

## REVIEW OF RUSSIA'S FAILURES IN POLICYMAKING, DECISIONMAKING AND THE 2022 WAR PLANNING AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

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**Problem statement.** It would be absolutely correct to say that the war between Ukraine and Russia has been going on since 2014. However, domestic and international documents which enshrined the nature and title of events until 2022 did not mention a full-scale war. On February 24, 2022, Russia treacherously attacked a neighboring independent state, thus violating international law and the UN Charter in its main article – the inviolability of state borders established by the Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations.

The article is aimed at highlighting the absurdity of the territorial entity called "Russian Federation" (RF), its system of public administration and decision-making and the main conceptual categories, proclaimed by RF as the motives and causes of aggression.

**Analyses of the related researches, papers and documents.** In general, this chapter is the author's reflection and analysis of the current situation in Ukraine. However, since the focus is on the way of thinking and acting of the aggressor, Russia, it is important to some extent refer to official sources.

If we analyze and make fact-checking of the so-called Putin's "Crimean speech"<sup>1</sup> on March 18, 2014, it is worth noting a few points that became fateful for Ukraine in 2022.

*First, the Russian leader said at the time that "during the registration of Ukraine's independence, they had forgotten about Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet base. The Russian people had become the most divided people in the world." According to Putin, Russia as a state had lowered its head and resigned itself, swallowing the insult, but nevertheless the Russians had believed that Crimea was Russian land and Sevastopol was a Russian city.*

It should be noted at once that manipulative technologies, fakes, propaganda and declarative appeals are widely used by the Russian political establishment as all this reach the audience, which is constantly showing a high level of support for Putin. The above-mentioned remark, which talks about the Russian people and how they came to terms with the insult, is actually about Putin who did not leave the insult but grew it to bloody aggression in 8 years.

*Second, according to Putin, he was sympathetic to those who came to Euromaidan with peaceful slogans to protest against corruption and poverty in Ukraine. How-*

*ever, it turned out that the protests were backed by forces preparing a coup. "It was carried out by nationalists, neo-Nazis and Russophobes." The new illegitimate authorities began with a bill to revise language policy, which sought to build an ethnically pure Ukrainian state. "It is very clear to everyone what Bandera's allies, Hitler's aides, intend to do." In these circumstances, the President of Russia received the right to use the Armed Forces..."<sup>2</sup>.*

These words shows that Putin recognizes himself as the only judge who independently decides on the application of a lawsuit, sanctions and/or interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state without appeal to international organizations and judicial institutions. That is, an autocrat who decided to extend his power anywhere, regardless of the international law, good neighborliness and respect for borders, inherent in a democratic world in XXI century. In addition, he unreasonably operates in the category of "nationalists", accusing Ukraine of neo-Nazism and oppression of Russians' rights.

If to talk about the protection of the rights of national minorities in Ukraine, they have always been respected, and since 1991 they have been resolved in a legal, civilized and fairly loyal way. No other national minority living in Ukraine, except Russians, has complained about the violation of the rights of their representatives. In the newly created multi-ethnic independent state of Ukraine in 1992 the Law "On National Minorities in Ukraine"<sup>3</sup> (On National Minorities in Ukraine, Law of Ukraine of 25.06.1992 № 2494-XII) was adopted, there is the Law of Ukraine "On Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine"<sup>4</sup> № 1616-IX dated July 1, 2021, while the Law on the Rights of the Titular Nation (Ukrainians make up about 80% of the population) still does not exist. So, there is no Russophobic policy in Ukraine, this is another one manipulation.

Hence, the accusations of nationalism domination in Ukrainian home policy are baseless, as nationalism aims and pursues the idea of elevating one nation above all others, and the main emphasis is on promoting their culture and interests which are contrary

<sup>1</sup> Обращение Президента Российской Федерации. Архив оригиналу за 21 березня 2014. URL : <https://web.archive.org/web/20140321160157/http://www.kremlin.ru/news/20603>

<sup>2</sup> Обращение Президента Российской Федерации. Архив оригиналу за 21 березня 2014. URL : <https://web.archive.org/web/20140321160157/http://www.kremlin.ru/news/20603>

<sup>3</sup> «Про національні меншини в Україні» Закон України від 25.06.1992 № 2494-XII URL : <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2494-12#Text>

<sup>4</sup> «Про корінні народи України» Закон України від 01.07.2021 № 1616-IX. *Офіційний вісник України*, 2021, N 60 (06.08.2021), ст. 3733.

to the interests of other nations or supranational groups. The above facts show different. Evidently obsessed with manipulations, Putin does not distinguish between patriotism and nationalism. Patriotism is usually defined as "love to own country" or "devotion to own country". If to analyze both terms historically, we can say that the concept of nationalism has changed, while the basic meaning of patriotism has remained largely the same. On the other hand, there are political scientists who believe that the rise of one nation over another is inherent in chauvinism, and nationalism can sometimes be protective when, for example, the assimilation of a nation or ethnic group in the empire happens. The nationalism in a very narrow sense – to describe radical, aggressive, chauvinistic, xenophobic movements prevailed mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries – do not exhaust the varieties of nationalism. In a broader sense, the word "nationalism" means one principle: that the borders of the nation must coincide with the borders of the state, thus, the question is where the nationalism is more demonstrated?

In his speech, Putin used the term "national-traitors"<sup>5</sup> which is a copy of the German word Nationalverräter, first used by Adolf Hitler in the Nazi manifesto "Mein Kampf". Consequently, once again the question is who are the neo-fascists and neo-Nazis? Based on the fact of citing Hitler and the atrocities committed by Russian troops towards civilians in Ukraine in 2022, they are fascists, or as they are accurately called "russists" (derivates from word "russia").

But the rhetoric got kept through years and on February, 24, 2022, in his speech "On the beginning of the special operation in Ukraine"<sup>6</sup>, Putin called its main goals "the demilitarization" and "the denazification" of Ukraine, and a day earlier, on February, 22, 2022, at the meeting of the Russian Security Council called the Ukrainian political authorities "a gang of drug addicts and neo-Nazis"<sup>7</sup>. If not to take into account these provocations, insults and lies, the stated terms do not stand up to any criticism, because neither "denazification" nor "demilitarization" are analytical categories, because they do not have clearly defined parameters by which one can determine the level of accomplishment or non-completion of the task.

Unfortunately, the absurdity of the political rhetoric of the Russian leader must be completely correlated with management decisions, which are illogical, but very scary for humanity.

**Highlighting of previously unresolved parts of the overall problem.** Generally, the publications dedicated to the critical interstate events in the acute phase focus on the chronology of events, political statements from both sides, speeches by leading experts and analysts, forecasts and reactions of the international community. We aim to shed light on the motives of the aggressor's illogical state decisions in order to be able to illustrate their absurdity and make certain predictions based on that. Analysis of the actions of the enemy and understanding of its logic are the basis for creating a counter-strategy and the right political and military decisions. Considering that everyone already knows the chronicle of events which gets possible due to the wide and truthful coverage of events by the Ukrainian media and non-concealment of any information by the Ukrainian authorities, let us present the thoughts concerning this process in the aggressor country.

**The task setting.** The focus of this Chapter is on analyzing the mental characteristics of Russians, debunking Putin's myth of a "single nation", and the most important is to analyze a number of government miscalculations that preceded the war in Ukraine, systematic strategic mistakes during the war and predictions of possible future scenarios of this armed confrontation. The aim is to illustrate the absurdity of the decisions of the governors of the territorial entity called "Russia", because it is difficult to call it a state, except that "failed state".

**The plot of the Chapter.** Before to provide analysis of the recent decisions of aggressor's authorities and their strategic fails we find it sound to reflex why any ill-advised decision gets mostly total support of the population. Especially it frightens relating the decision to start military aggression against other states: despite the reasons none of them was widely condemned by the Russian people, while the entire civilized world protested against these decisions and opposed any legitimate way to implement Russia's plans in practice. So, what distinguishes Russians from many other such different peoples the world?

The Russian people think differently, they think geopolitically: the larger the territory, the cooler we are. Such an archaic way of thinking has been preserved since ancient times, the times of nomadic raids, and, unfortunately, did not evolve, but became stronger and ossified. It is aimed at the constant conquest of territories, and in the event of the loss of part of its territory, the main goal of the life of the whole country is revenge. The modern trend of state development is progress not in the territorial aspect, but in the economic and intellectual. Progressive countries are truly those that invent innovations, develop the digital economy and implement artificial intelligence. Progress of this kind is recognized by all and does not depend on the size of the territory, ideology, political course and structure of the

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> "On the beginning of the special operation in Ukraine" URL : <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/31719676.html>

<sup>7</sup> Виступ В.Путіна на зібранні Федеральних Зборів РФ 22.02.2022 р. URL : <https://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2022/02/25/7325841/>

state. Take, for example, undemocratic Singapore and China, which are recognized as technological and industrial pioneers and leaders. Russia, on the other hand, is sick with archaic aggressive intentions: against the background of the former USSR, the current territory seems smaller and the main goal was to increase everything to its previous size. Justifications and legal restrictions are not taken into account. With that, this country still has a lot of its own undeveloped land! This once again proves the illogicality of Russia's state policy: foreign policy decisions are made not on the basis of concern for its people, not on the basis of the needs for its self-realization, existence, prospects and security, but on the basis of imperial aspirations and whims of the leader. So, the conclusion is the only things that Russian people need are to have a leader/ emperor/ tsar to worship and to periodically make raids on foreign territories, preferably successful in order to satisfy the ego and maintain the myth of a great and powerful people. These very explanations make clear why Russian people accept any stupid steps in policy making.

Analyzing the overall matters of the Russian-Ukrainian war the first conclusion concerns the global dimension. It is worth to say that by the 2022 war in Ukraine Russia opened the Pandora's Box as a real global horror will obviously begin by mid of the year – global famine can become inevitable as 1) Russia and Ukraine are the main suppliers of grain in the world, 2) this year's harvest will be smaller, 3) Russia is bombing existing grains storages in Ukraine and 4) logistical problems all this will bring the catastrophe to a peak point. The given conclusion has been proved by UNO whose Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Michael Fakhri, issued the statement that “Russia's invasion of Ukraine caused profound rates of hunger in the country... and may cause a global surge in malnutrition and famine”<sup>8</sup>.

It is impossible to suppose what guided those Russians who made final decision to start war in Ukraine but we are sure that is exactly the way the Russian top management conducts analytics which must always be the base for any serious decision in any normal state and governance. The analytical bodies in totalitarian countries do it improperly, they tell what their leader wants to hear but not the truth. All those political advisors, politicians and their followers, influencers' teams - all they made chaos, destroying chaos. We are convinced that the majority of them didn't know that there would be such war – the war the initiators hid from the others.

Let us illustrate: imagine that you are asked (conditionally) to preview the possibility of human rights

protection in different conditions, including the attack of prisons by aliens. You specify about aliens, the authorities tell you that it is just as reinsurance for calculations, nothing like this will happen. You understand that the report will be just for show, but you need to write in a victorious style so that no questions like “why do you have so many problems?” or “did you really work badly before?” appeared. Over all, a report is being written in canvas that when aliens arrive, we have everything to get rid of the consequences, we are great and everything is fine and under control and so on. It is done just to finish it as soon as possible and to concentrate on real tasks. And then suddenly they really let the aliens land and expect that everything will be according to your analytics, which was written like an optimistic fairytale.

That is why Russians have a total failure now. There is no protection from sanctions for the same reason: well, it's quite possible that the Chairman of the RF Central Bank Elvira Nabiullina will be accused of negligence (but rather someone from her team), but what they have to blame her for? No one knew that there would be such war, so no one is ready to meet such sanctions. It is logically and absolutely illogically at the same time as for consequences. This is the reverse side of secrecy: since no one was told, then who could guess what no one hadn't told about?

In addition, the relationship with potential allies is worsened. Kadyrov got crazy when Kadyrov's special forces had been terribly shelled by Ukrainian armed forces (UAF) in the first days of the war, they had not even begun to fight been simply torn to pieces in some places. And off we go: rumors say it was the FSB that discovered the routes to the Ukrainians. There are no proofs but I leave 1-2% for reliability; it cannot be excluded at all either.

Blitzkrieg failed. It is simply impossible to complete the task now. Supposing that Zelensky and the authorities were captured in the first 1-3 days, Russians seized all the key buildings in Kyiv and gave the order to give up - yes, the resistance would fall down to the minimum. In theory. But what's then? Even with this ideal for Russians variant, there was an unsolvable problem: with whom to negotiate? If to demolish Zelensky, well, with whom should Russia sign agreements? If with Zelensky, then after his elimination these papers are worth nothing. Opposition party “Platform for Life” refused to cooperate. To return Yanukovich? But in what status? If we say that it is impossible to occupy, then any of these authorities will be killed there within 10 minutes, as Russians leave. Occupy Ukraine? Where to get so many people? Commandant's offices, military police, counter-intelligence, security – even with minimal resistance from the locals, aggressor needs 500 thousand or more people without taking into account the supply system

<sup>8</sup>Ukraine: UN expert warns of global famine, urges end to Russia aggression. UN HRC, 18/03/2022. URL : <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/ukraine-un-expert-warns-global-famine-urges-end-russia-aggression>

and logistics. And there is a rule in Public Administering that by covering the poor quality of management with quantity, you only spoil everything. And this, we stress, would be an ideal option, which does not and will never exist. Thus, illogically again.

What now? In terms of a new mobilization of the servants as per mid-April 2022 there are some observations:

1) the large-scale mobilization will undermine the political, economic, social situation inside Russia;

2) Russian logistics are already overstretched now. Of course, Russia can drive many times larger contingent but what they will get? Ukraine is a large country in terms of territory. And now the level of hate towards Russians is going through the roof. Russian roads will not simply be able to handle such supply caravans as everything will come to a standstill. And they won't manage to pull it out, again because of chaos.

Another category to analyze are Russia's military losses which reach now up to 20 000 warriors from invader's side. The first couple of days RF still had control, but these days no one in Russian political and military offices and even at the Russian headquarter knows exactly what is going on the battlefields. And it is mainly caused by the spread of fake news and statistics, in which the authorities and the population of Russia have already believed. It demonstrates the Russian government's neglect to its own people and its army. But the awful thing is that the soldiers' families aren't aware of what is their servants' destiny and often they don't care. This fact once again shows shift of the Russians' moral and value orientations from the family and household as the highest values towards the leadership and military raids.

For Russians Ukraine is another one Chechnya in terms of hate towards them. And now even the loyal to Russia countries are now opposed. Further, civilian losses will go exponentially and resistance to Russia will also increase all over Ukraine. They already tried to enter the cities and very unsuccessfully. What's next? To keep cities under siege? The experience of military conflicts in recent decades shows cities can be under siege for years and it does not interfere with functioning. Humanitarian convoys from Europe in this case are just a matter of time.

We suppose Russia has such an approximate deadline in June, because they will have no economy left, nothing will remain. By and large, by May there must be a turning point because the situation cannot be in such an overstrain. There cannot be any analytics as it is impossible to calculate the chaos, and in Russia's today's realities there is a complete chaos. What can the politicians do? It isn't clear, the only possible way is to act intuitively or emotionally, but state governance is not the poker, the stakes are too high – the country – and there is a threat to lose everything at once.

By and large, the aggressor has no way out. There is just no option for a possible victory, and defeat is a complete failure of the state policy and the leader's image. The obvious result now is negative: the world is assuredly calling Russia the "the failed state" and its policy – State terrorism.

Unwise public administration policy and ignorance to the historical lessons led to the situation when Russia accurately repeat the beginning of the last century events, when it decided to kick weak Japan and get a quick victory, and then it turned out that the army wasn't ready. Then they started the war and met troubles on the battlefields, unsound military decisions led to taking the Bolsheviks for "upbringing" into the army because at that time they were outcasts, uninteresting to anyone in the masses. And then, the Bolsheviks, who were not really known to anyone, picked up anti-war slogans and it finished dramatically for Russia.

What is the most frightening in terms of enemy's state policy now is that it is conducted according to the rule of overlapping the old problem with a new one. Largely for this reason, in 2014 the Donbass occupation began: it was necessary to divert the attention of the world from so called Russian spring in Crimea, so the Donbass crisis should have drawn all the attention and become the subject of bargaining. But thus, the problems were multiplied: it didn't help to close the issue with Crimea, there were unsolved problems with Donbass, the South Stream has shrunk to 2 pipes, and Syria became Russia's another headache.

It can't be stated for sure who came up with the "Ukrainian Blitzkrieg". But we can suppose that if the Russian experts were given real and true introductory information, they would at least indicate that the original plan is controversial, that there is a need to double-check a lot of things. Now Russia got into grave troubles up to the neck and they don't know what to do. As we have previously mentioned twofold goal of adopted state decision to start war against Ukraine – "denazification" and "demilitarization" – cannot be analyzed from the point of view of public administration as these notions are not analytical categories, because they do not have clearly defined parameters by which one can determine the level of accomplishment or non-completion of the tasks.

Now it remains obvious that some unwise advisers are going to convince the Russian leader to start a conflict with the Europe demanding to reduce some sanctions. It looks like a bargaining: either you reduce, or you'll get the war too. What if the world leaders refuse? Now it is clear that then RF will be drawn into a real international conflict, like Hitler in 1939, and their Z will be compared to a swastika.

The next acute question that worries everyone concerns the possibility of a local nuclear strike. Nobody

can answer it surely now after Russian invasion and shelling of Ukrainian Nuclear Power Plants. It seems even that there can be a positive answer despite it won't give anything for military operation as this is the defense breakthrough weapon. But Russian leader can use it with the aim of intimidating others around world. At the same time Russian political and military authorities are trying to invent the proofs that Ukraine has secretly created nuclear weapons substantiating it by primitive and weak arguments that Ukraine has much depleted isotope 238. But it doesn't work as the proficient people know that the production cycle previews that it's impossible to do it imperceptibly and International Atomic Energy Agency introduced very strict control over all Nuclear Power Plants functioning.

It is worth to note that all strategic failures are happening simultaneously in home and international affairs and at military arena. Russia is running out of resources. The state is close to default. This dirty war is exhausting both countries. But Ukrainians are defending the Motherland, their spirit is unbreakable. To be honest, for Russia the only chance to keep the situation is to announce the total mobilization. But Russian leaders declared that they wouldn't do it. And the history shows that any country can't stay in such a regime for a long time, and management always goes astray in such a case. Furthermore, they have uncertainty with the timing and it will only get worse. To clearly comprehend it an example from sport could be rather illustrative: you can run a hundred meters in a snatch, but it's bad to go to a marathon distance and give a jerk with all might. It means that the Russians undoubtedly rushed with the Ukrainian issue solution in such violating way as if they got exhausted after running a hundred meters instead of a planned long-distance marathon.

To sum up we'd suppose that we find it unlikely that Putin will press the red button to destroy the whole world as there is no "one-man red button". Thus, there is more than one person in decision making on it, a lot of people are engaged in the process and there is the hope that at least someone will refuse to execute such a criminal order.

Secondly, there are some doubts that everything functions properly there. The Public Administration knowledge let realize that traditionally the greater the monitoring and control are, the more obvious it will lead to shortcomings. And if it is not clear who, what and how controls, but there are always bravura reports – everything always goes wrong there. I'm not sure if in Russia the red button system works as advertised. In addition, the plutonium charge must be changed every 10 years.

Thirdly, it's hard to believe in Putin's readiness to self-sacrifice taking into account that he does not let the members of the Federation Council and even his closest representatives and ministers come close to him.

## Conclusion

Taking into account the Russia's failures in the decision-making process in domestic and foreign policy, the moral and value orientations of the Russian people, it is obvious that this neighboring country will show contempt and superiority towards Ukrainians and disrespect for Ukraine's state sovereignty in any way for a long time. By this Chapter we aimed to prove that Russia's power as a state and its military capability is just baseless and fictitious PR, and the main feature of the decision-making process is the impulsiveness and unquestionability of the leader's decisions which affects the nature, strategy and sequence of military tactical operations and maneuvers. Chaos rules domestic and foreign policy, led to authoritarianism, moral impoverishment of political elites and the military corps, destroyed the opposition and the real intelligentsia. So democratic Ukraine has a lot to oppose Russia and to demonstrate to the world.

Therefore, the public administration bodies of Ukraine must take steps to overcome the consequences of the existing aggression and prevent a new one. In our opinion, the changes should affect all spheres:

- political (legal consolidation of new relations with Russia, border issues, return of the occupied territories to Ukraine, reintegration of these territories, customs and visa regulation, ban on pro-Russian political parties, the language policy, changes in legislation on punishment for collaboration, treason, intelligence and intelligence, etc.);
- economic (ban on imports and exports from Russia, trade, work of Russian banks and their branches in Ukraine, sale of land and real estate to Russians, currency conversion, appointment on leading and top-management positions in key economic sectors etc.);
- military (revision of military doctrine of Ukraine, introduction of compulsory military service in order to have a professional reserve, development of military engineering, popularization of military professions, allocation of state funding for the military sector, the quality of leading military leadership and personnel reserve from among the participants of real hostilities and not from among the "parquet generals", multi-stage verification of candidates for high state military positions and the Minister of Defense post, revision of the order of the titles assignment etc.);
- educational (ban on cooperation with Russian academic circles, citing Russian authors, use of Russian textbooks, conditions of using Russian in the educational process at all levels, review of curricula and professions of the future relevant to postwar Ukraine, strengthening the educational function of education and its service society and community, patriotic education, civic education, education in cultural and historical heritage and memory and political consciousness, culture);

- security (join the existing or initiate a new security alliance, determine the status of the state based on national interests, develop a set of measures to counter the invasion, strengthen information security measures, review the functions of the Security Service of Ukraine and personnel issues, etc.);

- informational (cyber security, spread of information, control over propaganda and fake news, work of national channels all over Ukraine, ban of Russian sites and sources of information etc.)
- all other strategic areas of public administration.

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