lizzie Dearden, "Sergei Skripal: Former double agent may have been poisoned with nerve agent over 'freelance' spying, sources say," *Independent*, March 8, 2018,
- https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/sergei-skripal-freelance-spying-targeted-russian-spy-double-agent-poisoning-nerve-agent-salisbury-a8246686.html.
- 761 Bernard, "NHS Doctor: 'No Patients Have Experienced Symptoms Of Nerve Agent Poisoning In Salisbury," Moon of Alabama, March 19, 2018, https://moonofalabama.org/2018/03/no-patients-have-experienced-symptoms-of-nerve-agent-poisoning-in-salisbury.html.
- **762** Richard Pérez-Peña and Ellen Barry, "UK Charges 2 Men in Novichok Poisoning, Saying They're Russian Agents," *New York Times*, September 5, 2018,
- https://nytimes.com/2018/09/05/world/europe/russia-uk-novichok-skripal.html.
- 763 Mark Nicol, "Novichok suspects' drug-fuelled night of 'cannabis and prostitutes' at £75-a-night East London hotel just hours before Salisbury attack," *Daily Mail*, September 16, 2018, https://dailymail.co.uk/news/russia/article-6172497/Novichok-suspects-drug-fuelled-night-cannabis-
- prostitutes-75-night-London-hotel.html.
- **764** Rob Slane, "Summing up the Official Claims in the Salisbury Poisonings: Weighed in the Balances and Found Wanting," The Blogmire, January 9, 2019,
- $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20190114225024/http://theblogmire.com/summing-up-the-official-claims-in-the-salisbury-poisonings-weighed-in-the-balances-and-found-wanting.}$
- **765** Staff, "Suspect Indeed: Odd Moments From RT's Interview With The Novichok 'Lads,'" RFERL, September 13, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/suspect-indeed-odd-moments-from-rt-s-interview-with-novichok-suspects/29488278.html; Andrew Higgins, "Tragedy? Farce? Confusion? The Method

Behind That Russian Poisoning Interview," New York Times, September 18, 2018,

https://nytimes.com/2018/09/18/world/europe/skripal-poisoning-russia.html.

- **766** Margarita Simonyan, "RT editor-in-chief's exclusive interview with Skripal case suspects Petrov & Boshirov," RT, September 13, 2018, https://rt.com/news/438356-rt-petrov-boshirov-full-interview.
- **767** Owen Matthews, "Has Vladimir Putin Lost Control of Russia's Assassins?" *Newsweek*, March 12, 2018, https://newsweek.com/vladimir-putin-lost-control-russia-assassins-840598.
- **768** Vil S. Mirzayanov, *State Secrets: An Insider's Chronicle of the Russian Chemical Weapons Program* (Parker: Outskirts Press, 2008).

- 769 Staff, "It's the Russians, says chemist who uncovered existence of 'Novichok," AFP, March 14, 2018, https://france24.com/en/20180314-its-russians-says-chemist-who-uncovered-existence-novichok. 770 Thomas Grove, "Puzzle in Hit on Russian Spy: How Did Attackers Get the Nerve Agent?" *Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 2018, https://wsj.com/articles/puzzle-in-hit-on-russian-spy-how-did-attackers-get-the-nerve-agent-1521192600.
- 771 "The scientist who developed 'Novichok': 'Doses ranged from 20 grams to several kilos,'" The Bell, March 20, 2018, https://en.thebell.io/the-scientist-who-developed-novichok-doses-ranged-from-20-grams-to-several-kilos; Roman Shleinov, "Novichok has already killed," *Novaya Gazeta*, March 22, 2018, https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2018/03/22/75896-rezhim-novichka.
- 772 Interview with author, David B. Collum, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 30, 2018, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/3-30-18-david-collum-on-the-poisoning-of-a-russian-ex-spy-in-london-and-austrian-business-cycle.
- 773 David B. Collum, "2018 Year in Review," Peak Prosperity, December 21, 2018, https://peakprosperity.com/blog/114645/2018-year-review-part-2.
- 774 Gareth Davies, "Guests of two-star London hotel where Salisbury suspects stayed discover Novichok was found in bedroom," *Telegraph*, September 5, 2018,
- https://telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/09/05/guests-two-star-london-hotel-salisbury-suspects-stayed-told. 775 Ellen Barry and David Sanger, "Poisoned Door Handle Hints at High-Level Plot to Kill Spy, UK Officials Say," *New York Times*, April 1, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/04/01/world/europe/russia-sergei-skripal-uk-spy-poisoning.html.
- 776 Gareth Porter, "Another Dodgy British Dossier: the Skripal Case," Consortium News, April 21, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/04/21/another-dodgy-british-dossier-the-skripal-case.
- 777 Rob Slane, "Summing up the Official Claims in the Salisbury Poisonings: Weighed in the Balances and Found Wanting," The Blogmire, January 9, 2019,
- $\frac{https://web.archive.org/web/20190114225024/http://theblogmire.com/summing-up-the-official-claims-in-the-salisbury-poisonings-weighed-in-the-balances-and-found-wanting.}$
- 778 Ewen MacAskill, "Russia tested nerve agent on door handles before Skripal attack, UK dossier claims," *Guardian*, April 13, 2018, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/13/russia-tested-nerve-agent-on-door-handles-before-skripal-attack-uk-dossier-claims.
- 779 Gareth Porter, "Another Dodgy British Dossier: the Skripal Case," Consortium News, April 21, 2018, https://consortiumnews.com/2018/04/21/another-dodgy-british-dossier-the-skripal-case.
- **780** Julian Barnes and Adam Goldman, "Gina Haspel Relies on Spy Skills to Connect With Trump. He Doesn't Always Listen," *New York Times*, April 16, 2019,
- $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2019/04/16/us/politics/gina-haspel-trump.html}.$
- 781 Nick Pisa, "Putin's Youngest Victim: Schoolboy, 12, on how he was exposed to deadly poison after Russian spy Sergei Skripal gave him bread to feed ducks in Salisbury," *The Sun*, March 28, 2018, https://thesun.co.uk/news/5916870/schoolboy-salisbury-nerve-agent-attack; Alan Selby, "Three children taken to hospital after poisoned Sergei Skripal handed them bread to feed ducks," *Mirror*, March 24, 2018, https://mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/three-children-taken-hospital-after-12245559; Steven Morris and Caroline Bannock, "No children or ducks harmed by novichok, say health officials," *Guardian*, April 18, 2019, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/apr/18/no-children-ducks-harmed-novichok-attack-wiltshire-health-officials.
- **782** Phil Miller, "British army's chief nursing officer first adult to help double agent Sergei Skripal," Morning Star Online, January 21, 2019, https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/b/british-army%E2%80%99s-chief-nursing-officer-first-adult-to-help-double-agent-sergei-skripal.
- **783** Lizzie Dearden, "Sergei Skripal: Former double agent may have been poisoned with nerve agent over 'freelance' spying, sources say," *Independent*, March 8, 2018,
- $\underline{https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/sergei-skripal-freelance-spying-targeted-russian-spy-double-properties of the action of the properties of the pr$

- <u>agent-poisoning-nerve-agent-salisbury-a8246686.html</u>; Staff, "Russian spy: Salisbury attack was 'brazen and reckless," BBC, March 8, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/uk-43326734.
- **784** Staff, "Novichok scientist Vil Mirzayanov warns of 'irreversible' damage caused by weapon," ITV News, April 10, 2018, https://itv.com/news/2018-04-10/scientist-vil-mirzayanov-warns-of-irreversible-damage-caused-by-novichok.
- **785** Pavel Borisov, "A hundred grand and hundreds of betrayed agents," Meduza, March 6, 2018, https://meduza.io/en/feature/2018/03/06/a-hundred-grand-and-hundreds-of-betrayed-agents.
- **786** "Treasury Designates Russian Oligarchs, Officials, and Entities in Response to Worldwide Malign Activity," US Treasury Department, April 6, 2018, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm0338.
- **787** "Treasury Sanctions Russian Cyber Actors for Interference with the 2016 US Elections and Malicious Cyber-Attacks," US Treasury Department, March 15, 2018, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm0312.
- **788** "Treasury Sanctions Russian Federal Security Service Enablers," US Treasury Department, June 11, 2018, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm0410.
- **789** Gardiner Harris, "US to Issue New Sanctions on Russia Over Skripals' Poisoning," *New York Times*, August 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/08/08/world/europe/sanctions-russia-poisoning-spy-trump-putin.html.
- **790** Staff, "US imposes fresh sanctions for Russian cyber-related activity," Reuters, August 21, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-sanctions-treasury/u-s-imposes-fresh-sanctions-for-russian-cyber-related-activity-idUSKCN1L61FB.
- **791** Matthew Choi, "US blacklists Russian entities tied to election meddling," *Politico*, September 20, 2018, https://politico.com/story/2018/09/20/trump-blacklists-russian-entities-meddling-833012.
- **792** Kyle Anzalone and Will Porter, "Dangerous Game: How the Wreckage of Russiagate Ignited a New Cold War," Libertarian Institute, July 1, 2020, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/dangerous-game-how-the-wreckage-of-russiagate-ignited-a-new-cold-war.
- **793** Greg Jaffe, et al., "Trump, a reluctant hawk, has battled his top aides on Russia and lost," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2018, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-a-reluctant-hawk-has-battled-his-top-aides-on-russia-and-lost/2018/04/15/a91e850a-3f1b-11e8-974f-aacd97698cef_story.html.
- **794** Staff, "Alexey Navalny," Maurice R. Greenberg World Fellows Program, 2010, https://worldfellows.yale.edu/person/alexey-navalny.
- 795 Tweet by John O. Brennan, October 9, 2020,
- https://x.com/JohnBrennan/status/1314587438568833025.
- **796** Staff, "We found no cholinesterase inhibitors in Navalny's blood': Omsk's chief toxicologist comments on statement from Berlin's Charite," RT, August 24, 2020, https://rt.com/russia/498928-omsk-doctors-cholinesterase-navalny; Staff, "Therapist about the diagnosis of Alexei Navalny: Hypoglycemic coma does not occur so abruptly," Rosbalt, August 21, 2020, https://rosbalt.ru/piter/2020/08/21/1859760.html.
- 797 Ben Aris, "Doctors deny Navalny poisoned, but refuse to let him leave," BNE IntelliNews, August 21, 2020, https://intellinews.com/doctors-deny-navalny-poisoned-but-refuse-to-let-him-leave-190208.
- **798** Aruna Viswanatha, et al., "Putin Didn't Directly Order Alexei Navalny's February Death, US Spy Agencies Find," *Wall Street Journal*, April 27, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia/alexei-navalny-death-us-intelligence-71bc95b0; Staff, "HUR Chief Budanov Says Seems Navalny Died of Detached Blood Clot," *Kyiv Post*, February 26, 2024, https://kyivpost.com/post/28630.
- **799** Peter Baker, "Navalny's Death Raises Tensions Between US and Russia," *New York Times*, February 16, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/16/world/europe/biden-putin-navalny.html.

- **800** Ann M. Simmons, "What Another Six Years of Putin May Bring for Russia and the World," *Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia/what-another-six-years-of-putin-may-bring-for-russia-and-the-world-d044d47b?mod=hp lead pos2.
- **801** Royce Kurmelovs and Katya Kazbek, "Who is Alexei Navalny? Behind the myth of the West's favorite Russian opposition figure," Grayzone, January 28, 2021,
- https://thegrayzone.com/2021/01/28/alexei-navalny-myth-wests-russian-opposition-figure.
- 802 Marek Minar, "Navalny Cockroach Video," April 5, 2021,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=hT0tCSaWZ9Q; Shaun Walker, "Interview: Alexei Navalny on Putin's Russia: 'All autocratic regimes come to an end," *Guardian*, April 29, 2017,
- https://theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/29/alexei-navalny-on-putins-russia-all-autocratic-regimes-come-to-an-end; Anatoly Karlin, "Navalny's Petty Racism," February 18, 2012, https://akarlin.com/navalny-petty-racist.
- **803** Roni Greenfield, "Navalny's Policy Shift on Crimea May Be Too Little, Too Late," *Moscow Times*, March 7, 2023, https://themoscowtimes.com/2023/03/07/navalnys-policy-shift-on-crimea-may-be-too-little-too-late-a80396.
- **804** Vladyslav Faraponov, "What Does Aleksey Navalny Really Think About Ukraine, Crimea And Donbas?" Ukraine World, January 21, 2021, https://ukraineworld.org/en/articles/opinions/what-does-aleksey-navalny-really-think-about-ukraine-crimea-and-donbas.
- **805** Aaron Maté, "In Navalny poisoning, rush to judgment threatens new Russia-NATO crisis," Grayzone, September 6, 2020, https://thegrayzone.com/2020/09/06/in-navalny-poisoning-rush-to-judgment-threatens-new-russia-nato-crisis.
- **806** Katrin Bennhold and Michael Schwirtz, "Navalny, Awake and Alert, Plans to Return to Russia, German Official Says," *New York Times*, September 14, 2020,
- https://nytimes.com/2020/09/14/world/europe/navalny-novichok.html; Michael Schwirtz, "Nerve Agent Was Used to Poison Navalny, Chemical Weapons Body Confirms," *New York Times*, October 6, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/10/06/world/europe/navalny-opcw-russia-novichok.html.
- **807** "FSB Team of Chemical Weapon Experts Implicated in Alexey Navalny Novichok Poisoning," Bellingcat, December 14, 2020, https://bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2020/12/14/fsb-team-of-chemical-weapon-experts-implicated-in-alexey-navalny-novichok-poisoning; "Call Between Alexey Navalny and FSB Officer Konstantin Kudryavtsev," Bellingcat, December 21, 2020, https://youtube.com/watch?v=gwvA49ZXnf8.
- **808** "Upskilling to Upscale: Unleashing the Capacity of Civil Society to Counter Disinformation," Institute for Statecraft Integrity Initiative, June 2018,
- https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Document:Upskilling to Upscale: Unleashing the Capacity of Civil S ociety to Counter Disinformation.
- **809** Michael Schwirtz, "Russian Officers Were Near Navalny When He Was Poisoned, Report Says," *New York Times*, December 14, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/12/14/world/europe/navalny-russian-officers-poisoned.html.
- 810 Bernard, "Navalny Gets Skripaled," Moon of Alabama, September 2, 2020,
- https://moonofalabama.org/2020/09/navalny-gets-skripaled.html; Bernard, "The Back And Forth About Navalny's 'Poisoning," Moon of Alabama, August 25, 2020, https://moonofalabama.org/2020/08/the-back-and-forth-about-navalnys-poisoning-.html.
- **811** John Daniszewski, "Poison Hidden in a Letter May Have Killed Rebel in Chechnya," *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 2002, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-may-01-fg-poison1-story.html.
- **812** Staff, "Navalny Links Kremlin to Trump Campaign Aide Paul Manafort," *Moscow Times*, February 8, 2018, https://themoscowtimes.com/2018/02/08/navalny-claims-proof-kremlins-ties-to-trump-campaign-aide-paul-manafort-a60442.

- **813** Anton Troianovski and Peter Baker, "Biden Says 'Putin Is Responsible' After Report of Navalny's Death," *New York Times*, February 16, 2024, https://nytimes.com/live/2024/02/16/world/alekseinavalny.
- 814 Caitlin Yilek, "Biden blames Putin for Alexey Navalny's reported death in Russian prison," CBS News, February 16, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/biden-alexey-navalny-death; David J. Kramer, "Putin's latest victim: Aleksei Navalny," George W. Bush Center, February 16, 2024,

https://bushcenter.org/publications/aleksei-navalny-putins-latest-victim; Anne Applebaum, "Why Russia Killed Navalny," *The Atlantic*, February 16, 2024,

https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/02/navalny-death-russia-prison/677485; Anne McElvoy and Peter Snowdon, "Navalny was 'murdered' on Putin's direct orders, key opposition figure alleges," *Politico Europe*, May 22, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/alexei-navalny-murdered-orders-vladimir-putin-russia-leonid-volkov.

- **815** Staff, "HUR Chief Budanov Says Seems Navalny Died of Detached Blood Clot," *Kyiv Post*, February 26, 2024, https://kyivpost.com/post/28630.
- **816** Aruna Viswanatha, et al., "Putin Didn't Directly Order Alexei Navalny's February Death, US Spy Agencies Find," *Wall Street Journal*, April 27, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia/alexei-navalny-death-us-intelligence-71bc95b0.
- **817** Anton Troianovski and Valeriya Safronova, "Aleksei Navalny, Fiery Putin Critic, Is Handed a New, 9-Year Prison Sentence," *New York Times*, March 22, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/03/22/world/europe/russia-navalny-prison.html; Staff, "Kremlin Critic Alexei Navalny Convicted of Extremism and Sentenced to 19 Years in Prison," *Time*, August 4, 2023, https://time.com/6301990/alexei-navalny-convicted-sentenced.
- 818 Dmitry Adamsky, "Cross-Domain Coercion: The Current Russian Art of Strategy," Proliferation Papers, No. 54, November 2015, https://ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/pp54adamsky.pdf; Molly K. McKew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine," *Politico Magazine*, September/October 2017, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2017/09/05/gerasimov-doctrine-russia-foreign-policy-215538; Martin Murphy, "Understanding Russia's Concept for Total War in Europe," Heritage Foundation, September 12, 2016, https://heritage.org/defense/report/understanding-russias-concept-total-wareurope; Tetyana Malyarenko and Borys Kormych, "The Barbarism of Hybrid Warfare," Woodrow Wilson Center, March 17, 2022, https://wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/barbarism-hybrid-warfare: V. Morris, "Grading Gerasimov: Evaluating Russian Nonlinear War Through Modern Chinese Doctrine," Small Wars Journal, September 17, 2015, https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/grading-gerasimovevaluating-russian-nonlinear-war-through-modern-chinese-doctrine; Mason Clark and Catherine Harris, "Russia in Review: The Gerasimov Doctrine Is Here To Stay," Institute for the Study of War, October 30, 2018, https://iswresearch.org/2018/10/russia-in-review-gerasimov-doctrine-is.html; Robert Coalson, "Top Russian General Lays Bare Putin's Plan for Ukraine," Huffington Post, September 2, 2014, https://huffpost.com/entry/valery-gerasimov-putin-ukraine b 5748480; Staff, "Valery Gerasimov: The 'military man from head to toe' tasked by Russia to win the Ukraine war," First Post, January 12, 2023, https://firstpost.com/explainers/valery-gerasimov-russia-ukraine-war-newcommander-11974472.html.
- **819** Mark Galeotti, "The 'Gerasimov Doctrine' and Russian Non-Linear War," In Moscow's Shadows, July 6, 2014, https://inmoscowsshadows.wordpress.com/2014/07/06/the-gerasimov-doctrine-and-russian-non-linear-war.
- **820** Valery Gerasimov, "The Value of Science is in the Foresight," Translation in *Military Review*, January–February 2016, https://armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview 20160228 art001.pdf.
- **821** Roger N. McDermott, "Does Russia Have a Gerasimov Doctrine?" *Parameters*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (2016), https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2827&context=parameters.

- **822** Lieutenant General Vincent R. Stewart, US MC Director Defense Intelligence Agency, "Russia Military Power: Building a Military to Support Great Power Aspirations," Defense Intelligence Agency, 2017.
- https://dia.mil/Portals/110/Images/News/Military_Powers_Publications/Russia_Military_Power_Report_2017.pdf.
- **823** Molly K. McKew, "The Gerasimov Doctrine," *Politico Magazine*, September/October 2017, https://politico.com/magazine/story/2017/09/05/gerasimov-doctrine-russia-foreign-policy-215538.
- **824** Martin Murphy, "Understanding Russia's Concept for Total War in Europe," Heritage Foundation, September 12, 2016, https://heritage.org/defense/report/understanding-russias-concept-total-war-europe.
- **825** Henry Foy, "Valery Gerasimov, the general with a doctrine for Russia," *Financial Times*, September 15, 2017, https://ft.com/content/7e14a438-989b-11e7-a652-cde3f882dd7b.
- **826** Mark Galeotti, "I'm Sorry for Creating the 'Gerasimov Doctrine," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/05/im-sorry-for-creating-the-gerasimov-doctrine; Mark Galeotti, "The mythical 'Gerasimov Doctrine' and the language of threat," *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (February 27, 2018), https://tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21624887.2018.1441623.
- **827** Roger McDermott, "Gerasimov Calls for New Strategy to Counter Color Revolution," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 13, No. 46 (March 8, 2016),
- https://jamestown.org/program/gerasimov-calls-for-new-strategy-to-counter-color-revolution.
- **828** Staff, "Nagorno-Karabakh: New Opening, or More Peril?" Crisis Group, July 4, 2016, https://crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/caucasus/azerbaijan/nagorno-karabakh-new-opening-ormore-peril.
- **829** Staff, "Kerry Calls For 'Ultimate Resolution' Of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," RFERL, March 31, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/azerbaijan-kerry-karabakh-armenia-conflict-resolution/27645930.html.
- **830** Justin Raimondo, "Nagorno-Karabakh: The April Fool's War," Antiwar.com, April 4, 2016, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2016/04/03/nagorno-karabakh-april-fools-war.
- **831** Justin Raimondo, "Hey There, Heydar!" Antiwar.com, June 21, 1999, https://antiwar.com/justin/j062199.html.
- 832 Staff, "Civil Society and Media in Armenia," USAID, January 2019,
- https://usaidlearninglab.org/system/files/resource/files/usaid_armenia_drg_civil_society_and_media_ev_idence_review final_2019-02-12.pdf.
- **833** Staff, "Breaking: Serge Sarkisian Resigns as Prime Minister," The Armenian Weekly, April 23, 2018, https://armenianweekly.com/2018/04/23/breaking-serge-sarkisian-resigns-as-prime-minister.
- **834** Karlen Aslanian, "Huge Crowds Keep Up Pressure On Armenian PM," RFERL, April 22, 2018, https://azatutyun.am/a/29185545.html.
- **835** David Brennan, "Why You Should Care About the Escalating Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict," *Newsweek*, September 29, 2020, https://newsweek.com/why-you-should-care-about-escalating-nagorno-karabakh-conflict-1534912.
- **836** John Pike, "Nagorno-Karabakh/Republic of Artsakh," Global Security, July 21, 2024, https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/nagorno-karabakh.htm.
- **837** Gabriel Gavin, "We can't rely on Russia to protect us anymore, Armenian PM says," *Politico Europe*, September 13, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/we-cant-rely-russia-protect-us-anymore-nikol-pashinyan-armenia-pm.
- **838** Rob Garver, "US Troops' Arrival in Armenia for Training Riles Russia," Voice of America, September 11, 2023, https://voanews.com/a/us-troops-arrival-in-armenia-for-training-riles-russia/7264316.html.
- 839 See Chapter Six.
- **840** Michael O'Hanlon, "Saddam's Bomb," Slate, September 18, 2002, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2002/09/how-close-is-iraq-to-having-a-nuclear-weapon.html.

- **841** Michael O'Hanlon, *Beyond Nato: A New Security Architecture for Eastern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2017), 2–3, https://brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/full-text_beyond-nato.pdf.
- **842** Staff, "Russia says US, Ukraine reject its UN proposal for Eastern Ukraine: TASS," Reuters, September 18, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-russia-peacekeepers-iduskcn1bt0p5.
- **843** James Sherr, "Proposal a Classic Putin Gambit," Chatham House, October 16, 2017, https://chathamhouse.org/2017/10/donbas-peacekeepers-proposal-classic-putin-gambit.
- **844** Robbie Gramer, "Trump, Tillerson Tap Russia Hawk Volker for Ukraine Envoy," *Foreign Policy*, July 7, 2017, https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/07/trump-taps-russia-hawk-volker-for-ukraine-envoy-putin-russia-kremlin-kiev-nato-europe-tillerson.
- **845** Patricia Zengerle, "US doesn't want to be 'handcuffed' to Ukraine agreement," Reuters, June 14, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/world/us-doesnt-want-to-be-handcuffed-to-ukraine-agreement-idUSKBN1952QH.
- **846** "Fact Sheet: NATO-Ukraine relations," NATO, February 2022, https://nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2022/2/pdf/220214-factsheet_NATO-Ukraine Relations .pdf.
- **847** "Nuclear Posture Review 2018," US Defense Department, February 2018, https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-report.pdf.
- **848** "Instant global strike: why the enemy should be afraid of the latest Sarmat missile," TV Zvezda, May 7, 2016, https://tvzvezda.ru/news/201605070850-p0pm.htm; "Russia's New ICBM Sarmat Can Penetrate Defense Shield, Wipe Out Texas," Sputnik, May 8, 2016,
- https://sputniknews.com/20160508/russia-ballistic-missile-sarmat-1039258053.html.
- **849** Mark Trevelyan, "Russia tests nuclear-capable missile that Putin calls world's best," Reuters, April 20, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-tests-new-intercontinental-ballistic-missile-2022-04-20.
- **850** Blake Stilwell, "The World's Most Powerful Nuclear Missile Is a Russian ICBM Nicknamed 'Satan," Military.com, April 14, 2022, https://military.com/history/worlds-most-powerful-nuclear-missile-russian-icbm-nicknamed-satan.html.
- **851** Mark Trevelyan, "Russia tests nuclear-capable missile that Putin calls world's best," Reuters, April 20, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-tests-new-intercontinental-ballistic-missile-2022-04-20.
- **852** Lyle J. Goldstein, "Threat Inflation, Russian Military Weakness, and the Resulting Nuclear Paradox," Cost of War Project, September 15, 2022,
- https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/Threat%20Inflation%20and%20Russian%20Military%20Weakness_Goldstein_CostsofWar-2.pdf.
- **853** Vladimir Putin, "Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly," Kremlin, March 1, 2018, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/56957.
- **854** "Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's interview with Mediaset, Italian television network," Russian Foreign Ministry, May 1, 2022, https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1811569.
- **855** "Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 5, 2024, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf.
- **856** Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, "Russian nuclear weapons, 2022," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (2022), 98–121, https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2022.2038907.
- **857** Holly Ellyatt, "Is Russia's latest provocation great timing for Ukraine?" CNBC, November 27, 2018, https://cnbc.com/2018/11/27/russia-ukraine-ships-seizure-could-spell-more-sanctions-on-russia.html.

- **858** Press Release, "Treasury Sanctions Russia over Continued Aggression in Ukraine," US Treasury Department, March 15, 2019, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm629.
- **859** Oliver Carroll, "How Ukraine became the unlikely home for Isis leaders escaping the caliphate," *Independent*, November 21, 2019, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/isis-leaders-ukraine-tukey-syria-caliphate-al-bara-shishani-a9211676.html.
- **860** Oliver Carroll, "How Ukraine became the unlikely home for Isis leaders escaping the caliphate," *Independent*, November 21, 2019, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/isis-leaders-ukraine-tukey-syria-caliphate-al-bara-shishani-a9211676.html.
- **861** Joshua Cohen, "Ukraine's ultra-right militias are challenging the government to a showdown," *Washington Post*, June 15, 2017, https://washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-
- post/wp/2017/06/15/ukraines-ultra-right-militias-are-challenging-the-government-to-a-showdown; Staff, "Azovites' threatened MPs with physical violence," Korrespondent.net, May 20, 2016,
- https://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3685301-azovtsy-pryhrozyly-fyzycheskoi-raspravoi-nardepam.
- **862** Staff, "Ukraine election: Comedian Zelensky wins presidency by landslide," BBC, April 22, 2019, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-48007487.
- **863** David Rennie, "Remember Churchill: US hawks cite 'lone stand' to justify war on Iraq," *Telegraph*, August 29, 2002,
- https://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/1405726/Remember-Churchill-US-hawks-cite-lone-stand-to-justify-war-on-Iraq.html.
- **864** Press Release, "President George W. Bush Meets with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy," George W. Bush Center, May 5, 2022, https://bushcenter.org/newsroom/president-george-w-bush-meets-with-ukrainian-president-volodymyr-zelenskyy.
- **865** Staff, "Ukrainian Police: 22 Officers Hospitalized After Clashes With Far-Right Activists," RFERL, March 10, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-police-twenty-officers-hospitalized-after-clashes-with-far-right-activists/29813289.html.
- **866** Tweet by Volodymyr Viatrovych, April 14, 2019, https://x.com/viatrovych/status/1117402906809065472.
- **867** Lilia Ragutskaya, "Yarosh: if Zelensky betrays Ukraine, he will lose not his position, but his life," Obozrevatel, May 27, 2019, https://incident.obozrevatel.com/ukr/crime/dmitro-yarosh-1-chastina-intervyu.htm.
- **868** David Broder, Richard Sakwa interview, "Biden's Escalation With Russia Over Ukraine Is a Terrible Idea," Jacobin, January 26, 2022, https://jacobin.com/2022/01/putin-nato-us-war-Donbas-minsk-2.
- **869** Tarik Cyril Amar, et al., "Supporting Ukraine Means Opposing Anti-Semitic Nationalism Now, Not Later," *Tablet*, March 23, 2014, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/no-time-to-waste-in-ukraine.
- **870** Volodymyr Ishchenko, "Ukraine has ignored the far right for too long it must wake up to the danger," *Guardian*, November 13, 2014, https://theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/nov/13/ukraine-far-right-fascism-mps.
- **871** Josh Cohen, "Ukraine's Got a Real Problem with Far-Right Violence (And No, RT Didn't Write This Headline)," Atlantic Council, June 20, 2018, <a href="https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraine-s-got-a-real-problem-with-far-right-violence-and-no-rt-didn-t-write-this-headline.
- **872** Staff, "Inside a Ukrainian nationalist camp training kids to kill," CBS News, November 12, 2018, https://cbsnews.com/news/ukrainian-nationalist-camp-training-kids-to-kill.
- **873** Jonathan Brunson, "Russia Isn't the Only Threat to Ukrainian Democracy: The Impact of Far-Right Nationalist Revolutionaries," War on the Rocks, April 20, 2019,
- $\underline{https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/russia-isnt-the-only-threat-to-ukrainian-democracy-the-impact-of-far-right-nationalist-revolutionaries.}$

- **874** Maryana Pietsuh, "Andrey Parubiy: The Law on the Prosecutor General's Office is a matter of national security," Ukrainska Pravda, May 24, 2016, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/articles/2016/05/24/7109442.
- 875 Pavlo Solodko, "The opposition are fascists! As it was 10 years ago," Istorychna Pravda, May 24, 2013, http://istpravda.com.ua/artefacts/2013/05/24/124685.
- **876** Kait Bolongaro, "By Russian Orthodox Church a 'national security threat' to Ukraine, says president," *Politico Europe*, July 28, 2018, https://politico.eu/article/petro-poroshenko-ukraine-russian-orthodox-church-a-national-security-threat-to-ukraine-says-president.
- **877** Lev Golinkin, "How the Holocaust Haunts Eastern Europe," *New York Times*, January 26, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/01/26/opinion/holocaust-eastern-europe.html.
- **878** Jonathan Brunson, "Russia Isn't the Only Threat to Ukrainian Democracy: The Impact of Far-Right Nationalist Revolutionaries," War on the Rocks, April 20, 2019,
- https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/russia-isnt-the-only-threat-to-ukrainian-democracy-the-impact-of-far-right-nationalist-revolutionaries.
- **879** Christian Wehrschütz, "Special Envoy Sajdik: Having a new plan to solve the Ukraine crisis," Kleine Zeitung, January 24, 2019,
- https://kleinezeitung.at/politik/aussenpolitik/5567894/ExklusivInterview_Sondergesandter-Sajdik_Haben-neuen-Plan-zur; Staff, "OSCE envoy unveils new peace plan for E. Ukraine," Xinhua, January 1, 2019, http://xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/29/c_137782354.htm.
- **880** Ihor Prokopchuk, "Statement in response to Ambassador Martin Sajdik, Special Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office, and Ambassador Ertuğrul Apakan, Chief Monitor of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine," Ukraine Foreign Ministry, February 1, 2019,
- https://mfa.gov.ua/en/news/70283-zajava-delegaciji-ukrajini-u-vidpovidy-na-dopovidi-specpredstavnika-dijuchogo-golovi-obse-martina-sajdika-ta-glavi-smm-obse-v-ukrajini-jertugrula-apakana-movoju-originalu.
- **881** Staff, "Ukrainian Nationalists Disrupt Peace Presentation On War In East," RFERL, March 12, 2020, https://rferl.org/a/ukrainian-nationalists-disrupt-peace-presentation-on-war-in-east/30484359.html.
- **882** Christopher Miller, "Explainer: What Is The Steinmeier Formula And Did Zelenskiy Just Capitulate To Moscow?" RFERL, October 2, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/what-is-the-steinmeier-formula-and-did-zelenskiy-just-capitulate-to-moscow-/30195593.html.
- 883 See Chapter One.
- **884** Paul Sonne and David L. Stern, "A year in the trenches has hardened Ukraine's president," *Washington Post*, February 22, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/22/volodymyrzelensky-president-war-ukraine.
- **885** Justin Lynch, "Zelensky Flounders in Bid to End Ukraine's War," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/11/zelensky-pushes-peace-deal-ukraine-war-russia-Donbas-steinmeier-formula.
- **886** Christopher Miller, "Explainer: What Is The Steinmeier Formula And Did Zelenskiy Just Capitulate To Moscow?" RFERL, October 2, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/what-is-the-steinmeier-formula-and-did-zelenskiy-just-capitulate-to-moscow-/30195593.html.
- **887** Christopher Miller, "Explainer: What Is The Steinmeier Formula And Did Zelenskiy Just Capitulate To Moscow?" RFERL, October 2, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/what-is-the-steinmeier-formula-and-did-zelenskiy-just-capitulate-to-moscow-/30195593.html.
- **888** Ann M. Simmons, "Ukraine Plan to End Conflict With Russia Meets Resistance," *Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-plan-to-end-conflict-with-russia-meets-resistance-11571081695.

- **889** Staff, "Ukrainians gather on Kyiv's Maidan to protest against 'Steinmeier formula' for Donbas," UNIAN, October 6, 2019, https://unian.info/kyiv/10710540-ukrainians-gather-on-kyiv-s-maidan-to-protest-against-steinmeier-formula-for-donbas-photos-video.html.
- **890** Staff, "Far-right groups protest Ukrainian president's peace plan," AP, October 14, 2019, https://latimes.com/world-nation/story/2019-10-14/ukraine-protest-zelensky-peace-plan.
- **891** Maryna Vorotnyuk, "Ukrainian Protests Against the Steinmeier Formula A View From the Ground," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 16, No. 145 (October 21, 2019), https://jamestown.org/program/ukrainian-protests-against-the-steinmeier-formula-a-view-from-the-ground.
- **892** "Protests against Zelenskyy's peace plan for Donbas continue as 12,000 march in Kyiv," Euromaidan Press, October 15, 2019, https://euromaidanpress.com/2019/10/15/steinmeier-formula-protest-continue-as-12000-march-in-kyiv-ukraine.
- **893** Moss Robeson, "'Now, All of You Are Azov': Ukrainian 'Neo-Nazis' Tour US," Ukes, Kooks & Spooks, October 5, 2022, https://mossrobeson.medium.com/now-all-of-you-are-azov-ukrainian-neo-nazis-tour-u-s-3bf4eddb34e2.
- **894** Aaron Maté, "Siding With Ukraine's Far-right, US Sabotaged Zelensky's Mandate for Peace," Aaron Maté Substack, April 10, 2022, https://mate.substack.com/p/siding-with-ukraines-far-right-us. **895** Lilia Ragutskaya, "Yarosh: if Zelensky betrays Ukraine, he will lose not his position, but his life," Obozrevatel, May 27, 2019, https://incident.obozrevatel.com/ukr/crime/dmitro-yarosh-1-chastina-intervyu.htm.
- 896 See Chapter Six.
- **897** Oksana Grytsenko, "'I'm Not a Loser': Zelensky Clashes with Veterans Over Donbas Disengagement," *Kyiv Post*, October 28, 2019, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/im-not-a-loser-zelensky-clashes-with-veterans-over-donbas-disengagement.html.
- **898** Shaun Walker, "Azov fighters are Ukraine's greatest weapon and may be its greatest threat," *Guardian*, September 10, 2014, https://theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/10/azov-far-right-fighters-ukraine-neo-nazis.
- **899** "Andriy Biletskyi: We have the courage to dissolve this Verkhovna Rada," February 22, 2017, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Xma2UwUHpsY.
- **900** Oksana Grytsenko, "'I'm Not a Loser': Zelensky Clashes with Veterans Over Donbas Disengagement," *Kyiv Post*, October 28, 2019, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/im-not-a-loser-zelensky-clashes-with-veterans-over-donbas-disengagement.html.
- **901** Valery Engel, "Zelensky Struggles To Contain Ukraine's Neo-Nazi Problem," Radical Right Analysis, November 30, 2019, https://radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/11/30/zelensky-struggles-to-contain-ukraines-neo-nazi-problem.
- **902** Ilya Zhegulev, "How Putin Came to Hate Ukraine," Nestka, April 25, 2023, https://verstka.media/kak-putin-pridumal-voynu.
- **903** Aaron Maté, "US 'success' is Ukraine's disaster," Aaron Maté Substack, November 28, 2022, https://mate.substack.com/p/us-success-is-ukraines-disaster.
- **904** Staff, "Beaten Up by the Nazis, Sivokho Is Back at It," Ukraina, July 16, 2021, https://ukraina.ru/news/20210716/1031858276.html; Petro, 242–43.
- 905 "The President addressed the Parliament with the annual Address on the Internal and External Situation of Ukraine and presented state awards," Volodymyr Zelensky, President of Ukraine, Official Online Representation, December 1, 2021, https://president.gov.ua/news/prezident-vistupiv-u-parlamenti-zi-shorichnim-poslannyam-pro-71817.
- **906** Anton Troianovski, "A Threat From the Russian State': Ukrainians Alarmed as Troops Mass on Their Doorstep," *New York Times*, April 10, 2021, https://nytimes.com/2021/04/20/world/europe/-ukraine-russia-putin-invasion.html.

- **907** Kim Sengupta, "Death of nationalist Ukrainian commander 'Da Vinci' gives Russia a propaganda win," *Independent*, March 9, 2023, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-war-russia-bakhmut-zelensky-b2296581.html.
- 908 Matthias Williams and Natalia Zinets, "Comedian faces scrutiny over oligarch ties in Ukraine presidential race," Reuters, April 1, 2019, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-election-zelenskiy-oligarch-idUSKCN1RD30L; Elena Loginova, "Pandora Papers Reveal Offshore Holdings of Ukrainian President and his Inner Circle," Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, October 3, 2021, https://occrp.org/en/the-pandora-papers/pandora-papers-reveal-offshore-holdings-of-ukrainian-president-and-his-inner-circle; Ray Furlong, "Zelenskiy's Oligarch Connection," RFERL, April 18, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-zelenskiy-kolomoyskiy/29888017.html.
- **909** Dana Kennedy, "Hunter Biden's Ukraine contact allegedly a 'fixer' for shady oligarchs," *New York Post*, October 31, 2020, https://nypost.com/2020/10/31/hunter-bidens-ukraine-contact-allegedly-fixer-for-rulers; Dmytro Hnap and Anna Babinets, "Kings of Ukrainian Gas," Anticorruption Action Center, October 26, 2012, https://archive.is/HYr3k; See below.
- **910** Graham Stack, "Oligarchs Weaponized Cyprus Branch of Ukraine's Largest Bank to Send \$5.5 Billion Abroad," Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, April 19, 2019, https://occrp.org/en/investigations/oligarchs-weaponized-cyprus-eranch-of-ukraines-largest-bank-to-send-5-billion-abroad; Michel, 192–96.
- **911** Jim Armitage, "Oligarchs at War: Claims of Murder Among Ukrainian Billionaires in High Court Case," *Independent*, March 13, 2015, https://independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/oligarchs-at-war-claims-of-murder-among-ukrainian-billionaires-in-high-court-case-10107612.html.
- 912 Damien Sharkov, "Ukrainian Nationalist Volunteers Committing 'ISIS-Style' War Crimes," *Newsweek*, October 9, 2014, http://newsweek.com/evidence-war-crimes-committed-ukrainian-nationalist-volunteers-grows-269604; Staff, "Profile: Who are Ukraine's far-right Azov regiment?" Al Jazeera, March 1, 2022, https://aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/1/who-are-the-azov-regiment; Tomas Hirst, "Meet the private army controlled by sacked Ukrainian billionaire Igor Kolomoisky," Business Insider, March 25, 2015, https://businessinsider.com/the-pocket-army-controlled-by-sacked-ukrainian-billionaire-igor-kolomoisky-2015-3; Casey Michel, *American Kleptocracy: *How the US Created the World's *Greatest Money Laundering Scheme in History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2021), 180–81.

 913 Gabriela Baczynska, "Kiev pins hopes on oligarch in battle against eastern separatists," Reuters, May 23, 2014, https://reuters.com/article/world/kiev-pins-hopes-on-oligarch-in-battle-against-eastern-separatists-idUSKBN0E31V1; Alan Cullison, "Ukraine's Secret Weapon: Feisty Oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky," *Wall Street Journal*, June 27, 2014, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraines-secret-weapon-feisty-oligarch-ihor-kolomoisky-1403886665; Josh Cohen, "In the Battle Between Ukraine and Russian Separatists, Shady Private Armies Take the Field," Reuters, May 5, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/idUS60927080220150505.
- **914** Andrew Cockburn, "Undelivered Goods," *Harper's*, August 13, 2015, https://harpers.org/2015/08/undelivered-goods.
- 915 Staff, "Breaking Bodies: Torture and Summary Executions in Eastern Ukraine," Amnesty International, May 2015, https://amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/EUR5016832015ENGLISH.pdf; Staff, "You Don't Exist," Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, July 21, 2016, <a href="https://hrw.org/report/2016/07/21/you-repor
- International and Human Rights Watch, July 21, 2016, https://hrw.org/report/2016/07/21/you-dont-exist/arbitrary-detentions-enforced-disappearances-and-torture-eastern; Staff, "Ukraine: Abuses and War Crimes by the Aidar Volunteer Battalion in the North Luhansk Region," Amnesty International, September 8, 2014, https://amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/eur500402014en.pdf; Staff, "Eastern Ukraine: Humanitarian disaster looms as food aid blocked," Amnesty International, December 24, 2014, https://amnesty.org/en/news/eastern-ukraine-humanitarian-disaster-looms-food-aid-blocked.
- **916** Elizabeth Piper and Sergiy Karazy, "Special Report: Ukraine struggles to control maverick battalions," Reuters, July 29, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-battalions-special-

- <u>rep/special-report-ukraine-struggles-to-control-maverick-battalions-idUSKCN0Q30YT20150729</u>; See Chapter Four.
- 917 Richard Balmforth, "Ukrainian oligarch under fire after night raid on state oil firm," Reuters, March 20, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-kolomoisky/ukrainian-oligarch-under-fire-after-night-raid-on-state-oil-firm-idUSKBN0MG2A320150320; Tomas Hirst, "Meet the Private Army Controlled by Sacked Ukrainian Billionaire Igor Kolomoisky," Business Insider, March 25, 2015, https://businessinsider.com/the-pocket-army-controlled-by-sacked-ukrainian-billionaire-igor-kolomoisky-2015-3; Michel, 181–82.
- 918 Hahn, 292–93.
- **919** "The Pandora Papers," Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, October 3, 2021, https://occrp.org/en/the-pandora-papers.
- 920 Miranda Patrucic, et al., "Azerbaijan's Ruling Aliyev Family and Their Associates Acquired Dozens of Prime London Properties Worth Nearly \$700 Million," ICIJ, October 3, 2021, https://occrp.org/en/the-pandora-papers
 Reveal Offshore Holdings of Ukrainian President and his Inner Circle," Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, October 3, 2021, https://occrp.org/en/the-pandora-papers/pandora-papers-reveal-offshore-holdings-of-ukrainian-president-and-his-inner-circle; Staff, "World leaders scramble to limit fallout from Pandora Papers revelations," France 24, October 4, 2021, https://france24.com/en/business/20211004-world-leaders-try-to-limit-fallout-from-pandora-papers-revelations.
- **921** Anton Troianovski, "A Ukrainian Billionaire Fought Russia. Now He's Ready to Embrace It," *New York Times*, November 13, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/11/13/world/europe/ukraine-ihor-kolomoisky-russia.html.
- 922 Andrew Cockburn, "Undelivered Goods," *Harper's*, August 13, 2015, https://harpers.org/2015/08/undelivered-goods; Holly Ellyatt, "A bank scandal, an oligarch and the IMF: Ukraine's president has a lot to deal with right now," CNBC, September 20, 2019, https://cnbc.com/2019/09/20/privatbank-ukraines-president-zelensky-and-the-oligarch-kolomoisky.html.
- **923** Interview with author, Andrew Cockburn, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, September 2, 2015, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/9215-andrew-cockburn.
- **924** Polina Ivanova and Pavel Polityuk, "Ukraine tycoon crows 'I won' after PrivatBank nationalization ruled illegal," Reuters, April 18, 2019, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-privatbank/ukraine-tycoon-crows-i-won-after-privatbank-nationalization-ruled-illegal-idUSKCN1RU1KY.
- **925** Tom Balmforth and Olena Harmash, "Ukraine raids home of billionaire in war-time anti-corruption crackdown," Reuters, February 1, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-presses-ahead-with-donetsk-campaign-ukraine-wants-fighter-jets-2023-01-31.
- **926** Yuras Karmanau, "Ex-leader Poroshenko returns to Ukraine to face charges," AP, January 17, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/europe-russia-ukraine-warsaw-kyiv-
- <u>adbaa0754a07560c776d74e5fef0c2f0</u>; Oleg Sukhov, "Explainer: Is Poroshenko treason case justice or political persecution?" Kyiv Independent, January 25, 2022, https://kyivindependent.com/explainer-is-poroshenko-treason-case-justice-or-political-persecution.
- **927** George Lucas, "Darth Tyranus and Darth Sidious," *Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones*, May 16, 2002, https://youtube.com/watch?v=3yykRJZokCU.
- **928** Richard Balmforth, "Ukrainian oligarch under fire after night raid on state oil firm," Reuters, March 20, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-kolomoisky/ukrainian-oligarch-under-fire-after-night-raid-on-state-oil-firm-idUSKBN0MG2A320150320.

- **929** Max Hunder, "Ukraine's security service alleges Russian plot involving ex-president," Reuters, December 2, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraines-security-service-alleges-russian-plot-involving-ex-president-2023-12-02.
- **930** Nicolai N. Petro, *The Tragedy of Ukraine: What Classical Greek Tragedy Can Teach Us About Conflict Resolution* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 90.
- 931 "Fact Sheet: NATO-Ukraine relations," NATO, February 2022,
- https://nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/2022/2/pdf/220214-factsheet_NATO-Ukraine Relations .pdf.
- **932** Steve Clemons, "Cheney Attempting to Constrain Bush's Choices on Iran Conflict," The Washington Note, May 24, 2007,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20070614165908/http://thewashingtonnote.com/archives/002145.php; Helene Cooper, "Rice Plays Down Hawkish Talk About Iran," *New York Times*, June 2, 2007, https://nytimes.com/2007/06/02/world/middleeast/02diplo.html; Barton Gellman, *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 369; Michael Hirsh and Mark Hosenball, "The Lady and the Veep," *Newsweek*, June 7, 2007,
- $\underline{\text{https://web.archive.org/web/20070607151326/http://msnbc.msn.com/id/19001199/site/newsweek/page/0.}$
- 933 Joe Klein, "Cheney's Iran Fantasy," Time, May 25, 2007,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20070812055331/http://time-
- blog.com/swampland/2007/05/cheneys iran fantasy.html.
- **934** Miranda Devine, "Hunter Biden's Ukraine salary was cut two months after Joe Biden left office," *New York Post*, May 26, 2021, https://nypost.com/2021/05/26/hunter-bidens-ukraine-salary-was-cut-after-joe-biden-left-office.
- 935 Stephen Braun, "Ukrainian energy firm hires Biden son as lawyer," AP, June 7, 2014, https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-europe-business-c49555d51eb243e09a42f7577fc5937f.
- **936** Dana Kennedy, "Hunter Biden's Ukraine contact allegedly a 'fixer' for shady oligarchs," *New York Post*, October 31, 2020, https://nypost.com/2020/10/31/hunter-bidens-ukraine-contact-allegedly-fixer-for-rulers; Dmytro Hnap and Anna Babinets, "Kings of Ukrainian Gas," Anticorruption Action Center, October 26, 2012, https://archive.is/HYr3k.
- **937** Susie Coen, "Let me meet my grandpa: Joe Biden's secret grandchild makes heartfelt plea," *Telegraph*, July 13, 2024, https://telegraph.co.uk/us/news/2024/07/13/let-me-meet-my-grandpa-joe-biden-secret-grandchild.
- 938 Pilar Melendez, "Hunter's Women: The Three Exes Tangled Up in Biden's Trial," Daily Beast, June 6, 2024, https://thedailybeast.com/kathleen-buhle-zoe-kestan-hallie-biden-the-three-exes-tangled-up-in-hunter-bidens-trial; Jennifer Haberkorn, "Biden publicly recognizes grandchild, Hunter's 4-year-old daughter, for first time," *Politico*, July 28, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/07/28/biden-publicly-recognizes-grandchild-hunter-00108831.
- 939 Press Release, "Hunter Biden joins the team of Burisma Holdings," Burisma, May 12, 2014, https://docs.house.gov/meetings/JU/JU00/20191211/110331/HMKP-116-JU00-20191211-SD984.pdf; Michael Scherer, "Ukrainian Employer of Joe Biden's Son Hires a DC Lobbyist," *Time*, July 7, 2014, https://time.com/2964493/ukraine-joe-biden-son-hunter-burisma; Thomas Grove, et al., "Ukraine Company's Campaign to Burnish Its Image Stretched Beyond Hunter Biden," *Wall Street Journal*, November 7, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-companys-campaign-to-burnish-its-image-stretched-beyond-hunter-biden-11573154199.
- **940** Matt Taibbi, "The Media Campaign to Protect Joe Biden Passes the Point of Absurdity," Racket News, March 25, 2022, https://racket.news/p/tk-mashup-the-media-campaign-to-protect.
- **941** John Solomon and Steven Richards, "FBI knew since 2016 Hunter Biden's team nearly scored \$120 million Ukrainian deal while Joe was VP," Just the News, June 17, 2024,

https://justthenews.com/accountability/political-ethics/hld-hunter-biden-was-proposed-board-member-120-million-burisma.

942 Thomas Grove and Alan Cullison, "Ukraine Company's Campaign to Burnish Its Image Stretched Beyond Hunter Biden," *Wall Street Journal*, November 7, 2019, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-companys-campaign-to-burnish-its-image-stretched-beyond-hunter-biden-11573154199.

943 Mary Jacoby, "Lobbyists' NATO Goldmine," *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 2007, https://wsj.com/articles/SB118066857163421159; See Chapter Two.

944 Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019,

https://nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html. (For those less familiar, the *New York Post* is considered the more right-leaning and more sensationalistic of the two, while the *Times* is the most important media organ of the national government and its center-left consensus. Not that the *Post*'s articles on this subject were flawed. Their Miranda Devine and colleagues deserve much credit). **945** Dan De Luce and Reid Standish, "What Will Ukraine Do Without Uncle Joe?" *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/30/what-will-ukraine-do-without-joe-biden-putin-war-kiev-clinton-trump.

946 "Biden Tells Story of Getting the Ukraine Prosecutor Fired," C-SPAN, January 23, 2018, https://c-span.org/video/?c4820105/user-clip-biden-tells-story-ukraine-prosecutor-fired.

947 Steve Clemons, "The Biden Doctrine," *The Atlantic*, August 22, 2016, https://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/biden-doctrine/496841.

948 Abbey Marshall, "Biden defends Hunter: 'My son did nothing wrong. I did nothing wrong," *Politico*, October 15, 2019, https://politico.com/news/2019/10/15/joe-biden-debate-047900.

949 "Joe Biden Leaked Call Transcript with Petro Poroshenko," Rev.com, March 22, 2016, https://rev.com/blog/transcripts/joe-biden-leaked-call-transcript-with-petro-poroshenko.

950 Matt Taibbi, "The Media Campaign to Protect Joe Biden Passes the Point of Absurdity," Racket News, March 25, 2022, https://racket.news/p/tk-mashup-the-media-campaign-to-protect.

951 Matt Taibbi, "With the Hunter Biden Expose, Suppression is a Bigger Scandal Than The Actual Story," Racket News, October 24, 2020, https://racket.news/p/with-the-hunter-biden-expose-suppression.

952 Paul Sonne, et al., "The gas tycoon and the vice president's son: The story of Hunter Biden's foray into Ukraine," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-gas-tycoon-and-the-vice-presidents-son-the-story-of-hunter-bidens-foray-in-ukraine/2019/09/28/1aadff70-dfd9-11e9-8fd3-d943b4ed57e0_story.html.

953 Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html.

954 James Politi, "Envoys pushed to oust Ukraine prosecutor before Biden," *Financial Times*, October 4, 2019, https://ft.com/content/e1454ace-e61b-11e9-9743-db5a370481bc.

955 Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019,

https://nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html.

956 The Editorial Board, "Joe Biden Lectures Ukraine," *New York Times*, December 11, 2015, https://nytimes.com/2015/12/12/opinion/joe-biden-lectures-ukraine.html.

957 Anne Williamson, Unpublished Manuscript.

958 Christopher Miller, "Why Was Ukraine's Top Prosecutor Fired? The Issue At The Heart Of The Dispute Gripping Washington," RFERL, September 24, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/why-was-ukraine-top-prosecutor-fired-viktor-shokin/30181445.html.

959 Alan Cullison, "Bidens in Ukraine: An Explainer," *Wall Street Journal*, September 22, 2019, <a href="https://wsj.com/articles/bidens-anticorruption-effort-in-ukraine-overlapped-with-sons-work-in-country-defort-in-ukraine-ove

11569189782; Glenn Kessler, "Hunter Biden's alleged laptop: An explainer," *Washington Post*, October 14, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/14/hunter-bidens-alleged-laptop-an-explainer; Josh Christenson, "Washington Post quietly 'updates' Hunter Biden laptop story after Devon Archer testimony," *New York Post*, August 9, 2023, https://nypost.com/2023/08/09/washington-post-quietly-updates-hunter-biden-story-after-devon-archer-testimony.

960 Staff, "Kremlin Critic Latynina Leaves Russia After 'Arson Attack' On Her Car," RFERL, September 9, 2017, https://rferl.org/a/russia-latynina-leaves-russia-journalist-arson/28726196.html. 961 Yulia Latynina, "Let's go down the evil path," *Novava Gazeta*, October 2, 2019,

https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2019/10/01/82184-poshli-zlochinnim-shlyahom.

962 Burisma Group Press Release, "All Cases Closed against Burisma Group and its President Nikolay Zlochevskyi in Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, January 12, 2017, https://kyivpost.com/post/10161.

963 John Solomon, "Joe Biden's 2020 Ukrainian nightmare: A closed probe is revived," *The Hill*, April 1, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/436816-joe-bidens-2020-ukrainian-nightmare-a-closed-probe-is-revived.

964 Tom Llamas, et al., "Biden sidesteps questions about his son's foreign business dealings but promises ethics pledge," ABC News, June 20, 2019, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/biden-sidesteps-questions-sons-foreign-business-dealings-promises/story?id=63820806.

965 Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019,

https://nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html.

966 John Solomon, "State Department reported Burisma paid bribe while Hunter Biden served on board, memos show," Just the News, September 14, 2020,

 $\underline{https://just the news.com/accountability/russia-and-ukraine-scandals/monamhold state-dept-feared-burisma-paid-bribe-while.}$

967 "Readout of Vice President Biden's Call Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko," US Embassy Kiev, November 5, 2015, https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-110515; Staff, "US willing to provide \$1 billion loan guarantee to Ukraine-White House," Reuters, November 5, 2015, https://reuters.com/article/usa-ukraine-idUSW1N12501H20151105.

968 "Interview of Devon Archer," House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, July 31, 2023, https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Devon-Archer-Transcript.pdf.

969 Tweet by Maze Moore, August 3, 2023, https://x.com/mazemoore/status/1687253048995774464.

970 Miranda Devine, "Despite Biden's claim, Europeans Weren't trying to oust Ukraine prosecutor targeting Hunter's firm," *New York Post*, September 8, 2023, https://nypost.com/2023/09/08/despite-bidens-claim-europeans-werent-trying-to-oust-ukraine-prosecutor-targeting-hunters-firm.

971 "Commission Progress Report: Ukraine meets criteria for visa liberalisation," European Commission, December 18, 2015, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_15_6367.

972 "Ukraine Reform Monitor: August 2015," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, August 19, 2015, https://carnegieendowment.org/2015/08/19/ukraine-reform-monitor-august-2015-pub-60963.

973 Michael Birnbaum, et al., "Former Ukraine prosecutor says Hunter Biden 'did not violate anything," *Washington Post*, September 26, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/former_ukraine-prosecutor-says-hunter-biden-did-not-violate-anything/2019/09/26/48801f66-e068-11e9-be7f-4cc85017c36f story.html.

974 See below.

975 Email from Vadym Pozharskyi to Devon Archer, Hunter Biden and Eric Schwerin, "Re: Revised Burisma Proposal, Contract and Invoice," November 5, 2015, https://bidenlaptopemails.com/biden-emails/email.php?id=20151105-161119 64772.

- **976** Email from Eric Schwerin to Devon Archer and Hunter Biden, "Re: Revised Burisma Proposal, Contract and Invoice," November 2, 2015, https://bidenlaptopemails.com/biden-emails/email.php?id=20151102-185908_69565.
- 977 Vice President Joe Biden, "Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden to The Ukrainian Rada," White House, December 9, 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/09/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-rada.
- **978** Miranda Devine, "Veep Joe Biden skirted 'no see' mail law with private accounts," *New York Post*, July 23, 2021, https://nypost.com/2021/07/23/vp-joe-biden-skirted-no-see-mail-law-with-private-accounts-devine.
- **979** Letter from Stephanie Oriabure to Southeastern Legal Foundation, June 24, 2022, https://slfliberty.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2023/08/20230828-Complaint-Exhibit-4-Doc.-1-4.pdf.
- **980** Tom Dempsey, "Conservative law firm files suit against NARA in Biden probe," News Nation, August 30, 2023, https://newsnationnow.com/politics/hunter-biden/conservative-law-firm-suit-nara-biden-probe.
- **981** "Interview of Devon Archer," House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, July 31, 2023, https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Devon-Archer-Transcript.pdf; See below.
- **982** Glenn Kessler, the Washington Post's "Fact Checker," "Hunter Biden's alleged laptop: An explainer," *Washington Post*, October 14, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/14/hunter-bidens-alleged-laptop-an-explainer.
- **983** Brooke Singman, "Ex-Ukraine prosecutor said he was told to back off probe of Biden-linked firm, files show," Fox News, October 2, 2019, https://foxnews.com/politics/ukraine-prosecutor-biden-burisma-back-off-state-department-files.
- **984** "Read Trump's phone conversation with Volodymyr Zelensky," CNN, September 26, 2019, https://cnn.com/2019/09/25/politics/donald-trump-ukraine-transcript-call/index.html.
- **985** "Telephone Conversation with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine," White House, September 24, 2019, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/6429025/Unclassified09-2019.pdf.
- **986** Paul Sperry, "The Beltway's 'Whistleblower' Furor Obsesses Over One Name," RealClearInvestigations, October 30, 2019,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/30/whistleblower_exposed_close_to_biden_brenna_n_dnc_oppo_researcher_120996.html.
- **987** Paul Sperry, "The Beltway's 'Whistleblower' Furor Obsesses Over One Name," RealClearInvestigations, October 30, 2019,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/30/whistleblower_exposed_close_to_biden_brenna_n_dnc_oppo_researcher_120996.html.
- **988** Paul Sperry, "The Beltway's 'Whistleblower' Furor Obsesses Over One Name," RealClearInvestigations, October 30, 2019,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/30/whistleblower_exposed_close_to_biden_brenna_n_dnc_oppo_researcher_120996.html.
- **989** "Document: Read the Whistle-Blower Complaint," *New York Times*, September 26, 2019, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2019/09/26/us/politics/whistle-blower-complaint.html.
- **990** Greg Miller, et al., "How a CIA analyst, alarmed by Trump's shadow foreign policy, triggered an impeachment inquiry," *Washington Post*, November 16, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/how-a-cia-analyst-alarmed-by-trumps-shadow-foreign-policy-triggered-an-impeachment-inquiry/2019/11/15/042684a8-03c3-11ea-8292-c46ee8cb3dce story.html.
- **991** Alexander Vindman, "What I Heard in the White House Basement," *The Atlantic*, August 1, 2021, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/08/trump-ukraine-call-impeachment-vindman/619617.
- **992** Alexander Vindman, "What I Heard in the White House Basement," *The Atlantic*, August 1, 2021, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/08/trump-ukraine-call-impeachment-vindman/619617.

- 993 Alexander Vindman, "What I Heard in the White House Basement," *The Atlantic*, August 1, 2021, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/08/trump-ukraine-call-impeachment-vindman/619617. 994 Alexander Vindman, "What I Heard in the White House Basement," *The Atlantic*, August 1, 2021, https://theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/08/trump-ukraine-call-impeachment-vindman/619617. 995 Staff, "Read Alexander Vindman's full opening statement on Trump and Ukraine," PBS News, October 28, 2019, <a href="https://pbs.org/newshour/politics/read-alexander-vindmans-full-opening-statement-vindmans-full-opening
- **996** Kenneth P. Vogel and Iuliia Mendel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html.

on-trump-and-ukraine.

- **997** Mark Moore, "Hunter Biden had falling out with business partner over Ukraine gig," *New York Post*, September 29, 2019, https://nypost.com/2019/09/29/hunter-biden-had-falling-out-with-business-partner-over-ukraine-gig.
- **998** Michael S. Schmidt, "Sondland Updates Impeachment Testimony, Describing Ukraine Quid Pro Quo," *New York Times*, November 5, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/11/05/us/politics/impeachment-trump.html.
- **999** Simon Shuster, "Exclusive: Top Ukraine Official Andriy Yermak Casts Doubt on Key Impeachment Testimony," *Time*, December 10, 2019, https://time.com/5746417/ukraine-andriy-yermak-impeachment-interview.
- **1000** Shane Harris and Aaron C. Davis, "With revised testimony, Sondland ties Trump to quid pro quo," *Washington Post*, November 5, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-sondland-ties-trump-to-quid-pro-quo/2019/11/05/3059b3b8-ffec-11e9-9518-1e76abc088b6">https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-revised-testimony-security/with-revised-testimony-security/with-revised-testimony-security/w
- **1001** Staff, "Zelenskiy Says Didn't Know US Was Withholding Military Aid Ahead Of Trump Call," RFERL, October 10, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/zelenskiy-says-didnt-know-us-was-withholding-military-aid-ahead-of-trump-call/30209432.html.
- **1002** Simon Shuster, "'I Don't Trust Anyone at All.' Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky Speaks Out on Trump, Putin and a Divided Europe," *Time*, December 2, 2019, https://time.com/5742108/ukraine-zelensky-interview-trump-putin-europe.
- **1003** Peter Certo, "John Bolton," Militarist Monitor, January 3, 2020, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/john-bolton.
- **1004** Adam Shaw, "Bolton warned of 'hand grenade' Giuliani, shut down Ukraine meeting, aide told impeachment inquiry," Fox News, November 8, 2019, https://foxnews.com/politics/officials-say-bolton-shut-down-ukraine-meeting-warned-of-hand-grenade-giuliani-transcript.
- **1005** Aaron Maté, "Bolton's Memoir Undercuts Hype as Impeachment's Would-Be Star Witness," RealClearInvestigations, June 23, 2020,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2020/06/23/bolton_memoir_undercuts_his_impeachment_h vpe 124146.html.
- **1006** Brian Barrett, "Trump's Ukraine Server Delusion Is Spreading," Wired, November 26, 2019, https://wired.com/story/trump-ukraine-server-delusion-spreading.
- **1007** Debarati Guha Sapir, et al., "Civil war and death in Yemen: Analysis of SMART survey and ACLED data, 2012–2019," *PLOS Global Public Health*, Vol. 2, No. 8 (August 8, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pgph.0000581.
- **1008** Michael LaForgia and Walt Bogdanich, "Why Bombs Made in America Have Been Killing Civilians in Yemen," *New York Times*, May 16, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/05/16/us/arms-deals-raytheon-yemen.html.
- **1009** Jack Murphy, "Looser rules, more civilian deaths, a Taliban takeover: Inside America's failed Afghan drone campaign," Connecting Vets, August 24, 2021,
- https://audacy.com/connectingvets/news/inside-america-failed-afghan-drone-campaign-against-taliban.

- **1010** David L. Stern and Robyn Dixon, "Ukraine says it intercepted \$6 million bribe to stop probe of Burisma founder," *Washington Post*, June 14, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/ukraine-corruption-burisma-biden-trump-giuliani/2020/06/14/9ca28342-adb1-11ea-a43b-be9f6494a87d story.html.
- **1011** Michelle Cottle, "They Are Not the Resistance. They Are Not a Cabal. They Are Public Servants," *New York Times*, October 20, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/10/20/opinion/trump-impeachment-testimony.html.
- 1012 Eric Ciaramella Biography, Carnegie Endowment, https://carnegieendowment.org/experts/2254.
- **1013** Paul Sperry, "The Beltway's 'Whistleblower' Furor Obsesses Over One Name," RealClearInvestigations, October 30, 2019,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/30/whistleblower_exposed_close_to_biden_brenna n_dnc_oppo_researcher_120996.html.
- 1014 Justin Wise, "YouTube removes video of Rand Paul reading alleged whistleblower's name on Senate floor," *The Hill*, February 13, 2020, https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/482897-youtube-removes-video-of-rand-paul-reading-alleged-whistleblowers-name-on; Chrissy Clark, "Facebook And YouTube Erase All Mentions Of Anti-Trump Whistleblower's Name," The Federalist, November 10, 2019, https://thefederalist.com/2019/11/10/facebook-and-youtube-erase-all-mentions-of-anti-trump-whistleblowers-name">https://thefederalist.com/2019/11/10/facebook-and-youtube-erase-all-mentions-of-anti-trump-whistleblowers-name.
- **1015** Tweet by Larry the Cable Guy, August 21, 2013, https://x.com/GitRDoneLarry/status/370354854792675328.
- **1016** Natasha Bertrand, "Hunter Biden story is Russian disinfo, dozens of former intel officials say," *Politico*, October 19, 2020, https://politico.com/news/2020/10/19/hunter-biden-story-russian-disinfo-430276.
- **1017** James Cronan, "The day the White House burned," National Archives, August 26, 2014, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/day-white-house-burned.
- **1018** Matt Orfalea, "Media Lies: Hunter Biden Laptop is 'Russian Disinformation!'" 0rf, March 25, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=8qQazyJ99OE.
- **1019** Tom Winter, et al., "Analysis of Hunter Biden's hard drive shows he, his firm took in about \$11 million from 2013 to 2018, spent it fast," NBC News, May 19, 2022,
- $\underline{\text{https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/analysis-hunter-bidens-hard-drive-shows-firm-took-11-million-2013-2018-rcna29462}.$
- **1020** Ebony Bowden and Steven Nelson, "Hunter's ex-partner Tony Bobulinski: Joe Biden's a liar and here's the proof," *New York Post*, October 22, 2020, https://nypost.com/2020/10/22/hunter-ex-partner-tony-bobulinski-calls-joe-biden-a-liar.
- **1021** James Lynch, "Former Biden Business Partner Accuses Hunter, Jim of Lying under Oath about Chinese Dealings," *National Review*, March 20, 2024, https://nationalreview.com/news/former-biden-business-partner-accuses-hunter-jim-of-lying-under-oath-about-chinese-dealings; Peter Van Buren, "Hunter Biden's Guilty Laptop," *The American Conservative*, December 31, 2020, https://theamericanconservative.com/hunter-bidens-guilty-laptop.
- **1022** Stephen Dinan, "Hunter whodunnit: Biden's son denies giving laptop to repair shop," *Washington Times*, March 11, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/mar/11/hunter-biden-whodunnit-president-joe-bidens-son-de.
- **1023** Emma-Jo Morris and Gabrielle Fonrouge, "Smoking-gun email reveals how Hunter Biden introduced Ukrainian businessman to VP dad," *New York Post*, October 14, 2020,
- $\underline{https://nypost.com/2020/10/14/email-reveals-how-hunter-biden-introduced-ukrainian-biz-man-to-dad.}$
- **1024** "Interview of Devon Archer," House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, July 31, 2023, https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Devon-Archer-Transcript.pdf.
- **1025** Glenn Kessler, "Hunter Biden's alleged laptop: An explainer," *Washington Post*, October 14, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/14/hunter-bidens-alleged-laptop-an-explainer.

```
1026 Glenn Kessler, "Hunter Biden's laptop: The April 16, 2015, dinner," Washington Post, June 7, 2021, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/07/hunter-bidens-laptop-april-16-2015-dinner">https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/07/hunter-bidens-laptop-april-16-2015-dinner</a>. 1027 Ben Schreckinger, "Fresh revelations contradict Joe Biden's sweeping denials on Hunter," Politico, November 5, 2023, <a href="https://politico.com/news/2023/11/05/hunter-joe-biden-business-testimony-00125056">https://politico.com/news/2023/11/05/hunter-joe-biden-business-testimony-00125056</a>.
```

1028 Staff, "Read Trump's phone conversation with Volodymyr Zelensky," CNN, September 26, 2019, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/09/25/politics/donald-trump-ukraine-transcript-call/index.html.

1029 "Interview of Gary A. Shapley Jr.," US House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means, May 26, 2023, https://waysandmeans.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Whistleblower-1-Transcript Redacted.pdf.

1030 Adam Goldman, "What We Know and Don't About Hunter Biden and a Laptop," *New York Times*, October 22, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/10/22/us/politics/hunter-biden-laptop.html.

1031 Abbe David Lowell, "Letter-to-NS-AAG-Re-Request-for-Investigation," February 1, 2023, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/23595947/letter-to-ns-aag-re-request-for-investigation.pdf; Rebecca Falconer, "Read: Hunter Biden lawyers ask Justice Department for investigation," Axios, February 2, 2023, https://axios.com/2023/02/02/read-hunter-biden-lawyers-request-criminal-investigation-letters; Katie Robertson, "Hunter Biden's Laptop, Revealed by New York Post, Comes Back to Haunt Him," New York Times, June 11, 2024,

https://nytimes.com/2024/06/11/business/media/hunter-biden-laptop-new-york-post.html.

1032 Miranda Devine, "FBI warned Twitter during 'weekly' meetings of Hunter Biden 'hack-and-leak operation' before censoring The Post," *New York Post*, December 4, 2022,

https://nypost.com/2022/12/04/fbi-warned-twitter-of-hunter-biden-hack-before-censoring-the-post. **1033** See above.

1034 Rep. Jim Jordan, "Letter to FBI Director Christopher Wray," July 20, 2023, "House Judiciary Committee's Transcribed Interview of Laura Dehmlow," July 17, 2023,

https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/2023-07-20-jdj-to-wray-re-dehmlow-testimony.pdf.

1035 Emma-Jo Morris and Gabrielle Fonrouge, "Smoking-gun email reveals how Hunter Biden introduced Ukrainian businessman to VP dad," *New York Post*, October 14, 2020,

 $\underline{https://nypost.com/2020/10/14/email-reveals-how-hunter-biden-introduced-ukrainian-biz-man-to-dad.}$

1036 James Clapper, et al., "Public Statement on the Hunter Biden Emails," *Politico*, October 19, 2020, https://politico.com/f/?id=00000175-4393-d7aa-af77-579f9b330000.

1037 Tweet by Andy Stone, October 14, 2020,

https://x.com/andymstone/status/1316395902479872000.

1038 Kelvin Chan, "Twitter CEO says it was wrong to block links to Hunter Biden story," AP, October 16, 2020, https://ca.finance.yahoo.com/news/twitter-changes-hacked-content-rules-111818399.html.

1039 Sen. Ron Johnson, "Whistleblower Allegations Reveal Corrupt FBI Undermined Hunter Biden Investigations," US Senate, July 27, 2022, https://ronjohnson.senate.gov/2022/7/sen-johnson-whistleblower-allegations-reveal-corrupt-fbi-undermined-hunter-biden-investigations.

1040 Rep. Jim Jordan and Rep. Michael R. Turner, "Letter to Antony Blinken," April 20, 2023, <a href="https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/2023-04-20-jdj-mt-to-blinken-re-public-statement-on-hunter-biden-emails 0.pdf.

1041 Paul Sperry, "James Clapper, Mr. October Surprise," RealClearInvestigations, June 26, 2024, https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2024/06/26/james_clapper_mr_october_surprise_how_obam as intel czar rigged 2016 and 2020 debates against trump 1040444.html.

1042 Ian Schwartz, "Leslie Stahl: We're Not Covering Hunter Biden Laptop 'Because It Can't Be Verified," RealClearPolitics, October 22, 2020,

https://realclearpolitics.com/video/2020/10/22/leslie_stahl_were_not_covering_hunter_biden_laptop_because_it_cant_be_verified.html.

1043 Tweet by NPR's Public Editor, October 22, 2022,

https://x.com/NPRpubliceditor/status/1319281101223940096.

1044 Jacki Lyden, "Opposition Leaders Discuss Possible Post-Saddam Iraq," NPR News, December 15, 2002, https://legacy.npr.org/programs/atc/transcripts/2002/dec/021215.raz.html; Lynn Neary, "Analysis: US Believes Iraq to Use Biological and Chemical Weapons if There is a War With the United States," NPR News, November 12, 2002,

https://legacy.npr.org/programs/atc/transcripts/2002/nov/021112.gjelten.html.

1045 Andrew Kerr, "NY Post's 'Smoking Gun' Hunter Biden Email 100% Authentic, Forensic Analysis Concludes," Daily Caller, October 29, 2020, https://dailycaller.com/2020/10/29/cybersecurity-expert-authenticates-hunter-biden-burisma-email.

1046 Ryan Lizza, et al., "Politico Playbook: Double trouble for Biden," *Politico*, September 21, 2021, https://politico.com/newsletters/playbook/2021/09/21/double-trouble-for-biden-494411; Ben Schreckinger, *The Bidens: Inside the First Family's Fifty-Year Rise to Power* (New York: Twelve, 2021).

1047 Katie Benner, et al., "Hunter Biden Paid Tax Bill, but Broad Federal Investigation Continues," *New York Times*, March 16, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/16/us/politics/hunter-biden-tax-bill-investigation.html; Craig Timberg, et al., "Here's how The Post analyzed Hunter Biden's laptop," *Washington Post*, March 30, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/03/30/hunter-biden-laptop-data-examined.

1048 Stephen F. Hayes, "Case Closed," *Weekly Standard*, November 24, 2003, https://washingtonexaminer.com/magazine/445959/case-closed.

1049 Matt Barganier, "Scheuer Corrects National Review, Weekly Standard," Antiwar.com, April 18, 2007, https://antiwar.com/blog/2007/04/18/scheuer-corrects-national-review-weekly-standard; Walter Pincus, "CIA Learned in '02 That Bin Laden Had No Iraq Ties, Report Says," *Washington Post*, September 15, 2006, http://washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/14/AR2006091401545.html.

1050 Miriam Berger, "Post-9/11 wars have contributed to some 4.5 million deaths, report suggests," *Washington Post*, May 15, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/15/war-on-terror-911-

deaths-afghanistan-iraq.

1051 David E. Sanger, "Diplomacy Fails to Slow Advance of Nuclear Arms," *New York Times*, August 8, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/08/08/world/diplomacy-fails-to-slow-advance-of-nuclear-arms.html.

1052 "Man Arrested for Transporting Images of Child Sexual Abuse," US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, February 1, 2023, https://justice.gov/opa/pr/man-arrested-transporting-images-child-sexual-abuse; Indictment, "United States of America v. James Gordon Meek," January 31, 2023, https://justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1566416/download.

1053 David Folkenflik, "The FBI raided a notable journalist's home. Rolling Stone didn't tell readers why," NPR News, March 21, 2023, https://npr.org/2023/03/21/1164360143/rolling-stone-fbi-raid-journalist-james-gordon-meek.

1054 Michael Shellenberger, "The Censorship Industrial Complex US Government Support For Domestic Censorship And Disinformation Campaigns, 2016–2022," Testimony by Michael Shellenberger to the House Select Committee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, March 9, 2023, https://judiciary.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-judiciary.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/shellenberger-testimony.pdf.

1055 Josh Boswell, "Secretary of State Blinken and his cabinet secretary wife were embroiled in an alleged attempt to influence US officials on behalf of Burisma," *Daily Mail*, May 1, 2023, https://dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12016933/Secretary-State-Blinken-embroiled-alleged-attempt-influence-officials-Burisma.html.

1056 Peter van Buren, "Hunter Biden's Laptop, Revisited," April 18, 2022, https://wemeantwell.medium.com/hunter-bidens-laptop-revisited-b9039fa3bd5a.

1057 Ken Bensinger and Jessica Garrison, "The FBI Investigation Into The Alleged Plot To Kidnap Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer Has Gotten Very Complicated," BuzzFeed News, December 16, 2021, https://buzzfeednews.com/article/kenbensinger/fbi-michigan-kidnap-whitmer; Trevor Aaronson and Eric L. VanDussen, "The Informant," Intercept, March 6, 2024,

https://theintercept.com/2024/03/06/gretchen-whitmer-kidnapping-informant.

1058 Allan Smith, "Whitmer says Trump 'complicit' after feds reveal thwarted plot to kidnap her," NBC News, October 8, 2020, https://nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/whitmer-says-trump-complicit-after-feds-reveal-thwarted-plot-kidnap-n1242641; Alana Wise, "Democrats Blame Trump Rhetoric For Michigan Governor Kidnapping Plot," NPR News, October 8, 2020,

https://npr.org/2020/10/08/921824550/democrats-blame-trump-rhetoric-for-michigan-governor-kidnapping-plot; Jesse Jackson, "Donald Trump was complicit in the plot to kidnap Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer," *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 12, 2020,

 $\frac{https://chicago.suntimes.com/2020/10/12/21513347/michigan-right-wing-militia-kidnap-gretchen-whitmer-proud-boys-jesse-jackson.}{}$

1059 James Dobbins, et al., "Extending Russia: Competing from Advantageous Ground," RAND Corporation, June 15, 2019,

https://rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR3000/RR3063/RAND_RR3063.pdf. **1060** Interview with author, Robert Stinnett, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, June 1, 2003, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/june-1-2003-robert-stinnett.

1061 "McCollum memo facts for kids," Kiddle.co, https://kids.kiddle.co/McCollum memo.

1062 Robert Stinnett, *Day of Deceit: The Truth About FDR and Pearl Harbor* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 6–23.

1063 Vice President Mike Pence, "Remarks by the Vice President and Georgian Prime Minister in a Joint Press Conference," August 1, 2017, https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-georgian-prime-minister-joint-press-conference.

1064 Staff, "Isis rebels declare 'Islamic state' in Iraq and Syria," BBC, June 30, 2014, https://bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28082962.

1065 Jared Malsin, "The Islamic State Is Gone. But Raqqa Lies in Pieces," *Time*, October 18, 2017, https://time.com/syria-raqqa-liberated.

1066 Stephanie Pezard and Ashley Rhoades, "What Provokes Putin's Russia?" RAND Corporation, January 2020, https://rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE300/PE338/RAND_PE338.pdf. 1067 Zach Dorfman, "As the Russian threat grew, US intelligence ties to Ukraine deepened," Yahoo News, February 2, 2022, https://yahoo.com/news/as-the-russian-threat-grew-us-intelligence-ties-to-ukraine-deepened-225919359.html.

1068 Ben Watson, "In Ukraine, the US Trains an Army in the West to Fight in the East," Defense One, October 5, 2017, https://defenseone.com/threats/2017/10/ukraine-us-trains-army-west-fight-east/141577.

1069 Staff, "Ukraine President Signs Constitutional Amendment On NATO, EU Membership," RFERL, February 19, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-president-signs-constitutional-amendment-on-nato-eu-membership/29779430.html.

1070 Staff, "Trump Seeks Kissinger's Advice On Relations With China, Russia, Iran," RFERL, November 18, 2016, https://rferl.org/a/trump-seeks-kissinger-advice-relations-china-russia-iran-europe/28125432.html; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, et al., "Henry Kissinger Pushed Trump to Work With Russia to Box In China," Daily Beast, July 31, 2018, https://thedailybeast.com/henry-kissinger-pushed-trump-to-work-with-russia-to-box-in-china.

1071 Margarita Antidze and Sergei Karazy, "Senator McCain Says US 'Must Stand Up to Vladimir Putin," Reuters, December 31, 2016, https://reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-mccain/senator-mccain-says-u-s-must-stand-up-to-vladimir-putin-idUSKBN14L0OR.

- **1072** Andrius Sytas, "NATO war game defends Baltic weak spot for first time," Reuters, June 18, 2017, https://reuters.com/article/us-nato-russia-suwalki-gap/nato-war-game-defends-baltic-weak-spot-for-first-time-idUSKBN1990L2.
- 1073 "National Security Strategy of the United States of America," December 2017,

https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf.

1074 "Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America," US Defense Department, January 19, 2018, https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf.

1075 Ralph Clem and Ray Finch, "Crowded Skies and Turbulent Seas: Assessing the Full Scope of NATO-Russian Military Incidents," War on the Rocks, August 19, 2021,

https://warontherocks.com/2021/08/crowded-skies-and-turbulent-seas-assessing-the-full-scope-of-natorussian-military-incidents.

1076 Jonathan Beale, "Russian jets and ships shadow British warship," BBC, June 23, 2021, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-57583363.

1077 Scott Neuman, "American Paul Whelan, Held In Russia On Spy Charges, Is Sentenced To 16 Years," NPR News, June 15, 2020, https://npr.org/2020/06/15/876966569/american-paul-whelan-held-in-russia-on-spy-charges-is-sentenced-to-16-years.

1078 "Statement by Ambassador John Sullivan on Paul Whelan's continued detention," US Embassy Moscow, April 13, 2020, https://ru.usembassy.gov/statement-by-ambassador-john-sullivan-on-paul-whelans-continued-detention.

1079 Robert Hart and Ty Roush, "Russia Releases Evan Gershkovich And Paul Whelan In Massive 26-Person Prisoner Swap – Here's What We Know," *Forbes*, August 1, 2024,

https://forbes.com/sites/roberthart/2024/08/01/russia-releases-evan-gershkovich-and-paul-whelan-in-massive-26-person-prisoner-swap-heres-what-we-know.

1080 Darryl Cooper, "Can we talk about Ukraine?" *Martyr Made*, October 12, 2022, https://martyrmade.substack.com/p/can-we-talk-about-ukraine.

1081 Alexey Arestovich interview, "Predicted Russian-Ukrainian war in 2019," Roman Vynnytskiy, February 18, 2019, https://youtube.com/watch?v=1xNHmHpERH8.

1082 Staff, "Nord Stream gas pipeline opened by Merkel and Medvedev," BBC, November 8, 2011, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-15637244.

1083 Rep. Ron Paul's son.

1084 Sen. Rand Paul, "Nord Stream II Sanctions Are Not About Security," *The American Conservative*, January 10, 2022, https://theamericanconservative.com/nord-stream-sanctions-are-not-about-security. **1085** "Origins, NATO Leaders, Lord Ismay," NATO,

https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified 137930.htm.

1086 Staff, "The Full Tally of World War II," The Mackenzie Institute, December 3, 2010, https://mackenzieinstitute.com/2010/12/the-full-tally-of-world-war-ii.

1087 Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Sophisms* (Irvington-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, [1847] 1996), 44.

1088 Patrick Bet-David, "Political Consultant Paul Manafort," *PBD Podcast*, April 28, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=GtiUVm3Z4eo; Imagine, people believed the lie this guy was Putin's spy.

1089 James McBride, "Nord Stream 2: Is Germany 'Captive' to Russian Energy?" Council on Foreign Relations, August 16, 2018, https://cfr.org/in-brief/nord-stream-2-germany-captive-russian-energy; Nataliya Bugayova and Frederick Kagan, "Nord Stream 2 Poses a Long-Term National Security Challenge for the US and Its Allies," Institute for the Study of War, December 5, 2021, https://understandingwar.org/backgrounder/nord-stream-2-poses-long-term-national-security-challenge-us-and-its-allies; Benjamin L. Schmitt and John E. Herbst, "Don't Let Germany Go Back to Its Old Russia Tricks," *Foreign Policy*, September 25, 2024,

- https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/09/25/germany-russia-gas-nordstream-pipeline-sanctions-us-congress-putin-scholz-schroeder-gazprom.
- **1090** Jeremy Diamond, "NATO summit: Trump accuses Germany of being a 'captive of Russia," CNN, July 11, 2018, https://cnn.com/2018/07/11/politics/trump-germany-russia-captive-nato/index.html.
- **1091** "Treaty Between The United States Of America And The Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics On The Elimination Of Their Intermediate-Range And Shorter-Range Missiles," US State Department, December 8, 1987, https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102360.htm.
- **1092** Joseph Trevithick, "What Pulling Out Of The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty Means And What Comes Next," The Drive, October 23, 2018, https://thedrive.com/the-war-zone/24370/what-pulling-out-of-the-intermediate-range-nuclear-forces-treaty-means-and-what-comes-next.
- **1093** David K. Shipler, "Reagan and Gorbachev Sign Missile Treaty and Vow to Work for Greater Reductions," *New York Times*, December 9, 1987, https://nytimes.com/1987/12/09/politics/reagan-and-gorbachev-sign-missile-treaty-and-vow-to-work-for.html; "Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev sign Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty," NATO History, December 8, 1987,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=74lNHXJzfEw; Daryl Kimball, "The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty at a Glance," Arms Control Association, August 2019, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/INFtreaty.
- 1094 "MK41 Vertical Launching System," Lockheed-Martin,
- $\frac{https://lockheedmartin.com/content/dam/lockheed-martin/rms/documents/naval-launchers-and-munitions/MK41-VLS-product-card.pdf.$
- **1095** Theodore A. Postol, "Russia may have violated the INF Treaty. Here's how the United States appears to have done the same," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February 14, 2019, https://thebulletin.org/2019/02/russia-may-have-violated-the-inf-treaty-heres-how-the-united-states-appears-to-have-done-the-same.
- **1096** "Factsheet Refuting Russian Allegations of US Noncompliance with the INF Treaty," US State Department, December 8, 2017, https://2017-2021.state.gov/refuting-russian-allegations-of-u-s-noncompliance-with-the-inf-treaty.
- 1097 Mark Zimmermann, "MK 41 Vertical Launching System (VLS)," Lockheed Martin, January 2014.
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20140109165748/https://alternatewars.com/BBOW/Weapons/VLS_Baselines.pdf.}$
- **1098** Theodore A. Postol, "Russia may have violated the INF Treaty. Here's how the United States appears to have done the same," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February 14, 2019, https://thebulletin.org/2019/02/russia-may-have-violated-the-inf-treaty-heres-how-the-united-states-appears-to-have-done-the-same.
- **1099** Interview with author, Col. Douglas Macgregor, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, November 4, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/11-4-22-douglas-macgregor-on-the-lost-opportunities-to-leave-ukraine-better-off.
- **1100** Interview with author, Joe Cirincione, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 24, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/2-24-22-joe-cirincione-us-actions-dont-justify-putins-attack-but-they-set-the-stage-for-it.
- 1101 Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "This is the ground-launched cruise missile that Russia has reportedly just deployed," *Washington Post*, February 15, 2017,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2017/02/15/this-is-the-ground-launched-cruise-missile-that-russia-has-reportedly-just-deployed.}$
- **1102** Michael Gordon, "US Says Russia Tested Missile, Despite Treaty," *New York Times*, January 29, 2014, https://nytimes.com/2014/01/30/world/europe/us-says-russia-tested-missile-despite-treaty.html.

1103 Michael Gordon, "Russia Deploys Missile, Violating Treaty and Challenging Trump," *New York Times*, February 14, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/02/14/world/europe/russia-cruise-missile-arms-control-treaty.html.

1104 Andrew Osborn and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Trump adviser tells Putin: We'll quit arms control treaty you're breaking," Reuters, October 23, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-nuclear-bolton/trump-adviser-tells-putin-well-quit-arms-control-treaty-youre-breaking-idUSKCN1MX1LO; Grzegorz Kuczyński, "The Collapse of the INF Treaty and the US-China Rivalry," Warsaw Institute, January 3, 2020, https://warsawinstitute.org/the-collapse-of-the-inf-treaty-and-the-us-china-rivalry; Adam Taylor, "How China plays into Trump's decision to pull out of INF treaty with Russia," https://washingtonpost.com/world/2018/10/23/how-china-plays-into-trumps-decision-pull-out-inf-treaty-with-russia; John Ismay, "The Death of a Treaty Could Be a Lifesaver for Taiwan," https://www.york.org/times.com/2024/05/03/us/politics/china-taiwan-inf-treaty.html; Jacob Stokes, "China's Missile Program and US Withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty," US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, February 4, 2019, https://uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China%20and%20INF_0.pdf.

1105 Paul McLeary, "The Rest Of The Story: Trump, DoD & Hill Readied INF Pullout For Years," Breaking Defense, October 22, 2018, https://breakingdefense.com/2018/10/the-rest-of-the-story-trump-dod-hill-readied-inf-pullout-for-years.

1106 See Chapter Three.

1107 Paul Sonne and John Hudson, "Trump orders staff to prepare arms-control push with Russia and China," *Washington Post*, April 25, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-orders-staff-to-prepare-arms-control-push-with-russia-and-china/2019/04/25/c7f05e04-6076-11e9-9412-daf3d2e67c6d_story.html.

1108 Chris Perez, "Putin cracks joke about eagle on US seal in jab at Trump," *New York Post*, October 23, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/10/23/putin-cracks-joke-about-eagle-on-us-seal.

1109 Tom Balmforth and Andrew Osborn, "Russia asks US for missile moratorium as nuclear pact ends," Reuters, August 2, 2019, https://reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-arms-moratorium-idUSKCN1US13M.

1110 Kingston Reif and Shannon Bugos, "Russia Expands Proposal for Moratorium on INF-Range Missiles," Arms Control Association, November 2020, https://armscontrol.org/act/2020-11/news-briefs/russia-expands-proposal-moratorium-inf-range-missiles.

1111 Robert Burns, "US might deploy missiles in Europe to counter Russia," AP, June 4, 2015, https://apnews.com/us-might-deploy-missiles-in-europe-to-counter-russia-662a937d2d8f4757b72e7cc8061577b8.

1112 Paul McLeary, "The Rest Of The Story: Trump, DoD & Hill Readied INF Pullout For Years," Breaking Defense, October 22, 2018, https://breakingdefense.com/2018/10/the-rest-of-the-story-trump-dod-hill-readied-inf-pullout-for-years.

1113 Robert Burns, "US might deploy missiles in Europe to counter Russia," AP, June 4, 2015, https://apnews.com/article/662a937d2d8f4757b72e7cc8061577b8.

1114 Pavel Podvig, "Sorting fact from fiction on Russian missile claims," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 22, 2015, https://thebulletin.org/2015/06/sorting-fact-from-fiction-on-russian-missile-claims.

1115 "US-Russia arms control treaty dies; US to test new weapon," AP, August 2, 2019, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/u-s-russia-arms-control-treaty-dies-u-s-test-n1038566.

1116 Aaron-Matthew Lariosa, "Marines Activate First Tomahawk Battery," US Naval Institute News, July 25, 2023, https://news.usni.org/2023/07/25/marines-activate-first-tomahawk-battery.

1117 Brennan Deveraux, "Why Intermediate-Range Missiles Are a Focal Point in the Ukraine Crisis," War on the Rocks, January 28, 2022, https://warontherocks.com/2022/01/why-intermediate-range-missiles-are-a-focal-point-in-the-ukraine-crisis.

1118 Michael R. Gordon, "Trump Exits Open Skies Treaty, Moves to Discard Observation Planes," *Wall Street Journal*, November 22, 2020, https://wsj.com/articles/trump-exits-open-skies-treaty-moves-to-discard-observation-planes-11606055371; Kingston Reif and Shannon Bugos, "US Completes Open Skies Treaty Withdrawal," Arms Control Association, December 1, 2020,

https://armscontrol.org/act/2020-12/news/us-completes-open-skies-treaty-withdrawal.

1119 Staff, "Russia calls on US to stop NATO eastward expansion in draft security treaty," TASS, December 17, 2021, https://tass.com/politics/1377261; Brennan Deveraux, "Why Intermediate-Range Missiles Are a Focal Point in the Ukraine Crisis," War on the Rocks, January 28, 2022, https://warontherocks.com/2022/01/why-intermediate-range-missiles-are-a-focal-point-in-the-ukraine-crisis.

1120 Vladimir Isachenkov, "Russia hints it may return to Open Skies Treaty if US does," *Military Times*, February 2, 2021, https://militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/02/02/russia-hints-it-may-return-to-open-skies-treaty-if-us-does; Joe Gould and Aaron Mehta, "Rejoining Open Skies would send 'wrong message' to Russia, State tells partners," *Defense News*, April 7, 2021, https://defensenews.com/breaking-news/2021/04/07/rejoining-open-skies-would-send-wrong-message-to-russia-says-us-state-department; Matthew Lee, "US tells Russia it won't rejoin Open Skies arms control pact," AP, May 27, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-europe-russia-government-and-politics-69038e96de8488f2c759b126c27d1366.

1121 See Chapter Six.

1122 Petro, 169.

1123 See Chapter Four.

1124 Cnaan Liphshiz, "Ukraine historian honors Nazi collaborator, calls criticism 'Russian propaganda," *Times of Israel*, June 15, 2019, https://timesofisrael.com/ukraine-state-historian-says-poland-and-israel-parrot-russian-propaganda.

1125 Matthias Williams and Pavel Polityuk, "Once an outcast, Ukrainian Patriarch ready to lead church split from Russia," Reuters, September 28, 2018, https://reuters.com/article/idUSKCN1M82CQ.

1126 Staff, "Things to know about the Catholic Church in Ukraine," Catholic News Agency, February 24, 2022, https://catholicnewsagency.com/news/250474/things-to-know-about-the-catholic-church-in-ukraine.

1127 Jonathan Boyd, "The number of Jews living in Ukraine is much lower than estimated, and will only decline from here," Institute for Jewish Policy Research, March 10, 2022, https://jpr.org.uk/insights/number-jews-living-ukraine-much-lower-estimated-and-will-only-decline-here.

1128 Petro, 170.

1129 "Thanks for independence': Ukraine's schismatic Patriarch bestows highest award on ex-CIA ops chief," Arkin Group, December 28, 2018, https://thearkingroup.com/highlights/%E2%80%98thanks-for-independence%E2%80%99-ukraine%E2%80%99s-schismatic-patriarch-bestows-highest-award-on-ex-cia-ops-chief-jack-devine-in-kiev-ukraine-december-2018.

1130 Staff, "Ukraine Orthodox priests establish independent Church," BBC, December 15, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-46575548.

1131 David M. Herszenhorn, "Ukrainian Orthodox Church granted divorce from Moscow," *Politico Europe*, October 12, 2018, https://politico.eu/article/ukrainian-orthodox-church-granted-divorce-from-moscow-ecumenical-patriarch-bartholomew.

1132 Staff, "Ukraine Orthodox priests establish independent Church," BBC, December 15, 2018, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-46575548.

1133 Kait Bolongaro, "Russian Orthodox Church a 'national security threat' to Ukraine, says president," *Politico Europe*, July 28, 2018, https://politico.eu/article/petro-poroshenko-ukraine-russian-orthodox-church-a-national-security-threat-to-ukraine-says-president.

- **1134** Staff, "Ukrainian president slams Russian church as 'national security threat," AFP, July 28, 2018, https://web.archive.org/web/20180729065631/https://yahoo.com/news/ukrainian-president-slams-russian-church-national-security-threat-005648776.html.
- 1135 Staff, "Poroshenko signs law on renaming Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate," Interfax-Ukraine, December 22, 2018, https://kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/poroshenko-signs-law-on-renaming-ukrainian-orthodox-church-of-moscow-patriarchate.html; Staff, "Ukraine's President Signs Law Forcing Russia-Affiliated Church To Change Name," RFERL, December 22, 2018, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-s-president-signs-law-forcing-orthodox-church-to-change-its-name/29671193.html.
- 1136 "Russian Orthodox Priest Flees Ukraine in Fear," RT, April 14, 2024, https://rt.com/news/odessa-ukraine-orthodox-priest-476; "Dozens of Priests Leave Ukraine, 19 Churches of Moscow Patriarchate Seized Russian Orthodox Church Representative," Interfax, May 21, 2015, https://russialist.org/dozens-of-priests-leave-ukraine-19-churches-of-moscow-patriarchate-seized-russian-orthodox-church-representative; "His Holiness Patriarch Kirill addressed religious and statesmen, heads of international organizations with messages in connection with pressure from the Ukrainian authorities on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and state interference in church," Department For External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, December 14, 2018, https://mospat.ru/en/news/46863.
- 1137 "Statement by the delegation of Ukraine at the UNSC Arria-formula meeting on advancing the safety and security of persons belonging to religious minorities in armed conflict," Ukrainian Mission to the UN, August 22, 2019, <a href="http://ukraineun.org/en/press-center/392-statement-by-the-delegation-of-ukraine-at-the-unsc-arria-formula-meeting-on-advancing-the-safety-and-security-of-persons-belonging-to-religious-minorities-in-armed-conflict; Staff, "Crimean Court Orders Demolition Of Ukrainian Orthodox Church," RFERL, November 20, 2019, https://rferl.org/a/crimean-court-orders-demolition-of-ukrainian-orthodox-church/30282712.html.
- 1138 Staff, "Filaret, supporters to leave Ukraine's new church on June 24," Interfax-Ukraine, June 20, 2019, https://archive.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/filaret-supporters-to-leave-ukraines-new-church-on-june-24.html; Staff, "Filaret: Restore the 'Patriarchate of Kiev' The answer of Metropolitan Epiphanius," Orthodox Times, May 10, 2019, https://orthodoxtimes.com/filaret-restore-the-patriarchate-of-kiev-what-is-the-answer-of-metropolitan-epiphanius.
- 1139 Yaroslav Trofimov, "Ukraine Clamps Down on Orthodox Church Linked to Moscow," *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-clamps-down-on-orthodox-church-linked-to-moscow-11669984943; See Chapter Six.
- **1140** Rachel Maddow, "Russia Paid Up To \$100k Bounty For US Deaths In Afghanistan: NYT," *Rachel Maddow*, MSNBC, July 2, 2020, https://youtube.com/watch?v=E7fDIr_DUhU; Nick Paton Walsh, "Russia offered cash rewards to Taliban fighters to kill US troops in Afghanistan," CNN, June 28, 2020, https://youtube.com/watch?v=eg3Soydqub8.
- 1141 Noor Zahid, "Afghan Locals, Taliban Drive Islamic State From Tora Bora Region," Voice of America, June 9, 2017, https://voanews.com/a/afghan-locals-taliban-drive-islamic-state-from-tora-bora-region/3894244.html; Wesley Morgan, "Our secret Taliban air force," *Washington Post*, October 22, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/10/22/taliban-isis-drones-afghanistan.
- 1142 Missy Ryan and Amie Ferris-Rotman, "The Kremlin's comeback," *Washington Post*, October 12, 2018, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/news/world/wp/2018/10/12/feature/behind-the-scenes-russia-regains-a-complicated-status-afghanistan-power-broker; Karoun Demirjian and Eric Schmitt, "Taliban Kill Head of ISIS Cell That Bombed Kabul Airport," *New York Times*, April 25, 2023, https://pytimes.com/2023/04/25/us/politics/icis-leader-killed-kabul-airport-bombing-html: Michael
- https://nytimes.com/2023/04/25/us/politics/isis-leader-killed-kabul-airport-bombing.html; Michael Scollon, "Russia Inches Toward Marriage Of Convenience With Taliban In Terror Fight," RFERL, May 5, 2024, https://rferl.org/a/taliban-russia-islamic-state-terrorism/32931725.html.

- **1143** Patricia Grossman, "Despite Progress, Torture in Afghanistan Still 'Disturbingly High," Human Rights Watch, April 17, 2019, https://hrw.org/news/2019/04/17/despite-progress-torture-afghanistan-still-disturbingly-high.
- **1144** Luis Martinez, "Top Pentagon officials say Russian bounty program not corroborated," ABC News, July 9, 2020, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/top-pentagon-officials-russian-bounty-program-corroborated/story?id=71694167.
- 1145 Courtney Kube and Ken Dilanian, "US commander: Intel still hasn't established Russia paid Taliban 'bounties' to kill US troops," NBC News, September 14, 2020,
- https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/u-s-commander-intel-still-hasn-t-established-russia-paid-n1240020.
- **1146** Robert Burns and Lolita C. Baldor, "Pentagon: US will respond if Russia bounty reports are true," AP, July 9, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/taliban-russia-ap-top-news-mark-esper-afghanistan-92d0cd32b4db25ac768dfbb75890f3cc.
- **1147** Luis Martinez, "Top Pentagon officials say Russian bounty program not corroborated," ABC News, July 9, 2020, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/top-pentagon-officials-russian-bounty-program-corroborated/story?id=71694167.
- 1148 Jennifer Griffin, "Pentagon says 'no corroborating' evidence to stand up NYT report on Russian bounties," Fox News, June 30, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/pentagon-says-no-corroborating-evidence-to-stand-up-nyt-report-on-russian-bounties.
- **1149** Paul D. Shinkman, "DOD Intel Hasn't Confirmed Russian Bounty Scheme in Afghanistan," US News and World Report, July 9, 2020, https://usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2020-07-09/dod-intel-hasnt-confirmed-russian-bounty-scheme-in-afghanistan.
- 1150 Gordon Lubold and Warren P. Strobel, "NSA Differed From CIA, Others on Russia Bounty Intelligence," *Wall Street Journal*, June 30, 2020, https://wsj.com/articles/nsa-differed-from-cia-others-on-russia-bounty-intelligence-11593534220.
- 1151 Mairead McArdle, "Intel Official: Allegations of Russian Bounties to Taliban 'Uncorroborated," *National Review*, June 29, 2020, https://nationalreview.com/news/intel-official-allegations-of-russian-bounties-to-taliban-uncorroborated.
- 1152 Charlie Savage, et al., "New Administration Memo Seeks to Foster Doubts About Suspected Russian Bounties," *New York Times*, July 3, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/07/03/us/politics/memorussian-bounties.html.
- 1153 Charlie Savage, et al., "New Administration Memo Seeks to Foster Doubts About Suspected Russian Bounties," *New York Times*, July 3, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/07/03/us/politics/memorussian-bounties.html.
- 1154 Sarah K. Burris, "This is the Afghan contractor who delivered Russian cash to the Taliban: report," RawStory, July 1, 2020, https://rawstory.com/2020/07/afghan-contractor-rahmatullah-azizi-delivered-russian-cash-to-the-taliban-report.
- 1155 Charlie Savage, Email to author, August 20, 2020.
- 1156 Gareth Porter, "How the Pentagon failed to sell Afghan government's bunk 'Bountygate' story to US intelligence agencies," Grayzone, July 7, 2020, https://thegrayzone.com/2020/07/07/pentagon-afghan-bountygate-us-intelligence-agencies.
- 1157 Ken Dilanian, "Remember those Russian bounties for dead US troops? Biden admin says the CIA intel is not conclusive," NBC News, April 15, 2021, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/remember-those-russian-bounties-dead-u-s-troops-biden-admin-n1264215.
- 1158 Scott Horton, "Shame On You, Charlie Savage," Libertarian Institute, June 26, 2020, https://libertarianinstitute.org/blog/shame-on-you-charlie-savage.
- 1159 Adam Rawnsley, et al., "US Intel Walks Back Claim Russians Put Bounties on American Troops," Daily Beast, April 15, 2021, https://thedailybeast.com/us-intel-walks-back-claim-russians-put-bounties-on-american-troops.

- **1160** Carol E. Lee and Courtney Kube, "Trump tells advisers US should pull troops as Afghanistan COVID-19 outbreak looms," NBC News, April 27, 2020, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/trump-tells-advisers-u-s-should-pull-troops-afghanistan-covid-n1191761.
- **1161** John Vaughn, "Evacuation Eyewitness: What I Saw in Kabul," Libertarian Institute, September 22, 2021, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/evacuation-eyewitness-what-i-saw-in-kabul; Alice Speri, "The US Still Owes Money to Family of 10 Afghans It Killed in 'Horrible Mistake," Intercept, May 17, 2023, https://theintercept.com/2023/05/17/kabul-drone-strike-survivor-payment.
- 1162 Farah Stockman, "US building ties with Assad opponents in Syria," *International Herald Tribune*, November 26, 2006, https://nytimes.com/2006/11/26/world/americas/26iht-syria.3675092.html; Adam Zagorin, "Syria in Bush's Cross Hairs," *Time*, December 19, 2006, https://time.com/archive/6939918/syria-in-bushs-cross-hairs.
- **1163** Rebecca Kheel, "House panel votes to constrain Afghan drawdown, ask for assessment on 'incentives' to attack US troops," *The Hill*, July 1, 2020, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/505568-house-panel-votes-to-constrain-afghan-drawdown-ask-for-assessment-on.
- 1164 Michael McFaul, "Trump would do anything for Putin. No wonder he's ignoring the Russian bounties," *Washington Post*, July 1, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/outlook/trump-would-do-anything-for-putin-no-wonder-hes-ignoring-the-russian-bounties/2020/07/01/0013f1d0-bb19-11ea-8cf5-9c1b8d7f84c6 story.html.
- 1165 Michael Crowley, "Bounties Uproar Casts a Shadow Over a Rare Trump Foreign Policy Achievement," *New York Times*, July 2, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/07/02/us/politics/trump-afghanistan-russia-bounty.html.
- 1166 Jamie Dettmer, "'Slipper Revolution' Shakes Belarus," Voice of America, June 22, 2020, https://voanews.com/a/europe_slipper-revolution-shakes-belarus/6191532.html; Tony Wesolowsky, "Although Banned From Running, Vlogger's Calls To Cast Out 'Cockroach' Lukashenka Resonating With Many Belarusians," RFERL, May 27, 2020, https://rferl.org/a/banned-from-running-vlogger-s-calls-for-cockroach-lukashenka-to-leave-still-resonate-with-many-belarusians/30638157.html. 1167 "Belarus 2019," National Endowment for Democracy,
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20200809091237/https://ned.org/region/central-and-easterneurope/belarus-2019.}$
- **1168** Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Belarusan President Lukashenko wins sixth term in widely disputed election," *Washington Post*, August 10, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/violent-crackdown-on-belarus-protests-follows-disputed-results-showing-lukashenko-reelected/2020/08/10/cc56fb12-d9c2-11ea-a788-2ce86ce81129_story.html.
- **1169** Staff, "Golos platform: Tsikhanouskaya defeated Lukashenko in 1st round of presidential election," Voice of Belarus, August 9, 2020, https://voiceofbelarus.org/belarus-news/golos-proved-that-tsikhanouskaya-had-defeated-lukashenko-in-the-first-round.
- 1170 Staff, "Opposition in Belarus refuses to recognise official election win by Lukashenko," Reuters, August 10, 2020, https://reuters.com/article/belarus-election-opposition/opposition-in-belarus-refuses-to-recognise-official-election-win-by-lukashenko-idINKCN2560T5.
- 1171 Nataliya Vasilyeva, "Authorities in Belarus to charge anti-government protesters with rioting for clashing with police," *Telegraph*, July 14, 2020, https://telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/07/14/protests-belarus-government-blocks-president-lukashenkos-rivals.
- 1172 Kristina Safonov, "It looks like hell on earth. Just hell," Meduza, August 13, 2020, https://meduza.io/feature/2020/08/13/k-visku-pristavlyali-oruzhie-i-perezaryazhali.
- 1173 Tweet by Europe Elects, August 9, 2020,
- https://x.com/EuropeElects/status/1292595429440454662.
- 1174 Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Belarusan President Lukashenko wins sixth term in widely disputed election," *Washington Post*, August 10, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/violent-

<u>crackdown-on-belarus-protests-follows-disputed-results-showing-lukashenko-reelected/2020/08/10/cc56fb12-d9c2-11ea-a788-2ce86ce81129_story.html.</u>

1175 Tweet by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, August 10, 2020,

https://x.com/secpompeo/status/1292908531298054144.

1176 Staff, "Belarus election: Opposition leader Tikhanovskaya left 'for sake of her children," BBC, August 12, 2020, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-53733330.

1177 Staff, "Belarus jails Lukashenko opponent Siarhei Tsikhanouski," DW, December 14, 2021, https://dw.com/en/belarus-jails-lukashenko-opponent-siarhei-tsikhanouski/a-60116132.

1178 Carl Gershman, "For a Free and Independent Belarus: NED President Carl Gershman at the Kalinowski Forum," National Endowment for Democracy, March 22, 2021,

https://web.archive.org/web/20210326192019/https://ned.org/for-a-free-and-independent-belarus-ned-president-carl-gershman-at-the-kalinowski-forum.

1179 Marc Bennetts, "We fund Russian democracy protesters, boasts US group," London *Times*, May 19, 2021, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/russian-pranksters-trick-us-officials-into-boasting-about-funding-protests-hbtwtvg6n.

1180 "The Union State Treaty," President of Belarus, December 8, 1999,

https://president.gov.by/en/belarus/economics/economic-integration/union-state.

1181 Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Belarus just ordered US oil for the first time. It was a message to Russia," *Washington Post*, May 22, 2020, https://washingtonpost.com/world/europe/belarus-russia-us-oil-lukashenko/2020/05/21/0c04e0a2-99c3-11ea-ad79-eef7cd734641_story.html.

1182 Staff, "Putin, Lukashenka Agree To 28 Union State 'Programs," RFERL, November 4, 2021, https://rferl.org/a/putin-lukashenka-union-state/31546225.html.

1183 Interview with author, Lyle J. Goldstein, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 21, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/2-21-22-lyle-j-goldstein-on-todays-developments-concerning-russia-and-ukraine.

1184 "A Conversation With Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya," Council on Foreign Relations, July 26, 2021, https://cfr.org/event/conversation-sviatlana-tsikhanouskaya.

1185 "Belarus 2021," National Endowment for Democracy, February 14, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220309032107/https://ned.org/region/central-and-eastern-europe/belarus-2021.

1186 Alan MacLeod, "US Writes Belarus into Its Familiar Regime-Change Script," MintPress News, October 12, 2021, https://mintpressnews.com/us-writes-belarus-familiar-regime-change-script/278700. 1187 Ryhor Astapenia, "Prepare For a Belarus Without Lukashenka?" Chatham House, June 16, 2020, https://chathamhouse.org/2020/06/prepare-belarus-without-lukashenka.

1188 "Belarusians' views on the political crisis," Chatham House, April 2021,

https://chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/2021-06-14-belarusians-views-political-crisis.pdf. 1189 Alan MacLeod, "US Writes Belarus into Its Familiar Regime-Change Script," MintPress News, October 12, 2021, https://mintpressnews.com/us-writes-belarus-familiar-regime-change-script/278700. 1190 Jack Clover, "Meet 'Predator' and 'Grandad,' the exiled Belarusians plotting against Putin's friend," Sunday *Times*, June 18, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/meet-predator-and-grandad-the-exiled-belarusians-plotting-against-putins-friend-stc8pwjm9">https://thetimes.co.uk/article/meet-predator-and-grandad-the-exiled-belarusians-plotting-against-putins-friend-stc8pwjm9.

1191 Interview with author, Stephen M. Walt, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 6, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-6-22-stephen-walt-a-realists-take-on-the-war-in-ukraine.

Chapter 6: Joe Biden

1 Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Damon Grosvenor, "Second US Destroyer enters Black Sea, Operates alongside NATO AIRCOM," January 28, 2021, https://c6f.navy.mil/Press-Room/News/Article/2485628/second-us-destroyer-enters-black-sea-operates-alongside-nato-aircom;

- John Vandiver, "Navy sends three ships into Black Sea as Russia takes notice," *Stars and Stripes*, January 28, 2021, https://stripes.com/theaters/europe/navy-sends-three-ships-into-black-sea-as-russia-takes-notice-1.660114.
- **2** Barbara Starr, "US deploying B-1 bombers to Norway to send a message to Russia," CNN, February 8, 2021, https://cnn.com/2021/02/08/politics/us-b-1-bombers-norway/index.html.
- **3** Joseph Trevithick, "Air Force F-15Es Train To Launch Cruise Missiles Over The Baltic Sea," The Warzone, March 2, 2021, https://thedrive.com/the-war-zone/39551/air-force-f-15es-trained-to-launch-cruise-missiles-in-the-baltic-region-during-major-exercise.
- **4** Dan Mangan, "Biden believes Putin is a killer, vows Russian leader 'will pay a price' for trying to help Trump win the election," CNBC, March 17, 2021, https://cnbc.com/2021/03/17/biden-says-putin-is-a-killer-will-pay-for-trying-to-help-trump-win-election.html.
- **5** Trevor Hunnicutt, et al., "US imposes wide array of sanctions on Russia for 'malign' actions," Reuters, April 15, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-imposes-wide-array-sanctions-russia-malign-actions-2021-04-15.
- **6** Alison Bath, "US Navy and NATO presence in the Black Sea has fallen since Russia took part of Ukraine, figures show," *Stars and Stripes*, January 28, 2022, https://stripes.com/theaters/europe/2022-01-28/sporadic-nato-patrols-in-black-sea-leaving-void-for-Russians-4443921.html.
- 7 John Vandiver, "Navy sends three ships into Black Sea as Russia takes notice," *Stars and Stripes*, January 28, 2021, https://stripes.com/theaters/europe/navy-sends-three-ships-into-black-sea-as-russia-takes-notice-1.660114.
- 8 Staff, "US announces \$125 million defense aid package for Ukraine," AP, March 1, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-b983b35504f61ec8e7edc24503e5c091; Laura Kelly, "US pledges \$60M in military aid to Ukraine ahead of Zelensky visit," *The Hill*, August 31, 2021, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/570194-us-pledges-60m-in-military-aid-to-ukraine-ahead-of-zelensky-visit; Annie Karni, "Biden Affirms Support Against 'Russian Aggression' in Meeting With Ukraine's Leader," *New York Times*, September 1, 2021,
- https://nytimes.com/2021/09/01/us/politics/biden-ukraine-zelensky-russia.html; Lindsay Wise, "Senate Passes \$778 Billion Defense-Policy Bill," *Wall Street Journal*, December 15, 2021,
- https://wsj.com/amp/articles/senate-set-to-pass-778-billion-ndaa-defense-policy-bill-11639586115.
- **9** Gabrielle Tétrault-Farber and Trevor Hunnicutt, "Russia, US extend arms pact, Kremlin says, as Biden, Putin talk," Reuters, January 26, 2021, https://reuters.com/article/us-russia-usa-security-kremlin/russia-u-s-extend-new-start-arms-pact-kremlin-says-idUSKBN29V10N.
- **10** Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, "Russian nuclear weapons, 2022," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 78, No. 2 (2022), 98–121, https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2022.2038907.
- 11 Andrea Shalal, et al., "US waives sanctions on Nord Stream 2 as Biden seeks to mend Europe ties," Reuters, May 19, 2021, https://reuters.com/business/energy/us-waive-sanctions-firm-ceo-behind-russias-nord-stream-2-pipeline-source-2021-05-19.
- **12** Rachel Frazin, "Biden imposes Nord Stream 2 sanctions," *The Hill*, February 23, 2021, https://thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/595518-biden-imposes-nord-stream-2-sanctions.
- **13** Fadel Allassan, "Biden at NATO summit: Collective defense is, 'sacred obligation,'" Axios, June 14, 2021, https://axios.com/2021/06/14/biden-nato-summit-article-five.
- **14** Xhorxhina Bami, "Kosovo Ex-Fighter's Testimony Bolsters Prosecution Case at Thaci Trial," Balkan Insight, June 25, 2024, https://balkaninsight.com/2024/06/25/kosovo-ex-fighters-testimony-bolsters-prosecution-case-at-thaci-trial.
- **15** Scott Horton and Gus Cantevero, "Enough Already Chapter 8: Af-Pak War," *Scott Horton Show*, February 12, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=okCfnE4ru7I.
- 16 Samy Magdy, "Militia infighting kills at least 9 in Libya's capital, officials say," AP, August 10, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/libya-militias-clashes-war-c727c3f982fbe12ad8952e060b3e500a; Staff, "Libya's central bank chief flees country over militia threats: Report," Al Jazeera, August 30,

- 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/30/libyas-central-bank-chief-flees-country-over-militia-threats-report.
- 17 Aryn Baker, "Inside the Modern Slave Trade Trapping African Migrants," *Time*, March 14, 2019, https://time.com/longform/african-slave-trade.
- **18** Peter Bergen and Alyssa Sims, "The Jihadist Environment in Libya Today," New America Foundation, June 20, 2018, https://newamerica.org/future-security/reports/airstrikes-and-civilian-casualties-libya/the-jihadist-environment-in-libya-today.
- **19** Steven Erlanger, "NATO Needs to Adapt Quickly to Stay Relevant for 2030, Report Urges," *New York Times*, November 30, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/11/30/world/europe/nato-2030-russia-china.html.
- **20** Michael Crowley and Edward Wong, "Ukraine War Ushers In 'New Era' for US Abroad," *New York Times*, March 12, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/12/us/politics/biden-ukraine-diplomacy.html.
- **21** Peter Certo, "Bret Stephens," Militarist Monitor, April 11, 2019, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/bret-stephens.
- **22** Bret Stephens, "This Is a Moment for America to Believe in Itself Again," *New York Times*, February 22, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/22/opinion/ukraine-russia-us-war.html.
- **23** David Ignatius, "Putin warned the West 15 years ago. Now, in Ukraine, he's poised to wage war," *Washington Post*, February 20, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/02/20/putin-ukraine-nato-2007-munich-conference.
- **24** Astri Suhrke, *When More Is Less: The International Project in Afghanistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 11.
- 25 See Chapter Five.
- **26** Alyona Getmanchuk, "Russia as aggressor, NATO as objective: Ukraine's new National Security, Strategy," Atlantic Council, September 30, 2020, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/russia-as-aggressor-nato-as-objective-ukraines-new-national-security-strategy.
- **27** John Vandiver, "Ukraine plans Black Sea bases as US steps up presence in region," *Stars and Stripes*, February 10, 2021, https://stripes.com/theaters/europe/ukraine-plans-black-sea-bases-as-us-steps-up-presence-in-region-1.661679.
- **28** See Chapter Five.
- **29** Press Release, "Defender-Europe 21 activities begin this month, include two dozen nations," US Army Europe and Africa Public Affairs, March 15, 2021,
- https://army.mil/article/244260/defender_europe_21_activities_begin_this_month_include_two_dozen nations.
- **30** Press Release, "US forces redeploy as DEFENDER-Europe 21 concludes," US Army, June 21, 2021, https://europeafrica.army.mil/ArticleViewPressRelease/Article/2663573/us-forces-redeploy-as-defender-europe-21-concludes.
- **31** "Decree of the President of Ukraine, No. 117/2021," March 24, 2021, https://president.gov.ua/documents/1172021-37533.
- **32** Tim Ripley, "US, UK surge surveillance flights over Ukraine and Black Sea," Jane's Defence, April 12, 2021, https://web.archive.org/web/20210515211147/https://janes.com/defence-news/news-detail/us-uk-surge-surveillance-flights-over-ukraine-and-black-sea.
- 33 Kanaryan Lyudmila, "Ukraine's envoy on Russia's build-up: Either joining NATO or restoring nuclear status," Ukrainian Independent Information Agency, April 15, 2021,
- https://unian.info/politics/russia-s-build-up-either-joining-nato-or-restoring-nuclear-status-ukraine-s-envoy-to-germany-11389207.html.
- **34** Jack Detsch and Robbie Gramer, "Biden Administration Debates Legality of Arming Ukrainian Resistance," *Foreign Policy*, February 24, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/24/biden-legal-ukraine-russia-resistance.

- **35** Ilya Zhegulev, "How Putin Came to Hate Ukraine," Nestka, April 25, 2023, https://verstka.media/kak-putin-pridumal-voynu.
- **36** Staff, "Ukraine bans pro-Russian TV stations," DW, February 3, 2021, https://dw.com/en/ukraine-zelenskiy-bans-three-opposition-tv-stations/a-56438505.
- **37** Cristina Maza, "Ukraine Opens Treason Investigation Into Vladimir Putin Ally Who Proposed 'Peace Plan' for War With Russia," *Newsweek*, February 5, 2019, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-treason-investigation-vladimir-putin-ally-peace-plan-viktor-1318761.
- **38** President Volodymyr Zelensky, "Deoligarchization is the key to Ukraine's future success," Atlantic Council speech, May 18, 2021, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/president-zelenskyy-deoligarchization-is-the-key-to-ukraines-future-success.
- **39** Simon Shuster, "The Untold Story of the Ukraine Crisis," *Time*, February 2, 2022, https://time.com/6144109/russia-ukraine-vladimir-putin-viktor-medvedchuk.
- **40** Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine—and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.
- **41** Simon Shuster, "The Untold Story of the Ukraine Crisis," *Time*, February 2, 2022, https://time.com/6144109/russia-ukraine-vladimir-putin-viktor-medvedchuk.
- **42** Michael Gordon, et al., "Satellite Images Show Russia's Expanding Ukraine Buildup," *Wall Street Journal*, April 20, 2021, https://wsj.com/articles/satellite-images-show-russias-expanding-ukraine-buildup-11618917238.
- **43** "US & NATO Aircraft Integrate, Fly Over All 30 NATO Nations," US Air Force, May 31, 2021, https://usafe.af.mil/News/Press-Releases/Article/2639558/us-nato-aircraft-integrate-fly-over-all-30-nato-nations.
- **44** Staff, "Swift Response 21 kicks off in Estonia," Multinational Corps Northeast Public Affairs Office, May 10, 2021, https://mncne.nato.int/newsroom/news/2021/swift-response-kicks-off-in-estonia.
- **45** "Meeting with permanent members of the Security Council," Kremlin, May 14, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/65572.
- **46** Press Release, "Brussels Summit Communiqué," NATO, June 14, 2021, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news 185000.htm.
- **47** Josh Wingrove and Jennifer Jacobs, "Biden Says Ukraine Has Work to Do on Corruption to Get Into NATO," Bloomberg News, June 14, 2021, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-06-14/biden-says-ukraine-has-work-to-do-on-corruption-to-get-into-nato.
- **48** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden in Press Conference," White House, June 16, 2021, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/06/16/remarks-by-president-biden-in-press-conference-4.
- **49** Anton Zverev, "Kremlin Says NATO Membership for Ukraine Would be 'Red Line,'" Reuters, June 17, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/europe/kremlin-says-it-is-worried-by-talk-ukraine-road-map-nato-2021-06-17.
- **50** Press Release, "Brussels Summit Communiqué," NATO, June 14, 2021, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_185000.htm.
- **51** Press Release, "UK signs agreement to support enhancement of Ukrainian naval capabilities," UK Ministry of Defence, June 23, 2021, https://gov.uk/government/news/uk-signs-agreement-to-support-enhancement-of-ukrainian-naval-capabilities.
- 52 "Ukraine, US to start Black Sea military drills despite Russian protest," Reuters, June 28, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-us-start-black-sea-military-drills-despite-russian-protest-2021-06-28; Robyn Dixon, "The US-Ukraine Sea Breeze naval exercises, explained," *Washington Post*, July 2, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2021/07/02/ukraine-us-military-black-sea.
- **53** Staff, "Black Sea Drills Showcase NATO-Ukraine Defense Ties," AP, July 10, 2021, https://voanews.com/a/europe_black-sea-drills-showcase-nato-ukraine-defense-ties/6208102.html.

- 54 Staff, "HMS Defender: Russian jets and ships shadow British warship," BBC, June 23, 2021, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-57583363; Kelley Beaucar Vlahos, "Classified docs found at UK bus stop reveal sensitive defense plans," Responsible Statecraft, June 27, 2021, <a href="https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://responsiblestatecraft.org/2021/06/27/classified-docs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://www.defensecondocs-found-at-uk-bus-stop-reveal-sensitive-thtps://
- defense-plans; Vladimir Isachenkov and Daria Litvinova, "Putin says US and UK were behind Black Sea 'provocation," AP, June 30, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/europe-russia-coronavirus-pandemic-health-business-3581667136e1cabd6a19d5fcf5bec531.
- **55** Vladimir Putin, "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians," Kremlin, July 12, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181.
- **56** Richard Sakwa, "The March of Folly Resumed: Russia, Ukraine and the West," Public Reading Rooms, March 10, 2022, https://prruk.org/the-march-of-folly-resumed-russia-ukraine-and-the-west.
- **57** Vladimir Putin, "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians," Kremlin, July 12, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181.
- **58** Peter Dickinson, "Putin's new Ukraine essay reveals imperial ambitions," Atlantic Council, July 15, 2021, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/putins-new-ukraine-essay-reflects-imperial-ambitions.
- **59** Garry Kasparov, "Has Biden Lost His Nerve With Putin?" *Wall Street Journal*, June 1, 2021, https://wsj.com/articles/has-biden-lost-his-nerve-with-putin-11622566741.
- **60** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **61** Lilia Ragutskaya, "Yarosh: if Zelensky betrays Ukraine, he will lose not his position, but his life," Obozrevatel, May 27, 2019, https://incident.obozrevatel.com/ukr/crime/dmitro-yarosh-1-chastina-intervyu.htm.
- **62** Alexander Osang, "A Year with Ex-Chancellor Angela Merkel," *Der Spiegel*, January 12, 2022, https://spiegel.de/international/germany/a-year-with-ex-chancellor-merkel-you-re-done-with-power-politics-a-f46149cb-6deb-45a8-887c-8aa37cc9b3c3.
- **63** Tina Hildebrandt and Giovanni di Lorenzo, "Did you think I'd come with a ponytail?" *Die Zeit*, December 7, 2022, https://zeit.de/2022/51/angela-merkel-russland-fluechtlingskrise-bundeskanzler/seite-5.
- **64** Theo Prouvost, "Hollande: 'There will only be a way out of the conflict when Russia fails on the ground," Kyiv Independent, December 28, 2022, https://kyivindependent.com/national/hollande-there-will-only-be-a-way-out-of-the-conflict-when-russia-fails-on-the-ground.
- **65** Vovan and Lexus, "Full prank with former French President Francois Hollande," Show VL, April 6, 2023, https://rumble.com/v2gr7ru-full-prank-with-former-french-president-francois-hollande.html.
- **66** John Reed, "Ukraine's Ex-president Petro Poroshenko: 'The Army is Like My Child, and I Am Very Proud," *Financial Times*, May 20, 2022, https://ft.com/content/39356ee4-a505-4391-a7a9-998252cb67ee.
- 67 Lotte Murphy-Johnson, et al., "Putin vs the West," BBC, January 30, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episodes/p0dlz7gc/putin-vs-the-west.

 68 Petro, 229.
- **69** Yuras Karmanau, "Ukraine security chief: Minsk peace deal may create chaos," AP, January 31, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-russia-france-germany-europe-d9a2ed365b58d35274bf0c3c18427e81.
- **70** Christian Esch, et al., "Putin is a dragon that has to eat," Interview of Volodymyr Zelensky, *Der Spiegel*, February 9, 2023, https://spiegel.de/ausland/wolodymyr-selenskyj-im-interview-putin-ist-ein-drache-der-fressen-muss-a-458b7fe2-e15a-49a9-a38e-4bfba834f27b.
- 71 Michael Crowley, "Obama's Ukraine policy in shambles," *Politico*, February 29, 2016, https://politico.com/story/2016/02/obama-ukraine-russia-putin-219783.

- 72 Paul Sonne and David L. Stern, "A year in the trenches has hardened Ukraine's president," *Washington Post*, February 22, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/22/volodymyrzelensky-president-war-ukraine; Justin Lynch, "Zelensky Flounders in Bid to End Ukraine's War," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/11/zelensky-pushes-peace-deal-ukraine-war-russia-Donbas-steinmeier-formula.
- **73** Robert Parry, "Ukraine's Poison Pill for Peace Talks," Consortium News, March 19, 2015, https://consortiumnews.com/2015/03/19/ukraines-poison-pill-for-peace-talks.
- 74 Oleksiy Reznikov, "On the Principles of the State Policy of Transition," Rada, August 4, 2021, https://venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-REF(2021)055-e.

75 Petro, 244.

76 Petro, 244.

- 77 Paul Sonne, "Putin is testing US, NATO with buildup along Russia-Ukraine border, defense minister says," *Washington Post*, November 19, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/russia-ukraine-border/2021/11/19/f2ad2ed0-4979-11ec-973c-be864f938c72_story.html.
- **78** "News conference following Russian-German talks," Kremlin, August 20, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/66418.
- **79** "Speech by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Ukraine's independence," President of Ukraine, August 24, 2021, https://president.gov.ua/en/news/promova-prezidenta-volodimira-zelenskogo-z-nagodi-30-yi-rich-70333.
- **80** "Fact Sheet US-Ukraine Strategic Defense Framework," US Defense Department, August 31, 2021, https://media.defense.gov/2021/Aug/31/2002844632/-1/-1/0/us-ukraine-strategic-defense-framework.pdf.
- **81** Jeff Mason and Steve Holland, "Biden pledges US support, security aid in first meeting with Ukraine's Zelenskiy," Reuters, September 2, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/biden-pledge-security-aid-first-meeting-with-ukraines-zelenskiy-2021-09-01.
- **82** "Joint Statement on the US-Ukraine Strategic Partnership," White House Briefing Room, September 1, 2021, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/01/joint-statement-on-the-u-s-ukraine-strategic-partnership.
- **83** Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.
- **84** Senator Joe Biden Opening Remarks, "Iraq Transition: Civil War or Civil Society? Part I," US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, April 20, 2004, https://govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-108shrg95512.htm.
- **85** "Joint Statement on the US-Ukraine Strategic Partnership," White House, September 1, 2021, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/01/joint-statement-on-the-u-s-ukraine-strategic-partnership.
- **86** Sommer Brokaw, "Ukraine-led Rapid Trident to increase US, NATO interoperability," UPI, September 20, 2021, https://upi.com/Defense-News/2021/09/20/ukraine-army-nato-rapidtrident21-exercise-begins/8581632150304.
- **87** Sgt. 1st Class Chad Menegay and Capt. Aimee Valles, "US, NATO, Ukraine enhance interoperability with Rapid Trident exercise," US Army, September 21, 2021, https://army.mil/article/250444/us_nato_ukraine_enhance_interoperability_with_rapid_trident_exercise
- **88** Interview with author, Jeff Huber, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, September 9, 2008, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/antiwar-radio-jeff-huber.
- 89 Horton, Fool's Errand, ii, 209.

- **90** Catherine Lutz, et al., "Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones, Afghanistan & Pakistan (Oct. 2001 Aug. 2021)," Cost of War Project, August 2023, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/figures/2021/WarDeathToll.
- **91** Catherine Lutz, et al., "Human and Budgetary Costs to Date of the US War in Afghanistan, 2001-2022," Cost of War Project, August 2021, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/figures/2021/human-and-budgetary-costs-date-us-war-afghanistan-2001-2022.
- 92 "Joint Declaration between the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United States of America for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan," US State Department, February 29, 2020, https://state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/02.29.20-US-Afghanistan-Joint-Declaration.pdf.
- 93 Interview of author, "President Biden defends Afghanistan exit decision," *Kennedy Nation*, Fox Business, August 16, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Dc2Df9nsUMs.
- **94** Matthew Olay, "Kabul Airport Attack Review Reaffirms Initial Findings, Identifies Attacker," DOD News, April 15, 2024, https://defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/3741245/kabul-airport-attack-review-reaffirms-initial-findings-identifies-attacker.
- 95 John Vaughn, "Evacuation Eyewitness: What I Saw in Kabul," Libertarian Institute, September 22, 2021, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/evacuation-eyewitness-what-i-saw-in-kabul; Mallory Shelbourne, "One Explosive Device Responsible for Deaths of 13 US Service Members in Kabul Attack, Pentagon Says," US Naval Institute News, February 4, 2022,
- https://news.usni.org/2022/02/04/one-explosive-device-responsible-for-deaths-of-13-service-members-in-kabul-attack.
- 96 Alice Speri, "The US Still Owes Money to Family of 10 Afghans It Killed in 'Horrible Mistake," Intercept, May 17, 2023, https://theintercept.com/2023/05/17/kabul-drone-strike-survivor-payment; Azmat Khan, "Military Investigation Reveals How the US Botched a Drone Strike in Kabul," *New York Times*, January 6, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/06/us/politics/drone-civilian-deaths-afghanistan.html.
- 97 Officials supposedly told Bob Woodward they had solid intelligence indicating this, but after catching him fraudulently changing a quote of Russian FM Lavrov see note below the author decided not to cite his new book *War* at all. It's still a reasonable inference. Officials telling Woodward they knew for certain would still be nothing more than an indication, even if taken at face value.
- **98** Michael Kofman, "Zapad 2021: What We Learned From Russia's Massive Military Drills," *Moscow Times*, September 23, 2021, https://themoscowtimes.com/2021/09/23/zapad-2021-what-we-learned-from-russias-massive-military-drills-a75127.
- **99** "2021 Trends and Observations," OSCE, February 4, 2022, https://osce.org/files/f/documents/2/a/511327.pdf.
- **100** "Conflict-related civilian casualties in Ukraine," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 27, 2022, <a href="https://ukraine.un.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/Conflict-related%20civilian%20casualties%20as%20of%2031%20December%202021%20%28rev%2027%20January%202022%29%20corr%20EN 0.pdf.
- **101** Natalia Zinets and Matthias Williams, "Ukraine Using Turkish Drones in Donbas Conflict in Self-defence, Zelenskiy Says," Reuters, October 29, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/ukraine-using-turkish-drones-Donbas-conflict-self-defence-zelenskiy-says-2021-10-29.
- **102** Isabelle Khurshudyan and David L. Stern, "Why Ukraine's Turkish-made drone became a flash point in tensions with Russia," *Washington Post*, January 15, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/15/ukraine-russia-drones-turkey.
- **103** John Pike, "Nagorno-Karabakh/Republic of Artsakh," Global Security, July 21, 2024, https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/nagorno-karabakh.htm.
- **104** Mark Episkopos, "Ukraine's Recent Drone Strike Reignites Tensions in Donbas," *The National Interest*, October 31, 2021, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/ukraine's-recent-drone-strike-reignites-tensions-Donbas-195709.

- **105** David Broder, "Interview of Richard Sakwa," Jacobin, January 26, 2022, https://jacobin.com/2022/01/putin-nato-us-war-Donbas-minsk-2.
- **106** Staff, "Russia to suspend Nato diplomatic mission amid tension," BBC, October 18, 2021, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-58959386.
- **107** Paul Sonne, et al., "Russian troop movements near Ukraine border prompt concern in US, Europe," *Washington Post*, October 30, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/world/russian-troop-movements-near-ukraine-border-prompt-concern-in-us-europe/2021/10/30/c122e57c-3983-11ec-9662-399cfa75efee story.html.
- **108** Polina Devitt and Tom Balmforth, "CIA director makes rare trip to Moscow for talks on Russia-US ties," Reuters, November 2, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/heads-russias-security-council-cia-discuss-russia-us-ties-ria-2021-11-02; Shane Harris, et al., "The Post examined the lead-up to the Ukraine war. Here's what we learned," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/08/16/ukraine-road-to-war-takeaways.
- **109** William M. Arkin, "The CIA's Blind Spot about the Ukraine War," *Newsweek*, July 5, 2023, https://newsweek.com/2023/07/21/exclusive-cias-blind-spot-about-ukraine-war-1810355.html.
- 110 "US-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership," Office of State Department Spokesperson, November 10, 2021, https://web.archive.org/web/20211202055500/https://state.gov/u-s-ukraine-charter-on-strategic-partnership.
- 111 Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine—and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.
- 112 Christopher Caldwell, "The War in Ukraine May Be Impossible to Stop. And the US Deserves Much of the Blame," *New York Times*, May 31, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/31/opinion/usukraine-putin-war.html.
- 113 Andrew Osborn and Phil Stewart, "Moscow says US rehearsed nuclear strike against Russia this month," Reuters, November 23, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/russia-notes-significant-increase-us-bomber-activity-east-minister-2021-11-23.
- 114 Press Release, "USS Arleigh Burke Enters the Black Sea in Support of NATO Allies and Partners," USS Arleigh Burke Public Affairs, US Navy, November 25, 2021, https://c6f.navy.mil/Press-Room/News/Article/2854472/uss-arleigh-burke-enters-the-black-sea-in-support-of-nato-allies-and-partners.
- **115** Staff, "Putin Says US, NATO Moves In Black Sea 'Serious Challenge' For Russia," RFERL, November 13, 2021, https://rferl.org/a/russia-challenge-nato-black-sea/31559632.html.
- **116** Samuel Charap, "The US Approach to Ukraine's Border War Isn't Working. Here's What Biden Should Do Instead," *Politico*, November 19, 2021,
- https://politico.com/news/magazine/2021/11/19/ukraine-russia-putin-border-522989.
- 117 Tom Balmforth and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Putin Says West Taking Russia's 'Red Lines' Too Lightly," Reuters, November 18, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-says-west-not-taking-russias-warnings-red-lines-seriously-enough-2021-11-18.
- **118** Vladimir Putin, "Ceremony for presenting foreign ambassadors' letters of credence," Kremlin, December 1, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67250.
- 119 "Statement by Sergey Lavrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, at the Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council," OSCE, December 2, 2021, https://osce.org/files/f/documents/a/c/506840.pdf. Bob Woodward misquoted this to mean the opposite in his October 2024 book *War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2024), 88; Scott Horton, "Bob Woodward Badly Misquotes Russian FM Lavrov," Libertarian Institute, October 16, 2024, https://libertarianinstitute.org/blog/bob-woodward-badly-misquotes-russian-fm-lavrov.

- **120** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **121** Michael Schwirtz, "NATO Signals Support for Ukraine in Face of Threat From Russia," *New York Times*, December 16, 2021, https://nytimes.com/2021/12/16/world/europe/ukraine-nato-russia.html.
- 122 "Agreement on measures to ensure the security of The Russian Federation and member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," Russian Foreign Ministry, December 17, 2021, https://mid.ru/ru/foreign policy/rso/nato/1790803/?lang=en.
- **123** Robyn Dixon and Paul Sonne, "Russia broadens security demands from West, seeking to curb US and NATO influence on borders," *Washington Post*, December 17, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2021/12/17/ukraine-russia-military.
- **124** Max Seddon, "Russia demands Nato retract pledge to admit Ukraine and Georgia," *Financial Times*, December 10, 2021, https://ft.com/content/d86f8961-15c1-4f73-8cee-8251ab139204.
- **125** Tomasz Kurianovz and Moritz Eichhorn, "Interview with Gerhard Schröder: This is how peace negotiations between Ukraine and Russia failed," *Berliner-Zeitung*, October 20, 2023, https://berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/gerhard-schroeder-im-exklusiv-interview-was-merkel-2015-gemacht-hat-war-politisch-falsch-li.2151196.
- **126** Paul Sonne, et al., "US plans to discuss missile deployments with Russia as part of effort to defuse Ukraine crisis," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-russia-talks-ukraine/2022/01/07/2fb5874e-6ff6-11ec-974b-d1c6de8b26b0 story.html.
- **127** Paul Sonne, et al., "US plans to discuss missile deployments with Russia as part of effort to defuse Ukraine crisis," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-russia-talks-ukraine/2022/01/07/2fb5874e-6ff6-11ec-974b-d1c6de8b26b0 story.html.
- **128** "NATO Enlargement: The American Viewpoint," *US Foreign Policy Agenda*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (October 1997), https://usinfo.org/usia/usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1097/ijpe/ijpe1097.pdf.
- **129** Staff, "US could strengthen 'defensive posture' in Europe if Russia escalates situation El País," TASS, February 2, 2022, https://tass.com/defense/1396565.
- 130 See Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five.
- **131** Gordon Prather, "How Bush Pushed North Korea to Nukes," Antiwar.com, March 27, 2009, https://original.antiwar.com/prather/2009/03/27/how-bush-pushed-north-korea-to-nukes.
- 132 See Chapter Three.
- **133** Tabassum Zakaria and Arshad Mohammed, "Libya's Gaddafi speaks to Bush," Reuters, November 17, 2008, https://reuters.com/article/world/us-politics/libyas-gaddafi-speaks-to-bush-idUSTRE4AG3V2.
- **134** President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on Libya," White House, March 19, 2011, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/03/19/remarks-president-libya.
- **135** Gareth Porter, "Obama's Line on the Iran Nuclear Deal: A Second False Narrative," Antiwar.com, July 27, 2015, https://original.antiwar.com/porter/2015/07/26/obamas-line-on-the-iran-nuclear-deal-a-second-false-narrative.
- **136** Alexander Fulbright, "In recording, Netanyahu boasts Israel convinced Trump to quit Iran nuclear deal," *Times of Israel*, July 17 2018, https://timesofisrael.com/in-recording-netanyahu-boasts-israel-convinced-trump-to-quit-iran-nuclear-deal.
- 137 See Chapter Three.
- **138** Paul Sonne, et al., "US plans to discuss missile deployments with Russia as part of effort to defuse Ukraine crisis," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-russia-talks-ukraine/2022/01/07/2fb5874e-6ff6-11ec-974b-d1c6de8b26b0 story.html.
- **139** Andrew Kramer and Steven Erlanger, "Russia Lays Out Demands for a Sweeping New Security Deal With NATO," *New York Times*, December 17, 2021,
- https://nytimes.com/2021/12/17/world/europe/russia-nato-security-deal.html.

- **140** "A Conversation with the Counselor: Derek Chollet on Navigating the World," War on the Rocks podcast, April 13, 2022, https://warontherocks.com/2022/04/a-conversation-with-the-counselor-derek-chollet-on-navigating-the-world.
- **141** Paul Sonne, et al., "US plans to discuss missile deployments with Russia as part of effort to defuse Ukraine crisis," *Washington Post*, January 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/us-russia-talks-ukraine/2022/01/07/2fb5874e-6ff6-11ec-974b-d1c6de8b26b0_story.html.
- **142** Chandelis Duster, "Zelensky: 'If we were a NATO member, a war wouldn't have started," CNN, March 20, 2022, https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/ukraine-russia-putin-news-03-20-22/h 7c08d64201fdd9d3a141e63e606a62e4.
- **143** "Telephone conversations with US President Joseph Biden," Kremlin, December 30, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67487.
- **144** Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Russia-US talks hit impasse over NATO expansion as Moscow denies plans to invade Ukraine," *Washington Post*, January 10, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/10/us-russia-delegations-meet-geneva.
- **145** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **146** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **147** Interview with author, Chas Freeman, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 24, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/2-24-23-chas-freeman-america-needs-to-use-diplomacy.
- **148** Staff, "Russia's Proposal To Redraw European Security 'Unacceptable,' US Says," RFERL, December 17, 2021, https://rferl.org/a/nato-russia-security-guarantees/31614168.html.
- **149** Michael Crowley and David Sanger, "US and NATO Respond to Putin's Demands as Ukraine Tensions Mount," *New York Times*, January 26, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/01/26/us/politics/russia-demands-us-ukraine.html.
- **150** Hibai Arbide Aza and Miguel González, "US offered disarmament measures to Russia in exchange for deescalation of military threat in Ukraine," *El País*, February 2, 2022,
- $\frac{https://english.elpais.com/usa/2022-02-02/us-offers-disarmament-measures-to-russia-in-exchange-for-a-dees calation-of-military-threat-in-ukraine.html.\\$
- 151 "Biden says likelihood of Ukraine joining NATO in near term is 'not very likely,'" Global News, January 19, 2022, https://globalnews.ca/video/8524725/biden-says-likelihood-of-ukraine-joining-nato-in-near-term-is-not-very-likely; Ellen Knickmeyer, et al., "Biden Assures Ukraine's Leader of US Support to Deter Russia," AP, December 9, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-russia-ukraine-europe-vladimir-putin-8193787ec21ca2aded4a37fa325f07b5.
- **152** Julian Borger, "US Holds Firm on Ukraine's Right to Join Nato in Its Response to Russian Demands," *Guardian*, January 26, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/26/ukraine-and-russia-to-hold-paris-talks-in-latest-effort-to-ease-tensions.
- **153** Alberto Nardelli, et al., "US Dangles Offer to Russia on Missile Checks at Key NATO Bases," Bloomberg News, February 1, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-02-01/u-s-dangles-offer-to-russia-on-missile-checks-at-key-bases.
- **154** "Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken at a Press Availability," January 26, 2022, https://state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-at-a-press-availability-13.
- **155** Vladimir Isachenkov and Matthew Lee, "US offers no concessions in response to Russia on Ukraine," AP, January 26, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-europe-russia-united-states-moscow-72856781c3b92640d03c5e954488ba90.
- **156** Staff, "US gives no positive reply on inadmissibility of NATO expansion, says Lavrov," TASS, January 27, 2022, https://tass.com/politics/1393941.

- **157** "Interview of Jake Sullivan," CNN *This Morning*, July 12, 2023, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ctmo/date/2023-07-12/segment/04.
- **158** Jonathan Guyer, "How America's NATO expansion obsession plays into the Ukraine crisis," Vox.com, January 27, 2022, https://vox.com/platform/amp/22900113/nato-ukraine-russia-crisis-clinton-expansion.
- **159** Anchal Vohra, "Ukraine Is Ready for Painful Concessions," *Foreign Policy*, March 30, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/30/ukraine-is-ready-for-painful-concessions. **160** Sarotte, 320.
- **161** Patrick Tucker, "US 'Unequivocal' to Russia on Right of Ukraine, Others, to Join NATO," Defense One, January 10, 2022, https://defenseone.com/policy/2022/01/us-unequivocal-russia-right-ukraine-others-join-nato/360574.
- **162** Samuel Charap, "Nato honesty on Ukraine could avert conflict with Russia," *Financial Times*, January 13, 2022, https://ft.com/content/74089d46-abb8-4daa-9ee4-e9e9e4c45ab1.
- **163** Stephen M. Walt, "The West Is Sleepwalking Into War in Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/23/united-states-europe-war-russia-ukraine-sleepwalking.
- **164** Staff, "Kazakhstan gripped by protests as popular frustration spills over," Eurasianet, January 4, 2022, https://eurasianet.org/kazakhstan-gripped-by-protests-as-popular-frustration-spills-over.
- **165** Darya Boronilo, "Five dead in Kazakhstan 'terror' attacks on police," AFP, July 18, 2016, https://sg.news.yahoo.com/several-attacks-against-security-services-kazakhstan-official-073003571.html.
- **166** Lucian Kim, "The Other Jan. 6," *Foreign Policy*, January 5, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/05/kazakhstan-bloody-january-violence-tokayev-nazarbayev-conspiracy-protest.
- **167** Staff, "Kazakh leader declares 'coup d'etat' over as Putin claims victory," Al Jazeera, January 10, 2022, https://aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/10/kazakh-leader-declares-attempted-coup-detat-over.
- **168** Tweet by Maxim A. Suchkov, January 5, 2022, https://x.com/m suchkov/status/1478738984230694916.
- **169** "Kazakhstan 2021," National Endowment for Democracy, February 10, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220309142432/https://ned.org/region/eurasia/kazakhstan-2021.
- **170** "Demonstration Alert: US Mission Kazakhstan," US Embassy Kazakhstan, December 16, 2021, https://kz.usembassy.gov/demonstration-alert121521.
- **171** Bernard, "The US Directed Rebellion in Kazakhstan May Well Strengthen Russia," Moon of Alabama, January 6, 2022, https://moonofalabama.org/2022/01/the-us-directed-rebellion-in-kazakhstan-may-well-strengthen-russia.html.
- **172** Staff, "Putin Says Moscow-Led Forces in Kazakhstan for 'Limited' Time," Defense Post, January 10, 2022, https://thedefensepost.com/2022/01/10/putin-moscow-forces-kazakhstan.
- **173** Jamie Dettmer, "Putin: No More Color Revolutions," Voice of America, January 10, 2022, https://voanews.com/a/putin-no-more-color-revolutions/6390636.html.
- **174** "Blinken to Kazakhstan: It's hard to get Russians to leave once they're in your home," *Times of Israel*, January 9, 2022, https://timesofisrael.com/blinken-to-kazakhstan-its-hard-to-get-russians-to-leave-once-theyre-in-your-home.
- **175** "Russia-led bloc starts Kazakhstan pullout after possible coup bid crushed," Reuters, January 13, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/russia-led-bloc-starts-pulling-troops-out-kazakhstan-2022-01-13.
- 176 Staff, "The number of population of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the beginning of 2024," Bureau of National Statistics Agency for Strategic Planning and Reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan, April 22, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20240921005348/https://stat.gov.kz/en/industries/social-statistics/demography/publications/157662.

- 177 Lynne O'Donnell, "It's a New Great Game. Again," *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/20/russia-china-competition-central-asia-diplomacy-influence-great-game.
- 178 "First defence shipment support in 2022 from US to Ukraine's Armed Forces arrived at Boryspil airport," Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, January 22, 2022,
- https://mil.gov.ua/en/news/2022/01/22/first-defence-shipment-support-in-2022-from-us-to-ukraines-armed-forces-arrived-at-boryspil-airport; Amy Cheng, "Military trainers, missiles and over 200,000 pounds of lethal aid: What NATO members have sent Ukraine so far," *Washington Post*, January 22, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/22/ukraine-russia-military-weapons-nato-biden.
- **179** Natalia Zinets, "Ukraine receives second batch of US weapons in Russian stand-off Reuters," Reuters, January 23, 2022, https://reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/ukraine-receives-second-batch-us-weapons-russian-stand-off-2022-01-23.
- **180** Zach Dorfman, "In closer ties to Ukraine, US officials long saw promise and peril," Yahoo News, April 28, 2022, https://yahoo.com/news/in-closer-ties-to-ukraine-us-officials-long-saw-promise-and-peril-090006105.html.
- **181** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **182** Jack F. Matlock Jr., "Today's Crisis Over Ukraine," ACURA, February 14, 2022, https://usrussiaaccord.org/acura-viewpoint-jack-f-matlock-jr-todays-crisis-over-ukraine.
- **183** "News conference following Russian-Hungarian talks," Kremlin, February 1, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67690.
- **184** Anton Troianovski, et al., "Putin Warns the West and Ukraine, but Keeps His Intentions a Mystery," *New York Times*, February 7, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/07/world/europe/putin-macron-russia-france-ukraine.html.
- **185** Russian Security Council Meeting, Kremlin, February 21, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67825.
- 186 Brzezinski, 54, 118.
- **187** Connor Freeman, "Washington Wants War with China Served Hot, Not Cold," Libertarian Institute, May 11, 2023, https://libertarianinstitute.org/articles/washington-wants-war-with-china-served-hot-not-cold.
- **188** "Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on the International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable Development," Kremlin, February 4, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/5770.
- **189** Yuliia Dysa, "Ukraine says Russia launched 8,060 Iran-developed drones during war," Reuters, September 13, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-says-russia-launched-8060-iran-developed-drones-during-war-2024-09-13.
- **190** Stuart Williams, "Iran-Russia: A Growing Alliance That Rattles The West," AFP, October 10, 2024, https://barrons.com/news/iran-russia-a-growing-alliance-that-rattles-the-west-f918b1db.
- **191** Alexander Fulbright, "In recording, Netanyahu boasts Israel convinced Trump to quit Iran nuclear deal," *Times of Israel*, July 17, 2018, https://timesofisrael.com/in-recording-netanyahu-boasts-israel-convinced-trump-to-quit-iran-nuclear-deal.
- 192 Gareth Porter, "Was There Ever an Iranian Nuclear Weapons Program?" *The American Conservative*, May 14, 2018, https://theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-if-there-never-was-an-iranian-nuclear-weapons-program; Shemuel Meir, "Was the Iranian Threat Fabricated by Israel and the US?" *Haaretz*, May 31, 2014, https://haaretz.com/premium-an-imaginary-iran-threat-1.5250169; Gareth Porter, "When the Ayatollah Said No to Nukes," *Foreign Policy*, October 16, 2014, https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/16/when-the-ayatollah-said-no-to-nukes.

193 Jonathan Panikoff, "The Future of US Strategy Toward Iran," Atlantic Council, October 3, 2024, https://atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/The-future-of-US-strategy-toward-Iran.pdf.

194 Michel Rose and Pavel Polityuk, "France's Macron Calls for Calm to Resolve Ukraine Crisis," Reuters, February 8, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/kremlin-denies-putin-promised-not-hold-manoeuvres-near-ukraine-2022-02-08.

195 See Chapter Four.

196 John Hudson and David L. Stern, "Facing maximum pressure from Russia, Zelensky refuses to blink at the negotiating table," *Washington Post*, February 11, 2022,

https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/11/russia-ukraine-minsk-agreements.

197 "Emmanuel Macron to Vladimir Putin, four days before the war: 'I don't know where your lawyer learned the law," Le Temps, June 25, 2022, https://letemps.ch/monde/europe/emmanuel-macron-vladimir-poutine-quatre-jours-guerre-ne-sais-juriste-appris-droit.

198 "Zelensky's full speech at Munich Security Conference," Kyiv Independent, February 19, 2022, https://kyivindependent.com/national/zelenskys-full-speech-at-munich-security-conference.

199 "Zelensky: Ukraine May Reconsider Its Nuclear Status," UA Wire, February 19, 2022, https://uawire.org/zelensky-ukraine-may-reconsider-its-nuclear-status.

200 Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Vladimir Putin's 20-Year March to War in Ukraine – and How the West Mishandled It," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/vladimir-putins-20-year-march-to-war-in-ukraineand-how-the-west-mishandled-it-11648826461.

201 "OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) Daily Report 40/2022," OSCE, February 21, 2022, https://osce.org/special-monitoring-mission-to-ukraine/512683; Oksana Kobzeva, et al., "Russia voices alarm over sharp increase of Donbas shelling," Reuters, February 18, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-says-sharp-increase-shelling-Donbas-is-alarming-2022-02-18. 202 David C. Hendrickson, "Will Tensions in Ukraine Boil Over?" *The National Interest*, February 22, 2022, https://osce.org/files/2022-02-18%/20Daily%20Report_BNG.pdf; "Daily Report 39/2022," OSCE, February 19, 2022, https://osce.org/files/2022-02-18%20Daily%20Report_BNG.pdf; "Daily Report 40/2022," OSCE, February 21, 2022,

https://osce.org/files/2022-02-20-21%20Daily%20Report_ENG.pdf; "Daily Report 41/2022," OSCE, February 22, 2022, https://osce.org/files/2022-02-22%20Daily%20Report_ENG.pdf.

203 "Emmanuel Macron to Vladimir Putin, four days before the war: 'I don't know where your lawys

203 "Emmanuel Macron to Vladimir Putin, four days before the war: 'I don't know where your lawyer learned the law," Le Temps, June 25, 2022, https://letemps.ch/monde/europe/emmanuel-macron-vladimir-poutine-quatre-jours-guerre-ne-sais-juriste-appris-droit.

204 Vice President Kamala Harris, "Remarks by Vice President Harris in Press Gaggle," White House, February 20, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/20/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-in-press-gaggle-2.

205 Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 21, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828.

206 Aaron Maté, "US, EU Sacrificing Ukraine to 'Weaken Russia': Fmr. NATO Adviser," Grayzone, April 15, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/2022/04/15/us-eu-sacrificing-ukraine-to-weaken-russia-fmr-nato-adviser.

207 "Restoration of Independence in the Baltics," Baltic Defense College, https://baltdefcol.org/1243;
"Latvians Campaign for National Independence, 1989–1991," Global Nonviolent Action Database, https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/latvians-campaign-national-independence-1989-1991;
Stephen Zunes, "Estonia's Singing Revolution (1986-1991)," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, April 2009, https://nonviolent-conflict.org/estonias-singing-revolution-1986-1991.
208 David Swanson, "30 Nonviolent Things Russia Could Have Done and 30 Nonviolent Things Ukraine Could Do," Let's Try Democracy, March 15, 2022, https://davidswanson.org/30-nonviolent-conflict.org/

things-russia-could-have-done-and-30-nonviolent-things-ukraine-could-do.

- **209** Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 21, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828.
- **210** Interview with author, Stephen M. Walt, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 6, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-6-22-stephen-walt-a-realists-take-on-the-war-in-ukraine.
- **211** Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 21, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828.
- **212** "Read: Vladimir Putin's victory day speech in full," *The Spectator*, May 9, 2022, https://spectator.co.uk/article/read-vladimir-putin-s-victory-day-speech-in-full.
- **213** Rebecca Rosenberg, "Vladimir Putin's mental state questioned by growing number of US officials," Fox News, February 28, 2022, https://foxnews.com/us/has-russian-president-vladimir-putin-lost-mind.
- **214** Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 21, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67828.
- **215** Prasanta Kumar Dutta, et al., "On the edge of war," Reuters, January 26, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220201020837/https://graphics.reuters.com/RUSSIA-UKRAINE/dwpkrkwkgvm.
- **216** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on Russia's Unprovoked and Unjustified Attack on Ukraine," White House, February 24, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-russias-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-on-ukraine.
- **217** Geoffrey Roberts, "'Now or never': Putin's Decision for War with Ukraine," GeoffreyRoberts.net, April 1, 2022, https://geoffreyroberts.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Now-or-never-Putins-Decision-for-War-with-Ukraine.pdf.
- **218** Samuel Charap, "Nato honesty on Ukraine could avert conflict with Russia," *Financial Times*, January 13, 2022, https://ft.com/content/74089d46-abb8-4daa-9ee4-e9e9e4c45ab1.
- 219 Brian Stelter, "The Anti-Fox Gains Ground," *New York Times*, November 11, 2012, https://nytimes.com/2012/11/12/business/media/msnbc-its-ratings-rising-gains-ground-on-fox-news.html; Jim Rutenberg and Michael M. Grynbaum, "How MSNBC's Leftward Tilt Delivers Ratings, and Complications," *New York Times*, May 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/15/business/media/nbc-msnbc-trump-biden.html.
- **220** Zeeshan Aleem, "Russia's Ukraine invasion may have been preventable," MSNBC, March 4, 2022, https://msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/russia-s-ukraine-invasion-may-have-been-preventable-n1290831.
- **221** John Mearsheimer, "Why is Ukraine the West's Fault?" University of Chicago, September 25, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=JrMiSQAGOS4.
- **222** Staff, "Russia and Germany: non-aggression treaty to be signed Ribbentrop flying to Moscow tomorrow," *Guardian*, August 22, 1939, https://theguardian.com/world/from-the-archive-blog/2019/jul/24/molotov-ribbentrop-pact-germany-russia-1939.
- **223** Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, February 24, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843.
- **224** Vladimir Putin, "Annual Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," Kremlin, April 25, 2005, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22931.
- **225** Gerard Toal, *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 56.
- **226** Andrew Osborn and Andrey Ostroukh, "Putin rues Soviet collapse as demise of 'historical Russia," Reuters, December 12, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-rues-soviet-collapse-demise-historical-russia-2021-12-12.

227 Andrew S. Weiss, "Five myths about Vladimir Putin," *Washington Post*, March 2, 2012, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-vladimir-putin/2012/02/29/gIQAchg8mR_story.html.

228 See Chapter Four.

229 Staff, "What Does Putin Really Want?" *Politico Magazine*, February 25, 2022, https://politico.com/news/magazine/2022/02/25/putin-russia-ukraine-invasion-endgame-experts-00011652.

230 President Joe Biden, "President Biden's State of the Union Address," White House, March 7, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/state-of-the-union-2024; Staff, "Biden-Trump debate transcript," CNN, June 28, 2024, https://edition.cnn.com/2024/06/27/politics/read-biden-trump-debate-rush-transcript/index.html.

231 Andrew Cockburn, "\$2 Trillion, Here We Come," Spoils of War, March 14, 2024, https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/our-real-national-security-budget.

232 See Chapter Four.

233 Lyle J. Goldstein, "Threat Inflation, Russian Military Weakness, and the Resulting Nuclear Paradox," Cost of War Project, September 15, 2022,

https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/Threat%20Inflation%20and%20Russian%20Military%20Weakness Goldstein CostsofWar-2.pdf.

234 Gregg Re, "Schiff warns of Russian attack on US mainland, as Day 2 of Trump's Senate impeachment trial concludes," Fox News, January 23, 2020, https://foxnews.com/politics/trump-senate-impeachment-trial-schiff-russia-attack.

235 Julian Barnes, et al., "US Believes Ukrainians Were Behind an Assassination in Russia," *New York Times*, October 5, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/10/05/us/politics/ukraine-russia-dugina-assassination.html; Greg Miller and Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Ukrainian spies with deep ties to CIA wage shadow war against Russia," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2023,

https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/10/23/ukraine-cia-shadow-war-russia.

236 Marlene Laruelle, "Aleksandr Dugin: A Russian Version of the European Radical Right?" Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, January 2006, https://wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/OP294.pdf.

237 Anton Barbashin and Hannah Thoburn, "Putin's Brain," *Foreign Affairs*, March 31, 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-03-31/putins-brain; Tara Isabella Burton, "The farright mystical writer who helped shape Putin's view of Russia," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/05/12/dugin-russia-ukraine-putin; Jane Burbank, "The Grand Theory Driving Putin to War," *New York Times*, March 22, 2022,

https://nytimes.com/2022/03/22/opinion/russia-ukraine-putin-eurasianism.html; David Brooks, "Bannon Versus Trump," *New York Times*, January 10, 2017,

https://nytimes.com/2017/01/10/opinion/bannon-versus-trump.html.

238 Alex Hu, "Alexander Dugin is Not That Important," *The National Interest*, February 8, 2023, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/alexander-dugin-not-important-206186.

239 George Barros, "The West Overestimates Aleksandr Dugin's Influence in Russia," *Providence Magazine*, July 8, 2019, https://providencemag.com/2019/07/west-overestimates-aleksandr-dugins-influence-russia.

240 Richard Engel, et al., "Russian documents reveal desire to sow racial discord—and violence—in the US," NBC News, May 20, 2019, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/russian-documents-reveal-desire-sow-racial-discord-violence-u-s-n1008051.

241 See Chapter Five.

242 Alex Hu, "Alexander Dugin is Not That Important," *The National Interest*, February 8, 2023, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/alexander-dugin-not-important-206186.

243 Andrew Radin and Clint Reach, "Russian Views of the International Order," RAND Corporation, 2017, https://rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1826.html.

- **244** Jeffrey Sommers, "This Is How the New Cold War Turns Hot," *The Nation*, January 24, 2017, https://thenation.com/article/archive/journalists-keep-saying-this-greater-russia-ideologue-is-putins-adviser-one-problem-hes-not.
- **245** Marlene Laruelle, "Aleksandr Dugin: A Russian Version of the European Radical Right?" Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, January 2006, https://wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/OP294.pdf.
- **246** Anton Barbashin and Hannah Thoburn, "Putin's Brain," *Foreign Affairs*, March 31, 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-03-31/putins-brain.
- **247** Scott Horton, "They Hate Our Freedom," Libertarian Institute, July 20, 2024, https://libertarianinstitute.org/blog/they-hate-our-freedom.
- **248** Jane Burbank, "The Grand Theory Driving Putin to War," *New York Times*, March 22, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/22/opinion/russia-ukraine-putin-eurasianism.html.
- **249** Jens Stoltenberg, "Opening remarks," Joint meeting of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, September 7, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions 218172.htm.
- **250** Matt Orfalea, "'Not About Nato,' 'Never About NATO,' 'Nothing to Do With NATO,' Ukraine War," Orf, October 2, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=Zf5xEBwBhds.
- **251** John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault.
- **252** David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking in the New Abroad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 29.
- 253 Stone, 13.
- 254 See Chapter Four.
- **255** Nicolai N. Petro, "A True Solution to the Tragedy of Ukraine," *The National Interest*, March 21, 2022, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/true-solution-tragedy-ukraine-201302.
- **256** Antonio De Loera-Brust, "The Hidden Critique of US Foreign Policy in 'Red Dawn," *Foreign Policy*, June 15, 2024, https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/06/15/red-dawn-insurgency-anniversary-cold-war-critique.
- 257 Wrong, Commie! It's Houston!
- **258** Bill Clinton, "I Tried to Put Russia on Another Path," *The Atlantic*, April 7, 2022, https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/04/bill-clinton-nato-expansion-ukraine/629499.
- **259** John J. Mearsheimer, interview with the author, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, August 21, 2014, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/082114-john-j-mearsheimer.
- **260** Thomas L. Friedman, "This Is Putin's War. But America and NATO Aren't Innocent Bystanders," *New York Times*, February 21, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/21/opinion/putin-ukraine-nato.html.
- **261** Jack S. Levy, "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994), 279–312, https://jstor.org/stable/2706933.
- **262** Roland Paris, "Kosovo and the Metaphor War," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117, No. 3 (Autumn 2002), 423–50, https://jstor.org/stable/798263.
- **263** H.D.S. Greenway, "The ghost of Neville Chamberlain," Seattle Post Intelligencer, May 27, 2008, https://seattlepi.com/local/opinion/article/the-ghost-of-neville-chamberlain-1274609.php.
- **264** Joshua Cho, "Calling Putin 'Hitler' to Smear Diplomacy as 'Appeasement," FAIR, July 21, 2022, https://fair.org/home/calling-putin-hitler-to-smear-diplomacy-as-appeasement.
- **265** Jonathan Chait, "61 Times Bill Kristol Was Reminded of Hitler and Churchill," *New York* magazine, April 29, 2015, https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2015/04/61-times-kristol-reminded-of-hitler-churchill.html.
- **266** "Putin recognises independence of Ukraine breakaway regions," Al Jazeera, February 21, 2022, https://aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/21/russia-to-recognise-ukraine-breakaway-region-kremlin-confirms.

- **267** Andrew Osborn and Dmitry Antonov, "Putin sends 'peacekeepers' to Ukraine," *Canberra Times*, February 22, 2022, https://canberratimes.com.au/story/7629861/putin-sends-peacekeepers-to-ukraine. **268** "Transcript: Vladimir Putin's Televised Address on Ukraine," Bloomberg News, February 24, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-02-24/full-transcript-vladimir-putin-s-televised-address-to-russia-on-ukraine-feb-24.
- **269** William Arkin, "Putin's Bombers Could Devastate Ukraine But He's Holding Back. Here's Why," *Newsweek*, March 22, 2022, https://newsweek.com/putins-bombers-could-devastate-ukraine-hes-holding-back-heres-why-1690494.
- **270** Alexander Chramshykin, "Advance onto Thin Ice: Reasons for the Extreme Aggravation of the Situation in Ukraine," *Independent Military Review*, March 3, 2022, https://nvo.ng.ru/realty/2022-03-10/3_1180_ukraine.html; Anton Troianovski and Julian Barnes, "Russia's War Has Been Brutal, but Putin Has Shown Some Restraint. Why?" *New York Times*, May 3, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/03/world/europe/russia-ukraine-war-nato.html.
- **271** John O'Loughlin, et al., "Do people in Donbas want to be 'liberated' by Russia?" *Washington Post*, April 15, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/15/russia-ukraine-donbas-donetsk-luhansk-public-opinion.
- **272** Anatol Lieven, "Russia's missiles keep missing and other lessons from my Ukraine hospital bed," London *Times*, April 23, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/russias-missiles-keep-missing-and-other-lessons-from-my-ukraine-hospital-bed-b5d0v3rj9.
- 273 See Chapter Five.
- **274** Patrick Bet-David, "Political Consultant Paul Manafort," *PBD Podcast*, April 28, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=GtiUVm3Z4eo.
- **275** Roman Goncharenko, "Donetsk and Luhansk: A tale of creeping occupation," DW, February 23, 2022, https://dw.com/en/donetsk-and-luhansk-in-ukraine-a-creeping-process-of-occupation/a-60878068.
- **276** Staff, "Eastern Ukrainians Have Mixed Feelings About Ukraine," First Post, October 20, 2022, https://facebook.com/firstpostin/videos/eastern-ukrainians-have-mixed-feelings-about-ukraine-pro-russia-sentiments-in-ea/526868475439087.
- **277** Adam Entous and Michael Schwirtz, "The Spy War: How the CIA Secretly Helps Ukraine Fight Putin," *New York Times*, February 25, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/25/world/europe/the-spywar-how-the-cia-secretly-helps-ukraine-fight-putin.html.
- **278** Mark Trevelyan and Alexander Winning, "Russia states more limited war goal to 'liberate' Donbas," Reuters, March 25, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-says-first-phase-ukraine-operation-mostly-complete-focus-now-Donbas-2022-03-25.
- **279** Daniel L. Davis, "Could Russia Try to Take Kyiv Again? The War in Ukraine is Far From Over," 19FortyFive.com, October 22, 2022, https://19fortyfive.com/2022/10/could-russia-try-to-take-kyiv-again-the-war-in-ukraine-is-far-from-over.
- **280** John O'Loughlin, et al., "Do people in Donbas want to be 'liberated' by Russia?" *Washington Post*, April 15, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/15/russia-ukraine-donbas-donetsk-luhansk-public-opinion; Staff, "Eastern Ukrainians Have Mixed Feelings About Ukraine," First Post, October 20, 2022, https://facebook.com/firstpostin/videos/eastern-ukrainians-have-mixed-feelings-about-ukraine-pro-russia-sentiments-in-ea/526868475439087.
- **281** Mansur Mirovalev, "Dam leaves Crimea population in chronic water shortage," Al Jazeera, January 4, 2017, https://aljazeera.com/features/2017/1/4/dam-leaves-crimea-population-in-chronic-water-shortage.
- **282** Horton, Fool's Errand, 26–30; Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (New York: Penguin Books, 2004); George Crile, Charlie Wilson's War: The Extraordinary Story of the Largest Covert Operation in History (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); Ethan Rosen, The Bear, The Dragon,

- and the AK-47: How China, the United States, and radical Islamists conspired to defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan (Independently published, 2017); Michael M. Phillips, "Launching the Missile That Made History," Wall Street Journal, October 1, 2011,
- http://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204138204576598851109446780; Sylvester Stallone, David Morrell and Sheldon Lettich, *Rambo III*, directed by Peter MacDonald (Vancouver: Lions Gate, 1988), https://youtube.com/watch?v=wnePRVC9Prc.
- **283** Shane Harris, et al., "US and allies quietly prepare for a Ukrainian government-in-exile and a long insurgency," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/03/05/russia-ukraine-insurgency.
- **284** Jeff Mason, "Biden says putting US troops on ground in Ukraine is 'not on the table," Reuters, December 8, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/us/biden-says-putting-us-troops-ground-ukraine-is-not-table-2021-12-08.
- 285 "President Jimmy Carter's July 3, 1979, 'Finding' Authorizing Covert Support For the Mujahideen in Afghanistan," White House, July 3, 1979, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/carter; Coll, 46; Gates, 146.
 286 Staff, "Ex president hanged by Taliban after fall of Kabul," *Irish Times*, September 28, 1996, https://irishtimes.com/news/ex-president-hanged-by-taliban-after-fall-of-kabul-1.90501; Anand Gopal, *No Good Men Among the Living: America, the Taliban, and the War through Afghan Eyes* (New York: Metropolitan, 2014), 79–82.
- **287** Peter Bergen, *Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 176.
- 288 Douglas Jehl, "CIA Officers Played Role in Sheik Visas," *New York Times*, July 22, 1993, http://nytimes.com/1993/07/22/nyregion/cia-officers-played-role-in-sheik-visas.html; Alison Mitchell, "Official Recalls Delay in Using Informer," *New York Times*, July 16, 1993, http://nytimes.com/1993/07/16/nyregion/official-recalls-delay-in-using-informer.html; Ralph Blumenthal, "Tapes Depict Proposal to Thwart Bomb Used in Trade Center Blast," *New York Times*, October 28, 1993, http://nytimes.com/1993/10/28/nyregion/tapes-depict-proposal-to-thwart-bomb-used-in-trade-center-blast.html; Alison Mitchell, "Letter Explained Motive in Bombing, Officials Now Say," *New York Times*, March 28, 1993, http://nytimes.com/1993/03/28/nyregion/letter-explained-motive-in-bombing-officials-now-say.html.
- **289** Staff, "Ambassador: Car Bomb Destroyed Military Building," CNN, November 13, 1995, http://cnn.com/WORLD/9511/saudi_blast/11am.
- **290** Gareth Porter, "Who Bombed Khobar Towers? Anatomy of a Crooked Terrorism Investigation," Truthout, September 1, 2015, https://truthout.org/articles/who-bombed-khobar-towers-anatomy-of-acrooked-terrorism-investigation; Staff, "William Perry: US Eyed Iran Attack After Bombing," UPI, June 6, 2007, http://upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2007/06/06/Perry-US-eyed-Iran-attack-after-bombing/UPI-70451181161509; Wayne Barrett, "Rudy's Ties to a Terror Sheikh," *Village Voice*, November 20, 2007, http://villagevoice.com/news/rudys-ties-to-a-terror-sheikh-6424129; Atwan, 36–37, 54, 168–69.
- **291** Pretty close anyway: "While it could become a Soviet Vietnam, the initial effects of the intervention are likely to be adverse to us. . .," Zbigniew Brzezinski, "National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski's Memo to President Carter of December 26, 1979, Regarding the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," December 26, 1979, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/brzezinski.
- **292** "The Revelations of a Former Carter Aide: Yes, the CIA Entered Afghanistan Before the Russians," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, January 15–21, 1998,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20130906210557/http://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu:80/brzezinski_interview; "President Jimmy Carter's July 3, 1979, 'Finding' Authorizing Covert Support For the Mujahideen in Afghanistan," https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/carter; It was not true that US intervention was the deciding factor in the USSR's 1979 invasion, but that is what they were going for. Margolis, *War at the*

- *Top of the World*, 17; Andrei Sakharov, "Afghanistan, Gorky, and an Open Letter to Leonid Brezhnev, 1980," in *The Case for Withdrawal from Afghanistan*, ed. Nick Turse (New York: Verso, 2010), 17.
- **293** Mark Mazzetti, et al., "For the US, a Tenuous Balance in Confronting Russia," *New York Times*, March 19, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/19/us/politics/us-ukraine-russia-escalation.html.
- **294** Daniele Ganser, *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (New York: Frank Cast, 2005).
- **295** Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- **296** Fred Kagan, "Choosing Victory: A Plan for Success in Iraq," American Enterprise Institute, January 5, 2007, https://aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/20070111 Choosing Victoryupdated.pdf.
- **297** Justin Elliott, "Meet the Think Tankers Advising the US Military in Kabul," ProPublica, November 30, 2012, https://propublica.org/article/meet-the-think-tankers-advising-the-us-military-in-kabul.
- **298** Fred Kagan, et al., "Putin's Likely Course of Action in Ukraine," Institute for the Study of War, December 2021, https://archive.is/EEuLg.
- **299** David Ignatius, "The Biden administration weighs backing Ukraine insurgents if Russia invades," *Washington Post*, December 19, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/12/19/biden-ukraine-insurgents-russia.
- **300** Adam Entous and Michael Schwirtz, "The Spy War: How the CIA Secretly Helps Ukraine Fight Putin," *New York Times*, February 25, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/25/world/europe/the-spywar-how-the-cia-secretly-helps-ukraine-fight-putin.html.
- **301** Zach Dorfman, "CIA-trained Ukrainian paramilitaries may take central role if Russia invades," Yahoo News, January 13, 2022, https://news.yahoo.com/cia-trained-ukrainian-paramilitaries-may-take-central-role-if-russia-invades-185258008.html.
- **302** "Transcript: Jake Sullivan interview," *Face the Nation*, CBS News, February 13, 2022, https://cbsnews.com/news/transcript-jake-sullivan-face-the-nation-02-13-2022.
- **303** Aamer Madhani, "Top Biden Aide Says Ukraine Invasion Could Come 'Any Day,'" AP, February 6, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-joe-biden-business-national-security-jake-sullivan-4f766b3b07014bddb9006d44a9f240b8.
- **304** Helene Cooper, "US Considers Backing an Insurgency if Russia Invades Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 14, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/14/us/politics/russia-ukraine-biden-military.html.
- **305** James Stavridis, "If Russia Takes Ukraine, Insurgency Could Be Putin's Nightmare," Bloomberg News, February 5, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2022-02-05/ukrainian-insurgency-could-be-putin-s-worst-nightmare.
- **306** John Vandiver, "US special operations presses on in Ukraine amid threat of Russian invasion," *Stars and Stripes*, January 19, 2022, https://stripes.com/theaters/europe/2022-01-19/special-forces-press-on-in-ukraine-amid-threat-of-russian-invasion-4343248.html; See Chapter Four.
- **307** Matt Bradley and Veronika Melkozerova, "Ukraine readies for insurgency as Russia prepares for possible war," NBC News, February 8, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/ukraine-readies-insurgency-russia-prepares-possible-war-n1288778.
- **308** Eric Schmitt and John Ismay, "US Arms Sent to Ukraine Would Blunt but Not Stop a Russian Invasion," *New York Times*, February 15, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/15/us/politics/us-ukraine-weapons.html.
- **309** Emily Harding, "Scenario Analysis on a Ukrainian Insurgency," Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 15, 2022, https://csis.org/analysis/scenario-analysis-ukrainian-insurgency.
- **310** James Bruno, "How to Make Russia Bleed," *Washington Monthly*, February 28, 2022, https://washingtonmonthly.com/2022/02/28/how-to-make-russia-bleed.

- **311** Staff, "Video shows people falling from jet after chaos at Afghanistan airport," CBS 17, August 16, 2021, https://youtube.com/watch?v=yVkbqNcaOTo.
- **312** Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 134–42, 191–95.
- 313 Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (New York: Penguin Books, 2004).
- **314** Neta Crawford and Catherine Lutz, "Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones," Cost of War Project, September 1, 2021,
- https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2021/Costs%20of%20War_Direct%20War_%20Deaths 9.1.21.pdf.
- 315 Scott Horton, Fool's Errand.
- **316** Patrick Wintour, et al., "West plans to arm resistance if Russian forces occupy Ukraine," *Guardian*, February 19, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/19/west-plans-to-arm-resistance-if-russian-forces-occupy-ukraine.
- **317** Marc Santora and Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine's Advances Near Bakhmut Expose Rifts in Russian Forces," *New York Times*, May 12, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/05/12/world/europe/ukraine-bakhmut-russia.html.
- **318** Marc Santora, "In Bakhmut, the Tides of Battle Are Ever Shifting," *New York Times*, May 20, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/05/20/world/europe/ukraine-bakhmut.html.
- **319** Peter Certo, "Eliot Cohen," Militarist Monitor, January 30, 2017, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/eliot-cohen.
- **320** Eliot A. Cohen, "Arm the Ukrainians Now," *The Atlantic*, February 23, 2022, https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/02/putin-russia-invasion-ukraine-war/621182.
- **321** Anna Borshchevskaya, "How to Make Russia Pay in Ukraine: Study Syria," WINEP, February 15, 2022, https://washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/how-make-russia-pay-ukraine-study-syria.
- **322** See Chapter Four.
- 323 Horton, Enough Already, 213-16.
- **324** See Chapter Five.
- 325 Sean McFate, "How to keep Russia from winning in Ukraine: Get sneaky," *The Hill*, February 7, 2022, https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/595935-how-to-keep-russia-from-winning-in-ukraine-get-sneaky; Which is too bad because he liked the author's *Fool's Errand: Time to End the War in Afghanistan*, writing, "I like the book a lot. You meticulously source everything and name names, which is important. I tell people they should read it when asked about 'what should we do in Afghanistan?" Email to author, March 9, 2019.
- **326** Douglas London, "The Coming Ukrainian Insurgency," *Foreign Affairs*, February 25, 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-02-25/coming-ukrainian-insurgency.
- **327** Phil Stewart and Idrees Ali, "Russia to emerge from Ukraine conflict weaker, senior Pentagon official says," Reuters, March 24, 2022, https://reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/russia-emerge-ukraine-conflict-weaker-senior-pentagon-official-says-2022-03-25.
- **328** Staff, "Syria War Death Toll Over 507,000, 13 Years On," AFP, March 14, 2024, https://barrons.com/news/syria-war-death-toll-over-507-000-13-years-on-32a62fe9.
- **329** Dan Lamothe, "US sends more troops, warplanes to Middle East as bulwark against Iran," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/09/30/us-troops-middle-east-israel-iran-hezbollah.
- **330** Robert Scheer, "A Confession That Confirms Old Suspicions: Thirty years late, McNamara says, 'We were wrong, terribly wrong' in Vietnam," *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1995, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-04-11-me-53252-story.html.
- **331** Lindsey Kennedy and Nathan Southern, "Khmer Rouge Tribunal, helping Cambodians heal, nears end," Al Jazeera, April 28, 2022, https://aljazeera.com/features/2022/4/28/khmer-rouge-tribunal-nears-

- <u>end-in-cambodia</u>; "Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia," June 2024, https://eccc.gov.kh/en.
- 332 "News conference following Russian-Hungarian talks," Kremlin, February 1, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67690; Natalia Zinets and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Putin accuses US of trying to lure Russia into war," Reuters, February 2, 2022,
- $\underline{https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-announces-plan-boost-army-foreign-leaders-rally-2022-02-01.}$
- **333** Jeff Rogg, "The CIA has backed Ukrainian insurgents before. Let's learn from those mistakes," *Los Angeles Times*, February 25, 2022, https://latimes.com/opinion/story/2022-02-25/ukraine-cia-insurgents-russia-invasion.
- **334** Phil Stewart and Dmitry Antonov, "Biden orders nearly 3,000 US troops to Eastern Europe to counter Russia," Reuters, February 3, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/kremlin-mocks-britains-utterly-confused-johnson-before-putin-talks-2022-02-02; Idrees Ali and Phil Stewart, "Biden sends troops to Baltics, F-35s to NATO's eastern flank -US official," Reuters, February 22, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/biden-sends-troops-baltics-f-35s-natos-eastern-flank-us-official-2022-02-22.
- 335 Matthew Luxmoore, et al., "NATO Members Mount Huge Operation to Resupply Ukrainian Fighters," *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/nato-members-mount-huge-operation-to-resupply-ukrainian-fighters-11646761821; Michael R. Gordon, "How Removing a Handful of Screws Allowed the Pentagon to Deliver Stingers to Ukraine," *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/u-s-stinger-deliveries-to-ukraine-followed-long-search-for-technical-fix-11646773886.
- **336** Patricia Zengerle, "US Gives Ukraine \$800 Million More in Military Aid, Adds Heavy Weapons," Reuters, April 13, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/us-announces-additional-800-million-military-aid-ukraine-2022-04-13.
- 337 Michael R. Gordon, et al., "Biden Administration to Provide Ukraine With More Intelligence, Heavier Weapons to Fight Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/u-s-expands-flow-of-intelligence-to-ukraine-as-white-house-sends-more-arms-11649868029; Joe Gould, "Western Nations Adapt Their Ukraine Help as War Enters New Phase," Defense News, April 11, 2022, https://defensenews.com/global/europe/2022/04/11/western-nations-adapt-their-ukraine-help-as-war-enters-new-phase.
- **338** "Russia Says US, NATO Weapon Transports in Ukraine Are Legitimate Targets" Reuters, April 13, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-04-13/russia-says-u-s-nato-weapon-transports-in-ukraine-are-legitimate-targets.
- **339** Karen DeYoung, "Russia Warns US to Stop Arming Ukraine," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/04/14/russia-warns-us-stop-arming-ukraine.
- **340** Justin Raimondo, "Baghdad Bomb Blasts American Hubris," Antiwar.com, August 20, 2003, https://antiwar.com/justin/j082003.html.
- **341** Niall Ferguson, "Putin Misunderstands History. So, Unfortunately, Does the US," Bloomberg News, March 22, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2022-03-22/niall-ferguson-putin-and-biden-misunderstand-history-in-ukraine-war.
- **342** Alberto Nardelli, et al., "NATO Allies Are Split on Whether They Should Talk to Putin," Bloomberg News, March 28, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-03-28/nato-allies-are-split-on-whether-they-should-talk-to-putin.
- **343** Michael Birnbaum and Missy Ryan, "NATO Says Ukraine to Decide on Peace Deal With Russia Within Limits," *Washington Post*, April 5, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/04/05/ukraine-nato-russia-limits-peace.

- **344** Reis Thebault, et al., "Biden calls for Putin 'war-crimes trial' as world leaders issue fresh rebukes," *Washington Post*, April 4, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/04/russia-ukraine-war-news-putin-live-updates.
- **345** Maureen Breslin, "Top US general says he expects Russia, Ukraine conflict to be 'measured in years," *The Hill*, March 6, 2022, https://thehill.com/news/3260171-top-us-general-says-he-expects-russia-ukraine-conflict-to-be-measured-in-years.
- **346** "Richard Haass: 'I Did Not Believe In The Iraq War," NPR News, May 13, 2009, https://npr.org/2009/05/13/104088144/richard-haass-i-did-not-believe-in-the-iraq-war.
- **347** Richard Haass, "What Does the West Want in Ukraine?" *Foreign Affairs*, April 22, 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2022-04-22/what-does-west-want-ukraine.
- **348** Staff, "NATO allies want longer Ukraine war to weaken Moscow: Turkey," The New Arab, April 21, 2022, https://english.alaraby.co.uk/news/nato-allies-want-longer-ukraine-war-weaken-moscow-turkey.
- **349** Steve Inskeep, "Blinken sets a standard for lifting sanctions: an 'irreversible' Russian withdrawal," NPR News, March 16, 2022, https://wbur.org/npr/1086835380/blinken-sets-a-standard-for-lifting-sanctions-an-irreversible-russian-withdrawal.
- **350** Sarakshi Rai, "Pentagon chief says US wants to see Russia 'weakened," *The Hill*, April 25, 2022, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/3462190-Pentagon-chief-says-us-wants-to-see-russia-weakened; "Secretary Antony J. Blinken and Secretary Lloyd Austin Remarks to Traveling Press," US State Department, April 25, 2022, https://state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-and-secretary-lloyd-austin-remarks-to-traveling-press.
- **351** David Sanger, "Behind Austin's Call for a 'Weakened' Russia, Hints of a Shift," *New York Times*, April 25, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/04/25/us/politics/ukraine-russia-us-dynamic.html.
- 352 Carol E. Lee, et al., "When the secretaries of Defense and State said publicly the US wants Ukraine to win and weaken Russia, Biden said tone it down," NBC News, June 16, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/secretaries-defense-state-said-publicly-us-wanted-ukraine-win-biden-sa-rcna33826.
- **353** Peter Baker and David Sanger, "Ukraine and the Contest of Global Stamina," *New York Times*, July 9, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/07/09/us/politics/ukraine-strategy-biden.html.
- **354** Tom Stevenson, "America and Its Allies Want to Bleed Russia. They Really Shouldn't," *New York Times*, May 11, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/11/opinion/russia-ukraine-war-america.html.
- **355** Joseph Choi, "Sullivan: US wants to see an 'independent Ukraine' and 'a weakened and isolated Russia," *The Hill*, April 10, 2022, https://thehill.com/news/3263473-sullivan-us-wants-to-see-an-independent-ukraine-and-a-weakened-and-isolated-russia.
- **356** Scott Horton, "Iraq War II, Part 2: A Clean Break," *Scott Horton Show* Substack, February 10, 2023, https://scotthortonshow.substack.com/p/iraq-war-ii-part-2-a-clean-break.
- **357** James Heappey, "Ukrainians are fighting for their freedom, and Britain is doing everything to help them," *Telegraph*, February 26, 2022, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/02/26/ukrainians-fighting-freedom-britain-everything-help.
- **358** The same woman John Brennan picked to help write the phony ICA of January 2017. See Chapter Five.
- **359** Mark Mazzetti, et al., "For the US, a Tenuous Balance in Confronting Russia," *New York Times*, March 19, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/19/us/politics/us-ukraine-russia-escalation.html.
- **360** Jeffrey Goldberg, "A Russian Defeat in Ukraine Could Save Taiwan," *The Atlantic*, July 25, 2022, https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/jake-sullivan-interview-china-russia-biden-foreign-policy/670930.
- **361** Ellen Mitchell, "Why Biden is ambiguous on Ukraine's Crimea question," *The Hill*, March 5, 2023, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/3884764-why-biden-is-ambiguous-on-ukraines-crimea-question.

362 Anton Troianovski, et al., "Ukraine-Russia Peace Is as Elusive as Ever. But in 2022 They Were Talking," *New York Times*, June 15, 2024,

https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/15/world/europe/ukraine-russia-ceasefire-deal.html.

363 Asma Khalid, "How Biden is trying to clean up his comments about Russia and Ukraine," NPR News, January 20, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/01/20/1074466148/biden-russia-ukraine-minor-incursion; Anton Troianovski, et al., "Ukraine-Russia Peace Is as Elusive as Ever. But in 2022 They Were Talking," *New York Times*, June 15, 2024,

https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/15/world/europe/ukraine-russia-ceasefire-deal.html.

364 "Volodymyr Zelenskyy at a Meeting of the Joint Expeditionary Force Leaders Presented His Vision of How to Stop Russian Aggression," March 15, 2022,

https://president.gov.ua/en/news/volodimir-zelenskij-na-zustrichi-lideriv-derzhav-joint-exped-73573; Adam Cancryn, "Biden deems idea of Ukraine NATO membership as 'premature," *Politico*, July 9, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/07/09/biden-deems-ukraine-nato-membership-premature-00105321.

365 President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on Russia's Unprovoked and Unjustified Attack on Ukraine," White House, February 24, 2022, ukraine; About 114,000 search results for "Ukraine" "unprovoked attack," Google, July 24, 2024, https://google.com/search?q="ukraine"+"unprovoked+attack".

366 "Secretary Blinken's Call with Ukrainian President Zelenskyy," US State Department, December 6, 2021, https://state.gov/secretary-blinkens-call-with-ukrainian-president-zelenskyy.

367 Matt Orfalea, "Ukraine Will Win – No Amount of Propaganda Can Hide the Fact that Ukraine is Winning this War," 0rf, February 22, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=e3F3owL3iQo.

368 Search results for Reddit, "Russia second strongest,"

https://reddit.com/search/?q=russia+second+strongest.

369 Tweet by Richard Haass, February 27, 2022,

https://x.com/RichardHaass/status/1497975759352250376.

370 Tweet by Benjamin Wittes, February 27, 2022,

https://web.archive.org/web/20220227124944/https://x.com/benjaminwittes/status/1497916216903618 562.

371 Staff, "Clinton Twp. flies Ukrainian flag outside Civic Center," *Macomb Daily*, March 12, 2022, https://macombdaily.com/2022/03/12/clinton-twp-flies-ukrainian-flag-outside-civic-center.

372 Will DuPree, "Large Ukrainian flag flying at Austin car dealership," KXAN News Austin, April 6, 2022, https://kxan.com/news/international/ukraine/large-ukrainian-flag-flying-at-austin-car-dealership.

373 Staff, "Ukraine's flag flies across the United States," Share America, August 23, 2024, https://share.america.gov/2-years-after-russias-invasion-ukraines-flag-still-flies-in-us.

374 Morning Consult, National Tracking Poll #2202035, February 7, 2022,

https://assets.morningconsult.com/wp-

<u>uploads/2022/02/08174124/2202035</u> <u>crosstabs_GEOPOLITICAL_RISK_UKRAINE_RVs_v2_LM.pd</u> f.

375 John Robb, "Swarms vs. Nukes," Global Guerrillas, March 23, 2022,

https://johnrobb.substack.com/p/swarms-vs-nukes.

376 Hannah Brooks, "Putin invaded Ukraine. But Russian immigrants are paying the price," NBC News, May 2, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/think/opinion/putin-ukraine-russia-war-russian-immigrants-paying-price-rcna26971.

377 Zoe Strozewski, "Officials Pour Out Vodka to Protest War but Use Brands From US Companies," *Newsweek*, March 8, 2022, https://newsweek.com/officials-pour-out-vodka-protest-war-dont-use-russian-brands-1686000.

- **378** Press Release, "Gov. Cox orders Russian products removed from state liquor stores," Utah Gov. Spencer J. Cox, February 26, 2022, https://governor.utah.gov/2022/02/26/russian-products.
- **379** Erica Pieschke, "Rep. Eric Swalwell suggests 'kicking every Russian student' out of U.S. universities," KRON 4, February 25, 2022, https://kron4.com/russia-ukraine-crisis/rep-eric-swalwell-suggests-kicking-every-russian-student-out-of-u-s-universities.
- **380** Staff, "CHL bans Russian, Belarusian players from selection at upcoming import draft," CBC News, April 27, 2022, https://cbc.ca/sports/hockey/chl-bans-russian-belarusian-players-draft-1.6433173.
- **381** Staff, "Germany: Munich private clinic refuses Russian and Belarusian patients," Nova.news, March 11, 2022, https://agenzianova.com/en/news/germania-clinica-privata-di-monaco-rifiuta-pazienti-russi-e-bielorussi.
- **382** Ronald Blum, "Top Russian soprano axed over Ukraine invasion sues Met Opera," AP, August 4, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/netrebko-lawsuit-metropolitan-opera-309718ebf5117e39c3435339376a802a.
- **383** Elizabeth Ammon, et al., "Russia's Daniil Medvedev faces Wimbledon ban unless he disavows Putin," London *Times*, March 15, 2022, https://thetimes.com/article/russia-s-daniil-medvedev-faces-wimbledon-ban-unless-he-distances-himself-from-putin-9h6hfxxrm.
- **384** Press Release, "FIFA/UEFA suspend Russian clubs and national teams from all competitions," FIFA, February 28, 2022, https://inside.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/fifa-uefa-suspend-russian-clubs-and-national-teams-from-all-competitions.
- **385** Bridget Brown, "Boston Marathon bars runners from Russia and Belarus from participating," CBS News, April 6, 2022, https://cbsnews.com/news/boston-marathon-bans-russian-belarusian-athletes-boston-athletic-association-5k.
- **386** Khaleda Rahman, "College Backtracks on Banning Teaching Dostoevsky Because He's Russian," *Newsweek*, March 2, 2022, https://newsweek.com/college-backtracks-banning-teaching-dostoevsky-russian-1684080.
- **387** Matthew Weaver, "Cardiff Philharmonic removes Tchaikovsky performance over Ukraine conflict," *Guardian*, March 9, 2022, https://theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/mar/09/cardiff-philharmonic-orchestra-removes-tchaikovsky-over-ukraine-conflict.
- **388** Roxana Saberi, "Russian artists and athletes hurt by international boycotts: 'You are treated as part of that state,'" CBS News, April 21, 2022, https://cbsnews.com/news/russian-artists-athletes-banned-protest-ukraine-war.
- **389** Tom Grater, "European Film Academy Joins Call For Boycott Of Russian Films," Deadline, March 1, 2022, https://deadline.com/2022/03/european-film-academy-call-boycott-russian-films-1234967972.
- **390** Rebecca Klar, "Facebook, Instagram to allow calls for violence against Russians temporarily," *The Hill*, March 10, 2022, https://thehill.com/policy/technology/597763-facebook-instagram-to-allow-calls-for-violence-against-russians-temporarily.
- **391** Sam Biddle, "Facebook Allows Praise of Neo-Nazi Ukrainian Battalion If It Fights Russian Invasion," Intercept, February 24, 2022, https://theintercept.com/2022/02/24/ukraine-facebook-azov-battalion-russia.
- **392** Stuti Mishra, "Russian cats are now banned from international competition," *Independent*, March 7, 2022, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russian-cats-banned-federation-internationale-feline-b2028508.html.
- **393** Susan Schmidt, et al., "Report on the Censorship-Industrial Complex: The Top 50 Organizations to Know," Racket News, May 10, 2023, https://racket.news/p/report-on-the-censorship-industrial-74b. **394** See Chapter Four.
- **395** Susan Schmidt, et al., "Report on the Censorship-Industrial Complex: The Top 50 Organizations to Know," Racket News, May 10, 2023, https://racket.news/p/report-on-the-censorship-industrial-74b.

- **396** The same former Polish defense and foreign minister who was in on the W. Bush-era CIA torture program, helped negotiate the 2014 regime change in Kiev and demanded that Biden bomb Russia after Ukraine accidentally hit Poland with one small anti-aircraft rocket, as detailed above.
- **397** Gabe Kaminsky, "Disinformation Inc: Meet the groups hauling in cash to secretly blacklist conservative news," *Washington Examiner*, February 9, 2023,

https://washingtonexaminer.com/news/2749593/disinformation-inc-meet-the-groups-hauling-in-cash-to-secretly-blacklist-conservative-news.

- **398** Robert Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- 399 Email to author, Google Adsense Team, April 13, 2022.
- 400 See below.
- **401** Jeff Nesbit, "Google's true origin partly lies in CIA and NSA research grants for mass surveillance," Quartz, December 8, 2017, https://qz.com/1145669/googles-true-origin-partly-lies-in-cia-and-nsa-research-grants-for-mass-surveillance.
- **402** Michael Muskal, "Ex-Tribune reporter said to have 'collaborative' relationship with CIA," *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 2014, https://latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-tribune-dilanian-20140904-story.html.
- **403** Nandita Bose and Alexandra Alper, "Biden says Putin is weighing use of chemical weapons in Ukraine, without citing evidence," Reuters, March 21, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/biden-says-putin-is-weighing-use-chemical-weapons-ukraine-2022-03-21.
- **404** Ken Dilanian, et al., "US is Using Intel to Fight an Info War with Russia, Even When the Intel Isn't Rock Solid," NBC News, April 6, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/us-using-declassified-intel-fight-info-war-russia-even-intel-isnt-rock-rcna23014.
- **405** Ken Dilanian, et al., "US is Using Intel to Fight an Info War with Russia, Even When the Intel Isn't Rock Solid," NBC News, April 6, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/us-using-declassified-intel-fight-info-war-russia-even-intel-isnt-rock-rcna23014.
- 406 See Chapter Two.
- **407** Rachel Treisman, "Russia bombards a Kyiv TV tower and the Babyn Yar Holocaust memorial site," NPR News, March 1, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/03/01/1083733323/russia-bombards-a-kyiv-tv-tower-and-the-babyn-yar-holocaust-memorial-site; Alexander Smith, "Russia criticized after Ukraine says Kyiv airstrike hits near Holocaust memorial site," NBC News, March 2, 2022,
- https://nbcnews.com/news/world/babi-yar-russia-criticized-ukraine-strike-holocaust-memorial-rcna18245; Matthew Brown, "Babi Yar, Kyiv's Holocaust memorial to victims of Nazis, damaged in Russian bombing attack," *USA Today*, March 1, 2022,

https://usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2022/03/01/ukraine-holocaust-babi-yar/6979800001.

- 408 See Chapter Four.
- **409** Ron Ben-Yishai, "I toured the memorial site in Babi Yar. Nothing was hurt there yesterday," Ynet, March 2, 2022, https://ynet.co.il/news/article/sky0frhg5.
- **410** Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Ukraine's president says Russian missile hit site of Babyn Yar Holocaust memorial," *Washington Post*, March 2, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/03/01/ukraine-russia-babyn-yar.
- **411** Larisa Brown, "Ghost of Kyiv is alive in all pilots fighting for Ukraine, says air force," London *Times*, April 29, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ghost-of-kyiv-who-shot-down-more-than-40-russian-aircraft-dies-in-battle-q3sq0hztx.
- **412** Ed Skibicki, "I am doing everything I can to lead the fight for Ukraine's freedom," Fox News, March 4, 2022, https://foxnews.com/opinion/fight-ukraine-freedom-ed-skibicki.
- **413** Isabel van Brugen, "Who is the Ghost of Kyiv? Ukraine MiG-29 Fighter Pilot Becomes the Stuff of Legend," *Newsweek*, February 25, 2022, https://newsweek.com/who-ghost-kyiv-ukraine-fighter-pilot-mig-29-russian-fighter-jets-combat-1682651.

- **414** Tweet by Rep. Adam Kinzinger, February 25, 2022, https://x.com/AdamKinzinger/status/1497284628226445318.
- **415** Andy Wolf and Todd Speyer, "Ghost of Kyiv' revealed to be a hoax, joins list of false narratives by both sides," War is Boring, May 2, 2022, https://warisboring.com/ghost-of-kyiv-revealed-to-be-a-hoax-joins-list-of-false-narratives-by-both-sides.
- 416 Tweet by @warupdates9, February 25, 2022,
- https://x.com/warupdates9/status/1497140960127590401; Ethan Gach, "'Ghost Of Kyiv' Fighter Pilot Blowing Up Russian Aircraft In Trending Clip Actually From Video Game," Kotaku, February 26, 2022, https://kotaku.com/ghost-kyiv-russia-ukraine-invasion-viral-video-fake-pc-1848598266.
- **417** Geoff Ziezulewicz, "Ukrainians trapped on Snake Island to the Russians demanding their surrender: 'go fuck yourself,'" Military.com, February 25, 2022, https://navytimes.com/news/yournavy/2022/02/25/ukrainians-trapped-on-snake-island-to-the-russians-demanding-their-surrender-go-fck-yourself.
- **418** Valentina Romanenko, "Russian Ship, go to hell! The defenders of Zmeinoye responded to the enemy," Ukrainska Pravda, February 24, 2022, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2022/02/25/7325592.
- **419** Rachel Nostrant, "Snake Island Ukrainians found alive, taken as Russian prisoners," *Military Times*, February 28, 2022, https://militarytimes.com/flashpoints/ukraine/2022/02/28/snake-island-ukrainians-found-alive-taken-as-russian-prisoners.
- **420** Dan Lamothe and Paul Sonne, "On Ukraine's Snake Island, a defiant last stand against Russian forces," *Washington Post*, February 25, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-
- <u>security/2022/02/25/snake-island-russian-warship-ukraine</u>; Brad Lendon, et al., "Soldiers on Snake Island reacted with defiant words to threats from Russian warship," CNN, February 28, 2022, https://cnn.com/2022/02/25/europe/ukraine-russia-snake-island-attack-intl-hnk-ml/index.html.
- **421** Megan Brenan, "Media Confidence in US Matches 2016 Record Low," Gallup Poll, October 19, 2023, https://news.gallup.com/poll/512861/media-confidence-matches-2016-record-low.aspx.
- **422** John Hudson and Missy Ryan, "US claims Russia has list of Ukrainians 'to be killed or sent to camps' following a military occupation," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/20/ukraine-russia-human-rights.
- **423** John Hudson and Missy Ryan, "US claims Russia has list of Ukrainians 'to be killed or sent to camps' following a military occupation," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/02/20/ukraine-russia-human-rights.
- **424** Staff, "Children': The attack on the Donetsk Regional Academic Drama Theatre in Mariupol, Ukraine," Amnesty International, June 30, 2022,
- https://amnesty.org/en/documents/eur50/5713/2022/en; Staff, "Ukraine: Deadly Mariupol theatre strike 'a clear war crime' by Russian forces new investigation," Amnesty International, June 30, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/06/ukraine-deadly-mariupol-theatre-strike-a-clear-war-crime-by-russian-forces-new-investigation.
- **425** Nebi Qena and Andrea Rosa, "Ukraine reports 300 dead in airstrike on Mariupol theater," AP, March 25, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-zelenskyy-kyiv-europe-moscow-b56759e5d40db18e94bef8e42db23e47.
- **426** Lori Hinnant, et al., "AP evidence points to 600 dead in Mariupol theatre airstrike," AP, May 4, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/Russia-ukraine-war-mariupol-theater-
- <u>c321a196fbd568899841b506afcac7a1</u>; Marshall Ritzel and Lori Hinnant, "AP Methodology: Calculating Mariupol theatre airstrike dead," AP, May 4, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-business-europe-donetsk-0e361756c6acc287e8974103913abfc6.
- **427** Staff, "Children': The attack on the Donetsk Regional Academic Drama Theatre in Mariupol, Ukraine," Amnesty International, June 30, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/eur50/5713/2022/en.

- **428** Max Blumenthal, "Was bombing of Mariupol theater staged by Ukrainian Azov extremists to trigger NATO intervention?" Grayzone, March 18, 2022,
- https://thegrayzone.com/2022/03/18/bombing-mariupol-theater-ukrainian-azov-nato-intervention.
- **429** Telegram post, March 12, 2022, https://t.me/DmitriySteshin/4246; Tweet by @elenaevdokimov7, March 13, 2022, https://x.com/elenaevdokimov7/status/1502875319170387968.
- **430** "Official appeal of Azov commander, the major Denis Prokopenko, to the world community," Azov Battalion, March 7, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=dZ8KFqQWRbY.
- **431** Laurin-Whitney Gottbrath, "Why Ukraine wants a no-fly zone but is unlikely to get one," Axios, March 16, 2022, https://axios.com/2022/03/03/ukraine-no-fly-zone-meaning-nato-biden.
- **432** Staff, "Messing with the Truth: Disinformation in the West Spread by Max Blumenthal," VoxCheck, November 28, 2023, https://voxukraine.org/en/messing-with-the-truth-disinformation-in-the-west-spread-by-max-blumenthal.
- **433** Catie Edmondson, "Annotated Transcript: Zelensky's Speech to Congress," *New York Times*, March 16, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/16/us/politics/transcript-zelensky-speech.html. **434** Tweet by Rep. Adam Kinzinger, March 16, 2022,
- https://x.com/AdamKinzinger/status/1504228898183262211.
- **435** Illia Novikov, "Ukraine and Russia trade fresh accusations of targeting a major nuclear power plant," AP, April 8, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-nuclear-power-plant-drone-strike-7d3f345c8e01a4b185359da7b88cf952.
- **436** Maxim Tucker, "Ukraine's secret attempt to retake the Zaporizhzhia nuclear plant," London *Times*, April 7, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ukrainian-zaporizhzhia-nuclear-power-plant-russia-putin-war-2023-fx82xz3xz.
- **437** Marc Santora, "UN Inspectors Say Nuclear Plant in Ukraine Was Struck by Drones," *New York Times*, April 8, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/08/world/europe/ukraine-nuclear-power-plant-russia.html.
- **438** Francois Murphy, "IAEA Board to meet on Zaporizhzhia attacks on Thursday, diplomats say," Reuters, April 9, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/iaea-board-meet-ukraines-zaporizhzhia-thursday-diplomats-say-2024-04-09.
- **439** Louis Charbonneau, "US envoy: Gaddafi troops raping, issued Viagra," Reuters, April 29, 2011, https://reuters.com/article/business/healthcare-pharmaceuticals/us-envoy-gaddafi-troops-raping-issued-viagra-idUSTRE73S74B; Patrick Cockburn, "Amnesty questions claim that Gaddafi ordered rape as weapon of war," *Independent*, June 24, 2011, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/amnesty-questions-claim-that-gaddafi-ordered-rape-as-weapon-of-war-2302037.html.
- **440** Dr. Ewelina U. Ochab, "United Nations: Rape Is Part Of Russia's Military Strategy," *Forbes*, October 14, 2022, https://forbes.com/sites/ewelinaochab/2022/10/14/united-nations-rape-is-part-of-russias-military-strategy.
- **441** Alexander Rubinstein, "UN envoy admits fabricating claim of Viagra-fueled rape as 'Russian military strategy," Grayzone, November 13, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/2022/11/13/un-envoy-fabricating-viagra-russian.
- **442** Staff, "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine 1 February to 31 July 2022," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, September 27, 2022,
- $\underline{https://ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/ua/2022-09-23/ReportUkraine-1Feb-31Jul2022-en.pdf.}$
- **443** "Pramila Patten (UN Rep) spread the fake about Russian soldiers' rapes with Viagra," Vovan and Lexus, November 11, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=AYAxinmll7I.
- **444** Unlike the rest on the list, America was actually attacked by men in Afghanistan, but not by the Taliban regime. Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 49–52; Kate Clark, "Revealed: The Taliban Minister, the US Envoy and the Warning of September 11 That Was Ignored," *Independent*, September 6, 2002, http://independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/revealed-the-taliban-minister-the-us-envoy-and-the-

- <u>warning-of-september-11-that-was-ignored-131426.html</u>; Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn, *An Enemy We Created: The Myth of the Taliban-Al Qaeda Merger in Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 170.
- 445 Ned Price, State Department Press Briefing, March 21, 2022,
- https://state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-march-21-2022.
- 446 Ned Price, State Department Press Briefing, October 25, 2022,
- https://state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-october-25-2022.
- **447** John Hudson, "As war nears 5th month, Blinken keeps Russian diplomats at arm's length," *Washington Post*, July 10, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/07/09/blinken-lavrov-diplomacy.
- **448** President Volodymyr Zelensky, "Address by the President to Ukrainians at the end of the first day of Russia's attacks," February 25, 2022, https://president.gov.ua/en/news/zvernennya-prezidenta-do-ukrayinciv-naprikinci-pershogo-dnya-73149.
- **449** Valerie Hopkins, "Initial talks between Russia and Ukraine yield no resolution," *New York Times*, February 28, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/28/world/europe/ukraine-russia-talks-belarus.html.
- **450** Ben Caspit, "What is going on in negotiations between Russia and Ukraine?" *Jerusalem Post*, March 9, 2022, https://jpost.com/international/article-700677.
- **451** Max Seddon, et al., "Ukraine and Russia explore neutrality plan in peace talks," *Financial Times*, March 16, 2022, https://ft.com/content/7b341e46-d375-4817-be67-802b7fa77ef1.
- **452** Fabian Scheidler, "Naftali Bennett wanted peace between Ukraine and Russia: who blocked?" *Berliner Zeitung*, February 6, 2023, https://berliner-zeitung.de/open-source/naftali-bennett-wollte-den-frieden-zwischen-ukraine-und-russland-wer-hat-blockiert-li.314871.
- **453** Naftali Bennett interview, "Bennett Speaks Out," February 4, 2023,
- <u>https://youtube.com/watch?v=qK9tLDeWBzs;</u> Translated from Hebrew by a friend.
- **454** Tweet by Naftali Bennett, February 6, 2023,
- https://x.com/naftalibennett/status/1622571402430750721.
- **455** Max Seddon, et al., "Russia No Longer Requesting Ukraine Be 'Denazified' as Part of Ceasefire Talks," *Financial Times*, March 28, 2022, https://ft.com/content/7f14efe8-2f4c-47a2-aa6b-9a755a39b626; Staff, "Ukraine Ready to Discuss Adopting Neutral Status in Russia Peace Deal Zelenskiy," Reuters, March 27, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-03-27/ukraine-prepared-to-discuss-neutrality-status-zelenskiy-tells-russian-journalists.
- **456** Fiona Hill and Angela Stent, "The World Putin Wants," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/world-putin-wants-fiona-hill-angela-stent.
- **457** Ned Price, "Department Press Briefing," US State Department, March 21, 2022, https://state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-march-21-2022.
- **458** "Ukraine Ready to Discuss Adopting Neutral Status in Russia Peace Deal Zelenskiy," Reuters, March 27, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-03-27/ukraine-prepared-to-discuss-neutrality-status-zelenskiy-tells-russian-journalists.
- **459** Anchal Vohra, "Ukraine Is Ready for Painful Concessions," *Foreign Policy*, March 30, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/30/ukraine-is-ready-for-painful-concessions.
- **460** "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki and Deputy NSA for Cyber and Emerging Technologies Anne Neuberger," White House, March 21, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2022/03/21/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-and-deputy-nsa-for-cyber-and-emerging-technologies-anne-neuberger-march-21-2022.
- 461 Farida Rustamova, "Ukraine's 10-point plan," Faridaily, March 29, 2022,
- https://faridaily.substack.com/p/ukraines-10-point-plan; Anchal Vohra, "Ukraine Is Ready for Painful Concessions," *Foreign Policy*, March 30, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/30/ukraine-is-ready-for-painful-concessions.

- **462** Samuel Charap and Sergey Radchenko, "The Talks That Could Have Ended the War in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/talks-could-have-ended-war-ukraine. **463** Kareem Fahim, "Ukraine-Russia talks stir optimism, but West urges caution," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/03/29/ukraine-russia-turkey-negotiations.
- 464 See Chapter Five.
- **465** Freddie Sayers, "Oleksiy Arestovych: Zelensky's challenger The President's former spokesman has turned into his fiercest critic," UnHerd, January 15, 2024, https://unherd.com/2024/01/oleksiy-arestovych-zelenskyys-challenger.
- **466** William Booth, et al., "What weapons to send to Ukraine? How debate shifted from helmets to tanks," *Washington Post*, April 9, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/09/nato-heavy-weapons-ukraine.
- **467** "Tomas Fiala buys 'Ukrainskaya Pravda' Profile of new owner," Mezha, May 26, 2021, https://mezha.net/eng/bukvy/tomas-fiala-buys-ukrainskaya-pravda-profile-of-new-owner.
- **468** "Dragon Capital New Ukraine Fund," Dragon Capital, https://dragon-capital.com/what-wedo/private-equity.
- **469** Roman Romaniuk, "Possibility of talks between Zelenskyy and Putin came to a halt after Johnson's visit UP sources," Ukrainska Pravda, May 5, 2022,
- https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2022/05/5/7344206; Roman Romaniuk, "From Zelenskyy's 'surrender' to Putin's surrender: how the negotiations with Russia are going," Ukrainska Pravda, May 5, 2022, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/articles/2022/05/5/7344096.
- **470** Michael von der Schulenburg, "Obligation to seek peace," Emma, March 7, 2023, https://emma.de/artikel/obligation-seek-peace-340199.
- **471** Staff, "Interview: Sergey Lavrov: There Should Be No Nuclear War," TASS, June 16, 2022, https://tass.ru/interviews/14935127.
- **472** Staff, "Putin's National Address on a Partial Military Mobilization," *Washington Post*, September 21, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/09/21/putin-speech-russia-ukraine-war-mobilization.
- **473** Staff, "Head of Ukraine's leading party claims Russia proposed 'peace' in exchange for neutrality," Ukrainska Pravda, November 24, 2023, https://news.yahoo.com/head-ukraines-leading-party-claims-205150773.html.
- **474** Staff, "Head of Ukraine's leading party claims Russia proposed 'peace' in exchange for neutrality," Ukrainska Pravda, November 24, 2023, https://news.yahoo.com/head-ukraines-leading-party-claims-205150773.html.
- **475** "PM call with President Macron," UK Prime Minister's Office, May 6, 2022, https://gov.uk/government/news/pm-call-with-president-macron-6-may-2022.
- **476** Marc Bennetts, "Johnson embroiled in war of words over 'sabotaged' Ukraine peace deal," London *Times*, January 10, 2024, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/boris-johnson-ukraine-peace-talks-russia-war-k220zcrvf.
- **477** Yaroslav Trofimov, "Did Ukraine Miss an Early Chance to Negotiate Peace With Russia?" *Wall Street Journal*, January 5, 2004, https://wsj.com/world/did-ukraine-miss-an-early-chance-to-negotiate-peace-with-russia-d864b7c9.
- **478** Max Seddon, et al., "Russia no longer requesting Ukraine be 'denazified' as part of ceasefire talks," *Financial Times*, March 28, 2022, https://archive.md/wOp4O.
- **479** "Former Ukrainian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs reveals Putin's genuine desire for peace during Istanbul negotiations," Voice of Europe, December 28, 2023, https://voiceofeurope.com/former-ukrainian-deputy-minister-of-foreign-affairs-reveals-putins-genuine-desire-for-peace-during-istanbul-negotiations.

- **480** "Breaking the Stalemate to Find Peace: The Russia-Ukraine War A Geneva Security Debate," Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), December 22, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=t2zpV35fvHw.
- 481 See below.
- **482** Tomasz Kurianovz and Moritz Eichhorn, "Interview with Gerhard Schröder: This is how peace negotiations between Ukraine and Russia failed," *Berliner-Zeitung*, October 20, 2023, https://berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/gerhard-schroeder-im-exklusiv-interview-was-merkel-2015-gemacht-hat-war-politisch-falsch-li.2151196.
- **483** "Turkish FM says some NATO states want Ukrainian war to continue," Hurriyet Daily News, April 21, 2022, https://hurriyetdailynews.com/nato-allies-want-longer-ukraine-war-to-weaken-moscow-turkey-173158.
- **484** Numan Kurtulmuş, "Last minute: (Russia-Ukraine) Someone is trying not to end the war," CNN Türk, November 18, 2022, https://cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/son-dakika-ak-parti-genel-baskanvekili-numan-kurtulmus-cnn-turkte181122.
- **485** "Zelensky told Russian journalists that he agrees to the neutral status of Ukraine," Strana, March 2022, https://strana.news/news/383576-zelenskij-prezident-zajavil-chto-sohlasen-na-nejtralnyj-status-ukrainy.html.
- **486** Max Colchester, et al., "Document From 2022 Reveals Putin's Punishing Terms for Peace," *Wall Street Journal*, March 1, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia-ukraine-peace-deal-2022-document-6e12e093.
- **487** Mark Patinkin, "Gen. Nathanael Greene's legacy stretches far beyond RI," *The Providence Journal*, July 28, 2017, https://providencejournal.com/story/opinion/columns/2017/07/28/mark-patinkin-gen-nathanael-greenes-legacy-stretches-far-beyond-ri/20058472007.
- 488 See Chapter Four.
- **489** Robert D. Murphy, "The Political Adviser in Germany (Murphy) to the Secretary of State, Subject: Report on Denazification," No. 576, July 7, 1945,
- https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Berlinv01/d347.
- **490** "Victoria Nuland on Russia-NATO relations, peace negotiations with Ukraine, and the US elections," Mikhail Zygar, September 3, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=HiS2dg atfc. **491** See Chapter One.
- **492** Anton Troianovski, et al., "Ukraine-Russia Peace Is as Elusive as Ever. But in 2022 They Were Talking," *New York Times*, June 15, 2024,
- https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/06/15/world/europe/ukraine-russia-ceasefire-deal.html.
- **493** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden in Press Conference," White House, March 24, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/24/remarks-by-president-biden-in-press-conference-7; President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on the United Efforts of the Free World to Support the People of Ukraine," White House, March 26, 2022,
- $\underline{https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine.}$
- 494 "Statement from Press Secretary Jen Psaki on Russian Aggression Towards Ukraine," January 19, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/19/statement-from-press-secretary-jen-psaki-on-russian-aggression-towards-ukraine; Molly Nagle, "Biden clarifies comments on Ukraine, says any Russian move across border would be an 'invasion," ABC News, January 20, 2022, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/biden-clarifies-comments-ukraine-russian-move-border-invasion/story?id=82376647.
- **495** Graeme Massie, "Joe Biden says Nato would respond 'in kind' to Russian use of chemical weapons," *Independent*, March 25, 2022, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/biden-nato-russia-chemical-weapon-b2043704.html.

- **496** Steven Nelson, "Biden tells US troops they'll be in Ukraine in war gaffe," *New York Post*, March 25, 2022, https://nypost.com/2022/03/25/joe-biden-says-us-troops-will-be-in-ukraine-in-apparent-gaffe.
- **497** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on the United Efforts of the Free World to Support the People of Ukraine," White House, March 26, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine.
- **498** Staff, "Insults from Biden narrow window of opportunity for mending ties with US: Peskov," First Channel News, March 26, 2022, https://llurer.am/en/2022/03/26/Insults-from-Biden-narrow-window-of-opportunity-for-mending-ties.
- **499** Aaron Maté, "US fighting Russia 'to the last Ukrainian': veteran US diplomat," Grayzone, March 24, 2022, https://thegrayzone.com/2022/03/24/us-fighting-russia-to-the-last-ukrainian-veteran-us-diplomat.
- **500** Reis Thebault, et al., "Biden calls for Putin 'war-crimes trial' as world leaders issue fresh rebukes," *Washington Post*, April 4, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/04/russia-ukraine-war-news-putin-live-updates.
- **501** Eric McDaniel, "Biden accuses Putin of committing a 'genocide' in Ukraine," NPR News, April 12, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/04/12/1092460473/biden-appeared-to-accuse-putin-of-committing-a-genocide-in-ukraine.
- **502** Ted Galen Carpenter, "Is the Biden Administration Trying to Prolong the Ukraine War?" Antiwar.com, April 12, 2022, https://original.antiwar.com/Ted_Galen_Carpenter/2022/04/11/is-the-biden-administration-trying-to-prolong-the-ukraine-war.
- **503** Samuel Charap and Sergey Radchenko, "The Talks That Could Have Ended the War in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/talks-could-have-ended-war-ukraine. **504** Maite Fernández Simon, "Ukraine offers neutrality in talks with Russia. What does that mean?" *Washington Post*, March 29, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/03/29/ukraine-russia-invasion-neutral-status.
- 505 See below.
- **506** Samuel Charap and Sergey Radchenko, "The Talks That Could Have Ended the War in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/talks-could-have-ended-war-ukraine. **507** Zachary B. Wolf, "The new journalism uncovering poisoning and war crimes," CNN, April 23, 2022, https://cnn.com/2022/04/23/politics/navalny-christo-grozev-russia-investigations-what-matters/index.html.
- **508** Yaroslav Trofimov and Max Colchester, "Roman Abramovich and Ukrainian Peace Negotiators Suffer Suspected Poisoning," *Wall Street Journal*, March 28, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/roman-abramovich-and-ukrainian-peace-negotiators-suffer-symptoms-of-suspected-poisoning-11648480493. **509** Catarina Demony, et al., "Billionaire Abramovich, Ukrainian peace negotiators hit by suspected
- poisoning reports," Reuters, March 28, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russian-billionaire-abramovich-ukrainian-peace-negotiators-hit-by-suspected-2022-03-28.
- **510** "Roman Abramovich seen at Ukraine and Russia peace talks in Turkey as Kremlin denies allegations he was poisoned," Sky News, March 29, 2022, https://news.sky.com/story/roman-abramovich-seen-at-peace-talks-between-russia-and-ukraine-in-istanbul-after-allegations-he-was-poisoned-12577301.
- **511** Frank Gardner, et al., "Roman Abramovich suffered 'suspected poisoning' at talks," BBC, March 28, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-60904676.
- **512** "Experts react: After Russia-Ukraine talks in Istanbul, is an end to war imminent?" Atlantic Council, April 1, 2022, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/experts-react-after-russia-ukraine-talks-in-istanbul-is-an-end-to-war-imminent.
- **513** Colin Campbell, "Zelensky: 'This is genocide,'" Yahoo News, April 3, 2022, https://news.yahoo.com/zelensky-genocide-bucha-145356624.html.

- **514** Jack Dutton, "Zelensky Visits Bucha, Finds It 'Difficult To Talk' Among Dead Civilians," *Newsweek*, April 4, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-war-volodymyr-zelensky-visits-buchadifficult-talk-dead-civilians-russia-1694798.
- **515** Mansur Mirovalev, "'Orcs' and 'Rashists': Ukraine's new language of war," Al Jazeera, May 3, 2022, https://aljazeera.com/news/2022/5/3/orcs-and-rashists-ukraines-new-language-of-war.
- 516 Staff, "Zelensky calls killings in Bucha 'genocide," France 24, April 5, 2022,
- https://france24.com/en/video/20220405-zelensky-calls-killings-in-bucha-genocide; Victor Jack, "Bucha killings not 'far short of genocide,' Boris Johnson says," *Politico Europe*, April 6, 2022, https://politico.eu/article/boris-johnson-bucha-killings-ukraine-genocide-russia; George Wright, "Ukraine war: Is Russia committing genocide?" BBC, April 13, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-61017352; Andrew Buncombe, "Killings in Ukraine amount to genocide, Holocaust expert
- europe-61017352; Andrew Buncombe, "Killings in Ukraine amount to genocide, Holocaust expert says," *Independent*, April 4, 2022, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-bucha-war-crimes-genocide-b2050897.html.
- **517** William M. Arkin, "How US Intelligence Sees Russia's Behavior After Bucha," *Newsweek*, April 12, 2022, https://newsweek.com/how-us-intel-sees-russias-behavior-after-bucha-1697074.
- **518** Interview with author, William M. Arkin, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, April 22, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/4-22-22-william-arkin-on-russias-failures-in-ukraine.
- 519 Hajo Funke and Harald Kujat, "How the Chance was Lost for a Peace Settlement of the Ukraine War," Michael von der Schulenburg, November 14, 2023, https://michael-von-der-schulenburg.com/how-the-chance-was-lost-for-a-peace-settlement-of-the-ukraine-war; Tomasz Kurianovz and Moritz Eichhorn, "Interview with Gerhard Schröder: This is how peace negotiations between Ukraine and Russia failed," *Berliner-Zeitung*, October 20, 2023, https://berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/gerhard-schroeder-im-exklusiv-interview-was-merkel-2015-gemacht-hat-war-politisch-falsch-li.2151196.
- **520** Samuel Charap and Sergey Radchenko, "The Talks That Could Have Ended the War in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/talks-could-have-ended-war-ukraine. **521** Bill Bostock, "Ukraine official negotiating with Russia said the peace talks turned darker after evidence emerged of a massacre in Bucha," Business Insider, April 8, 2022, https://businessinsider.com/ukrainian-peace-negotiator-says-mood-peace-talks-changed-bucha-russia-2022-4.
- **522** Louise Callaghan, "Bodies of mutilated children among horrors the Russians left behind," London *Times*, April 2, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/bodies-of-mutilated-children-among-horrors-the-russians-left-behind-5ddnkkwp2; Simon Gardner, "Ukrainian mayor shows dead bodies amid battle-scarred city of Bucha," Reuters, April 3, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukrainian-mayor-shows-dead-bodies-liberated-city-bucha-2022-04-03.
- **523** "Special Forces Regiment SAFARI Begins Clearing Operation in Bucha from Saboteurs and Accomplices of Russia National Police," LB.ua, April 2, 2022,
- https://en.lb.ua/news/2022/04/02/12441_special_forces_regiment_safari.html.
- **524** Statement by Bucha Mayor Anatolii Fedoruk, April 1, 2022, https://facebook.com/bucharada.gov.ua/videos/270161321982745.
- **525** Katerina Tishchenko, "The mayor of Buchi announced the liberation of the city from the invaders," Ukrainska Pravda, April 1, 2022, https://pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2022/04/1/7336396.
- **526** Andrew Kramer and Neil MacFarquhar, "In a broad retreat from Kyiv, Russia seeks to regroup," *New York Times*, April 2, 2022, https://nytimes.com/live/2022/04/02/world/ukraine-russia-war.
- **527** Malachy Browne, et al., "Satellite images show bodies lay in Bucha for weeks, despite Russian claims," *New York Times*, April 4, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/04/04/world/europe/bucha-ukraine-bodies.html; Yousur Al-Hlou, et al., "Caught on Camera, Traced by Phone: The Russian Military Unit That Killed Dozens in Bucha," *New York Times*, December 22, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/12/22/video/russia-ukraine-bucha-massacre-takeaways.html.

- **528** Yousur Al-Hlou, et al., "New Evidence Shows How Russian Soldiers Executed Men in Bucha," *New York Times*, May 19, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/19/world/europe/russia-bucha-ukraine-executions.html.
- **529** Tom Jennings, et al., "Putin's Attack on Ukraine Documenting War Crimes," PBS *Frontline*, October 25, 2022, https://pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/documentary/putins-attack-on-ukraine-documenting-war-crimes.
- **530** Staff, "Ukraine: 'He's not coming back.' War crimes in Northwest areas of Kyiv Oblast," Amnesty International, May 6, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/eur50/5561/2022/en.
- **531** Staff, "Ukraine: 'He's not coming back.' War crimes in Northwest areas of Kyiv Oblast," Amnesty International, May 6, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/documents/eur50/5561/2022/en.
- **532** Masha Froliak, et al., "Their Final Moments: Victims of a Russian Atrocity in Bucha," *New York Times*, December 21, 2022, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/21/world/europe/bucha-ukraine-massacre-victims.html.
- **533** Olha Kyrylenko, "They started shooting when they realized that they could not take Kyiv the mayor of Bucha, Anatoly Fedoruk," Ukrainska Pravda, April 8, 2022,
- https://pravda.com.ua/articles/2022/04/8/7338142; Joshua Davidovich, "Ukraine says it destroyed Russian military convoy outside of Kyiv," *Times of Israel*, February 27, 2022,
- https://timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/ukraine-says-it-destroyed-russian-military-convoy-outside-of-kyiv; Staff, "We can't gather bodies due to heavy shelling, dogs are tearing them apart in street," *Times of Israel*, March 8, 2022, https://timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/we-cant-gather-bodies-due-to-

heavy-shelling-dogs-are-tearing-them-apart-in-street; "SOS! Rescue civilians in Bucha, Irpin,

Hostomell" Open Dialog Foundation, March 8, 2022, https://en.odfoundation.eu/a/232528.sos-rescue.

- Hostomel!" Open Dialog Foundation, March 8, 2022, https://en.odfoundation.eu/a/232528,sos-rescue-civilians-in-bucha-irpin-hostomel; Staff, "Ukrainian Man Films Devastation In His Town After Russian Military Column Destroyed," RFERL, February 28, 2022, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-bucha-russian-destroyed/31728780.html; Daniel Boffey, ""Why did they do this to us?": Bucha's survivors come out of hiding," https://ode.ntml.gov/guardian.com/world/2022/apr/04/why-did-they-do-this-to-us-buchas-survivors-come-out-of-hiding; Zhanna Bezpiatchuk, "Russia-Ukraine war: Family drags grandmother to safety from Bucha," BBC, March 10, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-60688640.
- **534** Roman Romaniuk, "From Zelenskyy's 'surrender' to Putin's surrender: how the negotiations with Russia are going," Ukrainska Pravda, May 5, 2022, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/articles/2022/05/5/7344096.
- **535** Kate Tsurkan, "Wartime book of on-the-ground reporting details Ukraine's resilience," Kyiv Independent, January 18, 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/yaroslav-trofimov-our-enemies-will-vanish-book-review.
- **536** Olivier Knox, "The US has a big new goal in Ukraine: Weaken Russia," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/26/us-has-big-new-goal-ukraine-weaken-russia.
- **537** Zoya Sheftalovich, "Zelenskyy calls out Angela Merkel, Nicolas Sarkozy for blocking Ukraine's NATO bid," *Politico Europe*, April 4, 2022, https://politico.eu/article/zelenskyy-calls-out-angela-merkel-nicolas-sarkozy-for-blocking-ukraines-nato-bid.
- **538** "Putin shows initialed draft agreement with Ukraine to African leaders," Kremlin, June 17, 2023, https://tass.com/politics/1634479.
- **539** "Kiev initialed Istanbul agreement, but then threw it into 'landfill of history' Putin," Kremlin, June 17, 2023, https://tass.com/politics/1634503.
- **540** Annabelle Dickson, "Johnson warns Macron not to attempt Ukraine settlement now," *Politico Europe*, June 26, 2022, https://politico.eu/article/johnson-warns-macron-not-attempt-ukraine-settlement-now.

- **541** Tom Balmforth and Andrea Shalal, "UK's Johnson, in Kyiv, Warns Against 'Flimsy' Plan for Talks With Russia," Reuters, August 24, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/uks-johnson-kyiv-warns-against-flimsy-plan-talks-with-russia-2022-08-24.
- **542** Chas Freeman Jr., "The propaganda that damned Ukraine," UnHerd, January 4, 2024, https://unherd.com/2024/01/the-propaganda-that-damned-ukraine.
- **543** David Stern, "Ukraine crisis: Deadly anti-autonomy protest outside parliament," BBC, August 31, 2015, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-34105925; Staff, "Right-Wing Protesters Clash With Police Outside Ukrainian President's Office," RFERL, August 14, 2021, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-right-protesters-zelenskiy/31410694.html.
- **544** I mean, possibly not for Donald Trump? Josh Dawsey and Carol D. Leonnig, "Secret Service said to have denied requests for more security at Trump events," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/nation/2024/07/20/trump-secret-service-security-attempted-assassination.
- **545** Andrew Kramer, "Armed Nationalists in Ukraine Pose a Threat Not Just to Russia," *New York Times*, February 10, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/10/world/europe/ukraine-nationalism-russia-invasion.html.
- **546** Yevhen Karas, "To fight, kill, fulfill the tasks of the West," Bandera Readings, February 5, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=03AqKuCg96I.
- **547** "Why Nazi Accepted Zelensky as President," Angelo Giuliano, March 31, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=WGGR30WUkFQ.
- **548** Shaun Walker, et al., "Mariupol The ruin of a city," *Guardian*, February 23, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2023/feb/23/mariupol-the-ruin-of-a-city.
- **549** David Axe, "Ukraine Deradicalized Its Extremist Troops. Now They Might Be Preparing A Counteroffensive," *Forbes*, December 16, 2022, https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2022/12/16/ukraine-deradicalized-its-extremist-troops-now-they-might-be-preparing-a-counteroffensive.
- **550** See Chapter Four.
- **551** Lev Golinkin, "The Western Media Is Whitewashing the Azov Battalion," *The Nation*, June 13, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/world/azov-battalion-neo-nazi.
- **552** Christopher Miller, "Ukraine's Far-Right Forces See An Opportunity In Russia's Invasion Threat To Grow Their Violent Movement," BuzzFeed News, January 31, 2022,
- https://buzzfeednews.com/article/christopherm51/ukraine-russia-invasion-far-right-training.
- **553** "Zelenskyy answers questions on assassination attempts," Fox News, April 3, 2022, https://foxnews.com/video/6302790525001.
- **554** "Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2016 Ukraine," State Department, March 3, 2017, https://state.gov/report/custom/2b3684b258.
- **555** Olha Kyrylenko, "Changes await Right Sector's 67th Brigade after losing positions in Chasiv Yar," Ukrainska Pravda, April 14, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/04/14/7451183.
- **556** Carlotta Gall, et al., "Ukrainian Marines on 'Suicide Mission' in Crossing the Dnipro River," *New York Times*, December 16, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/16/world/europe/ukraine-kherson-river-russia.html.
- **557** Staff, "Meet The Soldiers Committed To Fighting The Russians On The Eastern Front," RFERL, July 26, 2022, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-carpathian-sich-battalion-russia-invasion/31960108.html.
- **558** Guillaume Ptak, "In a grinding battle far from the spotlight, weary Ukrainian soldiers hold the line," *Washington Times*, June 16, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/jun/16/grinding-battle-far-spotlight-weary-ukrainian-sold.
- **559** Illia Ponomarenko, "After more than 3 years in bases, Azov Regiment returns to front," *Kyiv Post*, February 1, 2019, https://kyivpost.com/post/7537.
- **560** Anthony Faiola and David L. Stern, "Inside Mariupol's besieged steel plant, a symbol of bravery and terror," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/05/12/ukraine-mariupol-steel-plant-last-stand.

561 Tara John and Tim Lister, "A far-right battalion has a key role in Ukraine's resistance. Its neo-Nazi history has been exploited by Putin," CNN, March 30, 2022,

https://cnn.com/2022/03/29/europe/ukraine-azov-movement-far-right-intl-cmd/index.html.

562 Will Carless, "A regiment in Ukraine's military was founded by white supremacists. Now it's battling Russia on the front lines," *USA Today*, March 10, 2022,

 $\underline{https://usatoday.com/story/news/world/2022/03/05/russia-invasion-ukraine-attention-extremist-regiment-nazi/9368016002.}$

563 Rémy Ourdan, "Azov Brigade is once again at heart of fighting in Donbas," *Le Monde*, May 13, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/05/13/azov-brigade-is-once-again-at-heart-of-fighting-in-donbas 6671268 4.html.

564 Denys Prokopenko, "Why does Azov still not receive Western weapons?" Ukrainska Pravda, April 19, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/columns/2024/04/19/7451974.

565 Rémy Ourdan, "Azov Brigade is once again at heart of fighting in Donbas," *Le Monde*, May 13, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/05/13/azov-brigade-is-once-again-at-heart-of-fighting-in-donbas 6671268 4.html.

566 Statement by President Volodymyr Zelensky, Telegram, August 14, 2023, https://t.me/VZelenskiyofficial/7371.

567 Tweet by Max Blumenthal, August 14, 2023,

https://x.com/MaxBlumenthal/status/1691260160021295104.

568 Tasos Kokkinidis, "Ethnic Greek Azov Fighter Overshadows Zelensky Speech at Greek Parliament," Greek Reporter, April 7, 2022, https://greekreporter.com/2022/04/07/greek-azov-fighter-zelensky-speech-greek-parliament; Renee Maltezou and Karolina Tagaris, "Azov Fighter Video Overshadows Zelenskiy's Address to Greek Lawmakers," Reuters, April 7, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-04-07/azov-fighter-video-overshadows-zelenskiys-address-to-greek-lawmakers.

569 Scott McDonald, "Ukraine Receives 20,000 Applications for 'Stormtrooper' Fighting Force," *Newsweek*, February 12, 2023, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-receives-20000-applications-stormtrooper-fighting-force-1780627.

570 Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Nazi Symbols on Ukraine's Front Lines Highlight Thorny Issues of History," *New York Times*, June 5, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/06/05/world/europe/nazi-symbols-ukraine.html.

571 See Chapter Four.

572 Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Nazi Symbols on Ukraine's Front Lines Highlight Thorny Issues of History," *New York Times*, June 5, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/06/05/world/europe/nazi-symbols-ukraine.html.

573 Interview of Andrij Melnyk, Jung and Naiv, June 29, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=JVEGR7apzoI.

574 Tristin Hopper, "Trudeau toured Kyiv alongside controversial Bandera apologist," *National Post*, June 14, 2023, https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/trudeau-toured-kyiv-alongside-controversial-ukrainian-diplomat.

575 Lev Golinkin, "Why did Stanford students host a group of neo-Nazis?" *The Forward*, July 3, 2023, https://forward.com/opinion/552958/why-did-stanford.

576 Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, No. 16 (Summer 1989), http://jstor.org/stable/24027184; Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

577 Alec Regimbal, "Author Francis Fukuyama, a Stanford fellow, backs far-right Azov group after school visit," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 2023, https://sfgate.com/politics/article/fukuyama-senior-fellow-stanford-far-right-group-18193614.php.

- **578** Moss Robeson, "'Now, All of You Are Azov': Ukrainian 'Neo-Nazis' Tour US," Ukes, Kooks & Spooks, October 5, 2022, https://mossrobeson.medium.com/now-all-of-you-are-azov-ukrainian-neo-nazis-tour-u-s-3bf4eddb34e2; Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.
- **579** "Transcripts: *The Rachel Maddow Show*," MSNBC, March 11, 2022, https://msnbc.com/transcripts/rachel-maddow-show/transcripts-rachel-maddow-show-3-11-22-n1291933.
- **580** Staff, "Azov Movement," Mapping Militant Organizations, Stanford University, August 2022, https://archive.is/aCFVJ.
- **581** Sam Carlen and Iain Carlos, "Neo-Nazi Azov Battalion profile quietly removed from Stanford extremist group list," Noir News, June 20, 2024, https://noirnews.org/p/neo-nazi-azov-battalion-profile-quietly.
- **582** Search for "Azov" at Stanford's Mapping Militants Project website, August 26, 2024, https://mappingmilitants.org/search/node/azov.
- **583** Keteryna Tyshechenko, "Zelenskyy brings defenders of Azovstal from Türkiye to Ukraine," Ukrainska Pravda, July 8, 2023, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2023/07/8/7410456.
- **584** Itamar Eichner, "Germany deports 7 Ukrainian soldiers for wearing Nazi symbols," Y-Net, May 16, 2024, https://ynetnews.com/article/hydtdcxmr.
- **585** Michael Birnbaum, et al., "US lifts weapons ban on Ukrainian military unit," *Washington Post*, June 12, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/06/10/azov-brigade-ukraine-us-weapons.
- **586** Prem Thakker and Sam Biddle, "The US Says a Far-Right Ukrainian Army Unit Can Now Get Aid. A Photo Shows Training Was Already Happening," Intercept, June 22, 2024, https://theintercept.com/2024/06/22/ukraine-azov-battalion-us-training-ban.
- **587** Brandon Chew, "DHS concerned by white supremacist volunteers returning from Ukraine, document shows," ABC News 24, June 3, 2022, https://upnorthlive.com/news/nation-world/dhs-concerned-by-white-supremacists-returning-to-us-from-ukraine-document-says.
- **588** Cora Engelbrecht, "Far-right militias in Europe plan to confront Russian forces, a research group says," *New York Times*, February 25, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/25/world/europe/militias-russia-ukraine.html.
- **589** Prasanta Kumar Dutta, et al., "On the edge of war," Reuters, January 26, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220201020837/https://graphics.reuters.com/RUSSIA-UKRAINE/dwpkrkwkgvm.
- **590** Cora Engelbrecht, "Far-right militias in Europe plan to confront Russian forces, a research group says," *New York Times*, February 25, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/25/world/europe/militias-russia-ukraine.html.
- **591** Beth Harpaz, "A neo-Nazi is building a compound in rural Maine for his 'Blood Tribe," *The Forward*, August 8, 2023, https://forward.com/news/556914/maine-neo-nazi-christopher-pohlhaus. **592** Tweet by Christopher Pohlhaus, August 10, 2023,
- https://x.com/hammer_pohlhaus/status/1689606944741380096; Kyle Anzalone, "American Neo-Nazi Training Forces in Maine to Fight for Ukraine," Libertarian Institute, August 10, 2023,
- $\underline{https://libertarianinstitute.org/news/american-neo-nazi-training-forces-in-maine-to-fight-for-ukraine}.$
- **593** Jack Molmud, "Reports: Neo-Nazi buys Penobscot County land to build 'white supremacist community," News Center Maine, August 1, 2023,
- https://newscentermaine.com/article/news/local/neo-nazi-buys-land-in-penobscot-county-to-build-white-supremacist-community-springfield-maine-nsc-131-vice-southern-poverty-law-center/97-e547b716-a5db-47b7-8f36-4103eab080ba.
- **594** Ben Makuch, "Russian Militia Has Links to American Neo-Nazis," Intercept, July 8, 2023, https://theintercept.com/2023/07/08/american-neo-nazis-ukraine-war.

- **595** Mitch McConnell, "McConnell on Zelenskyy Visit: Helping Ukraine Directly Serves Core American Interests," December 21, 2022,
- https://republicanleader.senate.gov/newsroom/remarks/mcconnell-on-zelenskyy-visit-helping-ukraine-directly-serves-core-american-interests.
- **596** Jennifer Agiesta, "CNN Poll: Majority of Americans oppose more US aid for Ukraine in war with Russia," CNN, August 4, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/08/04/politics/cnn-poll-ukraine/index.html.
- **597** Nikki Carvajal, "White House downplays CNN poll showing majority of Americans oppose more US aid for Ukraine," CNN, August 9, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/08/09/politics/white-house-responds-cnn-poll/index.html.
- **598** Twitter Video, Senator Lindsey Graham on Ukraine, Aaron Maté, August 2, 2022, https://x.com/aaronjmate/status/1554486803431886848.
- **599** Max Hunder and Sergiy Karazy, "US Senators Visit Kyiv to Promote Russia 'State Sponsor of Terrorism' Bill," Reuters, July 7, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-07-07/u-s-senators-visit-kyiv-to-promote-russia-state-sponsor-of-terrorism-bill.
- **600** Raymond Hernandez, "Richard Blumenthal's Words on Vietnam Service Differ From History," *New York Times*, May 17, 2010, https://nytimes.com/2010/05/18/nyregion/18blumenthal.html.
- **601** Sen. Richard Blumenthal, "Zelenskyy doesn't want or need our troops. But he deeply and desperately needs the tools to win," *Connecticut Post*, August 29, 2023,
- https://ctpost.com/opinion/article/sen-blumenthal-opinion-ukraine-tip-spear-18335871.php.
- **602** Haley Britzky, "Russian ground forces 'bigger today' than at start of the war in Ukraine, US general says," CNN, April 27, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/04/26/politics/russia-forces-ukraine-war-cavoli/index.html.
- **603** Staff, "Afghanistan: Taliban torture and execute Hazaras in targeted attack new investigation," Amnesty International, September 15, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/afghanistan-taliban-torture-and-execute-hazaras-in-targeted-attack-new-investigation.
- **604** Shweta Sharma, "Zelensky publishes details of income in anti-corruption drive," *Independent*, January 29, 2024, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ukraine-war-corruption-military-russia-b2486443.html.
- **605** Matt Taibbi, "Greed and Debt: The True Story of Mitt Romney and Bain Capital," *Rolling Stone*, August 29, 2012, https://rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/greed-and-debt-the-true-story-of-mitt-romney-and-bain-capital-183291.
- **606** Tweet by Sen. Mitt Romney, August 25, 2023, https://x.com/SenatorRomney/status/1695183212174266556.
- **607** Timothy Ash, "It's Costing Peanuts for the US to Defeat Russia," Center for European Policy Analysis, November 18, 2022, https://cepa.org/article/its-costing-peanuts-for-the-us-to-defeat-russia.
- **608** Giulia Carbonaro, "How Sending Aid to Ukraine is Saving the US Billions of Dollars," *Newsweek*, November 21, 2022, https://newsweek.com/how-sending-aid-ukraine-saving-us-billions-dollars-1761058.
- **609** Joseph A. Wulfsohn, "Republican 2024 hopefuls respond to Tucker Carlson's questions about their stance on Russia-Ukraine war," Fox News, March 13, 2023, https://foxnews.com/media/republican-2024-hopefuls-respond-tucker-carlsons-questions-about-stance-russia-ukraine-war.
- **610** Julia Mueller, "Christie on Ukraine aid: 'I want them to have every weapon they need to be able to win," *The Hill*, July 13, 2023, https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/4096838-christie-on-ukraine-aid-i-want-them-to-have-every-weapon-they-need-to-be-able-to-win.
- 611 Mark F. Cancian, et al., "The First Battle of the Next War: Wargaming a Chinese Invasion of Taiwan," Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 9, 2023, https://csis.org/analysis/first-battle-next-war-wargaming-chinese-invasion-taiwan; David Axe, "The US Fleet Could Lose Four Aircraft Carriers Defending Taiwan," *Forbes*, January 11, 2023,
- https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2023/01/10/think-tank-the-us-fleet-could-lose-four-aircraft-carriers-

<u>defending-taiwan</u>; Richard Bernstein, "The Scary War Game Over Taiwan That the US Loses to China Again and Again," *The National Interest*, August 17, 2020,

https://nationalinterest.org/blog/reboot/scary-war-game-over-taiwan-us-loses-china-again-and-again-

<u>167085</u>; Mark F. Cancian, et al., "The First Battle of the Next War," Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2023, https://naval.com.br/blog/wp-

content/uploads/2023/01/Wargaming-a-chinese-invasion-of-Taiwan.pdf.

- **612** David Ignatius, "The West feels gloomy about Ukraine. Here's why it shouldn't," *Washington Post*, July 18, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/07/18/ukraine-war-west-gloom.
- 613 Eleanor Randolph, "Americans Claim Role in Yeltsin Win," *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1996, https://latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-07-09-mn-22423-story.html; Aaron Blake, "From spinning Boris to saving Republicans," *The Hill*, January 19, 2009, https://thehill.com/business-a-lobbying/3293-from-spinning-boris-to-saving-republicans; David Phinney, "The GOP's Man in Kyiv Has a Message for Ukraine Skeptics," *Politico Magazine*, August 13, 2023,

https://politico.com/news/magazine/2023/08/13/ukraine-capitol-hill-steven-moore-00108134.

- **614** David Phinney, "The GOP's Man in Kyiv Has a Message for Ukraine Skeptics," *Politico Magazine*, August 13, 2023, https://politico.com/news/magazine/2023/08/13/ukraine-capitol-hill-steven-moore-00108134.
- **615** Tweet by Glenn Diesen, January 25, 2024, https://x.com/Glenn Diesen/status/1750727969545302202.
- **616** Isabelle Khurshudyan and Anastacia Galouchka, "Front-line Ukrainian infantry units report acute shortage of soldiers," *Washington Post*, February 8, 2024,

https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/02/08/ukraine-soldiers-shortage-infantry-russia.

- **617** Andrew Kramer, "Short on Soldiers, Ukraine Debates How to Find the Next Wave of Troops," *New York Times*, February 11, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/11/world/europe/ukraine-soldier-draft.html.
- 618 Samya Kullab and Susie Blann, "Desperate for soldiers, Ukraine weighs unpopular plan to expand the draft," AP, February 21, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-war-draft-b2ca1d0ecd72019be2217a653989fbc2; Marc Bennetts and Kateryna Malofieieva, "Ukraine's average soldier is 43. How can they keep Putin at bay?" London *Times*, January 20, 2024, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ukraines-average-soldier-is-43-how-can-they-keep-putin-at-bay-zf5bqb26m.
- **619** Andrew Kramer, "Short on Soldiers, Ukraine Debates How to Find the Next Wave of Troops," *New York Times*, February 11, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/11/world/europe/ukraine-soldier-draft.html.
- **620** Staff, "Eurostat estimated that 650 thousand men of conscription age left Ukraine," BBC, November 24, 2023, https://bbc.com/ukrainian/articles/cd1px4z922wo.
- **621** Andrew Kramer, "In Ukraine's West, Draft Dodgers Run, and Swim, to Avoid the War," *New York Times*, April 13, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/13/world/europe/ukraine-draft-dodgers.html.
- **622** Staff, "Two Ukrainian evaders died trying to get to Romania along the river Tisza," RIA Novosti, April 28, 2024, https://ria.ru/20240428/uklonisty-1942907465.html; Isabel Coles, "Ukrainian Men Desperate to Escape War Are Drowning as They Flee," *Wall Street Journal*, July 13, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/ukrainian-men-desperate-to-escape-war-are-drowning-as-they-flee-9cb6d99d.
- **623** Roland Oliphant, "'Why should I return to fight?' Ukrainian men living abroad say," *Telegraph*, April 28, 2024, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/04/28/why-return-to-fight-ukrainian-men-living-abroad.
- **624** Shaun Walker, "Poland and Lithuania pledge to help Kyiv repatriate Ukrainians subject to military draft," *Guardian*, April 25, 2024, https://theguardian.com/world/2024/apr/25/poland-and-lithuania-pledge-to-help-kyiv-repatriate-ukrainians-subject-to-military-draft.

- 625 Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
 626 Jeré Longman and Oleksandr Chubko, "The Decathlete Who Picked Up a Gun," *New York Times*, July 22, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/07/22/world/olympics/ukraine-war-athletes-dead.html.
 627 Constant Méheut, "Ukraine Is Conscripting Thousands More Troops. But Are They Ready?" *New*
- York Times, July 30, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/07/30/world/europe/ukraine-war-troops-russia-mobilization.html.
- **628** Siobhán O'Grady, "Lindsey Graham, visiting Kyiv, urges Ukraine to pass mobilization law," *Washington Post*, March 18, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/03/18/lindsey-graham-visiting-kyiv-urges-ukraine-pass-mobilization-law.
- **629** Bojan Pancevski, "One Million Are Now Dead or Injured in the Russia-Ukraine War," *Wall Street Journal*, September 17, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/one-million-are-now-dead-or-injured-in-the-russia-ukraine-war-b09d04e5.
- **630** Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "People Snatchers': Ukraine's Recruiters Use Harsh Tactics to Fill Ranks," *New York Times*, December 15, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/15/world/europe/ukraine-military-recruitment.html.
- 631 Veronika Melkozerova, "Bloodied and exhausted: Ukraine's effort to mobilize more troops hits trouble," *Politico Europe*, January 11, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/defense-ukraine-mobilization-bill-parliament-kyiv-balance-justice-security-war-economic-survival-russia-putin-zelenskyy; Kateryna Denisova, "Defense Ministry list key points in updated mobilization bill," Kyiv Independent, March 27, 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/defense-ministry-names-key-proposals-to-updated-mobilization-bill; Yevhen Kizilov, "Zelenskyy signs law lowering conscription age to 25," Ukrainska Pravda, April 2, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/04/2/7449346; "Factbox-What Does Ukraine's New Mobilisation Bill Entail?" Reuters, April 11, 2024,
- https://reuters.com/world/europe/what-does-ukrainian-mobilisation-bill-entail-2024-04-11.
- **632** Staff, "To boost Ukraine's army, feared patrols hunt for potential conscripts," Al Jazeera, October 15, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/features/2024/10/15/to-boost-ukraines-army-feared-patrols-hunt-for-potential-conscripts.
- **633** Isabel Coles, "Ukraine Resorts to Shaking Down Nightlife Spots for Recruits as Troop Numbers Fall," *Wall Street Journal*, October 28, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/ukraine-resorts-to-shaking-down-nightlife-spots-for-recruits-as-troop-numbers-fall-b62646b7; Paul Hockenos, "Conscription Is Breaking Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, October 28, 2024, https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/10/28/conscription-ukraine-military-men-russia-war.
- 634 Ian Lovett, "PhDs, Fake Documents, Avoiding Public Transit: How Ukraine's Draft Dodgers Stay Away From the Front," *Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/ukraine-needs-more-men-but-the-ones-who-want-to-fight-already-signed-up; Jean Mackenzie, "Conscription squads send Ukrainian men into hiding," BBC, June 16, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/articles/cz994d6vqe5o. 635 Constant Méheut, "As Ukraine Expands Military Draft, Some Men Go Into Hiding," *New York*
- 635 Constant Méheut, "As Ukraine Expands Military Draft, Some Men Go Into Hiding," *New York Times*, June 21, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/06/21/world/europe/ukraine-war-draft-dodgers-conscription.html.
- **636** Elizabeth Lawrence, "Did Biden lie about being appointed to the Naval Academy?" American Military News, May 31, 2022, https://americanmilitarynews.com/2022/05/did-biden-lie-about-being-appointed-to-the-naval-academy.
- **637** Carl Hamilton, "Daughter of man in '72 Biden crash seeks apology from widowed Senator," *Newark Post*, October 30, 2008, https://newarkpostonline.com/news/local/daughter-of-man-in-biden-crash-seeks-apology-from-widowed/article_6c9a477e-63be-561b-b771-1330b4cda02d.html.
- **638** Yevhen Kizilov, "US puts pressure on Zelenskyy to mobilise people under 25, but he is not giving in advisor," Ukrainska Pravda, October 15, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/10/15/7479816.

- **639** Staff, "Congressionally Approved Ukraine Aid Totals \$175 Billion," Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, May 10, 2024, https://crfb.org/blogs/congressionally-approved-ukraine-aid-totals-175-billion.
- **640** Sinéad Baker, "Why Ukraine's bloodiest battle looked like a scene from World War I," Business Insider, December 23, 2023, https://businessinsider.com/ukraine-bakhmut-resembled-world-war-one-because-drones-us-veteran-2023-11.
- **641** Staff, "Cold, mud and mice: Ukraine enters second winter of war," France 24, November 21, 2023, https://france24.com/en/live-news/20231121-cold-mud-and-mice-ukraine-enters-second-winter-of-war.
- **642** Nabih Bulos, "Endless shelling and dead soldiers: A vicious artillery war spreads in Ukraine," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 2022, https://latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-06-17/endless-shelling-and-dead-soldiers-a-vicious-artillery-war-spreads-in-ukraine.
- **643** Aleksander Palikot, "'We'll Fight Until We're Dead': With Dwindling Ammunition, Ukrainian Soldiers Defend Their Gains," RFERL, January 30, 2024, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-soldiers-defend-gains-ammunition-front-line-/32798150.html.
- **644** Scott Pelley, et al., "Ukraine's civilians losing life and limb in landmine crisis: 'It's a real horror," CBS *60 Minutes*, April 7, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/landmines-in-ukraine-injure-civilians-after-russia-invasion-60-minutes.
- **645** Asami Terajima, "Intense fighting, lack of resources leave wounded soldiers on their own," Kyiv Independent, April 12, 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/unequipped-and-outgunned-ukrainian-military-often-cant-evacuate-its-wounded.
- **646** Ben Barry, "Battlefield medicine: improving survival rates and 'the golden hour," IISS, April 16, 2019, https://iiss.org/en/online-analysis/military-balance/2019/04/battlefield-medicine; Staff, "Ninety Percent Of US Wounded Survive: In Iraq, Firepower Increases, Deaths Decrease," Science Daily, January 28, 2005, https://sciencedaily.com/releases/2005/01/050127234012.htm.
- **647** Bojan Pancevski, "In Ukraine, Amputations Already Evoke Scale of World War I," *Wall Street Journal*, August 1, 2023, https://wsj.com/amp/articles/in-ukraine-a-surge-in-amputations-reveals-the-human-cost-of-russias-war-d0bca320.
- **648** Jacques Follorou, "The growing anger of Ukraine's mutilated soldiers," *Le Monde*, April 4, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/04/04/the-growing-anger-of-ukraine-s-mutilated-soldiers 6667403 4.html.
- **649** Michael Gordon, et al., "Biden Administration to Provide Ukraine With More Intelligence, Heavier Weapons to Fight Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/u-s-expands-flow-of-intelligence-to-ukraine-as-white-house-sends-more-arms-11649868029.
- **650** Yasmeen Abutaleb and John Hudson, "Biden scrambles to avert cracks in pro-Ukraine coalition," *Washington Post*, October 11, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/10/11/biden-ukraine-winter-gas-prices.
- **651** Julian Borger, "Wagner chief warns of revolution and says 20,000 fighters killed in Bakhmut," *Guardian*, May 24, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/2023/may/24/wagner-head-warns-of-revolution-after-claiming-20000-fighters-killed-in-bakhmut.
- **652** Igor Kossov, "Ukrainian soldiers in Bakhmut: 'Our troops are not being protected,'" Kyiv Independent, March 5, 2023, https://kyivindependent.com/national/ukrainian-soldiers-in-bakhmut-our-troops-are-not-being-protected.
- **653** Staff, "Inside the 'meat grinder': Russian and Ukrainian losses mount in Bakhmut," CBC News, January 10, 2023, https://cbc.ca/news/world/russia-ukraine-war-bakhmut-1.6708783.
- **654** Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Ukraine short of skilled troops and munitions as losses, pessimism grow," *Washington Post*, March 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/03/13/ukraine-casualties-pessimism-ammunition-shortage.
- **655** Helene Cooper, et al., "Mutual Frustrations Arise in US-Ukraine Alliance," *New York Times*, March 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/07/us/politics/ukraine-us-military-frustrations.html.

- **656** Guy Davies and Patrick Reevell, "'Nonstop shelling': Former US Marine in Bakhmut, Ukraine, says fighting is 'chaotic,'" ABC News, February 20, 2023,
- $\underline{https://abcnews.go.com/International/nonstop-shelling-former-us-marine-fighting-bakhmut-fighting/story?id=97324824.}$
- **657** Mari Saito, "Life on Ukraine's front line: 'Worse than hell' as Russia advances," Reuters, May 29, 2024, https://reuters.com/investigates/special-report/ukraine-war-frontline.
- **658** Anna Mulrine Grobe, "Wars of the future will be awash with drones. The Pentagon is trying to keep up," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 24, 2024,
- https://csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2024/0624/drones-future-war-pentagon-ukraine-iran; Matthew Mpoke Bigg, "Ukraine Keeps Downing Russian Drones, but Price Tag Is High," *New York Times*, January 3, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/03/world/europe/ukraine-russia-drones.html.
- **659** Guillaume Ptak, "Russian drones dominating the front lines as Ukraine's early aerial advantage overwhelmed," *Washington Times*, December 13, 2023,
- https://washingtontimes.com/news/2023/dec/13/russian-drones-rain-death-on-ukraines-eastern-fron.
- **660** Anna Mulrine Grobe, "Wars of the future will be awash with drones. The Pentagon is trying to keep up," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 24, 2024,
- https://csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2024/0624/drones-future-war-pentagon-ukraine-iran.
- **661** Matilda Bogner, "Press Briefing on the situation in Ukraine," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, September 9, 2022, https://ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-
- notes/2022/09/press-briefing-situation-ukraine-matilda-bogner; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine 16 February to 15 May 2016," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, May 2016,
- https://ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/UA/Ukraine_14th_HRMMU_Report.pdf; Lori Hinnant, et al., "Thousands of Ukraine civilians are being held in Russian prisons. Russia plans to build many more," AP, July 12, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-prisons-civilians-torture-detainees-88b4abf2efbf383272eed9378be13c72.
- 662 Nathan Hodge, et al., "Video appears to show execution of Russian prisoner by Ukrainian forces," CNN, April 8, 2022, https://cnn.com/2022/04/07/europe/ukraine-execution-russian-prisoner-intl/index.html; Snejana Farberov, "Ukraine IDs hero soldier 'executed' in viral 'Glory to Ukraine' video," https://nypost.com/2023/03/07/tymofiy-shadura-ided-as-ukrainian-soldier-killed-in-video.
- 663 Karl Ritter and Jamey Keaten, "UN decries torture, killing of Ukrainian and Russian POWs," AP, March 24, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-pow-russia-war-united-nations-29bc27d06d6bad359c957fdb0aa9f929.
- **664** Rémy Ourdan, "Azov Brigade is once again at heart of fighting in Donbas," *Le Monde*, May 13, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/05/13/azov-brigade-is-once-again-at-heart-of-fighting-in-donbas 6671268 4.html.
- **665** Staff, "Ukraine: Ukrainian fighting tactics endanger civilians," Amnesty International, August 4, 2022, https://amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/08/ukraine-ukrainian-fighting-tactics-endanger-civilians.
- **666** Lillian Posner, "Amnesty announces review as Ukraine report backlash continues," Atlantic Council, August 25, 2022, https://atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/amnesty-announces-review-as-ukraine-report-backlash-continues.
- **667** David L. Stern, "Ukrainian hit squads target Russian occupiers and collaborators," *Washington Post*, September 8, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/09/08/ukraine-assassinations-occupied-territory-russia.
- **668** Evan Hill, "Video appears to show Ukrainian troops killing captured Russian soldiers," *New York Times*, April 6, 2022, https://nytimes.com/live/2022/04/06/world/ukraine-russia-war-news/russia-pows-ukraine-executed; Malachy Browne, et al., "Videos Suggest Captive Russian Soldiers Were Killed at

- Close Range," New York Times, November 20, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/11/20/world/europe/russian-soldiers-shot-ukraine.html.
- **669** Staff, "Videos Appear to Show Ukrainian Troops Shooting Surrendering Russians," *Wall Street Journal*, November 21, 2022, https://wsj.com/video/series/on-the-news/videos-appear-to-show-ukrainian-troops-shooting-surrendering-russians/09C4C2F2-6A94-46BE-B3A5-207DDC6B4D29.
- **670** Stefan Korshak, "Ukraine's Secret Service Boss Details Assassination Campaign vs. Kremlin-Loyal Occupation Officials," *Kyiv Post*, March 27, 2024, https://kyivpost.com/post/30139.
- **671** Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "In Ukraine, Killings of Surrendering Russians Divide an American-Led Unit," *New York Times*, July 6, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/07/06/world/europe/ukraine-russia-killings-us.html.
- **672** Eva Bartlett, "Here's What I Found at the Reported 'Mass Grave' Near Mariupol," RT, April 28, 2022, https://ingaza.wordpress.com/2022/04/29/heres-what-i-found-at-the-reported-mass-grave-near-mariupol.
- **673** Mstyslav Chernov, et al., "20 Days in Mariupol," PBS *Frontline*, November 21, 2023, https://pbs.org/video/20-days-in-mariupol-x62itb.
- **674** Staff, "Ukraine 2022," Amnesty International, https://amnesty.org/en/location/europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine.
- 675 Staff, "After Partial Russian Retreat, Chilling Signs of Horrors Against Ukrainians Revealed," Voice of America, September 24, 2022, https://voanews.com/a/after-partial-russian-retreat-chilling-signs-of-horrors-against-ukrainians-revealed/6761684.html.
- **676** "Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova," International Criminal Court, March 17, 2023, https://icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and.
- 677 Jake Garcia, "Yale research credited for evidence leading to Putin's arrest warrant," Fox 61, March 22, 2023, https://fox61.com/article/news/nation-world/ukraine/yale-research-creditedr-evidence-leading-putins-arrest-warrant/520-5393fb25-19d7-41df-aa76-c447cfdad3b9.
- **678** Nathaniel Raymond, "Russia's Systematic Program For the Re-education and Adoption of Ukraine's Children," Yale School of Public Health Humanitarian Research Lab, February 14, 2023, https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/sharing/rest/content/items/97f919ccfe524d31a241b53ca44076b8/data.
- **679** Giri Viswanathan, "YSPH research reveals relocation and re-education of Ukrainian children," *Yale News*, February 22, 2023, https://yaledailynews.com/blog/2023/02/22/ysph-research-reveals-relocation-and-re-education-of-ukrainian-children; Transcript, *Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees*, CNN, February 15, 2023, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/acd/date/2023-02-15/segment/01.
- **680** Transcript, *Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees*, CNN, February 15, 2023, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/acd/date/2023-02-15/segment/01.
- **681** Petro Sineokiy, "Andryushchenko told where the occupiers are holding 267 orphans from Mariupol and Volnovakha," 24 TV, June 1, 2022, https://24tv.ua/ru/andrjushhenko-rasskazal-gde-okkupanty-soderzhat-267-detej-sirot n1992410.
- **682** Nathaniel Raymond, "Russia's Systematic Program For the Re-education and Adoption of Ukraine's Children," Yale School of Public Health Humanitarian Research Lab, February 14, 2023, https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/sharing/rest/content/items/97f919ccfe524d31a241b53ca44076b8/data.
- **683** Jeremy Loffredo and Max Blumenthal, "ICC's Putin arrest warrant based on State Dept-funded report that debunked itself," Grayzone, March 31, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/03/31/iccs-putin-arrest-state-dept-report.
- **684** Nathaniel Raymond, "Russia's Systematic Program For the Re-education and Adoption of Ukraine's Children," Yale School of Public Health Humanitarian Research Lab, February 14, 2023,

- $\underline{https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/sharing/rest/content/items/97f919ccfe524d31a241b53ca44076b8/data.}$
- **685** "News Briefing Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld," US Defense Department, February 12, 2002, https://usinfo.org/wf-archive/2002/020212/epf202.htm.
- **686** Isobel Koshiw, "Weeks turn to months as children become stuck at camps in Crimea," *Guardian*, December 27, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/dec/27/children-become-stuck-at-camps-in-crimea-ukraine-russia.
- **687** Jeremy Loffredo and Max Blumenthal, "ICC's Putin arrest warrant based on State Dept-funded report that debunked itself," Grayzone, March 31, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/03/31/iccs-putin-arrest-state-dept-report; Jeremy Loffredo, "Inside a Russian youth camp condemned by the ICC," Grayzone, March 31, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=NDS1OSEIoz8.
- **688** Scott Horton, "Torturing Our Sovereignty," Antiwar.com, February 24, 2005, https://original.antiwar.com/scott/2005/02/24/torturing-our-sovereignty.
- **689** Staff, "US Is in a Proxy War With Russia: Panetta," Bloomberg News, March 17, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/news/videos/2022-03-17/u-s-is-in-a-proxy-war-with-russia-panetta-video.
- **690** "German Minister of Foreign Affairs: 'We Are Fighting a War Against Russia," In Context, January 26, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=U7XV-ujwuu4; Thomas Fazi, "We Are Already At War With Russia," UnHerd, February 11, 2023, https://unherd.com/2023/02/we-are-already-at-war-with-russia.
- **691** Benjamin Schwarz and Christopher Layne, "Why Are We in Ukraine?" *Harper's*, June 2023, https://harpers.org/archive/2023/06/why-are-we-in-ukraine.
- **692** Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2006-03-01/seeing-baghdad-thinking-saigon.
- **693** Scott Horton, "Iraq War II, Part 10: Soda Straws and EFPs," *Scott Horton Show* Substack, March 3, 2023, https://scotthortonshow.substack.com/p/iraq-war-ii-part-10-soda-straws-and.
- **694** John Bell, "Logistics and American entry into the Great War," Defense Logistics Agency, April 1, 2017, https://dla.mil/About-DLA/News/News-Article-View/Article/1162583/logistics-and-american-entry-into-the-great-war.
- **695** Stephen Biddle, "Arming Ukraine Is Worth the Risk," *Foreign Affairs*, March 11, 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-03-11/arming-ukraine-worth-risk.
- **696** Isabelle Khurshudyan and Emily Rauhala, "Zelensky Pushes 'Accelerated' Application for Ukraine NATO Membership," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/09/30/ukraine-application-nato-russia-war.
- **697** Hugo Bachega, "Ukraine defence minister: We are a de facto member of Nato alliance," BBC, January 13, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-64255249.
- **698** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **699** David Sanger, et al., "Arming Ukraine: 17,000 Anti-Tank Weapons in 6 Days and a Clandestine Cybercorps," *New York Times*, March 6, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/06/us/politics/us-ukraine-weapons.html.
- **700** Idrees Ali and Phil Stewart, "US providing intelligence to Ukraine, officials say," Reuters, March 3, 2022, https://reuters.com/article/ukraine-crisis-usa-intelligence/u-s-providing-intelligence-to-ukraine-officials-say-idUSL2N2V62MD.
- **701** Loveday Morris, et al., "US defense chief in Berlin for talks as Germany stalls on tank deliveries," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/01/19/germany-tanks-ukraine-pistorius-austin.

- **702** Caitlin Doornbos, "F-16s won't be 'magic weapon' to win Ukraine war, top US general warns," *New York Post*, May 25, 2023, https://nypost.com/2023/05/25/f-16s-arent-magic-weapon-to-win-ukraine-war-us-general.
- **703** Aaron Blake, "Biden's complicated history on cluster munitions," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/07/07/bidens-complicated-history-cluster-munitions.
- **704** Steve Holland, "US will not send Ukraine rocket systems that can reach Russia, says Biden," Reuters, May 30, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/us-will-not-send-ukraine-rocket-systems-that-can-reach-russia-says-biden-2022-05-30.
- **705** Press Release, "US Security Cooperation with Ukraine," US State Department, June 7, 2024, https://state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine; Lolita C. Baldor and Tara Copp, "Ukraine uses long-range missiles secretly provided by US to hit Russian-held areas, officials say," AP, April 24, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-long-range-missiles-
- 4d2254639eb5a503d8b0a291ed0680e9; "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre and National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan on the President's Trip to Japan," White House, May 20, 2023, https://defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/article/3277910/biden-announces-abrams-tanks-to-be-delivered-to-ukraine.
- **706** John Hudson and Dan Lamothe, "Biden shows growing appetite to cross Putin's red lines," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/01/ukraine-f-16s-biden-russia-escalation.
- 707 David Sanger, et al., "How Biden Reluctantly Agreed to Send Tanks to Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 25, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/politics/biden-abrams-tanks-ukraine-russia.html. 708 Nick Paton Walsh, et al., "Soldiers in Ukraine say US-supplied tanks have made them targets for Russian strikes," CNN, May 29, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/05/29/europe/ukraine-war-us-tanks-intl/index.html.
- **709** Thibault Spirlet, "Ukraine pulled its Abrams tanks from the front due to Russian drone tactics, US officials say," Business Insider, April 26, 2024, https://businessinsider.com/ukraine-pulls-abrams-tanks-from-front-over-russia-drone-tactics-2024-4.
- **710** Douglas Macgregor, *Warrior's Rage: The Great Tank Battle of 73 Easting* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2009).
- 711 Cockburn, Rumsfeld, 49-51.
- 712 Idrees Ali and Anastasia Malenko, "Ukrainian F-16 jet destroyed in crash, US source says," Reuters, August 29, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukrainian-f-16-jet-destroyed-crash-monday-wsj-reports-2024-08-29.
- 713 Staff, "Russian Strikes Raise Concerns Over Ukraine's Imminent F-16s," AFP, July 5, 2024, https://straitstimes.com/world/europe/russian-strikes-raise-concerns-over-ukraines-imminent-f-16s.
- **714** Courtney McBride and Andrea Palasciano, "Ukraine's F-16 Ambitions Snarled by Language Barrier, Runways and Parts," Bloomberg News, July 12, 2024,
- $\underline{https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-07-12/ukraine-s-f-16-ambitions-snarled-by-language-barrier-runways-and-parts.}$
- 715 Erin Banco, et al., "Biden 'open' to sending long-range cruise missiles to Ukraine," *Politico*, August 15, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/08/15/biden-missiles-ukraine-russia-00174147.
- 716 Mike Stone, et al., "US close to agreeing on long-range missiles for Ukraine; delivery to take months," Reuters, September 3, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/us-close-agreeing-long-range-missiles-ukraine-delivery-take-months-2024-09-03.

- 717 "Russia Blames US for Kaliningrad Transit Restrictions," Reuters, June 24, 2022, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-06-24/russia-blames-u-s-for-kaliningrad-transit-restrictions.
- 718 Ivan Nechepurenko and Andrew Higgins, "Russia threatens to retaliate against Lithuania, a NATO member, over restrictions on shipments to Kaliningrad," *New York Times*, June 20, 2022, https://nytimes.com/live/2022/06/20/world/russia-ukraine-war-news/moscow-threatens-retaliation-over-lithuanias-ban-of-certain-shipments-across-its-borders.
- **719** Daniel Boffey, "Russia threatens 'serious consequences' as Lithuania blocks rail goods," *Guardian*, June 21, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/21/kaliningrad-russia-threatens-serious-consequences-as-lithuania-blocks-rail-goods.
- **720** David Ljunggren, "Lithuania lifts ban on rail transport of goods into Russian exclave," Reuters, July 22, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/lithuania-lifts-ban-rail-transport-goods-into-russian-exclave-agencies-2022-07-22.
- **721** Andy Greenberg, "How A 'Deviant' Philosopher Built Palantir, A CIA-Funded Data-Mining Juggernaut," *Forbes*, August 14, 2013, https://forbes.com/sites/andygreenberg/2013/08/14/agent-of-intelligence-how-a-deviant-philosopher-built-palantir-a-cia-funded-data-mining-juggernaut.
- **722** David Sanger, "In Ukraine, New American Technology Won the Day Until It Was Overwhelmed," *New York Times*, April 23, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/23/us/politics/ukraine-new-american-technology.html.
- **723** See Chapter Three.
- **724** Kenneth Niemeyer, "Ex-Google CEO Eric Schmidt says the Ukraine War turned him into an arms dealer," Business Insider, August 17, 2024, https://businessinsider.com/eric-schmidt-white-stork-ai-drones-ukraine-war-russia-2024-8.
- **725** Eric Schmitt, et al., "Commando Network Coordinates Flow of Weapons in Ukraine, Officials Say," *New York Times*, June 25, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/06/25/us/politics/commandos-russia-ukraine.html.
- **726** Ken Klippenstein and Sara Sirota, "US Quietly Assists Ukraine With Intelligence, Avoiding Direct Confrontation With Russia," Intercept, March 17, 2022, https://theintercept.com/2022/03/17/us-intelligence-ukraine-russia.
- 727 Catherine Philp, "SAS Troops 'Are Training Local Forces in Ukraine," London *Times*, April 15, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/sas-troops-are-training-local-forces-in-ukraine-32vs5bjzb; George Grylls, "Royal Marines deployed on 'high-risk covert operations' in Ukraine," London *Times*, December 14, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/royal-marines-deployed-on-high-risk-covert-operations-in-ukraine-r7b50gv3p.
- **728** James Risen and Ken Klippenstein, "The CIA Thought Putin Would Quickly Conquer Ukraine. Why Did They Get It So Wrong?" Intercept, October 5, 2022, https://theintercept.com/2022/10/05/russia-ukraine-putin-cia.
- 729 William M. Arkin, "Read the Leaked Secret Intelligence Documents on Ukraine and Vladimir Putin," *Newsweek*, April 16, 2023, https://newsweek.com/2023/05/05/read-leaked-secret-intelligence-documents-ukraine-vladimir-putin-1794656.html; Haley Willis, et al., "FBI Arrests National Guardsman in Leak of Classified Documents," *New York Times*, April 13, 2023,
- https://nytimes.com/2023/04/13/world/documents-leak-leaker-identity.html; Teixeira was later sentenced to 15 years for the leak. Maya Shwayder and Eileen Sullivan, "Teixeira Is Sentenced to 15 Years in Prison," *New York Times*, November 12, 2024,
- https://nytimes.com/2024/11/12/us/politics/jack-teixeira-national-security-leak.html.
- **730** Will Porter, "Leaked Pentagon Documents: A Thread," Libertarian Institute, April 11, 2023, https://libertarianinstitute.org/blog/leaked-Pentagon-documents-a-thread.
- **731** Michael Schwirtz and Adam Entous, "About 100 special forces troops from the West were in Ukraine in February, a leaked US document says," *New York Times*, April 12, 2023,

- https://nytimes.com/live/2023/04/12/world/russia-ukraine-news/about-100-special-forces-troops-fromthe-west-were-in-ukraine-in-february-a-leaked-us-document-says; Philip Oltermann, "French defence ministry denies presence of French soldiers in Ukraine," Guardian, April 9, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/live/2023/apr/09/russia-ukraine-war-live-two-killed-in-russian-strike-onzaporizhzhia-ukraine-children-returned-from-russia-rights-group-says?page=with:block-6432854d8f08156fb81ebc3b#block-6432854d8f08156fb81ebc3b.
- 732 Karen DeYoung, "An intellectual battle rages: Is the US in a proxy war with Russia?" Washington Post, April 18, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/04/18/russia-ukraine-war-usinvolvement-leaked-documents.
- 733 William M. Arkin, "The CIA's Blind Spot about the Ukraine War," Newsweek, July 5, 2023. https://newsweek.com/2023/07/21/exclusive-cias-blind-spot-about-ukraine-war-1810355.html.
- 734 David L. Stern, et al., "Russian missiles strike Ukrainian military range near Poland, killing dozens. Moscow promises further attacks," Washington Post, March 13, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/03/13/yavoriv-base-ukraine-russia-attack-nato-lviv.
- 735 Max Boot, "The Case for American Empire," Weekly Standard, October 15, 2001, https://washingtonexaminer.com/magazine/170364/the-case-for-american-empire.
- 736 Max Boot, "The 'surge' is working," Los Angeles Times, September 8, 2007, https://latimes.com/opinion/la-oe-boot8sep08-story.html; Max Boot, "Post-Gadhafi Libya needs peacekeeping troops," Dallas Morning News, August 25, 2011,
- https://dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2011/08/25/ma; Max Boot, "On Syria, a Realistic Assessment and an Unrealistic Response," Commentary, April 17, 2013, https://commentary.org/maxboot/on-syria-a-realistic-as; Max Boot, "Back to Nation-Building in Afghanistan. Good," New York Times, August 22, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/08/22/opinion/president-trump-nation-buildingafghanistan.html; Max Boot, "Yemen: Acts of War Cannot Go Ignored," Commentary, October 10, 2016, https://commentary.org/max-boot/yemen-iran-acts-of-war-cannot-go-ignored.
- 737 See Chapter Five.
- 738 Max Boot, "In Its Righteous Fury, America Has Sometimes Overreached. Don't Make That Mistake in Ukraine," Washington Post, March 7, 2022,
- https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/03/07/putin-assassination-no-fly-zone-needed-to-opposerussian-invasion-ukraine.
- 739 Ken Dilanian, "Biden Administration Walks Fine Line on Intelligence-sharing with Ukraine," NBC News, March 4, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/news/investigations/biden-administration-walks-fine-lineintelligence-sharing-ukraine-rcna18542.
- 740 Hadas Gold, "Ken Dilanian sent CIA drafts of stories," Politico, September 4, 2014, https://politico.com/blogs/media/2014/09/ken-dilanian-sent-cia-drafts-of-stories-194906; Michael Muskal, "Ex-Tribune reporter said to have 'collaborative' relationship with CIA," Los Angeles Times, September 4, 2014, https://latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-tribune-dilanian-20140904story.html.
- 741 Ken Dilanian, "US intel helped Ukraine protect air defenses, shoot down Russian plane carrying hundreds of troops," NBC News, April 26, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/usintel-helped-ukraine-protect-air-defenses-shoot-russian-plane-carry-rcna26015.
- 742 William M. Arkin, "Read the Leaked Secret Intelligence Documents on Ukraine and Vladimir Putin," Newsweek, April 16, 2023, https://newsweek.com/2023/05/05/read-leaked-secret-intelligencedocuments-ukraine-vladimir-putin-1794656.html.
- 743 Julian Barnes, et al., "US Intelligence Is Helping Ukraine Kill Russian Generals, Officials Say," New York Times, May 4, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/04/us/politics/russia-generals-killedukraine.html; Michael Schwirtz, et al., "Putin's War," New York Times, December 16, 2022, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html; Peter Beaumont, "Arms shipments are a legitimate military target, Kremlin warns west," Guardian, March

- 12, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/12/arms-shipments-are-a-legitimate-military-target-kremlin-warns-west.
- 744 Shane Harris, et al., "US Intelligence Helped Ukraine Sink Russian Warship," *Washington Post*, May 5, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/05/05/us-intelligence-ukraine-moskva-sinking.
- **745** Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- **746** Joe Gould, "Pentagon Replacing HIMARS Launcher and Rocket Stocks Sent to Ukraine," Defense News, October 19, 2022, https://defensenews.com/Pentagon/2022/10/19/Pentagon-replacing-himars-launcher-and-rocket-stocks-sent-to-ukraine.
- 747 Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Ukraine's rocket campaign reliant on US precision targeting, officials say," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2023,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/09/ukraine-himars-rocket-artillery-russia.}$
- **748** Andrew Quilty, "A CIA-Backed Militia Targeted Clinics in Afghanistan, Killing Medical Workers and Civilians," Intercept, October 30, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/10/30/afghanistan-health-clinics-airstrikes-taliban.
- 749 Greg Miller and Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Ukrainian spies with deep ties to CIA wage shadow war against Russia," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2023,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/10/23/ukraine-cia-shadow-war-russia.
- **750** Pierre Emmanuel Ngendakumana, "Moscow threatens to strike British military facilities following Cameron's remarks," *Politico Europe*, May 6, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/russia-threaten-strike-british-military-facility-david-camerons-remark-war-ukraine.
- 751 Anna Chernova and Christian Edwards, "Putin orders tactical nuclear weapons drills in response to Western 'threats,'" CNN, May 7, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/05/06/europe/putin-tactical-nuclear-weapon-drill-russia-ukraine-intl/index.html.
- **752** Staff, "Risk of WWIII if NATO enters Ukraine: Polish general," Polskie Radio, February 29, 2024, https://polskieradio.pl/395/7784/artykul/3342626,risk-of-wwiii-if-nato-enters-ukraine-polish-general.
- **753** William M. Arkin, "Read the Leaked Secret Intelligence Documents on Ukraine and Vladimir Putin," *Newsweek*, April 16, 2023, https://newsweek.com/2023/05/05/read-leaked-secret-intelligence-documents-ukraine-vladimir-putin-1794656.html.
- 754 Kylie MacLellan, "Russian aircraft missile launch not deliberate escalation UK defence minister," Reuters, October 20, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/uk/russian-aircraft-missile-launch-not-deliberate-escalation-uk-defence-minister-2022-10-20.
- 755 Thomas Gibbons-Neff and Eric Schmitt, "Miscommunication Nearly Led to Russian Jet Shooting Down British Spy Plane, US Officials Say," *New York Times*, April 12, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/04/12/world/europe/russian-jet-british-spy-plane.html.
- **756** Aditi Bharade, "Lindsey Graham says the US should shoot down Russian fighter jets in response to Russia downing a US drone," Yahoo News, March 15, 2023, https://news.yahoo.com/lindsey-graham-says-us-shoot-083931311.html.
- 757 Julian Borger and Pjotr Sauer, "Miscalculation fears rise after Russian fighter jet collides with US drone over Black Sea," *Guardian*, March 15, 2023, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2023/mar/14/russian-fighter-jet-collides-us-drone-black-sea-crash.
- 758 See Chapter Five.
- **759** David Sanger, "Ukraine Wants the US to Send More Powerful Weapons. Biden Is Not So Sure," *New York Times*, September 17, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/09/17/us/politics/ukraine-biden-weapons.html.
- **760** Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- 761 See Chapter Five.

- **762** Jack Detsch, "Biden Is Still Worried About Poking the Russian Bear," *Foreign Policy*, June 8, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/08/us-russia-war-ukraine-military-defense.
- **763** David Sanger, et al., "Ukraine Wants the US to Send More Powerful Weapons. Biden Is Not So Sure," *New York Times*, September 17, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/09/17/us/politics/ukraine-biden-weapons.html.
- **764** James Jackson, "Germany spills British military secrets to Russia," *Telegraph*, March 3, 2024, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/03/03/germany-intelligence-leak-uk-troops-ground-ukraine-nato.
- **765** Staff, "Germany's Scholz explains his reluctance to send Taurus long-range missiles to Ukraine," AP, February 26, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/germany-russia-ukraine-taurus-cruise-missiles-4a7d8da5b1999792b694136af18ab037.
- **766** Cristian Segura, "NATO personnel already in Ukraine for arms control, intelligence operations and military training," *El País*, March 18, 2024, https://english.elpais.com/international/2024-03-18/nato-personnel-already-in-ukraine-for-arms-control-intelligence-operations-and-military-training.html.
- 767 "Leaked Audio: German Top Brass Said to Implicate Brits in Plot Targeting Crimean Bridge," Sputnik, March 1, 2024, https://sputnikglobe.com/20240301/audio-revelation-german-brass-fingers-brits-in-ukraine-readying-storm-shadow-hit-on-crimean-bridge-1117072494.html.
- **768** Bojan Pancevski, "Russian Tape of Secret German Meeting Reveals Berlin's Thinking on Sending Missiles to Ukraine," *Wall Street Journal*, March 3, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/russian-tape-of-secret-german-meeting-reveals-berlins-thinking-on-sending-missiles-to-ukraine-a3a02cc3.
- **769** Staff, "Slovak PM Claims EU, NATO States Mulling Sending Troops to Ukraine," AFP, February 26, 2024, https://thedefensepost.com/2024/02/26/slovak-pm-claims-eu-nato-troops-ukraine.
- 770 Sylvie Corbet, "Putting Western troops on the ground in Ukraine is not 'ruled out' in the future, French leader says," AP, February 26, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/paris-conference-support-ukraine-zelenskyy-c458a1df3f9a7626128cdeb84050d469.
- 771 Vanessa Gera, "Poland's foreign minister says the presence of NATO troops in Ukraine is 'not unthinkable," AP, March 9, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/poland-nato-russia-france-abd144aee256a72388c196dae8acaf7f.
- 772 Guy Chazan in Berlin and Henry Foy, "Germany rebuffs Emmanuel Macron on troops for Ukraine and tells Paris to 'supply more weapons," *Financial Times*, February 27, 2024, https://ft.com/content/10df6f24-7ce6-407f-8509-76c65ec6e740.
- 773 Pavel Polityuk and John Irish, "Ukraine commander says French military instructors to visit Ukrainian training centres," Reuters, May 27, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-commander-french-military-instructors-visit-ukrainian-training-centres-2024-05-27.
- 774 "Vladimir Putin Interview with Dmitry Kiselyov," Kremlin, March 13, 2024, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/73648.
- 775 Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- 776 Guy Faulconbridge and Felix Light, "Russia moves to formally annex swathes of Ukraine," Reuters, September 22, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/medvedev-says-moscow-backed-separatists-must-hold-referendums-join-russia-2022-09-20.
- 777 Staff, "Moscow-held regions of Ukraine vote on whether to join Russia," *Le Monde*, September 23, 2022, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/09/23/moscow-held-regions-of-ukraine-vote-on-whether-to-join-russia 5997930 4.html.
- 778 Pavel Polityuk, "Biden not planning to speak to Putin for now," Reuters, December 3, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/heaviest-ukraine-fighting-rages-east-west-seeks-sustain-support-against-russia-2022-11-30.
- 779 "Extracts From Putin's Speech at Annexation Ceremony," Reuters, September 30, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/extracts-putins-speech-annexation-ceremony-2022-09-30.

780 Olena Roshchina, "Zelenskyy Approves National Security Council Decision on Impossibility of Negotiations With Putin," Ukrainska Pravda, October 4, 2022,

https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2022/10/4/7370293.

781 Isabelle Khurshudyan and Emily Rauhala, "Zelensky pushes 'accelerated' application for Ukraine NATO membership," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2022,

https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/09/30/ukraine-application-nato-russia-war.

782 "Thayer Leadership Announces Dan Rice, President, Was Recently Named as Special Advisor to Ukrainian Armed Forces," Business Wire, June 6, 2022,

https://businesswire.com/news/home/20220606005431/en/Thayer-Leadership-Announces-Dan-Rice-President-Was-Recently-Named-as-Special-Advisor-to-Ukrainian-Armed-Forces.

783 Transcript, Erin Burnett Outfront, CNN, October 18, 2022,

https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ebo/date/2022-10-18/segment/01.

784 Brad Dress, "Austin says US will support Ukraine 'for as long as it takes," *The Hill*, November 21, 2022, https://thehill.com/homenews/3744702-austin-says-us-will-support-ukraine-for-as-long-as-it-takes.

785 Carol E. Lee, et al., "A Biden admin official recently told members of Congress that Ukraine has the military capability to take back Crimea," NBC News, December 16, 2022,

https://nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/biden-official-told-congress-ukraine-can-retake-crimearcna61755.

786 Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt, "At US Base in Germany, Ukraine's Military Conducts War Games," *New York Times*, March 2, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/02/world/europe/ukraine-us-wargames-germany.html; Gordon Lubold, "Ukraine Military Holds Simulated War Exercises on US Base," *Wall Street Journal*, March 2, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-military-holds-simulated-war-exercises-on-u-s-base-de8e708f.

787 Jonathan Lemire and Alexander Ward, "Biden's team fears the aftermath of a failed Ukrainian counteroffensive," *Politico*, April 24, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/04/24/biden-ukraine-russia-counteroffensive-defense-00093384.

788 President Joe Biden, "National Security Strategy," White House, October 12, 2022, https://admin.govexec.com/media/embargoed_until_12_pm_biden-harris_administration's national security strategy.pdf.

789 "Remarks by President Biden and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine in Joint Press Conference," US Embassy Italy, December 21, 2022, https://it.usembassy.gov/remarks-by-president-biden-and-president-zelenskyy-of-ukraine-in-joint-press-conference.

790 Meghan MacPherson, "Biden needs to 'back off' Armageddon language, work to get Russia to the table with Ukraine: Mullen," ABC News, October 9, 2022, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/us-back-off-armageddon-language-work-russia-table/story?id=91211746.

791 Greg Myre and Tom Bowman, "Russia retreats from Kherson. Why is the US nudging Ukraine on peace talks?" NPR News, November 10, 2022,

https://capradio.org/news/npr/story?storyid=1135738566.

792 Staff, "Patrushev listed the goals of the special operation in Ukraine," RIA Novosti, July 5, 2022, https://ria.ru/20220705/spetsoperatsiya-1800246996.html.

793 Matthew Loh, "Russia is prepared to drop its demand for Ukraine to be 'denazified' from its list of ceasefire conditions: report," Business Insider, March 28, 2022, https://businessinsider.com/russia-nazidemand-for-ukraine-dropped-in-ceasefire-talks-2022-3.

794 Adam Schreck, "Putin signs annexation of Ukrainian regions as losses mount," AP, October 5, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-international-law-donetsk-9fcd11c11936dd700db94ab725f2b7d6.

- **795** Sami Quadri, "Moscow demands West recognise annexed territories before peace talks start," *London Evening Standard*, December 3, 2022, https://standard.co.uk/news/world/russia-ukraine-united-states-peace-talks-joe-biden-vladimir-putin-b1044602.html.
- **796** Kylie Atwood and Oren Liebermann, "Biden admin divided over path ahead for Ukraine as top US general Milley pushes for diplomacy," CNN, November 11, 2022,
- $\underline{https://cnn.com/2022/11/11/politics/ukraine-mark-milley-negotiations-biden-administration-debate}.$
- **797** Anton Troianovski, et al., "Putin Quietly Signals He Is Open to a Cease-Fire in Ukraine," *New York Times*, December 23, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/23/world/europe/putin-russia-ukraine-warcease-fire.html.
- **798** Gordon Lubold, et al., "As Ukraine Retakes Kherson, US Looks to Diplomacy Before Winter Slows Momentum," *Wall Street Journal*, November 13, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/as-ukraine-retakes-kherson-u-s-looks-to-diplomacy-before-winter-slows-momentum-11668345883.
- **799** Ewan Palmer, "Ukraine Releases Prisoners With 'Combat Experience' To Help Fight Russia," *Newsweek*, February 28, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-releases-prisoners-combat-experience-war-russia-volodymyr-zelensky-1683175.
- **800** Dan Sabbagh, "Ukraine's high casualty rate could bring war to tipping point," *Guardian*, June 10, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/10/ukraine-casualty-rate-russia-war-tipping-point.
- **801** Staff, "Ukrainian casualties: Kyiv losing up to 200 troops a day Zelensky aide," BBC, June 9, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-61742736.
- 802 Tweet by President Joe Biden, March 26, 2022,
- https://x.com/POTUS/status/1507842574865866763.
- **803** Edward Wong and Michael Crowley, "With Sanctions, US and Europe Aim to Punish Putin and Fuel Russian Unrest," *New York Times*, March 4, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/03/04/us/politics/russia-sanctions-ukraine.html.
- 804 Osama bin Laden, "Letter to America," Guardian, November 24, 2002,
- https://theguardian.com/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver.
- **805** Karen DeYoung and Michael Birnbaum, "US, allies plan for long-term isolation of Russia," *Washington Post*, April 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/04/16/us-nato-isolate-russia.
- **806** "Economic Shock and Awe," CBS *60 Minutes*, March 20, 2022, https://cbsnews.com/news/russia-economic-sanctions-ukraine-60-minutes-2022-03-20.
- **807** Staff, "UK Says Sanctions Intended 'To Bring Down Putin Regime," AFP, February 28, 2022, https://barrons.com/news/uk-says-sanctions-intended-to-bring-down-putin-regime-01646056809.
- **808** Madeleine Albright, "Putin Is Making a Historic Mistake," *New York Times*, February 23, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/02/23/opinion/putin-ukraine.html.
- **809** Staff, "Companies Are Getting Out of Russia, Sometimes at a Cost," *New York Times*, October 14, 2022, https://nytimes.com/article/russia-invasion-companies.html.
- **810** Ken Sweet and Ellen Knickmeyer, "Russia's ruble rebound raises questions of sanctions' impact," AP, March 30, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-boris-johnson-business-global-trade-1250954224ec20034f166f1d27ce4576.
- **811** Daniel Flatley, "How Biden's Shock-and-Awe Tactic Is Failing to Stop Russia," Bloomberg News, February 24, 2023, https://bloomberg.com/news/features/2023-02-24/russia-sanctions-to-stop-putin-s-war-in-ukraine-became-300b-distraction.
- **812** James K. Galbraith, "The Gift of Sanctions: An Analysis of Assessments of the Russian Economy, 2022–2023," Working Paper No. 204, Institute for New Economic Thinking, April 10, 2023, https://ineteconomics.org/uploads/papers/WP_204-Galbraith-Russia-Sanctions.pdf, cited in Andrew Cockburn, "Sanctions Are Exactly What Russia Needed," Spoils of War, May 3, 2023,
- https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/sanctions-are-exactly-what-russia.

- **813** Antony Blinken, "Russia's Military-Industrial Complex," US Embassy Kiev, February 1, 2023, https://ua.usembassy.gov/tag/russias-military-industrial-complex.
- **814** "Remarks by Secretary of the Treasury Janet L. Yellen in Kyiv, Ukraine," US Treasury Department, February 27, 2023, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy1305.
- **815** James K. Galbraith, "The Gift of Sanctions: An Analysis of Assessments of the Russian Economy, 2022–2023," Working Paper No. 204, Institute for New Economic Thinking, April 10, 2023, https://ineteconomics.org/uploads/papers/WP 204-Galbraith-Russia-Sanctions.pdf.
- **816** Fenghua Liu, "Russia's 'Turn to the East' Policy: Evolution and Assessment," *Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 8, 2023), https://degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/cjss-2023-0020/html.
- **817** Stephen Collinson, "Biden's dramatic warning to China," CNN, February 8, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/02/08/politics/china-biden-state-of-the-union/index.html.
- **818** Charles Chang, et al., "Saudi-China ties and renminbi-based oil trade," S&P Global, August 20, 2024, https://spglobal.com/en/research-insights/special-reports/saudi-china-ties-and-renminbi-based-oil-trade.
- **819** Fareed Zakaria, "Interview with Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen," CNN *GPS*, April 16, 2023, https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/fzgps/date/2023-04-16/segment/01.
- **820** William Burns, "Russia–China Relations Part 1," US State Department, March 23, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW1287_a.html; William Burns, "Russia–China Relations Part 2," US State Department, March 23, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07MOSCOW1288 a.html.
- **821** David J. Lynch, "With Russian economy far from collapse, US opts for tougher punishment," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2024/02/23/sanctions-
- treasury-russia-economy.

 922 Mork Mozzatti and Eria Sahmitt "Oviat Support for Saudis Entengles US in Variant Value Val
- **822** Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "Quiet Support for Saudis Entangles US in Yemen," *New York Times*, March 13, 2016, https://nytimes.com/2016/03/14/world/middleeast/yemen-saudi-us.html. **823** Nima Elbagir, et al., "Sold to an ally, lost to an enemy," CNN, January 31, 2019,
- https://cnn.com/interactive/2019/02/middleeast/yemen-lost-us-arms; Michael LaForgia and Walt Bogdanich, "Why Bombs Made in America Have Been Killing Civilians in Yemen," *New York Times*, May 16, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/05/16/us/arms-deals-raytheon-yemen.html.
- **824** Shuaib Almosawa, "As US Focuses on Ukraine, Yemen Starves," Intercept, March 16, 2022, https://theintercept.com/2022/03/16/yemen-war-biden-us-support-saudi-arabia; Craig Whitlock and Nate Jones, "Mattis secretly advised Arab monarch on Yemen war, records show," *Washington Post*, February 6, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/investigations/2024/02/06/mattis-advised-uae-yemen-war.
- **825** David D. Kirkpatrick, "The Most Powerful Arab Ruler Isn't MBS. It's MBZ," *New York Times*, June 2, 2019, https://nytimes.com/2019/06/02/world/middleeast/crown-prince-mohammed-bin-zayed.html.
- 826 Horton, Enough Already, 235–56.
- **827** Jeff Bachman, "US complicity in the Saudi-led genocide in Yemen spans Obama, Trump administrations," The Conversation, November 26, 2018, https://theconversation.com/us-complicity-in-the-saudi-led-genocide-in-yemen-spans-obama-trump-administrations-106896.
- **828** Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India-Russia trade hit a record \$39.8 billion in 2022–23: SPIEF director," *The Economic Times*, April 4, 2023,
- $\underline{https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/foreign-trade/india-russia-trade-hit-a-record-39-8-billion-in-202223-spief-director/articleshow/99197642.cms.}$
- **829** Fred Weir, "Chinese, Iranian automakers woo Russians after Western brands leave," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 11, 2023, https://csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2023/0911/Chinese-Iranian-automakers-woo-Russians-after-Western-brands-leave.

- **830** Gary Brecher, "The War Nerd: Everything you know about Crimea is wrong(-er)," Pando.com, March 17, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20140318031105/http://pando.com/2014/03/17/the-war-nerd-everything-you-know-about-crimea-is-wrong-er.
- **831** Fenghua Liu, "Russia's 'Turn to the East' Policy: Evolution and Assessment," *Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 8, 2023), https://degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/cjss-2023-0020/html.
- **832** Hiroko Tabuchi, "Russia's Oil Revenue Soars Despite Sanctions, Study Finds," *New York Times*, June 13, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/06/13/climate/russia-oil-gas-record-revenue.html.
- **833** Missy Ryan and Dan Lamothe, "With Scant Options in Ukraine, US and Allies Prepare for Long War," *Washington Post*, June 17, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/06/17/longwar-ukraine.
- **834** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden in Press Conference," White House, March 24, 2022, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/24/remarks-by-president-biden-in-press-conference-7.
- **835** Josh Owens, "Why Russia's Economy Hasn't Collapsed Under The Weight Of Sanctions," OilPrice.com, May 18, 2022, https://oilprice.com/Energy/Energy-General/Why-Russias-Economy-Hasnt-Collapsed-Under-The-Weight-Of-Sanctions.html.
- 836 Staff, "World Economic Outlook," IMF, January 2023,
- https://imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2023/01/31/world-economic-outlook-update-january-2023. **837** Staff, "World Economic Outlook," IMF, April 2022,
- https://imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2022/04/19/world-economic-outlook-april-2022.
- **838** Ben Aris, "Russia could pay off its entire external debt tomorrow, in cash," BNE IntelliNews, March 30, 2024, https://intellinews.com/russia-could-pay-off-its-entire-external-debt-tomorrow-in-cash-319067.
- **839** Chas Freeman Jr., "The propaganda that damned Ukraine," UnHerd, January 4, 2024, https://unherd.com/2024/01/the-propaganda-that-damned-ukraine.
- **840** Editorial Board, "Rogue Russia threatens the world, not just Ukraine," *The Economist*, March 14, 2024, https://economist.com/leaders/2024/03/14/rogue-russia-threatens-the-world-not-just-ukraine.
- **841** Jeff Stein and Catherine Belton, "US imposes more than 500 new Russia sanctions after Navalny's death," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2024/02/23/us-sanctions-russia-navalny.
- **842** David J. Lynch, "With Russian economy far from collapse, US opts for tougher punishment," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2024/02/23/sanctions-treasury-russia-economy.
- **843** David J. Lynch, "With Russian economy far from collapse, US opts for tougher punishment," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2024/02/23/sanctions-treasury-russia-economy.
- **844** Victor Jack and Gabriel Gavin, "Russian oil price cap has largely failed, new report finds," *Politico Europe*, December 5, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/russia-oil-price-cap-ukraine-war-centre-research-energy-clean-air.
- **845** Lauri Myllyvirta, et al., "One year of sanctions: Russia's oil export revenues cut by EUR 34 bn," Center for Research on Energy and Clean Air, December 5, 2023, https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/CREA_One-year-of-sanctions_5.12.2023.pdf.
- **846** Vikram J. Singh, "Spurred by China Rivalry, US, India Deepen Strategic Ties," US Institute of Peace, December 9, 2020, https://usip.org/publications/2020/12/spurred-china-rivalry-us-india-deepen-strategic-ties.
- **847** Nick Paton Walsh and Florence Davey-Attlee, "The Kremlin has never been richer thanks to a US strategic partner," CNN, February 19, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/02/19/europe/russia-oil-india-shadow-fleet-cmd-intl/index.html.

- **848** Alex Lawson, "Concerns grow that India is 'back door' into Europe for Russian oil," *Guardian*, June 26, 2022, https://theguardian.com/business/2022/jun/26/concerns-india-back-door-into-europe-for-russian-oil.
- **849** Darya Korsunskaya and Alexander Marrow, "Russia's GDP boost from military spending belies wider economic woes," Reuters, February 7, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russias-gdp-boost-military-spending-belies-wider-economic-woes-2024-02-07.
- **850** David J. Lynch, "With Russian economy far from collapse, US opts for tougher punishment," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2024/02/23/sanctions-treasury-russia-economy.
- **851** Marc A. Thiessen, "Ukraine aid's best-kept secret: Most of the money stays in the USA.," *Washington Post*, November 29, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/11/29/ukraine-military-aid-american-economy-boost.
- **852** Emma Burrows, "The West has sanctioned Russia's rich. But is that really punishing Putin and helping Ukraine?" AP, December 6, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-sanctions-tycoons-fc2d9d2bba3e81f27b14f7e69a7df818.
- **853** Tatiana Stanovaya, "Putin's Age of Chaos," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2023, https://foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/vladimir-putin-age-chaos.
- 854 See below.
- **855** Dina Smeltz, et al., "In Russia, Navalny Inspires Respect for Some, Indifference for Most," Global Affairs, February 22, 2021, https://globalaffairs.org/research/public-opinion-survey/russia-navalny-inspires-respect-some-indifference-most.
- **856** Alec Luhn, "Alexei Navalny demands recount in Moscow mayoral election," *Guardian*, September 9, 2013, https://theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/09/alexei-navalny-recount-moscow-election.
- **857** Huileng Tan, "Russia's war-driven economy is so hot that the World Bank upgraded it to a 'high-income country," Business Insider, July 2, 2024, https://businessinsider.com/russia-economy-world-bank-upgrade-high-income-country-war-sanctions-2024-7.
- **858** Olena Harmash, "Ukraine suffers biggest economic fall in independent era due to war," Reuters, January 5, 2023, https://reuters.com/markets/europe/ukraines-economy-falls-304-2022-minister-2023-01-05.
- **859** Staff, "Ukraine's economy grew 5.3% in 2023, statistics service says," Reuters, March 28, 2024, https://reuters.com/markets/europe/ukraines-economy-grew-53-2023-statistics-service-says-2024-03-28.
- **860** Vanessa Gera, et al., "Europe's energy crisis raises firewood prices, theft fears," AP, October 27, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/technology-business-germany-weather-923a058f06c8a679f982824b5a337108.
- **861** Kate Abnett, "Europe's spend on energy crisis nears 800 billion euros," Reuters, February 13, 2023, https://reuters.com/business/energy/europes-spend-energy-crisis-nears-800-billion-euros-2023-02-13.
- **862** Ben McWilliams, et al., "The European Union is ready for the 2023-24 winter gas season," Bruegel, October 10, 2023, https://bruegel.org/analysis/european-union-ready-2023-24-winter-gas-season.
- **863** Harry Robertson, "Goldman Sachs warns the dollar is at risk of losing its dominance, and could end up a lesser player like the UK pound," Business Insider, April 1, 2022,
- $\underline{https://businessinsider.in/stock-market/news/goldman-sachs-warns-the-dollar-is-at-risk-of-losing-its-dominance-and-could-end-up-a-lesser-player-like-the-uk-pound/articleshow/90598081.cms.$
- **864** Staff, "Global GDP over the long run," Our World in Data, May 16, 2024, https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/global-gdp-over-the-long-run.

- **865** Walter Russell Mead, "Sanctions on Russia Pit the West Against the Rest of the World," *Wall Street Journal*, March 21, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/the-west-vs-rest-of-the-world-russia-ukraine-dictators-south-america-asia-africa-11647894483.
- **866** Nigel Walker, "Brexit timeline: events leading to the UK's exit from the European Union," House of Commons Library, January 6, 2021, https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7960/CBP-7960.pdf.
- **867** Rob Picheta, "Scotland blocked from holding independence vote by UK's Supreme Court," CNN, November 23, 2022, https://cnn.com/2022/11/23/uk/scottish-indepedence-court-ruling-gbr-intl/index.html.
- **868** Anwen Elias and Núria Franco-Guillén, "Why Catalan pro-independence parties want their own state," European Consortium for Political Research, https://theloop.ecpr.eu/why-catalan-pro-independence-parties-want-their-own-state.
- **869** Vladimir Putin speech, "Valdai International Discussion Club meeting," Kremlin, October 27, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news.
- **870** Henry Foy, "Western powers oppose linking Ukraine peace talks to sanctions relief for Russia," *Financial Times*, March 30, 2022, https://ft.com/content/a3c13f6d-3924-4abd-aa00-b29f1d65e0cf.
- **871** Ben McWilliams, et al., "The European Union is ready for the 2023-24 winter gas season," Bruegel, October 10, 2023, https://bruegel.org/analysis/european-union-ready-2023-24-winter-gas-season.
- **872** Virginia Furness, "Exclusive: West must ensure total isolation of Russia to end war, says Ukraine ex-finance minister," Capital Monitor, March 2, 2022, https://capitalmonitor.ai/analysis/exclusive-west-must-ensure-total-isolation-of-russia-to-end-war-says-ukraine-ex-finance-minister.
- **873** Steven Mufson, "The US imports uranium from Russia. What if sanctions end that?" *Washington Post*, January 21, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/business/2023/01/21/uranium-imports-russia-nuclear.
- **874** Staff, "Russia to consider restricting uranium exports, Putin says," World Nuclear News, September 12, 2024, https://world-nuclear-news.org/articles/putin-considering-restricting-uranium-sales.
- 875 Hahn, 85.
- **876** Murray N. Rothbard, "Austrian Business Cycle Theory, Explained," Excerpted from *America's Great Depression* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1963), https://mises.org/mises-wire/austrian-business-cycle-theory-explained.
- **877** Thomas E. Woods, *Meltdown: A Free-Market Look at Why the Stock Market Collapsed, the Economy Tanked, and Government Bailouts Will Make Things Worse* (New York: Regnery, 2009); Petya Koeva Brooks, "IMF Survey: Households Hit Hard by Wealth Losses," IMF, June 24, 2009, https://imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/sonum062409a.
- **878** Hahn, 82–85; Kawala Xie, "China and Russia make united stand to reform West-led global system," *South China Morning Post*, April 9, 2024,
- https://scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3258422/china-and-russia-make-united-stand-reform-west-led-global-system; Chelsey Dulaney, et al., "Russia Turns to China's Yuan in Effort to Ditch the Dollar," *Wall Street Journal*, February 28, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/russia-turns-to-chinas-yuan-in-effort-to-ditch-the-dollar-a8111457.
- **879** Tania Branigan, "China calls for end to dollar's reign as global reserve currency," *Guardian*, March 24, 2009, https://theguardian.com/business/2009/mar/24/china-reform-international-monetary-system; Staff, "Russia's Medvedev backs long-term 'super currency," Reuters, March 29, 2009, https://reuters.com/article/idUSTRE52S0Q5.
- **880** Ajeet Kumar, "Forget dollar, India, Russia must create digital rupee or ruble to boost trade relations: Top Moscow official," India TV News, March 30, 2023, https://indiatvnews.com/news/india/india-russia-trade-in-digital-rupee-ruble-to-boost-economic-

- <u>relations-amid-ukraine-war-alexander-babakov-at-st-petersburg-international-economic-forum-2023-03-30-859028.</u>
- **881** Staff, "China, Brazil Strike Deal To Ditch Dollar For Trade," AFP, March 29, 2023, https://barrons.com/news/china-brazil-strike-deal-to-ditch-dollar-for-trade-8ed4e799; Joe Leahy and Hudson Lockett, "Brazil's Lula calls for end to dollar trade dominance," *Financial Times*, April 13, 2023, https://ft.com/content/669260a5-82a5-4e7a-9bbf-4f41c54a6143.
- **882** Christian Shepherd, "Six countries to join BRICS group; China labels expansion 'historic,'" *Washington Post*, August 24, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/08/24/brics-china-russia-expansion.
- **883** Victoria Bela, "Xi and Putin vow stronger China-Russia cooperation for 'fair world order' at Brics summit," *South China Morning Post*, October 23, 2024,
- https://scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3283434/china-and-russia-brics-summit-vow-stronger-cooperation-fair-world-order.
- **884** Robert Aro, "How Much Did They Print?" Ludwig von Mises Institute, May 15, 2023, https://mises.org/power-market/how-much-did-they-print.
- **885** Glenn Kessler, "Biden's claim that 70% of inflation jump is due to 'Putin's price hike," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/15/bidens-claim-70-inflation-jump-was-due-putins-price-hike.
- **886** Alberto Nardelli and Jennifer Jacobs, "US Plans New Russia Export Controls, Sanctions on Key Industries," Bloomberg News, February 19, 2023, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-02-19/us-plans-new-russia-export-controls-sanctions-on-key-industries.
- **887** Liz Sly, "A global divide on the Ukraine war is deepening," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/22/global-south-russia-war-divided.
- **888** Liu Zhen, "Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping agree to expand Russia-China military coordination," *South China Morning Post*, May 17, 2024, https://scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3262975/vladimir-putin-xi-jinping-agree-expand-russia-china-military-coordination; Michelle Ye Hee Lee and Pei-Lin Wu, "Putin hails Russia's ties with China as 'stabilizing' force in the world," *Washington Post*, May 16, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/15/russia-vladimir-putin-china-xi-meeting.
- **889** Staff, "How much is Russia spending on its invasion of Ukraine?" *The Economist*, May 30, 2023, https://economist.com/graphic-detail/2023/05/30/how-much-is-russia-spending-on-its-invasion-of-ukraine.
- **890** Nik Martin, "Ukraine war: The trillion-dollar cost to the West," DW, May 18, 2024, https://dw.com/en/ukraine-war-the-trillion-dollar-cost-to-the-west/a-69106932.
- **891** Arthur Sullivan, "War in Ukraine: Why is the EU still buying Russian gas?" DW, April 29, 2024, https://dw.com/en/war-in-ukraine-why-is-the-eu-still-buying-russian-gas/a-68925869.
- **892** Michael Crowley, "US says \$11 billion Nord Stream 2 pipeline will not move forward if Russia invades Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 28, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/01/28/world/europe/nord-stream-2-ukraine-russia.html; Sarah Marsh and Madeline Chambers, "Germany freezes Nord Stream 2 gas project as Ukraine crisis deepens," Reuters, February 22, 2022, https://reuters.com/business/energy/germanys-scholz-halts-nord-stream-2-certification-2022-02-22.
- **893** Vladimir Soldatkin, "Russia Completes Nord Stream 2 Construction, Gas Flows Yet to Start," Reuters, September 10, 2021, https://reuters.com/business/energy/russias-gazprom-says-it-has-completed-nord-stream-2-construction-2021-09-10.
- **894** "Former CIA director John Brennan blames Russia for Nord Stream Bombing," CNN, September 29, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=gPQO1wjQIvo; Matt Orfalea, "Who Blew Up Nord Stream Pipelines? A Mystery!" Orf, October 22, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=NSZyKYitC3M.
- **895** Alex Lawson, "G7 countries agree plan to impose price cap on Russian oil," *Guardian*, September 2, 2022, <a href="https://theguardian.com/business/2022/sep/02/g7-poised-to-agree-plan-to-impose-price-cap-decom-p

- <u>on-russian-oil</u>; Alex Lawson, "Nord Stream 1: Gazprom announces indefinite shutdown of pipeline," *Guardian*, September 2, 2022, https://theguardian.com/business/2022/sep/02/nord-stream-1-gazprom-announces-indefinite-shutdown-of-pipeline.
- **896** Press Release, "Secretary Antony J. Blinken And Canadian Foreign Minister Mélanie Joly At a Joint Press Availability," US State Department, September 30, 2022, https://state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-and-canadian-foreign-minister-melanie-joly-at-a-joint-press-availability.
- **897** Seymour Hersh, "How America Took Out The Nord Stream Pipeline," Seymour Hersh Substack, February 8, 2023, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/how-america-took-out-the-nord-stream; Seymour Hersh, "A Year of Lying About Nord Stream," Seymour Hersh Substack, September 26, 2023, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/a-year-of-lying-about-nord-stream; Interview with author, Seymour Hersh, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 24, 2023,
- $\underline{https://scotthorton.org/interviews/2-24-23-seymour-hersh-how-and-why-america-blew-up-nord-stream}.$
- **898** Michael Crowley, "US says \$11 billion Nord Stream 2 pipeline will not move forward if Russia invades Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 28, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/01/28/world/europe/nord-stream-2-ukraine-russia.html.
- **899** Christina Wilkie and Amanda Macias, "Biden Says Nord Stream 2 Won't Go Forward If Russia Invades Ukraine, But German Chancellor Demurs," CNBC, February 7, 2022,
- https://cnbc.com/2022/02/07/biden-says-nord-stream-2-wont-go-forward-if-russia-invades-ukraine-.html.
- **900** Shane Harris, et al., "No conclusive evidence Russia is behind Nord Stream attack," *Washington Post*, December 21, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/12/21/russia-nord-stream-explosions.
- **901** Rebecca R. Ruiz and Justin Scheck, "In Nord Stream Mystery, Baltic Seabed Provides a Nearly Ideal Crime Scene," *New York Times*, December 26, 2022,
- https://nytimes.com/2022/12/26/world/europe/nordstream-pipeline-explosion-russia.html.
- **902** Matt Orfalea, "Who Blew Up Nord Stream Pipelines? A Mystery!" 0rf, October 22, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=NSZyKYitC3M.
- **903** "Absolute victory over Russia isn't possible," Interview of Fiona Hill, UnHerd.com, February 22, 2023, https://unherd.com/2023/02/absolute-victory-over-russia-isnt-possible.
- **904** Adam Entous, et al., "Intelligence Suggests Pro-Ukrainian Group Sabotaged Pipelines, US Officials Say," *New York Times*, March 7, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/07/us/politics/nord-stream-pipeline-sabotage-ukraine.html.
- **905** Maxim Tucker, "West kept quiet about Nord Stream attack to protect Ukraine," London *Times*, March 8, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/west-nato-nord-stream-attacks-protect-ukraine-gsrgxyssw.
- **906** Von Holger Stark, "Nord Stream investigations: traces lead to Ukraine," *Die Zeit*, March 7, 2023, https://zeit.de/politik/ausland/2023-03/nordstream-2-ukraine-anschlag.
- **907** Hubert Gude and Joerg Diehl, "'Andromeda' is jacked up on former military grounds," *Der Spiegel*, March 13, 2023, https://spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/nord-stream-anschlag-schiff-andromeda-steht-aufgebockt-auf-ehemaligem-militaergelaende-a-52203bf0-2bf0-4996-b034-5ff0ce849fe4.
- **908** Seymour Hersh, "The Cover-Up," Seymour Hersh Substack, March 22, 2023, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/the-cover-up.
- **909** Shane Harris, et al., "Investigators skeptical of yacht's role in Nord Stream bombing," *Washington Post*, April 3, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/04/03/nord-stream-bombing-yacht-andromeda.
- **910** Erika Solomon, "Suspicions Multiply as Nord Stream Sabotage Remains Unsolved," *New York Times*, April 7, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/04/07/world/europe/nord-stream-pipeline-sabotage-theories.html.

- **911** James Bamford, "The Nord Stream Explosions: New Revelations About Motive, Means, and Opportunity," *The Nation*, May 7, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/world/nord-stream-pipeline-explosions.
- 912 Shane Harris and Souad Mekhennet, "US had intelligence of detailed Ukrainian plan to attack Nord Stream pipeline," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/06/nord-stream-pipeline-explosion-ukraine-russia.
- **913** Bojan Pancevski, "US Warned Ukraine Not to Attack Nord Stream," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/u-s-warned-ukraine-not-to-attack-nord-stream-7777939b.
- **914** Shane Harris and Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Ukrainian military officer coordinated Nord Stream pipeline attack," *Washington Post*, November 11, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/11/11/nordstream-bombing-ukraine-chervinsky.
- **915** "Sweden won't share Nord Stream investigation findings with Russia PM," Reuters, October 10, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/sweden-wont-share-nord-stream-investigation-findings-with-russia-pm-2022-10-10.
- **916** Jan M. Olsen, "Sweden closes probe into explosions on Nord Stream pipelines, saying it doesn't have jurisdiction," AP, February 7, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/denmark-sweden-nordstream-explosion-baltic-russia-1ce8c5198afd312e34e83a38d565a4ca.
- **917** Rachel More and Anna Wlodarczak-semczuk, "Poland received German request to arrest Nord Stream suspect but he's left country, prosecutors say," Reuters, August 14, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/germany-issues-arrest-warrant-ukrainian-diver-nord-stream-probemedia-report-2024-08-14.
- **918** Bojan Pancevski, "A Drunken Evening, a Rented Yacht: The Real Story of the Nord Stream Pipeline Sabotage," *Wall Street Journal*, August 14, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/nord-stream-pipeline-explosion-real-story-da24839c.
- **919** Gavin Maguire, "US LNG exports both a lifeline and a drain for Europe in 2023," Reuters, December 21, 2022, https://reuters.com/business/energy/us-lng-exports-both-lifeline-drain-europe-2023-maguire-2022-12-20.
- **920** Barbara Moens, et al., "Europe accuses US of profiting from war," *Politico Europe*, November 24, 2022, https://politico.eu/article/vladimir-putin-war-europe-ukraine-gas-inflation-reduction-act-ira-joe-biden-rift-west-eu-accuses-us-of-profiting-from-war.
- **921** Peter Certo, "Bret Stephens," Militarist Monitor, April 11, 2019, https://militarist-monitor.org/profile/bret-stephens.
- **922** Bret Stephens, "20 Years On, I Don't Regret Supporting the Iraq War," *New York Times*, March 21, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/21/opinion/20-years-on-i-dont-regret-supporting-the-iraq-war.html.
- **923** Bret Stephens, "Damascus Needs Regime Change," *Wall Street Journal*, April 19, 2011, https://wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703916004576270703918064880.
- **924** Bret Stephens, "What if Putin Didn't Miscalculate?" *New York Times*, March 29, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/29/opinion/ukraine-war-putin.html.
- **925** "Statistical Review of World Energy 2021, 70th edition," British Petroleum, July 2021, https://bp.com/content/dam/bp/business-sites/en/global/corporate/pdfs/energy-economics/statistical-review/bp-stats-review-2021-full-report.pdf.
- **926** Anatoliy Amelin, et al., "The Forgotten Potential of Ukraine's Energy Reserves," Harvard International Review, October 10, 2020, https://hir.harvard.edu/ukraine-energy-reserves.
- **927** Krystyna Marcinek, "Russia Does Not Seem to Be After Ukraine's Gas Reserves," RAND Corporation, April 11, 2022, https://rand.org/pubs/commentary/2022/04/russia-does-not-seem-to-be-after-ukraines-gas-reserves.html.
- **928** Catherine Belton, et al., "Kremlin tries to build antiwar coalition in Germany, documents show," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/04/21/germany-russia-interference-afd-wagenknecht.

- **929** Catherine Belton, et al., "Kremlin tries to build antiwar coalition in Germany, documents show," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/04/21/germany-russia-interference-afd-wagenknecht.
- **930** Zac Crellin, "Kremlin influencing anti-war coalition in Germany: report," DW, April 22, 2023, https://dw.com/en/kremlin-influencing-anti-war-coalition-in-germany-report/a-65405002.
- **931** José Bautista, et al., "US and Ukrainian Embassies Targeted by Letter Bombs in Spain," *New York Times*, December 1, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/12/01/world/europe/spain-letter-bombs.html.
- **932** Edward Wong, et al., "Russian Agents Suspected of Directing Far-Right Group to Mail Bombs in Spain," *New York Times*, January 22, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/22/us/politics/russia-spain-letter-bombs.html.
- **933** Emma Pinedo, et al., "Letter bomb suspect sought to end Spain's support for Ukraine, judge says," Reuters, January 27, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/letter-bomb-suspect-sought-end-spains-support-ukraine-judge-2023-01-27.
- **934** Bernard, "How Russia 'Weaponized' 111 Times," Moon of Alabama, April 5, 2021, https://moonofalabama.org/2021/04/how-russia-weaponized-111-times.html; Staff, "Russian army demonstrates latest weapon: Cuddly puppies," AP, January 3, 2018, https://apnews.com/russian-army-demonstrates-latest-weapon-cuddly-puppies-c1bacefddaf1427697cc8f2f6e0add8b.
- **935** Pjotr Sauer, "Ukraine suspends 11 political parties with links to Russia," *Guardian*, March 20, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/ukraine-suspends-11-political-parties-with-links-to-russia; Aleksandra Klitina, "Ukrainian parliament bans pro-Russian parties," *Kyiv Post*, May 4, 2022, https://kyivpost.com/post/6877.
- **936** Max Hunder and Tom Balmforth, "Ukraine seizes stakes in strategic companies under wartime laws," Reuters, November 7, 2022, https://reuters.com/markets/europe/ukraine-lawmaker-publishes-document-nationalisation-stakes-several-strategic-2022-11-07.
- **937** Nicolai N. Petro, "Ukraine Has a Civil Rights Problem," *Foreign Policy*, December 28, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/18/ukraine-russia-war-civil-rights-freedom-speech-religion.
- 938 Branko Marcetic, "The State of Ukrainian Democracy Is Not Strong," Jacobin, February 25, 2023, https://jacobin.com/2023/02/ukraine-censorship-authoritarianism-illiberalism-crackdown-police-zelensky; Katya Sedgwick, "Ukraine Bans Political Opposition," *The American Conservative*, July 6, 2022, https://theamericanconservative.com/ukraine-bans-political-opposition.
- 939 Emily Feng, "Zelenskyy has consolidated Ukraine's TV outlets and dissolved rival political parties," NPR News, March 19, 2019, https://npr.org/2022/07/08/1110577439/zelenskyy-has-consolidated-ukraines-tv-outlets-and-dissolved-rival-political-par; Pavel Polityuk, "Citing martial law, Ukraine president signs decree to combine national TV channels into one platform," Reuters, March 20, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/citing-martial-law-ukraine-president-signs-decree-combine-national-tv-channels-2022-03-20; Pjotr Sauer, "Ukraine suspends 11 political parties with links to Russia," https://theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/ukraine-suspends-11-political-parties-with-links-to-russia.
- **940** Andrew Kramer, et al., "'A Big Step Back': In Ukraine, Concerns Mount Over Narrowing Press Freedoms," *New York Times*, June 18, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/06/18/world/europe/ukraine-press-freedom.html.
- 941 Lorenzo Tondo, "Ukraine's security service raids Russian-backed monastery in Kyiv," *Guardian*, November 22, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/22/ukraine-security-service-raids-1000-year-old-monastery-in-kyiv; "Ukraine's Orthodox churches and the fight for the country's soul," *The Economist*, December 11, 2022, https://economist.com/europe/2022/12/11/ukraines-orthodox-churches-and-the-fight-for-the-countrys-soul; Staff, "Ukraine's SBU Conducts More Raids At Churches Formerly Under Moscow's Jurisdiction," RFERL, December 10, 2022, https://economist.com/europe/2022/12/11/ukraines-orthodox-churches-and-the-fight-for-the-countrys-soul; Staff, "Ukraine's SBU Conducts More Raids At Churches Formerly Under Moscow's Jurisdiction," RFERL, December 10, 2022, https://economist.com/europe/2022/12/11/ukraines-orthodox-churches-moscow-jurisdiction/32170873.html; "Chronicles of the destruction of UOC in Western

- Ukraine," Union of Orthodox Journalists, April 22, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=6w_NSxh1-zM.
- 942 Staff, "The UOC (MP) declared its disagreement with Patriarch Kirill and its independence from Moscow," RFERL, May 27, 2022, https://radiosvoboda.org/a/news-upts-mp-kyrylo-nezalezhnist/31872023.html; Thomas d'Istria, "Ukraine places orthodox leader Metropolitan Pavlo under house arrest," *Le Monde*, April 5, 2023,
- https://lemonde.fr/en/religions/article/2023/04/05/ukraine-places-orthodox-leader-metropolitan-pavlo-under-house-arrest 6021868 63.html.
- **943** Nicolai N. Petro, "Ukraine Has a Civil Rights Problem," *Foreign Policy*, December 28, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/18/ukraine-russia-war-civil-rights-freedom-speech-religion.
- **944** Alice Speri, "Ukraine Blocks Journalists From Front Lines With Escalating Censorship," Intercept, June 22, 2023, https://theintercept.com/2023/06/22/ukraine-war-journalists-press-credentials.
- **945** Brett Forrest and Matthew Luxmoore, "Zelensky Removes Ukraine's General Prosecutor, Head of Secret Service," *Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/russian-strikes-intensify-asmoscow-aims-to-tighten-grip-on-donbas-11658059249.
- **946** Ted Galen Carpenter, "Ukraine's Accelerating Slide into Authoritarianism," Cato Institute, May 30, 2021, https://cato.org/commentary/ukraines-accelerating-slide-authoritarianism; Pjotr Sauer, "Ukraine suspends 11 political parties with links to Russia," *Guardian*, March 20, 2022,
- https://theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/ukraine-suspends-11-political-parties-with-links-to-russia. **947** Matthew Luxmoore and Lindsay Wise, "Ukraine's Zelensky Is Challenged by Return of Domestic Political Troubles," *Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/zelensky-ukraine-president-corruption-allegations-a874bff0.
- **948** James Gregory, "Ukrainian billionaire Ihor Kolomoisky held in anti-corruption drive," BBC, September 3, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66699004.
- **949** Seymour Hersh, "Trading With the Enemy," Seymour Hersh Substack, April 12, 2023, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/trading-with-the-enemy.
- 950 Igor Kossov and Oleksiy Sorokin, "Rumors of Zelensky stripping top oligarch Kolomoisky's citizenship gain ground," Kyiv Independent, July 23, 2022, https://reuters.com/hot-topic/rumors-of-zelensky-stripping-top-oligarch-kolomoiskys-citizenship-gain-ground; Olena Harmash and Tom Balmforth, "Zelenskiy fires slew of top officials, cites need to clean up Ukraine," Reuters, January 24, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/deputy-head-ukraines-presidential-office-tymoshenko-tenders-his-resignation-2023-01-24; Staff, "Ukraine officials leave posts after corruption-allegations," DW, January 24, 2023, https://dw.com/en/ukraine-officials-leave-posts-after-corruption-allegations/a-64495325.
- 951 "When will Ukraine be given F-16 and is Putin ready to use nuclear weapons. Zelensky's interview with the BBC," BBC, June 22, 2023, https://bbc.com/ukrainian/vert-fut-65963080; "Ukraine to hold elections after war ends, says Zelenskyy," The New Voice of Ukraine, June 22, 2023,
- $\underline{https://english.nv.ua/nation/ukraine-to-hold-elections-after-war-ends-says-zelenskyy-50333899.html}.$
- **952** Alex Kasprak, "Did Zelenskyy Say There Would Be No Elections in Ukraine Until War Ends?" Snopes, June 27, 2023, https://snopes.com/fact-check/zelenskyy-say-no-elections-until-war-ends; Tweet by Zerohedge, June 28, 2023, https://x.com/zerohedge/status/1674066407108014080.
- **953** Anna Pruchnicka, "Ukraine Extends Martial Law, Ruling Out October Parliament Vote," Reuters, July 27, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-extends-martial-law-ruling-out-october-parliament-vote-2023-07-27.
- **954** Christian Esch, "Fight and Live," *Der Spiegel*, December 1, 2023, https://spiegel.de/ausland/ukraine-im-kriegswinter-kaempfen-und-leben-a-fa0ee2a7-e267-4d0e-9a1e-84e5af901419.

- **955** Staff, "The mystery of the murdered Ukrainian negotiator accused of being a traitor (+ Sensitive images)," Maduradas, March 7, 2022, https://maduradas.com/extrano-misterio-del-negociador-ucraniano-asesinado-senalado-traidor-imagenes-sensibles.
- **956** Maggie Astor, "A Photo That Changed the Course of the Vietnam War," *New York Times*, February 1, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/02/01/world/asia/vietnam-execution-photo.html.
- **957** Andy Grundberg, "Eddie Adams, Journalist Who Showed Violence of Vietnam, Dies at 71," *New York Times*, September 20, 2004, https://nytimes.com/2004/09/20/arts/eddie-adams-journalist-who-showed-violence-of-vietnam-dies-at-71.html.
- **958** Brett Forrest, "Russian Spy or Ukrainian Hero? The Strange Death of Denys Kiryeyev," *Wall Street Journal*, January 18, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/russian-spy-or-ukrainian-hero-the-strange-death-of-denys-kiryeyev-11674059395.
- **959** "Peacekeeper," Myrotvorets, https://myrotvorets.center.
- **960** Anthony Lloyd, "Ukraine's blacklist: Killers, lawyers, writers and spies," London *Times*, January 25, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ukraines-blacklist-killers-lawyers-writers-and-spies-0gccbbwp0.
- **961** Branko Marcetic, "The State of Ukrainian Democracy Is Not Strong," Jacobin, February 25, 2023, https://jacobin.com/2023/02/ukraine-censorship-authoritarianism-illiberalism-crackdown-police-zelensky.
- 962 Inna Gadzynska, et al., "Roller Coaster," Texty.org.ua, June 6, 2024, https://texty.org.ua/projects/112617/roller-coaster; Daniel McAdams, "US-Backed Ukrainian Publication Releases New 'Enemies List' Including Donald Trump, Ron Paul, Ron Paul Institute, Hundreds More. . ." Ron Paul Institute, June 7, 2024, https://ronpaulinstitute-nundreds-more. ." Ron Paul Institute, June 7, 2024, https://ronpaulinstitute-nundreds-more.
- **963** Shivya Kanojia, "Scratched my left eye with toothpick, cracked rib: US-Chilean journalist describes torture in Ukrainian prison," First Post, August 1, 2023, https://firstpost.com/world/scratched-my-left-eye-with-toothpick-cracked-rib-us-chilean-journalist-describes-torture-in-ukrainian-prison-12943002.html.
- 964 Alexander Rubinstein, "American citizen Gonzalo Lira dies from neglect in Ukrainian prison," Grayzone, January 12, 2024, https://thegrayzone.com/2024/01/12/gonzalo-lira-dies-ukrainian-prison.
- **965** "User Clip: Gonzalo Lira: State Dept disinterest," C-SPAN, January 22, 2024, https://c-span.org/video/?c5104258/user-clip-gonzalo-lira-state-dept-disinterest.
- **966** Anatol Lieven, "The Rise and Role of Ukrainian Ethnic Nationalism," *The Nation*, April 17, 2023, https://thenation.com/article/world/ukraine-russia-nationalism-war.
- **967** Staff, "Ukraine passes bill to ban Orthodox church with ties to Russia; Zelensky hails ban, Moscow slams it," WION, August 20, 2024, https://wionews.com/world/ukraine-passes-bill-to-ban-orthodox-church-with-ties-to-russia-zelensky-hails-ban-moscow-slams-it-751722.
- **968** Martha Muir, "Investors size up opportunities in post-conflict Ukraine," *Financial Times*, December 11, 2022, https://ft.com/content/5a48443a-ef2c-4bb2-810e-0649f13d2318.
- **969** Vivienne Walt, "A trillion-dollar opportunity? Rebuilding Ukraine will mean giant investments and potential big payoffs, say economists adding up the costs," *Fortune*, December 7, 2022, https://fortune.com/2022/12/07/rebuilding-ukraine-trillion-dollar-investment-opportunity.
- **970** President of Ukraine official statement, "Volodymyr Zelenskyy meets with senior members of JP Morgan, takes part in investment summit organized by holding," February 11, 2023,
- $\underline{https://president.gov.ua/en/news/volodimir-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij-zustrivsya-z-top-menedzherami-jp-morgan-zelenskij$
- <u>80933</u>; Charlie Gasparino, "JP Morgan reaches agreement with Ukraine's Zelenskyy on rebuilding infrastructure, presents Patriots jersey," Fox Business, February 12, 2023,
- $\frac{https://foxbusiness.com/business-leaders/jp-morgan-reach-agreement-ukraine-zelenskyy-rebuild-infrastructure-present-patriots-jersey.}$

- **971** Patricia Cohen and Liz Alderman, "The World's Largest Construction Site': The Race Is On to Rebuild Ukraine," *New York Times*, February 16, 2023,
- https://nytimes.com/2023/02/16/business/economy/ukraine-rebuilding.html.
- **972** Nomaan Merchant and Hannah Fingerhut, "AP-NORC poll: Most in US oppose major role in Russia strife," AP, February 23, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-business-vladimir-putin-europe-election-2020-ac251d00b8979cebd0496374fc622a1b.
- 973 "Pritzker family profile," Forbes, February 8, 2024, https://forbes.com/profile/pritzker.
- **974** Staff, "US names former commerce secretary, big Democrat donor to coordinate private sector aid for Ukraine," AP, September 14, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-biden-penny-pritzker-aid-adviser-donor-f919a2ae3ac0a21573a8b6c378818e69.
- **975** Staff, "US Commerce nominee faces questions on failed bank, tax havens," Reuters, May 23, 2013, https://reuters.com/article/idUSL2N0E411Z.
- **976** Antony Blinken, Press Statement, "Announcing the US Special Representative for Ukraine's Economic Recovery," US Embassy Kiev, September 14, 2023, https://ua.usembassy.gov/announcing-the-u-s-special-representative-for-ukraines-economic-recovery.
- **977** Miranda Davis, "Penny Pritzker Looks to Commodity Firms to Help Rebuild Ukraine," Bloomberg News, February 14, 2024, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-02-14/pritzker-targets-commodity-firms-to-fuel-ukraine-reconstruction.
- **978** Press Release, "Graham, Blumenthal Statement on Visit to Ukraine," Sen. Lindsey Graham, August 12, 2024, https://lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?ID=DB12ABDA-0E2C-4CD8-A5C2-D38B10837851.
- **979** James Risen, "US Identifies Vast Mineral Riches in Afghanistan," *New York Times*, June 13, 2010, https://nytimes.com/2010/06/14/world/asia/14minerals.html.
- **980** Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
- **981** Julian Hayda, "President Zelenskyy shakes up Ukraine's Cabinet amid corruption allegations," NPR News, January 24, 2023, https://npr.org/2023/01/24/1150943435/president-zelenskyy-shakes-up-ukraines-cabinet-amid-corruption-allegations.
- **982** Paul Adams and Malu Cursino, "Ukraine's defence minister Oleksii Reznikov dismissed," BBC, September 4, 2023, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-66702893.
- **983** Tara Law, "What to Know About the Corruption Scandals Sweeping Ukraine's Government," *Time*, January 24, 2023, https://time.com/6249941/ukraine-corruption-resignation-zelensky-russia.
- **984** Tweet by Lee Fang, July 21, 2023, https://x.com/lhfang/status/1682470052728020993.
- **985** Michael Roark, et al., "The DoD's Accountability of Equipment Provided to Ukraine," US Defense Department Inspector General's Office, October 6, 2022,
- $\underline{https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/23881939/5ff9e457-8c21-46ee-af93-cb4321fba336.pdf.}$
- **986** Michael Birnbaum, et al., "US failed to track \$1 billion in Ukraine military aid, watchdog says," *Washington Post*, January 11, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/01/11/us-weapons-ukraine-inspector-general.
- **987** Brendan Cole, "Zelensky's Corruption Problem," *Newsweek*, January 28, 2024, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-zelensky-corruption-problem-1863644.
- **988** Staff, "Ukraine says corrupt officials stole \$40 million meant to buy arms for the war with Russia," AP, January 28, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-war-corruption-476d673cc64a4b005c7ee8ed5f5d5361.
- **989** Andrew Kramer, "Where Is the Money?' Military Graft Becomes a Headache for Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 4, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/09/04/world/europe/ukraine-military-spending-corruption.html.

- **990** Simon Shuster, "Nobody Believes in Our Victory Like I Do.' Inside Volodymyr Zelensky's Struggle to Keep Ukraine in the Fight," *Time*, October 30, 2023, https://time.com/6329188/ukraine-volodymyr-zelensky-interview.
- **991** "Countries and Territories Freedom Scores," Freedom House, 2022, https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores.
- **992** Ted Galen Carpenter, "Washington's Whoppers on the War in Ukraine," *The American Conservative*, October 24, 2022, https://theamericanconservative.com/washingtons-whoppers-on-the-war-in-ukraine.
- 993 "Countries and Territories Democracy Scores," Freedom House, 2022,

https://freedomhouse.org/countries/nations-transit/scores.

994 Ben Freeman, "The Lobbying Battle Before the War: Russian and Ukrainian Influence in the US," Quincy Brief No. 26, July 20, 2022,

https://web.archive.org/web/20220721162537/https://quincyinst.org/wp-

<u>content/uploads/2022/07/quincy-brief-no.-26-July-2022-freeman-5.pdf</u>; Ben Freeman, "Army of Ukraine lobbyists behind unprecedented Washington blitz," Responsible Statecraft, February 11, 2022, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/02/11/ukrainian-lobbyists-mounted-unprecedented-campaign-on-us-lawmakers-in-2021.

995 Interview with author, Ben Freeman, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, February 18, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/2-18-22-ben-freeman-on-the-army-of-ukraine-lobbyists-in-dc.

996 Scott Horton, "Blame Wilson," Antiwar.com, April 23, 2005,

https://original.antiwar.com/scott/2005/04/23/blame-wilson.

997 Carl J. Richard, *When the United States Invaded Russia: Woodrow Wilson's Siberian Disaster* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012).

998 "Vladimir Putin's annual news conference," Kremlin, December 23, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67438.

999 Anchal Vohra, "The West Is Preparing for Russia's Disintegration," *Foreign Policy*, April 17, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/17/the-west-is-preparing-for-russias-disintegration.

1000 Anchal Vohra, "The West Is Preparing for Russia's Disintegration," *Foreign Policy*, April 17, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/17/the-west-is-preparing-for-russias-disintegration.

1001 Anchal Vohra, "The West Is Preparing for Russia's Disintegration," *Foreign Policy*, April 17, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/17/the-west-is-preparing-for-russias-disintegration.

1002 Bakhti Nishanov, et al., "Decolonizing Russia," CSCE, June 23, 2022,

 $\underline{https://csce.gov/international-impact/events/decolonizing-russia}.$

1003 Staff, "Putin accuses the West of trying to 'dismember and plunder' Russia in a ranting speech," AP, November 28, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-putin-speech-ukraine-world-order-747d4cb0b899cf5c76f2f5ae80df376c.

1004 Casey Michel, "Decolonize Russia," The Atlantic, May 27, 2022,

 $\underline{https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/05/russia-put in-colonization-ukraine-chechnya/639428}.$

1005 As part of then-Deputy Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith and his assistant Abram Shulsky's Office of Special Plans, Rubin is guilty of helping lie the United States into invading Iraq in 2003. Scott Horton, "Iraq War II, Part 2: A Clean Break," *Scott Horton Show* Substack, February 10, 2023, https://scotthortonshow.substack.com/p/iraq-war-ii-part-2-a-clean-break; Tweet by author, "28 Articles About How the Neoconservatives Lied Us Into Iraq War II," February 23, 2024, https://x.com/scotthortonshow/status/1628868264120971264.

1006 Michael Rubin, "Putin Wants Russia's Borders Changed? History Says He Should Be Quiet," 19FortyFive, September 30, 2022, https://19fortyfive.com/2022/09/putin-wants-russias-borders-changed-history-says-he-should-be-quiet.

1007 David Wurmser, et al., "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, 1996, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/a-clean-break-a-new-strategy-for-securing-the-realm-by-david-wurmser-1996.

1008 Valeriya Oleksandrivna Shakhvorostova, "Officially rename the name 'Russia' to 'Moscow.' Replace the term 'Russian' with 'Moscow,' 'Russian Federation' with 'Moscow Federation,'" Petition to government of Ukraine, November 23, 2022, https://petition.president.gov.ua/petition/170958.

1009 Veronika Melkozerova, "Rename Russia? Zelenskyy wants to look into it," *Politico Europe*, March 13, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/rename-russia-volodymyr-zelenskyy-old-muscovy-moscow-kingdom.

1010 Staff, "Azov Regiment believes Russian troops should have been stopped on Crimea's border," Ukrainska Pravda, May 9, 2022, https://yahoo.com/news/azov-regiment-believes-russian-troops-185949791.html.

1011 Oleksiy Danilov – Secretary of the NSDC of Ukraine, "The world must accept the irreversible event of Russia's internal decolonization," Ukrainska Pravda, February 11, 2023, https://yahoo.com/now/world-must-accept-irreversible-event-103000682.html.

1012 Tweet by Gunter Fehlinger, April 25, 2023,

https://x.com/GunterFehlinger/status/1651000878646583297.

1013 Free Nation of Post-Russia Forum, https://freenationsrf.org.

1014 Free Nation of Post-Russia Forum, https://freenationsrf.org.

1015 Ryan McMaken, *Breaking Away: The Case for Secession, Radical Decentralization, and Smaller Polities* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2022).

1016 Murray N. Rothbard, "Just War," Mises Institute, May 1994, https://mises.org/mises-daily/just-war.

1017 David Ignatius, "Transcript: The Road Ahead for Ukraine with Robert M. Gates," Interview with the *Washington Post*, February 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/washington-post-live/2023/02/01/transcript-road-ahead-ukraine-with-robert-m-gates.

1018 "Vladimir Putin Interview with Dmitry Kiselyov," Kremlin, March 13, 2024, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/73648.

1019 "President Dwight Eisenhower Farewell Address," C-SPAN, January 17, 1961, https://c-span.org/video/?15026-1/president-dwight-eisenhower-farewell-address.

1020 Michael Swanson, *The War State: The Cold War Origins Of The Military-Industrial Complex And The Power Elite, 1945–1963* (Danville, Independently Published, 2013).

1021 Nick Turse, *The Complex: How the Military Invades Our Everyday Lives* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009); James McCartney and Molly Sinclair McCartney, *America's War Machine: Vested Interests, Endless Conflicts* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2015); Andrew Cockburn, *The Spoils of War: Power, Profit and the American War Machine* (New York: Verso, 2021).

1022 Damien Markham, "Lockheed and Boeing target House appropriators with campaign cash," Citizens for Responsibility & Ethics in Washington, August 29, 2018,

https://citizensforethics.org/reports-investigations/crew-investigations/lockheed-boeing-house-cash.

1023 William D. Hartung, *Prophets of War: Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Military-Industrial Complex* (New York: Nation Books, 2011), 2–5.

1024 Murray N. Rothbard, "World War I as Fulfillment: Power and the Intellectuals," *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 1989), https://cdn.mises.org/9_1_5_0.pdf.

1025 Dov Cohen, et al., "Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor: An 'Experimental Ethnography," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 70, No. 5 (1996), 945–60.

1026 Matt Orfalea, "Nicolle Wallace, MSNBC Host Lying for 30 Minutes Straight 'The Typhoid Mary of Disinformation," Orf, June 17, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=KiflpK01mJU.

1027 Glenn Diesen, *The Think Tank Racket: Managing the Information War with Russia* (Atlanta: Clarity Press, 2023).

- 1028 Justin Raimondo, "Beware the Red Heifer," Antiwar.com, April 15, 2002, https://antiwar.com/justin/j041502.html; Max Blumenthal, "Rapture Ready: The Christians United for Israel Tour," Grayzone, July 27, 2007, https://youtube.com/watch?v=mjMRgT5o-Ig; Adam Gabbatt, "This war is prophetically significant": why US evangelical Christians support Israel," *Guardian*, October 30, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/30/us-evangelical-christians-israel-hamas-war.
- **1029** Noreen Malone, "Why So Many Liberals Supported Invading Iraq," Slate, May 14, 2021, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2021/05/iraq-war-liberal-media-support-humanitarian-intervention.html.
- 1030 Brink Lindsey, "No more 9/11s The case for invading Iraq," *Reason*, October 29, 2002, https://reason.com/2002/10/29/no-more-9-11s-2; Cathy Young, "Liberty's Paradoxes," *Reason*, December 2001, https://reason.com/2001/12/01/libertys-paradoxes-2; Cathy Young, "Feminism and Iraq," *Reason*, March 25, 2003, https://reason.com/2003/03/25/feminism-and-iraq; Ed Krayewski, "Should the US Intervene to Stop a Genocide in Iraq?" *Reason*, August 8, 2014, https://reason.com/2014/08/08/should-the-us-intervene-to-stop-a-genoci; Ilya Somin, "Those Who Support Israel Against Hamas Should also Back Ukraine Against Russia," *Reason*, October 12, 2023, https://reason.com/volokh/2023/10/12/those-who-support-israel-against-hamas-should-also-back-ukraine-against-russia.
- **1031** Claes Ryn, "The Ideology of American Empire," Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 1, 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20031223093053/http://fpri.org/pubs/orbis.4703.ryn.ideologyamericanempire.pdf.
- **1032** Andrew Cockburn, "Our Real National Security Budget \$2 Trillion, Here We Come," Spoils of War, March 14, 2024, https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/our-real-national-security-budget. **1033** Andrew Cockburn, "Game On," *Harper's*, January 2015, https://harpers.org/archive/2015/01/game-on.
- 1034 By the middle of his last year in office, even his closest allies agreed that the man was mentally unfit to rule and forced him to drop out of his bid for reelection. Edward-Isaac Dovere and Jeff Zeleny, "Obama, Pelosi privately expressed concerns over Biden," CNN, July 11, 2024, https://edition.cnn.com/2024/07/11/politics/obama-pelosi-biden-democrats-2024/index.html.

 1035 John Ismay and Lara Jakes, "Meeting in Brussels Signifies a Turning Point for Allies Arming Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 28, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/09/28/us/politics/ukraine-weapons-nato.html.
- **1036** Paul McLeary, "NATO sets sights on rebuilding Ukraine's defense industry," *Politico*, October 12, 2022, https://politico.com/news/2022/10/12/Pentagon-chief-ukraine-support-00061387.
- 1037 Ciara Linnane, "Raytheon's profit more than doubles as Ukraine war boosts defense budgets," MarketWatch, January 25, 2023, https://marketwatch.com/story/raytheons-profit-more-than-doubles-as-ukraine-war-boosts-defense-budgets-11674589555; Connor Echols, "US weapons makers report 'all-time record orders' since Russian invasion," Responsible Statecraft, January 26, 2023, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2023/01/26/us-weapons-makers-report-all-time-record-orders-since-russian-invasion.
- 1038 Staff, "US defense contractors see longer term benefits from war in Ukraine," AFP, April 2, 2022, https://france24.com/en/live-news/20220403-us-defense-contractors-see-longer-term-benefits-from-war-in-ukraine.
- **1039** "Raytheon Technologies (RTX) Q4, 2021 Earnings Call Transcript," Motley Fool, January 25, 2022, https://fool.com/earnings/call-transcripts/2022/01/25/raytheon-technologies-rtx-q4-2021-earnings-call-tr.
- **1040** Staff, "Raytheon CEO Gregory Hayes: How Ukraine Has Highlighted Gaps in US Defense Technologies," Harvard Business Review, March 25, 2022, https://hbr.org/2022/03/raytheon-ceo-gregory-hayes-how-ukraine-has-highlighted-gaps-in-us-defense-technologies.

- **1041** Eli Clifton, "Ukraine War is great for the portfolio, as defense stocks enjoy a banner year," Responsible Statecraft, February 24, 2023, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2023/02/24/war-is-great-for-the-portfolio-as-defense-stocks-enjoy-a-banner-year.
- **1042** David Moore, "Here Are the Members of Congress Invested in War," Sludge, September 12, 2024, https://readsludge.com/2024/09/12/here-are-the-members-of-congress-invested-in-war.
- **1043** Eli Clifton and Ben Freeman, "Pro-bono Ukraine lobbyists quietly profit from defense contractor clients," Responsible Statecraft, March 1, 2023, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2023/03/01/pro-bono-ukraine-lobbyists-quietly-profit-from-defense-contractor-clients.
- **1044** Kyle Anzalone, "US General Says Weapons Stockpiles 'Dangerously Low,' Calls for Production Boost," Libertarian Institute, July 17, 2023, https://libertarianinstitute.org/news/us-general-says-weapons-stockpiles-dangerously-low-calls-for-production-boost.
- **1045** Natasha Bertrand, et al., "US and NATO grapple with critical ammo shortage for Ukraine," CNN, July 18, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/07/18/politics/ukraine-critical-ammo-shortage-us-nato-grapple/index.html.
- **1046** Lara Jakes, "For Western Weapons, the Ukraine War Is a Beta Test," *New York Times*, November 15, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/11/15/world/europe/ukraine-weapons.html.
- **1047** Aditi Ramaswami and Andrew Perez, "The Defense Industry's Ukraine Pundits," Lever News, April 12, 2022, https://levernews.com/the-defense-industrys-ukraine-pundits.
- **1048** "Jeh Johnson," Lockheed, https://lockheedmartin.com/en-us/who-we-are/leadership-governance/board-of-directors/jeh-johnson.html.
- 1049 "Leon Panetta," Beacon Global Strategies, https://bgsdc.com/team/leon-panetta.
- 1050 "James Stavridis," Carlyle Group, https://carlyle.com/about-carlyle/team/admiral-james-stavridis.
- **1051** David Barstow, "One Man's Military-Industrial-Media Complex," *New York Times*, November 29, 2008, https://nytimes.com/2008/11/30/washington/30general.html.
- 1052 "David Petraeus," KKR, https://kkr.com/our-firm/leadership/david-h-petraeus.
- 1053 "Michèle Flournoy," Booz Allen, https://boozallen.com/e/bio/board-of-directors/michele-flournoy.html; Eric Lipton and Kenneth Vogel, "Biden Aides' Ties to Consulting and Investment Firms Pose Ethics Test," *New York Times*, November 28, 2020,

https://nytimes.com/2020/11/28/us/politics/biden-westexec.html.

- **1054** Kenneth Vogel and Eric Lipton, "Corporations and Foreign Nations Pivot to Lobby Biden," *New York Times*, November 17, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/11/17/us/politics/corporations-and-foreign-nations-pivot-to-lobby-biden.html.
- **1055** Libby Emmons and Jack Posobiec, "Alexander Vindman Secretly Pitching Ukrainian Military for Millions in Defense Contracts," Human Events, March 2, 2023,
- $\frac{https://humanevents.com/2023/03/02/exclusive-alexander-vindman-secretly-pitching-ukrainian-military-for-millions-in-defense-contracts.}$
- 1056 Tweet by Alexander Vindman, March 3, 2023,
- https://x.com/AVindman/status/1631679969423237121.
- **1057** Paul McLeary, "Vindman leads new push to send military contractors to Ukraine," *Politico*, February 2, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/02/vindman-leads-new-push-to-send-military-contractors-to-ukraine-00081016.
- **1058** Staff, "AP Race Call: Democrat Eugene Vindman wins election to US House in Virginia's 7th Congressional District," AP, November 6, 2024, https://apnews.com/live/senate-house-election-updates-11-5-2024#00000193-03cb-d7a2-a1bb-93cb50d20000.
- **1059** Victoria Churchill, "Democratic House candidate Eugene Vindman won't answer questions about business he started after 14 taxpayer-funded trips to Ukraine," *New York Post*, October 25, 2024, https://nypost.com/2024/10/25/us-news/democratic-house-candidate-eugene-vindman-wont-answer-questions-about-business-he-started-after-14-taxpayer-funded-trips-to-ukraine.

- **1060** Staff, "Europeans want peace, not sanctions," Századvég, December 20, 2022, https://szazadveg.hu/en/2022/12/20/europeans-want-peace-not-sanctions~n3420.
- **1061** "Mexico's Peace Proposal for Ukraine," Telesur, September 16, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220917000127/https://telesurenglish.net/news/Mexicos-Peace-Proposal-for-Ukraine-20220916-0012.html.
- 1062 "Call for a Christmas Truce in Ukraine!" PeaceInUkraine.org,
- https://peaceinukraine.org/christmas_truce_in_ukraine; Marcy Winograd, "Letter to the Left on Ukraine," December 2, 2022, https://marcywinograd.medium.com/letter-to-the-left-on-ukraine-6a9d91b630a.
- **1063** Guy Faulconbridge, "Putin orders ceasefire in Ukraine over Orthodox Christmas Kremlin," Reuters, January 5, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-will-cease-fire-ukraine-orthodox-christmas-kremlin-2023-01-05.
- **1064** Pjotr Sauer, "Ukraine rejects Putin's 36-hour ceasefire for Orthodox Christmas," *Guardian*, January 5, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/05/putin-orders-36-hour-truce-in-ukraine-for-orthodox-christmas.
- **1065** Staff, "Fighting never stopped as Russia's Orthodox Christmas ceasefire ends," France 24, January 7, 2023, https://france24.com/en/europe/20230107-live-what-ceasefire-shells-fly-at-ukraine-front-despite-putin-s-truce.
- 1066 "China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis," Chinese Foreign Ministry, February 24, 2023, https://fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/202302/t20230224_11030713.html. 1067 Staff, "Ukraine welcomes some Chinese ceasefire 'thoughts,' insists on Russian withdrawal," Reuters, February 24, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/ukraine-says-its-open-some-parts-china-ceasefire-proposal-2023-02-24.
- **1068** "Biden says China negotiating Russia-Ukraine peace deal 'not rational,'" *The Hill*, February 26, 2023, https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/3874833-biden-says-china-negotiating-russia-ukraine-peace-deal-not-rational.
- **1069** Marita Vlachou, "Antony Blinken Says China 'Can't Have It Both Ways' On Russia's War In Ukraine," Yahoo News, March 1, 2023, https://news.yahoo.com/antony-blinken-says-china-cant-160943078.html.
- **1070** Staff, "Ukraine sees some merit in Chinese peace plan," Reuters, February 24, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/china-wants-prevent-ukraine-crisis-getting-out-control-2023-02-24.
- **1071** Staff, "White House calls potential Russian ceasefire in Ukraine 'unacceptable' ahead of China meeting," Global News, March 19, 2023, https://globalnews.ca/video/9563322/white-house-calls-potential-russian-ceasefire-in-ukraine-unacceptable-ahead-of-china-meeting.
- **1072** Edward Wong, "In First Wartime Meeting, Blinken Confronts His Russian Counterpart," *New York Times*, March 2, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/02/world/europe/ukraine-blinken-lavrov-g20.html.
- **1073** Secretary Antony J. Blinken, "Remarks on the 2022 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," US State Department, March 20, 2023, https://state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-on-the-2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices.
- **1074** Clea Caulcutt, "China has key role in finding 'path to peace' in Ukraine, Macron says," *Politico Europe*, April 5, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/china-role-peace-ukraine-russia-war-france-president-emmanuel-macron.
- **1075** Hans Kristensen, "Chinese Nuclear Forces, 2024: A 'Significant Expansion," Federation of American Scientists, January 16, 2024, https://fas.org/publication/chinese-nuclear-forces-2024-a-significant-expansion.
- **1076** Valerie Hopkins, et al., "Putin and Xi Celebrate Ties Unbroken by Russia's War in Ukraine," *New York Times*, March 20, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/20/world/europe/putin-xi-russia-china.html.

- **1077** Francis Fukuyama, et al., "Letter to President George W. Bush," Project for a New American Century, September 20, 2001, https://scotthorton.org/pnac/letter-to-president-bush-on-the-war-on-terrorism.
- **1078** Jim Lobe, "Leninists!' Cries Neocon Nabob, Suing for Divorce," Antiwar.com, February 23, 2006, https://original.antiwar.com/lobe/2006/02/23/leninists-cries-neocon-nabob-suing-for-divorce.
- **1079** Francis Fukuyama, "Why Ukraine Will Win," *The Journal of Democracy*, September 8, 2022, https://journalofdemocracy.org/why-ukraine-will-win.
- **1080** "Faculty Salary By Academic Rank at Stanford University," UnivStats, https://univstats.com/salary/stanford-university/faculty.
- 1081 See above.
- **1082** Jennifer Brown, "The cost of 5 common grocery items has gone up 35% in Colorado in 5 years. Here's the breakdown," *Colorado Sun*, November 12, 2023, https://coloradosun.com/2023/11/12/cost-common-grocery-items-colorado; Laura Beck, "Here's How Much Grocery Prices Have Increased Since the Last Election," GO Banking Rates, May 5, 2024,
- https://gobankingrates.com/money/economy/how-much-grocery-prices-have-increased-since-last-election.
- **1083** Staff, "Inflation and Rising Food Prices: How Does Federal Food Assistance Change?" Government Accountability Office, January 19, 2023, https://gao.gov/blog/inflation-and-rising-food-prices-how-does-federal-food-assistance-change.
- **1084** President Joe Biden, "What America Will and Will Not Do in Ukraine," *New York Times*, May 31, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/05/31/opinion/biden-ukraine-strategy.html.
- **1085** Nathan Rott, et al., "With winter approaching, Ukraine prepares to fight on frozen ground," NPR News, November 16, 2022, https://npr.org/2022/11/16/1136014801/ukraine-prepares-winter-russia-war.
- **1086** Cristian Segura, "Ukraine in race against time to launch spring offensive with NATO-supplied tanks," *El País*, January 26, 2023, https://english.elpais.com/international/2023-01-26/ukraine-in-race-against-time-to-launch-spring-offensive-with-nato-supplied-tanks.html.
- **1087** Tracey Shelton, "Why Ukraine's spring offensive still hasn't begun with summer just weeks away," AP, May 19, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-counteroffensive-war-attack-b962aba2b779044d22b11dab719f1614.
- **1088** Tracey Shelton, "What is Ukraine waiting for before beginning the much-anticipated 'spring offensive'?" ABC News Australia, May 12, 2023, https://abc.net.au/news/2023-05-13/when-is-ukraine-spring-counteroffensive-coming/102317228.
- **1089** Leslie Gelb, et al., *The Pentagon Papers*, National Archives, January 15, 1969, https://archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers.
- **1090** Craig Whitlock, et al., "The Afghanistan Papers," *Washington Post*, December 9, 2019, https://washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/documents-database.
- **1091** Karen DeYoung, et al., "Leaked documents warn of weaknesses in Ukraine's defenses," *Washington Post*, April 8, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/04/08/leak-documents-ukraine-air-defense; Yaroslav Trofimov, "Ukraine May Run Out of Air Defenses by May, Leaked Pentagon Documents Warn," *Wall Street Journal*, April 9, 2023,
- $\underline{https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-may-run-out-of-air-defenses-by-may-leaked-Pentagon-documents-warn-b96b0655.}$
- **1092** Adam Taylor, "Russia can fund war in Ukraine for another year despite sanctions, leaked document says," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2023,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/04/26/russia-sanctions-impact-leaked-documents.
- **1093** Jonathan Lemire and Alexander Ward, "Biden's team fears the aftermath of a failed Ukrainian counteroffensive," *Politico*, April 24, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/04/24/biden-ukraine-russia-counteroffensive-defense-00093384; Jeremy Herb, "Leaked Pentagon documents suggest US is

pessimistic Ukraine can quickly end war against Russia," CNN, April 12, 2023,

https://cnn.com/2023/04/11/politics/pentagon-documents-ukraine-war-assessment/index.html.

1094 Alex Horton (no relation), et al., "US doubts Ukraine counteroffensive will yield big gains, leaked document says," *Washington Post*, April 10, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/04/10/leaked-documents-ukraine-counteroffensive.

1095 Dan Lamothe and Shane Harris, "Accused leaker Teixeira was seen as potential mass shooter, probe finds," *Washington Post*, December 22, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/12/22/teixeira-investigation-active-shooter-threat.

1096 John Hudson and Missy Ryan, "US officials were 'furious' about leaks exposing Ukraine war concerns," *Washington Post*, December 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/12/13/ukraine-war-discord-leaks.

1097 Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt, "At US Base in Germany, Ukraine's Military Conducts War Games," *New York Times*, March 2, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/02/world/europe/ukraine-uswargames-germany.html.

1098 Jonathan Lemire and Alexander Ward, "Biden's team fears the aftermath of a failed Ukrainian counteroffensive," *Politico*, April 24, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/04/24/biden-ukraine-russia-counteroffensive-defense-00093384.

1099 Bojan Pancevski and Laurence Norman, "NATO's Biggest European Members Float Defense Pact With Ukraine," *Wall Street Journal*, February 24, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/natos-biggest-european-members-float-defense-pact-with-ukraine-38966950.

1100 Olafimihan Oshin, "Sullivan: US believes Ukrainians 'will meet with success' in counteroffensive," *The Hill*, June 4, 2023, https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/4033861-sullivan-us-believes-ukrainians-will-meet-with-success-in-counteroffensive.

1101 Alexander Ward and Ari Hawkins, "Ukraine's counteroffensive plan 'impressive,' Sen. Graham says," *Politico*, May 30, 2023, https://politico.com/newsletters/national-security-daily/2023/05/30/ukraines-counteroffensive-plan-impressive-sen-graham-says-00099230.

1102 Staff, "Stoltenberg: I Am Confident Ukraine Will Be Successful," RFERL, April 21, 2023, https://rferl.org/a/nato-ukraine-membership-battlefield-success/32374085.html.

1103 Interview of David Petraeus, CNN, May 23, 2023,

https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cnc/date/2023-05-23/segment/04.

1104 John Hudson and Missy Ryan, "US officials were 'furious' about leaks exposing Ukraine war concerns," *Washington Post*, December 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/12/13/ukraine-war-discord-leaks.

1105 Vasco Cotovio, et al., "Unfazed by strikes, Ukrainians gear up for a counteroffensive," CNN, May 30, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/05/30/europe/ukraine-counteroffensive-russia-preparations-intl/index.html.

1106 Bryce Greene, "Hyping Ukraine Counteroffensive, US Press Chose Propaganda Over Journalism," FAIR, September 15, 2023, https://fair.org/home/hyping-ukraine-counteroffensive-us-press-chose-propaganda-over-journalism; Ben Armbruster, "Why blind optimism leads us astray on Ukraine," Responsible Statecraft, September 5, 2023, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/ukraine-counteroffensive.

1107 Daniel L. Davis, "Truth, Lies and Afghanistan," *Armed Forces Journal*, February 1, 2012, http://armedforcesjournal.com/truth-lies-and-afghanistan.

1108 Daniel L. Davis, "Joe Biden Needs a New Ukraine War Strategy Now," 19FortyFive, May 2, 2023, https://19fortyfive.com/2023/05/joe-biden-needs-a-new-ukraine-war-strategy-now.

1109 Interview with author, Daniel L. Davis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, April 27, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/4-27-23-daniel-davis-on-the-actual-state-of-ukraines-forces.

- **1110** Staff, "Satellite Images Reveal Russian Defenses for Ukraine Counteroffensive," *Wall Street Journal*, September 4, 2024, https://wsj.com/video/series/on-the-news/why-gazas-philadelphi-corridor-is-obstructing-an-israel-hamas-cease-fire/7FAB7AD4-341A-4894-8D78-82E85FDA41D3.
- 1111 William Mauldin, "'Real Peace' for Ukraine Requires More Military Support, Blinken Says," *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/real-peace-for-ukraine-requires-more-military-support-blinken-says-ac1d637e.
- **1112** Roland Oliphant, "Ukraine may not be able to reclaim Crimea by force, US says," *Telegraph*, March 24, 2023, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2023/03/24/ukraine-reclaim-crimea-force-kyiv-secretary-state-antony-blinken.
- **1113** John M. Goshko, "Arafat PLO Accepts Israeli State," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1988, https://washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1988/12/08/arafat-plo-accepts-israeli-state/e0034b38-c5c1-4408-ac71-6a8c0efa22b9.
- 1114 Missy Ryan, "US rebuffs cease-fire calls in its strategy for Ukraine resilience," *Washington Post*, June 2, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/02/ukraine-russia-blinken-address-finland.
- 1115 Andrew Harding, "Ukraine war: Front-line troops discuss counter-offensive," BBC, July 7, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66121584.
- 1116 Samantha Schmidt and Serhii Korolchuk, "On front lines of Ukraine counteroffensive, soldiers pay heavy price," *Washington Post*, June 13, 2023,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/06/13/ukraine-counteroffensive-kryvyi-rih-donetsk.
- 1117 Max Colchester and James Marson, "Ukraine Counterattack Is Heavy Going, West Says, as Russia Resists," *Wall Street Journal*, July 5, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-counterattack-is-heavy-going-west-says-as-russian-resists-dc6fb4b4; James Marson, "Ukraine Adopts Slow Approach to Counteroffensive: 'Our Problem Everywhere Is the Sky," *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-adopts-slow-approach-to-counteroffensive-our-problem-everywhere-is-the-sky-a2e51d7a.
- **1118** Marcus Walker, "'Mines Everywhere': Ukraine's Offensive Is Proving a Hard Slog," *Wall Street Journal*, June 16, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/mines-everywhere-ukraines-offensive-is-proving-a-hard-slog-270a1e4a.
- 1119 Tweet by Rob Lee, June 9, 2023, https://x.com/RALee85/status/1667152744728395781.
- **1120** Senorpash, "Good quality video of destroying of Ukrainian army Leopards and Bradley in Zaporozhye," Reddit, June 9, 2023,
- https://reddit.com/r/CombatFootage/comments/1454hxy/good_quality_video_of_destroying_of_ukrainian.
- **1121** David Axe, "25 Tanks And Fighting Vehicles, Gone In A Blink: The Ukrainian Defeat Near Mala Tokmachka Was Worse Than We Thought," *Forbes*, June 27, 2023,
- $\frac{https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2023/06/27/25-tanks-and-fighting-vehicles-gone-in-a-blink-the-ukrainian-defeat-near-mala-tokmachka-was-worst-than-we-thought.}$
- 1122 Lara Jakes, et al., "After Suffering Heavy Losses, Ukrainians Paused to Rethink Strategy," *New York Times*, July 15, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/07/15/us/politics/ukraine-leopards-bradleys-counteroffensive.html.
- **1123** Daniel L. Davis, "Why Ukraine's counter-offensive is failing," Responsible Statecraft, July 19, 2023, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2023/07/19/why-ukraines-counter-offensive-is-failing.
- 1124 Jim Sciutto, "Early stages of Ukrainian counteroffensive 'not meeting expectations,' Western officials tell CNN," CNN, June 23, 2023, https://edition.cnn.com/2023/06/22/politics/ukraine-counteroffensive-western-assessment/index.html.
- **1125** Michael Birnbaum, et al., "In Ukraine, a war of incremental gains as counteroffensive stalls," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/04/ukraine-counteroffensive-stalled-russia-war-defenses.

- **1126** Staff, "Every 100m Cost 4-5 Men': Ukraine's Frontline Fighters Report Bloody Battles, Battered Morale," *Kyiv Post*, July 22, 2023, https://kyivpost.com/post/19707.
- 1127 Staff, "Ukraine's sluggish counter-offensive is souring the public mood," *The Economist*, August 20, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/08/20/ukraines-sluggish-counter-offensive-is-souring-the-public-mood.
- **1128** Staff, "Donald Trump will 'never' support Putin, says Volodymyr Zelensky," *The Economist*, September 10, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/09/10/donald-trump-will-never-support-putin-says-volodymyr-zelensky.
- **1129** Siobhán O'Grady, et al., "Slow counteroffensive darkens mood in Ukraine," *Washington Post*, August 10, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/08/10/ukraine-national-mood-counteroffensive-gloom.
- 1130 Lara Seligman, "No breakthrough yet in Ukraine's counteroffensive," *Politico*, August 1, 2023, https://politico.com/newsletters/national-security-daily/2023/08/01/no-breakthrough-yet-in-ukraines-counteroffensive-00109205.
- **1131** Interview with author, Daniel L. Davis, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, July 11, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/7-11-23-daniel-davis-on-the-counteroffensive-and-cluster-bombs.
- **1132** Ellie Cook, "Ukraine Bracing for Russia's Renewed Assault on Kharkiv," *Newsweek*, February 27, 2024, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-russia-attacks-kharkiv-kupiansk-1873750.
- **1133** Seymour Hersh, "Opera Buffa in Ukraine," Seymour Hersh Substack, July 27, 2023, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/opera-buffa-in-ukraine.
- 1134 Gareth Porter, "How the Myth Began Petraeus in Mosul," Truthout, November 27, 2012, https://truthout.org/articles/how-petraeus-created-the-myth-of-his-success; Gareth Porter, "How Petraeus Quietly Stoked the Fires of Sectarian War Without Getting Burned," Truthout, December 4, 2012, https://truthout.org/news/item/13122-how-petraeus-quietly-stoked-the-fires-of-sectarian-war-without-getting-burned; Gareth Porter, "Petraeus Rising: Managing the 'War of Perceptions' in Iraq," Truthout, December 14, 2012, https://truthout.org/articles/petraeus-rising-managing-the-war-of-perceptions-in-iraq; Gareth Porter, "True Believer: Petraeus and the Mythology of Afghanistan," Truthout, December 20, 2012, https://truthout.org/articles/believing-his-own-myth-petraeus-in-afghanistan; Mona Mahmood, et al., "From El Salvador to Iraq: Washington's man behind brutal police squads," https://theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/06/el-salvador-iraq-police-squads-washington; Kimberly Dozier, "Petraeus Tells CIA to Consult Troops on War in Afghanistan," AP, October 14, 2011, https://arkansasonline.com/news/2011/oct/14/petraeus-tells-cia-analysts-heed-troops-war; Shane Harris and Nancy Youssef, "Petraeus: Use Al Qaeda Fighters-to-beat-isis.
- **1135** David Ignatius, "Transcript: Gen. David H. Petraeus (US Army, Ret.), Co-Author, 'Conflict,'" *Washington Post*, December 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/washington-post-live/2023/12/01/transcript-gen-david-h-petraeus-us-army-ret-co-author-conflict.
- **1136** Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Ukraine short of skilled troops and munitions as losses, pessimism grow," *Washington Post*, March 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/03/13/ukraine-casualties-pessimism-ammunition-shortage.
- 1137 Lara Jakes, et al., "After Suffering Heavy Losses, Ukrainians Paused to Rethink Strategy," *New York Times*, July 15, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/07/15/us/politics/ukraine-leopards-bradleys-counteroffensive.html.
- 1138 Missy Ryan, et al., "Ukraine aims to sap Russia's defenses, as US urges a decisive breakthrough," *Washington Post*, July 18, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/07/18/ukraine-counter-offensive-weapons-tactics.
- **1139** James Marson, "Ukraine Adopts Slow Approach to Counteroffensive: 'Our Problem Everywhere Is the Sky," *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraine-adopts-slow-approach-to-counteroffensive-our-problem-everywhere-is-the-sky-a2e51d7a.

- **1140** Eric Schmitt, "US Cluster Munitions Arrive in Ukraine, but Impact on Battlefield Remains Unclear," *New York Times*, July 14, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/07/14/us/politics/ukraine-war-cluster-munitions.html.
- **1141** Daniel Michaels, "Ukraine's Lack of Weaponry and Training Risks Stalemate in Fight With Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraines-lack-of-weaponry-and-training-risks-stalemate-in-fight-with-russia-f51ecf9.
- **1142** Nagl was one of the most prominent of the "COINdinistas" who pushed so hard for the massive, failed "surge" of troops to Afghanistan in 2009–2012; Horton, *Fool's Errand*, 159–60.
- 1143 Daniel Michaels, "Ukraine's Lack of Weaponry and Training Risks Stalemate in Fight With Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraines-lack-of-weaponry-and-training-risks-stalemate-in-fight-with-russia-f51ecf9.
- **1144** Staff, "Ukraine's commander-in-chief on the breakthrough he needs to beat Russia," *The Economist*, November 1, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/11/01/ukraines-commander-in-chief-on-the-breakthrough-he-needs-to-beat-russia.
- 1145 Gordon Lubold, et al., "Ukraine's Stalled Offensive Puts Biden in Uneasy Political Position," *Wall Street Journal*, July 25, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraines-stalled-offensive-puts-biden-in-uneasy-political-position-6f686ab5; Daniel Michaels, "Ukraine's Slog Prompts Focus on Next Year's Fight," *Wall Street Journal*, August 13, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/ukraines-slog-prompts-focus-on-next-years-fight-d638cdf7.
- **1146** Thomas Gibbons-Neff, et al., "Weary Soldiers, Unreliable Munitions: Ukraine's Many Challenges," *New York Times*, July 23, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/07/23/world/europe/weary-soldiersunreliable-munitions-ukraines-many-challenges.html.
- **1147** Eric Schmitt and Helene Cooper, "Ukrainian Troops Trained by the West Stumble in Battle," *New York Times*, August 2, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/08/02/us/politics/ukraine-troops-counteroffensive-training.html.
- 1148 John Hudson and Alex Horton (no relation), "US intelligence says Ukraine will fail to meet offensive's key goal," *Washington Post*, August 17, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/08/17/ukraine-counteroffensive-melitopol.
- **1149** Eric Schmitt, et al., "Ukraine's Forces and Firepower Are Misallocated, US Officials Say," *New York Times*, August 22, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/08/22/us/politics/ukraine-counteroffensive-russia-war.html.
- **1150** John Hudson and Alex Horton (no relation), "US intelligence says Ukraine will fail to meet offensive's key goal," *Washington Post*, August 17, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/08/17/ukraine-counteroffensive-melitopol.
- 1151 Helene Cooper, et al., "Troop Deaths and Injuries in Ukraine War Near 500,000, US Officials Say," *New York Times*, August 18, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/08/18/us/politics/ukraine-russia-war-casualties.html.
- 1152 Alexander Ward, "Milley had a point," Politico, August 18, 2023,
- https://politico.com/newsletters/national-security-daily/2023/08/18/milley-had-a-point-00111878.
- 1153 Helene Cooper, et al., "Mutual Frustrations Arise in US-Ukraine Alliance," *New York Times*, March 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/07/us/politics/ukraine-us-military-frustrations.html.
- 1154 John Hudson and Shane Harris, "CIA director, on secret trip to Ukraine, hears plan for war's endgame," *Washington Post*, June 30, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/30/cia-director-burns-ukraine-counteroffensive.
- 1155 Josh Holder, "Who's Gaining Ground in Ukraine? This Year, No One," *New York Times*, September 28, 2023, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2023/09/28/world/europe/russia-ukraine-war-map-front-line.html.
- **1156** Nahal Toosi, "Ukraine could join ranks of 'frozen' conflicts, US officials say," *Politico*, May 18, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/05/18/ukraine-russia-south-korea-00097563.

- 1157 David Ignatius, "How the US sees Ukraine's push: No stalemate, but no breakthrough," *Washington Post*, August 27, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/08/27/ukraine-counteroffensive-russia-us-support-holds.
- 1158 Eve Sampson and Samuel Granados, "Ukraine is now the most mined country. It will take decades to make safe," *Washington Post*, July 22, 2023,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/07/22/ukraine-is-now-most-mined-country-it-will-take-decades-make-safe.
- 1159 Isabel van Brugen, "Every Russian Black Sea Ship Sunk or Disabled by Ukraine," *Newsweek*, March 31, 2024, https://newsweek.com/every-russian-black-sea-ship-sunk-damaged-ukraine-full-list-1884448; Yaroslav Trofimov, "Ukrainian Tactics Put Russia on the Defensive in the Black Sea," *Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2023, https://wsj.com/world/europe/ukrainian-tactics-put-russia-on-the-defensive-in-the-black-sea-4d3f492d.
- 1160 Michael Birnbaum, et al., "Miscalculations, divisions marked offensive planning by US, Ukraine," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/04/ukraine-counteroffensive-us-planning-russia-war; Michael Birnbaum, et al., "In Ukraine, a war of incremental gains as counteroffensive stalls," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2023,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/04/ukraine-counteroffensive-stalled-russia-war-defenses.}$
- **1161** Carlotta Gall, et al., "Ukrainian Marines on 'Suicide Mission' in Crossing the Dnipro River," *New York Times*, December 16, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/16/world/europe/ukraine-kherson-river-russia.html.
- **1162** Quentin Sommerville, "Dying by the dozens every day' Ukraine losses climb," BBC, August 28, 2023, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-66581217.
- 1163 Staff, "Putin's already lost the war,' says Biden," *Le Monde*, July 14, 2023, https://lemonde.fr/en/united-states/article/2023/07/14/putin-s-already-lost-the-war-says-biden 6052643 133.html.
- 1164 Karen DeYoung, et al., "US war plans for Ukraine don't foresee retaking lost territory," *Washington Post*, January 26, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/01/26/ukraine-war-plan-biden-defense.
- **1165** Valerii Zaluzhnyi, "Ukraine's army chief: The design of war has changed," CNN, February 8, 2024, https://edition.cnn.com/2024/02/01/opinions/ukraine-army-chief-war-strategy-russia-valerii-zaluzhnyi/index.html.
- 1166 Dmytro Basmat, "Zelensky announces new chief of general staff," Kyiv Independent, February 9, 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/zelensky-replaces-chief-of-general-staff; President Volodymyr Zelensky, "Starting today, a new management team takes over the leadership of the Armed Forces of Ukraine," February 8, 2024, https://president.gov.ua/en/news/vidsogodni-do-kerivnictva-zbrojnimi-silami-ukrayini-pristupa-88857.
- 1167 Veronika Melkozerova, et al., "Zelenskyy's new top commander has a reputation as a 'butcher," *Politico Europe*, February 9, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/oleksandr-syrskyi-ukraine-commander-in-chief-butcher-volodymyr-zelenskyy-war-russia.
- **1168** Staff, "Ukraine's commander-in-chief on the breakthrough he needs to beat Russia," *The Economist*, November 1, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/11/01/ukraines-commander-in-chief-on-the-breakthrough-he-needs-to-beat-russia.
- **1169** "Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 5, 2024, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf.
- **1170** James Bickerton, "Kari Lake Accuses Zelensky of Threatening US," *Newsweek*, September 13, 2023, https://newsweek.com/kari-lake-accuses-zelensky-threatening-us-1826687.

- **1171** Staff, "Donald Trump will 'never' support Putin, says Volodymyr Zelensky," *The Economist*, September 10, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/09/10/donald-trump-will-never-support-putin-says-volodymyr-zelensky.
- 1172 See Chapter Four.
- 1173 Kit Klarenberg, "Meet Centuria, Ukraine's Western-trained Neo-Nazi Army," Grayzone, April 7, 2024, https://thegrayzone.com/2024/04/07/centuria-ukraines-western-neo-nazi-army.
- **1174** Staff, "Donald Trump will 'never' support Putin, says Volodymyr Zelensky," *The Economist*, September 10, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/09/10/donald-trump-will-never-support-putin-says-volodymyr-zelensky.
- 1175 Josh Lederman, "Former US officials have held secret Ukraine talks with prominent Russians," NBC News, July 6, 2023, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/former-us-officials-secret-ukraine-talks-russians-war-ukraine-rcna92610.
- 1176 Richard Haass and Charles Kupchan, "The West Needs a New Strategy in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, April 13, 2023, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/russia-richard-haass-west-battlefield-negotiations; Kupchan had opposed NATO expansion back in the Clinton years. See Chapter Two. 1177 Barnett Rubin, "A Tale of Two Skepticisms: Fighting and Talking with the Taliban During the Obama Years," War on the Rocks, February 26, 2020, https://warontherocks.com/2020/02/a-tale-of-two-skepticisms-fighting-and-talking-with-the-taliban-during-the-obama-years.
- 1178 Dan Sabbagh and David Smith, "Secret US-Russia talks over Ukraine 'not sanctioned by Biden administration," *Guardian*, July 7, 2023, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2023/jul/07/russia-us-talks-ukraine-war-biden.
- **1179** Richard Haass, "Jaw to Jaw: Meeting with Russia," Home and Away, July 7, 2023, https://richardhaass.substack.com/p/jaw-to-jaw-meeting-with-russia-july.
- **1180** Cameron Manley, "Former US Official Shares Details of Secret 'Track 1.5' Diplomacy With Moscow," *Moscow Times*, July 27, 2023, https://themoscowtimes.com/2023/07/26/former-us-official-shares-details-of-secret-track-15-diplomacy-with-moscow-a81972.
- **1181** Cameron Manley, "Former US Official Shares Details of Secret 'Track 1.5' Diplomacy With Moscow," *Moscow Times*, July 27, 2023, https://themoscowtimes.com/2023/07/26/former-us-official-shares-details-of-secret-track-15-diplomacy-with-moscow-a81972.
- 1182 James Politi and Isobel Koshiw, "Jake Sullivan says US military aid will help Ukraine mount counteroffensive in 2025," *Financial Times*, May 5, 2024, https://ft.com/content/6fd11006-01db-4548-96d6-76343f38aea8.
- 1183 Richard Haass, "Defining Success in Ukraine," Project Syndicate, May 15, 2024, https://project-syndicate.org/commentary/defining-success-in-ukraine-facing-russian-offensive-by-richard-haass-2024-05.
- **1184** Pjotr Sauer and Andrew Roth, "Putin sides with military chiefs over placing Wagner under direct control," *Guardian*, June 14, 2023, https://theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/14/vladimir-putin-sides-with-military-chiefs-placing-wagner-under-direct-control.
- 1185 Anne Applebaum, "Russia Slides Into Civil War," *The Atlantic*, June 24, 2023, https://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2023/06/russia-civil-war-wagner-putin-coup/674517; Max Butterworth, "Photos: 24 hours that took Russia to the brink of civil war," NBC News, June 26, 2023, https://nbcnews.com/news/photo/photos-russia-mercenary-rebellion-prigozhin-putin-rcna91088.
- **1186** Staff, "Russian mercenary boss Prigozhin to move to Belarus under Wagner deal, Kremlin says," Reuters, June 24, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russian-mercenary-boss-prigozhin-move-belarus-under-wagner-deal-kremlin-says-2023-06-24.
- **1187** Guy Faulconbridge and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Putin suggests plane of Wagner boss Prigozhin was blown up by hand grenades on board," Reuters, October 5, 2023,
- $\underline{https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-hand-grenade-fragments-found-bodies-prigozhin-plane-crash-\underline{2023-10-05}.$

- 1188 Anton Troianovski and Anatoly Kurmanaev, "Putin's New War Weapon: An Economist Managing the Military," *New York Times*, May 13, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/13/world/europe/russia-defense-minister-ukraine-belousov.html; Staff, "A Timeline of Russia's Defense Ministry Purge," *Moscow Times*, July 25, 2024, https://themoscowtimes.com/2024/07/25/a-timeline-of-russias-defense-ministry-purge-a85216.
- 1189 Lucian Kim, "Prigozhin's Mutiny Is the Beginning of Putin's End," *Foreign Policy*, June 24, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/06/24/prigozhin-wagner-rebellion-putin-russia-politics-ukraine-war;; Keren Yarhi-Milo, et al., "Is this the beginning of the end for Putin?" Columbia SIPA, June 27, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=REE3msL2Xx0; Liana Fix and Michael Kimmage, "The Beginning of the End for Putin?" *Foreign Affairs*, June 27, 2023, https://foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/beginning-end-putin-prigozhin-rebellion.
- **1190** Guy Faulconbridge, "CIA says wartime Russia is a rare spy-recruiting opportunity," Reuters, July 1, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/cia-says-russia-is-recruiting-opportunity-disaffection-with-war-rises-2023-07-01.
- **1191** Evelyn Farkas, "The US Must Prepare for War Against Russia Over Ukraine," Defense One, January 11, 2022, https://defenseone.com/ideas/2022/01/us-must-prepare-war-against-russia-over-ukraine/360639.
- 1192 Helene Cooper, "US Considers Backing an Insurgency if Russia Invades Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 14, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/01/14/us/politics/russia-ukraine-biden-military.html.
- **1193** Tom O'Connor and Naveed Jamali, "A Year After 1/6, Ukraine's War Draws US Far-Right to Fight Russia, Train for Violence at Home," *Newsweek*, January 5, 2022, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-war-draws-us-far-right-fight-russia-violence-home-1665027.
- **1194** Andrew Kramer, "Ukraine Targets Bases Deep in Russia, Showing Expanded Reach," *New York Times*, December 5, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/12/05/world/europe/ukraine-russia-military-bases.html.
- **1195** Staff, "Inside Ukraine's drone war against Putin," *The Economist*, August 27, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/08/27/inside-ukraines-drone-war-against-putin.
- 1196 Edelman was Vice President Dick Cheney's national security adviser from the beginning of the George W. Bush administration through the beginning of Iraq War II, and later deputy secretary of defense for policy where he helped to oversee the final failure of that war. "Eric S. Edelman, Senior Advisor," Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, https://fdd.org/team/eric-s-edelman.
- 1197 Michael Evans and Marc Bennetts, "Pentagon gives Ukraine green light for drone strikes inside Russia," London *Times*, December 9, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ukraine-drone-warfare-russia-732jsshpx.
- **1198** Isobel Koshiw, et al., "Drones hit Moscow, shocking Russian capital after new missile attack on Kyiv," *Washington Post*, May 30, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/30/moscow-drones-kyiv-russia-counteroffensive.
- 1199 David Axe, "Watch 400 Shahed Attack Drones Explode At The Same Time In Southern Russia," Forbes, October 9, 2024, https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2024/10/09/russia-has-acquired-more-than-8000-shahed-attack-drones-from-iran-ukraine-may-have-blown-up-five-percent-of-them-in-a-single-attack; Tweet by Anton Gerashchenko, October 3, 2024,
- https://x.com/Gerashchenko en/status/1841771478510895340.
- **1200** David Ignatius, "Zelensky: 'We are trying to find some way not to retreat," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/03/29/ignatius-zelensky-interview-ukraine-aid-russia.
- **1201** Yuliya Talmazan, "Drones strike Moscow in first apparent attack on Russian capital's residential areas since Ukraine war began," NBC News, May 30, 2023, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/moscow-drone-attack-ukraine-russia-capital-putin-rcna86734.

1202 Fred Kagan, et al., "Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment," ISW, May 3, 2023, https://understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russian-offensive-campaign-assessment-may-3-2023. 1203 Holly Ellyatt, "False flag? Analysts say Russia 'likely staged' Kremlin drone attack it blamed on Ukraine and the West," CNBC, May 4, 2023, https://cnbc.com/2023/05/04/did-russia-stage-the-kremlin-drone-attack-it-blamed-on-ukraine-.html; Mike Eckel, "The Kremlin And The Drones: An Audacious Attack, A Provocation, A False Flag, Or Something Else?" RFERL, May 4, 2023, https://rferl.org/a/russia-kremlin-drone-attack-ukraine-provocation-false-flag/32396332.html; Mia Jankowicz, "There are big problems with the way the Kremlin drone incident went down, and war experts say Russia 'likely staged' it," Business Insider, May 4, 2023,

https://businessinsider.com/kremlin-drone-attack-likely-russia-false-flag-us-think-tank-2023-5.

1204 Julian Barnes, et al., "Ukrainians Were Likely Behind Kremlin Drone Attack, US Officials Say," *New York Times*, May 24, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/05/24/us/politics/ukraine-kremlin-drone-attack.html.

1205 Helene Cooper, et al., "Biden Administration Shrugs Off Ukraine's Attacks in Russia," *New York Times*, June 5, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/06/05/us/politics/ukraine-attacks-inside-russia.html.

1206 Jack Murphy, "Three Green Berets killed by ISIS infiltrator after CIA ignored warnings," Sofrep, November 16, 2016, https://sofrep.com/news/three-green-berets-killed-isis-infiltrator-cia-ignored-warnings.

1207 Jack Murphy, "Looser rules, more civilian deaths, a Taliban takeover: Inside America's failed Afghan drone campaign," Connecting Vets, August 24, 2021,

https://audacy.com/connectingvets/news/inside-america-failed-afghan-drone-campaign-against-taliban.

1208 Jack Murphy, "The CIA is using a European NATO ally's spy service to conduct a covert sabotage campaign inside Russia under the agency's direction, according to former US intelligence and military officials," JackMurphyWrites.com, December 24, 2022,

 $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20221225035808/https://jackmurphywrites.com/169/the-cias-sabotage-campaign-inside-russia.}$

1209 Staff, "Explosion in Russian border region derails freight train – governor," BBC, May 1, 2023, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-65448141; Marc Santora, "Ukraine, Stalled on the Front, Steps Up Sabotage, Targeting Trains," *New York Times*, December 31, 2023,

https://nytimes.com/2023/12/31/world/europe/ukraine-russia-train-sabotage.html.

1210 Kate Plummer, "Russian Ammunition Warehouse Destroyed in Massive Explosion," *Newsweek*, June 23, 2024, https://newsweek.com/russian-ammunition-warehouse-explosion-ukraine-1916221.

1211 David Hambling, "Russia Is Burning: Who Or What Is Behind The Fires?" *Forbes*, April 10, 2023, https://forbes.com/sites/davidhambling/2023/04/10/russia-is-burning-who-or-what-is-behind-the-fires.

1212 Mike Eckel, "The Ukrainian Fingerprints On A Shadowy Assassination Campaign On Russian Soil," RFERL, December 7, 2023, https://rferl.org/a/ukraine-russia-assassination-campaign/32721025.html.

1213 Marc Santora, "Ukraine, Stalled on the Front, Steps Up Sabotage, Targeting Trains," *New York Times*, December 31, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/31/world/europe/ukraine-russia-train-sabotage.html.

1214 Maxim Tucker, "How Kyiv's kill squads pick off commanders inside Russia," London *Times*, August 8, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/kyiv-kill-squads-pick-off-russian-commanders-behind-enemy-lines-zt675cvmn.

1215 Staff, "Russia Restoring Oil Refining Capacity Knocked Out by Drones," Reuters, April 15, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-restoring-oil-refining-capacity-knocked-out-by-drones-2024-04-15.

- **1216** John Hudson, "Ukraine's attacks on Russian oil refineries deepen tensions with US," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/04/15/ukraine-russia-oil-refinery-attacks.
- 1217 Samya Kullab, "Russia renews big attacks on Ukrainian power grid using better intelligence and new tactics," AP, April 5, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-power-plant-missiles-drones-94692e19900f60c2c3641c9352a416ed; Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Russia strikes power plants in heavy blow to Ukrainian electric grid," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/03/29/ukraine-russia-airstrikes-energy-war.
- **1218** Robert Wright, "Tom Cotton, Soldier in Bill Kristol's Proxy War Against Evil," Responsible Statecraft, January 20, 2020, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2020/01/19/tom-cotton-soldier-in-bill-kristols-proxy-war-against-evil.
- **1219** John Hudson, "Ukraine's attacks on Russian oil refineries deepen tensions with US," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/04/15/ukraine-russia-oil-refinery-attacks.
- **1220** Gabriel Gavin, "Ukraine declares war on Russia's Black Sea shipping," *Politico Europe*, August 8, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/ukraine-declares-war-on-russia-black-sea-shipping.
- **1221** "Black Sea Grain Initiative extended," UNCTAD, March 19, 2023, https://unctad.org/news/black-sea-grain-initiative-extended.
- 1222 Hanna Arhirova and Emma Burrows, "Ukraine says its drones damaged a Russian warship, showing Kyiv's growing naval capabilities," AP, August 4, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-drones-black-sea-407a02ccfb2b1951c5afe9ec2269eed8; Hanna Arhirova, "Russia promises retaliation after Ukrainian drones hit a Russian tanker in 2nd sea attack in a day," AP, August 5, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-drones-black-sea-crimea-d6ab9c0d71fe9d3d95e1af5953fe8d8a.
- **1223** Courtney Bonnell, "Russia suspends deal allowing Ukraine to export grain, destabilizing global food markets," AP, July 17, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-grain-food-security-ba7f9146b745337a1948a964cb30331c.
- **1224** Staff, "In Novorossiysk, a fire broke out in the cargo terminal," TASS, August 18, 2023, https://tass.ru/proisshestviya/18536059.
- **1225** Staff, "The Socio-Economic Repercussions of the Russia-Ukraine War on Yemen," Republic of Yemen Ministry of Planning & International Cooperation Economic Studies & Forecasting Sector, June 2022, https://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/documents/en-analytical_paper_3_the_socio-economic_repercussions_of_the_russia-ukraine_war_on_yemen.pdf.
- **1226** Horton, *Enough Already*, 235–56.
- **1227** Peyvand Khorsandi, "Yemen: Millions at risk as Ukraine war effect rocks region," World Food Program, March 14, 2022, https://wfp.org/stories/yemen-millions-risk-ukraine-war-effect-rocks-region. **1228** Horton, *Enough Already*, 235–56.
- **1229** "Remarks by Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield at a UN Security Council Briefing on Yemen," US Mission to the United Nations, April 14, 2022, https://usun.usmission.gov/remarks-by-ambassador-linda-thomas-greenfield-at-a-un-security-council-briefing-on-yemen-7.
- **1230** Martha Mundy, "Strategies of the Coalition in the Yemen War: Arial Bombardment and Food War," World Peace Foundation, October 9, 2018,
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20190126193348/https://sites.tufts.edu/wpf/strategies-of-the-coalition-in-the-yemen-war.}$
- **1231** Tyler Olson, "Graham calls on Russians to assassinate Putin: 'The only way this ends,'" Fox News, March 4, 2022, https://foxnews.com/politics/lindsey-graham-putin-assassinate.
- **1232** Nicholas Kristof, "Biden Should Give Ukraine What It Needs to Win," *New York Times*, February 18, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/02/18/opinion/biden-should-give-ukraine-what-it-needs-to-win.html.

- 1233 James Glanz and Marco Hernandez, "How Ukraine Blew Up a Key Russian Bridge," *New York Times*, November 17, 2022, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/17/world/europe/crimea-bridge-collapse.html; Staff, "Ukraine's SBU Claims Responsibility For October Crimea Bridge Blast," AP, July 26, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-russia-crimea-bridge-attack-ad96fa2012be846600b8c2c6481d9166.
- **1234** Peter Beaumont, "Putin warns of further retaliation as Ukraine hit by massive wave of strikes," *Guardian*, October 10, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/10/explosions-kyiv-ukraine-warrussia-crimea-putin-bridge.
- **1235** Staff, "Inside Odesa cathedral after Russian missile strike," BBC, July 25, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-europe-66283657; Gleb Garanich, "Odesa port infrastructure damaged in Russian air strikes," Reuters, July 18, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-launches-air-attacks-ukraines-air-force-2023-07-17.
- **1236** Dmitry Kozhurin, "Who Are The Neo-Nazis Fighting For Russia In Ukraine?" RFERL, May 27, 2022, https://rferl.org/a/russian-neo-nazis-fighting-ukraine/31871760.html.
- 1237 Lucas Webber, "Russian Volunteer Corps: the far-Right militia fighting Putin," UnHerd, March 7, 2023, https://unherd.com/thepost/russian-volunteer-corps-the-far-right-militia-fighting-putin; Staff, "Kremlin Accuses Ukrainian Saboteurs of Attack Inside Russia," AP, March 2, 2023, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2023-03-02/russian-strike-on-ukraine-apartment-block-kills-3-injures-6.
- **1238** Maxim Tucker and George Grylls, "Ukraine-backed partisans 'invade Russia and seize villages," London *Times*, May 22, 2023, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/ukraine-invade-belgarod-russia-bakhmut-putin-war-2023-60ncxnsg6; Christopher Miller, et al., "Militias used US armoured vehicles in attack over Russian border," *Financial Times*, May 23, 2023, https://ft.com/content/0b57c31b-814d-4554-91d8-d49b066cea69.
- **1239** Max Hunder, "Ukraine-backed anti-Kremlin fighters say they are still operating inside Russia," Reuters, March 21, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-backed-anti-kremlin-fighters-say-they-are-still-operating-inside-russia-2024-03-21.
- **1240** Peter Beaumont, "Ukraine has trained and armed Russian volunteers with Nato equipment," *Guardian*, May 23, 2023, <a href="https://theguardian.com/world/live/2023/may/23/russia-ukraine-war-live-updates-latest-news-belgorod-kremlin-russian-pm-china?page=with:block-646caf628f088e0216a83841#block-646caf628f088e0216a83841.
- **1241** Max Hunder, "Ukraine-backed anti-Kremlin fighters say they are still operating inside Russia," Reuters, March 21, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-backed-anti-kremlin-fighters-say-they-are-still-operating-inside-russia-2024-03-21.
- **1242** Max Seddon, "Russian far-right fighter claims border stunt exposes Putin's weakness," *Financial Times*, March 3, 2023, https://ft.com/content/c4ffe9b8-a3f5-4f33-a420-effe32754bbf.
- **1243** John Pike, "European Paramilitary Groups," Global Security, 2023, https://premium.globalsecurity.org/military//world/para/para-europe-list.htm.
- **1244** Phil Miller, "Russian neo-Nazi fighting Putin taught at far-right camp in UK," Declassified UK, June 8, 2023, https://declassifieduk.org/russian-neo-nazi-fighting-putin-taught-at-far-right-camp-in-uk.
- **1245** "Nazi Exodus: How Russian Nazis Ended Up in Ukraine," The Marker, November 24, 2021, https://violence-marker.org.ua/en/2021/11/24/nazi-exodus-how-russian-nazis-ended-up-in-ukraine.
- **1246** Phil Miller, "Revealed: Russian neo-Nazi leader obtained UK missiles in Ukraine," Declassified UK, May 17, 2023, https://declassifieduk.org/revealed-russian-neo-nazi-leader-obtained-uk-missiles-in-ukraine.
- 1247 Staff, "Anti-Putin paramilitary group says there will be more incursions into Russia," Sky News, May 25, 2023, https://news.sky.com/story/anti-putin-paramilitary-group-says-there-will-be-more-incursions-into-russia-12888773.

- **1248** Leonid Ragozin, "Vision of Russia's Future," BNE IntelliNews, March 30, 2023, https://intellinews.com/ragozin-vision-of-russia-s-future-274389.
- **1249** Oleg Sukhov, "Foreigners Who Fight And Die For Ukraine: Russians join Ukrainians to battle Kremlin in Donbas," *Kyiv Post*, April 24, 2015, https://archive.kyivpost.com/article/content/kyiv-post-plus/foreigners-who-fight-and-die-for-ukraine-russians-join-ukrainians-to-battle-kremlin-in-donbas-386999.html; Leonid Ragozin, "Brothers in Arms: Why Russian Ultranationalists Confronted Their Own Government on the Battlefields of Ukraine," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2017), 91–98, https://jstor.org/stable/26781493.
- 1250 Alexander Smith, "US distances itself from pro-Ukraine incursion into Russia that involved American military vehicles," NBC News, May 25, 2023, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/us-humvees-incursion-belgorod-russia-ukraine-attack-rcna85946; Staff, "Ukraine war: Kremlin says 20 dead after attack on Russian city," BBC, December 30, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-67847463.
- **1251** Jack Detsch, "Biden Is Still Worried About Poking the Russian Bear," *Foreign Policy*, June 8, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/08/us-russia-war-ukraine-military-defense. The same woman John Brennan picked to help write the phony ICA of January 2017. See Chapter Five.
- **1252** Thomas Gibbons-Neff, et al., "For Ukraine Military, Far-Right Russian Volunteers Make for Worrisome Allies," *New York Times*, March 26, 2023,
- https://nytimes.com/2023/05/26/world/europe/the-leader-of-a-russian-group-involved-in-a-border-incursion-is-described-by-watchdogs-as-a-neo-nazi.html.
- **1253** Jamie Dettmer, "Ukraine embraces far-right Russian 'bad guy' to take the battle to Putin," *Politico Europe*, April 3, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly-of-the-ukraine-war.
- **1254** Robert Greenall, "Darya Trepova: Russian woman jailed for 27 years for cafe bomb killing," BBC, January 25, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-68095875.
- **1255** Alexander Rubinstein, "'Legitimate target' Bellingcat defends terror attack at St. Petersburg café," Grayzone, April 3, 2023, https://thegrayzone.com/2023/04/03/bellingcat-terror-attack-st-petersburg-cafe.
- **1256** Tweet to author by Azov Movement Nazis, April 2, 2023, https://x.com/Azovsouth/status/1642577307272458242, https://archive.is/5PEih.
- **1257** Helene Cooper, et al., "US Warms to Helping Ukraine Target Crimea," *New York Times*, January 18, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/01/18/us/politics/ukraine-crimea-military.html.
- **1258** "Antony Blinken 'warns Ukraine' against retaking Crimea," *Telegraph*, February 16, 2023, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2023/02/16/ukraine-warned-against-attempting-retake-crimea-putin; Alexander Ward and Paul McLeary, "Blinken: Crimea a 'red line' for Putin as Ukraine weighs plans to retake it," *Politico*, February 15, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/02/15/blinken-crimea-ukraine-putin-00083149.
- **1259** Staff, "Nuland: US supports Ukraine striking targets in Crimea," Kyiv Independent, February 17, 2023, https://kyivindependent.com/nuland-us-supports-ukraine-striking-targets-in-crimea.
- **1260** Robert Dex, "Ukrainian soldiers could be in Crimea 'soon,' says top defence official," *London Evening Standard*, July 29, 2023, https://standard.co.uk/news/world/ukrainian-soldiers-crimea-top-defence-official-zelensky-kerch-bridge-b1097527.html.
- **1261** Matthew Impelli, "Ukraine Testing Weapons With Range Longer Than Biden Willing to Provide," *Newsweek*, January 13, 2023, https://newsweek.com/ukraine-testing-longer-range-drones-biden-willing-provide-1773753.
- **1262** Jeffrey Goldberg, "A Russian Defeat in Ukraine Could Save Taiwan," *The Atlantic*, July 25, 2022, https://theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/jake-sullivan-interview-china-russia-biden-foreign-policy/670930.

- **1263** Alexander Ward, "The US secretly sent long-range ATACMS to Ukraine—and Kyiv used them," *Politico*, April 24, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/04/24/us-long-range-missiles-ukraine-00154110.
- **1264** Daria Zubkova, "There cannot be any 'beaches' and 'tourist zones' in Crimea Podoliak about explosions in Sevastopol," Ukrainian News, June 24, 2024, https://ukranews.com/en/news/1015440-.
- **1265** John Hudson and Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Zelensky, in private, plots bold attacks inside Russia, leak shows," *Washington Post*, May 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/05/13/zelensky-ukraine-war-leaked-documents.
- **1266** Lara Seligman, "US says Ukraine can hit inside Russia 'anywhere' its forces attack across the border," *Politico*, June 20, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/06/20/us-says-ukraine-can-hit-inside-russia-anywhere-00164261.
- **1267** See below.
- **1268** Shane Harris, et al., "Road to war: US struggled to convince allies, and Zelensky, of risk of invasion," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/interactive/2022/ukraine-road-to-war.
- **1269** Karen DeYoung, et al., "Biden approves cluster munition supply to Ukraine," *Washington Post*, July 6, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/07/06/biden-cluster-bombs-ukraine. **1270** "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki," White House, February 28, 2022,
- https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2022/02/28/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-february-28-2022.
- **1271** Frank Gardner, "What are cluster bombs and why is US sending them to Ukraine?" BBC, July 7, 2023, https://bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-66133527.
- **1272** Jack Detsch and Robbie Gramer, "Turkey Is Sending Cold War-Era Cluster Bombs to Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, January 10, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/10/turkey-cold-war-cluster-bombs-ukraine.
- **1273** Lara Jakes and Eric Schmitt, "Ukrainians Embrace Cluster Munitions, but Are They Helping?" *New York Times*, September 7, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/09/07/world/europe/ukraine-cluster-munitions.html.
- 1274 Wang Kexin and Xie Wenting, "US cluster bombs continue to plague Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia," Global Times, July 18, 2023, https://globaltimes.cn/page/202307/1294611.shtml; Peter Alan Lloyd, "Remnants of the Secret War in Laos," The Diplomat, January 27, 2014, https://thediplomat.com/2014/01/remnants-of-the-secret-war-in-laos; Interview with author, Shuja Paul, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/1-28-21-shuja-paul-on-the-forgotten-bombs-of-americas-secret-war-on-laos.
- 1275 Philip J. Heijmans, "Asian nations affected by cluster bombs call on US not to send them to Ukraine," Bloomberg News, July 11, 2023, https://japantimes.co.jp/news/2023/07/11/asia-pacific/cluster-bomb-victims-rebuke-us-move; Hibah Ansari, "Hmong community recalls devastation of cluster bombs as Biden promises bombs for Ukraine," Sahan Journal, August 2, 2023, https://sahanjournal.com/culture-community/hmong-community-cluster-bombs-laos-vietnam-war-president-biden-ukraine.
- **1276** James Carden, "US a 'Co-belligerent' in Ukraine War, Legal Expert Says," Asia Times, April 19, 2022, https://asiatimes.com/2022/04/us-a-co-belligerent-in-ukraine-war-legal-expert-says.
- **1277** Erin Banco, et al., "Biden secretly gave Ukraine permission to strike inside Russia with US weapons," *Politico*, May 30, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/05/30/biden-ukraine-weapons-strike-russia-00160731.
- **1278** Lara Jakes, "Taking the Fight to Russia: The West Weighs Ukraine's Use of Its Weapons," *New York Times*, May 30, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/30/world/europe/ukraine-russia-weapons-strike.html.

- **1279** Lara Seligman, "US says Ukraine can hit inside Russia 'anywhere' its forces attack across the border," *Politico*, June 20, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/06/20/us-says-ukraine-can-hit-inside-russia-anywhere-00164261.
- **1280** Maria Varenikova, et al., "Ukraine Strikes Into Russia With Western Weapons, Official Says," *New York Times*, June 4, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/06/04/world/europe/ukraine-strikes-russia-western-weapons.html.
- **1281** Staff, "Russia Restricts Civilian Access to Villages in Border Region Shelled by Ukraine," Reuters, July 16, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-restricts-civilian-access-villages-border-region-shelled-by-ukraine-2024-07-16.
- **1282** Staff, "Putin warns West about consequences of long-range strikes on Russia," RT, May 28, 2024, https://rt.com/russia/598350-putin-serious-consequences-west.
- **1283** Isabel van Brugen, "Putin Ally Issues Nuclear Warning Over Ukraine's New F-16s," *Newsweek*, May 30, 2024, https://newsweek.com/sergei-lavrov-warning-nato-f-16-jets-ukraine-1906123.
- **1284** Max Thornberry, "Biden Invokes Possibility of 'Armageddon' in Democratic fundraiser speech," Fox News, October 6, 2022, https://foxnews.com/politics/biden-invokes-possibility-armageddon-democratic-fundraiser-speech.
- **1285** "Full transcript of the ABC News interview with President Joe Biden," ABC News, July 5, 2024, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/abc-news-anchor-george-stephanopoulos-exclusive-interview-biden/story?id=111695695.
- **1286** To get the complete, excised chapter, "Nuclear War," free, just sign up for the Institute or Scott Horton Show email list at libertarianinstitute.org/newsletter or scotthorton.org/subscribe.
- **1287** "Nuclear Testing Media Gallery," 1946–1970, Atomic Archive, https://atomicarchive.com/media/photographs/testing/us/index.html.
- 1288 Alex Wellerstein, "Nukemap," https://nuclearsecrecy.com/nukemap.
- **1289** Ethan Siegel, "Ask Ethan: How Can A Nuclear Bomb Be Hotter Than The Center Of Our Sun?" *Forbes*, April 14, 2022, https://forbes.com/sites/startswithabang/2020/03/28/ask-ethan-how-can-a-nuclear-bomb-be-hotter-than-the-center-of-our-sun; Interview with author, Ethan Siegel, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 16, 2022, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-22-ethan-siegel-hotter-than-the-sun.
- **1290** Chris Buckley, "What's the Difference Between a Hydrogen Bomb and a Regular Atomic Bomb?" *New York Times*, September 3, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/09/03/world/asia/north-korea-hydrogen-bomb.html.
- **1291** Alex Wellerstein, "An unearthly spectacle," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 29, 2021, https://thebulletin.org/2021/11/the-untold-story-of-the-worlds-biggest-nuclear-bomb.
- **1292** John H. Pendleton, et al., "Strategic Weapons: Changes in the Nuclear Weapons Targeting Process Since 1991," US Government Accountability Office, July 31, 2012, https://gao.gov/assets/gao-12-786r.pdf; "Nuclear Posture Review 2018," US Defense Department, February 2018, <a href="https://media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-nuclear-posture-review-final-1018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/20018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/20018/media.defense.gov/2018/feb/02/20018/media.defense.gov/2018/medea.gov/2018/media.defense.gov/2018/media.defense.gov/2018/media.
- report.pdf; Kelsey Davenport, "Nuclear Weapons: Who Has What at a Glance," Arms Control Association, July 2024, https://armscontrol.org/factsheets/nuclear-weapons-who-has-what-glance.
- **1293** Jack Detsch and Robbie Gramer, "Biden Administration Debates Legality of Arming Ukrainian Resistance," *Foreign Policy*, February 24, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/24/biden-legal-ukraine-russia-resistance.
- 1294 W.J. Hennigan, "The Brink," New York Times, March 7, 2024,
- https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/03/07/opinion/nuclear-war-prevention.html.
- **1295** See Chapter Two.
- **1296** "Retired General Explains How to Prevent Putin From Using Tactical Nuke," CNN, May 7, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=pwvY6Tm FqQ.

- **1297** Staff, "Putin Puts Russia's Nuclear Deterrent Forces On High Alert, Raising Tensions Further," RFERL, February 27, 2022, https://rferl.org/a/putin-russia-nuclear-deterrant-forces-alert/31726441.html.
- **1298** "Putin Says Russia May Add Nuclear First Strike to Strategy," Bloomberg News, December 9, 2022, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-12-09/putin-says-russia-may-add-nuclear-first-strike-to-strategy.
- **1299** "News conference following the visit to Kyrgyzstan," Kremlin, December 9, 2022, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/70061.
- **1300** Staff, "Putin says Russia could use nuclear weapons if it is threatened," Voice of America, June 5, 2024, https://voanews.com/a/putin-says-russia-could-use-nuclear-weapons-if-it-is-threatened/7644941.html.
- **1301** Rebecca Kheel, "Russian Military Still a Formidable Threat Despite Damaged Ground Forces, Defense Officials Say," Military.com, April 26, 2023, https://military.com/daily-news/2023/04/26/russian-military-still-formidable-threat-despite-damaged-ground-forces-defense-officials-say.html.
- **1302** Guy Faulconbridge, "Putin says tactical nuclear weapons to be deployed in Belarus in July," Reuters, June 9, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-deploy-tactical-nuclear-weapons-belarus-july-putin-says-2023-06-09.
- 1303 Shizuka Kuramitsu, "Russia 'Deratifies' Nuclear Test Ban Treaty," Arms Control Association, November 2, 2023, https://armscontrol.org/act/2023-11/news/russia-deratifies-nuclear-test-ban-treaty. 1304 Staff, "Russia will only resume nuclear tests if the US does it first, a top Russian diplomat says," AP, October 10, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/russia-putin-nuclear-test-parliament-ban-treaty-105906e065ea2ade6a4f7b930644be9e.
- **1305** Robert C. O'Brien, "The Return of Peace Through Strength," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien.
- **1306** Daryl G. Kimball, "The Looming Threat of Renewed US Nuclear Testing," *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2024, https://armscontrol.org/act/2024-07/focus/looming-threat-renewed-us-nuclear-testing.
- 1307 See below.
- **1308** W.J. Hennigan, "The Brink," *New York Times*, March 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/03/07/opinion/nuclear-war-prevention.html.
- **1309** "Biden Won't Send US Troops to Ukraine: 'That's World War III," Bloomberg Quicktake, March 11, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=MpMbBl24L0.
- **1310** Staff, "EU warns Russian army will be 'annihilated' if Putin uses nuclear weapon on Ukraine," AFP, October 13, 2022, https://timesofisrael.com/eu-warns-russian-army-will-be-annihilated-if-putin-uses-nuclear-weapon-on-ukraine.
- 1311 Staff, "Petraeus Tells CIA to Consult Troops on War in Afghanistan," AP, October 14, 2011, http://foxnews.com/world/2011/10/14/petraeus-tells-cia-to-consult-troops-on-war-in-afghanistan.html. 1312 Bill Chappell, "David Petraeus Enters Into Plea Deal With Justice Department," NPR News, March 3, 2015, https://npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/03/03/390443553/petraeus-enters-into-plea-agreement-on-criminal-charge.
- **1313** David Sanger, "Biden's Armageddon Moment: When Nuclear Detonation Seemed Possible in Ukraine," *New York Times*, March 9, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/09/us/politics/biden-nuclear-russia-ukraine.html.
- **1314** Edward Helmore, "Petraeus: US would destroy Russia's troops if Putin uses nuclear weapons in Ukraine," *Guardian*, October 2, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/oct/02/us-russia-putin-ukraine-war-david-petraeus; Olafimihan Oshin, "Petraeus predicts US would lead NATO response to 'take out' Russian forces if Putin uses nuclear weapon," *The Hill*, October 2, 2022,

- https://thehill.com/homenews/sunday-talk-shows/3671100-petraeus-predicts-us-would-lead-nato-response-to-take-out-russian-forces-if-putin-uses-nuclear-weapon.
- **1315** Max Seddon, et al., "Xi Jinping warned Vladimir Putin against nuclear attack in Ukraine," *Financial Times*, July 5, 2023, https://ft.com/content/c5ce76df-9b1b-4dfc-a619-07da1d40cbd3.
- **1316** Joshua Yaffa, "Inside the US Effort to Arm Ukraine," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2022, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2022/10/24/inside-the-us-effort-to-arm-ukraine.
- **1317** Isabelle Khurshudyan, "To defeat Russia, Ukraine's top commander pushes to fight on his terms," *Washington Post*, July 14, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/07/14/ukraine-military-valery-zaluzhny-russia.
- **1318** Samia Nakhoul, et al., "Putin says Russia does not need to use nuclear weapons for victory in Ukraine," Reuters, June 7, 2024, https://reuters.com/markets/europe/putin-calls-major-expansion-russian-financial-markets-cutting-use-western-2024-06-07.
- **1319** Julian E. Barnes and David E. Sanger, "US Considers Expanded Nuclear Arsenal, a Reversal of Decades of Cuts," *New York Times*, June 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/06/07/us/politics/us-nuclear-russia-china.html.
- **1320** Guy Faulconbridge, "Russia's Putin issues new nuclear warnings to West over Ukraine," Reuters, March 25, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/putin-update-russias-elite-ukraine-war-major-speech-2023-02-21.
- **1321** David Ljunggren, "Putin says Moscow to station nuclear weapons in Belarus, first time since 1990s," Reuters, March 25, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-says-moscow-has-deal-with-belarus-station-nuclear-weapons-there-tass-2023-03-25.
- **1322** David Ljunggren, "Belarus units complete training on Russian tactical nuclear missile systems," Reuters, April 22, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/belarus-units-complete-training-russian-tactical-nuclear-missile-systems-2023-04-22.
- **1323** W.J. Hennigan, "The Brink," *New York Times*, March 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/03/07/opinion/nuclear-war-prevention.html.
- 1324 Press Release, "Joint Statement from United States and Germany on Long-Range Fires Deployment in Germany," White House, July 10, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/07/10/joint-statement-from-united-states-and-germany-on-long-range-fires-deployment-in-germany; Steve Holland, et al., "US to start deploying long-range weapons in Germany in 2026," Reuters, July 10, 2024, https://reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/us-start-deploying-long-range-weapons-germany-2026-2024-07-10.
- **1325** Guy Faulconbridge and Dmitry Antonov, "Putin says Russia may resume global deployment of intermediate range missiles," Reuters, June 28, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-says-russia-resume-production-intermediate-range-missiles-2024-06-28.
- **1326** Guy Faulconbridge and Dmitry Antonov, "Putin warns the United States of Cold War-style missile crisis," Reuters, July 28, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/putin-warns-united-states-cold-war-style-missile-crisis-2024-07-28.
- **1327** Staff, "In a show of growing ties, Russian warships make a new visit to Cuban waters," AP, July 27, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russian-warships-visit-cuba-havana-fcddda9e9406a81b686d648d007b8757.
- **1328** Carlotta Gall, et al., "Avdiivka, Longtime Stronghold for Ukraine, Falls to Russians," *New York Times*, February 17, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/17/world/europe/ukraine-avdiivka-withdraw-despair.html.
- **1329** Julian Barnes, et al., "Hundreds of Ukrainian Troops Feared Captured or Missing in Chaotic Retreat," *New York Times*, February 20, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/20/us/politics/ukraine-prisoners-avdiivka-russia.html.

- **1330** Thomas Gibbons-Neff and Anatoly Kurmanaev, "In Ukraine, Russia Is Inching Forward Death by Death," *New York Times*, February 27, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/27/world/europe/russia-deaths-avdiivka-strategy.html.
- **1331** Tim Lister, "Russia's sheer mass proves too much for Ukraine in Avdiivka," CNN, February 17, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/02/17/europe/avdiivka-ukraine-russia-intl/index.html.
- **1332** Tom Watling, "The Russian glide bombs changing the face of the war in Ukraine," *Independent*, April 10, 2024, https://independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/glide-bomb-russia-ukraine-air-strikes-weapons-b2526347.html.
- **1333** Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
- **1334** Constant Méheut, "Ukraine Retreats From Villages on Eastern Front as It Awaits US Aid," *New York Times*, April 29, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/29/world/europe/ukraine-russia-warlatest.html.
- **1335** Staff, "Ukraine's commander-in-chief on the breakthrough he needs to beat Russia," *The Economist*, November 1, 2023, https://economist.com/europe/2023/11/01/ukraines-commander-in-chief-on-the-breakthrough-he-needs-to-beat-russia.
- 1336 See Chapter Five.
- **1337** Statement by Oleksii Arestovych, Telegram, November 28, 2023, https://t.me/O Arestovich official/4725.
- **1338** Sam Skove, "Another US precision-guided weapon falls prey to Russian electronic warfare, US says," Defense One, April 28, 2024, https://defenseone.com/threats/2024/04/another-us-precision-guided-weapon-falls-prey-russian-electronic-warfare-us-says/396141.
- 1339 Isabelle Khurshudyan and Alex Horton (no relation), "Russian jamming leaves some high-tech US weapons ineffective in Ukraine," *Washington Post*, May 24, 2024,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/24/russia-jamming-us-weapons-ukraine}.$
- **1340** David Axe, "A Russian Drone Spotted A Ukrainian Patriot Air-Defense Crew Convoying Near The Front Line. Soon, A Russian Hypersonic Missile Streaked Down," *Forbes*, March 9, 2024, https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2024/03/09/a-russian-drone-spotted-a-ukrainian-patriot-air-defense-crew-convoying-near-the-front-line-soon-a-russian-hypersonic-missile-streaked-down.
- **1341** Bojan Pancevski, "One Million Are Now Dead or Injured in the Russia-Ukraine War," *Wall Street Journal*, September 17, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/one-million-are-now-dead-or-injured-in-the-russia-ukraine-war-b09d04e5.
- **1342** Staff, "Ukraine: Worsening impact on civilians of Russia's attack, torture of prisoners of war," UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, October 1, 2024, https://ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2024/10/ukraine-worsening-impact-civilians-russias-attack-torture-prisoners.
- **1343** Ben Armbruster, et al., "The Ukraine War at two years: By the numbers," Responsible Statecraft, February 22, 2024, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/russia-ukraine-war-avdiivka.
- **1344** Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
- **1345** Staff, "It Will Be A Shock: Ukraine Lost 500,000 Soldiers In War So Far, Nearly 30,000 Per Month: Lutsenko Claims," Eurasian Times, January 7, 2024, https://eurasiantimes.com/it-will-be-a-shock-ukraine-lost-500000-soldiers-in-war.
- **1346** Constant Méheut, "Ukraine Starts Freeing Some Prisoners to Join Its Military," *New York Times*, May 24, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/24/world/europe/ukraine-russia-war-prisoners.html.
- 1347 Iain Marlow and Michael Nienaber, "US and G-7 Allies Now Expect War in Ukraine to Drag On for Years," Bloomberg News, September 19, 2023, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-09-19/us-allies-see-ukraine-war-grinding-on-need-for-long-term-plan.

- **1348** Alona Mazurenko, "Commander-in-Chief Zaluzhnyi asked Pentagon chief for 17 million rounds of ammunition," Ukrainska Pravda, December 4, 2023, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2023/12/4/7431543.
- **1349** Marc Bennetts, "Johnson embroiled in war of words over 'sabotaged' Ukraine peace deal," London *Times*, January 10, 2024, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/boris-johnson-ukraine-peace-talks-russia-war-k220zervf.
- **1350** Rose Gottemoeller and Michael Ryan, "Ukraine Has a Pathway to Victory," *Foreign Policy*, January 8, 2024, https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/01/08/ukraine-russia-war-victory-stalemate-strategy-weapons-congress-aid.
- **1351** Simon Shuster, "Nobody Believes in Our Victory Like I Do.' Inside Volodymyr Zelensky's Struggle to Keep Ukraine in the Fight," *Time*, October 30, 2023, https://time.com/6329188/ukraine-volodymyr-zelensky-interview.
- 1352 See above.
- 1353 "Transcript Ukraine in the Balance: A Battlefield Update on the War in Ukraine," Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 22, 2024, https://csis.org/analysis/ukraine-balance-battlefield-update-war-ukraine.
- **1354** Press Release, "Fact Sheet on US Security Assistance to Ukraine," US Defense Department, December 27, 2023, https://media.defense.gov/2023/Dec/27/2003366049/-1/-1/1/ukraine-fact-sheet-27-dec.pdf.
- **1355** Christopher Hurd, "Strengthened Army industrial base doubles artillery production," US Army News Service, November 14, 2023,
- https://army.mil/article/271572/strengthened_army_industrial_base_doubles_artillery_production. 1356 Max Colchester, "Alarm Grows Over Weakened Militaries and Empty Arsenals in Europe," *Wall Street Journal*, December 11, 2023, https://wsj.com/world/europe/alarm-nato-weak-military-empty-arsenals-europe-a72b23f4.
- 1357 Deborah Haynes and Adam Parker, "Iran's alleged ammunition for Russia's war in Ukraine: The secret journey of the cargo ships accused of supplying invasion," Sky News, March 8, 2023, https://news.sky.com/story/irans-alleged-ammunition-for-russias-war-in-ukraine-the-secret-journey-of-the-cargo-ships-accused-of-supplying-invasion-12828039.
- **1358** Hyonhee Shin, "North Korea has sent 6,700 containers of munitions to Russia, South Korea says," Reuters, February 27, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/north-korea-has-sent-6700-containers-munitions-russia-south-korea-says-2024-02-27.
- **1359** Katie Bo Lillis, et al., "Russia producing three times more artillery shells than US and Europe for Ukraine," CNN, March 11, 2024, https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2024/03/10/politics/russia-artillery-shell-production-us-europe-ukraine/index.html.
- **1360** Ben Armbruster, et al., "The Ukraine War at two years: By the numbers," Responsible Statecraft, February 22, 2024, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/russia-ukraine-war-avdiivka.
- **1361** "Expert: Emily Harding," Center for Strategic and International Studies, https://csis.org/people/emily-harding.
- 1362 Lara Seligman, et al., "Bombenomics: Biden admin circulates map showing states that benefit from Ukraine aid," *Politico*, November 29, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/11/29/biden-admin-map-states-benefit-ukraine-aid-00129068; Jonathan Lemire and Jennifer Haberkorn, "The White House is losing the messaging war on Ukraine. Now it's changing the message," *Politico*, October 25, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/10/25/biden-ukraine-aid-messaging-00123466.
- **1363** "Our Donors Corporations," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Accessed March 18, 2024, https://csis.org/about/financial-information/donors/corporations.
- **1364** "Transcript Ukraine in the Balance: A Battlefield Update on the War in Ukraine," Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 22, 2024, https://csis.org/analysis/ukraine-balance-battlefield-update-war-ukraine.

- 1365 Jamie Stengle and Josh Boak, "Biden wants people to know most of the money he's seeking for Ukraine would be spent in the US," AP, February 20, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/biden-ukraine-johnson-factories-aid-62cbb83a184fd14b1573e25a73475767.
- **1366** Transcript, "United States Secretary of State Antony Blinken Speaks with CNBC's Andrew Ross Sorkin," CNBC *Squawk on the Street*, January 16, 2024, https://cnbc.com/2024/01/16/cnbc-exclusive-cnbc-transcript-united-states-secretary-of-state-antony-blinken-speaks-with-cnbcs-andrew-ross-sorkin-from-the-world-economic-forum-in-davos-switzerland-on-squawk-on-the-street-today.html.
- **1367** Tweet by Tom Elliot, "Victoria Nuland on More Ukraine Spending," CNN, February 24, 2024, https://x.com/tomselliott/status/1761451250954989687.
- **1368** Paul McLeary, "Vindman leads new push to send military contractors to Ukraine," *Politico*, February 2, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/02/02/vindman-leads-new-push-to-send-military-contractors-to-ukraine-00081016; Tweet by Alexander Vindman, February 7, 2024, https://x.com/AVindman/status/1755414865915654342.
- **1369** Tweet by Senator Mitch McConnell, September 7, 2023, https://x.com/LeaderMcConnell/status/1699825906846437784.
- **1370** Halyna Yanchenko, "US Aid to Ukraine Helps the American Economy and Boosts US Jobs," Woodrow Wilson Center, November 20, 2023, https://wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/us-aid-ukraine-helps-american-economy-and-boosts-us-jobs; Sean Carberry, "Why Ukraine Assistance Is US Assistance," *National Defense*, December 18, 2023,
- $\underline{https://national defense magazine.org/articles/2023/12/18/budget-matters-why-ukraine-assistance-is-us-assistance.}$
- **1371** Rick Paulas, "Americans living in their cars are finding refuge in 'safe parking lots," *Guardian*, January 5, 2024, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2024/jan/05/safe-overnight-parking-lot-sleep-in-car-rv-homelessness-housing-shelter.
- **1372** President Joe Biden interview Transcript, *Time*, May 28, 2024, https://time.com/6984968/joe-biden-transcript-2024-interview.
- **1373** Kwan Wei Kevin Tan, "Russia's army is now 15% bigger than when it invaded Ukraine, says US general," Business Insider, April 11, 2024, https://businessinsider.com/russias-army-15-percent-larger-when-attacked-ukraine-us-general-2024-4.
- **1374** Richard Fontaine, "AUKUS: Securing the Indo-Pacific, A Conversation with Kurt Campbell," Center for a New American Security, April 3, 2024, https://cnas.org/publications/transcript/aukus-securing-the-indo-pacific-a-conversation-with-kurt-campbell.
- **1375** Rebecca Kheel, "Russian Military Still a Formidable Threat Despite Damaged Ground Forces, Defense Officials Say," Military.com, April 26, 2023, https://military.com/daily-news/2023/04/26/russian-military-still-formidable-threat-despite-damaged-ground-forces-defense-officials-say.html.
- **1376** Guy Faulconbridge, "Russia Says Its Production of Artillery Shells Has Soared by Nearly 150% in a Year," Reuters, March 21, 2024, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2024-03-21/russia-says-its-production-of-artillery-shells-has-soared-by-nearly-150-in-a-year.
- **1377** Julian Barnes, et al., "Russia Overcomes Sanctions to Expand Missile Production, Officials Say," *New York Times*, September 13, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/09/13/us/politics/russia-sanctions-missile-production.html.
- **1378** Georgi Kantchev, "Russia's Economy Goes All In on War," *Wall Street Journal*, October 6, 2023, https://wsj.com/world/russia/putin-redirects-russias-economy-to-war-production-1e14265f.
- **1379** Georgi Kantchev, "Russia's Economy Goes All In on War," *Wall Street Journal*, October 6, 2023, https://wsj.com/world/russia/putin-redirects-russias-economy-to-war-production-1e14265f.
- 1380 See Chapter Four.

- **1381** Catherine Belton, "Khodorkovsky warns West of war with China if Russia wins in Ukraine," *Washington Post*, February 15, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/15/mikhail-khodorkovsky-russia-opposition-oligarch.
- **1382** Sharon Weinberger, "To Aid Ukraine in Fight Against Russia, Allies Look to Security Model Like Israel's," *Wall Street Journal*, May 22, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/to-aid-ukraine-in-fight-against-russia-allies-look-to-security-model-like-israels-8a05f0e5; Missy Ryan, et al., "NATO nations look past Ukraine offensive to long-term deterrence pacts," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/01/ukraine-nato-long-term-defense.
- **1383** Missy Ryan, et al., "NATO nations look past Ukraine offensive to long-term deterrence pacts," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/06/01/ukraine-nato-long-term-defense.
- **1384** Samuel Charap, "An Unwinnable War," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2023, https://foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/unwinnable-war-washington-endgame.
- **1385** Henry Foy and Felicia Schwartz, "US opposes offering Ukraine a 'road map' to Nato membership," *Financial Times*, April 6, 2023, https://ft.com/content/c37ed22d-e0e4-4b03-972e-c56af8a36d2e.
- **1386** Jeremy Herb, "Biden says war with Russia must end before NATO can consider membership for Ukraine," CNN, July 9, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/07/09/politics/joe-biden-ukraine-nato-russia-cnntv/index.html.
- **1387** "Vilnius Summit Communiqué," NATO, July 11, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official texts 217320.htm.
- **1388** Tweet by President Volodymyr Zelensky, July 11, 2023, https://x.com/ZelenskyyUa/status/1678707674811187200.
- **1389** Toluse Olorunnipa, et al., "Zelensky slams NATO for omitting a timeline for Ukraine to join," *Washington Post*, July 11, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/07/11/zelensky-nato-ukraine-membership-timeline.
- **1390** Michael Birnbaum, "Zelensky's angry tweet on NATO membership nearly backfired," *Washington Post*, July 13, 2023, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2023/07/13/zelensky-ukraine-nato-invitation.
- **1391** Alisa Orlova, "Ukrainian Lawmaker Claims Blinken Is Telling Europe Not to Talk to Ukraine About NATO," *Kyiv Post*, December 5, 2023, https://kyivpost.com/post/25062.
- **1392** Jeremy Herb, "Biden says war with Russia must end before NATO can consider membership for Ukraine," CNN, July 9, 2023, https://cnn.com/2023/07/09/politics/joe-biden-ukraine-nato-russia-cnntv/index.html.
- **1393** "Vilnius Summit Communiqué," NATO, July 11, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official texts 217320.htm.
- **1394** Steven Erlanger, "What NATO Said About Ukraine: Highlights of the Alliance's Communiqué," *New York Times*, July 11, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/07/12/world/europe/nato-ukraine-membership.html.
- **1395** Guy Faulconbridge and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Putin says we must think how to stop 'the tragedy' of war in Ukraine," Reuters, November 22, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-we-must-think-how-stop-the-tragedy-ukraine-2023-11-22.
- **1396** Anton Troianovski, et al., "Putin Quietly Signals He Is Open to a Cease-Fire in Ukraine," *New York Times*, December 23, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/23/world/europe/putin-russia-ukraine-war-cease-fire.html.
- **1397** Guy Faulconbridge and Darya Korsunskaya, "Putin's suggestion of Ukraine ceasefire rejected by United States, sources say," Reuters, February 13, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putins-suggestion-ukraine-ceasefire-rejected-by-united-states-sources-say-2024-02-13.

- **1398** Courtney Kube, et al., "US, European officials broach topic of peace negotiations with Ukraine, sources say," NBC News, November 3, 2023, https://nbcnews.com/news/world/us-european-officials-broach-topic-peace-negotiations-ukraine-sources-rcna123628.
- **1399** Simon Shuster, "Nobody Believes in Our Victory Like I Do.' Inside Volodymyr Zelensky's Struggle to Keep Ukraine in the Fight," *Time*, October 30, 2023, https://time.com/6329188/ukraine-volodymyr-zelensky-interview.
- **1400** Seymour Hersh, "The Iron-Clad Piñata," Seymour Hersh Substack, March 21, 2024, https://seymourhersh.substack.com/p/the-iron-clad-pinata.
- **1401** "Vladimir Putin Interview with Dmitry Kiselyov," Kremlin, March 13, 2024, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/73648.
- **1402** Ann M. Simmons, "Vladimir Putin Says He Is Ready for Peace in Ukraine, but Only on His Terms," *Wall Street Journal*, March 18, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia/vladimir-putin-says-he-is-ready-for-peace-in-ukraine-but-only-on-his-terms-0926a0ef.
- **1403** Michael Hirsh, "The Biden Administration Is Quietly Shifting Its Strategy in Ukraine," *Politico Magazine*, December 27, 2023, https://politico.com/news/magazine/2023/12/27/biden-endgame-ukraine-00133211; Katie Bo Lillis, et al., "Grim realization sets in over state of Ukraine war as funding fight continues in Washington," CNN, January 19, 2024,
- https://edition.cnn.com/2024/01/19/politics/grim-realization-ukraine-washington-funding-fight/index.html.
- **1404** Marc Santora, "Ukraine's Deepening Fog of War," *New York Times*, February 24, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/24/world/europe/ukraine-russia-war.html.
- **1405** Steven Erlanger and David Sanger, "Hard Lessons Make for Hard Choices 2 Years Into the War in Ukraine," *New York Times*, February 24, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/24/world/europe/lessons-choices-war-in-ukraine.html.
- 1406 Liz Sly, "Zelensky says peace talks possible only when Russia is pushed back," *Washington Post*, May 6, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2022/05/06/russia-ukraine-war-news-putin-live-updates/#link-HIV55SAQOVFSXCMRYZV27ZTVIE; Speech by Secretary of State Antony Blinken, "Russia's Strategic Failure and Ukraine's Secure Future," US State Department, June 2, 2023, https://geneva.usmission.gov/2023/06/02/russias-strategic-failure-and-ukraines-secure-future-speech-secretary-blinken.
- **1407** Emily Rauhala, et al., "In Munich, Zelensky urges US and other allies not to abandon Ukraine," *Washington Post*, February 17, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/02/17/munich-security-conference-volodymyr-zelensky.
- **1408** Jake Sullivan, "Remarks by APNSA Jake Sullivan and Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine Andriy Yermak in Press Conference," March 20, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/03/20/remarks-by-apnsa-jake-sullivan-and-head-of-the-office-of-the-president-of-ukraine-andriy-yermak-in-press-conference-kyiv-ukraine.
- **1409** Serge Schmemann, "Ukraine Doesn't Need All Its Territory to Defeat Putin," *New York Times*, December 27, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/12/27/opinion/ukraine-military-aid.html.
- **1410** Doug Bandow, "Marco Rubio Desperately Plays the 'Isolationist' Card," *The National Interest*, December 11, 2015, https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/marco-rubio-desperately-plays-the-isolationist-card-14588.
- **1411** Marco Rubio on Fox News, Tweet by Aaron Maté, March 3, 2024, https://x.com/aaronjmate/status/1764484934792528229.
- **1412** Ivana Saric, "Majority of Republicans oppose Ukraine aid as partisan divide grows: poll," Axios, November 21, 2023, https://axios.com/2023/11/21/republicans-gop-oppose-ukraine-aid-divide-democrats.

- **1413** Ann-Dorit Boy, et al., "A country is bleeding out," *Der Spiegel*, October 14, 2024, https://spiegel.de/ausland/ukraine-krieg-ein-land-vor-der-zerreissprobe-kiew-erwaegt-erstmals-kompromisse-mit-russland-a-e405617b-47aa-4d9b-942e-c9181f63e80c.
- **1414** Guy Faulconbridge and Andrew Osborn, "Putin wants Ukraine ceasefire on current frontlines," Reuters, May 24, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-wants-ukraine-ceasefire-current-frontlines-sources-say-2024-05-24.
- **1415** Tom O'Connor, "Russia's Ambassador Reveals How Close Putin is to Peace with Ukraine," *Newsweek*, May 25, 2024, https://newsweek.com/russias-ambassador-reveals-how-close-putin-peace-ukraine-1904712.
- **1416** Staff, "Four conditions for negotiations with Kiev: what Putin said at Foreign Ministry," TASS, June 14, 2024, https://tass.com/politics/1803575.
- **1417** Marc Santora, "Long Battle for a Ruined City Takes a Desperate Turn," *New York Times*, August 6, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/08/06/world/europe/ukraine-war-donetsk-toretsk.html.
- **1418** Staff, "Kyiv pushes allies to create no-fly zone in western Ukraine," AFP, June 28, 2024, https://voanews.com/a/kyiv-pushes-allies-to-create-no-fly-zone-in-western-ukraine/7676727.html.
- **1419** Marcus Weisgerber and Tara Copp, "Here's Why a Ukraine No-Fly Zone's a No-Go," Defense One, March 1, 2022, https://defenseone.com/threats/2022/03/heres-why-ukraine-no-fly-zones-no-go/362631; Irene Entringer García Blanes, et al., "Poll: Experts Oppose No-Fly Zone Over Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, March 16, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/16/poll-no-fly-zone-ukraine-zelensky-speech-biden.
- **1420** Justin Raimondo, "Why Governments Make War," Antiwar.com, October 26, 2011, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2011/10/25/why-governments-make-war; Justin Raimondo, "Looking at the 'Big Picture," Antiwar.com, November 11, 2011, https://original.antiwar.com/justin/2011/11/10/looking-at-the-big-picture.
- **1421** Jonathan Lemire and Alexander Ward, "White House anxiously watches Ukraine's counteroffensive, seeing the war and Biden's reputation at stake," *Politico*, June 8, 2023, https://politico.com/news/2023/06/08/biden-ukraine-counteroffensive-00101088.
- **1422** Peter Baker, "Biden Drops Out of Race, Scrambling the Campaign for the White House," *New York Times*, July 21, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/07/21/us/politics/biden-drops-out.html.
- **1423** Ben Wolfgang, "Harris, Trump take sharply different approaches to ending Russia conflict," *Washington Times*, October 14, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/oct/14/kamala-harris-donald-trump-take-sharply-different; Staff, "Harris says if Trump were president: 'Putin would be sitting in Kyiv," CBS *60 Minutes*, October 9, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=G7nJ2ImXkeI. **1424** Staff, "Putin rails against Ukraine as attacks mar Russian presidential election," Al Jazeera,
- March 15, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/15/putin-rails-against-ukraine-as-attacks-marrussian-presidential-election.
- **1425** Staff, "Russia says 21 people killed in Ukrainian attack on Belgorod," Al Jazeera, December 30, 2023, https://aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/30/russia-says-two-children-killed-in-ukrainian-strike-on-belgorod.
- **1426** Francesca Ebel, "Belgorod, in western Russia, hit hard as Ukraine retaliates for airstrikes," *Washington Post*, January 13, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/01/13/belgorod-russia-missile-strike-ukraine.
- **1427** Staff, "Seven killed in Ukrainian missile strike on Russia's Belgorod governor," Reuters, February 15, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/least-four-killed-ukrainian-missile-strike-belgorod-russian-media-2024-02-15.
- **1428** Henry Foy, "Kyiv has right to strike Russian targets 'outside Ukraine,' says Nato chief," *Financial Times*, February 22, 2024, https://ft.com/content/175bd28f-1eb8-4f57-9cf4-110cca055747.

- **1429** Yaroslav Trofimov, "Ukraine Is Striking Deeper Inside Russia—and Reshaping the War," *Wall Street Journal*, October 26, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/ukraine-is-striking-deeper-inside-russiaand-reshaping-the-war-23e0174d.
- **1430** George Washington, "Farewell Address," *Daily American Advertiser*, September 19, 1796, https://senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Washingtons_Farewell_Address.pdf.
- **1431** Thibault Spirlet, "Russia appears to be creating a 'buffer zone' to stop Ukraine raiding Russian towns, experts say," Business Insider, May 14, 2024, https://businessinsider.com/russia-aims-to-create-buffer-zone-stop-ukraine-raids-isw-2024-5.
- 1432 Constant Méheut, "Advancing Russian Troops Threaten to Reverse Some of Ukraine's Hard-Won Gains," *New York Times*, May 23, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/23/world/europe/ukraine-russia-battlefield-gains.html; Guy Faulconbridge and Maxim Rodionov, "Russia says Ukraine makes 62-drone attack on Russia, oil refinery halted," Reuters, May 20, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-says-ukraine-struck-crimea-with-atacms-60-drones-shot-down-oil-refinery-2024-05-19">https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-says-ukraine-struck-crimea-with-atacms-60-drones-shot-down-oil-refinery-2024-05-19.
- **1433** Guy Faulconbridge, "Putin says Russia is carving out a buffer zone in Ukraine's Kharkiv region," Reuters, May 17, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-says-russia-is-carving-out-buffer-zone-ukraines-kharkiv-region-2024-05-17.
- **1434** Constant Méheut, "Ukraine Fights to Hold Off Fierce Russian Assaults in Northeast," *New York Times*, May 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/15/world/europe/ukraine-war-fighting-russia-advance.html.
- **1435** Jonathan Beale, "The Russians simply walked in, Ukrainian troops in Kharkiv tell BBC," BBC, May 13, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/articles/c72p0xx410xo.
- **1436** Laris Karklis, et al., "Russia seizes more land than Ukraine liberated in 2023 counteroffensive," *Washington Post*, May 17, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/17/russia-ukraine-front-line-gains.
- **1437** Isabelle Khurshudyan, et al., "Second Russian invasion of Kharkiv caught Ukraine unprepared," *Washington Post*, May 17, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/17/kharkive-defenses-ukraine-russia-reinvasion.
- **1438** Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
- **1439** Isabel Coles and Alan Cullison, "Russia Aims to Make Life Unlivable in Ukraine's Second City," *Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/russia-aims-to-make-life-unlivable-in-ukraines-second-city-29961183.
- **1440** Staff, "Anti-corruption group reveals fake companies in Kharkiv fortification contracts," The New Voice of Ukraine, May 15, 2024, https://english.nv.ua/nation/anti-corruption-activist-exposes-suspicious-wood-supply-contracts-for-fortifications-in-kharkiv-obla-50418691.html; Brian Dooley, "Locals Raise Corruption Issues Over Kharkiv Fortifications As Russians Advance," Human Rights First, May 20, 2024, https://humanrightsfirst.org/library/locals-raise-corruption-issues-over-kharkiv-fortifications-as-russians-advance.
- **1441** Interview with author, Frank Ledwidge, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, May 21, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/5-16-24-frank-ledwidge-on-what-its-like-in-ukraine-right-now.
- **1442** Francesca Ebel and Serhii Korolchuk, "Russia, adapting tactics, advances in Donetsk and takes more Ukrainian land," *Washington Post*, July 27, 2024,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/07/27/russia-adapting-tactics-advances-donetsk-takes-more-ukrainian-land.}$
- **1443** Anna Conkling, "This Could Be the Moment Putin Wins the War in Ukraine," Daily Beast, May 25, 2024, https://thedailybeast.com/this-could-be-the-moment-putin-wins-the-war-in-ukraine.
- **1444** Guillaume Ptak, "In a grinding battle far from the spotlight, weary Ukrainian soldiers hold the line," *Washington Times*, June 16, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/jun/16/grinding-battle-far-spotlight-weary-ukrainian-sold.

- **1445** Staff, "The 3rd Assault Brigade revealed details of the offensive in the Kharkiv region," The Odessa Journal, August 22, 2024, https://odessa-journal.com/public/the-3rd-assault-brigade-revealed-details-of-the-offensive-in-the-kharkiv-region.
- **1446** Staff, "Zelensky awarded the 3rd Separate Mechanized Brigade with the 'For Courage and Bravery' award," UNN, August 24, 2024, https://unn.ua/en/news/zelensky-awarded-the-3rd-separate-mechanized-brigade-with-the-for-courage-and-bravery-award.
- **1447** Christopher Miller, "How Ukraine pulled off its biggest gamble: invading Russia," *Financial Times*, August 12, 2024, https://ft.com/content/bc695adf-bd17-4242-b4bc-82235a97edbf.
- **1448** Greg Myre, "Ukraine presses offensive inside Russia as Moscow scrambles to respond," NPR News, August 9, 2024, https://npr.org/2024/08/09/g-s1-16131/ukraine-presses-offensive-inside-russia-as-moscow-scrambles-to-respond.
- **1449** Isabelle Khurshudyan and Anastacia Galouchka, "Ukraine appears to expand Russia incursion, in morale boost for Kyiv," *Washington Post*, August 10, 2024,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/08/10/ukraine-belgorod-kursk-russia-occupied-war.
- **1450** Yaroslav Trofimov and Thomas Grove, "As Ukrainian Forces Grab Russian Territory, the Kremlin Maintains It's No Big Deal," *Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/as-ukrainian-forces-grab-russian-territory-the-kremlin-maintains-its-no-big-deal-0cebb891.
- **1451** Staff, "Russia's Lipetsk region hit by 'massive' drone attack, governor says," Reuters, August 9, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russias-lipetsk-region-comes-under-massive-drone-attack-governor-says-2024-08-09.
- **1452** Staff, "Ukraine military: Western intelligence data used for cross-border attack," NHK, August 25, 2024, https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/20240826_09.
- 1453 Christian Lowe, "Ukraine Says It Used US-Made Bomb to Hit Target in Russia's Kursk Region," Reuters, August 22, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-says-it-used-us-made-bomb-hit-target-russias-kursk-region-2024-08-22; Tom Balmforth, et al., "Ukraine Says It Hits Pontoon Bridges in Kursk Region With US-Made Rockets," Reuters, August 21, 2024,
- https://reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-says-it-hits-pontoon-bridges-kursk-region-with-us-made-rockets-2024-08-21.
- **1454** Deborah Haynes, "British Challenger 2 tanks have been used inside Russia by Ukrainian troops, Sky News understands," Sky News, August 15, 2024, https://news.sky.com/story/british-challenger-2-tanks-thought-to-have-been-used-inside-russia-by-ukrainian-troops-sky-news-understands-13197260.
- **1455** Staff, "Russian army destroys Ukrainian armored vehicles in Kursk Region using loitering munitions," TASS, August 7, 2024, https://tass.com/defense/1826449.
- **1456** Sabrina Singh, "Deputy Pentagon Press Secretary Sabrina Singh briefs the news media at the Pentagon," US Defense Department, August 8, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ylNecjNUYIc.
- **1457** Lizzie Johnson and Serhiy Morgunov, "Ukraine's Zelensky says incursion into Russia part of plan to end war," *Washington Post*, August 27, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/08/27/ukraine-russia-zelensky-syrsky-kursk.
- **1458** Jamie Dettmer, "Zelenskyy was urged not to invade Kursk. He did it anyway," *Politico Europe*, September 16, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/kursk-russia-incursion-objections-war-in-ukraine-volodymyr-zelenskyy.
- **1459** Samya Kullab, "Putin accuses Ukraine of a 'large-scale provocation' with its raid in southwestern Russia," AP, August 7, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-kursk-border-incursion-e838343b88b2dd9827f5a40fbc5a1db7.
- **1460** Ian Lovett and Nikita Nikolaienko, "As Ukraine Invades Russia, Kyiv's Troops Are in Trouble on the Eastern Front," *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/as-ukraine-invades-russia-kyivs-troops-are-in-trouble-on-the-eastern-front-8a7b1686; Isobel Koshiw, "Ukraine orders evacuation in east amid steady Russian gains," *Financial Times*, August 15, 2014, https://ft.com/content/12fd40a6-4821-4d24-ac63-cb8a59373f5e.

- **1461** Marie Jégo and Faustine Vincent, "How the Ukrainian army easily entered Russia and is holding its positions," *Le Monde*, August 15, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/08/14/how-the-ukrainian-army-easily-entered-russia-and-is-holding-its-positions 6715079 4.html.
- **1462** Thomas Grove, "How a General's Blunder Left Russia's Border Vulnerable," *Wall Street Journal*, August 21, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/russia/russia-general-alexander-lapin-kursk-9a624abd.
- **1463** Jamie Dettmer, "Zelenskyy was urged not to invade Kursk. He did it anyway," *Politico Europe*, September 16, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/kursk-russia-incursion-objections-war-in-ukraine-volodymyr-zelenskyy.
- **1464** Michael Clarke, "Ukraine 'arm-wrestles' Russia in final effort to break forces before winter," London *Times*, August 31, 2024, https://thetimes.com/world/russia-ukraine-war/article/ukraine-arm-wrestles-russia-in-final-effort-to-break-forces-before-winter-gkbkq5gpd.
- **1465** Samya Kullab, "Poorly trained recruits contribute to loss of Ukrainian territory on eastern front, commanders say," AP, August 22, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-war-new-recruits-pokrovsk-ed2d06ad529e3b7e47ecd32f79911b83.
- **1466** Michael Clarke, "Ukraine 'arm-wrestles' Russia in final effort to break forces before winter," London *Times*, August 31, 2024, https://thetimes.com/world/russia-ukraine-war/article/ukraine-arm-wrestles-russia-in-final-effort-to-break-forces-before-winter-gkbkq5gpd.
- **1467** Christopher Miller, "Volodymyr Zelenskyy faces backlash over Russia's breach of eastern defenses," *Financial Times*, August 29, 2024, https://ft.com/content/e63ce931-d3a1-4b4a-8540-e578d87873e5.
- **1468** David Axe, "Bloody Russian Assaults In Kursk Leave Behind At Least Three Graveyards For BTR-82 Vehicles And Their Passengers," *Forbes*, November 10, 2024,
- https://forbes.com/sites/davidaxe/2024/11/10/bloody-russian-assaults-in-kursk-leave-behind-at-least-three-graveyards-for-btr-82-vehicles-and-their-passengers.
- **1469** Marc Santora, "200 Clashes a Day as Russia Races to Break Ukrainian Strongholds," *New York Times*, September 26, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/26/world/europe/ukraine-eastern-front-line.html.
- **1470** Marc Santora, "Ukraine Withdraws From Mining Town That Long Defied Russian Attacks," *New York Times*, October 2, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/02/world/europe/ukraine-withdraws-vuhledar.html.
- **1471** Alex Horton (no relation) and Serhii Korolchuk, "Ukraine's east buckling under improved Russian tactics, superior firepower," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2024,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/10/02/ukraine-russia-advance-pokrovsk-vuhledar}.$
- **1472** Constant Méheut, "Ukraine's Donbas Strategy: Retreat Slowly and Maximize Russia's Losses," *New York Times*, October 5, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/05/world/europe/ukraine-donbas-strategy-russia-war.html.
- **1473** Ivana Kottasová and Kostya Gak, "Outgunned and outnumbered, Ukraine's military is struggling with low morale and desertion," CNN, September 8, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/09/08/europe/ukraine-military-morale-desertion-intl-cmd/index.html.
- **1474** Constant Méheut and Josh Holder, "Russia's Swift March Forward in Ukraine's East," *New York Times*, October 31, 2024, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/31/world/europe/russia-gains-ukraine-maps.html.
- **1475** Staff, "Ukraine is now struggling to cling on, not to win," *The Economist*, October 29, 2024, https://economist.com/europe/2024/10/29/ukraine-is-now-struggling-to-cling-on-not-to-win.
- **1476** Constant Méheut and Josh Holder, "Russia's Swift March Forward in Ukraine's East," *New York Times*, October 31, 2024, https://nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/31/world/europe/russia-gains-ukraine-maps.html.

- **1477** Staff, "Why Volodymyr Zelensky may welcome Donald Trump's victory," *The Economist*, November 7, 2024, https://economist.com/europe/2024/11/07/why-volodymyr-zelensky-may-welcomedonald-trumps-victory.
- **1478** Ben Hall, et al., "Ukraine faces its darkest hour," *Financial Times*, October 1, 2024, https://ft.com/content/2bb20587-9680-40f0-ac2d-5e7312486c75; Ben Hall, "Ukraine, Nato membership and the West Germany model," *Financial Times*, October 5, 2024, https://ft.com/content/b70972d6-3e7f-4a87-8bc5-ac0699f6e7fc.
- **1479** Tom O'Connor, "Russia's Lavrov Warns of 'Dangerous Consequences' for US in Ukraine," *Newsweek*, October 7, 2024, https://newsweek.com/exclusive-russias-lavrov-warns-dangerous-consequences-us-ukraine-1964468.
- **1480** Staff, "Russia Speeds Up Advance in Ukraine as Mood Darkens in Kyiv," Bloomberg News, November 1, 2024, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-11-01/russia-speeds-up-advance-in-ukraine-as-mood-darkens-in-kyiv.
- **1481** Ben Hall, et al., "Ukraine faces its darkest hour," *Financial Times*, October 1, 2024, https://ft.com/content/2bb20587-9680-40f0-ac2d-5e7312486c75.
- **1482** Staff, "Putin previews Russia's updated nuclear doctrine," TASS, September 25, 2024, https://tass.com/politics/1847759.
- **1483** Staff, "Putin launches drills of Russia's nuclear forces simulating retaliatory strikes," AP, October 29, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-putin-nuclear-drills-5dfa6b742e95907caac3938a3a807e62.
- **1484** Daniel Michaels, "Nuclear Weapons Always Stopped Invasions. Then Ukrainian Troops Poured Into Russia," *Wall Street Journal*, September 1, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/nuclear-weapons-always-stopped-invasions-then-ukrainian-troops-poured-into-russia.
- **1485** Isabelle Khurshudyan, "Ukraine's offensive derails secret efforts for partial cease-fire with Russia, officials say," *Washington Post*, August 17, 2024,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/08/17/kursk-ukraine-russia-energy-ceasefire.
- **1486** Editor, "Ukraine's Kursk offensive has killed off momentum for ceasefire talks," BNE IntelliNews, August 15, 2024, https://intellinews.com/ukraine-s-kursk-offensive-has-killed-off-momentum-for-ceasefire-talks-338831.
- **1487** Erin Banco, et al., "White House finalizing plans to expand where Ukraine can hit inside Russia," *Politico*, September 11, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/09/11/white-house-weapons-ukraine-00178673.
- **1488** Staff, "Long-range Arms OK Would Put NATO At 'War With Russia': Putin," AFP, September 12, 2024, https://barrons.com/news/putin-long-range-arms-ok-would-mean-nato-at-war-with-russia-54b18645.
- **1489** Alexander Ward, et al., "US 'Unimpressed' With Ukraine's Victory Plan Ahead of Biden-Zelensky Meeting," *Wall Street Journal*, September 25, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/u-s-unimpressed-with-ukraines-victory-plan-ahead-of-biden-zelensky-meeting-23e87bff.
- **1490** Michael Shear and David Sanger, "Meeting With Biden, British Leader Hints at Ukraine Weapon Decision Soon," *New York Times*, September 13, 2024,
- https://nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-starmer-ukraine-russia-missiles.html; Adam Entous and Julian E. Barnes, "US Intelligence Stresses Risks in Allowing Long-Range Strikes by Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 26, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/us-ukraine-strikes.html.
- **1491** Alexander Ward, et al., "US 'Unimpressed' With Ukraine's Victory Plan Ahead of Biden-Zelensky Meeting," *Wall Street Journal*, September 25, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/u-s-unimpressed-with-ukraines-victory-plan-ahead-of-biden-zelensky-meeting-23e87bff.
- **1492** Adam Entous and Julian E. Barnes, "US Intelligence Stresses Risks in Allowing Long-Range Strikes by Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 26, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/26/us/politics/us-ukraine-strikes.html.

- **1493** Oleh Pavliuk and Yevhen Kizilov, "US says Ukraine will not be invited to join NATO 'in short term," Ukrainska Pravda, October 16, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/10/16/7480006.
- **1494** Siobhán O'Grady and Kostiantyn Khudov, "Zelensky reveals Victory Plan, calls for NATO membership," *Washington Post*, October 16, 2024,
- https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/10/16/zelensky-victory-plan-ukraine-nato-russia.
- 1495 Kim Barker, et al., "With Limited Options, Zelensky Seeks a Path Forward for Ukraine," *New York Times*, October 29, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/29/world/europe/ukraine-zelensky-russia-war.html; Veronika Melkozerova, "Zelenskyy blasts White House for leaking secret missile plan to The New York Times," *Politico*, October 30, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/volodymyr-zelenskyy-confirms-tomahawk-missiles-victory-plan-blasts-us-for-giving-away-secrets-ukraine-white-house-russia-war-leak.
- **1496** Staff, "A fresh Russian push will test Ukraine severely, says a senior general," *The Economist*, May 2, 2024, https://economist.com/europe/2024/05/02/a-fresh-russian-push-will-test-ukraine-severely-says-a-senior-general.
- **1497** Mark Hannah, et al., "The New Atlanticism: Where Americans and Western Europeans Agree and Disagree," Institute for Global Affairs, June 2024, https://instituteforglobalaffairs.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/IGA-Modeling-Democracy-2024-The-New-Atlanticism.pdf.
- **1498** Anton Hrushetskyi, "Perceptions of the course of Russia's war against Ukraine after nearly two years of large-scale invasion," Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, https://kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=1372.
- **1499** Staff, "Germany's Scholz Calls for Renewed Push for Peace in Ukraine," Reuters, September 8, 2024, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2024-09-08/germanys-scholz-calls-for-renewed-push-for-peace-in-ukraine.
- 1500 "Russia targets Ukrainian energy facilities with new barrage of missiles," CBS News, June 22, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/russia-ukraine-air-strike-energy-facilities; Veronika Melkozerova, "Russia pummels Ukraine's energy infrastructure with drones and missiles," *Politico Europe*, August 26, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/russia-launch-attack-drone-missile-ukraine-kyiv-kursk-energy-infrastructure; Pavel Polityuk, "The Russian attacks that have pounded Ukraine's power facilities," BBC, June 20, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/articles/czvvj4j4p8ro.
- **1501** "Ukraine: Over 6 Million Refugees Spread Across Europe," UN Regional Information Centre for Western Europe, September 11, 2024, https://unric.org/en/ukraine-over-6-million-refugees-spread-across-europe.
- **1502** Staff, "Ukraine's birth rate plummets to 300-year low as country's population collapses," BNE IntelliNews, April 17, 2024, https://intellinews.com/ukraine-s-birth-rate-plummets-to-300-year-low-as-country-s-population-collapses-321317.
- **1503** Tamar Jacoby, "Will Ukraine's Refugees Want to Go Back Home?" *Wall Street Journal*, January 11, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/europe/will-ukraines-refugees-want-to-go-back-home-a6a9832a.
- **1504** Anastasiia Mosorko, "Ukraine has highest mortality rate and lowest birth rate in the world," Ukrainska Pravda, September 13, 2024, https://pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/09/13/7474848.
- **1505** Myroslava Gongadze, "Can the Minsk Accords be Implemented?" Voice of America, February 10, 2022, https://voanews.com/a/can-the-minsk-accords-be-implemented-/6436806.html.
- **1506** Owen Matthews, "Putin's 'peace' is a partitioned Ukraine," *The Spectator*, January 6, 2024, https://spectator.co.uk/article/putins-peace-is-a-partitioned-ukraine.
- **1507** Bruno Waterfield, "US urged to put nuclear weapons on Polish soil," London *Times*, April 4, 2022, https://thetimes.co.uk/article/us-urged-nuclear-weapons-polish-soil-nato-ukraine-war-gqrk6s06h.
- **1508** Stephen Grey, et al., "Years of miscalculations by US, NATO led to dire shell shortage in Ukraine," Reuters, July 19, 2024, https://reuters.com/investigates/special-report/ukraine-crisis-artillery.
- **1509** Felicia Schwartz, "Ukraine war pushes US to review arms stockpiles," *Financial Times*, February 16, 2023, https://ft.com/content/a3c943e9-9071-49b8-9f6d-2b82e1f8167b.

- **1510** Jeremy Stern, "A Devastating Moment of Clarity in Ukraine," *Tablet*, March 2, 2023, https://tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/devastating-moment-clarity-ukraine.
- **1511** Guy Faulconbridge, "Russia warns of nuclear, hypersonic deployment if Sweden and Finland join NATO," Reuters, April 14, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-warns-baltic-nuclear-deployment-if-nato-admits-sweden-finland-2022-04-14; Staff, "Russia Warns of Nuclear Buildup If Finland, Sweden Join NATO," Bloomberg News, April 14, 2022,
- $\underline{https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-14/russia-threatens-nuclear-buildup-if-finland-and-sweden-join-nato.}$
- **1512** Press Release, "Finland joins NATO as 31st Ally," NATO, April 4, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_213448.htm; Steven Erlanger, "Sweden Enters NATO, a Blow to Moscow and a Boost to the Baltic Nations," *New York Times*, March 7, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/07/world/europe/sweden-nato-neutrality.html.
- **1513** President Joe Biden, "Remarks by President Biden on Continued Support for Ukraine," White House, January 25, 2023, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/01/25/remarks-by-president-biden-on-continued-support-for-ukraine.
- **1514** Transcript, "Opening remarks by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at the joint meeting of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) and the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE)," NATO, September 7, 2023, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_218172.htm. **1515** Staff, "Ukraine War: Russia warns Sweden and Finland against Nato membership," BBC, April 11, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-61066503.
- **1516** Andrew Roth, "Putin issues fresh warning to Finland and Sweden on installing Nato infrastructure," *Guardian*, June 30, 2022, https://theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/29/russia-condemns-nato-invitation-finland-sweden.
- **1517** Press Release, "Allies prepare for collective defence exercise in Nordic environment," NATO, February 27, 2024, https://ac.nato.int/archive/2024/NordicResponse24_announcement.
- **1518** Paul Godfrey, "Putin says he will re-deploy troops along Finland border in response to NATO accession," UPI, March 13, 2024, https://upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2024/03/13/Putin-threatens-Finland-border-troop-redeployment/2751710329197.
- **1519** Brendan Cole, "What Is Iskander-M? Russia's Nuclear-Capable Launchers Head for NATO Border," *Newsweek*, April 22, 2024, https://newsweek.com/russia-iskander-nato-nuclear-1892673.
- **1520** Henry Ridgwell, "Russian media: Kremlin plans to deploy ballistic missiles on Finnish border," Voice of America, April 23, 2024, https://voanews.com/a/russian-media-kremlin-plans-to-deploy-ballistic-missiles-on-finnish-border-/7581224.html.
- **1521** Interview of John Mearsheimer by Steve Clemons, "Why Ukraine won't be joining NATO anytime soon," Al Jazeera, July 13, 2023, https://aljazeera.com/program/the-bottom-line/2023/7/13/why-ukraine-wont-be-joining-nato-anytime-soon.
- **1522** Staff, "Defence deal with Finland will give US access to 15 military bases on Russian border," *Telegraph*, December 15, 2023, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2023/12/15/us-deal-finland-15-military-bases-on-russian-border.
- **1523** Staff, "NATO to hold biggest drills since Cold War with 90,000 troops," Reuters, January 19, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/nato-kick-off-biggest-drills-decades-with-some-90000-troops-2024-01-18; "Steadfast Defender 24," NATO, March 8, 2024, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohg/222847.htm.
- **1524** Staff, "NATO Says Over 300,000 Troops Now on High Readiness," AFP, June 13, 2024, https://thedefensepost.com/2024/06/13/nato-troops-high-readiness.
- **1525** Joe Barnes, "Nato land corridors could rush US troops to front line in event of European war," *Telegraph*, June 4, 2024, https://telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/06/04/nato-land-corridors-us-troops-european-war.

- **1526** "Finnish parliament unanimously approves defence agreement with USA," YLE, July 1, 2024, https://yle.fi/a/74-20097360.
- **1527** "Russia Says It Will Respond to Finland Giving US Access to Bases," Reuters, July 3, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/russia-says-it-will-respond-finland-giving-us-access-bases-2024-07-03.
- **1528** Staff, "Ukraine will eventually join NATO, Blinken says," Reuters, April 4, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/us-secretary-state-blinken-says-ukraine-will-be-nato-member-2024-04-04.
- **1529** Press Release, "Washington Summit Declaration," NATO, July 10, 2024, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_227678.htm; Sabine Siebold, "NATO Members Pledge 40 Billion Euros in Military Aid for Ukraine, Diplomats Say," Reuters, July 3, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/nato-members-agree-40-bln-financial-pledge-ukraine-diplomat-2024-07-03.
- **1530** James Acton, et al., "At NATO's Summit, the Alliance Should Not Move Ukraine Toward Membership," *Politico*, https://politico.com/f/?id=00000190-7a1f-db0b-a39e-fa5fbcdb0000.
- **1531** Staff, "A visit to the Northwest Passage," *The Week*, November 5, 2023, https://theweek.com/culture-life/travel/a-visit-to-the-northwest-passage.
- 1532 Staff, "Russia," The Arctic Institute, https://thearcticinstitute.org/country-backgrounders/russia.
- **1533** Holly Ellyatt, "Russia is dominating the Arctic, but it's not looking to fight over it," CNBC, December 27, 2019, https://cnbc.com/2019/12/27/russias-dominance-in-the-arctic.html.
- 1534 "2024 Arctic Strategy," US Defense Department, June 21, 2024,
- https://media.defense.gov/2024/Jul/22/2003507411/-1/-1/0/DOD-ARCTIC-STRATEGY-2024.PDF.
- **1535** Mike Baker, "With Eyes on Russia, the US Military Prepares for an Arctic Future," *New York Times*, March 27, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/03/27/us/army-alaska-arctic-russia.html.
- **1536** Max Hauptman, "NORAD intercepts Russian and Chinese bombers off coast of Alaska," *USA Today*, July 25, 2024, https://usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2024/07/25/norad-intercept-russian-chinese-aircraft-alaska/74546764007.
- **1537** Staff, "Russia claims it intercepted US fighter jets over the Arctic," Al Jazeera, July 21, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/21/russia-claims-it-intercepted-us-fighter-jets-over-the-arctic.
- **1538** Staff, "Russia to give military help to North Korea if it comes under attack—senior diplomat," TASS, October 15, 2024, https://tass.com/politics/1856501.
- **1539** Andrew Salmon, "In Hanoi, Putin warns NATO, South Korea as his Asian tour, agreements face potential blowback," *Washington Times*, June 21, 2024,
- https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/jun/21/in-hanoi-putin-warns-nato-south-korea-as-his-asian.
- **1540** Michelle Ye Hee Lee, "North Korea's elite troops are in Russia to fight Ukraine: What we know," *Washington Post*, October 29, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2024/10/29/north-korea-elite-troops-russia-ukraine-war; Julian E. Barnes, et al., "50,000 Russian and North Korean Troops Mass Ahead of Attack, US Says," *New York Times*, November 10, 2024,
- $\underline{https://nytimes.com/2024/11/10/us/politics/russia-north-korea-troops-ukraine.html}.$
- **1541** Valerie Hopkins, "Putin Appears to Say That North Korean Troops Are in Russia," *New York Times*, October 24, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/24/world/europe/putin-north-korean-troops-russia.html.
- **1542** Army Maj. Wes Shinego, "North Korean Presence Underscores Russia's Struggle, Pentagon Press Secretary Says," DOD News, October 29, 2024, https://defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/3949781/north-korean-presence-underscores-russias-struggle-pentagon-press-secretary-says.
- 1543 "Doorstep statement by NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte following the North Atlantic Council briefing on the DPRK's troop deployment to Russia," NATO, October 28, 2024, https://nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_230105.htm.

- 1544 See above.
- **1545** Andrew Osborn, "Russia's Putin orders army to become second largest after China's at 1.5 million-strong," Reuters, September 16, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/putin-orders-russian-army-grow-by-180000-soldiers-become-15-million-strong-2024-09-16.
- 1546 Annie Jacobsen, Nuclear War: A Scenario (New York: Dutton, 2024).
- **1547** Irina Vilcu and Aine Quinn, "Why Moldova's Breakaway Transnistria Region Is Asking Russia for Protection," Bloomberg News, February 29, 2024, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-02-29/transnistria-why-moldova-breakaway-region-asked-russia-for-protection.
- **1548** Walter Landgraf, "The Fire That Didn't Burn: Transnistria's Unanswered Call for Russian Support," FPRI, March 15, 2024, https://fpri.org/article/2024/03/the-fire-that-didnt-burn-transnistrias-unanswered-call-for-russian-support.
- **1549** Staff, "US Closely Watching Moldovan Breakaway Region After Request for Russian Help," Reuters, February 28, 2024, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2024-02-28/us-closely-watching-moldovan-breakaway-region-after-request-for-russian-help.
- **1550** Staff, "Officials in Moldova's breakaway Transnistria blame Ukrainian drone strike after military site blast," AP, March 17, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/moldova-transnistria-drone-strike-7517ec7a4b1b7fca38be834a8eb33850.
- **1551** Stephen McGrath, "How events in Moldova's breakaway Transnistria region raised fears of Russian interference," AP, March 27, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/transnistria-moldova-russia-ukraine-war-99575f5e67c222edced149031417bd5a.
- 1552 Liza Brovko, "In Moldova, the date of presidential elections and a referendum on joining the EU has been determined," Babel, April 16, 2024, https://babel.ua/en/news/106124-in-moldova-the-date-of-presidential-elections-and-a-referendum-on-joining-the-eu-has-been-determined.
- **1553** Sarah Rainsford and Laura Gozzi, "Moldova says 'Yes' to pro-EU constitutional changes by tiny margin," BBC, October 21, 2024, https://bbc.com/news/articles/c1wnr5qdxe7o.
- **1554** Staff, "Serbia receives another arms delivery from Russia despite international sanctions over Ukraine," AP, February 14, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/serbia-russia-arms-deliveries-embargo-fb63352c3a76404f7f4f13dd0358b187.
- **1555** Interview with author, Nebojsa Malic, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, January 16, 2024, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/1-11-24-nebojsa-malic-on-bidens-aggressive-posturing-towards-the-bosnian-serbs.
- **1556** Ivana Sekularac, "Bosnian Serb leader tempers secession talk as US exerts pressure," AP, January 8, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/bosnian-serb-leader-tempers-secession-talk-us-exerts-pressure-2024-01-08.
- 1557 Dunja Mijatović, "Letter: Bosnia and Herzegovina: the authorities of Republika Srpska should refrain from further restricting the rights of NGOs," Council of Europe, September 21, 2023, https://rm.coe.int/letter-to-the-president-of-the-national-assembly-of-republika-srpska-b/1680ac9b22.
- **1558** Zoran Radosavljevic, "Bosnian Serb entity adopts 'foreign agents' law, denounced by EU," Euractiv, September 29, 2023, https://euractiv.com/section/politics/news/bosnian-serb-entity-adopts-foreign-agents-law-denounced-by-eu.
- **1559** Staff, "US fighter jets to fly over Bosnia in warning to 'secessionist' Serbs," Reuters, January 8, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/04/01/world/middleeast/world-central-kitchen-strike-gaza.html.
- **1560** Andrew Gray, "Kosovo still 'highly volatile' after May clashes, NATO commander says," Reuters, September 6, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/kosovo-still-highly-volatile-after-may-clashes-nato-commander-2023-09-06.
- **1561** Bjarke Smith-Meyer, "US, EU allies scold Kosovo for escalating tensions with Serbia," *Politico Europe*, May 27, 2023, https://politico.eu/article/us-eu-allies-scold-kosovo-for-escalating-tensions-serbia.

- 1562 Fatos Bytyci, "NATO to deploy more troops to Kosovo to curb violence," Reuters, May 30, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/nato-soldiers-guard-kosovo-serb-town-following-clashes-2023-05-30. 1563 Staff, "Vučić says he will not recognise Kosovo's independence," Euractiv, May 31, 2021, https://euractiv.com/section/politics/short_news/vucic-says-he-will-not-recognise-kosovos-independence; Talha Ozturk, "West increases pressure on Serbia to recognize Kosovo: President," Anadolu Ajansi, March 3, 2024, https://europe/west-increases-pressure-on-serbia-to-recognize-kosovo-president/3154032.
- **1564** Massimo Calabresi, "Inside the White House Program to Share America's Secrets," *Time*, February 29, 2024, https://time.com/6835724/americas-intelligence-secrets.
- **1565** Edith M. Lederer, "Leaders of Serbia and Kosovo spar at the UN over the latter's ban of the Serbian dinar," AP, February 9, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/serbia-kosovo-un-dinar-85bdbefc7fb40ddab8b17fdba8f93dbc.
- **1566** Sophiko Megrelidze and Dasha Litvinova, "Georgia to drop foreign agents law after massive protests," AP, March 9, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/georgia-parliament-foreign-agents-law-protests-ed95daddc365d6877596cfeac8534df7.
- **1567** The same French woman they brought in as foreign minister after the Rose Revolution of 2003. See Chapter Three.
- **1568** Staff, "Thousands Clash With Police In Georgia After Parliament OKs First Reading Of 'Foreign Agents' Law," RFERL, March 7, 2023, https://rferl.org/a/georgia-ngos-reject-foreign-agent-law/32307031.html.
- **1569** "Brawl erupts in Georgia parliament over 'Russian-inspired' foreign agent law," Reuters, March 6, 2023, https://reuters.com/world/europe/fistfight-erupts-georgia-parliament-over-russian-inspired-foreign-agent-law-2023-03-06.
- **1570** Justyna Mielnikiewicz and Evan Gershkovich, "Georgia Rocked by Protests Over Russia-Style Foreign-Agents Bill," *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2023, https://wsj.com/articles/georgia-rocked-by-protests-over-russia-style-foreign-agents-bill-cf57260d; Tweet by Shame Movement, March 2, 2023, https://x.com/Shamemovement/status/1631335821516185600; Nata Koridze, "Polarization is a Symptom, Not Disease," Civil.ge, March 6, 2023, https://civil.ge/archives/528914.
- **1571** Staff, "Georgian police use tear gas to halt protest against 'foreign agents' law," Reuters, March 7, 2023, https://reuters.com/article/georgia-politics-foreignagents-idAFKBN2V91HK.
- **1572** Anastasia Pechenyuk, "Protesters in Georgia storm the parliament building: security forces fight back (video)," Ukraine Today, March 8, 2023, https://ukrainetoday.org/2023/03/08/protesters-in-georgia-storm-the-parliament-building-security-forces-fight-back-video.
- 1573 See Chapter Three.
- **1574** Zach Evans, "Georgia 2021," National Endowment for Democracy, February 20, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20220524162121/https://ned.org/region/eurasia/georgia-2021.
- 1575 Interview with author, Kit Klarenberg, *Scott Horton Show* radio archive, March 18, 2023, https://scotthorton.org/interviews/3-17-23-kit-klarenberg-on-the-georgia-uprisings-and-the-national-endowment-for-democracy; Kit Klarenberg, "Dare Call It A Coup? CIA Front Threatens Color Revolution in Georgia," MintPress News, March 14, 2023, https://mintpressnews.com/coup-cia-foreign-agent-law-color-revolution-georgia/283992.
- **1576** Ivan Nechepurenko and Andrew Higgins, "The Explosive Roots of the Georgia Protests," *New York Times*, March 8, 2023, https://nytimes.com/2023/03/08/world/europe/georgia-protests-russia.html. **1577** Rayhan Demytrie, "Thousands protest at Georgian 'foreign agent' bill," BBC, March 7, 2023, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-64882475.
- **1578** "US Embassy Statement on Parliament's Rushed Advancement of Kremlin-Inspired Legislation on So-Called 'Foreign Influence,'" US Embassy Tbilisi, March 7, 2023, https://ge.usembassy.gov/u-sembassy-statement-on-parliaments-rushed-advancement-of-kremlin-inspired-legislation-on-so-called-foreign-influence.

- **1579** Staff, "Georgian police use tear gas to halt protest against 'foreign agents' law," Reuters, March 7, 2023, https://reuters.com/article/georgia-politics-foreignagents-idAFKBN2V91HK.
- **1580** Gabriel Gavin and Jakob Hanke Vela, "Georgians fighting for Europe fear Brussels missing in action," *Politico Europe*, May 16, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/georgia-europe-brussels-eu-flags-protests-foreign-affairs-russia-bill.
- **1581** "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre and United States Trade Representative Katherine Tai," White House, May 14, 2024, <a href="https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2024/05/14/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-karine-jean-pierre-and-united-states-trade-representative-katherine-tai.
- **1582** Horton, *Enough Already*, 158–60.
- 1583 Tweet by Samantha Power, March 2, 2023,
- https://x.com/PowerUSAID/status/1631356011024900103.
- **1584** Staff, "Russian Law is not the will of Georgia," Open Society Georgia Foundation, February 21, 2023, https://osgf.ge/en/russian-law-is-not-the-will-of-georgia.
- **1585** Sophiko Megrelidze and Dasha Litvinova, "Georgia to drop foreign agents law after massive protests," AP, March 9, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/georgia-parliament-foreign-agents-law-protests-ed95daddc365d6877596cfeac8534df7.
- **1586** Henry Foy and Anastasia Stognei, "EU to freeze Georgia's accession bid if it enacts Russia-inspired law," *Financial Times*, May 15, 2024, https://ft.com/content/3493da7e-ea39-4e82-9539-527280706647.
- **1587** Staff, "US pressures Georgia government to ditch 'foreign agent' law," Euronews, May 25, 2024, https://euronews.com/my-europe/2024/05/25/us-pressures-georgia-government-to-ditch-foreign-agent-law.
- **1588** Staff, "Thousands protest in Georgia over the weekend against 'Russia-style' law on foreign influence," AP, May 13, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/georgia-protests-bill-foreign-influence-russia-f38630d7bbd9e91f3ee4e9423cd928e2.
- **1589** "World NGO Day," Georgian Civil Society Sustainability Initiative, February 27, 2021, https://eu4georgia.eu/the-world-ngo-day.
- **1590** Vadim Nikitin, "Georgia Dreaming: Is Another Color Revolution About to Kick Off?" *The Nation*, May 20, 2024, https://thenation.com/article/world/georgia-dream-protests-ngo-color-revolution.
- **1591** Brad Pearce, "The South Caucasus at a Crossroads," Wayward Rabbler, May 19, 2024, https://thewaywardrabbler.com/p/the-south-caucasus-at-a-crossroads.
- **1592** Sergio Cantone, "Q&A: After years of intimidation, a Georgian pro-democracy NGO faces the ultimate threat," Euronews, May 15, 2024, https://euronews.com/2024/05/15/after-years-of-intimidation-a-georgian-pro-democracy-ngo-faces-the-ultimate-threat.
- **1593** "FMs of Latvia, Estonia, Iceland and Lithuania joined May 15 protesters against 'Russian Law,'" Georgia Today, May 16, 2024, https://georgiatoday.ge/fms-of-latvia-estonia-iceland-and-lithuania-join-protesters-against-russian-law.
- **1594** Staff, "Georgia's president vetoes controversial 'foreign agents,' bill," Al Jazeera, May 18, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/18/georgias-president-vetoes-controversial-foreign-agentsbill.
- **1595** Staff, "Georgian parliament overrides presidential veto of the divisive 'foreign influence' bill," *Le Monde*, June 3, 2024, https://lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/05/28/georgian-parliament-overrides-presidential-veto-of-the-divisive-foreign-influence-bill 6672920 4.html.
- **1596** Helen Andrews, "Georgia's 'Foreign Influence' Law Is Reasonable," *The American Conservative*, May 3, 2024, https://theamericanconservative.com/georgias-foreign-influence-law-is-reasonable. **1597** See Chapter Three.
- **1598** Staff, "NDI, IRI International Observer Mission Preliminary Assessment of Georgian Elections," Civil.ge, October 27, 2024, https://civil.ge/archives/631413.

- **1599** Staff, "EU urges probe into Georgia's vote 'irregularities'; PM rejects accusations," Al Jazeera, October 27, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/10/27/eu-urges-probe-into-georgias-vote-irregularities-pm-rejects-accusations.
- **1600** Georgi Kantchev, "Ruling Party Claims Victory in Former Soviet State Tilting Back Toward Moscow," *Wall Street Journal*, October 27, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/former-soviet-state-reaches-moment-of-truth-russia-or-the-west-63a710d0.
- **1601** Emma Burrows, "Tens of thousands rally in Georgia to denounce the parliamentary election they say was rigged," AP, October 29, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/georgia-election-russia-european-union-protests-f6667dd64b537bd2082bfc5396f4a955.
- **1602** Gabriel Gavin, "Uncertainty grips Georgia as opposition street protests end in anticlimax—for now," *Politico Europe*, October 28, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/georgia-streets-protest-dream-party-nationwide-election-violence-movement-salome-zourabichvili.
- **1603** Matthew Miller, "Department Press Briefing," US State Department, October 28, 2024, https://state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-october-28-2024.
- **1604** Connor Freeman, "State Department Threatens Georgia With 'Consequences,' Amid Rigged Election Claims," Libertarian Institute, October 29, 2024, https://libertarianinstitute.org/foreign-policy/state-department-threatens-georgia-with-consequences-amidst-claims-of-rigged-elections.
- **1605** Laura Kelly, "Biden calls for investigations into country of Georgia's election results," *The Hill*, October 29, 2024, https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/4960117-biden-georgian-dream-election.
- **1606** Gabriel Gavin, "Uncertainty grips Georgia as opposition street protests end in anticlimax—for now," *Politico Europe*, October 28, 2024, https://politico.eu/article/georgia-streets-protest-dream-party-nationwide-election-violence-movement-salome-zourabichvili.
- **1607** Staff, "Armenia freezes participation in Russia-led security bloc Prime Minister," Reuters, February 23, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/armenia-freezes-participation-russia-led-security-bloc-prime-minister-2024-02-23.
- **1608** Bassem Mroue, "The fall of an enclave in Azerbaijan stuns the Armenian diaspora, shattering a dream," AP, September 29, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/armenia-azerbaijan-diaspora-beirut-los-angels-nagornokarabakh-dc00e20d1c684877e5b0e67d3de76388.
- **1609** Andrew Kramer, "Facing Military Debacle, Armenia Accepts a Deal in Nagorno-Karabakh War," *New York Times*, November 9, 2020, https://nytimes.com/2020/11/09/world/middleeast/armenia-settlement-nagorno-karabakh-azerbaijan.html.
- **1610** Krzysztof Strachota and Andrzej Wilk, "Russia is withdrawing its forces from Nagorno-Karabakh," Center for Eastern Studies, April 19, 2024, https://osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2024-04-19/russia-withdrawing-its-forces-nagorno-karabakh.
- **1611** Staff, "What will become of the Zangezur corridor? Comments from Azerbaijan and Armenia," JAM News, April 21, 2021, https://jam-news.net/what-will-become-of-the-zangezur-corridor-comments-from-azerbaijan-and-armenia.
- **1612** Staff, "Azerbaijani president doubles down on demand for ex-Soviet exclaves' return," Eurasianet, January 12, 2024, https://eurasianet.org/azerbaijani-president-doubles-down-on-demand-for-ex-soviet-exclaves-return.
- **1613** Staff, "Armenia returns four border villages to Azerbaijan," AFP, May 24, 2024, https://voanews.com/a/armenia-returns-four-border-villages-to-azerbaijan-/7626051.html.
- **1614** See Chapters Two and Three.
- **1615** Staff, "Armenian Leader Again Threatens To Leave Russian-Led Defense Bloc," RFERL, March 12, 2024, https://rferl.org/a/armenian-leader-again-threatens-to-leave-russia-led-defense-bloc/32858863.html.
- **1616** Staff, "Moscow Warns Armenia Against Leaving Russian-Led Defense Bloc," RFERL, March 13, 2024, https://azatutyun.am/a/32980410.html.

- **1617** Frank Gardner, "Narva: The Estonian border city where Nato and the EU meet Russia," BBC, May 25, 2022, https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-61555691.
- **1618** Andrius Sytas, "Lithuania Begins Construction of Base for German Troops Near Russian Border," Reuters, August 19, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/lithuania-begins-construction-base-german-troops-near-russian-border-2024-08-19.
- **1619** Emily Feng and Kateryna Malofieieva, "Meet the Chechen battalion joining Ukraine to fight Russia and fellow Chechens," NPR News, September 5, 2022,
- https://npr.org/2022/09/05/1119703328/chechens-ukraine-russia.
- **1620** Marcin Mamon, "Abdul Hakim: Don't think of us as terrorists," *Dziennik Polski*, January 13, 2023, https://plus.dziennikpolski24.pl/abdul-hakim-nie-myslcie-o-nas-ze-jestesmy-terrorystami/ar/c1-17197663.
- **1621** Tweet by Defense Intelligence of Ukraine, January 7, 2023, https://x.com/DI_Ukraine/status/1611644490976055297.
- **1622** Haid Haid, "With Russia in their sights, Chechens depart Syria for Ukraine," Asia Times, March 10, 2023, https://asiatimes.com/2023/03/with-russia-in-their-sights-chechens-depart-syria-for-ukraine.
- **1623** Neil Hauer, "The End of Chechen Jihadis in Syria," Syndication Bureau, August 24, 2021, https://syndicationbureau.com/chechen-jihadi-syria; Aslan Doukaev, "Chechnya's Veteran Fighters Have Their Backs to the Wall," Jamestown Foundation *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 18, No. 122 (August 2, 2021), https://jamestown.org/program/chechnyas-veteran-fighters-have-their-backs-to-the-wall.
- **1624** Andrew Kramer, "CIA Helped Thwart Terrorist Attack in Russia, Kremlin Says," *New York Times*, December 17, 2017, https://nytimes.com/2017/12/17/world/europe/putin-trump-cia-terrorism.html; Staff, "Putin Thanks Trump for Helping Foil Terrorist Acts in Russia," AP, December 30, 2019, https://apnews.com/general-news-2fdc2e014480cc9c384b79636dcd17da.
- **1625** Ben Wolfgang, "US Embassy in Moscow warns of 'imminent' extremist attack," *Washington Times*, March 8, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/mar/8/us-embassy-in-moscow-warns-of-imminent-extremist-a.
- **1626** Julian Barnes and Eric Schmitt, "US Says ISIS Was Responsible for Deadly Moscow Concert Hall Attack," *New York Times*, March 22, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/22/world/europe/isis-moscow-attack-concert-hall.html; "Death toll from concert hall attack in Russia's Moscow region rises to 144," Anadolu Agency, March 29, 2024,
- https://web.archive.org/web/20240330062453/https://aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/death-toll-from-concert-hall-attack-in-russia-s-moscow-region-rises-to-144/3178519.
- **1627** Antonio Pequeño IV, "ISIS Claims Responsibility For Moscow Shooting That Left 40 Dead," *Forbes*, March 22, 2024, https://forbes.com/sites/antoniopequenoiv/2024/03/22/isis-claims-responsibility-for-moscow-shooting-that-left-40-dead.
- **1628** "ISIS-affiliated media publish graphic body-cam footage from Moscow terrorist attack," Meduza, March 24, 2024, https://meduza.io/en/news/2024/03/24/isis-affiliated-media-publish-graphic-body-cam-footage-from-moscow-terrorist-attack.
- **1629** Paul Sonne, "Why Russia's Vast Security Services Fell Short on Deadly Attack," *New York Times*, March 28, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/03/28/world/europe/russia-concert-attack-security-failures.html.
- 1630 Borhan Osman, "The Islamic State in 'Khorasan': How It Began and Where It Stands Now in Nangarhar," Afghan Analysts Network, July 27, 2016, https://afghanistan-analysts.org/the-islamic-state-in-khorasan-how-it-began-and-where-it-stands-now-in-nangarhar; Tahir Khan, "Senior TTP Commander Daud Khan 'Switches Loyalty' to Daesh," *Daily Times* (Pakistan), July 31, 2017, http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/31-Jul-17/senior-ttp-commander-daud-khan-switches-loyalty-to-daesh.

- **1631** Joshua Keating, "The Pentagon Is Not Happy With John Kerry or His Syria Cease-Fire," Slate, September 14, 2016, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2016/09/the-pentagon-is-not-happy-with-john-kerry-or-his-syria-cease-fire.html; Gareth Porter, "How the Pentagon Sank the US-Russia Deal in Syria and the Ceasefire," Antiwar.com, September 26, 2016,
- https://original.antiwar.com/porter/2016/09/25/pentagon-sank-us-russia-deal-syria-ceasefire.
- 1632 Horton, Enough Already, 1–49.
- **1633** James Bamford, *The Shadow Factory: The NSA from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America* (New York: Knopf, 2009), 7–99.
- **1634** Staff, "Shoe-Bomber Has 'Tactical Regrets' Over Failed American Airlines Plot," NBC News, February 3, 2015, https://nbcnews.com/news/us-news/shoe-bomber-has-tactical-regrets-over-failed-american-airlines-plot-n296396.
- **1635** Josh Rogin, "State Department official: IC Intel guys wanted underwear bomber to come to the US?" *Foreign Policy*, January 11, 2010, https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/01/11/state-department-official-ic-intel-guys-wanted-underwear-bomber-to-come-to-the-u-s.
- **1636** Staff, "Al Qaeda affiliate claims cargo plane bomb plot," France 24, November 5, 2010, https://france24.com/en/20101105-al-qaeda-affiliate-claims-cargo-plane-bomb-plot-yemen-ups.
- **1637** Mariah Blake, "Internal Documents Reveal How the FBI Blew Fort Hood," *Mother Jones*, August 27, 2013, https://motherjones.com/politics/2013/08/nidal-hasan-anwar-awlaki-emails-fbi-fort-hood.
- **1638** Scott Horton, "Pensacola: Blowback Terrorism," Antiwar.com, December 9, 2019, https://original.antiwar.com/scott/2019/12/08/pensacola-blowback-terrorism.
- 1639 Howard Altman and Geoff Ziezulewicz, "FBI identifies suspect identified in NAS Corpus Christi shooting it believes is 'terrorism related,'" Navy Times, May 21, 2020,
- $\underline{https://navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2020/05/21/security-forces-member-at-nas-corpus-christi-injured-during-active-shooter-situation-shooter-neutralized-officials-say.}$
- **1640** Mallory Shelbourne, "One Explosive Device Responsible for Deaths of 13 US Service Members in Kabul Attack, Pentagon Says," US Naval Institute News, February 4, 2022,
- $\underline{https://news.usni.org/2022/02/04/one-explosive-device-responsible-for-deaths-of-13-service-members-in-kabul-attack.}$
- **1641** Mohammad Yunus Yawar, "Two Russian embassy staff dead, four others killed in suicide bomb blast in Kabul," Reuters, September 5, 2022, https://reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/afghan-police-report-suicide-bomb-blast-near-russian-embassy-kabul-2022-09-05.
- **1642** Staff, "IS group releases picture of bomb it says downed Russian plane over Egypt," AP, November 18, 2015, https://apnews.com/article/df25949c342340659058a5f07cd97786.
- **1643** James Jeffrey, "US Air Support for Iran in Tikrit: The Right Decision," WINEP, March 26, 2015, https://washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/us-air-support-tikrit-right-decision; Aamer Madhani, "US warned Iran that ISIS-K was preparing attack ahead of deadly Kerman blasts, a US official says," AP, January 25, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/kerman-us-warning-isisk-bombings-bcb47f04165b3eb7b9bc7b4868c8399c.
- 1644 Staff, "Iraq's Fallujah 'almost cleared' of Islamic State: Commander," AFP, June 22, 2016, https://firstpost.com/world/iraqs-fallujah-almost-cleared-of-islamic-state-commander-2850286.html; Luis Martinez, et al., "US airstrike in Baghdad kills militia leader behind attacks on American forces," ABC News, February 8, 2024, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/us-conducts-airstrike-baghdad-high-target-officials/story?id=107039296; Timour Azhari and Moayed Kenany, "Five Iraqi soldiers killed in ISIS attack on army post in eastern Iraq, two security sources say," Reuters, May 13, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/middle-east/five-iraqi-soldiers-killed-isis-attack-army-post-eastern-iraq-two-security-2024-05-13.

- **1645** Asharq Al Awsat, "ISIS Claims Deadly Syria Attacks on Pro-government Forces," Al Aawsat, November 11, 2023, https://english.aawsat.com/arab-world/4661466-isis-claims-deadly-syria-attacks-pro-government-forces.
- **1646** Seymour Hersh, "The Redirection," *The New Yorker*, February 25, 2007, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2007/03/05/the-redirection.
- **1647** Mark Perry, "US generals: Saudi intervention in Yemen 'a bad idea," Al Jazeera America, April 17, 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/17/us-generals-think-saudi-strikes-in-yemen-a-bad-idea.html.
- **1648** Nadine Yousif, "Taliban kill IS leader behind Kabul airport bombing," BBC, April 25, 2023, https://bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-65382277.
- **1649** Ben Wolfgang, "It's complicated: Terror group ISIS-K targets US and its worst enemies," *Washington Times*, March 21, 2024, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2024/mar/21/its-complicated-terror-group-isis-k-targets-us-and.
- **1650** Horton, Enough Already.
- **1651** Nancy Youssef and Shane Harris, "US Spies Root for an ISIS-Russia War," Daily Beast, November 9, 2015, http://thedailybeast.com/us-spies-root-for-an-isis-russia-war.
- **1652** "Bill Clinton Goes 'On the Record,'" interviewed by Greta Van Susteren, Fox News, June 7, 2005, http://foxnews.com/story/2005/06/07/bill-clinton-goes-on-record.html.
- **1653** "Russian region of Dagestan holds a day of mourning after attacks kill 19 people," AP, June 24, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/dagestan-militant-attacks-church-synagogue-police-84b57fbaa2d087eeb4ef87fa73b65f74.
- **1654** Mike Morell, "Bin Ladin Determined To Strike in US," CIA, August 6, 2001, https://irp.fas.org/cia/product/pdb080601.pdf.
- **1655** Ali Soufan, "Islamic State Khorasan Determined to Attack in US," The Soufan Center, June 19, 2024, https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-2024-june-19.
- **1656** How about this time I cite the videos? Scott Horton and Gus Cantavero, *Enough Already: Time to End the War on Terrorism*, the Video Series, *Scott Horton Show* YouTube Channel, January 31, 2021, https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLq2qhcVwTVJRQuCWXMVUM8SG2qYDFoPZA.
- **1657** Julian E. Barnes, "CIA Warning Helped Thwart ISIS Attack at Taylor Swift Concert in Vienna," *New York Times*, August 28, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/08/28/us/politics/cia-isis-warning-taylor-swift-concert.html.
- **1658** Ken Dilanian, et al., "Pakistani man charged with murder-for-hire plot against US politicians, potentially including Trump," NBC News, August 6, 2024,
- https://nbcnews.com/investigations/pakistani-man-charged-murder-plot-us-politicians-potentially-trump-rcna165433; Lee Smith, "The FBI Entraps Another Fake Assassin," Tom Klingenstein, October 3, 2024, https://tomklingenstein.com/the-fbi-entraps-another.
- **1659** Peg Tyre, "An Icon Destroyed," *Newsweek*, September 11, 2001, https://newsweek.com/icondestroyed-152127.
- **1660** Dan Gifford and Mike McNulty, *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (New York: Fifth Estate Productions, 1997), https://youtube.com/watch?v=iZ08dd6XKqc.
- **1661** Gina Bennett, "The Wandering Mujahidin: Armed and Dangerous," US State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research Weekend Edition, August 21–22, 1993,
- http://nationalsecuritymom.com/3/WanderingMujahidin.pdf.
- **1662** Seymour Hersh, "The Redirection," *The New Yorker*, February 25, 2007, https://newyorker.com/magazine/2007/03/05/the-redirection.
- **1663** Osama bin Laden, "Declaration of Jihad Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holiest Sites," August 23, 1996, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Declaration-of-Jihad-against-the-Americans-Occupying-the-Land-of-the-Two-Holiest-Sites-Translation.pdf; Dan Williams, "Israeli nationalist leader in spotlight over 1996 Lebanon attack," Reuters, January 6, 2015,

- https://reuters.com/article/world/israeli-nationalist-leader-in-spotlight-over-1996-lebanon-attack-idUSKBN0KF13U; Miriam Berger, "What to know about Naftali Bennett, Israel's new prime minister," Washington Post, June 14, 2021, https://washingtonpost.com/world/2021/06/01/naftali-bennett-israel-prime-minister-netanyahu; Brad Dress, "Close to 70 percent of Gaza war fatalities children, women: UN Human Rights Office," The Hill, November 8, 2024, https://thehill.com/policy/defense/4980505-gaza-war-fatalities-majority-women-children-united-
- nations-report; Staff, "Israeli attack on Lebanon's Almat kills 23, including seven children," Al Jazeera, November 10, 2024, https://aljazeera.com/news/2024/11/10/israeli-attack-on-almat-lebanon-kills-several-people-including-children.
- **1664** Arathy Somasekhar and Marianna Parraga, "Factbox: US imports of Russian oil and refined products," Reuters, March 8, 2022, https://reuters.com/business/energy/us-imports-russian-oil-refined-products-2022-03-08.
- **1665** Marcia Smith, "US-Russian-Ukrainian Space Mission Launches Successfully Despite Terrestrial Tensions," Space Policy Online, February 19, 2022, https://spacepolicyonline.com/news/u-s-russian-ukrainian-space-mission-launches-successfully-despite-terrestrial-tensions.
- **1666** Richard Luscombe, "US and Russia agree to fly each other's astronauts to the ISS as tensions thaw," *Guardian*, July 15, 2022, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2022/jul/15/us-russia-astronauts-international-space-station.
- **1667** Kenneth Chang, "SpaceX Launches to Space Station With Russian Astronaut Among Crew of 4," *New York Times*, October 5, 2022, https://nytimes.com/2022/10/05/science/spacex-launch-russia-crew5.html.
- **1668** Staff, "A Soyuz craft with 2 Russians and 1 American docks at the International Space Station," AP, September 11, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-soyuz-space-station-american-russians-bddf1750a5d8ba4b17d7bc43f8ffff0e.
- **1669** Not that India was a Soviet-style dictatorship, but they have had a very burdensome socialist economy. Sadanand Dhume, "Communism's Long Shadow Over India," *Wall Street Journal*, November 16, 2017, https://wsj.com/articles/communisms-long-shadow-over-india-1510871365.
- **1670** Michael Corbin, "BRICS signals shift from US dominated financial system," Responsible Statecraft, October 23, 2024, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/brics-new-world-order.
- **1671** Thomas Graham, "What Russia Really Wants," *Foreign Affairs*, October 9, 2023, https://foreignaffairs.com/asia/what-russia-really-wants.
- **1672** Harry Yorke, "Ukraine: arms prices are soaring, we need £800 billion to beat Putin," London *Times*, June 16, 2024, https://thetimes.com/uk/defence/article/why-are-arms-dealers-hiking-prices-for-ukraine-92hqdtlx2.
- **1673** Press Release, "Updated Ukraine Recovery and Reconstruction Needs Assessment," World Bank, March 23, 2023, https://worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2023/03/23/updated-ukraine-recovery-and-reconstruction-needs-assessment.
- **1674** Staff, "Iowa man sentenced for failing to file income tax returns," KCCI Des Moines, August 2, 2022, https://kcci.com/article/iowa-man-sentenced-for-failing-to-file-income-tax-returns-des-moines-wapello/40786071.
- 1675 Pedro L. Gonzalez, "How Trump Saved Ukraine Aid," Contra, April 24, 2024,
- https://readcontra.com/p/how-trump-saved-ukraine-aid; Vivian Salama, "Why Donald Trump Didn't Sink Mike Johnson's Ukraine-Aid Bill," *Wall Street Journal*, April 22, 2024,
- https://wsj.com/politics/policy/why-donald-trump-didnt-sink-mike-johnsons-ukraine-aid-bill-81fe8d11.
- 1676 Anna Conkling, "Frontline Ukrainians Fear New Aid From US Will Be a Disaster," Daily Beast, April 25, 2024, https://thedailybeast.com/frontline-ukrainians-fear-new-aid-from-us-will-be-a-disaster.
- 1677 Alexander Ward, "Biden admin isn't fully convinced Ukraine can win, even with new aid,"
- *Politico*, April 24, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/04/24/biden-ukraine-russia-war-aid-00154143. **1678** See Chapter Five.

- **1679** Julian Barnes and Steven Lee Myers, "Russian Disinformation Videos Smear Biden Ahead of US Election," *New York Times*, May 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/15/us/politics/russia-disinformation-election.html.
- **1680** Julian Barnes, "Russia Steps Up a Covert Sabotage Campaign Aimed at Europe," *New York Times*, May 26, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/05/26/us/politics/russia-sabotage-campaign-ukraine.html.
- **1681** Paul Sperry, "Secret Report: How CIA's Brennan Overruled Dissenting Analysts Who Concluded Russia Favored Hillary," RealClearInvestigations, September 24, 2020,
- https://realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2020/09/24/secret_report_how_cias_brennan_overruled_dissenting_analysts_who_thought_russia_favored_hillary_125315.html; See Chapter Five.
- **1682** Matt Taibbi, et al., "CIA 'Cooked The Intelligence' To Hide That Russia Favored Clinton, Not Trump, In 2016, Sources Say," Public, February 15, 2024, https://public.news/p/cia-cooked-the-intelligence-to-hide.
- **1683** Tal Kopan, "Polygraph panic: CIA director fretted his vote for communist," CNN, September 15, 2016, https://cnn.com/2016/09/15/politics/john-brennan-cia-communist-vote/index.html.
- **1684** Eric Tucker, "US disrupts Russian government-backed disinformation campaign that relied on AI technology," AP, July 9, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/russia-disinformation-fbi-justice-department-50910729878377c0bf64a916983dbe44.
- **1685** David Ingram, "Russia operated nearly 1,000 sock puppet accounts on X, Justice Department says," NBC News, July 9, 2024, https://nbcnews.com/tech/misinformation/russia-operated-nearly-1000-sock-puppet-accounts-x-justice-department-rcna161004; Dan De Luce, "Russia aims to undermine Biden in November election, intel officials say," NBC News, July 9, 2024, https://nbcnews.com/investigations/russia-aims-undermine-biden-november-election-intel-officials-say-rcna161011.
- **1686** Sean Lyngaas, "US intel officials warn Russia plans to target swing states in 2024 election with influence operations," CNN, July 11, 2024, https://cnn.com/2024/07/09/politics/russia-2024-election-influence-operations-intelligence/index.html.
- **1687** Julian E. Barnes, "US Announces Plan to Counter Russian Influence Ahead of 2024 Election," *New York Times*, September 4, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/russia-election-influence.html.
- **1688** Adam Hayes, "YouTube Stats: Everything You Need to Know In 2024!" September 6, 2024, https://wyzowl.com/youtube-stats; David Ch, "TikTok Statistics: Revenue & Usage," September 2024, https://sendshort.ai/statistics/tiktok.
- **1689** USA v Kostiantyn Kalashnikov and Elena Afanasyeva, September 5, 2024, https://justice.gov/usao-sdny/media/1366251/dl.
- 1690 Disclosure: The author has been a guest on the Tim Pool Show and skated his mini ramp.
- 1691 Matt Taibbi, "Embracing the Joy," Racket News, September 6, 2024,
- https://racket.news/p/embracing-the-joy; Eric Tucker, et al., "With charges and sanctions, US takes aim at Russian disinformation ahead of November election," AP, September 4, 2024,
- https://apnews.com/article/russia-justice-department-election-foreign-influence-4888f4bfc61e46173101060ad0321d2f.
- **1692** Koh Ewe, "Right-Wing Influencers Tied to Russian Disinfo Campaign Say They Are 'Victims,'" *Time*, September 5, 2024, https://time.com/7018028/conservative-influencers-react-russia-disinformation-indictment-tenet-victims.
- **1693** "Scott Horton on Russia Today," RT, August 21, 2010, https://youtube.com/watch?v=4GRsHIY-J18; "Scott Horton on Russia Today," RT, September 23, 2010,
- https://youtube.com/watch?v=B8XNX5ozy24; "Scott Horton on Russia Today," RT, November 3, 2010, https://youtube.com/watch?v=uPeIV6b-X4A.

- **1694** Scott Horton, "The Teetering Empire," Antiwar.com, April 5, 2005,
- https://original.antiwar.com/scott/2005/04/05/the-teetering-empire; Staff, "Our Anti-Imperialist Heritage: Murray N. Rothbard on War," *Reason*, February 1973,
- https://antiwar.com/orig/rothbard_on_war.html; Bill Kauffman, Ain't My America: The Long, Noble History of Antiwar Conservatism and Middle-American Anti-Imperialism (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008).
- **1695** Not that anyone should hold it against Americans who do appear on RT or Sputnik. That's the point. No one cares.
- **1696** Ethan Craig, "Understanding Mis-, Dis-, and Malinformation," OTH Solutions, November 7, 2022, https://othsolutions.net/understanding-mis-dis-and-malinformation.
- **1697** Sheera Frenkel, et al., "How Russia, China and Iran Are Interfering in the Presidential Election," *New York Times*, October 29, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/29/technology/election-interference-russia-china-iran.html.
- 1698 See Chapter Four.
- **1699** Karoun Demirjian and Marc Santora, "Ukraine Aid Falters in Senate as Republicans Insist on Border Restrictions," *New York Times*, December 5, 2023,
- https://nytimes.com/2023/12/05/us/politics/ukraine-aid-zelensky-congress.html.
- **1700** President Joe Biden interview Transcript, *Time*, May 28, 2024, https://time.com/6984968/joe-biden-transcript-2024-interview.
- **1701** President Vladimir Putin, "Visit to Russian Federation Defence Ministry's 344th Centre for Combat Employment and Retraining of Army Aviation Pilots," Kremlin, March 27, 2024, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73749.
- **1702** "Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 5, 2024, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf.
- **1703** President Joe Biden, "State of the Union Address," White House, March 7, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/03/07/remarks-of-president-joe-biden-state-of-the-union-address-as-prepared-for-delivery-2.
- **1704** David Sanger and Lara Jakes, "Biden Looks to Move Past His Troubles, Opening NATO Summit With Warning to Putin," *New York Times*, July 9, 2024,
- https://nytimes.com/2024/07/09/us/politics/nato-summit-biden.html.
- **1705** "Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, February 5, 2024, https://dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2024-Unclassified-Report.pdf.
- **1706** Sabine Siebold, "Exclusive: NATO will need 35-50 extra brigades under new defence plans," Reuters, July 8, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/nato-will-need-35-50-extra-brigades-under-new-defence-plans-source-says-2024-07-08.
- **1707** Julian Barnes and Eric Schmitt, "US Officials Say Russia Is Unlikely to Take Much More Ukrainian Territory," *New York Times*, July 9, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/07/09/us/politics/russia-ukraine-nato.html.
- **1708** Missy Ryan, et al., "NATO vows lasting support for Ukraine but won't promise membership," *Washington Post*, July 9, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/07/09/nato-biden-ukraine-membership.
- **1709** Staff, "Read the Full Transcript of President Joe Biden's Interview With TIME," *Time*, June 4, 2024, https://time.com/6984968/joe-biden-transcript-2024-interview.
- 1710 Max Hunder and Angelo Amante, "Italy and Canada sign security deals with Ukraine," Reuters, February 24, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/europe/italy-canada-sign-security-deals-with-ukraine-2024-02-24; Staff, "Security guarantees for Ukraine: Poland joins G7 declaration," Ukrainska Pravda, January 22, 2024, https://news.yahoo.com/security-guarantees-ukraine-poland-joins-125852634.html;

Sudip Kar-Gupta, "Ukraine's Zelenskiy and Belgium PM Sign Security Pact," Reuters, May 28, 2024, https://usnews.com/news/world/articles/2024-05-28/ukraines-zelenskiy-and-belgium-pm-sign-security-pact.

1711 "Bilateral Security Agreement Between the United States of America and Ukraine," White House, June 13, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/06/13/bilateral-security-agreement-between-the-united-states-of-america-and-ukraine.

1712 James Risen and Ken Klippenstein, "The CIA Thought Putin Would Quickly Conquer Ukraine. Why Did They Get It So Wrong?" Intercept, October 5, 2022, https://theintercept.com/2022/10/05/russia-ukraine-putin-cia.

Chapter 7: Trump II

- 1 David Gilmour, "Joe Biden 'Angry' At Barack Obama, Nancy Pelosi, Chuck Schumer Over 'Ouster': Report," Mediaite, August 14, 2024, https://mediaite.com/news/joe-biden-angry-at-barack-obama-nancy-pelosi-chuck-schumer-over-ouster-report.
- **2** "CNN Presidential Debate: President Joe Biden and former President Donald Trump," CNN, June 27, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=-v-8wJkmwBY.
- **3** Robert Yoon, "Harris wins Democratic presidential nomination in virtual roll call. Here's how the process worked," AP, August 6, 2024, https://apnews.com/article/kamala-harris-nomination-virtual-roll-call-explainer-c42bbf87ac85f359b84607ea55d1ca4a.
- 4 John Ismay, "Photo Appears to Capture Path of Bullet Used in Assassination Attempt," *New York Times*, July 14, 2024 https://nytimes.com/2024/07/14/us/politics/photo-path-trump-assassination.html. 5 Tweet by @GeminiRooster, September 15, 2024,
- https://x.com/geminirooster/status/1835501822368260291; Tweet by Max Blumenthal, September 16, 2024, https://x.com/MaxBlumenthal/status/183552460481478829.
- **6** Justin Scheck and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "Stolen Valor: The US Volunteers in Ukraine Who Lie, Waste and Bicker," *New York Times*, March 25, 2023,
- https://nytimes.com/2023/03/25/world/europe/volunteers-us-ukraine-lies.html; Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "I interviewed the accused gunman for a story on volunteers in Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/15/us/politics/trump-routh-ukraine-interview.html; Adam Goldman, et al., "Suspected Gunman Said He Was Willing to Fight and Die in Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/15/us/politics/trump-shooting-suspect-routh.html; Without resorting to any speculation about their role in the attempt on Trump's life, it is still worth noting that Routh had been pictured and filmed at a rally held by the Azov movement in Ukraine on April 30, 2022: Staff, "Fact Check: Video shows suspected Trump gunman Ryan Routh in Ukraine, not BlackRock ad," Reuters, September 30, 2024, https://reuters.com/fact-check/video-shows-suspected-trump-gunman-ryan-routh-ukraine-not-blackrock-ad-2024-09-30.
- 7 Tanya Lukyanova and Ben Smith, "In 2023 interview, alleged Trump plotter decried hurdles to get foreign soldiers for Kyiv," Semafor, September 15, 2024,
- https://semafor.com/article/09/15/2024/alleged-trump-plotter-ryan-routh-complained-of-obstacles-to-getting-foreign-soldiers-to-ukraine.
- **8** Madeline Halpert, "Gunman lurked for hours before Trump's last-minute game of golf," BBC, September 16, 2024, https://bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cvgwwqkgzx0o.
- **9** Interview of Ryan Wesley Routh, *Newsweek*, June 14, 2022, https://youtube.com/watch?v=FUyInDGLFlo.
- **10** Jane Lytvynenko, "US Authorities Were Warned About Suspected Trump Gunman," *Wall Street Journal*, September 16, 2024, https://wsj.com/us-news/u-s-authorities-were-warned-about-suspected-trump-gunman-153dab6f.

11 "Examination of US Secret Service Planning and Security Failures Related to the July 13, 2024 Assassination Attempt Interim Joint Report," US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, September 25, 2024,

https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/documenttools/c9d32bdeb3114ce7/3be66b40-full.pdf.

- **12** Madeline Halpert, "Gunman lurked for hours before Trump's last-minute game of golf," BBC, September 16, 2024, https://bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cvgwwqkgzx0o.
- 13 Jonathan Capehart, "Trump's MSG rally draws comparisons to 1939 pro-Nazi rally," MSNBC, October 27, 2024, https://msnbc.com/jonathan-capehart/watch/trump-s-msg-rally-draws-comparisons-to-1939-pro-nazi-rally-222807621632; David Rothkopf, "Donald Trump's Racist NYC Rally Was Vile. It Was Also Political Suicide," Daily Beast, October 28, 2024, https://thedailybeast.com/donald-trumps-racist-nyc-rally-was-vile-it-was-also-political-suicide; Andy Sullivan and Susan Heavey, "Arizona prosecutor investigating Trump for saying Cheney should face gunfire," Reuters, November 1, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/us/trump-suggests-liz-cheney-should-face-firing-squad-her-foreign-policy-stance-2024-11-01; Barack Obama, "My Remarks at a Harris-Walz Rally in Milwaukee, Wisconsin," Barack Obama on Medium, November 3, 2024, https://barackobama.medium.com/my-remarks-at-a-harris-walz-rally-in-milwaukee-wisconsin-a35a7944b07a; Ariel Zilber, "Rachel Maddow 'worried' Trump will send her to 'camps' if he's elected president," https://post.com/2024/06/11/media/rachel-maddow-worried-trump-will-send-her-to-camps-if-elected; Samantha Putterman, "In ad, Harris says Trump would gut Medicare and preexisting condition coverage. Here are the facts," Politifact, October 30, 2024, https://politifact.com/article/2024/oct/30/in-ad-harris-says-trump-would-gut-medic
- **14** Devlin Barrett and Perry Stein, "New Trump indictment tries to salvage case after Supreme Court ruling," *Washington Post*, August 27, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/08/27/trump-dc-indictment-new-charges-jan-6.
- **15** Edward Helmore, "Sweep of swing states rubs salt in Democrats' wounds as Trump prepares to meet Biden," *Guardian*, November 10, 2024, https://theguardian.com/us-news/2024/nov/10/trump-arizona-swing-states-sweep.
- **16** Post by former President Donald Trump, July 19, 2024, https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/112815440435929028.
- 17 Marc Santora, "Asked if He Wants Ukraine to Defeat Russia, Trump Doesn't Say Yes," *New York Times*, September 11, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/09/11/us/politics/trump-debate-ukraine-war-russia-putin-harris.html.
- **18** Bruno Maçães, "How Palantir Is Shaping the Future of Warfare," *Time*, July 10, 2023, https://time.com/6293398/palantir-future-of-warfare-ukraine; Jeffrey Dastin, "Ukraine is using Palantir's software for 'targeting,' CEO says," Reuters, February 1, 2023,

https://reuters.com/technology/ukraine-is-using-palantirs-software-targeting-ceo-says-2023-02-02.

- 19 Renée Schomp, "Thiessen Watch: A REAL expert calls Marc out on torture," Human Rights First, March 4, 2010, https://humanrightsfirst.org/library/thiessen-watch-a-real-expert-calls-marc-out-on-torture; Tony Camerino, aka Matthew Alexander, "Courting Fear," Slate, March 3, 2010, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2010/03/a-former-military-interrogator-unearths-the-errors-and-fear-mongering-in-marc-thiessen-s-courting-disaster.html.
- **20** Anders Hagstrom, "Trump describes how he could solve Russia-Ukraine conflict in 24 hours," Fox News, July 16, 2023, https://foxnews.com/politics/trump-describes-how-he-could-solve-russia-ukraine-conflict-24-hours.
- **21** Marc A. Thiessen, "Trump wants to make deterrence and (really) legal immigration great again," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/09/30/donald-trump-2024-interview-immigration-ukraine.
- **22** Robert C. O'Brien, "The Return of Peace Through Strength," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2024, https://foreignaffairs.com/united-states/return-peace-strength-trump-obrien.

- **23** Post by President-elect Donald Trump, November 9, 2024, https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/113455540757405917.
- **24** Felicia Schwartz, "Jared Kushner rules out joining next Trump administration," *Financial Times*, November 7 2024, https://ft.com/content/2512e5cb-603c-4980-98f9-83395c55e37b.
- **25** Staff, "Trump confirms pro-Israel Rep. Elise Stefanik job as US ambassador to UN," *Jerusalem Post*, November 11, 2024, https://jpost.com/breaking-news/article-828491.
- **26** "H.R. 6395: William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021," US House of Representatives, July 21, 2020, https://govtrack.us/congress/votes/116-2020/h152.
- **27** Connor O'Brien, "House panel backs requiring women to register for the draft," *Politico*, September 1, 2019, https://politico.com/news/2021/09/01/women-register-military-draft-house-panel-508781.
- **28** Mason Letteau Stallings, "Trump Taps Rep. Waltz as National Security Advisor," *The American Conservative*, November 11, 2024, https://theamericanconservative.com/trump-taps-rep-waltz-as-national-security-advisor.
- **29** "Rubio Repeats Himself 4x In Epic Debate Fiasco," Rebel HQ, February 7, 2016, https://youtube.com/watch?v=cOOs-ft7S2c.
- 30 Marco Rubio, "Restoring America's Strength My Vision for US Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2015, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-08-04/restoring-america-s-strength; Alex Isenstadt, "Rubio takes lead in Sheldon Adelson primary," *Politico*, April 23, 2015, https://politico.com/story/2015/04/marco-rubio-takes-lead-in-sheldon-adelson-primary-117268#ixzz3Y8Cx5KtE; Daniel R. DePetris, "Marco Rubio: The Neocon Man," *The National Interest*, February 29, 2016, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/marco-rubio-the-neocon-man-15348.

 31 Staff, "What they're saying about Obama's plan to withdraw troops from Afghanistan," *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 2011, <a href="https://latimes.com/archives/blogs/top-of-the-ticket/story/2011-06-23/opinion-what-theyre-saying-about-obamas-plan-to-withdraw-troops-from-afghanistan; Marco Rubio, "America Must Stand With The Libyan People" US Senate, February 24, 2011, https://latimes.com/archives/blogs/top-of-the-ticket/story/2011-06-23/opinion-what-theyre-saying-about-obamas-plan-to-withdraw-troops-from-afghanistan; Marco Rubio, "America Must Stand With The Libyan People" US Senate, February 24, 2011, https://nationalinterest.org/icymi-america-must-stand-with-the-libyan-people; Staff, "Marco Rubio on War & Peace," On the Issues, June 15, 2016, https://nationalinterest.org/icymi-america-must-stand-with-the-libyan-people; Staff, "Marco Rubio on War & Peace," On the Issues, <a href="https://nationalinteres
- **32** Post by President-elect Donald Trump, November 13, 2024, https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/113477453460742213.
- **33** Filip Timotija, "Kinzinger: Rubio pick as Trump secretary of State 'pretty good," *The Hill*, November 12, 2024, https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/4985585-adam-kinzinger-donald-trump-marco-rubio-secretary-of-state.
- 34 Tweet by Michael Tracey, November 12, 2024,

 $\underline{https://x.com/mtracey/status/1856502082032767089}.$

35 Tweet by Dan McKnight, November 12, 2024,

https://x.com/troopshomeus/status/1856493024634892542.

- **36** Defend the Guard, https://DefendTheGuard.us.
- **37** See Chapter Five.
- **38** Katie Bo Lillis, "Intelligence agencies, already anxious over Trump, find some solace in Ratcliffe pick for CIA," CNN, November 13, 2024, https://edition.cnn.com/2024/11/13/politics/intelligence-agencies-john-ratcliffe/index.html.
- **39** Post by President-elect Donald Trump, November 13, 2024, https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/113477477588190723.
- **40** Jesse Watters, "Americans right to be concerned as Biden plays 'chicken' with Russia, Gabbard warns," Fox News, June 6, 2024, https://foxnews.com/media/americans-right-concerned-biden-plays-chicken-russia-gabbard-warns.

- 41 Horton, Enough Already, 199.
- **42** Alexander Ward, "Trump Promised to End the War in Ukraine. Now He Must Decide How," *Wall Street Journal*, November 6, 2024, https://wsj.com/world/trump-presidency-ukraine-russia-war-plans-008655c0.
- **43** The author swears he was just joking. But then the *Times* brought it up in all seriousness: "Any negotiations involving Trump officials before he takes office could be illegal under the 1799 Logan Act." Anton Troianovski and Valerie Hopkins, "Putin Lavishes Praise on Trump, Saying Russia Is 'Open' to Restored Ties," *New York Times*, November 7, 2024,

https://nytimes.com/2024/11/07/world/europe/trump-putin-russia-ukraine-war.html.

- **44** See Chapter Five.
- **45** Tom O'Connor, "Donald Trump's North Korea Deal Fell Apart Because of John 'Bomb- 'Em' Bolton, Experts Say," *Newsweek*, February 28, 2019, https://newsweek.com/donald-trump-north-korea-john-bolton-1348442.

Chapter 8: Good Night and Good Luck

- 1 Rep. Jodey Arrington, "US National Debt Surpasses \$35 Trillion," US House of Representatives Budget Committee, July 29, 2024, https://budget.house.gov/press-release/us-national-debt-surpasses-35-trillion.
- **2** "Treasury Department Fiscal Year 2024 Budget Proposal," C-SPAN, March 16, 2023, https://c-span.org/video/?526623-1/treasury-department-fiscal-year-2024-budget-proposal.
- **3** Jeff Cox, "Interest payments on the national debt top \$1 trillion as deficit swells," CNBC, September 12, 2024, https://cnbc.com/2024/09/12/interest-payments-on-the-national-debt-top-1-trillion-as-deficit-swells.html.
- 4 Laura Beck, "Here's How Much Grocery Prices Have Increased Since the Last Election," Yahoo Finance, May 5, 2024, https://finance.yahoo.com/news/much-grocery-prices-increased-since-140029491.html; John Kelly, "CBS News price tracker shows how much food, gas, utility and housing costs are rising," CBS News, October 10, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/price-tracker; Erin Nolan, "These Small Towns Have a Big City Problem: The Rent Is Way Too High," *New York Times*, February 18, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/18/nyregion/rent-housing-prices-hudson-valley.html; Jasmine Cui, "Middle-class homeowners are increasingly squeezed by housing costs," NBC News, October 14, 2024, https://nbcnews.com/data-graphics/middle-class-new-homeowners-cost-burdened-house-poor-rcna163853; Alexandre Tanzi, "US Homeowners See Biggest Property Tax Rise in Five Years," Bloomberg News, April 4, 2024, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-04-04/us-homeowners-see-biggest-property-tax-rise-in-five-years.
- **5** Andrew Cockburn, "Our Real National Security Budget \$2 Trillion, Here We Come," Spoils of War, March 14, 2024, https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/our-real-national-security-budget. **6** Robert Kagan, "What We Can Expect After Putin's Conquest of Ukraine," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2022, https://washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/02/21/ukraine-invasion-putin-goals-what-expect.
- 7 Robert Kagan, "The Price of Hegemony," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2022, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-06/russia-ukraine-war-price-hegemony.
- **8** Robert Kagan and Michael O'Hanlon, "The ghost at the feast: America and the collapse of world order, 1900-1941," Brookings Institution, January 13, 2023, https://youtube.com/watch?v=ZE9LuFqy9Wg.
- 9 "Victoria Nuland on Russia-NATO relations, peace negotiations with Ukraine, and the US elections," Mikhail Zygar, September 3, 2024, https://youtube.com/watch?v=HiS2dg atfc.

- **10** Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, "An Address . . . Celebrating the Declaration of Independence," July 4, 1821, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/speech-on-independence-day.
- **11** Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "Toward A Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/1996-07-01/toward-neo-reaganite-foreign-policy.
- **12** Keith Gessen, "The Quiet Americans Behind the US-Russia Imbroglio," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 2018, https://nytimes.com/2018/05/08/magazine/the-quiet-americans-behind-the-us-russia-imbroglio.html.
- **13** Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Toward a Global Realignment," The American Interest, April 17, 2016, https://the-american-interest.com/2016/04/17/toward-a-global-realignment.
- **14** Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "Henry Kissinger: Ukraine must give Russia territory," *Telegraph*, May 23, 2022, https://telegraph.co.uk/business/2022/05/23/henry-kissinger-warns-against-defeat-russia-western-unity-sanctions.
- **15** Laura Secor, "Henry Kissinger Is Worried About 'Disequilibrium," *Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 2022, https://wsj.com/articles/henry-kissinger-is-worried-about-disequilibrium-11660325251.
- **16** Henry Kissinger, "How to avoid another world war," *The Spectator*, December 17, 2022, https://spectator.co.uk/article/the-push-for-peace.
- **17** Walter Russell Mead, "The End of the Wilsonian Era," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2021, https://foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-12-08/end-wilsonian-era.
- **18** Fiona Hill, "Lennart Meri Lecture 2023," March 13, 2023, https://lmc.icds.ee/lennart-meri-lecture-by-fiona-hill.
- **19** Michael Holden, "UK judge rejects extraditing Julian Assange to US over 'suicide risk,'" Reuters, January 3, 2021, https://reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/uk-judge-rejects-extraditing-julian-assange-us-over-suicide-risk-2021-01-04.
- **20** Vladimir Pozner, "How the United States Created Vladimir Putin," Yale University, September 27, 2018, https://youtube.com/watch?v=8X7Ng75e5gQ.
- **21** "Transcript of President Bush's Address on the State of the Union," *New York Times*, January 29, 1992, https://nytimes.com/1992/01/29/us/state-union-transcript-president-bush-s-address-state-union.html.
- **22** Col. Gian Gentile, *Wrong Turn: America's Deadly Embrace of Counterinsurgency* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 13.
- 23 Nick Hawton, "Hunt for CIA 'black site' in Poland," BBC, December 28, 2006, https://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6212843.stm.
- **24** Tim Sebastian, "When did Sikorski know about CIA torture?" DW News *Conflict Zone*, September 16, 2015, https://youtube.com/watch?v=qjosWra6Zgk.
- **25** Vnovak, "Military Donors Prefer Ron Paul," Open Secrets, January 5, 2012, https://opensecrets.org/news/2012/01/military-donors-still-prefer-paul.
- **26** John T. Correll, "The Weinberger Doctrine," *Air Force Magazine*, March 1, 2014, https://airandspaceforces.com/article/0314weinberger.
- 27 Peter Nicholas, et al., "Trump-aligned 'America First' Holdouts Don't Follow GOP in Backing Ukraine," NBC News, March 20, 2022, https://nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/trump-aligned-america-first-holdouts-dont-follow-gop-backing-ukraine-rcna20180.
- **28** Melissa Quinn, "McConnell says 'vast majority' of Republicans 'totally behind' Ukraine," CBS News, March 20, 2022, https://cbsnews.com/news/ukraine-mitch-mcconnell-republicans-face-the-nation.
- **29** Not that one could trust prominent astroturf, pretended America First organizations such as the America First Policy Institute or Edmund Burke Foundation's National Conservative Conference: Michael Tracey, "America First' Hawks Admit US Weapons in Ukraine are Plunging Down a 'Black Hole," MTracey.net, August 1, 2022, https://mtracey.net/p/america-first-hawks-admit-us-weapons;

- James W. Carden and Douglas Macgregor, "Neoconservatism by Another Name," *The American Conservative*, July 19, 2024, https://theamericanconservative.com/neoconservatism-by-another-name.

 30 María Paula Mijares Torres and Steven T. Dennis, "McConnell Signals He'll Be Speed Bump to Trump Isolationism," Bloomberg News, November 6, 2024, https://bloomberg.com/news/articles/2024-11-06/mcconnell-signals-he-ll-be-speed-bump-to-trump-isolationism.
- 31 Aaron Sobczak, "Fewer Americans willing to fight and die for other countries," Responsible Statecraft, August 21, 2024, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/america-polling-interventionism; Gil Barndollar and Matthew C. Mai, "America isn't ready for another war—because it doesn't have the troops," Vox.com, September 1, 2024, https://vox.com/future-perfect/368528/us-military-army-navy-recruit-numbers; Ethan Brown, "The Ghost of GWOT Haunting the Military Recruiting Crisis," Modern War Institute, December 28, 2023, https://mwi.westpoint.edu/the-ghost-of-gwot-haunting-the-military-recruiting-crisis.
- **32** Henry Foy, "Vladislav Surkov: 'An overdose of freedom is lethal to a state," *Financial Times*, June 18, 2021, https://ft.com/content/1324acbb-f475-47ab-a914-4a96a9d14bac.
- 33 Dan De Luce and Kevin Collier, "Russia's 2024 election interference has already begun," NBC News, February 26, 2024, https://nbcnews.com/news/investigations/russias-2024-election-interference-already-begun-rcna134204; Manuel Roig-Franzia, "The Steele dossier author promises more Trump dirt. Will anyone buy it?" Washington Post, October 7, 2024,
- https://washingtonpost.com/books/2024/10/07/steele-dossier-christopher-steele-book.
- **34** Erin Banco and John Sakellariadis, "The prospect of a second Trump presidency has the intelligence community on edge," *Politico*, February 26, 2024, https://politico.com/news/2024/02/26/trump-intelligence-agency-national-security-00142968.
- **35** Harry Browne, "What We're Up Against," HarryBrowne.org, June 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20020602200418/https://harrybrowne.org/2000/WhatWe'reUpAgainst.htm; Theresa Amato, *Grand Illusion: The Myth of Voter Choice in a Two-Party Tyranny* (New York: The New Press, 2009).
- **36** Michael Froman, "Email to John Podesta," WikiLeaks, October 6, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20170223020043/https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/8190; Michael Froman, "Email to Barack Obama," WikiLeaks, October 6, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20170222030238/https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/15560.
- **37** "New Poll: More than Two-Thirds of Americans Support Urgent US Diplomacy to End Ukraine War," Quincy Institute, February 16, 2024, https://quincyinst.org/2024/02/16/new-poll-more-than-two-thirds-of-americans-support-urgent-u-s-diplomacy-to-end-ukraine-war.
- **38** Peter Baker, "Trump's NATO Threat Reflects a Wider Shift on America's Place in the World," *New York Times*, February 15, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/politics/trump-nato-threat.html.
- **39** Charles M. Blow, "When Patriarchy Trumps Race," *New York Times*, October 16, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/16/opinion/black-men-harris-trump.html.
- 40 "Israel," OECD Better Life Index, October 2024, https://oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/israel.
- **41** Mykhailo Tkach, "Volunteer in a Lamborghini: The Story of Great Success During a Great War," Ukraine Front Lines, July 23, 2024, https://ukrainefrontlines.com/opinion/investigations/volunteer-in-a-lamborghini-the-story-of-great-success-during-a-great-war/?swcfpc=1.
- **42** Megan Henney, "Evictions are rising fastest in these 5 American cities," Fox Business, July 16, 2024, https://foxbusiness.com/economy/evictions-surging-rising-fastest-5-american-cities.
- **43** Malcom Kyeyune, "Hurricane Helene is America's Chernobyl moment," UnHerd, October 4, 2024, https://unherd.com/2024/10/hurricane-helene-is-americas-chernobyl-moment.
- **44** Gram Slattery and Andrea Shalal, "Trump to meet Ukraine's Zelenskiy after Harris pledges support," Reuters, September 26, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/biden-announces-8-billion-military-aid-ukraine-2024-09-26.

- **45** "Press Gaggle by Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre and Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas En Route Greenville, SC," White House, October 2, 2024, https://whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2024/10/02/press-gaggle-by-press-secretary-karine-jean-pierre-and-secretary-of-homeland-security-alejandro-mayorkas-en-route-greenville-sc.
- **46** Stuart A. Thompson, "FEMA Chief: Hurricane Misinformation Is 'Worst That I Have Ever Seen," *New York Times*, October 8, 2024, https://nytimes.com/2024/10/08/weather/hurricane-milton-disinformation-fema.html; Interview of Adam Aton, "How hurricane misinformation will haunt Americans longterm," *Politico*, October 10, 2024, https://politico.com/video/2024/10/10/how-hurricane-misinformation-will-haunt-americans-longterm-1462436.
- **47** Li Zhou, "Donald Trump's many, many lies about Hurricane Helene, debunked," Vox.com, October 8, 2024, https://vox.com/politics/376982/trump-hurricane-helene-fema-lies-debunked; Rhona Tarrant, "Misinformation has surged following Hurricane Helene. Here's a fact check," CBS News, October 7, 2024, https://cbsnews.com/news/hurricane-helene-fact-check-misinformation-conspiracy-theories.
- **48** Maxine Joselow, "Helene response hampered by misinformation, conspiracy theories," *Washington Post*, October 5, 2024, https://washingtonpost.com/weather/2024/10/05/hurricane-helene-conspiracy-theories-rumors.
- **49** Andrew Solender, "Dems beg tech platforms for hurricane misinfo crackdown," Axios, October 11, 2024, https://axios.com/2024/10/11/democrats-hurricane-milton-helene-misinformation.
- **50** Matt Taibbi, "The Hurricane Speech Panic is Here," Racket News, October 12, 2024, https://racket.news/p/the-hurricane-speech-panic-is-here.
- **51** Daphne Psaledakis and Jarrett Renshaw, "Biden announces new rule to remove all US lead pipes in a decade," Reuters, October 8, 2024, https://reuters.com/world/us/final-rule-epa-requires-removal-all-us-lead-pipes-decade-2024-10-08.
- **52** Staff, "US Government Defense Spending 1990–2023," Ycharts, March 31, 2024, https://ycharts.com/indicators/us_government_defense_spending; Andrew Cockburn, "Our Real National Security Budget \$2 Trillion, Here We Come," Spoils of War, March 14, 2024, https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/our-real-national-security-budget.
- 53 Max Ehrenfreund, "Black budget leaked by Edward Snowden gives details of agencies beyond CIA, NSA," *Washington Post*, August 30, 2013, <a href="https://washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/black-budget-leaked-by-edward-snowden-gives-details-of-agencies-beyond-cia-nsa/2013/08/29/a7f20890-10f0-11e3-bdf6-e4fc677d94a1_story.html;; Dylan Matthews, "America's secret intelligence budget, in 11 (nay, 13) charts," *Washington Post*, August 29, 2013,
- $\underline{https://washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2013/08/29/your-cheat-sheet-to-americas-secret-intelligence-budget.}$
- **54** Andrew Cockburn, "Our Real National Security Budget \$2 Trillion, Here We Come," Spoils of War, March 14, 2024, https://spoilsofwar.substack.com/p/our-real-national-security-budget.
- 55 Some would cite Iraq War I. The author disagrees. *Enough Already*, 21–49.
- **56** Michael Phillis, "Decades after the dangers of lead became clear, some cities are leaving lead pipe in the ground," AP, July 8, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/toxic-lead-pipes-epa-providence-health-bc793dea64ab59d26e27620d3c2338c9.
- **57** Garrett, 139.
- **58** Staff, "EU represented 15.2% of world's GDP in 2021," Eurostat, May 30, 2024, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20240530-2.
- **59** Rep. Ron Paul, "A Republic, If You Can Keep It," US House of Representatives, January 31 and February 2, 2000, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/a-republic-if-you-can-keep-it.
- **60** Ron Paul, "I advocate the same foreign policy the Founding Fathers would," *New Hampshire Union Leader*, October 8, 2007,
- $\underline{https://web.archive.org/web/20071011221042/http://unionleader.com/article.aspx?headline=Rep.+Ron}$

- $\frac{+ Paul\%3A + I + advocate + the + same + foreign + policy + the + Founding + Fathers + would\&articleId = cc287b0f 941c 4b07 88e9 9e992810f700.$
- **61** Thomas Jefferson, et al., "The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America," Continental Congress, July 4, 1776, https://archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript.
- **62** President Thomas Jefferson, "First Inaugural Address," White House, March 4, 1801, https://scotthorton.org/fairuse/thomas-jeffersons-first-inaugural-address.
- **63** George Washington, "Farewell Address," *Daily American Advertiser*, September 19, 1796, https://senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Washingtons Farewell Address.pdf.