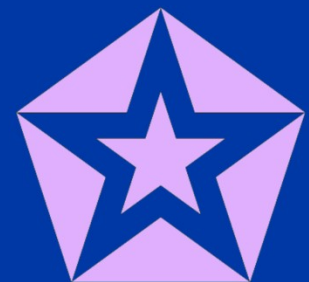


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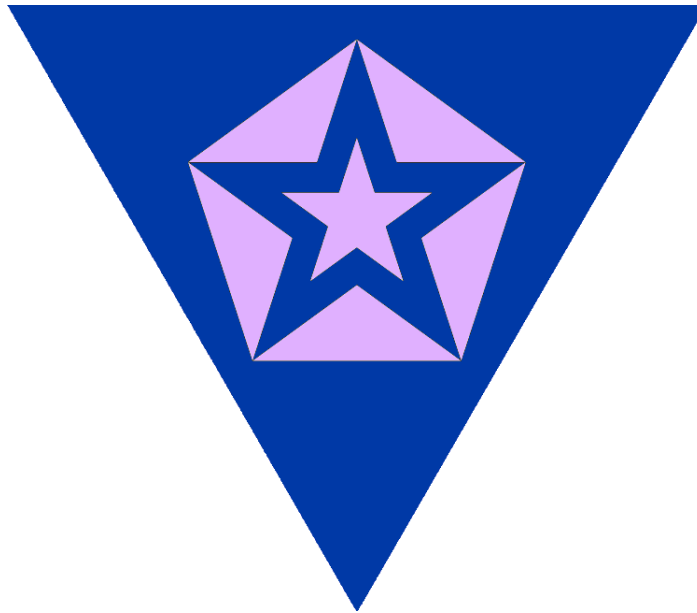


Ending the Russo-Ukrainian War
Through the Separation of Culture and State



The Gottlieb Initiative

Ending the Russo-Ukrainian War Through the Separation of Culture and State



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Gidon A. Gottlieb Institute

For the Separation of Nation (Cultural Identity) and State (Governancial Identity)

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June 21th, 2022

“All of this is within reach of contemporary statecraft.”

—Gidon A. Gottlieb (1994)

Good evening Mr. Stoltenberg and the North Atlantic Council:

THE GIDON A. GOTTLIEB INSTITUTE is a think tank (and “action tank”) which strives to evoke a structural differentiation between national-cultural spaces and political-governancial borders, as proposed in Dr. Gidon Gottlieb's 1994 *Foreign Affairs* article “Nations Without States.”¹ Gottlieb's paper is freely available through the University of Chicago's “Chicago Unbound” website: chicagounbound.uchicago.edu.

These three actions will end the conflict. And would have prevented it in the first place. And will provide a lasting, honorable, deeply healing recovery of Euro-Atlantic relations. The three actions are:

- 1. Internationally acknowledge the Ukrainian Historical Homeland and the Russian Historical Homeland, as cultural spaces which extend beyond their political-state boundaries, and which, as cultural spaces, freely *overlap* with each other.**
- 2. Totally end the ongoing State-compelled Ukrainization of the Russian-speaking community, through strongly facilitating the complete structural-constitutional separation of Nation and State throughout Ukraine—in other words, a total differentiation of ethno-linguistic/cultural identity (the Nation) and governmental/political identity (the State). This includes, most importantly, the freedom of national school systems to operate across state borders.**

Yes, the Russian State oppressed the Ukrainian language for centuries, but two wrongs don't make a right.

Another key feature is to culturally embody the “133 nationalities” which constitute the Ukrainian People, and the “over 193 nationalities” which make up the Russian People.

¹ *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 73, No. 3.

3. **Wherever there are formally disputed territories (such as Crimea and the Donbas), apply a new, never-before-seen form of statecraft: the Omni-National Bi-State Condominium (ONBSC), whereby the national-cultural administration is differentiated from the political-governancial administration. The Ukrainian political governance retains a symbolic governancial presence, in the form of consular services and a kind of dual citizenship based on the Irish model. But with the de facto Russian governancial status fully stabilized, normalized, and recognized; and the Russian national-cultural organization (such as the Russian school system) also present. International maps will depict the Ukrainian and Russian political régimes as *overlapping* there. A Bi-State Condominium.**

Culturally, the ONBSC becomes the first place in the world where all 194 civic nations in the world may offer their cultural services without hindrance, such as their national school systems and university systems. An Omni-National Condominium.

This Gottlieb Initiative can be applied at any stage of the war, no matter how much territory Russian forces occupy in the meantime, no matter what horrors have occurred, and no matter whether Russia is willing to withdraw to the pre-2022 line of control, or not.

Culturally, the concrete restoration and recognition of the ideal Historical Homeland of both nations will be experienced as a cultural salve and a victory by both. The deep historical-cultural aspirations of both nations will be fulfilled.

And politically, the preservation of 100% of Ukraine's state territory via the Bi-State Condominium will be an honorable conclusion.

It's only a matter of how much human suffering we are willing to witness, and how long we allow ourselves to remain entranced by the fusion of cultural and military power which flow through Americanism and Russianism, before we will wake up to the simple, actionable idea of the “separation of culture and state.”

ACTION ONE:

INTERNATIONALLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE HISTORICAL HOMELAND OF UKRAINE AND THE HISTORICAL HOMELAND OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

DR. GOTTLIEB laid out the idea in 1994. He presciently addressed the conundrum of the Ethnic Russians:

*"Many large national communities continue to find themselves living in trying conditions outside their own national state in countries at the edge of their homeland. **This is the fate of some 25 million Russian inhabitants of the former Soviet republics** who were unexpectedly separated from Statehood has Russia by borders created when the former Soviet republics declared independence. These become the ultimate Russians, cut off from the protection of their motherland, are often reduced to the status of an unwelcome minority among peoples impatient to be rid of Moscow's domination. The Russians began coming to the distant lands of Central Asia in the heady days of the Great Game and, in this century, in the wake of Stalin's policy of Russification. **The treatment of these Russian populations has become a serious irritant in relations among the ex-Soviet states**, but border changes cannot return them peaceably to Russia's jurisdiction. **Any such changes would necessarily dismember the new states, setting Russia on a path of resurgent imperialism.***

"Left unattended, this issue could yet provide the spark for massive Russian intervention in the former Soviet republics."

"The powers are now confronted once more with national questions that threaten the peace. A new framework is required where Woodrow Wilson's principles failed. [...] There is a need for fresh thinking of a kind not seen since the peace settlements of the 1920s. It is time for a new effort, to update Woodrow Wilson's scheme for new nation states. The need for an update, an aggiornamento of the state system, is underscored by the inability of the United Nations and NATO to safeguard the territorial integrity of Bosnia, which is a member of the United Nations, from the onslaught of Serb ethnic nationalism, or even to protect Bosnia's population from the barbaric massacres."

*"The fate of Russian minorities has become an issue in Russian politics. It was skillfully exploited by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in his campaign for the Russian parliament. **Nationalist critics charged that Russians living in the "near abroad" are being discriminated against and treated as second-class citizens**, especially in the new countries of central Asia. This discrimination denies full rights of citizenship, promotes bias in schools, places Russian property and jobs in jeopardy, and forces Russians to learn local languages. **The suggestion that Russia content itself with the feeble remedies of traditional international law for the protection of its nationals in nearby countries is unlikely to carry the day** in a country rife with nationalist and xenophobic passions."*

"The grant of Russian nationality, as distinct from dual citizenship, could be designed to extend diplomatic protection and confer privileges inside Russia itself, rather than to assert Russia's right to intervene in the ex-Soviet states."

"Soft forms of union between national communities divided by international frontiers could reduce tensions in stalemated conflicts. Such unions could grant a common nationality to persons of diverse citizenship[.]"

—Gidon A. Gottlieb (1994)

If the North Atlantic leadership had grasped and enacted this twenty years ago, much destruction could've been skipped. But better late than never. If we will now acknowledge the Historical Homeland of Ukraine and the Historical Homeland of the Russian Federation as self-delineated, freely overlapping *cultural* spaces, and

depict them on international maps, this will serve as the foundation for a comprehensive solution to the Russo-Ukrainian War. A costless symbolic action.

Dr. Gottlieb describes the Historical Homeland concept here: (also known as the Cultural Homeland, National Home, National Motherland, Historical Motherland, Homeland Régime, National Home Régime, or Cultural Régime)

“Historical Homelands. The notion of a special régime for a national or ethnic community in a historical homeland that lies across an international border would permit a soft exercise of national rights that does not entail a territorial rearrangement among states. The depth of attachment of a nation to a historical homeland is not easily understood in secular societies, in which land is bereft of mystical significance and where the idea of a country blends into that of real estate. A national home is a concept that has its roots in history, culture and myth. The limits of a national or historical motherland often do not coincide with a state's boundaries.”

“The emotional nature of the ties between a nation and its homeland renders them immune to legal claim and to notions of legitimacy and majority rule that are sometimes advanced to deny them. An internationally recognized régime must be devised to give expression to those ties without prejudicing the territorial settlement between the states of a region.”

“A homeland régime would define the [cultural] rights that a community may exercise in areas it considers to be its historical or national home, astride the international borders that may bisect it.”

“This can be done whether or not that community constitutes a majority in the region. [...] Where the same territory is contested by two or more peoples, [...] concurrent national home régimes could be created within a single region.”

At its most basic, a Historical Homeland is nothing more or less than an internationally acknowledged cultural space which is shown on world maps as extending beyond the political borders of that nation-state. Yet there are three key principles:

1. **Freely Self-Defined Cultural Boundaries.**

“The emotional nature of the ties between a nation and its homeland renders them immune to legal claim and to notions of legitimacy and majority rule that are sometimes advanced to deny them.” [...] “This can be done whether or not that community constitutes a majority in the region.”

—Gidon Gottlieb

The Historical Homeland is entirely self-defined by each nation, without any interference or veto by any other nation. How each nation conceives its own historical geography is its own internal cultural affair. (In a similar way that how a religious denomination draws the boundaries of its own ecclesiastical provinces is no one else's business.)

Even if that nation's interpretation of historical geography is widely contested (and they almost always are!), it simply is not a political/legal concern...it's a freely-conceived cultural conception. The Historical Homeland is a nation's soft cultural space, according to its own conception, feelings, legend, and whim.

Yet one typical starting point would be to restore the lands which were administered or claimed by the nation around the time of the First World War—a time when the disappointments which are inherent to the fusion of nation and state came painfully to the fore. These collective wounds still resound in the present moment.

However, if more distant eras are also in the forefront of national public consciousness, such as the Russian cultural presence in Alaska, there's nothing stopping a nation from including those lands in its Historical Homeland from the start.

Historical Homelands can include seas. The Historical Homeland includes the Territorial Sea (the legal maritime border) and also that nation's Exclusive Economic Zone (even though EEZs are a “national economic” space, all national spaces inherently have a cultural/ideational component). And these are according to the nation's widest original claims, before they were whittled down through maritime negotiations. But even beyond this, the Historical Homelands can include whatever maritime areas are culturally significant to that nation; such as extensions which extend along the Historical Homeland's coasts, beyond the Territorial Sea and EEZ.

Also, Homelands don't have to be entirely contiguous—there can be provinces and enclaves which are not connected (like Alaska and Hawai'i in the U.S.).

2. **Historical Homelands Extend Beyond the Political Boundaries and Overlap With Each Other.**

“The limits of a national or historical motherland often do not coincide with a state's boundaries.”
“Where the same territory is contested by two or more peoples, [...] concurrent national home régimes could be created within a single region.”

—Gidon Gottlieb

Historical Homelands extend beyond the legal-state borders, and so will necessarily overlap with the Historical Homelands of other nations. In a similar way that, ever since the structural “separation of church and state” began during the Enlightenment, the ecclesiastical provinces of the religious denominations of all faiths have been able to freely overlap with each other.

*“Functional Spaces and Zones. Soft functional spaces [i.e. the Historical Homelands] are mere **overlays** added for limited purposes **over** existing [political] boundary lines. They do not prejudice or modify internationally recognized [political-legal] borders.”*

—Gidon Gottlieb

3. **International Acknowledgement and Depiction on World Maps.**

“An internationally recognized régime must be devised to give expression to those ties[.]”

—Gidon Gottlieb

In the context of ending the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, the Historical Homelands of those two nations would be internationally “acknowledged” and would be depicted on world maps in a way that distinguished the political border from the Historical Homeland (the self-defined cultural border). Acknowledgement implies no endorsement of a particular nation's interpretation. As cultural constructs, the Historical Homelands are simply acknowledged. You have your cultural interpretation of historical geography, and we have ours. They overlap.

If strictly “political maps” are not thematically inclined to show the Historical Homelands, there would need to be a new kind of “Historical Homelands” or “Cultural Homelands” world map, of which Ukraine and Russia would be the first to be depicted.

If no other aspects of this Gottlieb Initiative are grasped and taken up, the Historical Homelands would be entirely symbolic, with no functional implications at all. Yet even this costless action of formally acknowledging the Ukrainian Historical Homeland and the Russian Historical Homeland, and showing them on world maps, may have prevented the war. And could still end it, especially if palpable elements of cultural freehood are also applied, as described elsewhere in this Initiative.

Lest there be concern that the Historical Homeland must be perfectly defined and eternally locked into whatever shape the national leadership initially conceives, there are three further principles:

4. **Free to Widen the Historical Homeland in the Future.** Since the Historical Homelands are entirely self-defined, in the further future, the nations would be free to ceremonially extend their Historical Homeland to include deeper and wider conceptions. Such as the boundaries of the medieval, ancient, and archeological cultures which each nation points to as their predecessors. As seen, for example, in their civic history textbooks and national historical atlases. These later restorations might be done in a ceremonial way which provides collective healing for the national catastrophes of the past.
5. **Diaspora Cultural Districts.** Since the Historical Homelands are primarily symbolic-emotive cultural spaces, there is inherently no “functional” legal difference between lands which lie within or outside the Historical Homeland. It's just that one locality is emotionally and ideationally part of the Homeland, while the other locality is part of that nation's global Diaspora (outside of the Homeland). So as to emphasize this, each nation is encouraged to also delineate Diaspora Cultural Districts which encompass the entire globe.

These Diaspora Cultural Districts would typically parallel the boundaries of each nation's existing world-wide array of Consular Districts (or the most granular array of former Consular Districts, if Consulates have recently closed, for example, the recently closed Russian consulates of Seattle and San Francisco).

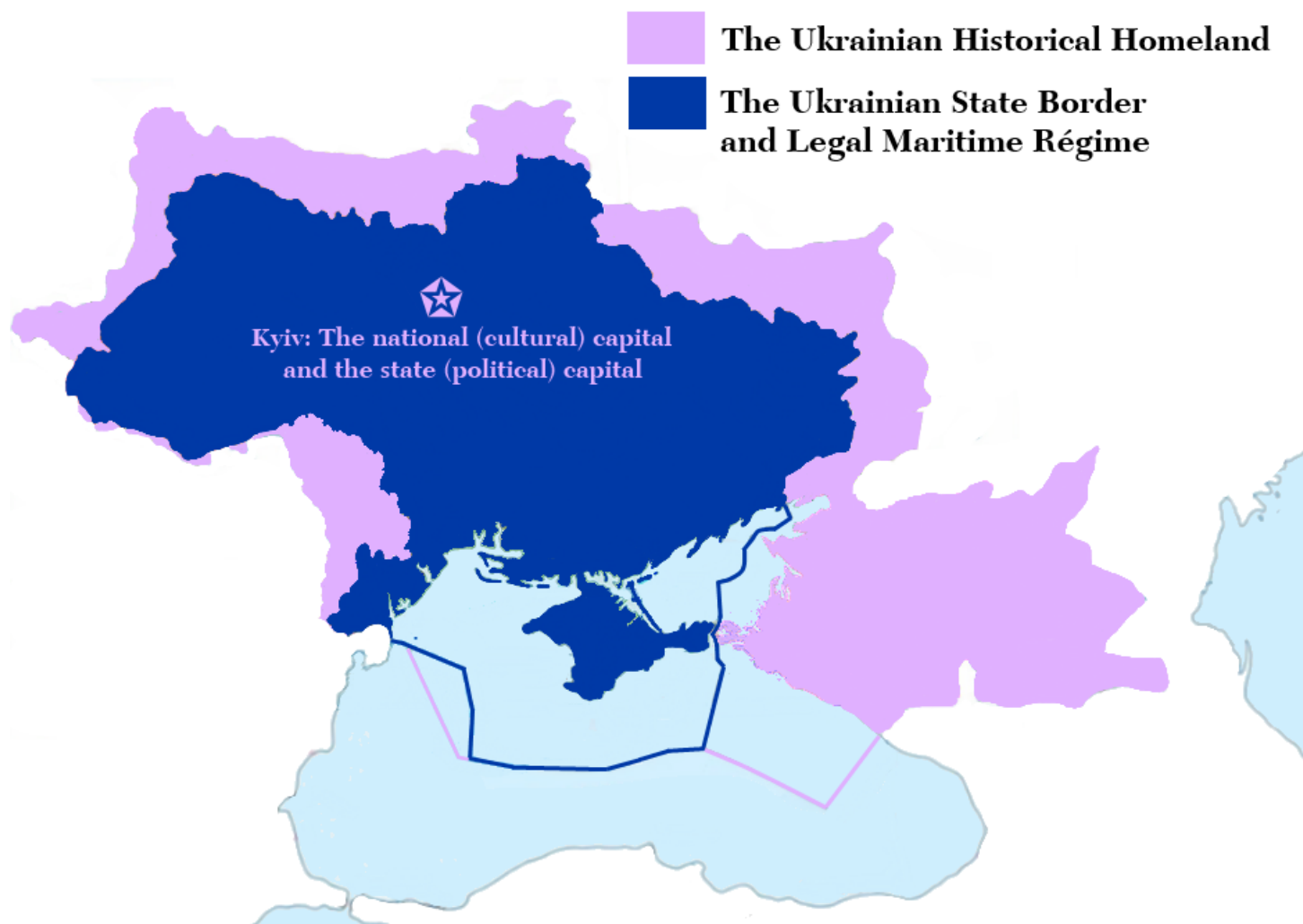
But in some cases, there may be geographic areas in the Diaspora which lend themselves to particular boundaries; for example, “Green Ukraine” (a.k.a. the “Green Wedge”)—the area of traditional Ukrainian settlement in the Far East, bordering northeast China—doesn't correspond to a Consular District, yet it has a traditional boundary which might serve to define a Diaspora Cultural District.
6. **Diaspora Districts Can Later Be Included in the Homeland.** Over time, as cultural activities increase in the diaspora, a nation might decide to “upgrade” a Diaspora Cultural District to become part of the Historical Homeland proper. Also, the Historical Homeland does not have to be geographically contiguous—there can be portions which don't touch each other. These decisions are entirely internal aesthetic matters.

Here follows a sketch of what the Historical Homelands of Ukraine and of the Russian Federation could look like. We can't speak for the nations themselves; yet we offer some images for illustrative purposes. These Historical Homelands could be ceremonially established immediately.

The starting points for the Ukrainian Historical Homeland would be the WWI era claims, along with “Ethnographic Ukraine.” The starting point for the Russian Historical Homeland are the wide boundaries of the Russian Empire prior to WWI.

THE HISTORICAL HOMELAND OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Here is a draft map of the Ukrainian Historical Homeland. It is a composite map taken directly from the “Ethnographic Territory of Ukraine” and from the claimed boundaries of the Ukrainian State-Central Rada and the royalist Ukrainian Hetmanate (1917-1918), during WWI, as depicted in recent Ukrainian historical atlases. This is only a sample illustration—the exact boundaries would be delineated by the Ukrainian national leadership.



Note: The areas which are militarily occupied or formally claimed by the Russian Federation would be politically part of the shared Omni-National Bi-State Condominium.

Here are some source maps which the Gottlieb Initiative draws from. They are presented in reverse chronological order, extending from the present back to WWI. Extensive examples are shown, to affirm that the Gottlieb Initiative empathizes with the saga of Ukrainian Humanity.

Ukraine after WW2, showing the “Ethnographic Territory of Ukraine” (1945 to the present):



UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II (1945-1991)

A map of the official claims of the Ukrainian State-Central Rada and the royalist Ukrainian Hetmanate (1917-1918), during WWI:



UKRAINE STATE-CENTRAL RADA AND HETMANATE (1917-1918)

Note: It probably goes without saying, but the boundaries of the National Socialist Reichskommissariat “version” of Ukraine are not included in this presentation.

Another image showing the “Ukrainian Ethnolinguistic Boundary, 1930,” along with the eastern Donbas districts which were transferred to Russia in 1925:



UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR I (1921-1939)



- Ukraine after World War I 1921-1939 (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
- Carpathian Ukraine (Carpathian Rus') in 1938-39
- Ethnographic Ukrainian territory
- State boundaries in 1939



Formation of the Soviet Ukraine (1917-1928) showing the Soviet-Ukrainian claim to Bessarabia:



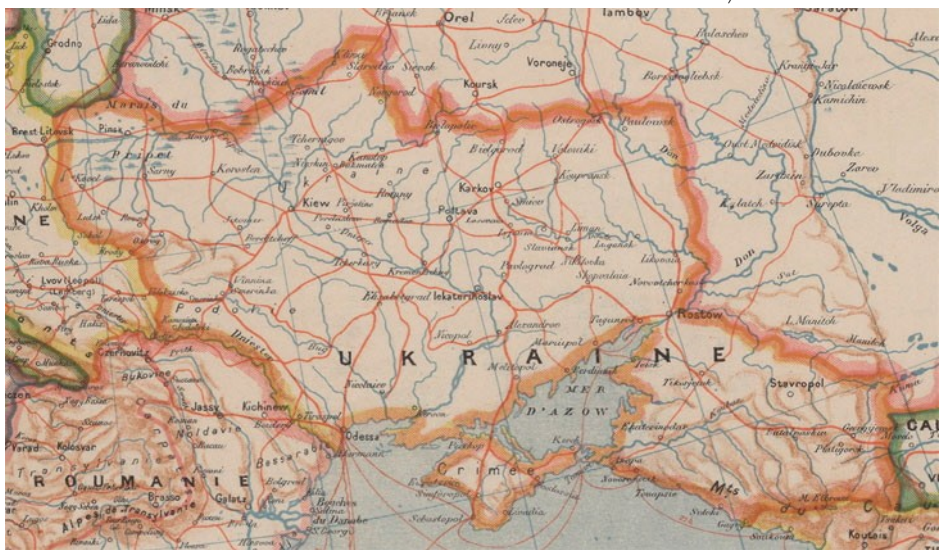
This Soviet map also shows Ukrainian Bessarabia:



It may be noted that the present-day Ukrainian leadership downplays the fact that Bessarabia was briefly a part of Ukraine during Soviet times. Probably in order to cultivate good relations with the Republic of Moldova, and to not form a precedent vis-à-vis Crimea. However, unless the Ukrainian SSR legacy is totally alien to the current administration, we encourage the Ukrainian leadership to also include Bessarabia. This would affirm that the Historical Homeland freely extends not only into “hostile” Russia and Belarus, but also into friendly Moldova and Poland. In any case, the Republic of Moldova's Historical Homeland likewise extends into Ukraine, as shown in Appendix A.



The Kuban National Republic briefly federated with the Ukrainian Hetmanate during the Russian Civil War. (The boundaries depicted on the French-published map below seem to be somewhat loose, and may not reflect the exact claims of the Kuban and Ukrainian authorities at the time.)



A recently published composite map which shows even the minor border changes:



And another composite map whose insets show the Crimson Wedge (in the Kuban), Green Wedge (in the Far East), and other outlying Ukrainian settlements:



In regard to maritime areas, Ukraine's original EEZ claim extended further southwest of Snake Island than the subsequent agreement with Romania. The original claim could be included in the Historical Homeland. (Of course, the Romanian Historical Homeland likewise extends northeast to the original Romanian claim.)



Cultural Oblasts (Regions) within the Ukrainian Historical Homeland:

Beyond the Ukrainian State Border, the Ukrainian Historical Homeland would be self-delineated into Cultural Oblasts (Kul'turni Oblasti), typically based on previously existing historical provinces or previous administrative claims. Here's one image which shows roughly how the Cultural Oblasts could be delineated in the Historical Homeland. But the exact borders could be reverse engineered to stylistically match up with the present-day Oblasts, some of which would, for cultural (but not political) purposes, extend into the Ukrainian State Border.



HISTORICAL REGIONS OF UKRAINE

Within the Cultural Oblasts, there could also be cultural subdivisions: Cultural Rayons (cultural counties) and Cultural Municipalities.

Cultural Districts of the Ukrainian Diaspora:

Outside of the Historical Homeland, the entire globe would be delineated into Ukrainian Cultural Districts (Kul'turni Okruhi) serving the cultural/education needs of the Ukrainian Diaspora. The Cultural District boundaries would perhaps usually follow the existing Consular Districts of Ukraine. However, areas which already have a meaningful historical geography, such as the Crimson Wedge, the Yellow Wedge (along the Volga River), the Gray Wedge (in northern Kazakhstan and Central Siberia), and the Green Wedge (in the Far East) might serve as Cultural Districts in themselves. And eventually, some or all of them might be upgraded to become Cultural Oblasts of the Homeland proper. These æsthetic-cultural decisions are held totally within the realm of the culturally sovereign, inspired “whim” of the Ukrainian NCO leadership.



The Crimson Wedge, Yellow Wedge, and Gray Wedge of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Russia and Kazakhstan.



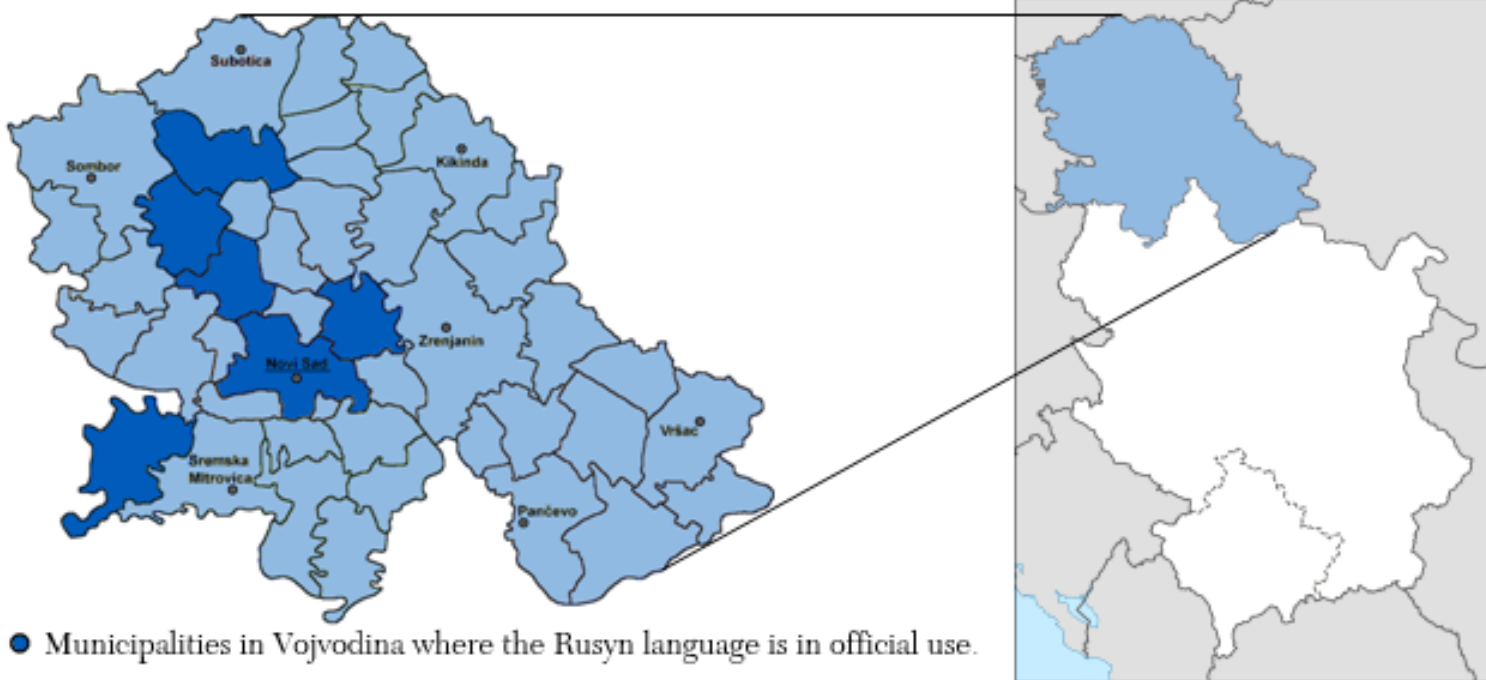
The Ukrainian Far Eastern Republic (1918) a.k.a. The Green Wedge (Zeleny Klyn)



Claimed boundaries of the Ukrainian Far Eastern Republic (1918).

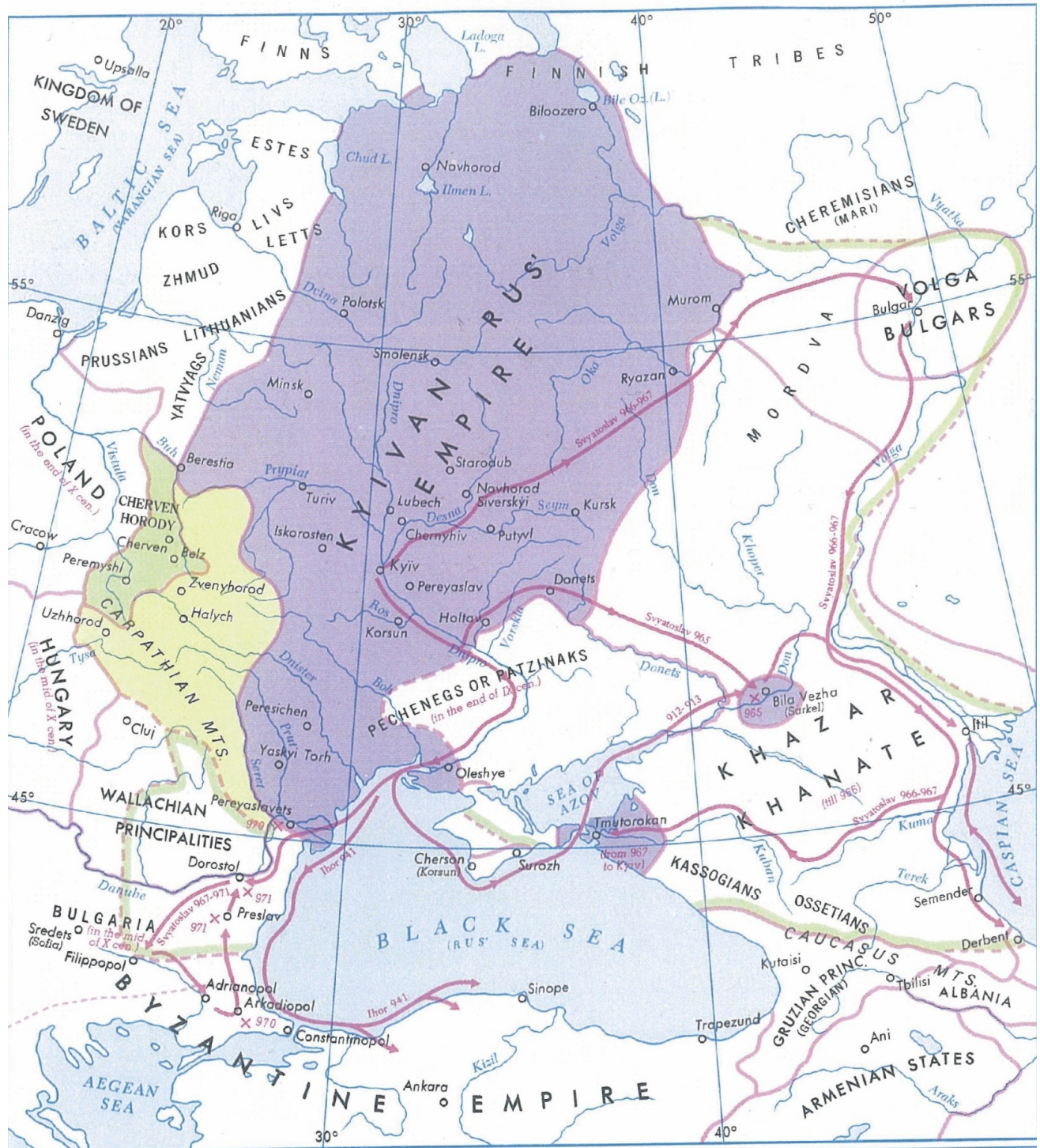
Another example of existing geographies is the historical Ukrainian Block Settlements in Canada where the Canadian government facilitated the foundation of municipality-sized Ukrainian colonies during the late 1800s and early 1900s. These could be designated as Ukrainian Cultural Rayons or Ukrainian Cultural Municipalities within the wider Ukrainian Cultural Districts in North America.

Also, the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in Serbia, where the Rusyn (a.k.a. Ruthenian) language is co-official; since, from the perspective of Ukrainian civic ethnology (though not necessarily from any other perspective), Rusyn is considered to be a variety of the Ukrainian language. From the perspective of the Ukrainian NCO, the whole of Vojvodina might be considered to be a Ukrainian Cultural Okruh.

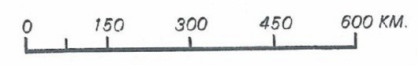


Despite being discontinuous, some of these outlying Cultural Districts might eventually be incorporated into the Homeland proper. One of the principles of the Historical Homelands concept is that, even after a nation delineates their Homeland, they're free to ceremonially expand that cultural space in the further future—to “upgrade” Diaspora Districts into Homeland Oblasts. And also chronologically deeper lands—not only extending back to WW1 or the 1800s, but even to medieval and ancient times. In the case of Ukraine, the Historical Homeland might eventually include the entirety of the medieval Kyivan Rus Empire and the ancient Sarmatian and Scythian States, as depicted in Ukrainian national atlases. (See the following pages.)

RUS'-UKRAINE IN THE X CEN. (912-972)



- Kyivan Rus' in the time of Ihor (912-945), Olha (945-957) and Svyatoslav the Conqueror (957-972)
- Ukrainian tribes in the X cen. not included in Kyivan Rus'
- Territory dependent on Kyivan Rus'
- Campaigns of Ihor and Svyatoslav
- Locations and dates of great battles
- State boundaries in the end of the X cen. (976)

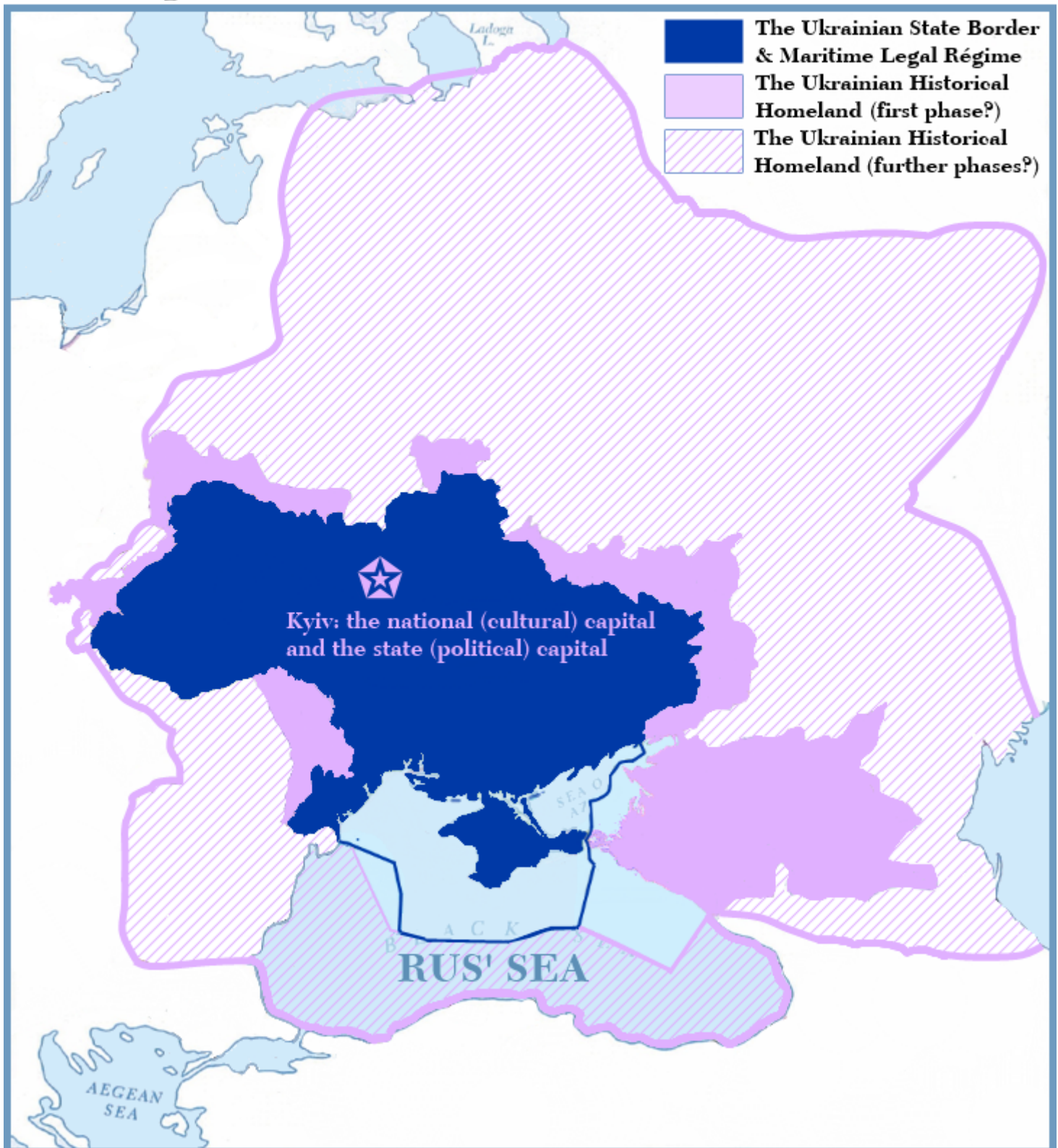


SARMATIA IN THE III CEN. B.C.- II CEN. A.D.



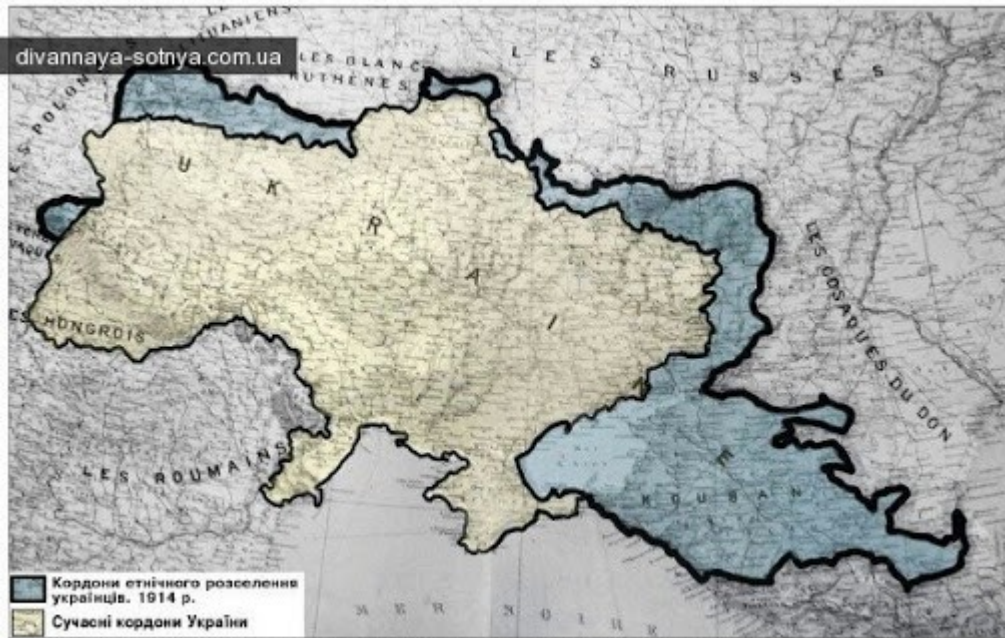
The resulting composite map looks like this. Ukrainian Cultural Oblasts would be self-delineated throughout.

Possible extensions of the Ukrainian Historical Homeland in the further future, encompassing the medieval Kyivan Rus' Empire and the ancient Sarmatian State.



Note: The areas which are militarily occupied or formally claimed by the Russian Federation would be politically part of the shared Omni-National Bi-State Condominium.

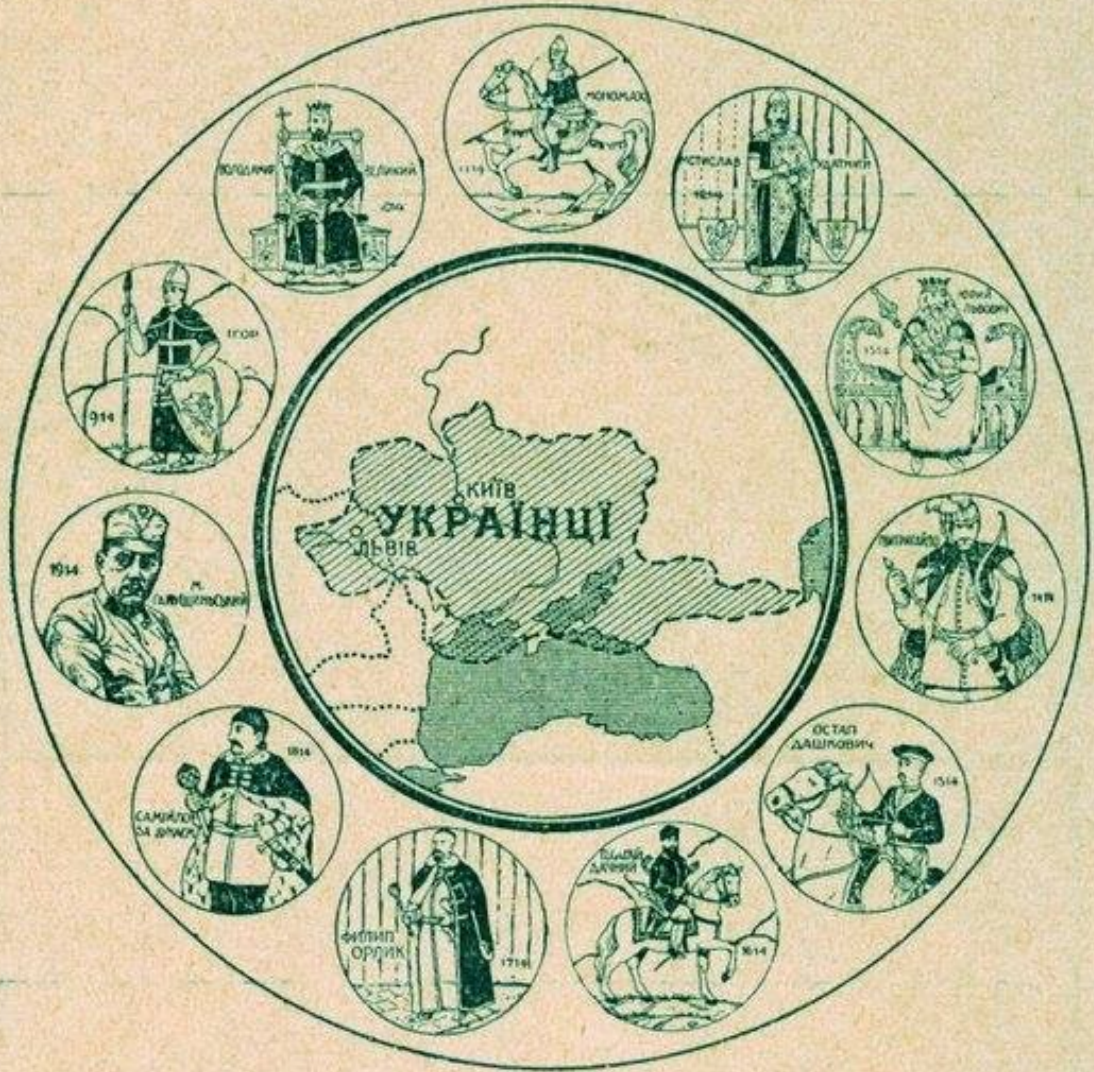
These wider phases also encompass early modern conceptions of Ukraine (circa 1914-1919), when as-yet-untarnished aspirations reached to the Caspian Sea, as seen on the following vintage maps:



Карта етнічного розселення українців, знайдена у Національному архіві Чехії в Празі серед матеріалів довоєнного Музею визвольної боротьби України, вона відповідає висновкам російських учених від 1914 року про поширення українських земель.

This next map even shows discontinuous Ukrainian lands in Transcaucasia, eastern Anatolia and along the Ural River:



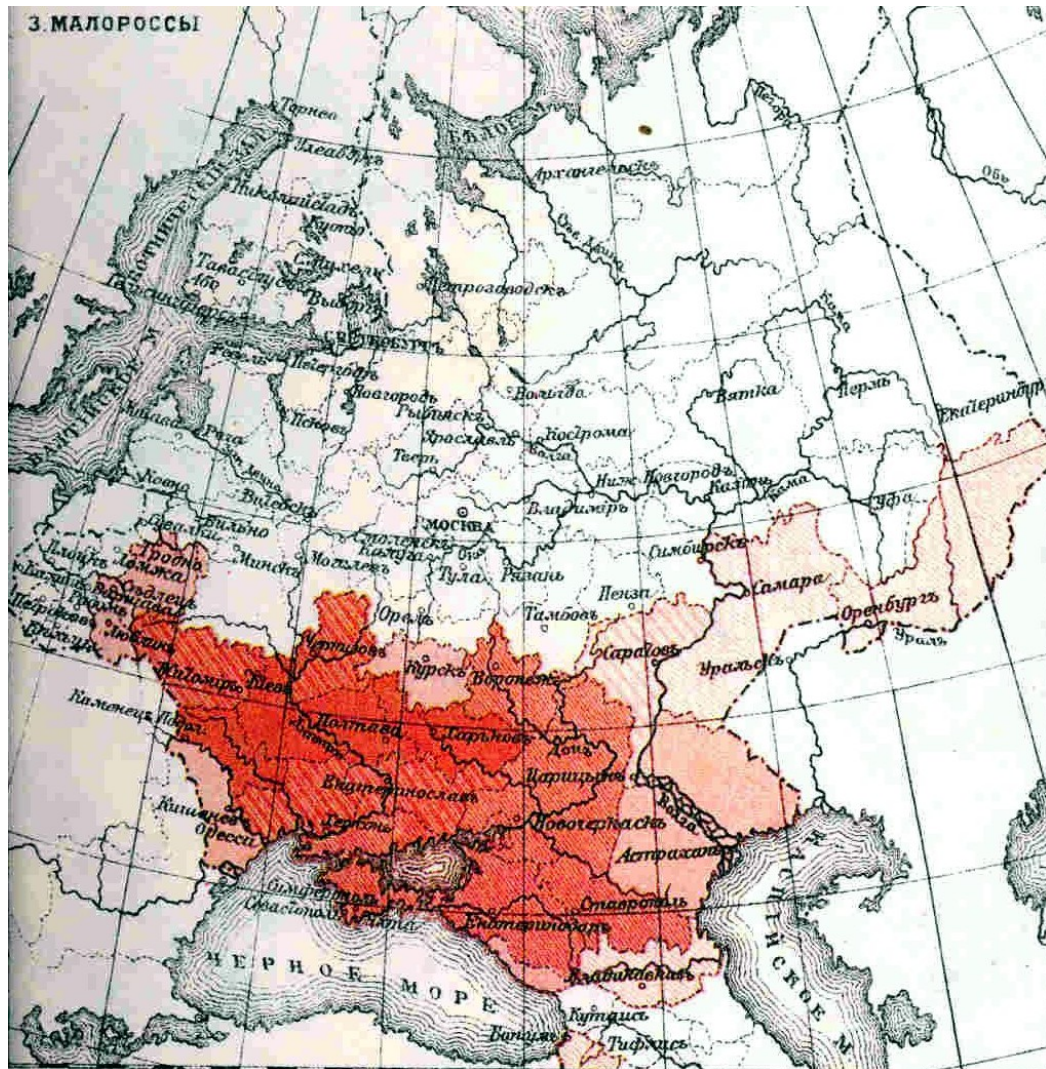
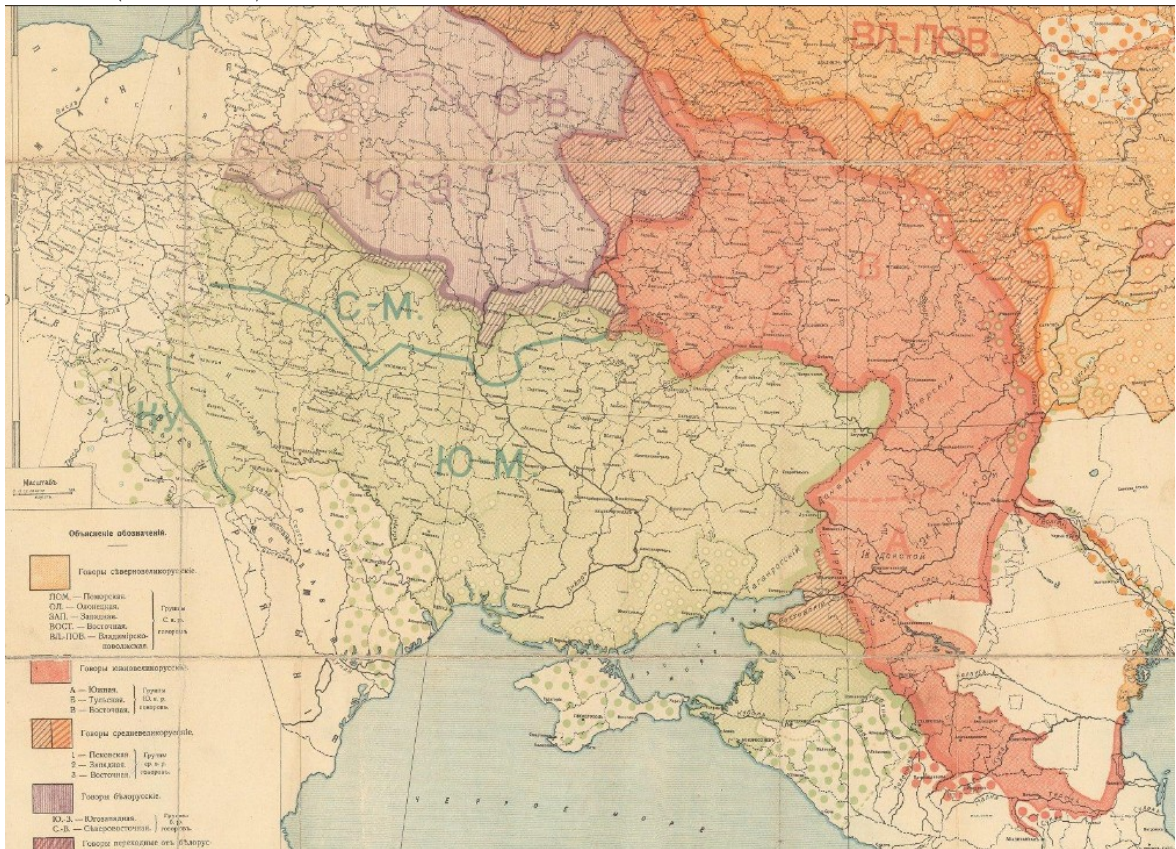


Ще не вмерла Україна і славі во — ля Щем брата-тя мо поді-ї у-сьміхнеться до-ля,
 Згинуть на-ші во-роженьки як роса на сонці, За-пану-єм і ми брата у своїм сто-рон — ці,
 Ду-шуті-ло ми поло-жим за нашо-го во-до-ду, і покаже-ть що ми брата-тя козацько-го ро-ду!

1917, МАРТ



The "Malorussian" (Ukrainian) dialects:



Furthermore, if Ukraine conceives of itself as a sort of “alternative Rus”—a Kyiv-centered, non-Muscovite expression of the entire Rus' civilization (a “Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine”), it could expand its Historical Homeland to include the entire Russian and Soviet geographic legacy (or at least whatever was humane and amendable in those legacies), if it chooses. Even from an external standpoint, besides Kyiv being the centerpoint for the Golden Age of Rus', even in modern times, the Ukrainian SSR was, hypothetically, an equal co-creator of the Soviet Union as a whole. For a map of those extents, see the following chapter on the Russian Historical Homeland.

There has been some controversy about how Ukraine designated only a few of its 133 nationalities to be “indigenous nationalities” (most notably, not including the Russian Nationality in Ukraine). If the Crimean Tatars, Krymchaks, and Karaites are truly viewed to be indigenous elements in Ukrainian ethnography, then why not also consider their ancestral Cuman-Kipchak Confederation to be an equal source of civic Ukrainian historical geography, alongside the Slavonic Kyivan Rus'? And expand the Ukrainian Historical Homeland to include that. Or is the Slavonic Ukrainian ethnicity the only “real” indigenous strand in Ukrainian civic geography?

The Cuman-Kipchak Confederation:



Lastly, the maps presented here may seem to be wildly pro-Ukrainian. If these maps were advocating the territorial expansion of a nation-state, the realization of their boundaries could only be achieved through World War Three.

But these are not maps of a nation-state...they're maps of a nation...a cultural service body which freely flows over political borders. The political-state boundaries remain unchanged.

The Gottlieb Initiative calls for the same acknowledgment of Russia's Historical Homeland.

THE HISTORICAL HOMELAND OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

“Today they are trying to cancel a whole thousand-year culture, our people.”

—The Russian leadership

The United States has hardly ever lost any of its national-state territory.² In contrast, since the time of our grandsires, Russia has lost a large portion of its (admittedly still vast) national-state territory. America's territorial “losses” are far removed, in both time and oceanic space, from the consciousness of present-day Americans, and are downplayed in civics textbooks. Whereas the Russian territorial losses following WWI and the fall of the Soviet Union, are recent. And the losses are from adjacent lands, rather than on distant seas.

And it is a fact that millions of ordinary ethnic Russians who innocently resided in what was previously a single unified realm, find themselves governmentally compelled to identify with newly-formed national-linguistic states whose treatment and tolerance of Russian language, culture, and identity has varied from lukewarm tolerance to active repression. In contrast, in the American public narrative, there has not really been an experience of large populations of English-speaking Americans being “stranded” in lost territories, and compelled to adopt a new language and national identity. It is hard for even the most well-meaning Americans—whose very Nation was formed at the exact same time as their Government—to genuinely empathize.

But perhaps the closest example in the English-speaking world would be if Scotland became an independent nation-state, and then used the power of government to compel its English-speaking populace to speak the Lowland Scots language of Robert Burns instead of English, by mandating that cultural organizations, media outlets, and business places must only or primarily use Lowland Scots, and banned the import of English books and music. It'd be a big deal. A huge intrusion of the state into cultural life. For better or worse, there have been native English speakers in Scotland for centuries.

If the Western reader would set aside the current conflict for just a moment, and enter a quiet, more timeless space. In this quiet space, imagine and picture how Russian Humanity might feel if Western Humanity simply acknowledged the Russian Historical Homeland as a cultural space. Including Alaska. This is deep empathy and clear-eyed understanding. This is the heart of the matter. All concerns of “cancelling Russian culture” would be healed.

Civic Rossiyan vs. Ethnic Rusian:

A clarifying note to fellow English speakers: the English word “Russian” confusingly blends together two words which are distinct in the Russian language:

1. **росси́йский** (*rossíyskiy*). The federal Russian Civic Nation; the Multiethnic Russian citizenry; what the Russian constitution refers to as “the Multinational People of the Russian Federation.” In the rest of this presentation, this identity is referred to by the rarely used English adjective “Rossiyan,” pronounced /röss-EE-ən/. The Rossiyan civic territory is called “Rossiya” /röss-EE-ə/ (Росси́я).
2. **ру́сский** (*rússkiy*). The Traditional Russian identity; the Ethnic Russian nationality. Within the Rossiyan People, the ethnic Russian Nationality is only one of 130 nationalities. For the rest of this paper, this identity referred to by the archaic English adjective “Rusian,” pronounced /ROO-see-ən/. So that all three East Slavonic peoples have parallel suffixes in English: Ukrain-*ian*, Belarus-*ian*, and Rus-*ian*. The language is likewise called “Rusian,” pronounced /ROO-see-ən/. The Rusian ethnic territory is traditionally named “Russkaya Zemlya” (Ру́сская Земля́ ‘Rusian Land’).

² Except for Ben Franklin's failed 1775 invitation to other British colonies to join the Albany Plan of Union (namely: Ireland, the West India Islands, Quebec, St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas), claims to the Territory of Skaniadarade in the Province of Quebec during the American Revolution, later claims to what's now British Columbia (“54-40 or Fight!”), border adjustments in Maine, New Hampshire, Minnesota and Montana, the Asia-Pacific colonies in the Philippines and the Pacific Trust Territories, and quite a few uninhabited guano islands.

Likewise, we use that form “Rusian” when translating the official Rossiyan ethnological perspective: Malorusian (Little Rusian), Velikorusian (Great Rusian), and Drevnerusian (Ancient Rusian). But Novorossiyan (New Rossiyan).

The term *Rus'*—with a scholarly apostrophe marking the soft, palatized /s/—is here used in other contexts which refer to the ancient and medieval Rus' principalities of the East Slavonic peoples. Ancient Rus' is a historical origin which is shared by the present-day Rusian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian civic narratives.

Note: The modern Ukrainian language refers to the Rusian (Russian) language by the wider term “Rosiys'kyy,” and reserves the narrower term “Rus'kyy” for the shared ancient Rus' language. Yet the English term for the ethnic “Russian” people and language should match their own autonym...their own favored name for themselves. So “Rusian.” However, the English terminology might be somewhat different when translating terms within Ukrainian civic ethnological contexts.

The maps in this chapter depict the (civic) Rossiyan Historical Homeland: Rossiya. The Homeland of the (ethnic) Rusian Nationality would be delineated separately; perhaps with the more contained traditional boundaries suggested by Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

The boundaries of the Rossiyan Historical Homeland:

The Rossiyan Historical Homeland includes the entire territory of the Soviet Union and the Rossiyan Empire. The Soviet Union was the legal successor state of the Rossiyan Empire. And likewise, the present-day Rossiyan Federation is the legal successor of the Soviet Union. Yet what we see as the Rossiyan Federation is a whittled down remnant of the Rossiyan Empire, which during Soviet times was internally divvied into ethnic Soviet Socialist Republics according to the Marxist ethno-national policy. Which, following the fall of the Soviet Union, became Wilsonian nation-states.

Yet it was all Rossiya. The entire Soviet Union, now known as the “Near Abroad.” And so too, the former lands of the Rossiyan Empire, including Alaska and Fort Ross in California. On the following map, this suggested initial conception of the Rossiyan Historical Homeland is lilac colored. Rossiyan Cultural Entities (Sub'yekty Kul'tura) would be delineated throughout the Homeland.

Yet even beyond those bounds, at one time or another, Rossiya administered, claimed, or occupied peripheral zones such as the Finnmark of Norway, the Ionian Islands of Greece, Colony Ross in California, Jeverland on the northwest coast of Germany, the port city of Dalian, China, and the Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe and Mongolia. In a wider sense, these could also be included in the Rossiyan Historical Homeland, perhaps in the further future. It's simply a fact that, for better or worse, Rossiyan history—at least military history—did happen in those places. There's no question that the Civic Rossiyan entity was present in even the most thinly and briefly occupied outlying territories, regardless of whether there were ethnic Rusian settlers there or not. At least as military history—and all fields of history are a part of culture. On the following map, those areas are striped.

Note: On the following map, the Rossiyan Federation serves as the internationally-recognized Primary Political Administrator of the districts it occupies, and as the Symbolic Political Administrator of the districts which it formally claims but does not occupy, as explained in Chapter Three. Both of those political tiers are depicted as deep blue on this map. As the area of occupation grows or shrinks following the publication of this map, the ceasefire-based Line of Primary Administration would change as well.



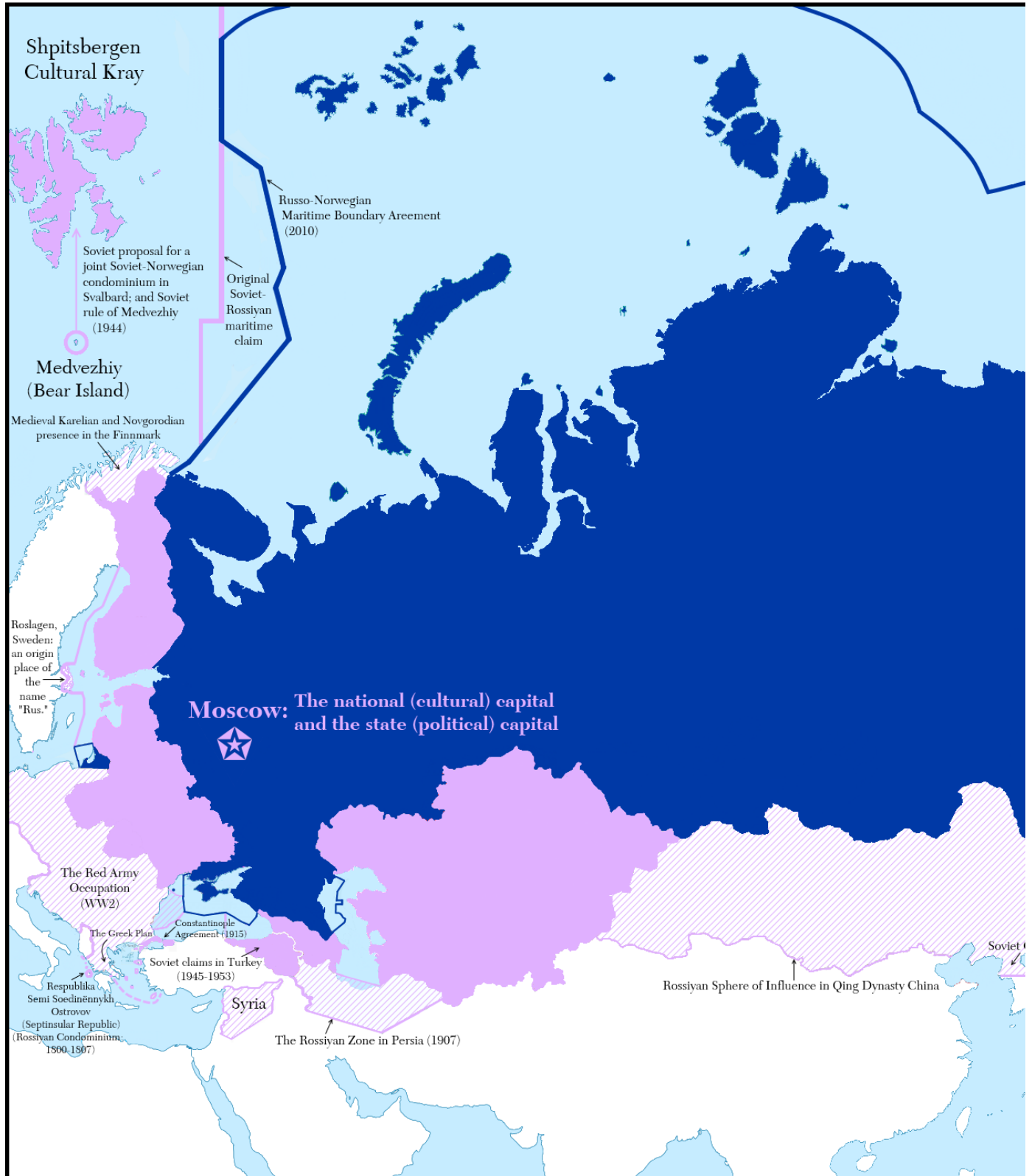
The Rossiyan State Border and Maritime Legal Régime

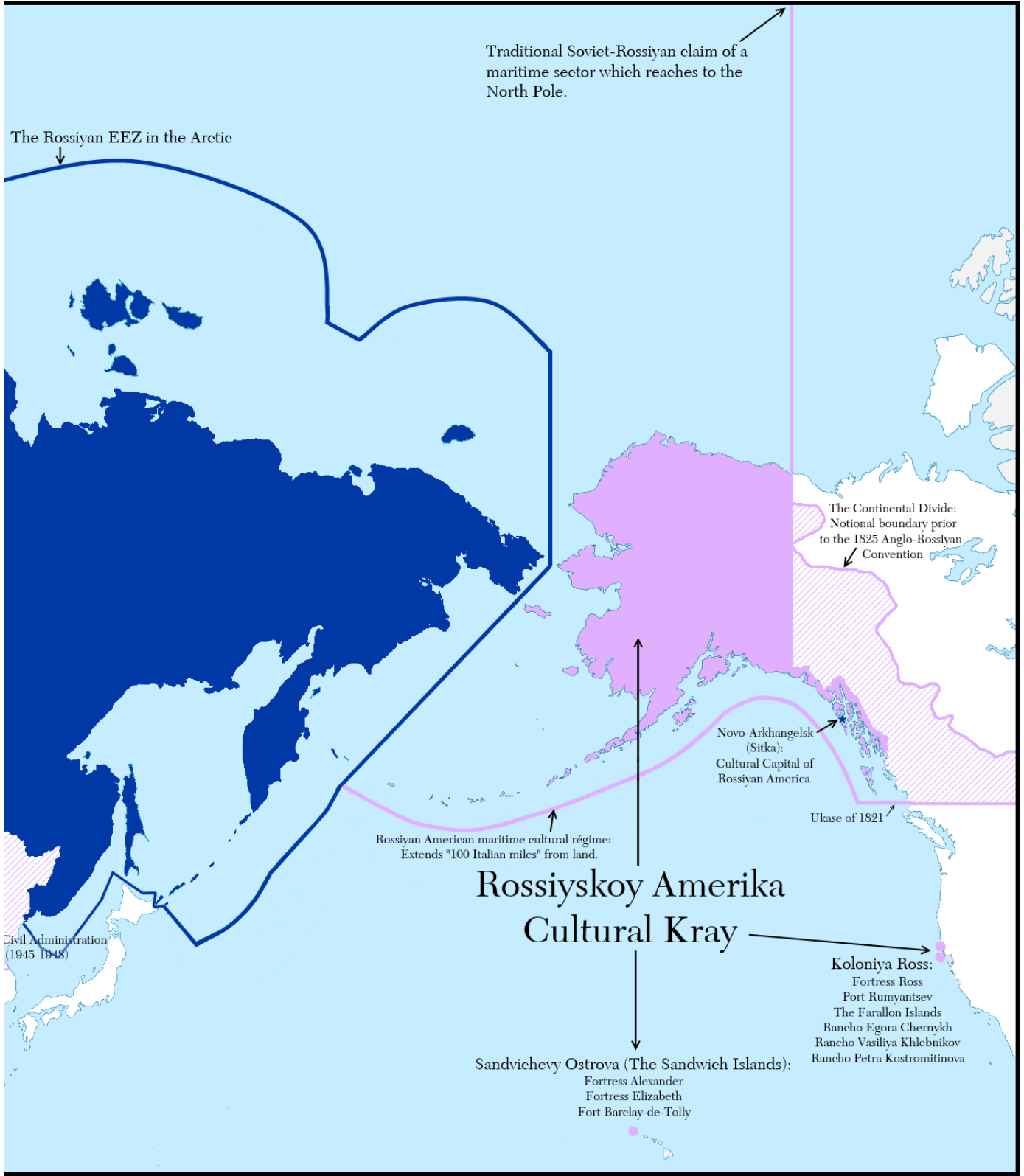


The Rossiyan Historical Homeland (Cultural Régime)

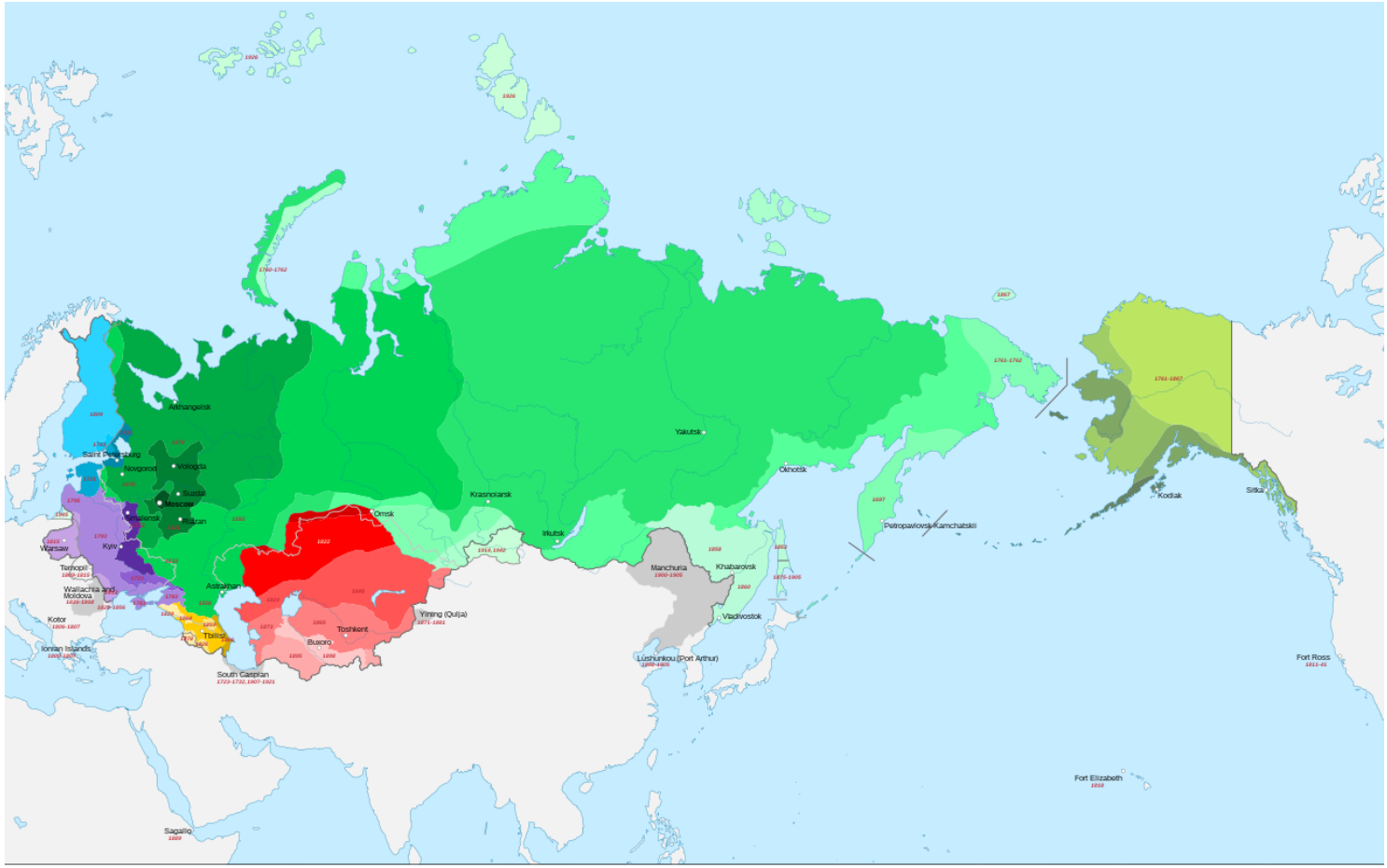


Examples of possibly further expansions of the Historical Homeland

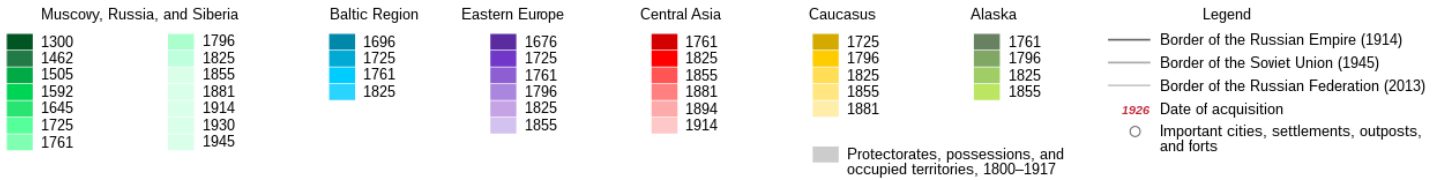




Here are some source maps which the Gottlieb Initiative draws from for this draft map. Extensive examples are shown, so as to affirm that the Gottlieb Initiative empathizes with the thousand-year saga of Russian and Rossiyan Humanity.



Territorial Expansion of Russia, 1300–1945



This map series shows how Rossiya was whittled down from 1922 to 1954 as new ethnic-based Soviet Socialist Republics were carved out within the USSR:

EVOLUTION OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE SOVIET UNION



1922

The Soviet Union is founded by the following republics:

- Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

1924

Two new republics are formed in Central Asia:

- Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic
- Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic

1929

The Tajik (or Tadzhik) Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is split the Uzbek SSR and becomes a constituent republic of the Soviet Union as the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic.



1936

The Transcaucasian SFSR is dissolved and three new republics have since been formed in Transcaucasia:

- Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic
- Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

Two new republics are formed in Central Asia from the Russian SFSR:

- Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic
- Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic

1945

Soviet expansion after World War II. Five new republics are formed:

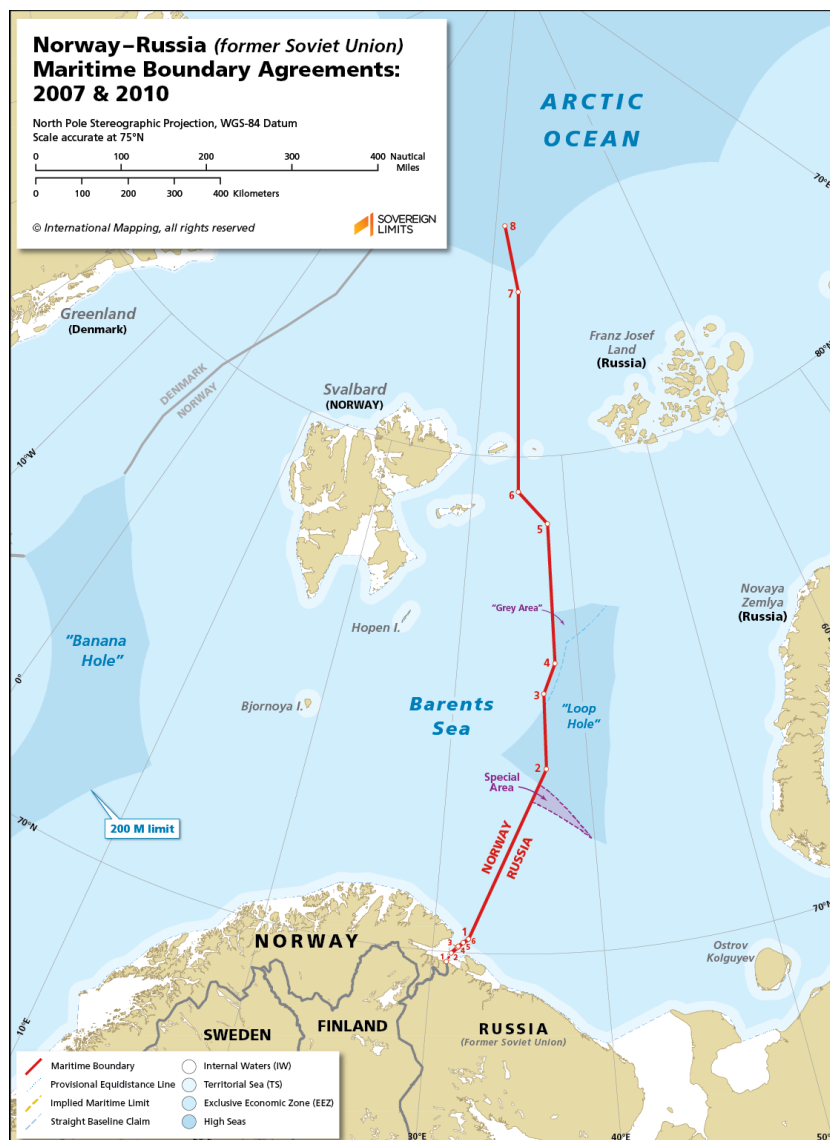
- Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic
- Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic
- Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic

Portions of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania are annexed to the Ukrainian SSR. Portions of northeastern Poland are ceded to the Byelorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR. The northern portion of Germany's former East Prussian exclave becomes part of the Russian SFSR. The Tuvinian People's Republic is annexed to the Soviet Union and becomes the Tuva ASSR under the Russian SFSR. The Kuril islands and the southern part of Sakhalin are also added to the Russian SFSR.

1954

The Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is transferred from the Russian SFSR to the Ukrainian SSR by Nikita Khrushchev as a gesture to mark the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav.

These two maps depict the recent (2010) maritime agreement between Norway and Rossiya. Rossiya's original claim is also shown; this would still remain as part of the Historical Homeland:



This map shows the Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe, and the temporary occupation of eastern Austria. The Red Army occupation of Central and Eastern Europe is also part of Rossiyan history:



The cultural life of Rossiyan compatriots living in Central and Eastern Europe might be embodied in Rossiyan cultural organs which restore the pre-1989 aesthetics of those lands (with the word “federal” replacing “socialist”), but this time, as fully integrated *cultural subjects* of the Rossiyan Federation. For example, a Polish People's Republic, a Czechoslovak Federal Republic, a German Democratic Republic, and so forth; each *culturally* equivalent to the 22 present-day constituent republics of the Rossiyan Federation (such as the Republic of Tatarstan). Besides serving the Rossiyan immigrants, these cultural organs could also serve as cultural centers for those (perhaps few) individual Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, etc. who, for familial or biographical reasons, identify positively with the Rossiyan legacy and presence. As explained in a later chapter, these individuals could be offered Rossiyan (cultural) nationality, which is not the same thing as (legal) citizenship.

Lest the reader be alarmed, rest assured that the same cultural freehood is offered in reverse. In Appendix A, we depict the Hungarian Historical Homeland, the Polish Historical Homeland, the Romanian Historical Homeland, the Slovak Historical Homeland, and others; each of which would be free to cultivate its own cultural identity across political borders.

This map shows the Soviet Union's territorial claims against Turkey during the height of the Cold War:



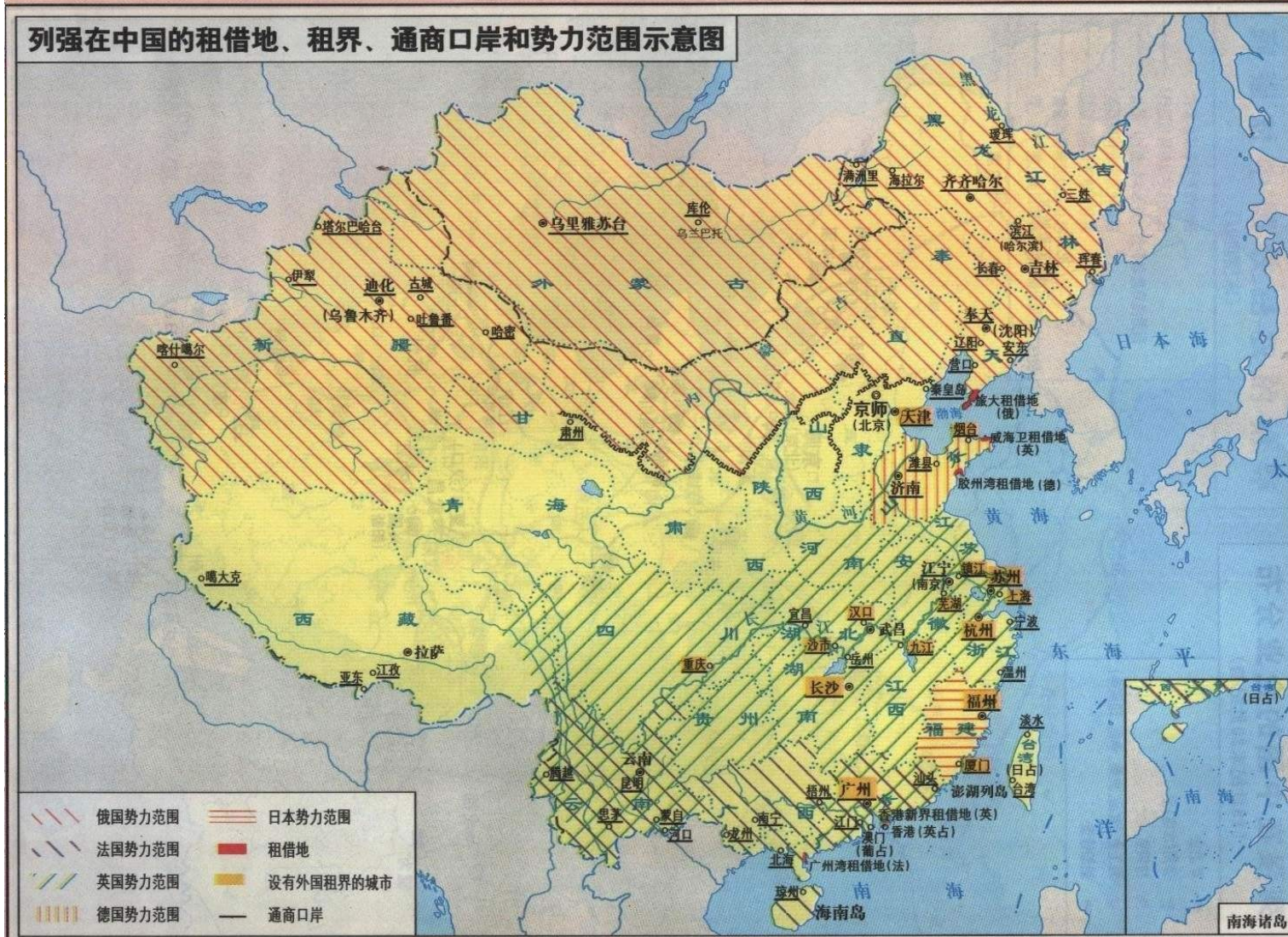
This map shows the secret Constantinople Agreement (also known as the Straits Agreement) of 1915 between Rossiya, Britain, and France, which allocated the Bosphorus Straits and the ancient city of Constantinople to Rossiya. By the time WWI ended, Rossiya was in the midst of its Civil War—and so the agreement was nullified.



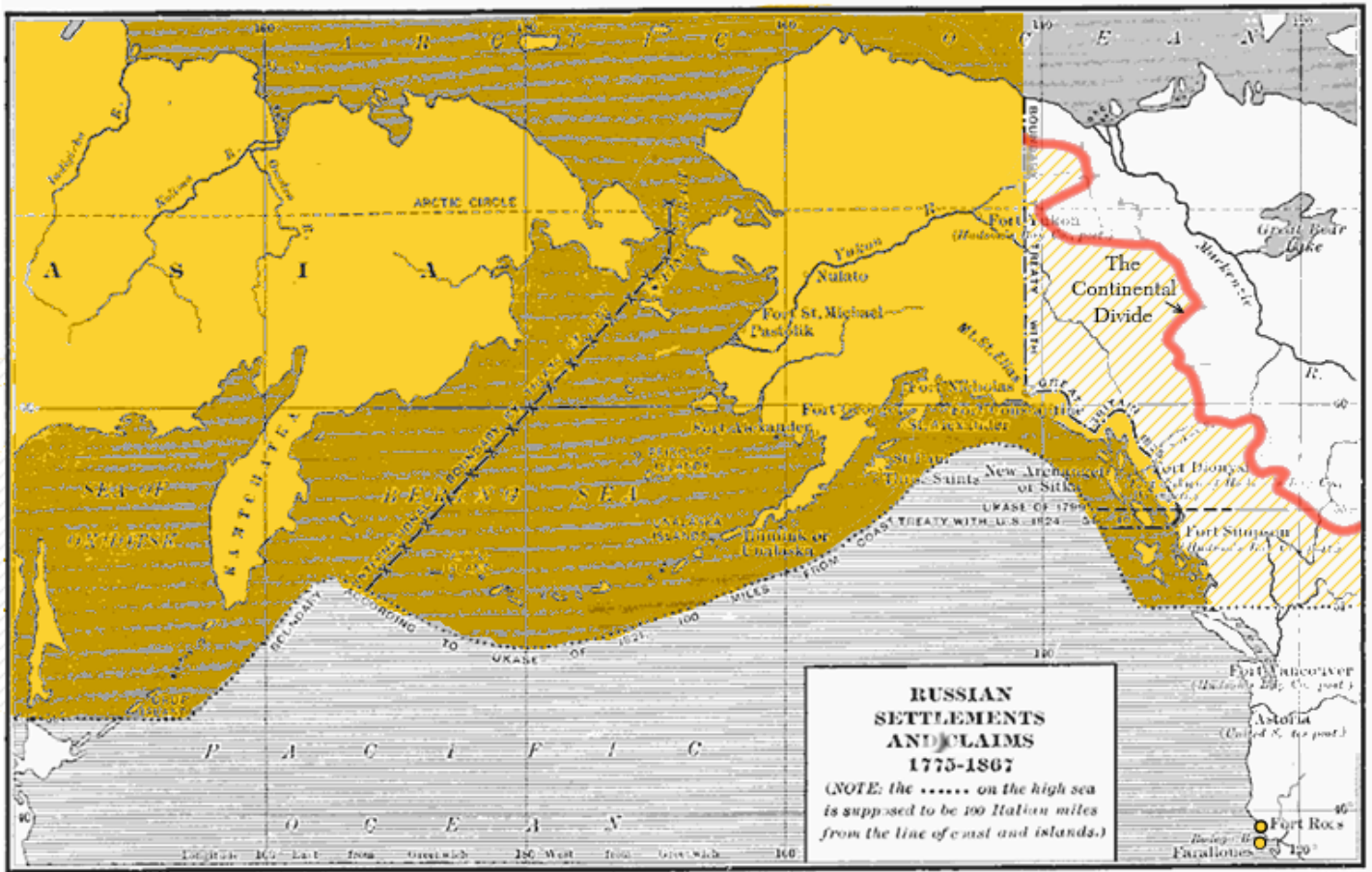
This next map shows the approximate boundary of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, wherein Rossiya and Britain (without Persia's consent), delineated their Spheres of Influence:



And the Rossiyan sphere of influence in China during the Qing Dynasty:



Rossiyan America, including Alaska, extending down the coast of present-day British Columbia; and Colony Ross in California:

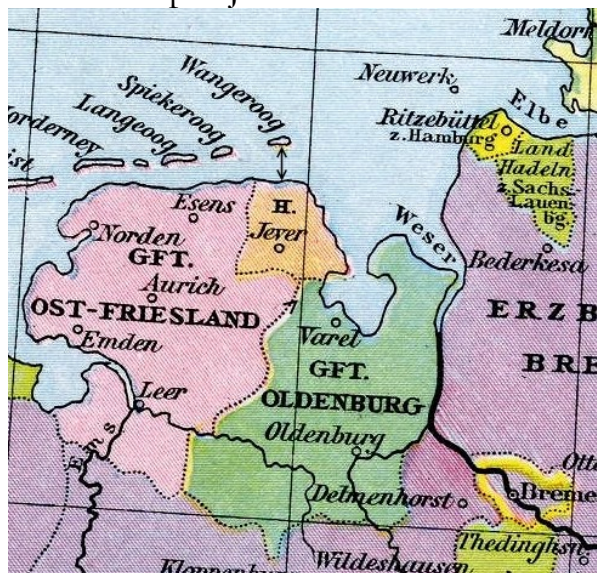


At Fortress Ross, the Rossiyan American Company nominally claimed the entire Traditional Territory of the Kashaya (aka Kashia or Southwestern) Pomo Nation:



Reportedly an agreement with the newly independent Mexican government opened up southern California to the Rossiyan American Company for commercial seal gathering, extending as far as San Diego.

The Lordship of Jever on the northwest coast of Germany was a Rossiyan fief from 1793 to 1807:



Rossiya's *Grecheski Proyekt* ("Greek Plan") of the 1780s, whereby a Rossiyan monarchy would be installed in Greece and Bulgaria (outlined in red below) to form a Neo-Byzantine Empire or Eastern Roman Empire, with Constantinople as its capital:



The medieval Karelian and Novgorodian presence in northern Norway, extending through the Finnmark:

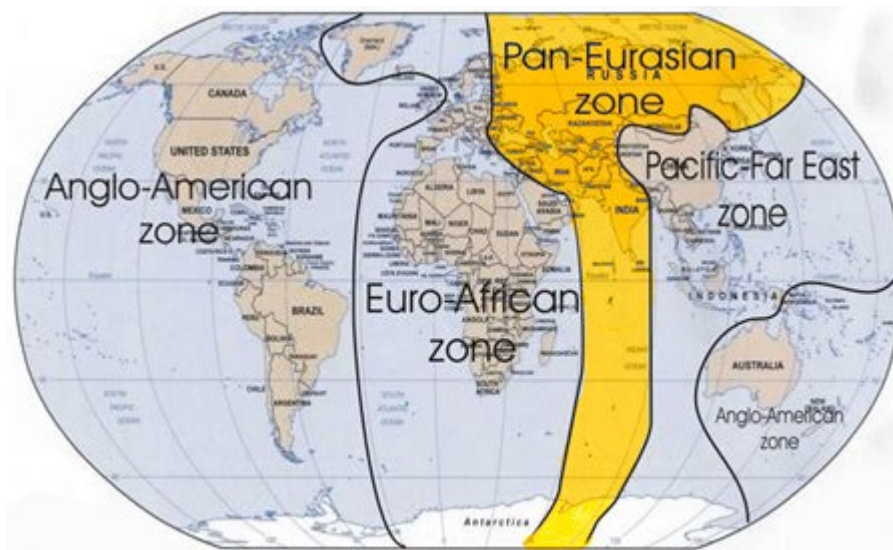


It could be healing for Rossiya to return to the original Rus homeland...the coastal Roslagen (a.k.a. Roden) district of Sweden, from whence the Rus came, according to one tradition. The Rus, also known as Varangians, were eastern Swedish vikings who penetrated into the interior and merged with the native Finnic and East Slavonic tribal associations, thereby giving birth to Russkaya Zemlya ("Rusian Land"). Though there are several theories about the origin of the name "Rus," this "Norman (i.e. Northman) theory" is among the most traditional, since it is featured in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, the ancient chronicle of Rus'. Though if there are other theories which are favored by the Rossiyan official narrative, those origin points could be encompassed instead, or as well.

The Roslagen coastal districts of Sweden, extending north from Stockholm:



A further possible line of expansion for the Rossiyan Historical Homeland would be the Eurasianist philosophy which is taught in Rossiyan military schools. Rossiyan Cultural Entities could be delineated throughout the Pan-Eurasian Zone, reaching to Antarctica...



Map of multipolar world. Four zones - four poles

...and might also encompass the “Russian Euro-Asian Empire” and “Euro-Soviet Empire” as depicted by Eurasianist ideologues. (Shown on the following page.) It may go without saying that the Gottlieb Institute does not endorse the darker aspects of Eurasianism; we are simply noting that the harmless, humane aspects of this prevalent philosophy can find a healthy, legitimate outlet in a depoliticized free cultural sphere which transcends political borders. The cultural sphere, rather than the military-political sphere, is the legitimate

sphere for geographic conceptions and slogans which reach “from Dublin to Vladivostok.”



The “all Eurasia” conception is also seen on the emblem of the present-day Eurasian Economic Union. The EAEU Commission is seated in Moscow.

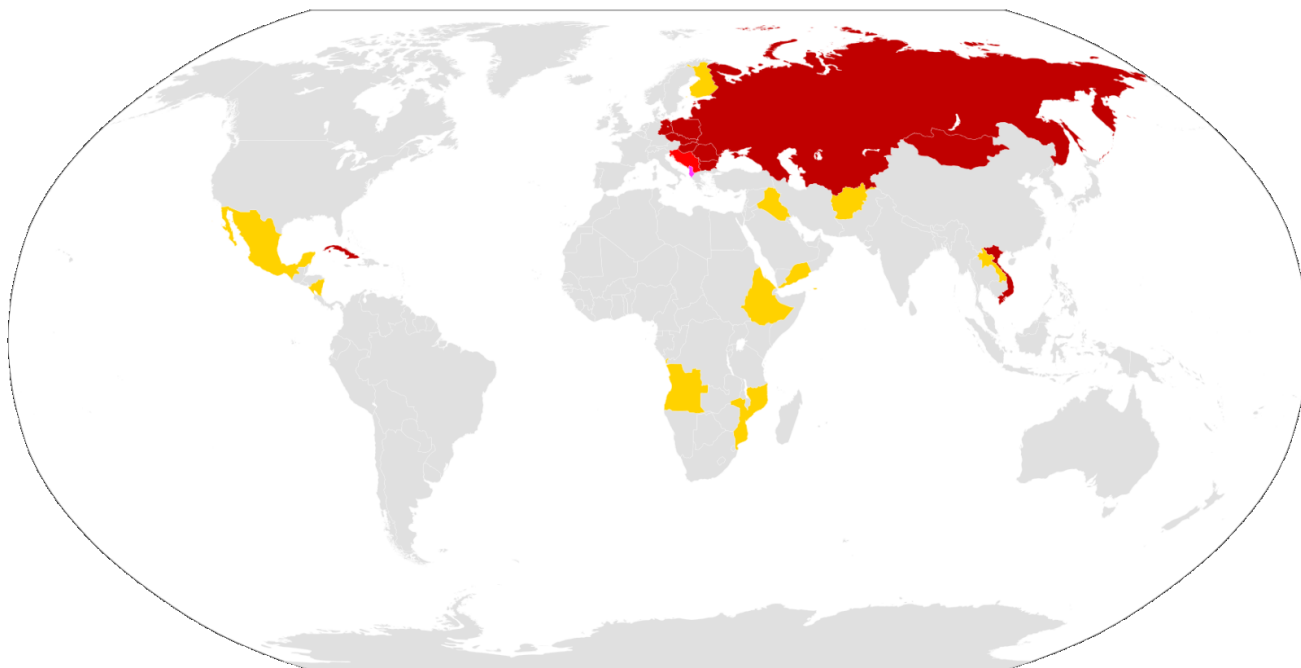


The map emblem on the present-day flag of the Eurasian Economic Union.

Yes, the Eurasian super-continent could serve as very tidy boundaries of the Rossiyan Historical Homeland, as a cultural régime.

Beyond Eurasia, perhaps any place there has ever been a Rossiyan or Soviet base (such as Lourdes SIGINT station in Cuba, the Sagallo settlement in Djibouti in East Africa, or the planned bases in six Africa lands), or a Rossiyan security mission presence, or a COMECON member state, could serve as the basis could for a Rossiyan cultural presence. Even if the presence is almost entirely nominal and symbolic, this would serve as a memorial for the patriotic services of Rossiyan men and women who were stationed there.

Here is a map of former COMECON Members (in red), Associate Member (in light red: Yugoslavia), Coöperants and Observers (in gold):



How a nation defines its Historical/Cultural Homeland is its own business. If it's meaningful to Rossiya, that's their own business. In any case, whatever boundaries Rossiya chose for its Historical Homeland would be self-delineated into cultural units. For lack of a better name, we tentatively call them Rossiyan “Cultural Entities” (a.k.a. Cultural Subjects; Sub"yekty Kul'tury; СубЪЕКТЫ КУЛЬТУРЫ), as cultural equivalents of the existing “Constituent Entities / Federal Subjects” (СубЪЕКТЫ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ) of the Rossiyan Federation. Which might in

turn be grouped into larger “Federal-Cultural Districts” (Federal'no-Kul'turnyye Okrugá; Федерально-Культурные Округа) headed by a Cultural Envoy, equivalent to the existing “Federal Districts” (Федеральные Округа) headed by Plenipotentiary Envoys.

Cultural Districts of the Rossiyan Diaspora:

Outside of the Historical Homeland, the entire globe would be delineated into Cultural Districts which serve the cultural/education needs of the Rossiyan Diaspora...the “Rossiyan compatriots living abroad.” The Cultural District boundaries would perhaps follow the existing Consular Districts of the Rossiyan Federation. Though areas which already have a meaningful historical geography, such as the historical Rossiyan occupations and spheres of interest in northern Persia and Manchuria, might serve as Cultural Districts in themselves. Some of which might be eventually be incorporated into the Historical Homeland.

For example here are the proposed boundaries of the Cultural Districts of the Rossiyan Diaspora in America. (Not including Rossiyan America proper—that is, Alaska and the historical fortresses in California and Hawai'i—which would symbolically be restored as a full-blown Cultural Kray (Territory) of the Rossiyan Historical Homeland.)



(Image source: the Rossiyan Embassy in Washington.)

These would serve the *cultural* embodiment of the Rossiyan People in the USA.

- * The Rossiyan Cultural District of Washington
- * The Rossiyan Cultural District of New York
- * The Rossiyan Cultural District of Houston
- * The Rossiyan Cultural District of Seattle (restored as a cultural régime, following the 2018 closure of that political consulate). However, as the historic capital of Rossiyan America, a Rossiyan cultural center in Novo-Arkhangelsk would be the administrator of the Rossiyan cultural activities in Alaska and Hawai'i.
- * The Rossiyan Cultural District of San Francisco (restored as a cultural régime, following the 2017 closure of that political consulate). However, Novo-Arkhangelsk (Sitka, Alaska) would be the administrator of the Rossiyan cultural activities in Colony Ross, since that would be part of the Historical Homeland, not the Diaspora.

A reminder: the Historical Homelands would be almost entirely symbolic at first. Only when, in the further future, the cultural fields are more fully untangled from the governmental powers, then the national cultural bodies might expand their cultural offerings. For example, let's look at *Rossiysky Amerika* as a Cultural Territory: including Alaska, Colony Ross in California, and the Rossiyan claim to all of Hawai'i via their sponsorship of the native king of Kaua'i. In a Rossiyan internal cultural context, the name Novo-Arkhangelsk for Sitka would be returned to use. This would not affect the current legal name of the municipality. And there is no question of negotiating a transfer to the Rossiyan Government of, say Fort Ross, or Rossiyan historic sites in Sitka, or the remains of Fort Elizabeth in Hawai'i. These sites are now owned and stewarded as U.S. federal or state historic sites. Yet Rossiya would be free to purchase privately held lands which may be located nearby,

and develop them as Rossiyan national heritage sites, visitor centers, and educational programs. To designate honorary cultural envoys in localities throughout Rossiyan America. And other such “soft” activity. Actually, Rossiya is already basically free to do that under U.S. law. Yet presently, there's no organizational embodiment, or public awareness of Rossiyan America. Reestablishing that on maps would be a costless, bloodless, game-shifting change. A healing change.

And in the further future, there might be joint projects in and around these sites, between the U.S. National Park Service and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment of the Rossiyan Federation. For example, the installation of bilingual interpretive signage. And joint investment in archeological studies and site restoration activities. The partnership would best also include the Native nations within whose Traditional Territories those sites are located.

You see, these are not political-governmental power plays, but friendly, humanistic, appropriate, culturally enriching endeavors. It's fun. Such things have already started to take place in a nascent way, such as the 2017 Fort Elizabeth Forum, when Rossiyan cultural officials met with U.S. cultural officials at Russian Fort Elizabeth State Historical Park in Hawai'i.

As we stated in the previous chapter in regard to Ukraine, if these Rossiyan Historical Homeland maps were maps of Rossiyan State expansion, they would be terrible sci-fi visions of world war. Yet as maps of “traditional territory,” they are harmless but meaningful. Acknowledging the Rossiyan Historical Homeland is a healing salve which will soften decades and centuries of hurt and mistrust.

How can Rossiyan Humanity trust North Atlantic Humanity when we don't even understand the thousand years of Rossiyan history and Rossiyan conceptions of cultural territoriality?

ACTION TWO:

TOTALLY END THE ONGOING STATE-COMPELLED UKRAINIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITY, THROUGH STRONGLY FACILITATING THE COMPLETE STRUCTURAL-CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF CULTURE AND STATE THROUGHOUT UKRAINE.

“The Ukrainian language is and will be the only one state language in Ukraine.”

—The Ukrainian leadership, March 25th, 2022, five weeks into the war

YES, the Rossiyan State forcibly suppressed the Ukrainian language for centuries. As did the Austro-Hungarian State, the Polish State, and the Romanian State (and the Canadian State!). That's what nation-states do. (In 1913, Ukrainian was banned from all public schools in Alberta, Canada, home to the largest Ukrainian diaspora community in the New World at that time.)

There's no question that Ukrainian Humanity and the Ukrainian language have suffered greatly. And if the Soviet fusion of language and state had continued for a century more, Ukrainian could have been totally extinguished as a living language.

Yet two wrongs don't make a right.

For years, the North Atlantic leadership has been patronizing a “linguicide.” Since language is typically the primary sign of ethno-cultural identity, this is also an “ethnocide.” The “-cide” is not so much physical death by bullet or missile or killing fields, but by the compulsive governmental squelching of the Russian language, which is the native language of nearly half the population! This is the grain of truth in the Rossiyan claims of “genocide.”

Let me get this straight—we, North Atlantic Humanity—are playing with World War Three because our sponsees in Ukraine have never heard of the Canadian Model? Have you never heard of a bi-lingual society, where two languages have perpetually equal status? Have you never heard of Finland, where the historically “imperial,” “colonial” language of Swedish has been protected with equal political status alongside the native Finnish language for over a century? Have you never heard of Norway, where the two official varieties of Norwegian—Bokmål (Dano-Norwegian, based on the “imperial” Danish language) and Nynorsk (New Norwegian, based on the native Norwegian speech varieties, which are about as similar to Danish as Ukrainian is similar to Russian)—have detailed provisions for their protection and usage, even at the municipal level? Have you never heard of the darlings of Western multi-lingual statecraft, the Åland Islands, Belgium, and Switzerland?

Is the difference between a mono-lingual unitary state and a bi-lingual state worth killing for? To our North Atlantic leadership—why have you wasted so much human life and materiel in order to preserve the fusion of language and state? Why have you played “innocent” while covertly or overtly supporting systemic linguicide—the state-compelled, constitutionally-enforced loss of the mother tongue of over 16 million individuals! This native Russian-speaking populace is larger than the populace of 124 of the UN member nations! The native Russian-speaking community in Ukraine would be the fifth-largest US state after California, Texas, Florida, and New York. Can the North Atlantic leadership imagine constitutionally forcing the entire populace of Pennsylvania (with 13 million people) or the Netherlands (with 17 million people) to just give up their English or Dutch language and adopt, say Spanish or German simply because the State says so? Can you imagine the backlash which would come about if the Government established language police and levied fines in order to compel those vast populations to give up their mother language, by banning their language from almost all areas of life? (Except for home, the café, and the street.)

If you're able to imagine that, then you can begin to see the legitimate aspect of the perspective of Russian Humanity.

The compulsory Ukrainization of the Russian-speaking humanity is not a secret. To quote from open sources:

“A 2012 law, called the law ‘On the principles of the State language policy’ gave the status of regional language to Russian and other minority languages. It allowed the use of minority languages in courts, schools and other government institutions in areas of Ukraine where the national minorities exceed 10% of the population. The law was used mostly in Ukraine’s southern and eastern regions, where predominant or significant parts of the population speak Russian as their first language.”

Okay great. So far so good. It’s called Canada, Belgium, and Switzerland. What in the world is wrong with that? Yet read on...

“Immediately after the 2014 Ukrainian revolution [sponsored by the North Atlantic community], the Ukrainian Parliament voted to repeal the law. The Constitutional Court of Ukraine started reviewing the constitutionality of the law, and 2018 it ruled the law unconstitutional.”

See these “nice” explanations and justifications for a state-compelled culture-formation, via language “policing”: (From “Ukraine’s Language Law Explained,” 2019): en.hromadske.ua/posts/ukraines-new-language-law-explained.

“Cultural events will [...] have to be held in Ukrainian.”

“According to the law, Ukrainian should also be dominant in the cinema. Movies in other languages should not exceed 10% of the overall number of movies.”

“The printed press is required to be published in Ukrainian.”

“Where the press is sold [in book stores and newsstands], at least 50% of the [products] must be in the state language.”

“Book publishing is quite simple – 50% of all books printed in a year must be in Ukrainian. The same ratio must be applied to the bookstores or other facilities, selling books.”

“The language of service will also be Ukrainian. That means a doctor and their patient should communicate in Ukrainian. [...] Doctors will be required to comply with this by July; those working in customer service – after a year and a half.”

“The law primarily focuses on teaching and only then punishing.”

“There are plans to establish a network of state and municipal courses to facilitate studying of the state language. Every year, the country’s budget should allocate funds to print textbooks and to provide free access to them for all willing to learn Ukrainian.”

“Who Will Be Policing? A special ombudsman will be appointed by Ukraine’s Cabinet of Ministers who should protect and promote the development of the Ukrainian language, according to the law. This cannot be a person who previously violated the language law or, contrary to the Constitution, tried to introduce multilingualism in Ukraine. The ombudsman’s function will be [...] to initiate investigations, and punishments for officials who violate the law and to issue fines.”

“Failure to comply with the requirements of the language law in the print media will bring up a fine of 6,800-8,500 hryvnia (\$252-314).”

See also: “National Minorities Oppose Ukraine’s New Education Law”: en.hromadske.ua/posts/national-minorities-oppose-ukraines-new-education-law

And the New York Times rather weakly worded title: “Ukraine bans some Russian music and books”:
[nytimes.com/2022/06/19/world/europe/ukraine-bans-russian-music-books.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/world/europe/ukraine-bans-russian-music-books.html)

The Gottlieb Initiative firmly opposes such a micro-managed, state-compelled approach to language. Language is culture. This Initiative clearly opposes the favoring of *any* language whatsoever by the public interface of any political governance. In the political-rights sphere, every human citizen must have totally equal rights, regardless of what language they speak.

So. Let's get this straight. We're blowing all these beautiful human lives, and billions of dollars worth of economic production (=human toil) every day, because:

1) Because we want a mono-lingual State in Ukraine, even though Russian is the home language of about 45% of the populace? Because the Russian language is inherently “bad”? Or what?

2) Because we wanted American missiles in Ukraine. In the center of the Rus' heartland, next to Moscow.

The Austrian, Finnish, and Swedish models just aren't good enough for the North Atlantic leadership? No North Atlantic leader gets paid a salary to advocate for those peaceable models day in and day out. And so they've conveniently never been on the agenda, or in the public consciousness as a legitimate option. But there are whole agencies filled with folks whose salaries depend on expanding the big business of NATO armaments, day in and day out.

3) Because, even though both the US and Canada are federal states (as are Belgium “the Heart of Europe”; and Switzerland, the darling models of elite UN statecrafters), for some very strange reason, instead of preemptively implementing a Federal State, the Americans wait until the country has been totally destroyed, as in Germany, Austria, Bosnia, and Iraq. Then we come in after years of nightmare, and direct the formation of a Federal Republic. Here come the heroes!

Even where, in the case of Bosnia, and here in Ukraine, our Western sponsees were already in power, and Federalization could have been strongly impelled before the war even started, or at any point in the conflict. The Minsk II Agreement (2015), which the Rossiyans agreed to, basically called for a bilingualization and federalization of Ukraine. Somehow the Western sponsors managed to accidentally forget to make sure that actually happened. Oops!

So far, despite terrible losses, all uses of the legally defined word “genocide”—by both sides—have been inappropriate. Nonetheless, the destruction of even one human life—whether an innocent maiden or a seasoned soldier (defender or invader)—is a real tragedy. Because these losses could have been sidestepped...if only the North Atlantic leadership—or the Rossiyian leadership—had simply understood and thoroughly implemented the separation of national culture and political statehood, which includes the separation of language and state.

It may sound like a dry structural adjustment. But it's truly, truly the difference between a beastly, wicked problem and a vibrant, breathable world of sanity and happiness.

The separation of culture and state is a healthy step above even the “nicest” multi-lingual nation-state structures seen in Canada, Switzerland, and Scandinavia.

Sure, Ukrainian apologists will always point to the various government-educational “programs” they allow for Russian. But let's cut through the baloney. When any nation-state (NATO-allied or not) bans the import of books just because they're written in another language, there's a problem. And the deeper structural problem—the fusion of culture and state—is not even perceivable by elite Western commentators, because they themselves grew up in “liberal Western” societies where that fusion (as embodied in state school systems and state universities) is unthinkingly assumed to be the best possible model.

Even in the democratic West, people may be used to viewing language a matter of Government dictate and commercial opportunity, rather than as a matter of individual cultural liberty. For example, unlike the religious sphere, there's no protection of linguistic culture in the U.S. Constitution; so from sea to sea the

English language is just assumed to be the mandatory language of U.S. government schools (i.e. public schools). There are over a million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry—yet how many Ukrainian language immersion schools are there in the U.S. public school system? Sure, you can retain a bit of ethnic flavor as a side thing, or as a nice elective. But it's just assumed that it's “best” that everyone be culturally and linguistically digested by the continent-sized Anglo-Saxon government school system.

Yet imagine if instead of language (Ukrainian vs. Russian), we were talking about religious choice. A similar situation exists in regard to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine vis-à-vis the Russian Orthodox Church. The ancient Metropolitanate of Kyiv was annexed by the Moscow Patriarchate hundreds of years ago, by bribing the Archbishop of Constantinople. Moscow's Russian Orthodox Church also suppressed an attempt to revive the Kyiv Metropolitanate during the Cossack Hetmanate rebellion in the 1700s. During the window of Ukrainian independence around WWI, a Ukrainian Autocephalous (“self-headed”) Orthodox Church was established. But this church was liquidated by the Soviets in 1936, and existed only in exile, mostly in North America. It was reestablished during the German occupation for 1942–1944. And then liquidated again by the Red Army. Until the fall of the Soviet Union, when the Ukrainian church in exile merged with like-minded remnants in Ukraine, to reform as the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU). Some say that perhaps half of the Ukrainian populace are now members of this denomination.

But the Russian Orthodox Church sponsors its own “version”—the “Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate” (UOC–MP). In competition with the OCU. The Russian Government heavily shapes the policies of the UOC–MP.

Okay, all that happened. But, in the present day, whether any given individual chooses to identify with the OCU or the UOC–MP (or some other church, or other religion, or no religion) is a matter of their own free choice. Any number of factors may come into play: family connections, the inclinations of the local parish populace, aesthetic preference for services in the Russian Church Slavonic language or the Ukrainian language, and so forth—but, in the end, it boils down to freedom of individual religious choice.

But imagine if the present-day Ukrainian Government were to enact the same restrictions on the Russian-allied Ukrainian Orthodox Church as it has enacted on the Russian language? Namely, banning the import of books published by the UOC–MP or Russian Orthodox Church, banning services of the UOC–MP (unless the service is held in a private home, café, or in the street), mandating that 50% of all religious books published and stocked in Ukrainian bookstores must be by OCU authors, and depictions of Russian Orthodox adherents in cinema must not exceed 10% of screentime. With a \$300 fine to be assessed by the Religious Ombudsman for breaking any of these laws.

Then Americans could more readily see the problem. But unlike religious freedom, the issue of language as a cultural right is not on the forefront of American consciousness. Since no nation-state in the world has ever fully enacted the “Separation of Language and State,” it's hard for Westerners to be moved by linguicide.

We realize that the fusion of language and state (and religion and state) are as tangled or worse in the Russian Federation. Yet, at this point, the Gottlieb Initiative is primarily addressed to the North Atlantic leadership, who have agency over the actions of their own nations, and who have an influential relationship with the Ukrainian leadership.

How to Structurally Differentiate the National Culture from the State Governance:

It's not that hard. All of this is within reach of contemporary statecraft. Structurally, the separation of nation and state would be simple. Yet we also need to be able to look at and sort through the nitty-gritty details. A full-blown separation of cultural identity (nationality) and political identity (citizenship) would look something like this:

- **Divest all cultural assets from the Ukrainian National Government, and embody them as the Ukrainian National-Cultural Organization (NCO)**, aka, the “All-Ukrainian People” as a *cultural* entity; the Ukrainian Civic Nation. The NCO would be legally incorporated as a kind of non-governmental/non-profit organization which retains ownership of the Ukrainian primary and secondary

school system, the Ukrainian state university system, the Ukrainian national park system, national arts programs, and any museums, libraries, heritage sites, science institutes, hospitals, and other cultural assets that are presently owned by the national government. To the extent that regional and local government assets (e.g. municipal libraries) are corporately affiliated with the National Government, they too would be divested as Non-Profit Trusts as part of, or affiliated with, the Ukrainian NCO.

Only once this is done, the Nation-State fusion will have begun to be untangled, for the first time in the world.

- **Facilitate the incorporation of the Rossiyan NCO, as a cultural arm of the Rossiyan Federation.** All cultural activities which are presently or potentially offered by the Rossiyan Government within the Ukrainian jurisdiction would be embodied in a newly-incorporated Rossiyan NCO. This includes, for example, the existing cultural activities of the Rossiyan embassy and consulates in Ukraine. But would potentially include the Rossiyan primary and secondary school system, the Rossiyan university system, the Rossiyan national parks and heritage system, and so forth—all of which would be free to operate throughout the Ukrainian state territory. This would not be a “Russian-speaking” flavor of the Ukrainian civic nation; rather the Rossiyan NCO would truly be culturally affiliated with the Rossiyan civic identity—the Rossiyan schools would be free to fly the Rossiyan flag (which is cultural symbol, not only a governancial symbol), free to display photos of past and present Rossiyan Heads of Nation, free to follow the Rossiyan national curriculum, and free to use Rossiyan-published civics textbooks. Freehood means free.

At first, the operation of the Rossiyan school system throughout the Ukrainian state territory would merely be “allowed”; but in further phases, funding would also flow through choice-based vouchers (see below).

Note: “Ideally,” the Rossiyan Federation would take commensurate steps to allow the Ukrainian civic NCO and Ukrainian national school system to likewise operate freely throughout the Rossiyan state jurisdiction. Yet this evolutionary step cannot be hindered or locked into bi-lateral conditions. Even if the Rossiyan Government lags behind and does not immediately reciprocate, cultural freehood is still the right and healthy thing to do.

“After the war, a process began—separating Russian higher education from the rest of the world. This is problematic, especially because the government is arguing for a certain national science, national history or national maths.”

—Andronick A. Arutyunov, Rossiyan mathematician (April 2022)

- **Do the same for bordering nations (such as Belarus, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia), and all 194 civic nations in the world.** Invite and allow all UN member nations to embody themselves as NCOs within the Ukrainian state jurisdiction, and to offer their own cultural services (for example, their national school and university systems). Though this would be most relevant to the bordering nation-states which have members of national “minorities” within Ukraine, this is not a selective, negotiated process: all UN member nations across the board would be offered the same cultural freehood within the Ukrainian state territory.

What better way to ensure that the eyes of the world remain focused on Ukraine in the long term, than to allow for every nation to culturally embody itself there, by offering their cultural services to all individuals who are receptive and interested?

- **End all compulsory funding of the NCOs. Shift all State cultural funding into Cultural Rights Vouchers.** As for funding: During the transition period, each nation would have to fund the NCO activities themselves. Yet once the Cultural Rights voucher system is up and running (see below), there would be a new steady source of funding. Once the transition period is over, even the Ukrainian Nation (NCO) would receive no direct monies from the Ukrainian State. NCOs, like other cultural organizations (e.g. religions), would only be funded by two sources:

1. Freely donated monies by individuals and private associations.
2. State monies which are earmarked for funding the Cultural Right to Nationality, all monies of which must be issued as tyranny-proof vouchers to each individual citizen, with the “pot” equally divvied among each citizen.

There must be a constitutional clarity which assures that cultural identities (e.g. NCOs and religions) are *only* funded by monies which directly pass through the will of the individual (rather than flowing through, and building up, the Kafkaesque decisions of bureaucratic agencies).

Each kind of “cultural rights voucher”—in this case the “Cultural Right to Nationality” voucher—is earmarked for its particular field. This particular voucher could only be spent toward, and cashed by, non-governmental organizations which offer Nationality-based cultural services; namely, the Ukrainian NCO, the Rossiyan Federation NCO, and the 192 other civic NCOs. (In a similar way that only grocery stores can accept and redeem food stamps.)

- **Separation of Schools and State:** The Government would not own, operate, or determine the professional practices of any school. Beyond necessities such as fire escapes and basic safety. And perhaps a mandated civics class which teaches students the rights and obligations, laws and electoral processes, of the Ukrainian state jurisdiction in which the school is physically located.

Besides the family and the faith community, schools are the main conduit of cultural transmission, and even the most well-meaning government school subtly shapes the individual child into a particular nationality—the “statal” nation.

The NCOs would be free to develop schools and other cultural offerings across political borders. All child-citizens within a political jurisdiction, regardless of their cultural nationality, would receive a tuition subsidy (the same amount per student which is presently being funneled into government schools) to attend any school of their family’s choice. All schools would become “independent schools.” The present-day government schools would be divested as non-governmental, independent, secular community schools. These “community schools” would typically continue to fly and pledge allegiance to the national flag, teach the national curriculum, and display portraits of the Head of Nation in the classroom.

Yet the civic community schools will no longer have an effective monopoly, since parents will be free to spend their child’s School Choice Voucher at any school whatsoever, and even to form their own school using those monies. American Schools, Arts Schools, British Schools (Harry Potter-like), Catholic Schools, Democracy Schools, Islamic Schools, Jewish Day Schools, Language Total Immersion Schools (Ukrainian, Russian, Crimean Tatar, Greek, etc.), Lycées Français, Montessori Schools, Nature and Farm-Based Schools, Native Slavonic Faith Schools, Orthodox Schools, Quaker Schools, Reggio Emilia Schools, UnSchools, Waldorf Schools, and more.

There must be no government-compelled language mandates whatsoever—a student could pass through twelve years of Rossiyan Schooling (or Hebrew Day Schooling, or Crimean Tatar Immersion Schooling, or American English Schooling) without learning a word of Ukrainian. Schools, as the main conveyors of cultural formation (alongside the family, religion, and media) must be totally free to serve as language immersion environments, if that is their wish. The Rights-State meets the individual citizen equally, regardless of their language.

Via the tuition voucher issued to every child-aged citizen (in care of their guardian), a child could try out a different kind of school every year if they wished. Freehood of School Choice (as pragmatically afforded by tyranny-proof vouchers) truly supports each family’s search to find the educational approaches which best reflect the conscience and culture of the family, and the delicately burgeoning needs of the individual child.

The first society to structurally differentiate nation and state will be the first society in which all nations and educational philosophies in the world are truly free to offer their school systems to anyone who’s interested—with this cultural freehood being economically backed up by an egalitarian School

Choice voucher.

- **Offer Nationality (but not Citizenship) to everyone with Ukrainian ancestry in the whole world.**

We suggest that the Ukrainian NCO offer Ukrainian Nationality to anyone who has even one Ukrainian ancestor. For example, there are 1.3 million Canadians of Ukrainian descent.

This is not Ukrainian Citizenship. It's a cultural membership.

And delineate the world into Ukrainian Cultural Districts to serve their cultural needs.

The existing Ukrainian World Congress, which is headquartered in Toronto, Canada, is recognized by the United Nations Economic and Social Council as a non-governmental organization with special consultative status and has a participatory status as an international non-governmental organization with the Council of Europe. The Ukrainian World Congress has the capacity to serve, in a very real and palpable way, as a global cultural embodiment of the Ukrainian Diaspora, in full cultural union with the Ukrainian People. The President of the UWC would be one of the leading cultural figures besides the Head of Nation.

In the further future, this offer of Nationality might be extended to anyone who lives in the wider Historical Homeland, even if they don't have ethnic Ukrainian ancestry. The Ukrainian NCO could craft a cultural (rather than political-legal) process for an individual to take up Ukrainian Nationality. This would be in addition to—not necessarily in place of—any other cultural nationalities the individual identifies with. As long as they're interested in Ukrainian culture, why not?

It may be noted that, prior to modern-day skepticism, Irish and Scottish national traditions considered Royal Scythia—in present-day Ukraine—to be the original homeland of the Gaels. That's potentially a lot of Ukrainians!

“National identity is frequently confused with state citizenship.

*These issues involve **separate** but crosscutting realms of discourse,*

the social-psychological [i.e. cultural] and the juridical [i.e. legal-governancial]. [...]

*The assertion of a national identity is a [...] **cultural** phenomenon.*

*It [=nationality] **can be given a formality distinct from that of citizenship**, which is always legally determined.”*

—Gidon A. Gottlieb (1994), emphasis added.

- **Individual Freehood of Nationality:** Though the newly divested Ukrainian NCO would be the largest cultural organization in that land (even larger than the largest religious organizations), and though all individuals who were Ukrainian citizens would be considered (by the Ukrainian NCO) to also be Ukrainian nationals, once the NCO is divested, no individual would have to identify with, participate in, or monetarily support the Ukrainian NCO any more.

Individuals would be free to choose to participate in one or more NCOs, limited only by the membership requirements of those NCOs.

Likewise, individuals would be free to formally participate in no Nationality at all, and identify as Anational. (In a similar way that a person does not have to participate in a particular Religion, but is free to be “arreligious.”) Perhaps their earmarked Nationality Voucher (rather than just “losing” those monies) could be spent toward the services of an “anational identity.” Note: in the most recent census, a number of persons in Ukraine do identify as anational.

In contrast to the compulsory approach of Marxian nationalities policy, true Freehood of Nationality requires that no government entity may “assign” a nationality to any individual. And also, Individuals would be free to identify with as many nationalities as they wish, rather than be compelled to choose only one Nationality (as has been the case in some Marxian schemes, and which may still be the case in Ukrainian and Rossiyan census forms).

Some might ask: “What are you talking about? I can’t just choose to become French, for example.” In a society where culture and state were structurally separate, children would of course still

grow up with the language and culture of their family, and of their schooling. But whether they and their family formally participate in any NCO would be their own private affair. And all national cultures in the world would be free to incorporate within that society as an NCO, in a similar way that nearly every religious denomination in the world is presently incorporated within the United States. A citizen of the Ukrainian political republic would be free to participate in the cultural activities of the *Alliance française* (the French national-cultural organization) and to go through the formal cultural process of becoming a French national (not a French *citizen*), without even having to move to the French homeland. An individual's French cultural nationality would have no effect on their political citizenship. The French NCO would be free to develop French-language elementary and high schools, colleges, French heritage sites and national parks, and other cultural services throughout the Ukrainian political jurisdiction, as would every other nation.

Rossiya, as well, agrees with Freehood of Nationality in principle:

“Everyone shall have the right to determine and indicate his nationality. No one may be forced to determine and indicate his or her nationality.”

—Article 26 of the Constitution of the Rossiyan Federation

- **Ukrainian-Recognized NCOs—Embody the 133 constituent ethnicities of Ukraine, with their own symbols and National Cultural Councils.** Each of the 133 Nationalities of the Ukrainian People would have its own Ukrainian-sponsored ethnic flag, emblem, and National Cultural Council, in alliance with the All-Ukrainian civic NCO.

The Civic NCO (CiNCO)—the former “statal” nation—can be distinguished from what we call its “constituent” or “sponsored” nationalities, by embodying these in “Civic-Recognized” NCOs (CiReNCOs).

Importantly, there must be a “Ukrainian-Ukrainian” ethnic body (i.e. the ethnic Ukrainian Nationality within the Ukrainian People), with its own distinct symbology and National Cultural Council, so that the multi-ethnic basis of the Ukrainian civic nation is fully and structural affirmed.

Though the Rossiyan Federation will be sponsoring its own CiReNCOs, the Ukrainian civic NCO is also free to sponsor its own “version” of the Russian-speaking identity. And also the 132 other nationalities (i.e. “ethnicities”) which are present in Ukraine.

Unless existing designs are already recognized, we recommend that CiReNCO flags be the same size as the civic flag, and that their emblems be designed according to a similar aesthetic.

For examples of the CiReNCO concept, see how North Macedonia and Serbia have made official ethnic flags, emblems, and national councils for each of their main sponsored nationalities. See also how China has designed official “ethnic totems” for each of its 56 nationalities, using a unified style.

- North Macedonian National Minority flags: fotw.info/flags/mk_nm.html
- Serbian National Minority flags and emblems: crwflags.com/fotw/flags/rs-nm.html
- The Totems of the 56 Chinese Ethnic Groups: en.people.cn/90001/90782/90873/6324320.html

For a chart of the 133 Nationalities of Ukraine, see below. Yes, there would even be an Amerikantsy (American Ukrainian) CiReNCO and National Cultural Council, with a newly designed American Ukrainian flag and emblem.

“According to the All-Ukrainian Population Census data, the representatives of 133 nationalities and ethnic groups lived on the territory of the region.”

—State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (2001)

THE 133 NATIONALITIES OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE—CITIZENS OF UKRAINE OF ALL NATIONALITIES;
THE UKRAINIAN NATION, ALL THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE; THE ALL-UKRAINIAN POPULATION:

1. The Ukraintsi (Ukrainian) Nationality—An Indigenous People of Ukraine
2. The Abazyny (Abazin) Nationality
3. The Abkhazy (Abkhazian) Nationality
4. The Avartsi (Avar) Nationality
5. The Avstriitsi (Austrian) Nationality
6. The Aguly (Aghul/Agul) Nationality
7. The Adyheitsi (Adyghe/Adygei) Nationality
8. The Azerbaidzhantsi (Azerbaijani) Nationality
9. The Albantsi (Albanian) Nationality
10. The Aleuty (Aleut/Aleutian) Nationality
11. The Altaitsi (Altaian) Nationality
12. The Amerykantsi (American) Nationality
13. The Angliitsi (English) Nationality
14. The Araby (Arab) Nationality
15. The Assyriitsi (Assirian/Assyrian) Nationality
16. The Afhantsi (Afghan) Nationality
17. The Balkartsy (Balkar/Balkarian) Nationality
18. The Bashkyrtsy (Bashkir) Nationality
19. The Beludzhi (Baloch/Belugian) Nationality
20. The Bilorusy (Belarusian/Belorussian) Nationality
21. The Bolhary (Bulgarian) Nationality
22. The Buriaty (Buryat) Nationality
23. The Vietnamsi (Vietnamien/Vietnamese) Nationality
24. The Vepsy (Veps) Nationality
25. The Virmeny (Armenian) Nationality
26. The Hahauzy (Gagauz) Nationality
27. The Hollandtsi (Holland/Dutch) Nationality
28. The Hreky (Greek) Nationality
29. The Hruzyny (Georgian) Nationality
30. The Darhyntsi (Dargin/Darghin) Nationality
31. The Dolhany (Dolgan) Nationality
32. The Dunhan (Dungan) Nationality
33. The Eveny (Even) Nationality
34. The Evenky (Evenk) Nationality
35. The Entsi (Ent) Nationality
36. The Eskimosy (Eskimo) Nationality
37. The Estontsi (Estonian) Nationality
38. The Yevrei (Jewish) Nationality
39. The Yevrei Hirski (Mountain Jews) Nationality
40. The Yevrei Hruzynski (Georgian Jews) Nationality
41. The Yevrei Serednoaziatski (Central Asian Jews/Jews of Middle Asia) Nationality
42. The Izhortsi (Izhorian/Izhor) Nationality
43. The Inhushi (Ingush) Nationality
44. The Ispantsi (Spaniard/Spanish) Nationality
45. The Italiitsi (Italian) Nationality
46. The Itelmeny (Itelmen) Nationality
47. The Karbardyntsi (Kabardian/Kabardinian) Nationality
48. The Kazakhy (Kazakh) Nationality
49. The Kalmyky (Kalmyk) Nationality
50. The Kanadtsi (Canadian) Nationality
51. The Karaimy (Karaim/Karaite) Nationality—An Indigenous People of Ukraine
52. The Karakalpaky (Karakalpak/Kara-Kalpak) Nationality
53. The Karachaivtsi (Karachay/Karachai) Nationality
54. The Karely (Karelian) Nationality
55. The Kety (Ket) Nationality
56. The Kyrhyzy (Kyrgyz/Kirghiz) Nationality
57. The Kytaitsi (Chinese) Nationality
58. The Komi Nationality
59. The Komi-Permiaki (Komi-Permyak/Komi Permians) Nationality
60. The Koreitsi (Korean) Nationality
61. The Koriaky (Koryak) Nationality
62. The Krymski Tatory (Crimean Tatar) Nationality—An Indigenous People of Ukraine
63. The Krymchaki (Krymchak/Crimchaki) Nationality—An Indigenous People of Ukraine
64. The Kubyntsi (Cuban) Nationality
65. The Kумыky (Kumyk) Nationality
66. The Kurdy (Kurd) Nationality
67. The Laktsi (Lak) Nationality
68. The Latyshy (Latvian) Nationality
69. The Lezhyny (Lezgin/Lezghin) Nationality
70. The Lytovtsi (Lithuanian) Nationality
71. The Livy (Liv) Nationality
72. The Mansi (Mansy/Mansi) Nationality
73. The Mariitsi (Mari) Nationality
74. The Moldovany (Moldovian/Moldavian) Nationality
75. The Mordva (Mordvinian) Nationality
76. The Nanaitsi (Nanay/Nanai) Nationality
77. The Narody Indii ta Pakystany (Nationalities of India and Pakistan)
78. The Nhanasany (Nganasan) Nationality
79. The Nehidaltsi (Negidalt/Negidal) Nationality
80. The Nentsi (Nenets/Nants) Nationality
81. The Nivkhy (Nivkh) Nationality
82. The Nimtsi (German) Nationality
83. The Nohaitsi (Nogai/Nogay) Nationality
84. The Oroky (Orok/Orock) Nationality
85. The Orochi Nationality
86. The Osetyny (Ossetian/Osset) Nationality
87. The Persy (Persian) Nationality
88. The Poliaky (Polish) Nationality
89. The Rosiiany (Rossiyan) Nationality
90. The Rumuny (Romanian) Nationality
91. The Rutultsi (Rutul/Ruthulian) Nationality
92. The Saami Nationality
93. The Selkupy (Selkup) Nationality
94. The Serby (Serb/Serbian) Nationality
95. The Slovaky (Slovak) Nationality
96. The Tabasarany (Tabasaran) Nationality
97. The Tadzhyky (Tajik/Tadjik) Nationality
98. The Talyshy (Talysh/Talish) Nationality
99. The Tatory (Tatar) Nationality
100. The Taty (Tat) Nationality
101. The Tofalary (Tofalar) Nationality
102. The Tuvyntsi (Tuvin/Tuvinian) Nationality
103. The Turky (Turkish) Nationality
104. The Turky-Meskhetyntsi (Meskhetian Turk/Turks Meskhetians) Nationality
105. The Turkmeny (Turkmen) Nationality
106. The Uhortsi (Hungarian) Nationality
107. The Udeheitsi (Udegeit/Udygei) Nationality
108. The Udiny (Udi/Udin) Nationality
109. The Udmurty (Udmurt) Nationality
110. The Uzbeky (Uzbek) Nationality
111. The Uihury (Uyghur/Uigur) Nationality
112. The Ulchi (Ul'chi) Nationality
113. The Finny (Finnish) Nationality
114. The Frantsuzy (French) Nationality
115. The Khakasy (Khakasian/Khakas) Nationality
116. The Khalkha (Khalka/Khalha) Nationality
117. The Khanty (Hunt/Khantie) Nationality
118. The Khorvaty (Croat/Croatian) Nationality
119. The Tsakhury (Tsakhur/Cakhurie) Nationality
120. The Tsygany (Roma People/"Gypsy") Nationality

- 121. The Cherkesy (Circassian) Nationality
- 122. The Chekhy (Czekh/Czech) Nationality
- 123. The Chechentsi (Chechen) Nationality
- 124. The Chiliitsi (Chilean) Nationality
- 125. The Chuvantsi (Chuvant/Chuvan) Nationality
- 126. The Chuvashi (Chuvash) Nationality
- 127. The Chukchi Nationality

- 128. The Shvedy (Swedish) Nationality
- 129. The Shortsi (Shor) Nationality
- 130. The Yukahyry (Yukagir/Yucagiri) Nationality
- 131. The Yakuty (Yakut) Nationality
- 132. The Yapontsi (Japanese) Nationality
- 133. The Other Nationalities
- 134. The Anationality

Source: All-Ukrainian Population Census (2001): “Distribution of the population by nationality” ([English version](#) and [Ukrainian version](#); [another English version with different spellings](#)).

Of special note, a new Rossiyan flag is reportedly being used by the “Freedom of Russia Legion,” which is a legion of Armed Forces of Ukraine composed of Rossiyan defectors. This might serve as the flag of Russian Nationality NCO which is sponsored by Ukraine.



The Rosiiany Nationality CiReNCO (Ukrainian-sponsored)

- **The Rossiyan Federation would be welcome to likewise sponsor its own Civic-Recognized NCOs for its “over 193” Nationalities.** Including, for example, the ethnic “Malorusian, or Ukrainian Nationality within the Multinational Rossiyan People.” These 193+ CiReNCOs would likewise freely operate in the Ukrainian state territory. Individuals would be free to identify with and patronize whichever identities best met their individual needs, cultural aspirations, and family biography.

There ought to also be an “ethnic Russian” CiReNCO affiliated with the Rossiyan civic NCO, with its own distinct symbols and National Cultural Council, so as to affirm that the Russian is only one of many Rossiyan nationalities.

For a chart of the over 193 Nationalities of Rossiya, see below:

“The Russian Federation is one of the largest multi-ethnic states in the world with representatives of over 193 ethnic groups[.]”

—Joint session of Presidiums of Council for Interethnic Relations and Council on Russian Language (2015)

THE OVER 193 NATIONALITIES OF THE ALL-ROSSIYAN CIVIC NATION; THE MULTINATIONAL PEOPLE OF THE ROSSIYAN FEDERATION:

The Obshtcherusskiy, or Drevnerusskiy (All-Russian, or Ancient Russian) People—a Single Large Nation, a Triune People, One People:

The Velikorusskiy, or Russkiy (Velikorussian or Russian) People:

1. The Velikorusskiy or Russkiy (Velikorussian or Russian) Nationality
2. The Kazaki (Cossack) Nationality
3. The Pomory (Pomor) Nationality

The Malorusskiy, or Ukraintsy (Malorusian or Ukrainian) People:

4. The Malorusskiy, or Ukraintsy (Malorusian or Ukrainian) Nationality
5. The Podkarpatskoy Rusinskiy, or Rusiny (Carpathian Russian or Rusin) Nationality

6. The Belorusy (Belorussian) Nationality

7. The Abaziny (Abazi) Nationality

8. The Abkhazy (Abkhaz) Nationality

The Avartsy (Avarian) People:

9. The Avartsy (Avar) Nationality
10. The Andiytsy (Andi) Nationality
11. The Archintsy (Archi) Nationality
12. The Akhvakhtsy (Akhvakh) Nationality
13. The Bagulaly (Bagvalal) Nationality
14. The Bezhtintsy (Bezhta) Nationality
15. The Botlikhtsy (Botlikh) Nationality
16. The Ginukhtsy (Hinukh) Nationality
17. The Godoberintsy (Godoberi) Nationality
18. The Gunzibtsy (Hunzib) Nationality
19. The Didoytsy (Dido) Nationality
20. The Karatintsy (Karata) Nationality
21. The Tindaly (Tindi) Nationality
22. The Khvarshiny (Khvarshi) Nationality
23. The Chamalaly (Chamalal) Nationality

24. The Aguly (Aghul) Nationality

25. The Adygeysty (Adyghe) Nationality

26. The Azerbaydzhantsy (Azerbaijani) Nationality

27. The Aleuty (Aleut) Nationality

The Altaytsy (Altai) People:

28. The Altaytsy (Altai) Nationality
29. The Telengity (Telengt) Nationality
30. The Tubalary (Tubalar) Nationality
31. The Chelkantyy (Chelkan) Nationality

32. The Amerikantsy (American) Nationality

33. The Araby (Arab) Nationality

The Armyane (Armenian) People:

34. The Armyane (Armenian) Nationality

35. The Cherkesogai Nationality

36. The Assiryty (Assyrian) Nationality

37. The Afgantsy (Afghan) Nationality

38. The Balkartsy (Balkar) Nationality

39. The Bashkiry (Bashkir) Nationality

40. The Besermyane (Besermyan) Nationality

41. The Bolgary (Bulgarian) Nationality

42. The Bosniytsy (Bosnian) Nationality

43. The Britantsy (British) Nationality

44. The Buryaty (Buryat) Nationality

45. The Vengry (Hungarian) Nationality

46. The Vepsy (Veps) Nationality

47. The Vody (Vote) Nationality

48. The V'yetnamtsy (Vietnamese) Nationality

49. The Gagauzy (Gagauz) Nationality

50. The Gorskie Yevrei (Mountain Jews) Nationality

The Greki (Greek) People:

51. The Greki (Greek) Nationality

52. The Greki-Urumy (Greek-Urum) Nationality

53. The Gruzinskie Yevrei (Georgian Jews) Nationality

The Gruziny (Georgian) People:

54. The Gruziny (Georgian) Nationality

55. The Adzhartsy (Ajar) Nationality

56. The Ingiloytsy (Ingiloy) Nationality

57. The Lazy (Laz) Nationality

58. The Megrely (Mingrelian) Nationality

59. The Svany (Svan) Nationality

The Dargintsy (Dargin) People:

60. The Dargintsy (Dargin) Nationality

61. The Kaytagtsy (Kaytak) Nationality

62. The Kubachintsy (Kubachi) Nationality

63. The Dolgany (Dolgan) Nationality

64. The Dungan (Dungan) Nationality

65. The Yevrei (Jewish) Nationality

66. The Yezidy (Yezidi) Nationality

67. The Izhortsy (Izhor) Nationality

68. The Ingushi (Ingush) Nationality

69. The Indiytsy (Indian) Nationality

70. The Ispantsy (Spanish) Nationality

71. The Ital'yantsy (Italian) Nationality

72. The Itel'meny (Itelmen) Nationality

73. The Kabardintsy (Kabardin) Nationality

74. The Kazakhi (Kazakh) Nationality

75. The Kalmyki (Kalmyk) Nationality

76. The Kamchadaly (Kamchadal) Nationality
77. The Karaimy (Karaim) Nationality
78. The Karakalpaki (Karakalpak) Nationality
79. The Karchaevtsy (Karachay) Nationality
80. The Karely (Karelian) Nationality
81. The Kereki (Kerek) Nationality
The Kety (Ket) People:
82. The Kety (Ket) Nationality
83. The Yugi (Yugh) Nationality
84. The Kirgizy (Kyrgyz) Nationality
85. The Kitaytsy (Chinese) Nationality
The Komi People:
86. The Komi Nationality
87. The Komi-Izhemtsy (Izhma Komi) Nationality
88. The Komi-Permyaki (Komi-Permyak) Nationality
89. The Koreytsy (Korean) Nationality
90. The Koryaki (Koryak) Nationality
91. The Krymskie Tatory (Crimean Tatar) Nationality
92. The Krymchaki (Krymchak) Nationality
93. The Kubintsy (Cuban) Nationality
94. The Kumandintsy (Kumandin) Nationality
95. The Kумыky (Kumyk) Nationality
The Kurdy (Kurdish) People:
96. The Kurdy (Kurdish) Nationality
97. The Kurmanch (Kurmandji) Nationality
98. The Laktsy (Lak) Nationality
The Latyshy (Latvian) People:
99. The Latyshy (Latvian) Nationality
100. The Latgal'tsy (Latgalian) Nationality
101. The Lezginy (Lezgin) Nationality
102. The Makedontsy (Macedonian) Nationality
103. The Mansi Nationality
The Mariytsy (Mari) People:
104. The Mariytsy (Mari) Nationality
105. The Gornye Mariytsy (Hill Mari) Nationality
106. The Lugovo-Vostochnye Mariytsy (Meadow Mari) Nationality
107. The Moldovane (Moldavian) Nationality
108. The Mongoly (Mongol) Nationality
The Mordva People:
109. The Mordva Nationality
110. The Mordva-Moksha Nationality
111. The Mordva-Erzya Nationality
112. The Nagaybaki (Nağaybäk) Nationality
113. The Nanaytsy (Nanai) Nationality
114. The Nganasany (Nganasan) Nationality
115. The Negidal'tsy (Negidal) Nationality
The Nemtsy (German) People:
116. The Nemtsy (German) Nationality
117. The Mennonity (Mennonite) Nationality
118. The Nentsy (Nenets) Nationality
119. The Nivkhi (Nivkh) Nationality
The Nogaytsy (Nogai) People:
120. The Nogaytsy (Nogai) Nationality
121. The Karagashi (Karagash) Nationality
122. The Orochi (Oroch) Nationality
The Osetiny (Ossete) People:
123. The Osetiny (Ossete) Nationality
124. The Osetiny-Digortsy (Ossete-Digor) Nationality
125. The Osetiny-Irontsy (Ossete-Iron) Nationality
126. The Pakistantsy (Pakistani) Nationality
127. The Pamirtsy (Pamiri) Nationality
128. The Persy (Persian) Nationality
129. The Polyaki (Polish) Nationality
130. The Rumyny (Romanian) Nationality
131. The Rutul'tsy (Rutul) Nationality
132. The Saamy (Saami) Nationality
133. The Sel'kupy (Selkup) Nationality
134. The Serby (Serb) Nationality
135. The Slovaki (Slovak) Nationality
136. The Sloventsy (Slovene) Nationality
137. The Soyoty (Soyot) Nationality
138. The Sredneaziatskie Yevrei (Central Asian Jews) Nationality
139. The Tabasarany (Tabasaran) Nationality
140. The Tadjhiki (Tajik) Nationality
141. The Tazy (Taz) Nationality
142. The Talyshi (Talysh) Nationality
The Tatory (Tatar) People:
143. The Tatory (Tatar) Nationality
144. The Astrakhanskie Tatory (Astrakhan Tatar) Nationality
145. The Kryasheny (Krasheh) Nationality
146. The Mishary (Mishar) Nationality
147. The Sibirskie Tatory (Siberian Tatar) Nationality
148. The Taty (Tat) Nationality
149. The Teleuty (Teleut) Nationality
150. The Tofalary (Tofalar) Nationality
The Tuvintsy (Tuvan) People:
151. The Tuvintsy (Tuvan) Nationality
152. The Tuvintsy-Todzhintsy (Tuvan-Todzhin) Nationality
153. The Turki (Turkish) Nationality
154. The Turki-Meskhetintsy (Meskhetian Turk) Nationality
155. The Turkmeny (Turkmen) Nationality
156. The Udiny (Udi) Nationality
157. The Udmurty (Udmurt) Nationality
158. The Udegeytsy (Udege) Nationality
159. The Uzbeki (Uzbek) Nationality
160. The Uygury (Uighur) Nationality
161. The Uyl'ta (Uilta) Nationality
162. The Ulchi (Ulch) Nationality
The Finny (Finnish) People:
163. The Finny (Finnish) Nationality
164. The Finny-Inggermanlandtsy (Ingrian Finn) Nationality
165. The Frantsuzi (French) Nationality
166. The Khakasy (Khakas) Nationality
167. The Khanty Nationality
168. The Khemshily (Hemshin) Nationality
169. The Khorvaty (Croat) Nationality
170. The Tsakhury (Tsakhur) Nationality
171. The Tsygane (Tzigane or Romani) Nationality
172. The Tsygane Sredneaziatskie (Central Asian Romani) Nationality
173. The Cherkesy (Cherkess) Nationality
174. The Chernogortsy (Montenegrin) Nationality
175. The Chekhi (Czech) Nationality
The Chechentsy (Chechen) People:
176. The Chechentsy (Chechen) Nationality
177. The Chechentsy-Akkintsy (Chechen-Akkin) Nationality
178. The Chuvantsy (Chuvan) Nationality
179. The Chuvashi (Chuvash) Nationality
180. The Chukchi Nationality
181. The Chulymtsy (Chulym) Nationality
182. The Shapsugi (Shapsug) Nationality
183. The Shortsy (Shor) Nationality
184. The Evenki Nationality
185. The Eveny (Even) Nationality
186. The Entsy (Enets) Nationality
187. The Eskimosy ("Eskimo" or Yupik) Nationality
The Estontsy (Estonian) People:
188. The Estontsy (Estonian) Nationality
189. The Setu (Seto) Nationality
190. The Yukagiry (Yukaghir) Nationality
191. The Yakuty (Yakut or Sakha) Nationality
192. The Yapontsy (Japanese) Nationality
193. The Other Nationalities
194. The Anationality

Sources:

- For the 193+ nationalities and their groupings into “peoples”: “[All-Russian Population Census 2010: Population by nationality](#),” *Demoscope Weekly*.
- For the terminology and grouping of the All-Russian, Triune People, see the: “Article by Vladimir Putin: ‘On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians’” ([English version](#)) and ([Russian version](#)).

Note how Rossiyan sources group some of the 193+ Nationalities into “Peoples,” making for a three-tier or even four-tier system (for the Triune People of the East Slavonic nationalities). Within Rossiya's CiReNCO system, each tier could be organizationally and symbolically distinguished, for example: the Rossiyan Civic NCO, the Obshcherusskiy (All-Russian) CiReNCO, the Velikorusskiy (Great Russian) CiReNCO, and the Russian CiReNCO proper (the Russians who aren't Cossacks or Pomors).

Beyond these 193+ nationalities, if all of Eurasia were to be designated by the Rossiyan Federation to be part of its Cultural Homeland, then Rossiya might sponsor a Rossiyan “version” of each Nationality which is present in that zone, according to Rossiyan ethnographic principles.

Of special note, the leadership of the Donetsk People's Republic has designed a flag for a Rossiyan-friendly expression of Ukrainian identity. This could serve as the symbol of the Rossiyan-sponsored Ukrainian NCO...the Malorusian Nationality NCO; with Donetsk as the CiReNCO capital (as seen on the DPR-issued map below):



The Malorusian, or Ukrainian Nationality CiReNCO (Rossiyan-sponsored)

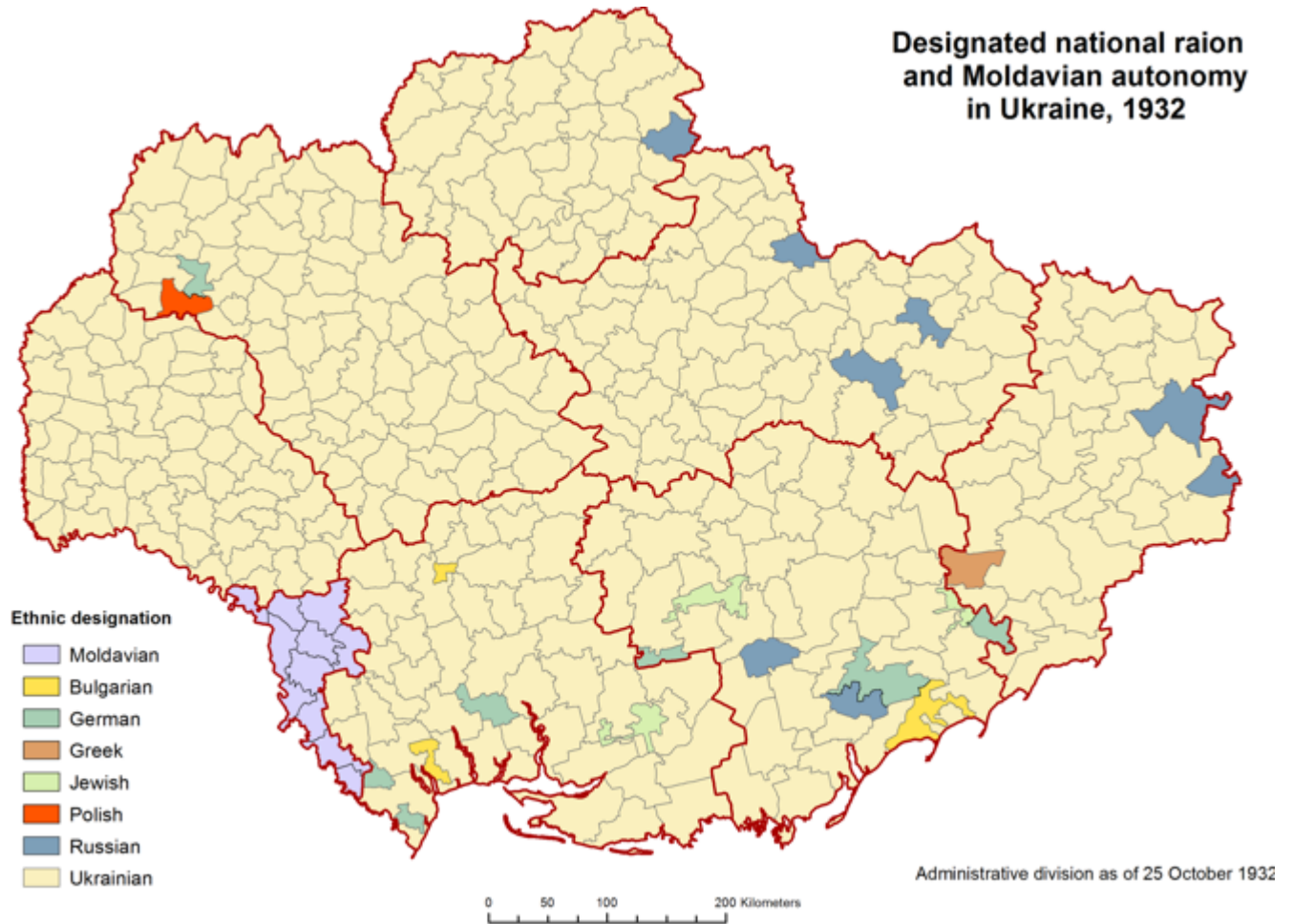


Other features of the Separation of Culture and State:

- **Overlapping National Homelands:** As described earlier in this document, NCOs would draw the map of their Historical Homeland (their cultural service area, their “national homeland”) however they wish, completely heedless of political borders. National (cultural) homelands will then freely overlap with each other in the same way that ecclesiastical provinces have been free to overlap since the separation of religion and state. The political borders (in other words, police and military service areas) would remain the same.

CiReNCOs (the constituent Nationalities of each civic NCO) would also draw a national homeland. For starters, the National Rayons which used to exist in Ukraine could serve as the initial

basis for the CiReNCO Homelands:



Note: this is not a restoration of political autonomy—the Gottlieb Initiative is not in favor of “ethno-political autonomous units,” since these are just fused nation-states scaled down!

- **Commonwealths of National-Cultural Organizations:** We recommend that each of the Civic NCOs form its own Commonwealth of National-Cultural Organizations (CWNCO) which serves as a cultural forum for all of its CiReNCOs. The most basic suggested names are:

1. **The 133 Nationalities of the All-Ukrainian People** (133 Національностей Всеукраїнського Народу). Perhaps you could think of a name more succinct and poetic. But if not, then as more nationalities are recognized, the number (133) could be adjusted! Something like adding stars to the U.S. flag, but this time, in the cultural field, rather than governancial.
2. **The All-Rossiyan Union of Peoples and Nationalities** (Всероссийский Союз Народов и Национальностей): The Over 193 Nationalities of the All-Rossiyan Civic Nation, the Multinational Rossiyan People

These are purely cultural forums within a civic NCO, not a political parliament.

- **The Heart of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples:** (In English, abbreviated: ♥oNNaP, pronounced: “HOH-nap.”) The CWNCOs are sponsored by a single civic nation, so they don't really reach between civic NCOs. For the latter purpose, the Gottlieb Institute seeks to facilitate the formation of the **Heart of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples**. This is the cultural equivalent of what the political League of Nations (LON) ought to have made room for, but failed, due to the blind fusion of culture and state. Due to American and Canadian governmental pressure, the LON explicitly declined the application of

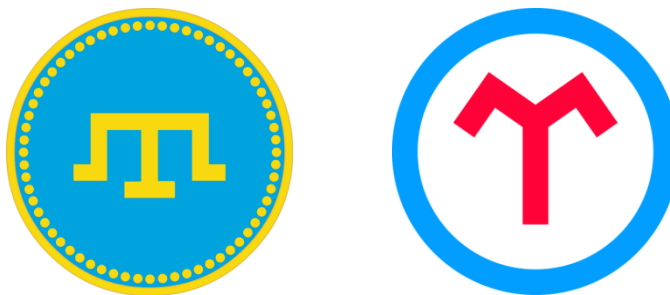
the ancient Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, because it was not a nation-state.³ The LON—which was truthfully the "League of Nation-States" or "League of National Governments"—totally failed to differentiate cultural nationhood and political statehood; as does its successor, the United Nations...which is truthfully the "United Nation-States" or "United National Governments."

The membership of the ♥oNNaP potentially includes:

1. All 193 UN member nations, as CiNCOs (Civic NCOs); along with the one nation which is a UN observer state: the Palestinian CiNCO. The Holy See does not claim to be a nation.
2. All of their constituent/recognized/sponsored nationalities, as CiReNCOs (Civic-Recognized NCOs). This includes all ethnic categories in each nation's census, each of which would be embodied as a NCO. This alone will swell membership to thousands of NCOs. As it should—that is beginning to approach the true ethno-national diversity of humanity.

For example, in this way, the ♥oNNaP will embody international cultural peerhood of the 632 U.S.-recognized Indian Nations NCOs and 633 Canadian-recognized First Nations NCOs. And also the 100+ member organizations of the EU-recognized Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN: www.fuen.org), whose membership and lukewarm function could be made more culturally meaningful by grouping those disparate “organizations” into proper “Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples.”

In the ♥oNNaP, there will often more than one “version” of an ethnic culture, sponsored by a different civic nation. For example, a Ukrainian-sponsored Crimean Tatar NCO, and a Rossiyan-sponsored Crimean Tatar NCO. The other UN member nations could variously support either or both of them, or possibly yet another version, such as a Turkish-sponsored Crimean Tatar NCO. Though these "versions" would be organizationally distinct, they'd be seated adjacent to each other in the ♥oNNaP. The Mejlis (chamber) of the Crimean Tatar People is currently recognized by Ukraine and much of the international community. The Milliy Fırqa, which was sponsored by Rossiyan-friendly Yanukovych administration, and is presently recognized by the Rossiyan Federation, could serve as the Rossiyan-sponsored Crimean Tatar NCO. Their symbology is distinguishable:



Emblems of the Ukrainian-recognized Mejlis (left) and the Rossiyan-recognized Milliy Fırqa (right)—two versions of the Crimean Tatar nationality. These emblems lend themselves to two different flag designs as well.

This is similar to how different civic nations in Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, and Finland) recognize different Saami Parliaments—each of which has its own logo or symbol. While Rossiya recognizes the Saami Nationality in the abstract, there's been Rossiyan state resistance toward organizationally embodying the Saami identity, such as by recognizing any one of the existing Saami advocacy groups to be representative of the Rossiyan Saami. The ♥oNNaP provides a cultural forum where that can be made visible and untangled. And, to the extent that some or all of the “versions” of the Saami People recognize the shared Saami Council, that "meta-NCO" would be yet another “version” which would be seated in the ♥oNNaP, as long as at least one Civic NCO (e.g. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Rossiya, or one of the other 190 Civic Nations) also recognizes the Saami Council.

³ See “Six Nations appeals to the League of Nations, 1922-31”: <http://historybeyondborders.ca/?p=189>



The logos of the Saami Parliaments of Norway (left), of Sweden (upper center), of Finland (right), and of the international Saami Council (bottom center).

It's not a tragedy for there to be multiple versions of a single Nationality. When individuals are free to participate in and patronize any “version,” the NCOs will grow or shrink according to the level of genuine interest, as is the presently case with religious denominations.

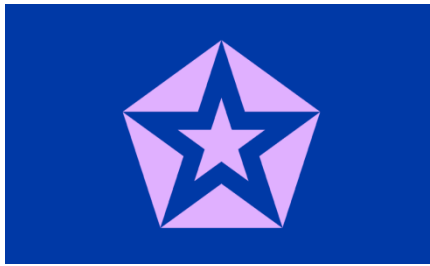
In the activities and arrangement of the ♥oNNaP the CiReNCOs are not subsumed under the CiNCOs, but are cultural peers. (Similar to how presently, Cook Islands and Niue are equal members of UNESCO alongside New Zealand, the nation-state they're a part of; despite not being fully sovereign politically.) The thousands of CiReNCOs have essentially the same status in the ♥oNNaP as the 194 CiNCOs, except that the CiNCOs serve as the fount of recognition.

The same “multi-version” principle applies to all nationalities...even to the Civic Nations. For example, the Amerykantsy Nationality (American Ukrainian) NCO (the American descendants in Ukraine) and the Amerikansty Nationality (American Rossiyan) NCO (the American descendants in Rossiya) will, culturally, be equal peers of the U.S. NCO...the American Civic Nation. They'd all be seated adjacent to each other in the ♥oNNaP forum.

In the further future, there could possibly be other chains of recognition. For example, one or more enlightened CiNCOs might together recognize the traditional Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy NCO and the Traditional Hopi Village NCOs, which have their own identities and leadership distinct from the U.S.-recognized Iroquois and Hopi Tribal Governments, and distinct from the Canadian-recognized Iroquois Elected Bands Governments. The presence of Traditional (i.e. not civic-shaped) NCOs will be a healthy human advancement.

Any Nation, Nationality (i.e. Ethnicity), or People (i.e. Folk Culture) which is recognized by even one CiNCO is automatically a member of the ♥oNNaP. There's no UN-style wheeling, dealing, and politicking. The primary purpose of the ♥oNNaP is to culturally embody all of the widely recognized (i.e. civic-recognized) Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples in the whole world. It's not political...it's cultural.

We suggest Ukraine as the first prototype and first “heartquarters” (♥Q) of the ♥ONNP. The name ♥ONNP is based on the Ethiopian constitutional phrase: “Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples,” upon which an Ethiopian civic holiday is based: “Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day.” And upon the phrase “the Indigenous Peoples and Nations of North America” from the 1999 joint declaration of the Canadian Assembly of First Nations and the U.S. National Congress of American Indians. And also upon a question from the poet Novalis: “*Have the nations all the human traits except the heart?*”



The ♥oNNaP flag—an evolution of the League of Nations flag. Now dressed in “deep cultural blue” and “light cultural violet.” For comparison, here is the old League of Nations flag of 1939:



The ♥oNNaP is based on Gottlieb's “Union of Peoples” concept:

*“**Union of Peoples** [vs.] Union of States. **Soft forms of union** between national [-cultural] communities divided by international [state-governancial] frontiers could reduce tensions in stalemated conflicts. Such unions could grant a common [cultural] **nationality** to persons of diverse [state-governancial] citizenship and allow the exercise of political [or rather, cultural] rights outside the state of a person's citizenship. A form of union that involves **peoples** [cultures] rather than [state] territories and that leaves international frontiers [i.e. political state boundaries] untouched could help resolve tensions[.]”*

—Gidon Gottlieb (1994), emphasis added.

- **Internationally-Recognized Cultural Independence:** All ♥oNNaP members would be admitted to international cultural forums which are based on nationality, such as the Olympics, World Cup soccer, and UNESCO (the UN cultural organization).
- **Freehood of Ethno-National Association; Chains of Recognition:** NCOs—like religious organizations—would freely determine their membership criteria. In general, it's “expected” or “likely” that a Civic NCO (CiNCO) would continue to offer its nationality to all individuals who are citizens of the state jurisdiction it was formerly fused with.

Just how in western liberal societies, individuals are free to found new denominations and expressions of religion, in a society where nation is free from state, individuals would be free to initiate alternative NCOs, such as aspirant NCOs (as seen for example in the present-day UNPO: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization), royalist NCOs, republican (anti-royalist) NCOs, anarchist or social justice-based NCOs, vanity NCOs and “new country project” NCOs, and even pop-culture-based NCOs (in a similar way that pop-culture-based religions have begun to arise, such as the Jedi Faith, pop culture sources could begin to inspire and cultural services also in the national field).

In regard to Ukraine and Rossiya, the royalist / monarchist movement is especially relevant. The cultural sphere is where monarchism belongs. Any and all of the deposed monarchist houses would be totally free to form NCOs, such as the Ukrainian Hetmanate NCO, headed by the Skoropadsky family, whose current claimant is Borys Skoropadsky (b. 1956); and the Rossiyan Empire NCO, headed by the Romanov family, whose most widely recognized claimant is Maria Vladimirovna (b.1953)—though any disputants are free to form their own NCO. Folks who enjoy monarchist culture would be free to patronize whichever NCO they wished.



The Royal Standard of the Hetmanate (left) and the Standard of the Emperor of Rossiya (right).

However, it's not the primary purpose of the mainline NCOs, as embodied in the ♥oNNaP, to “recognize” these alternative expressions of nationality. Anyone is free to incorporate an NCO under the law, but the ♥oNNaP, as a non-governmental cultural association composed of the 194 Civic Nations and the thousands of Nationalities which they recognize, also has the right to define its membership. ♥oNNaP has its own chain of recognition. However, it's conceivable that one or more of the royal civic nations (the United Kingdom NCO being foremost), might culturally recognize the various deposed royal NCOs in the world, in which case they'd be admitted to the ♥oNNaP.

But conversely, alternative NCOs would be free to form their own INCOs (international cultural organizations), with their own chains of recognition; in friendly distinction from the mainline ♥oNNaP.

- **Other Cultural Rights Vouchers:** National identities are not the only culturally-formative forces. Religions and secular worldviews also provide cultural services. For example, religious schools (e.g. Catholic schools, Quaker schools, Jewish day schools) and secular/non-national educational movements (Montessori, Reggio Emilia, and Waldorf) are not inherently attached to a particular civic nation. Yet their services are certainly a “school.” If other cultural rights beyond the Cultural Right to Nationality are not also enacted, this would result in a withering of any cultural activity which is not tied to one of the 194 civic national identities.

A Cultural Right to Primary and Secondary Education would be the next to enact. This Right would equally divvy all State educational monies among all of the qualifying (i.e. child-age) citizens, to be spent by their guardian toward tuition at any school. As long as it's a school (or a private tutor or homeschool which operate according to the acceptable practices of the tutor associations and homeschool associations), then it qualifies. A school is a school. This leapfrogs beyond the Americanist “separation of church and state,” in a clear way.

Other cultural fields could also be embodied, for example, a Cultural Right to Media. All monies which are presently going toward State-funded media and national media subsidies are instead divvied equally among the entire citizenry, and issued as a yearly voucher which the individual can freely choose to spend toward any media outlet, regardless of the language (Ukrainian, Russian, Spanish, Swahili, etc.). The State-compelled Ukrainization of the media outlets was one of the reasons for the current conflict.

The EU peoples may have a hard time understanding this, since the fused bureaucracy of government-sponsored cultural services (e.g. directly state-funded clergy in Belgium, the “recognized” churches of Austria, and the progressive national-state school systems in Scandinavia) may be viewed to be the best possible world. Yet this is a conceit which Americanism allows Europeans to enjoy, and which renders Europeans unable to strongly model a better world.

- **Distinguishing Symbols for the Civic Nation, Political Governance, and Ethnic Nation:** The NCO would retain the official name and national flag as its organizational symbol, since the Nation, rather than the State, is the repository of national tradition. And so the State would need some sort of symbology which is distinguishable from the Nation. For example:

For the Civic Nation:



The All-Ukrainian People CiNCO

The Ukrainian Government (aka Ukrainian State) might simply add the trident to the flag, to make a “State flag.”



The Ukrainian Governance

(Biographical note: On a pilgrimage to Ukraine, the author witnessed a large mural of a silver trident like this painted on the wall inside a friendly police station in the village of Berezanka, in Mykolaiv Oblast.)

But, to make the Rights-State moniker more distinguishable from the ethno-cultural element, perhaps an existing poetic or ancient name for Ukraine could be employed instead, such as: the **Governance of the Land of the Trident (GL3)**, or the **Governance of Kyivan Rus' (GKR)**.

For the Ethnic Nation: perhaps the ethnic Ukrainian Nationality (as a Civic-Recognized NCO) might be distinguished from the civic Ukrainian People by using the flipped flag, with yellow top, which was the flag of Ukraine from 1917 to 1918. (The author has noted that, of the many Americans who are flying the Ukrainian flag now in front of their houses or on car stickers, a good deal of them are "upside down." But, they're right-side up for the 1917-1918 flag!



The Ukrainian Nationality CiReNCO

Those are only suggestions—we're sure that Ukrainian artists could come up with totally fresh designs for the State flag, the ethnic Ukrainian flag, and the 132 other CiReNCO flags. The point is that what is now subsumed under one symbol—the Ukrainian flag—had better become structurally differentiated. What's important are the systemic differentiations of culture and state, and making them visible and palpable for humanity.

Likewise, the Rossiyan Government, Rossiyan Civic Nation, and Rusian Ethnic Nation are invited to become organizationally and visually distinguishable. The following options are only suggestive:

For the Rossiyan Civic Nation:

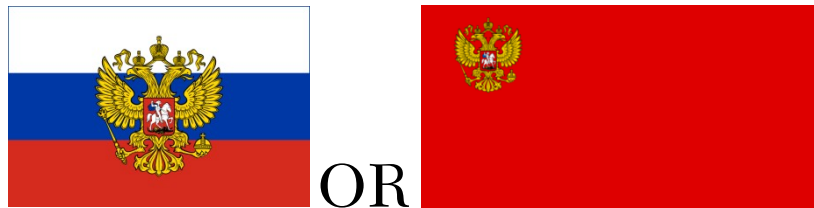


The Multinational Rossiyan People CiNCO

Options for the Civic NCO flag:

- A) Keep the current flag as the civic NCO flag; OR
- B) Adopt the alternate proposal which was submitted to the Duma in 1994; OR
- C) Adopt the pre-Bolshevik Rossiyan Empire flag as the cultural symbol of the Rossiyan People.

For the Rossiyan Political State:

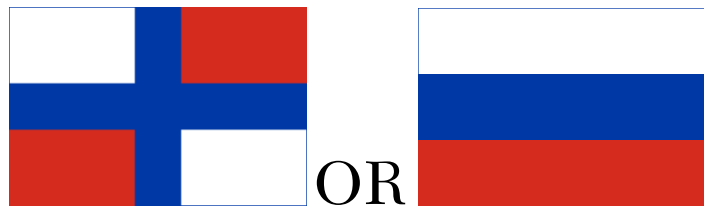


The Rossiyan Governance

Options for the Rossiyan State flag:

- A) Add the State emblem to the flag. (Similar to the existing Presidential banner.) OR
 - B) Adopt a red banner with the State emblem.
- To further distinguish the Rossiyan State from the Rossiyan Nation, a poetic or ancient name could be employed, such as: the **Eurasian Governance** or **Scythian Governance**.

For the Rusian Ethnic Nationality:



The Velikorussian, or Rusian Nationality CiReNCO

Options for the ethnic Rusian flag:

- A) Use the earliest purported design of the flag of the Tsardom of Rus': the cross-shaped flag. OR
- B) Repurpose the current civic flag as the ethnic Rusian flag (only if the Rossiyan civic flag is changed).

- **Head of Nation and Head of State are two different roles:** Currently the roles are fused, as the Head of the Nation-State. In the transition term, the current Head of Nation would serve as the cultural leader of the NCO, and at the same time, this individual would be the Head of State of the Government.

Yet beyond the transition period, the roles must be fully distinguished, since the NCO will no longer be tied to the Government. The Head of State will be elected through the political process. But the NCO will have its own internal process (an internal cultural election) which is not affiliated with, or sponsored by the Government. In the same way that the internal elections of a hobby club or religious body are not tied to the Government.

We suggest that, for the sake of cultural continuity, previous Heads of Nation (and/or their spouses) might be especially fitting candidates for the first Heads of Nation following the transition. But any national could offer themselves as a candidate.

- **Anational Governance (nation-free government):** Regardless of their cultural nationality, individuals would all remain citizens of a united political-rights governance having the same political boundaries as the nation-state from whence it sprang. (Though the question of political boundaries is complicated in the Ukraine due to the presence of occupation forces and lines of control.)

By divesting itself of all culture-shaping powers, the government would become a truly human-centered state—known in political science as a “rights-state” (in Central European discourse) or “rule-of-law state” (in Anglo-Saxon discourse). Rather than an Americanist-style “democratic republic” pervaded with multi-ethnic civic nationalism, an authentic, humane state becomes literally *anational* (“without a nation”). The governance of civic rights and laws would be affiliated with no nation at all. In the same way that it would not be affiliated with a specific faith.

- **Omni-Lingual Governance:** For this to be realized, a genuine rights-state would be *omni-lingual*. Though there might be a common working language within rights agencies for use among their hired civil service personnel, a citizen could serve in any *elected* office completely regardless of whether they speak the common language or not. And those rights organs which interface with the public would accept being addressed by a citizen in *any* language of humanity and receive correspondence in that language. Such as through dial-a-translator services, which are now widely available.

In this day and age, it is possible for translation to be provided for all public rights services and elected service positions. Such omni-lingual services are already provided to defendants in the U.S. judicial branch, and ought to be extended to the public interface of the legislative and executive branches.

- **Signage:** All signs which are owned by a government entity (municipal, rayon, oblast, federal) would either display only wordless symbols (such as the international Vienna Convention road signs), or, where there is wording (such as place names), the signs would feature several languages whose number and ordering are prioritized according to clear, egalitarian criteria. For example, any language, at any given level of governance, where, say 10% or 1/12th or more of the citizenry declare that language as their individual “rights language,” must be included on any written sign which is owned or funded by the governance. With the most-declared language at the top, and the least-declared language (with 10% or 1/12th or more) at the bottom of the sign. Even the sizes of the fonts would need to be spelled out, based on legibility and safety requirements. For example, on signs which are made to be read by pedestrians, the languages could all have the same size font; but for highway signs which need to be grasped quickly, possibly the top language would be in a large font, but the secondary languages in a smaller font, so as to not be distracting. That's the general gist—a clear and egalitarian process.

Such signs would be dynamic, with the signs updated periodically (say, every 10 or 12 years) to reflect any change in the tally of “rights languages.”

It's important that each citizen themselves choose which language (or slate of languages) is their designated “rights language(s),” rather than having some government agency abstractly estimating (and thus assigning) languages to the populace based on censuses, surveys, and the like.

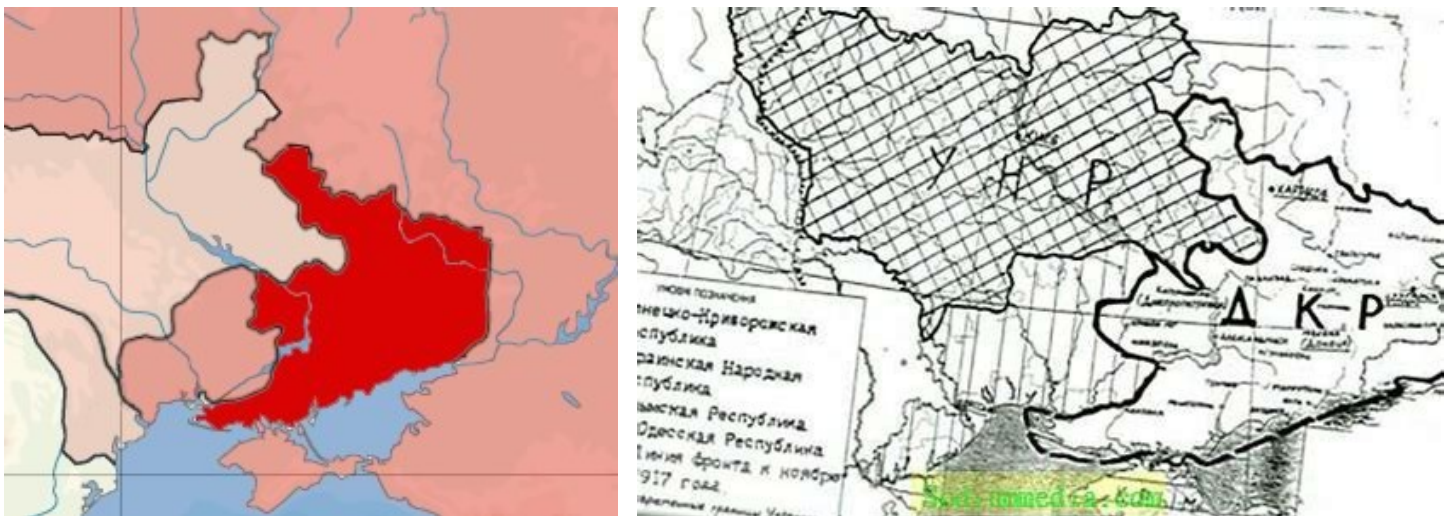
Beyond government-owned or -funded signs, the question of cultural signage and business signage might be approached differently. Should a culturally immersive environment, such as a school or church be compelled to post signs in the slate of “rights languages”? Is it a legitimate “right” to be immersed in a single language (or a slate of languages) wherever one goes, in all private cultural or commercial spaces? Maybe, maybe not. These details can be sifted through. But for state-owned signage, the way forward is clear.

- **NCOs for the Rossiyan-sponsored nation-statelets:** There could be distinct NCOs for the civic nations which were formed as Rossiyan satellites:
 - The Donetsk People's Republic NCO
 - The Lugansk People's Republic NCO
 - The Republic of Crimea NCO

These are de facto and de jure civic “nationalities” (or was, in case of Crimea). However, the Rossiyan census does not presently recognize those to be Nationalities in the traditional cultural sense.

As for Historical Homelands, the DPR has declared itself to be the successor state of the Donetsk-Krivoy Rog Soviet Republic (DKR) which existed for a month during 1918. It is unknown to us what historical geography the LPR looks to, or teaches in their schools; yet Lugansk was the later capital of the DKR, so the LPR may consider itself a co-inheritor of that civic tradition.

In the “people”-level groupings seen in the list of 193+ Rossiyan Nationalities, the DPR and LPR (as multiethnic sub-civic identities) might be considered a nationality of the Malorusian People (along with the Carpathian Rusian Nationality).



Two depictions of the Donetsk-Krivoy Rog Soviet Republic (DKR), which could serve as the Historical Homeland of the present-day Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and Lugansk People's Republic (LPR).

The Republic of Crimea was independent for only five days prior to the 2014 Rossiyan annexation. Yet hypothetically, a Rossiyan-sponsored Crimean civic NCO could point to the various historical polities which have been based on the Crimean Peninsula, such as the Taurida Soviet Socialist Republic of 1918. (Pictured below.) In the “people”-level groupings seen in the list of 193+ Rossiyan Nationalities, the Crimean Nationality (as a multiethnic sub-civic identity, distinct from the Crimean Tatar Nationality) might be grouped with the Velikorusian People (along with the Cossack Nationality and the Pomor Nationality).



The Historical Homeland of the Republic of Crimea NCO.

ACTION THREE: IMPLEMENT AN OMNI-NATIONAL BI-STATE CONDOMINIUM IN THE DISPUTED AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

“You are told that we hate Russian culture.”

—The Ukrainian leadership

“We insist on the territorial integrity of Ukraine.”

—The Ukrainian leadership

Through the Omni-National Bi-State Condominium (ONBSC), you will be able to do two “impossible” things at once:

1. Completely preserve the territorial integrity of Ukraine, in perpetuity.
2. While at the same time, fully regularizing relations with Rossiya, and putting Crimea and the Donbas behind us.
In an innovative, pragmatic, mutually honorable way,
as a foundation for a forward-looking Euro-Atlantic Humanity.

In combination with the Historical Homeland, the ONBSC provides a comprehensive remedy. The ONBSC will insure that 100% of Ukraine's Political Territory is retained. While the Historical Homeland concept will restore Ukraine's Cultural Territory to include the original image of Ukraine: the vast WWI-era vision of the Ukrainian Homeland extending even to the Caspian Sea, Siberia, and the Far East. While at the same time, the political-security needs and cultural aspirations of Rossiya are acknowledged and pragmatically satisfied.

The Gottlieb Institute advocates that an ONBSC be applied to every plot of land which is militarily occupied and/or formally disputed by two UN member states, in the entire world. In the case of Ukraine, at the time of writing, this means Crimea, the two Donbas oblasts, and any other oblasts which may be wholly or partly occupied and/or formally claimed by the time when national and international leadership realizes that the ONBSC is a (or the) solution.

For the sake of presentation, we assume that the Rossiyan Federation's preference is to fully integrate all occupied and claimed territories into the Rossiyan Federation proper, and that any expression of, or support for, localized nation-state building (e.g. recognizing the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics) is a temporary measure.

However, if, for whatever reason, the end-goal is to maintain these as actual or nominally independent republics (as we've seen in Abkhazia and South Ossetia), the ONBSC principles apply just as well, except that those areas wouldn't be called a “Condominium”...they would be internationally recognized as independent “Omni-National Bi-State Entities” (ONBSEs). But structurally, the offered solution is essentially the same either way.

Also known as an Omni-Cultural Bi-State Condominium, the gist of the ONBSC is this:

1. **Territorial Integrity:** The territorial integrity of both nation-states is preserved. The entire area of the ONBSC will be a part of both countries, in perpetuity.
2. **Two Nations, Two States:** The national-cultural powers and political-governancial powers within the disputed territory are structurally differentiated into two administrations for each of the two claimant nation-states:
 - The Ukrainian Nation (national-cultural organization)
 - The Rossiyan Nation (national-cultural organization)
 - The Ukrainian State (legal-political governance)
 - The Rossiyan State (legal-political governance)

3. **Symbols and Leadership:** Each of the four administrations has its own symbols and bodies:
 - four different flags (see the suggestions in the previous chapter)
 - four different emblems
 - four different leaders: two cultural Heads of Nation and two political Heads of State; though, initially, the nation/state roles would be filled by the same person: the two current heads of the nation-states.
4. **The Primary Administrator and the Symbolic Administrator:** Within the ONBSC, politically there are two tiers of administration: A) The Primary Administrator (a.k.a. Functional Administrator), and B) The Symbolic Administrator (a.k.a. Nominal Administrator).
5. **The Primary Administrator:** The disputants and the international community recognize that wherever a state actually occupies (in the military/police sense of the word) a plot of land (even if it's just a sliver or parcel of land), they serve as the Primary Administrator there, in perpetuity.
6. **The Symbolic Administrator:** And wherever a state only formally claims, but does not presently occupy, a plot of land (even as small as a sliver or parcel), they serve as the Symbolic Administrator in perpetuity.
7. **The Three Lines of Administration:** There's a Line of Primary Administration and two Lines of Symbolic Administration. All three of which are depicted on maps.
8. **The Line of Primary Administration** is a normalization of the Line of Control, as established by a cease-fire and demarcation. This line can be very granular, down to a small parcel or sliver of land, and can also have enclaves and exclaves.
9. **The two Lines of Symbolic Administration** follow the widest *formal* claims of both states.
10. **The Ukrainian Line of Symbolic Administration:** At the time of writing, Ukraine formally claims the entirety of its internationally-recognized borders, and so its Line of Symbolic Administration is that line: encompassing the whole of eastern and southern Ukraine (including Crimea) and associated waters.
11. **The Rossiyan Line of Symbolic Administration:** At the time of writing, Rossiya's Line of Symbolic Administration would extend to the western edge of Donetsk oblast and Lugansk oblast, since Rossiya's two client states formally claim the entirety of the two oblasts even though Rossiyan forces have not yet totally occupied the westernmost portions of those oblasts. For the purpose of presentation, we assume those client states' claims are a prelude to a formal incorporation of those oblasts into the Rossiyan Federation.

For this presentation, we also include the small areas of Kherson Oblast which Ukraine still administers, since at the time of writing (June 2022), the Rossiyan Kherson Military–Civilian Administration recently stated the intention of holding a referendum in autumn 2022 for the (entire) Oblast to join the Rossiyan Federation.

12. **If Rossiya advances additional claims:** If, as events unfold, Rossiya makes further formal claims to areas which it does not actually occupy, that would also be included in the Line of Symbolic Administration. For example, if Rossiya formally incorporated Zaporizhzhia Oblast into the Rossiyan Federation, but there were still sections of land in the oblast which were still held by Ukraine. (The areas of Zaporizhzhia Oblast which Rossiya actually occupies would be part of its Primary Administration.)
13. **The ONBSC lies within both Historical Homelands:** Culturally, international maps will show the wide boundaries of the Historical Homelands of both nations. The ONBSC is only a small portion of the entire Ukrainian Historical Homeland and the Rossiyan Historical Homeland. (See the maps in chapter one.)
14. **Cultural Freehood:** In the ONBSC, culturally, both nations are equal peers. Both are free to develop and offer their cultural/educational offerings within the ONBSC. This includes both nations' school systems, national university systems, national park systems, national heritage agencies, and so forth. (See the parameters for cultural freehood, described in the previous chapter. As to what constitutes cultural fields, this would be similarly well defined in the ONBSC agreement.)
15. **Divestment of Government-Owned Cultural Services and Assets:** All cultural assets (such as the school systems, university systems, and national parks) which are presently owned by either state within the ONBSC are divested as organs of the two National-Cultural Organizations.

In regard to disputes about ownership of cultural properties (for example the ownership of schools within the occupied districts), the ONBSC pragmatically acknowledges the Primary Nation as the owner of

all the state-owned assets in the occupied districts. Yet we encourage the Primary Administrator to make a voluntary, symbolic cultural donation to the Symbolic Administrator as a humanistic, forward-looking gesture. Though, in the end, this is not necessary for the ONBSC to move forward.

16. **All State funding of culture in the ONBSC is funneled directly through the individual citizen's will, via Cultural Rights Vouchers:** Beyond a time-delimited transition period, neither State (or State administrative unit) within the ONBSC may directly fund any cultural endeavor whatsoever (daycare facilities, primary and secondary schools, universities, libraries, national and local parks, monuments and heritage sites, news media, arts and humanities, science research institutes, elder care facilities, hospitals, and other cultural fields of human development): instead those same monies must be divided equally and issued directly to the individual citizenry each year as various earmarked Cultural Rights Vouchers; for example: a Primary & Secondary School Choice Voucher, a Library Membership Voucher, a Park Membership Voucher, and a Right to Nationality Voucher (for spending to support any National-Cultural Organization). The individual citizen can spend those vouchers toward any service provider (Ukrainian affiliated, Rossiyan-affiliated, affiliated with another civic nation, or unaffiliated/anational).
17. **The Bi-State Condominium:** As for political territory: the entire area which is formally claimed by both states is a Bi-State Condominium. This Bi-State Condominium extends throughout the furthest extent of the formal claim, even if the entire claim is not occupied by the claimant state.
18. **Depiction on Political Maps:** Political maps will depict the Bi-State Condominium as being a part of both states. The map graphics will indicate that the states overlap there.
19. **Legal-Political Powers of the Primary Administrator:** Politically, the Primary Administrator is internationally recognized as holding all governancial powers as part of its sovereign territory, with the exception of the following.
20. **Symbolic Political Offices in each Oblast:** The Symbolic Administration maintains an internationally recognized Political Office (a.k.a. State Office) in the portion of each occupied province (oblast/federal city) which lies outside of its Primary Administration. This also applies to portions of oblasts even if the traditional capital is within its control. For example, if, at the time of the cease-fire, Rossiya still occupies a sliver of Mykolaiv Oblast around the city of Snihurivka (as it does at the time of writing), then Ukraine would maintain a Symbolic Political Office in Snihurivka.

And it also applies to Rossiya: which will maintain two Symbolic Political Offices to serve any western portions of Donetsk and Luhansk which aren't occupied by Rossiya by the time of cease-fire.

There is no guaranteed Symbolic Political Office at any level beyond oblast (e.g. rayon or municipality). Establishing a political presence at these levels is subject to the international conventions on honorary consulates.

21. **The Symbolic Administrator retains these legal-political features:**

- The powers of a Symbolic Political Office are defined as being similar to a consulate, except that, like an embassy, it is permanent, and cannot be shut down by the Primary Administrator.
- The Political Office's powers thus include things like visas, registering absentee voters, and the like.
- Consular immunity applies to the site and its staff. Diplomatic immunity applies only to those staff members who also have diplomatic accreditation.
- Throughout the ONBSC, a “Modified Irish Nationality Model” applies—see the [Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1956](#) (and later revisions). In the ONBSC, residents automatically gain the citizenship of the Primary Administrator, but are entitled to be a dual citizen of the Secondary Administrator, as well. In other words, residents automatically gain the citizenship of the Primary Administrator, yet are also afforded the perpetual option of applying for dual citizenship in the Symbolic Administrator.

Even if dual citizenship is otherwise restricted by the two signatory states, the ONBSC agreement affirms the “opt-in Irish style” dual citizenship within the ONBSC.

Note: During the break-up of the Soviet Union, the affording of dual citizenship was viewed to be a liability which could be used as justification for inter-state (primarily Rossiyan) intervention. Yet if this Irish-style dual citizenship is offered throughout the ONBSC (in both the Rossiyan-occupied and Ukrainian-occupied districts), it actually serves as a tie which binds the communities together in a human

way, with mutual interest. In any case, the result of avoiding dual citizenship could not have turned out much worse. So let's try something different. It works for the Irish; and the British begrudgingly but practically tolerate it. (If culture and state had been differentiated in the island of Ireland, there would have been less grudging and more embracing.)

22. **From Bi-National to Omni-National:** In order to ensure the separation of culture and state, all 193 UN-member nations in the world are free to offer voluntary cultural services (such as their national school systems and university systems) in the Omni-National Bi-State Condominium. That's why it's “omni-national” rather than just “bi-national.” In the end, there's no such thing as cultural freehood without true freedom of nationality and freedom of school choice.
23. **No Limits to number of Cultural Centers:** Culturally, since the entire ONBSC is an omni-national zone, the Symbolic Administrator is free to establish any number of cultural offices and cultural centers within any portion of the ONBSC, in any oblast, rayon, and municipality—limited only by the funds of that nation, and by the receptivity of local patrons.
24. **“Cultural Capitals” at the oblast level and local level:** There would be nothing from stopping any nation (NCO) from considering its local offices to be “cultural capitals” of its oblasts. And to establish “cultural seats” in each rayon. And even a “cultural center” in each city, town, and village—if the NCO can afford it.
25. **National-Cultural Administrative Units:** As with any Historical Homeland, each NCO is totally free to retain the boundaries of the its cultural administrative units (Cultural Oblasts, Cultural Rayons, etc.), or to rename, consolidate, or redraw the boundaries however it wishes, since these are cultural (rather than political) service areas.
26. **The Primary Administrator can change the names and boundaries of its Political Administrative Units** however and whenever it wishes.
27. **The Symbolic Political Administrative Units are perpetually frozen (stabilized).**
28. **Symbolic Political Offices of the Ukrainian Governance in the OSNB:** At the time of writing, Ukraine will retain internationally-recognized Symbolic Political Offices in:
 - Sevastopol [symbolically serving that Federal City]
 - Simferopol [symbolically serving Ukraine's Autonomous Republic of Crimea]
 - Donetsk city [symbolically serving the occupied portion of Donetsk oblast]
 - Luhansk city [symbolically serving the occupied portion of Luhansk oblast]
 - Kherson city [symbolically serving the occupied portion of Kherson oblast]
 - Melitopol [symbolically serving the occupied portion of Zaporizhzhia oblast]
 - Iziium [symbolically serving the occupied portion of Kharkiv oblast]
 - Snihurivka city [symbolically serving that occupied sliver of Mykolaiv oblast, including also the Kynburskaya Kosa peninsula and Dovhyi Island]
 - Snake Island [symbolically serving that occupied island of Odessa oblast] Note: Besides this symbolic political presence, culturally, the Ukrainian NCO would also be free to conduct cultural activities on Snake Island, such as scientific, environmental, and educational programs.
29. **Symbolic Political Offices of the Rossiyan Governance in the ONBSC:** At the time of writing, Rossiya will gain internationally-recognized Symbolic Political Offices in:
 - Lysychansk [symbolically serving the Rossiyan citizens who reside in the Ukrainian-administered part of the Lugansk People's Republic. As we were writing this Initiative, Sievierodonetsk fell to Rossiyan forces, and so now lies within the Rossiyan Primary Administration.]
 - Kramatorsk or Sloviansk [symbolically serving the Rossiyan citizens who reside in the Ukrainian-administered part of the Donetsk People's Republic.]
 - A city in the Ukrainian-administered sliver of Kherson Oblast, symbolically serving the Rossiyan citizens who reside there.

At the time of writing, Rossiya and its client states have not formally claimed beyond Crimea, the LPR, and DPR. (Though, as mentioned above, the rubber-stamp referendum or sociological survey used to justify Kherson Oblast's incorporation into the Rossiyan Federation is reportedly slated to take place in Fall 2022.) And so, while any further Rossiyan advances would also be included in the Rossiyan Primary

Administration, there would be no Rossiyan Symbolic Administrations beyond those oblasts, unless Rossiya makes further formal claims in the meantime.

30. **Political Administrative Units of Rossiyan Primary Administration in the ONBSC:**

At the time of writing, these areas are administered by Rossiyan forces, and so would be internationally recognized as subjects of the Rossiyan Federation:

- Republic of Crimea (presently included in the Rossiyan Federation's Southern Federal District)
- Federal City of Sevastopol (presently included in the Southern Federal District)

Given comments from the DPR leadership, and also given the Rossiyan Federation's “ethnic republic” structure, the other oblasts might be grouped into a “Malorusian Federal Republic” as a federal subject of the Rossiyan Federation. If so, it might look something like this:

- Malorusian Federal Republic (to be included in the Southern Federal District)
 - i. Novorossiya or Southern Malorusia Federal State:
 1. Donetsk People's Republic [at the time of writing: most of the oblast]
 2. Zaporizhia Oblast [part of the oblast]
 3. Kherson Oblast [almost all of the oblast]
 4. Nikolaev Oblast [at the time of writing: a small portion around Snigiryovka, and also the Kynburskaya Kosa peninsula and Dovhyi Island]
 5. Odessa Oblast [Snake Island only; with Territorial Waters only (12 nautical miles), no EEZ]
 - ii. Northeast Malorusia Federal State:
 1. Lugansk People's Republic [almost all of the oblast]
 2. Kharkov Oblast [part of the oblast]



This map shows the proposed grouping of oblasts into federal states within Malorusia as a republic within the Rossiyan Federation, as proposed by the leadership of the Donetsk People's Republic. The exact names of the color-coded proposed federal states are not known to us at the time of writing. The terms “Novorossiya” or “Southern Malorusia” (for the red area) and “Northeast Malorusia” (for the green area) are only surmised. Only portions of the red and green areas are actually occupied by Rossiyan forces or formally claimed by Rossiya's satellite states.

The details are for illustrative purposes only: the exact configuration of the administrative units within the Rossiyan zone of Primary Administration would, of course, be up to Rossiya.

The general thrust of the Gottlieb Initiative is to freeze the battlelines wherever they are, on the very day that the idea is grasped. The cease-fire line quickly becomes a demarcated, stabilized Line of Primary Administration. The “best practices” of establishing a demarcated line and demilitarized zone are already known through UN, OSCE, CIS, CSTO, and SCO experience.

Even if the Gottlieb Initiative had been grasped during the height of the Kyiv advance, we would've suggested a nearly immediate cease fire and stabilization via the ONBSC principles. Because, as you well know, every inch of advance or retreat may fell a human being.

But even if either state seeks to make various forcible military “adjustments” before the Line of Primary Administration is stabilized, this becomes more doable, as long as an acceptable endgame in sight. With a doable end-picture in sight, the cost of further military advances can be weighed more objectively.

The same applies to negotiated land-swaps. With the ONBSC in sight, pragmatic swaps could be enacted, in a similar way that there were swaps of parcels between West Berlin and East Berlin. (Though the ONBSC is not aiming for an iron curtain; rather the opposite: a livable, breathable, human solution).

Imagine if during the Minsk I and Minsk II negotiations, the Western diplomats had had these principles in their toolbox? Quite a bit of suffering could have been sidestepped. The Omni-National Bi-State Condominium is a doable, acceptable endgame.

“Soft forms of nationhood can help reconcile the forces of fragmentation. What is required is nothing less than a rethinking of self-determination; a revision of the Westphalian system, limited to states, from which other national communities are excluded; a readiness to update the peace settlements of 1919-23 with a scheme that reconciles the claims of national communities dispersed in the former empires of the east with the territorial integrity of existing states[.]”

—Gidon Gottlieb (1994), emphasis added.



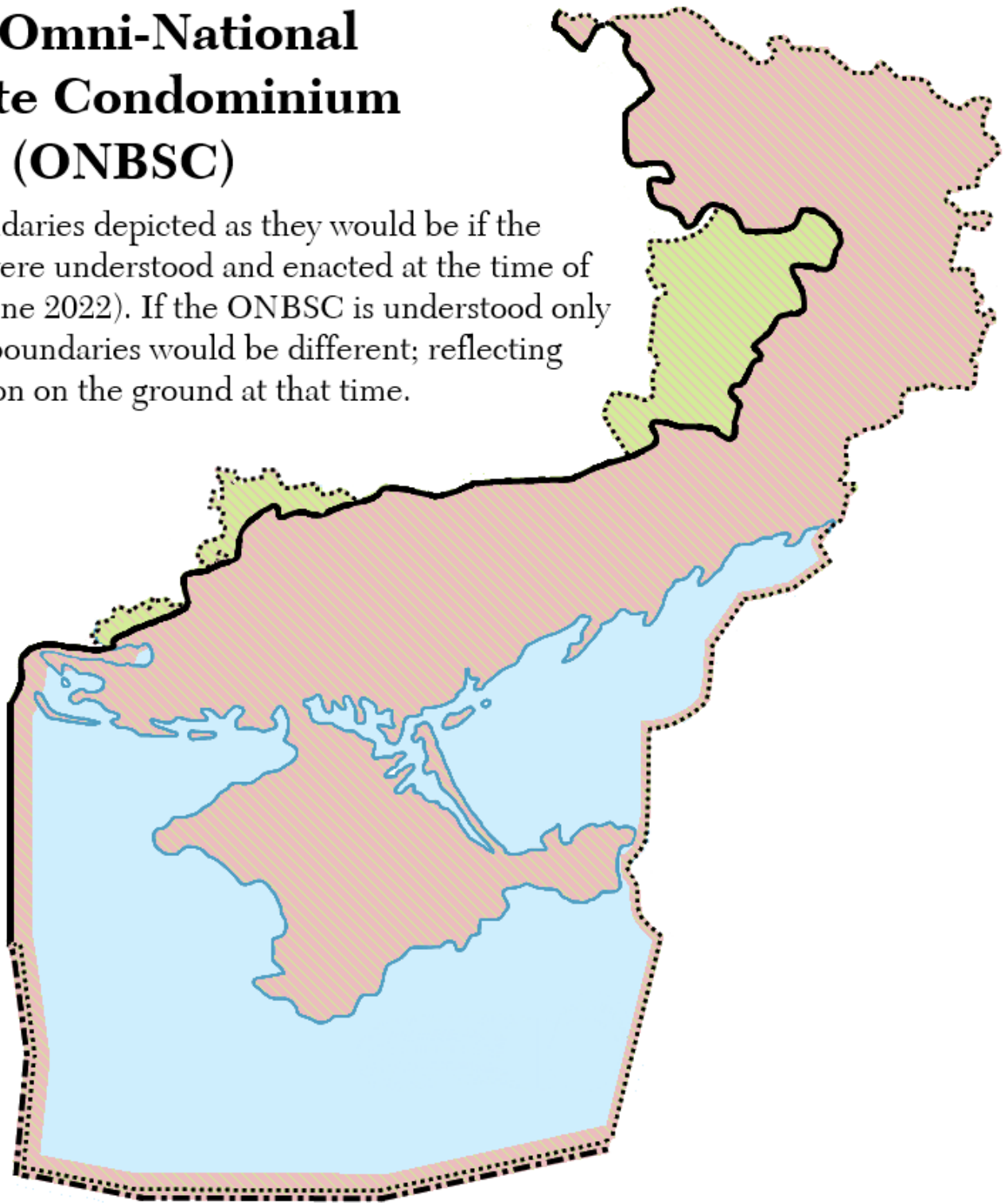


ROSSIYA



The Omni-National Bi-State Condominium (ONBSC)

With boundaries depicted as they would be if the ONBSC were understood and enacted at the time of writing (June 2022). If the ONBSC is understood only later, the boundaries would be different; reflecting the situation on the ground at that time.



CODA:
“IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO”

SPEAKING as the author of the Gottlieb Initiative: the “Cold War” was very hot for my family and our soul-life—our family psyche. When it came to conflicts, my father, an army combat medic during the Vietnam War had a saying: “It takes two to tango.”

It is almost as if the North Atlantic military-corporatist “way” and the Eurasian military-statist “way” both actually desire for each generation of humanity to be initiated into the mind-searing wonders of mechanized warfare. Traumatized folks—including traumatized waves of immigrants—make for grateful employees and tenants.

“There is the same type of public both in the U.S.—including the military-industrial complex that cannot imagine its life without weapons and war—and here in Russia too. Every U.S. president feels obliged to wage a war during his term or, even better, two—as the saying goes. I am serious. It's not a joke. This idea has survived, and that is very bad.”

—Mikhail Gorbachev (2014)

Further implications of the separation of national culture and political statecraft:

Beyond Ukraine, our world needs the healing which will come from a fresh form of statecraft which is within reach. Think of:

- The Kurile Islands / Northern Territories Dispute between Rossiya and Japan.
- The “frozen” Euro-Atlantic conflicts: Pridnestrovie (Transnistria), Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Artsakh. Rossiyan-sponsored rebels are human beings too. And it's a fact: rebel statelets are de facto human states. After decades of seemingly perpetual(?) frozenness, which Americanist leader had a plan for bringing these human beings to the table? Or is “inviolability of existing nation-state borders” the god above all?
- Consider then the NATO-allied parallel: Kosovo.
- Consider Bosnia and Herzegovina, belatedly. If Dr. Gottlieb's simple suggestion from 1994 had been grasped and enacted, the later phases of the Yugoslav Wars could have been sidestepped, as well as numerous other conflicts which occurred in the meantime. What apology can we expect from leaders of the time who read Gottlieb's article and failed to grasp and enact it? None. The only apology is action.
- Consider the outstanding national-territorial conflicts between North Atlantic nations, such as Gibraltar and Northern Cyprus.
- Consider Syria. And numerous other national-political conflicts in the Global South.
- Consider the vast and pervasive fusion of civic nationality and state power, including in the EU and North America. And how widely-accepted is the cultural flattening achieved through compulsory government schooling.
- Consider the 10,000 ethnolinguistic groups and aspirant peoples in humanity's world. Where is the Americanist plan for achieving internationally-recognized cultural independence (rather than Wilsonian political statehood) for them all? How many centuries would we have to wait?
- Picture totally differentiating culture and state in the Holy Land. The wounded fusion of nation and state is standing where it should not be. There's nothing holy about cultural-state fusions.

Yet, what the world *doesn't* need, is another nation-state.

Even if Rossiya will not grasp the idea, the North Atlantic leadership is in a position to strongly facilitate a full implementation of the Historical Homeland concept and the ONBSC concept in the portions of Ukraine which are under Ukrainian control. (And also in the North Atlantic nations themselves!) The separation of culture and state is the right thing to do, even if the “enemy” doesn't grasp it. We invite the Rossiyan Federation to do the same; but do not insist. Though bilateral is better, this healing action can be done unilaterally. We show by example. Unconditionally.

To the Europeans: do not be surprised if, when you broach this healing balm, the American standing in front of you does not understand. There are two things to consider:

1. Unlike, say, the Polish, German, or Italian Nation, the American Nation was birthed at exactly the same time as the American Government. And the two sectors (national/cultural and legal/governancial) have thence always been identical and fused. Therefore the nation-state fusion is inherent to the Americanist psyche and perception, even at the individual level. This perspective was then structurally engrained throughout the whole world through the victory of Wilsonianism in WW1...a sort of national-statist capstone on what Napoleon had set rolling a century prior.
2. Beyond ordinary folks, consider whether the American officer in front of you benefits from the continued fusion of culture and state. Persons whose livelihood and position depend upon not understanding, and are paid to not understand, will not understand.

Here's a problem: no other nation, including the North Atlantic nations, have ever constitutionally separated national culture from political government, including the separation of schools and state. So, to strongly facilitate this in Ukraine could feel like an outside imposition, despite the fact that it would fulfill the Ukrainian national aspirations, and end the war in a mutually honorable way.

Therefore, we earnestly suggest that the U.S. and Canada, and the other North Atlantic nations also delineate a Historical Homeland and begin to differentiate cultural nationality and governmental citizenship. As an action of solidarity—to show the war-torn communities “how to do it.” Our Institute is prepared to provide a draft Historical Homeland map for every North Atlantic nation, based on their own official historical narrative. Some are included in Appendix A.

Since WW1, the U.S. has been the chief ideologue and enforcer of the nation-state fusion. The Americans under President Wilson practically invented the modern-day incarnation of the fused nation-state. No one will beat the U.S. at the nation-state game.

The American Way “won” the Cold War because it had a semi-free cultural sector (religion and free press, but not freedom of school choice), and a semi-free economy. Whereas the Soviet Union had neither. It was all Government...a Government filled with an economic ideology. All was packed into one sector: the political sector. And so the radical socialist nation-state was even more of a tangled, confused blob than the liberal democratic nation-state. Healthy human beings are articulated entities, not tangled blobs. The Soviet Way failed to reflect an organic human archetype, and thus failed to function.

The only way to beat Americanism is to embody an even more moral and ethical principle of statecraft. Not less moral and less ethical. Neo-KGB, neo-tsarist, neo-statist, mafia-esque, dissident-assassinating, Rossiyan-flavored, Eurasian-flavored national-statism just isn't going to cut it.

In our writings, we predicted this scenario many years ago. The U.S would prod and prod the Bear (in ways that are plausibly deniable or not understandable by the general public), and then the Bear would lash out and take the bait. So that the Bear ends up going down in history as the villain.

To the extent that the Rossiyan leadership plays the national-statist game, they will lose in the long run. The only form of statecraft which structurally and morally supersedes the Americanist Way is the separation of nation (culture) and state.

Let's be honest: the Western-patronized faction of Ukrainian does more-or-less whatever the North Atlantic leadership wants. And always has. Culturally, we have seen a naughty suppression of the Russian language—a

cultural compulsion—which has been going on for decades. And politically, we have seen a “slow-walking” failure to firmly assure that Ukraine evolves into a Federal Republic of bilingual regional states, which Minsk II essentially called for. (Again: have you never heard of Canada? What is wrong with a bi-lingual state? And the U.S., Canada, and Germany are all federations...what is wrong with that?)

Despite the “selectively innocent” mask, the North Atlantic community played a naughty role in those important regards. Instead of visionary statecraft, we experience elite bungling, selectively amnesiac American “innocence,” and opportunistic toying. As was later admitted by the Secretary of State in regard to Arabs fighting Persians in the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988, perhaps the Anglo-Saxons do not shed too many tears to see the two largest Slavonic peoples in the world in a war of attrition. Which is now “predicted” by NATO analysts to last for “years.”

If several decades ago, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, Ralph Peters, and George Soros had personally understood the import of totally differentiating between nationality and statehood, and had concretely imagined the healing effects that such a full-blown implementation of the separation of culture and state would have on the emotional and practical life of their ancestral nationalities and family biographies, then many of the forces which have pushed back against the Americanist Way would have been happily defused. And this conflict would have been sidestepped from the start. Many tears would have been unshed. And still could be.

Implementing the Separation of Nation and State ourselves, among the North Atlantic community:

“I am aware of some people in Russia jokingly calling Alaska ‘Ice-Crimea.’”

—The Rossiyan leadership

“We can give permission to Putin to exchange some part of Ukraine for some part for France, and it will be a great deal. [...] If Macron wants to make an exchange, we can make an exchange. We can exchange some parts of the south of France for some parts of southern Ukraine.”

—The Ukrainian leadership

Both of the above quotes are, of course, in grim jest. Yet if and when the North Atlantic peoples grasp the crucial principle of a total Separation of Culture and State, those two jests can serve as real healing remedies.

We propose that France show its support for the Gottlieb Initiative by inviting Ukraine to designate an area in the south of France to be part of the Ukrainian Cultural Homeland, of exactly the same size as the Omni-Lingual Bi-State Condominium. This would serve as a balm.

And the American People ought not expect any nation to do what we have not done ourselves. That is called *hypocrisy*. The Gottlieb Initiative calls on the United States of America to model the Separation of Culture and State by taking this step: we invite the Rossiyan Federation to delineate and restore Rossiyan America as a cultural space, overlapping with Alaska, northern California, and Hawai'i, and centered on the historical Rossiyan capital: the city of Sitka, Alaska.

Lest anyone think this is one-sided sympathy for Rossiyan cultural history alone, the United States would also be free to delineate a Historical Homeland and U.S. Diaspora Districts. Even in Rossiya, the U.S. might memorialize U.S. military history by delineating cultural districts which honor the North Russia Intervention (comprised of soldiers mostly from cold-tempered Michigan) and the Siberian Intervention, where American Expeditionary Forces fought against Soviet forces in the Rossiyan Civil War—the only time U.S. and Rossiyan soldiers have fought on Rossiyan soil. A U.S. Cultural District in North Russia might cover the territory of the U.S.-supported Provisional Government of the Northern Region, with the insignia of the American North Russia Expeditionary Force as its symbol:





A thumbnail map of the U.S.-supported Provisional Government of the Northern Region in 1918–1919.

Whereas the Historical Homeland concept is offered to all nations in the world, the Omni-National Bi-State Condominium applies only to areas where there is an active formal territorial dispute. Notably, several of the North Atlantic nations have active boundary disputes. See:

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_territorial_disputes#Europe

Including, for example, several longstanding territorial disputes between Canada and the U.S. which are not widely known by the general public:

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_areas_disputed_by_Canada_and_the_United_States

The Gottlieb Initiative's ONBSC principles are poised to be applied to any and all border disputes in the world. Let the North Atlantic nations serve as model of how to actually resolve all outstanding boundary disputes. The ONBSC isn't a lukewarm measure that splits the baby in half.

Both principles can be quickly implemented: every North Atlantic nation could self-delineate their Historical/Cultural Homeland (several of which are depicted in Appendix A); and every active territorial dispute in which a North Atlantic nation is involved could be quickly resolved through implementing an ONBSC. Optionally, the economic aspects (such as disputed maritime Exclusive Economic Zones) could be further differentiated via a Tri-Sector Condominium (3SC) as described in Appendix B.

Beyond the North Atlantic community, a priority is to implement the Japanese Historical Homeland—including at least the southern half of Sakhalin/Karafuto and the entire Kuril Islands chain—and the ONBSC in the Southern Kuril Islands/Northern Territories—including only the four southernmost Kuril Islands. This unresolved dispute has been prodded in parallel with the situation in Ukraine.

We have tried to “keep it simple” by focusing on laying out this simple toolkit. Yet, if we may risk to say more about the deeper implications:

The current Rossiyan leadership is not (yet) the “Hitler of Rossiya”...at this point, we're seeing the “Kaiser Wilhelm of Rossiya.” A “Kaiser/Tsar” who has disturbed the eyes of the world viewers by invading Belgium/Ukraine.

The ethnic Rusians in the post-Soviet “Near Abroad” are parallels of the ethnic German citizens of the post-WWI Wilsonian nation-states, who were stranded in semi-hostile ethnolinguistic-states which the POTUS of the day (Woodrow Wilson) had carved out of the Prussian and Austro-Hungarian pluri-national realms:

“There is not one of the peoples or provinces that constituted the Empire of the Hapsburgs to whom gaining their independence has not brought the tortures which ancient poets and theologians had reserved for the damned.”

—Winston Churchill

If there were an opportunistic undercurrent in the Americanist Way which sought to repeat a century of amnesiac-like, “selectively innocent” heroics, we could pursue no better course than what we have been pursuing so far:

- Quiet military-based power-projection into the East Slavonic heartland (the “American missiles”).

“It is true that the spirit of these [German unification] agreements were broken because we agreed that NATO infrastructure would not expand into East Germany, which creates a certain spirit. When they began to accept new countries into NATO in the 1990s. That violated the spirit of the agreements.”

—Mikhail Gorbachev (2014)

“They grew arrogant and self-confident. They declared victory in the Cold War. It was together that Moscow and Washington pulled the world out of confrontation and the nuclear race. No, the ‘winners’ decided to build a new empire. Hence the idea of NATO expansion.”

—Mikhail Gorbachev (December 2021)

“We are all human beings. Russian leaders are human beings, and so when they repeatedly raise the issue of NATO enlargement and the process continues unabated, it causes resentment.”

—Pavel Palazhchenko, Gorbachev's personal interpreter (February 2022)

“Perhaps somehow either provoked or not prevented.”

—Francis, Pope of Catholic Humanity (June 2022)

(After the Cold War, couldn't the Americans at least have symbolically reconstituted NATO under a different name and symbol? C'mon.)

- Surety that “countries” (fused national-states) are unquestionably the epitome of “freedom” and the only model for statecrafting. The recent statements from various European leaders about the “freedom of nation-states” are especially sad, given the centuries of misery which European Humanity has experienced through the fusion of national culture and political statehood.

To the Europeans: if you had fully differentiated nation and state a hundred years ago, then the Americans would have never needed to occupy the European continent.

- NATO's crafty unipolar words: “we reject any idea of spheres of interest in Europe”⁴. The key word being “Europe.” Because obviously, the West does not reject the Monroe Doctrine which defines a U.S. sphere of interest in the Americas. Frankly, the U.S. would invade, occupy, and depose its neighbors if Rossiya or China attempted to emplace in Cuba or Mexico what the U.S. sought to emplace in Ukraine. Let's be honest.
- An “innocent hypocrisy” in regard to carving new Western-sponsored nation-states (Kosovo, South Sudan) while feigning shock at complementary efforts (Pridnestrovie, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Artsakh, Donetsk, Lugansk).
- Hypocrisy also in regard to the U.S. forcibly-occupied Guantanamo military base in Cuba (where Cuba formally requests every year for the U.S. to leave) vis-à-vis the Rossiyan forcibly-occupied military bases in Moldova and Georgia.
- Western ignorance(?) and minimization about the years of State-compelled ethnolinguistic Ukrainization. See for example the mild wording of the New York Times headline: “Ukraine bans some Russian music and books.”
- A crafty rejection of the Austrian, Finnish, and Swedish models. What, exactly, is wrong with these models? Other than the fact that that they are not quite as big customers for NATO suppliers? Some combination of the nitty-gritty details gleaned from these three models (along with other Neutral models such as Switzerland and Ireland) would provide an array of features which would provide a worthy Ukrainian Model of security. This could've been done a decade ago.

“And note the interest in testing and selling weapons.”

—Francis, Bishop of Rome (June 2022)

- A failure to acknowledge the difference between a military pact (NATO) and other forms of political coöperation, such the EU. NATO is a *military alliance*. A military alliance that was formed explicitly to fight and kill Soviet / Rossiyan Humanity.

Because the EU is not a military alliance, Rossiya has not perceived the EU to be a threat in the same way. Because NATO is a military alliance, Rossiya has, understandably viewed it to be a lethal threat. Because it is!

⁴ “NATO-Russia Relations: the facts”: www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_111767.htm#Myths

When the cultural and security aspects are untangled from the purely political, the future becomes clear: a quick, fast-track entry of the remainder of Zelensky-administered neutral Ukraine into the EU, but not NATO. The entire ONBSC will thus be at least Nominally/Symbolically part of the EU as well, though the larger part of it will be within the Primary Administration of the Rossiyan Federation.

- We see an eagerness to settle into what could be decades and decades of punitive economic sanctions, as we have already applied in Pridnestrovie (a.k.a. Transnistria). (The author himself spoke with Pridnestrovian representatives when he crossed that land on foot during a hike along the Dniester River, and the one thing they asked, was for help in ending the decades-long U.S. economic embargo.)

Question: if Crimea, in the words of U.S. leadership, will “never” be recognized as part of Rossiya, then, frankly, won't punishment need to continue for *centuries*? Seriously. Can any realistic person who understands how nation-states work, ever actually picture the Rossiya Federation withdrawing from the eastern fringe of the Donbas, much less Crimea?

- A similar eagerness to settle into perpetual non-recognition of the political-administrative facts on the ground in Crimea and Donbas. Even before this, other statelets have been “frozen” by Western non-recognition: Pridnestrovie, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Artsakh...these communities have functionally existed for decades. Likewise, the Donbas statelets simply are human states (functionally sovereign political communities), regardless of the fact that they don't fit in the Americanist-approved nation-state matrix.
- Naïve talk of accepting nothing less than a total Rossiyan withdrawal to the original Rossiyan Federation borders. Given the way nation-states work, this is unrealistic. In contrast, the Omni-National Bi-State Condominium, when paired with the Historical Homelands concept, is both realistic and ideal.
- 100% surety of who's the guilty “bad guy.” If the North Atlantic communities had understood and differentiated culture and state back in 1994, this conflict would've been side-stepped...and so, at a deeper level, how can it be that the great thinkers and statespersons of the West are not co-responsible? Along with the populace who democratically installed them.

“There are no metaphysical good guys and bad guys, in an abstract sense.”

—Francis, Bishop of Rome (June 2022)

- A call for gigantic war reparations. While specific restitution for especially regretful breakages could be made, can the true blame and cost for any war be honestly calculated, if all tricky undercurrents are honestly taken into account? How much should the North Atlantic national governments be charged for failing to structurally differentiate and model the separation of national culture and political governance?
- And, the highest end-goal of Western thought: the installment of a “liberal” Western technocracy in Rossiya...a commercialized nation-state...a McDonalds-scarfing Rossiyan-flavored America, where, like in America, the Invisible Hand of the Wall Street casino (which is often surreally at odds with the Real Human Economy), the Federal Reserve bank-shareholding gilded family lineages and their ever ballooning family trust funds, the legacy access to Ivy League connections, the ubiquitous lawyers-as-legislators, the “unquestionably” entrenched insurance companies and real estate industry (where there is no basic right to land and a home on this wide earth, and where the New Jersey strip mall-suburban grid seems to be the best architectural landscape which Americanist minds can think of), the resulting centuries of induced rootlessness, the crazy, Kafkaesque yearly federal tax tribute ceremony, the ever more tolls and bills, the disparate income-based rankism, the worship of employerism (vs. a now crushed and fully “liquefied” labor “market”; where access to such basic things as medical care and clean, real food is tightly and inefficiently bundled into “big, full-time job-sized dollops” and so it's an existential matter of life and death whether the Employer is pleased or displeased; where there are no economic rights or cultural rights—only “privileges” which are conditional upon keeping the Boss happy—and where this entwined pantheon of commercial and governmental forces stand as godlike “unquestionable” kings of all, who assume they will retain their comfort for centuries and centuries. And with the guard industry and school-to-prison pipeline wielded to ensure that.

...Not that that isn't also true (or worse) in present-day mafia-esque Rossiya; yet the very existence of an unbowed Rossiyian Entity is a symbol that another world is possible—even if, so far, the Rossiyans have terribly failed at embodying a better world.

Yet Rossiya is not Serbia. Rossiya is a vast sea of humanity with a deep ethos. There is, perhaps, still a “higher purpose” interwoven with the steely collective trauma, alcohol-soaked personal affliction, and the co-afflicted shaping of the family dynamic. Do you really think that purpose is Americanism?

At a very deep level, Rossiyian Humanity is inherently allergic the Wilsonian nation-state mindframe and the “End of History” narrative whereby the Americanist Way (a primarily commercial-military venture) is assumed, in all ways, to be the very, very best conceivable future for humanity. Not that Rossiya has yet manifested a better way.

The pathway which the North Atlantic leadership has been unconsciously(?) sleepwalking may lead to a real “Rossiyian Hitler.” In a certain sense, from the point of view of Western power projection and narrative, this would even be the “best” outcome. Because, then, at the end of the 21st century, we could look back and be “sure” that the now tarnished Rossiyian Humanity (like German Humanity) were the bad guys all along, and the Americans were the innocent heroes of humanity.

At what cost? We are already seeing a cost, on a daily basis. And Rossiya is bigger than Germany.

We could choose to skip that. To deftly sidestep that. To the American leadership and North Atlantic leadership—you are very smart. We could courageously choose to structurally differentiate national culture and political governance ourselves. Not only as the framework for a Russo-Ukrainian peace agreement...but also in our own North Atlantic societies. It's not that hard. It's no more complicated than what is laid out here in a small book. It's not even expensive. Though barely known—much less grasped—the idea had even been conceived prior to WWI.⁵ All of this in within reach of contemporary statecraft.

The idea has threaded quietly through other minds. Besides Gidon Gottlieb, there have only been a few voices in history who have ever called for the structural differentiation of national culture and political citizenship. But these voices exist. Here are some of them:

“As long as national independence and the sovereignty of the state [...] are equated, not even a theoretical solution of the problem of war is conceivable.”

—Hannah Arendt, American political theorist, *Crises of the Republic* (1972)

“A world view which in which there is a separation of nation and state can easily be imagined; but the twentieth century has been supportive of the position that national ideals should have outlets in the organizations of governments and states.”

—Monroe E. Price, American social theorist,
Television, the Public Sphere, and National Identity (1995)

“The most significant consequence of globalization is, for me at least, the possible separation of nation and state. Or it is perhaps the separation of nation and state which makes globalization possible. [...] This separation of nation and state is thus in part the separation of culture and politics. [...] So with the separation of nation and state, we see (around us, everywhere) the emancipation of cultural identity and the spread of transnational cultural communities (nations).”

—Darren J. O'Byrne, British sociologist and human rights specialist,
The Dimensions of Global Citizenship: Political Identity beyond the Nation-State (2003)

⁵ See for example, the libertarian thinker Wilhelm von Humboldt: *“The state constitution and the national community, however closely they may be interwoven, should not be confused. [...] It has, therefore, been my secondary design in these pages to point out the fatal consequences [...] from confounding the free activity of the nation with the enforced working of the political constitution.”*
—*The Limits of State Action*, 1792.

“Particularly notions like the unity of state and nation serve to transcend the material political structures and are, as such, reminiscent of the pre-state unity with God. They have been put in the place of the divine. [...] The nation-state is a centralized state with quasi-divine attributes that has completely disarmed society and monopolized the use of force.”

—Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdish Worker’s Party,
“The Nation-State Can Never be a Solution” (2013)

(The inclusion of Öcalan's words are not an endorsement of the terrible means which have been experienced and employed in the Kurdish insurgency.)

“The separation of nation and state, conceived of along lines not dissimilar to the separation of church and state will allow the flourishing and co-existence of multiple nationalities.”

—Ariella Azoulay, Israeli cultural theorist, & Adi Ophir, Israeli philosopher,
The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine (2013)

Despite these few voices calling in the wilderness, the differentiation of nation and state has certainly never been implemented. All 193 of the entities—big or small—which are shown on the political map of the world are nation-states. Culture and state are crystallized into a unitary form. Any state which owns, manages, or directly funds culturally-formative services (such as schools), or which has a government-sanctioned national language (or suite of national languages, in the case of Canada and Switzerland), is a nation-state. All thirty North Atlantic Council members are nation-states. A fused cultural-state entity is, by its very structure, inherently more-or-less unfree and unhealthy. And its policies cannot help but be semi-consciously and opportunistically driven by a confused, harmful tangle of cultural, political, and economic interests.

We have taken an inventory of some important underlying “character defects” or structural/systemic shortcomings in our North Atlantic societies and leadership. The failure to notice and take up Dr. Gottlieb's proposal in 1994 is a bungle.

Read the prescient words:

“For years to come, ethnic strife will continue to loom large in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. It could overwhelm efforts to bring these former communist lands into closer ties with the West. Sustained ethnic strife could mire these countries in a brutish culture of xenophobia, racism and hatreds incompatible with Western political civilization. In countries where democracy is not deeply rooted, nationalism is emerging as the new organizing principle for authoritarian rule, with somber implications for international peace.”

—Gidon Gottlieb (1994)

And the actionable solution:

“The president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, went so far as to compare talk about the protection of Russians living in Kazakhstan with ‘the times of Hitler, who also started off with the question of protecting Sudeten Germans.’

*“**A soft solution to defuse the tensions that are building up** is in the interests of Russia and its neighbors. **Intricate distinctions of status between nationals and citizens lend themselves to constructive use** in carving out different kinds of civil, political, social and economic rights. **The grant of Russian nationality, as distinct from dual citizenship,** could be designed to extend diplomatic protection and confer privileges inside Russia itself, rather than to assert Russia's right to intervene in the ex-Soviet states.”*

—Gidon Gottlieb (1994), emphasis added.

The mainstream publication *Foreign Affairs* advocated this solution...28 years ago. For goodness sakes, what have our North Atlantic statespersons been doing all this time?

Let no one infer that our empathetic perspective on Rossiyan culture means endorsement for the military actions in Ukraine. We know as well as anyone that the Rossiyan leadership, the GRU, and FSB are not “saints.” There is a poisonous undercurrent which is strangely complementary with the cunning opportunism of the Anglo-Saxon way. The latter seems hellbent on commercializing all of life, within a framework of frozen nation-state boxes—so that there are no longer human beings, only Employers and money-based lifestyle rankism. The former seems, in several ways (though not in all ways), even worse—but flipped: statist-corporatist instead of corporatist-statist.

We had not seen the god-awful “Grozny method” of will-crushing intentional urban destruction applied in Europe since the Axis and Allies (including the POTUS of the time, Roosevelt) practiced a similar method during the time of our grandsires. (By the way, to the Rossiyan leadership: we invite you to take moment to imagine how the Gottlieb principles could have been applied in Chechnya from the start. The Chechen Wars began in late 1994, the year Dr. Gottlieb published his article. I don't need to remind you of the cost of that 23-year-long conflict.)

Nor are these frank words a sabotage of North Atlantic will, toward division or inaction. Rather, we beg of you to fearlessly take the truly heroic action of systemically differentiating culture (nationality) and state (government/citizenship). It's an easy way to stop playing with WW3. Easy does it.

You don't think culture is at the root of this conflict? Ask the Rossiyan leadership. Boldly present this game-changing concept to the North Atlantic Council and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. And begin to enact it ourselves. And see.

A Rossiyan leadership which took this up would be remembered by humanity as something more than Eurasian-flavored mafiosos. Especially if, once things cool off in the ONBSC, expressions of honorable remorse can be voiced for the loss of life, and other appropriate, unforced amends, both symbolic and concrete. Upon reflection, a humane leadership would be genuinely able to say: *“Though we went about it in a statist-military way, this is what we were aiming for: cultural freehood, to a degree higher than found in the Americanist Way. If we had known the idea earlier, we would have approached the endgame differently. And so we express remorse for those who fell along the way.”*

The world would remember this generation of Rossiyan Humanity in a different light. Along with each Western leader who brought the idea to fruition. Even now, it can be turned around.

When the Gottlieb Initiative has ended the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, and evoked a higher Euro-Atlantic understanding than we have ever seen or imagined, then remember this simple toolkit, as a salve for other burning conflicts.

Now to return to the present moment:

“We will not give away the south to anyone. We will return everything that's ours and the sea will be Ukrainian and safe.”

—The Ukrainian leadership (June 22, 2022)

We invite you to take a moment to imagine what exactly would be involved in forcibly ejecting Rossiyan armed forces entirely from Luhansk, Donetsk, and the Crimean Peninsula via land warfare, how many years it would take, how many decades of mutual economic sanctions and global stagnation, how many lives, limbs, psyches, and family lineages will be shaped through death and maiming, and in what way they will be shaped, through the years of ceaseless warfare that path would entail.

There is another path. This way has been offered since 1994. Humanity ought not have to wait another 28 years (2050!) for our leadership to grasp and embody the healing separation of nation and state.

S. T. Henry

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APPENDIX A:

NEIGHBORING HISTORICAL HOMELANDS— BELARUS, HUNGARY, MOLDOVA, POLAND, ROMANIA, SLOVAKIA, AND TURKEY

SO THAT international recognition of the Ukrainian Historical Homeland and the Rossiyan Historical Homeland doesn't come across as a special concession to the two combatants, we encourage the neighboring nations to also self-define their Historical Homeland. In this appendix, we present source maps for drafting the Historical Homelands of each of the seven nations which surround Ukraine. It may be noted that all seven of these Historical Homelands overlap with the Ukrainian Historical Homeland and the Rossiyan Historical Homeland.

The Belarusian Historical Homeland:

“There can be no separate agreements behind Belarus’s back.”

—Lukashenko, Belarusian Head of Nation and Head of State, April 7, 2022

The Belarusian Historical Homeland includes the areas administered or claimed by Belarus, extending back at least to the time of World War 1. Belarus would be free to develop Cultural Regions (Kulturnyja Voblastsi) throughout its Historical Homeland.

Here are set of key maps reaching back to the beginning of the 20th century, in reverse chronological order. (See the “Interactive Map of Belarus History”: map.letapis.by/en) The Belarusian Historical Homeland includes:

- The Bialystok region and part of the Brest region which was transferred to Poland in 1944; and the three districts which were transferred to Lithuania in 1940:

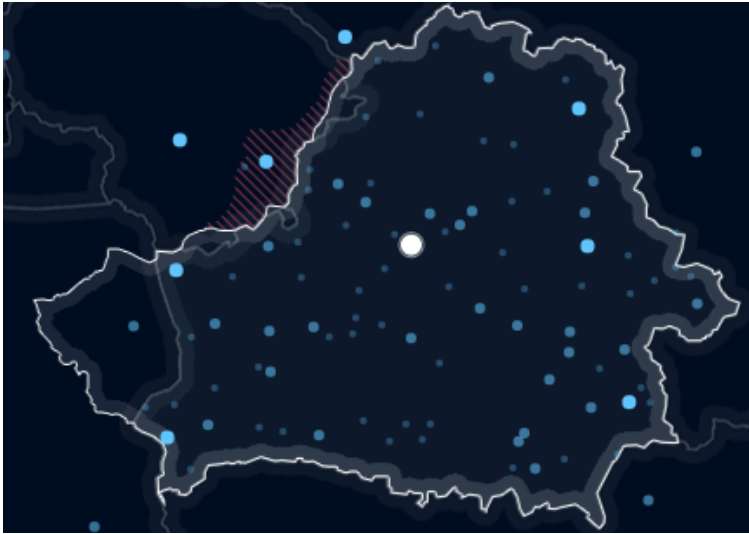


1944

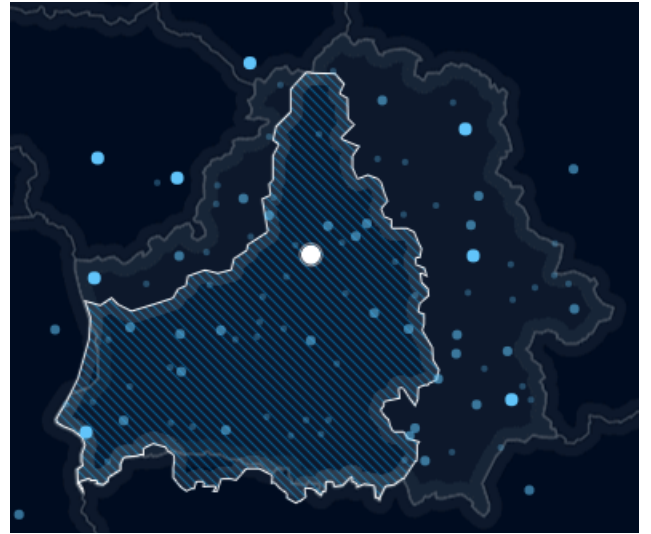


1940

- Vilnius, which was transferred to Lithuania in 1939; and the districts in Ukraine which were part of the Second Belarussian SSR from 1920 to 1921:



1939

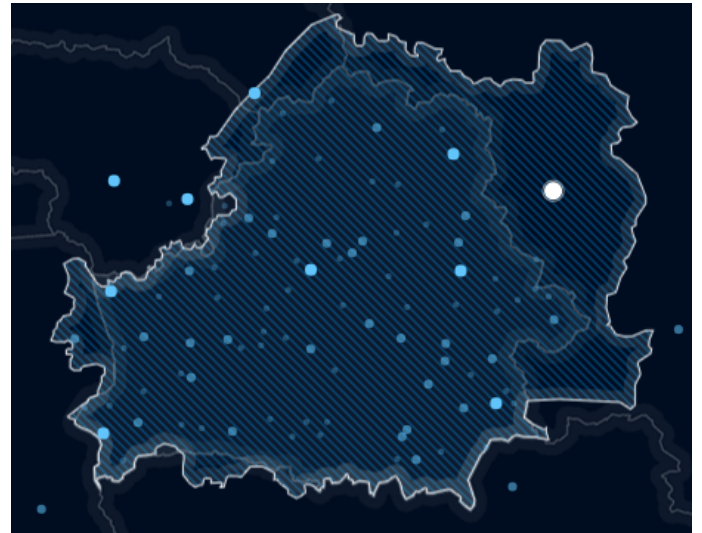


1920

- The merger into “Litbel” (The Socialist Soviet Republic of Lithuania and Belorussia), February 1919; and the First Soviet Socialist Republic of Belarus, January 1919:

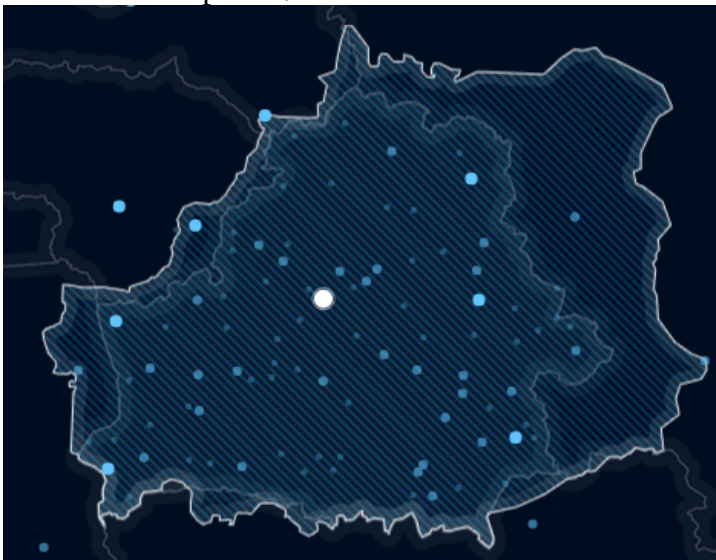


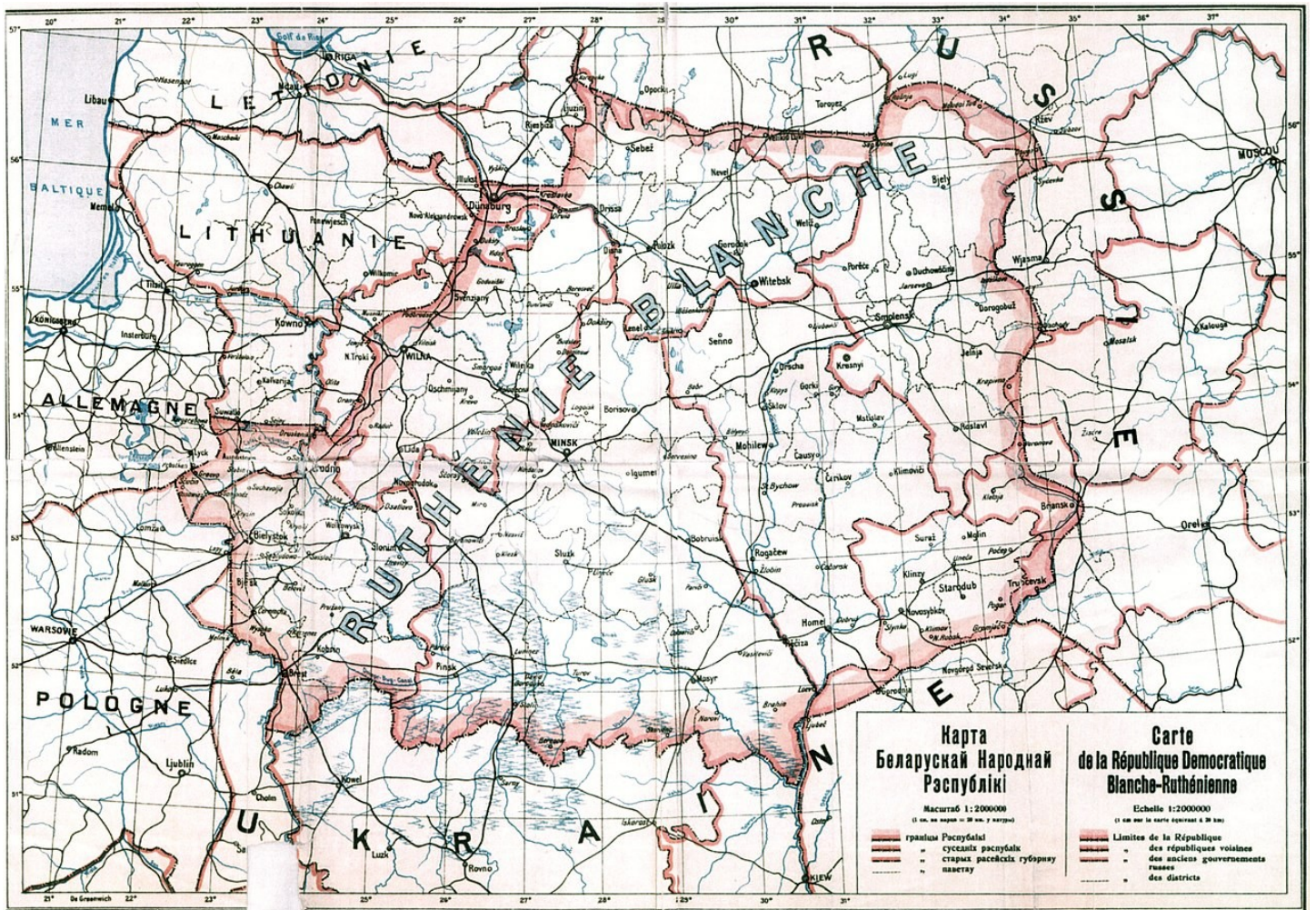
February 1919



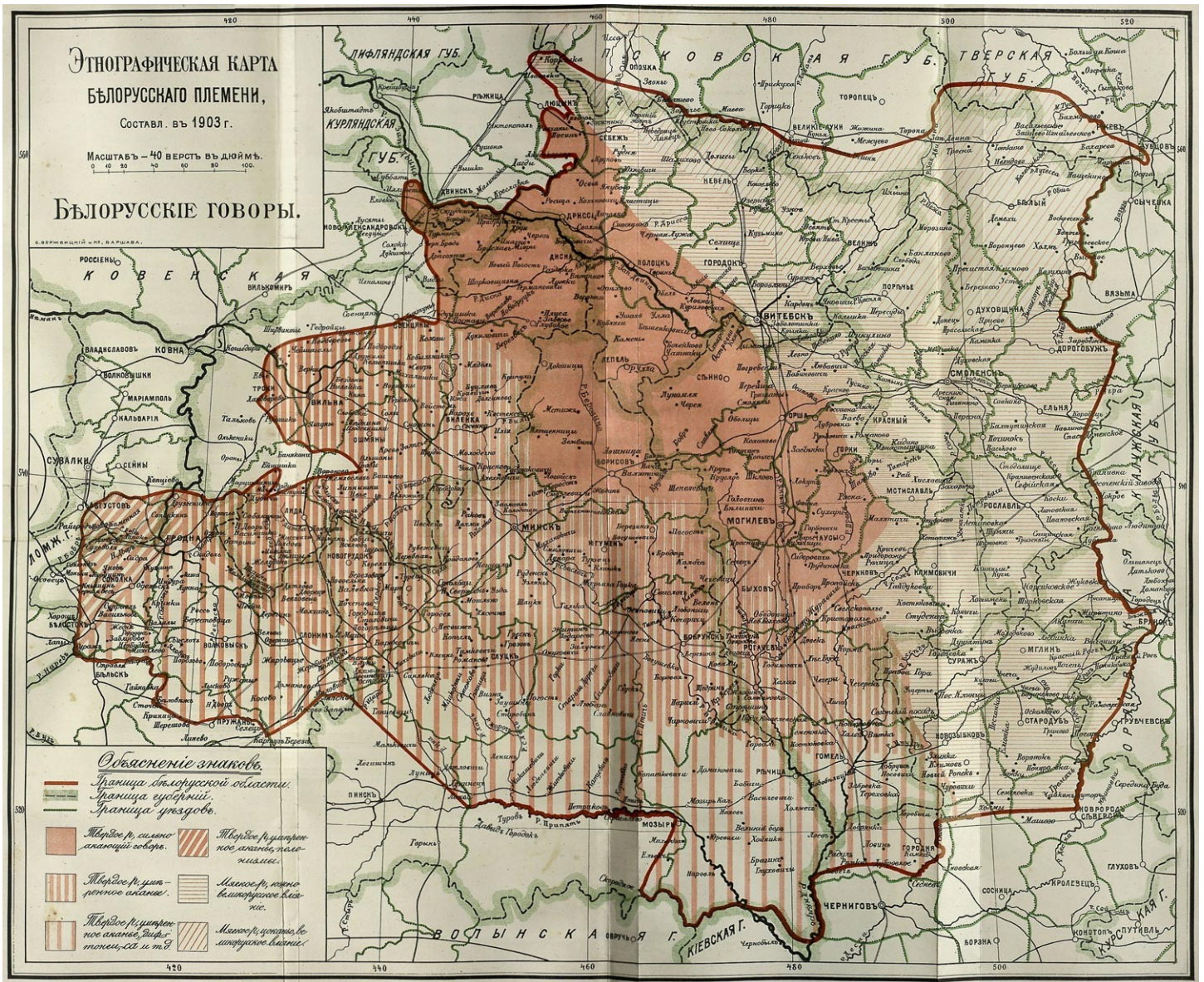
January 1919

- The Belarussian People's Republic of 1918; and the Western Region of the Rossiyan Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, established in 1917:





The Belarusian People's Republic.



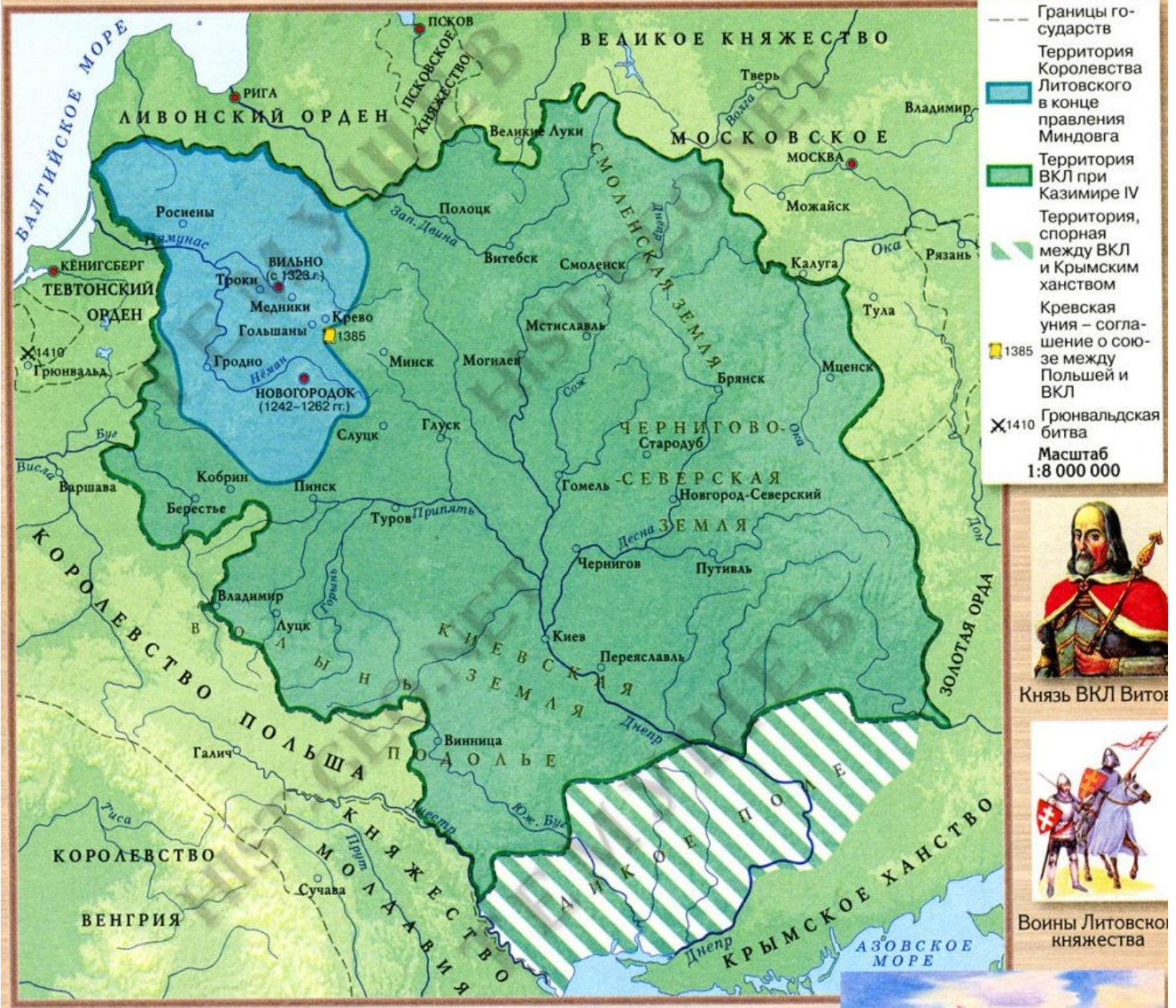
Varieties of the Belarusian Language in 1903.

Note: When culture and state are distinct, whether any given speech variety is a “dialect of Belarusian,” or a “dialect of Polish” or a “dialect of Ukrainian,” or a “dialect of Rusian” is primarily a matter of self-identification, both at the national-cultural level, and at the individual level. The national-cultural bodies are totally free to cultivate their identity within and among the overlapping populations, regardless of whether various linguistic-scientific schema abstractly assign local speech varieties to one language or another.

As for the further future, Belarus might restore its Historical Homeland to encompass the widest extents of the entire Belarusian-Lithuanian State (a.k.a. the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus and Samogitians) as the proto-Belarusian Homeland. Belarusian national tradition points to this as a formative era, as shown on the following two maps:



ВЕЛИКОЕ КНЯЖЕСТВО ЛИТОВСКОЕ



Князь ВКЛ Витолд



Воины Литовского княжества

A historical note: To put it simplistically, the three main Eastern Slavic nations arose partly through influence of three different outside vectors which acted upon and evoked different responses in the originally shared culture of Ancient Rus'. The Belarusian Nation coalesced from Lithuanian interactions with Ancient Rus'. The Ukrainian Nation coalesced out of Polish and Austrian interactions with Ancient Rus'. And the Rusian Nation coalesced out of Mongolian interactions with Ancient Rus'; from the new power center of Moscow, which emerged during the rule of the Golden Horde. You could say that fourth East Slavic nation, the Carpathian Ruthenians, arose through Hungarian interactions with Ancient Rus'. This is a simplistic formula but provides orientation. All three or four nations have beautiful qualities.

To perhaps a lesser degree, Belarus also identifies with the entire Rzeczpospolita...the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Nevertheless, Belarus could delineate Cultural Voblasts throughout the Rzeczpospolita.



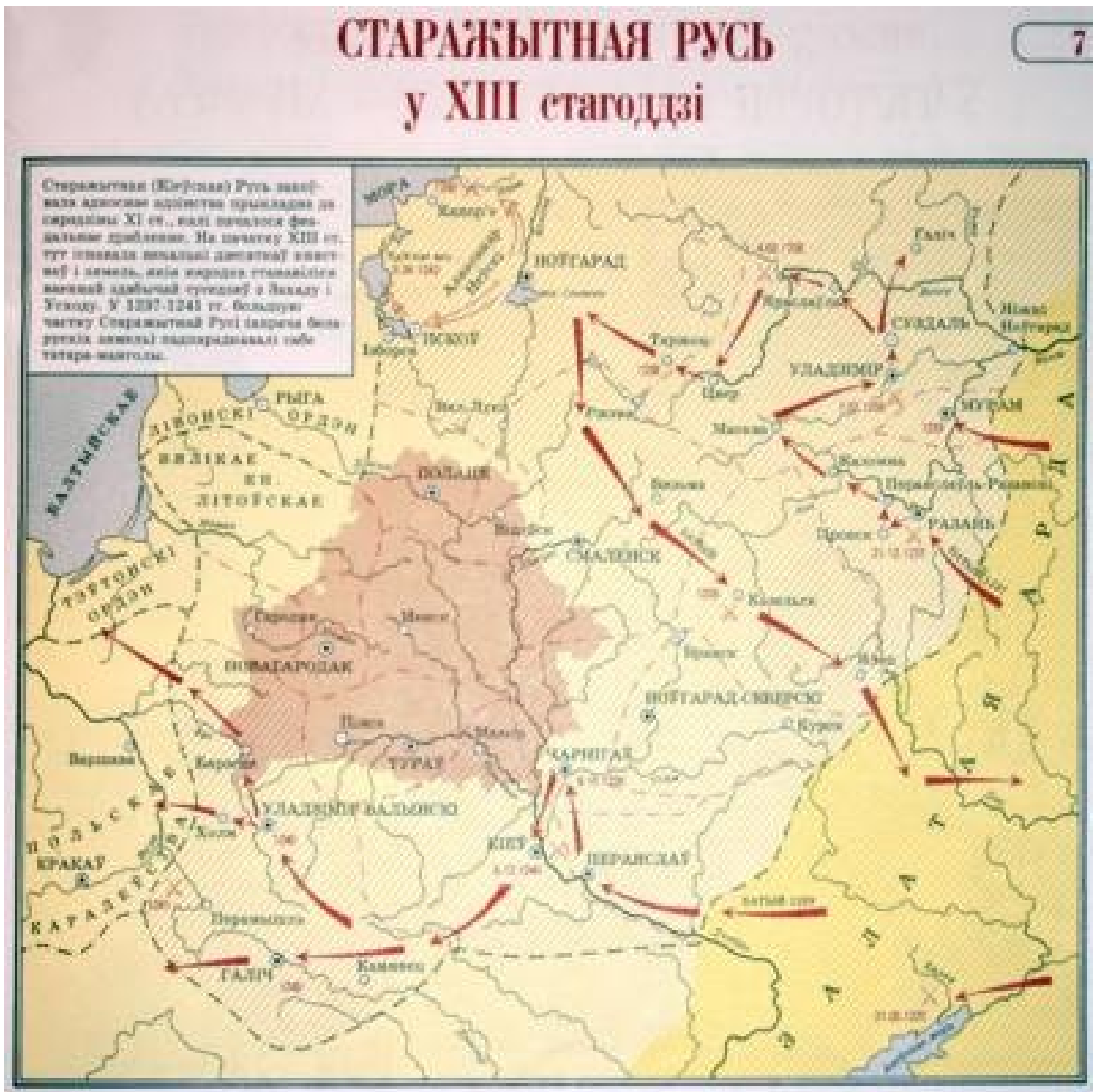
of religion tolerance and
THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

1600–1629

 Žyhimont III Vaza
 1566–1632



Belarus also identifies with Ancient Rus' (Starazhыtnaja Rus'). From the ancient tribal associations of the Krivichi, Dregovichi and Radimichi, arose the Town and Principality of Polotsk, which united the lands of the Krivichi in 862. The first mention of the Principality of Turov dates back to 980. The principalities of Polotsk and Turov were the first states within the Belarusian Motherland:



Any and all of the ancient and medieval lands which are significant to the Belarusian national-historical conception could eventually be included in the Belarusian Historical Homeland, and delineated into Belarusian Cultural Voblasts.

The Hungarian Historical Homeland:

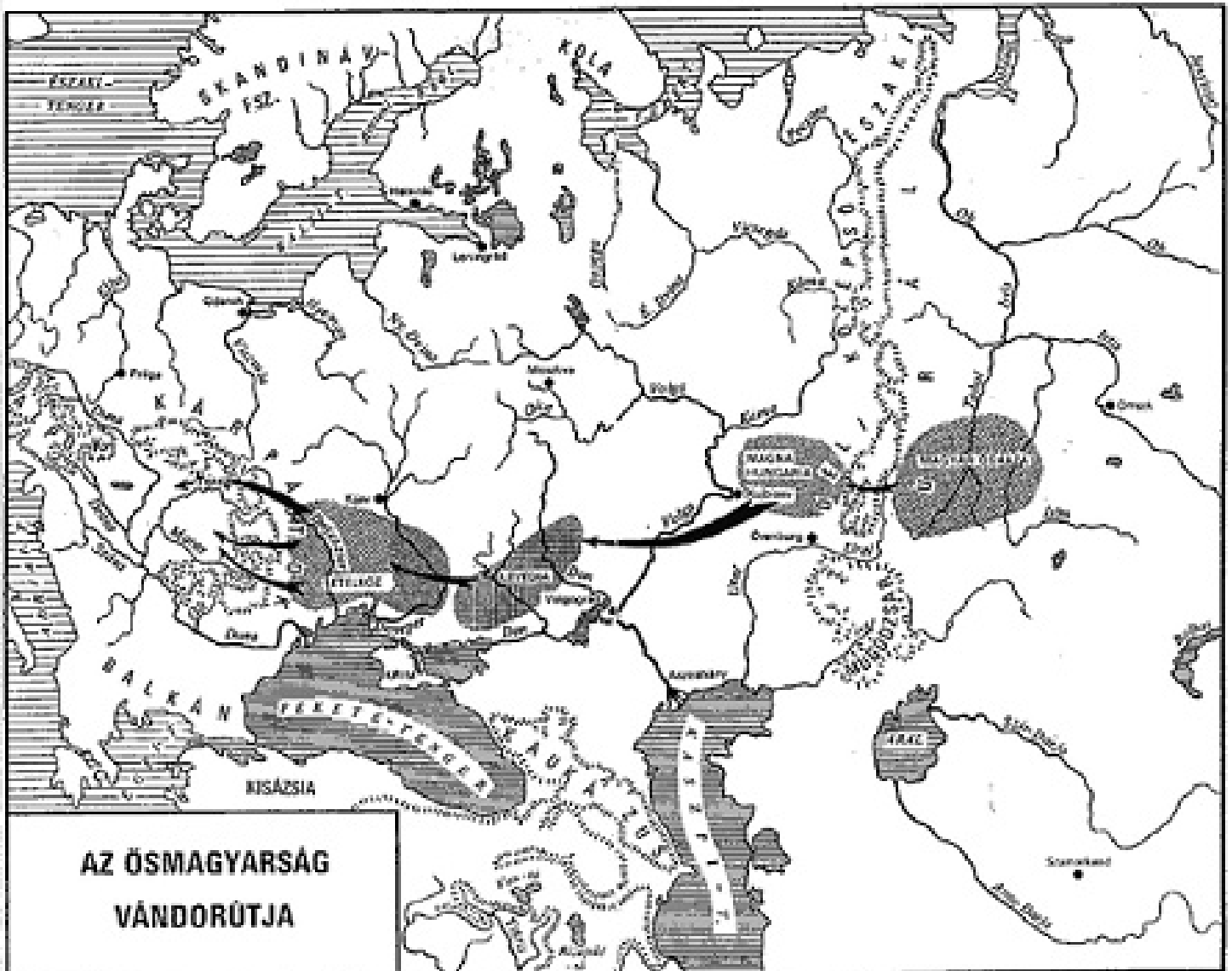
The carving up of Hungary by President Wilson's ethnolinguistic principles in 1920 is a cultural wound which is especially prevalent in the Hungarian psyche. The nation-state idea has not been a friend to Hungarian Humanity.



Hungarian Cultural Counties (Kulturális Megyék) could be restored throughout the Historical Homeland:

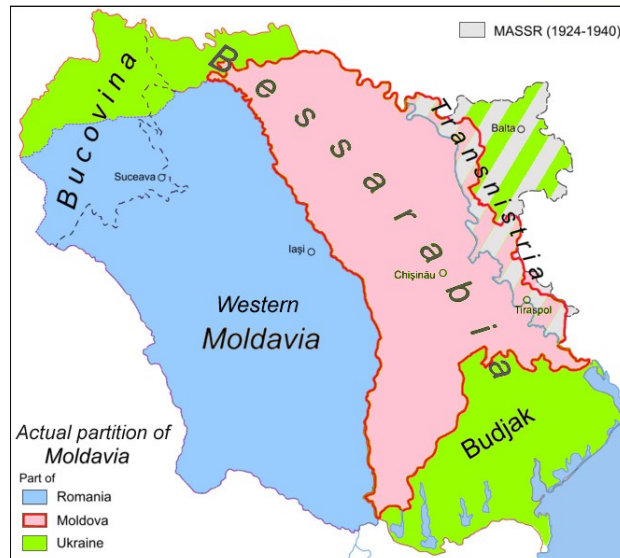


In the further future, Hungary might delineate cultural districts for the legendary prehistoric lands from whence the Magyars migrated on their way from Siberia.



The Moldovan Historical Homeland:

The Historical Homeland of the Republic of Moldova might include the traditional Bessarabia region, the historical province of Moldavia, and the Soviet-era Moldavian ASSR, which used to extend further into Ukraine. Moldova would be free to delineate Cultural Regions (Regiunea Culturală) and Cultural Districts (Raioane Culturale) throughout the Historical Homeland.



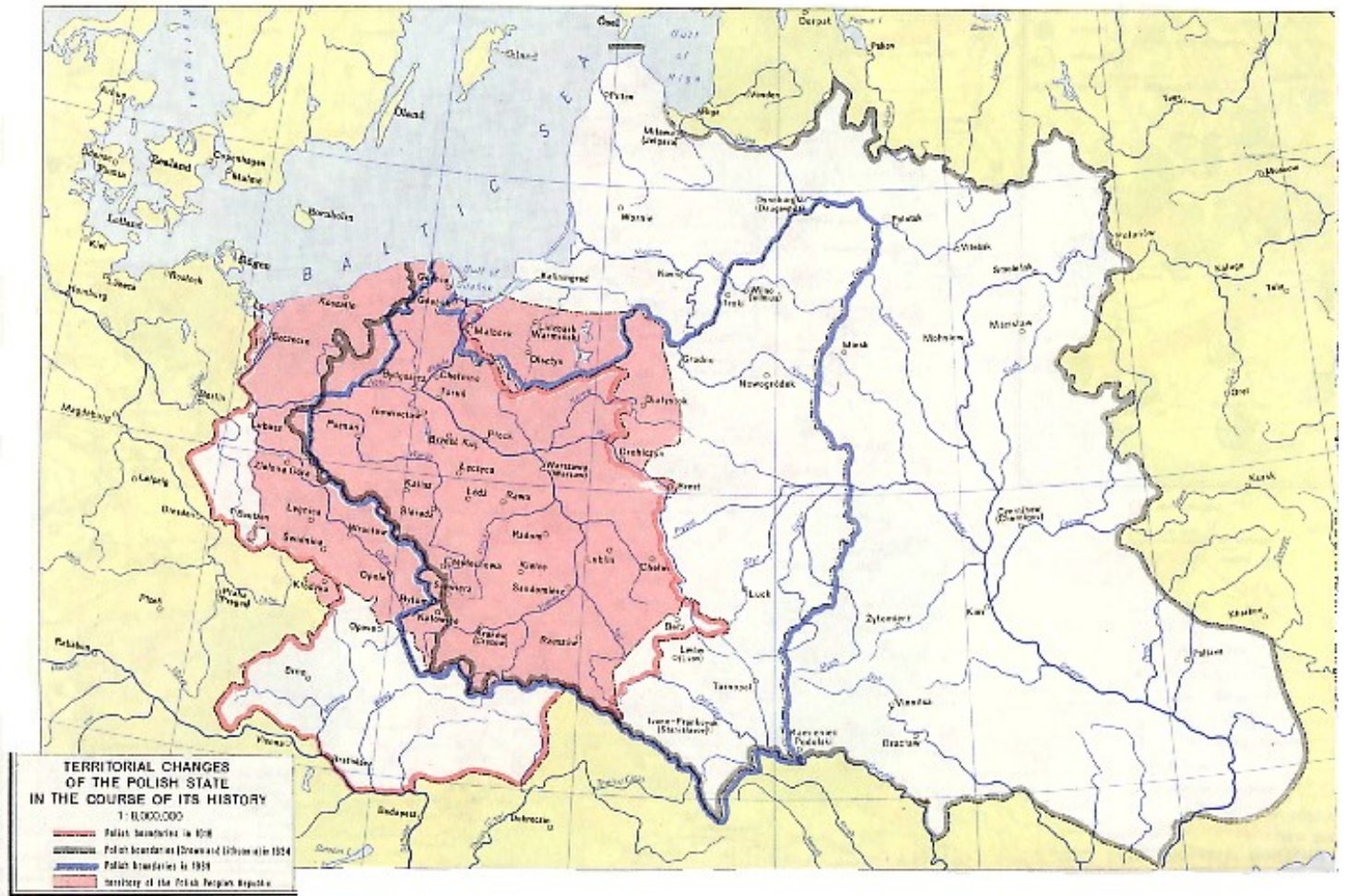


A draft composite map of the Moldovan Historical Homeland.

We are aware of the very close ethnolinguistic relationship between Romania and Moldova. Yet a Moldovan civic nation does exist now. When culture and state are structurally distinguished, the Romania-Moldova questions can be fully resolved.

The Polish Historical Homeland:

The following maps show two different conceptions of Poland's widest historic extent. Poland would be free to develop Cultural Voivodships (Województwa Kulturowe) throughout the Historical Homeland.





Tablica V.

1:6,000,000 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200 220 240 260 280 300 320 340 360 380 400 420 440 460 480 500 520 540 560 580 600 620 640 660 680 700 720 740 760 780 800 820 840 860 880 900 920 940 960 980 1000 km

The Romanian Historical Homeland:

Romania would be free to restore Cultural Provinces (Provinciile Culturale) and Cultural Counties (Județele Culturale) throughout the interwar extents of Romania, including the Transnistria Governorate.

DIVIZIUNILE ADMINISTRATIVE ALE ROMÂNIEI (FOND SINTETIC). PROVINCILE ISTORICE ROMÂNEȘTI.



In the further future, the lands of the medieval Romanian-Bulgarian Empire (a.k.a. the Second Bulgarian Empire, which was ruled by a Vlach/Romanian dynasty); and ancient Dacia might be included:



The Slovak Historical Homeland:

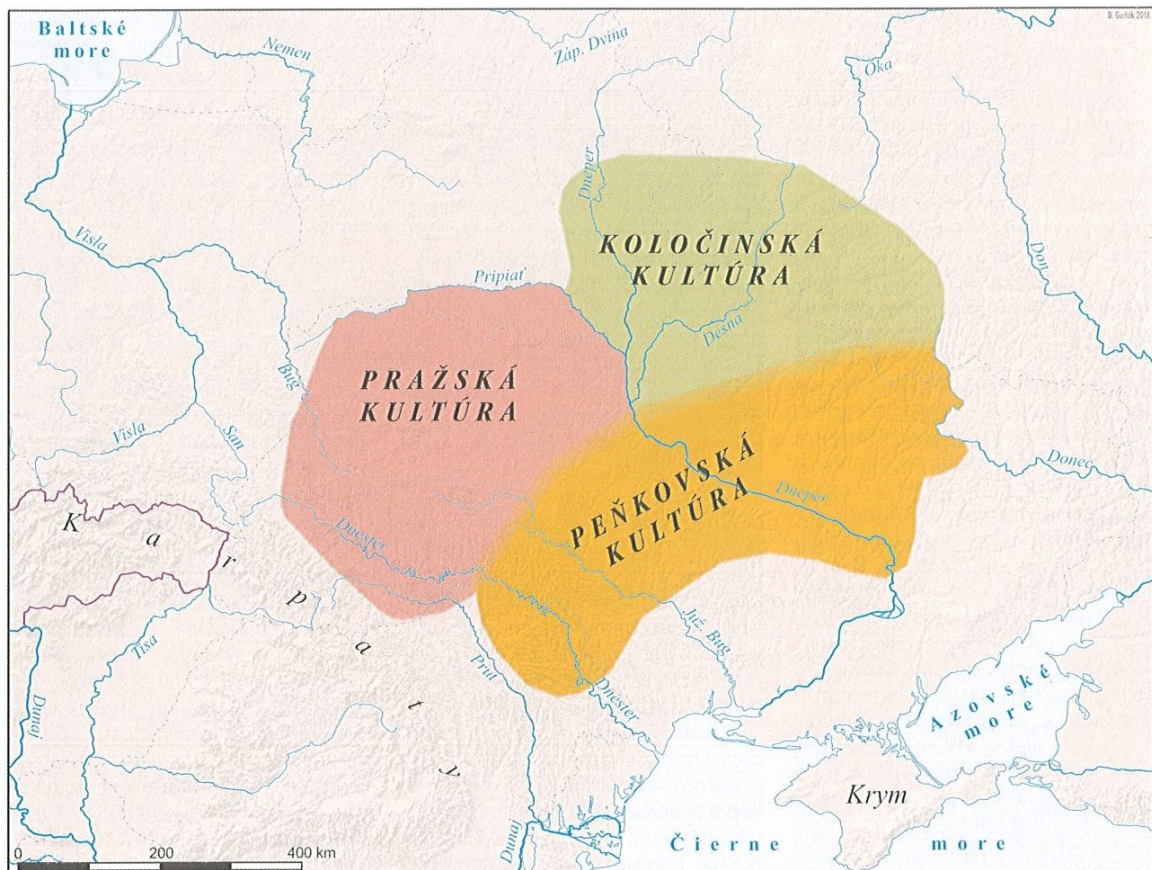
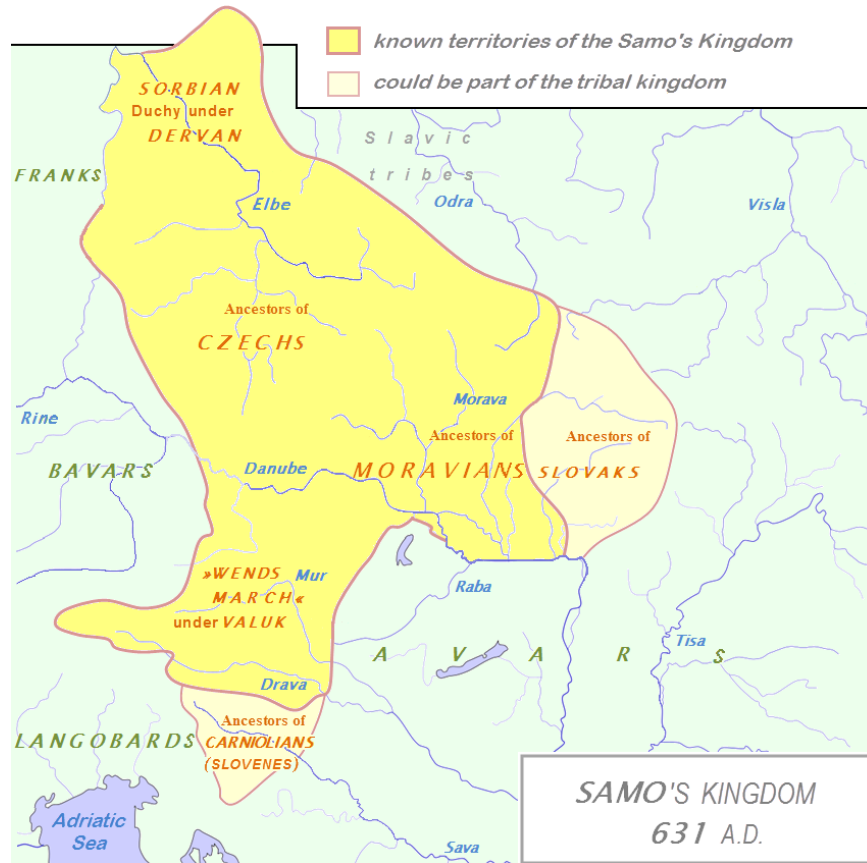
The Slovak Historical Homeland might include the widest historic extents of Great Moravia; three conceptions of which are show here:

Mapa Vel'kej Moravy



Slovakia would be free to delineate Kultúrne Kraje (Cultural Regions) throughout the Slovak Historical Homeland.

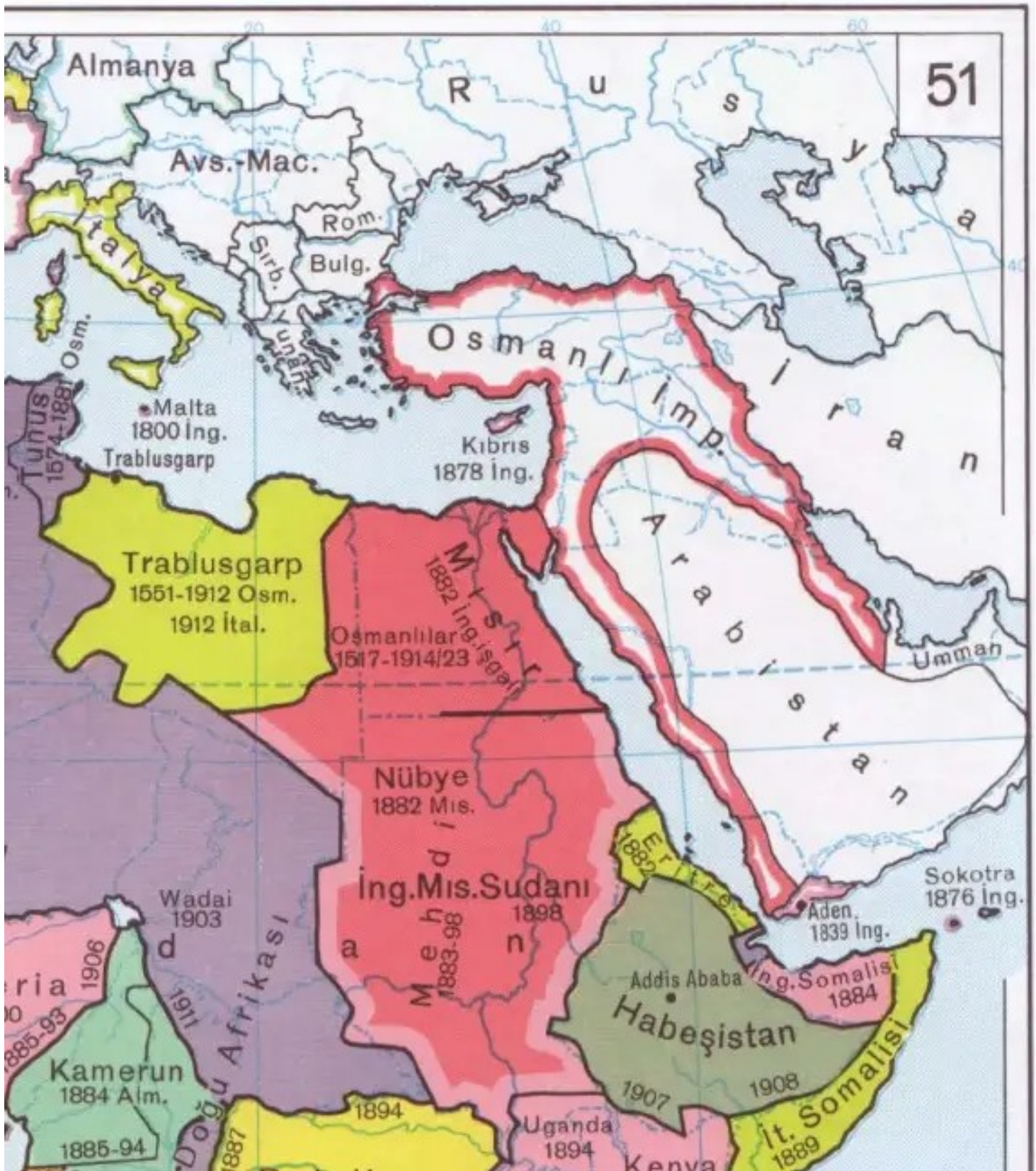
In the further future, Samo's Kingdom and the ancient Slavonic Homeland might also be considered to be part of the Slovak Historical Homeland, since Slovaks especially view themselves to be a primary inheritor of the original Slavonic legacy, due to the typological centrality of their language, and due to fact that the root of the word “Slovak” also means “Slavonic / Slavic.”



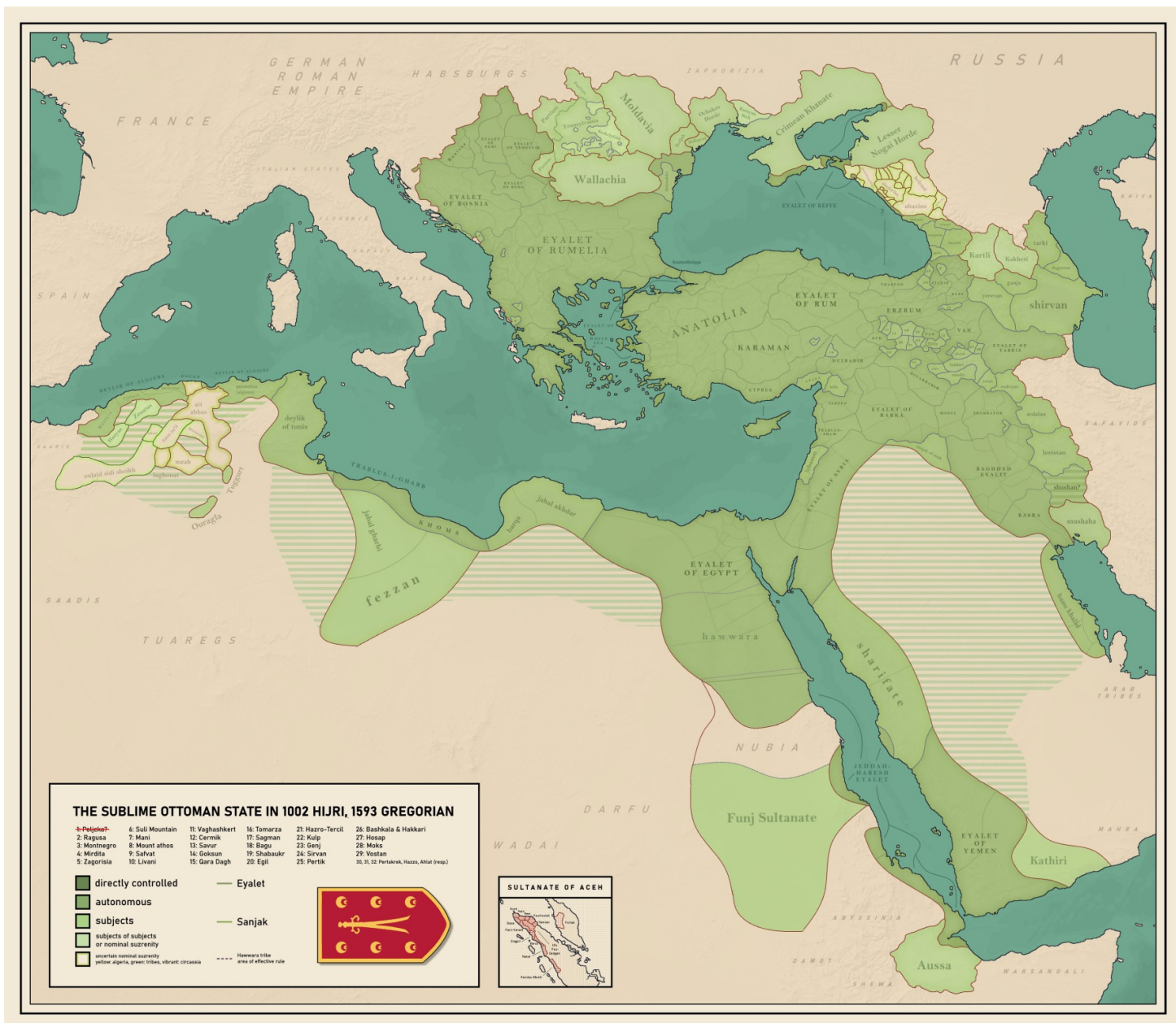
PŮVODNÉ TERITÓRIA VČASNOSLOVANSKÝCH KULTŮR VO VÝCHODNEJ EÚRÓPE

The Turkish Historical Homeland:

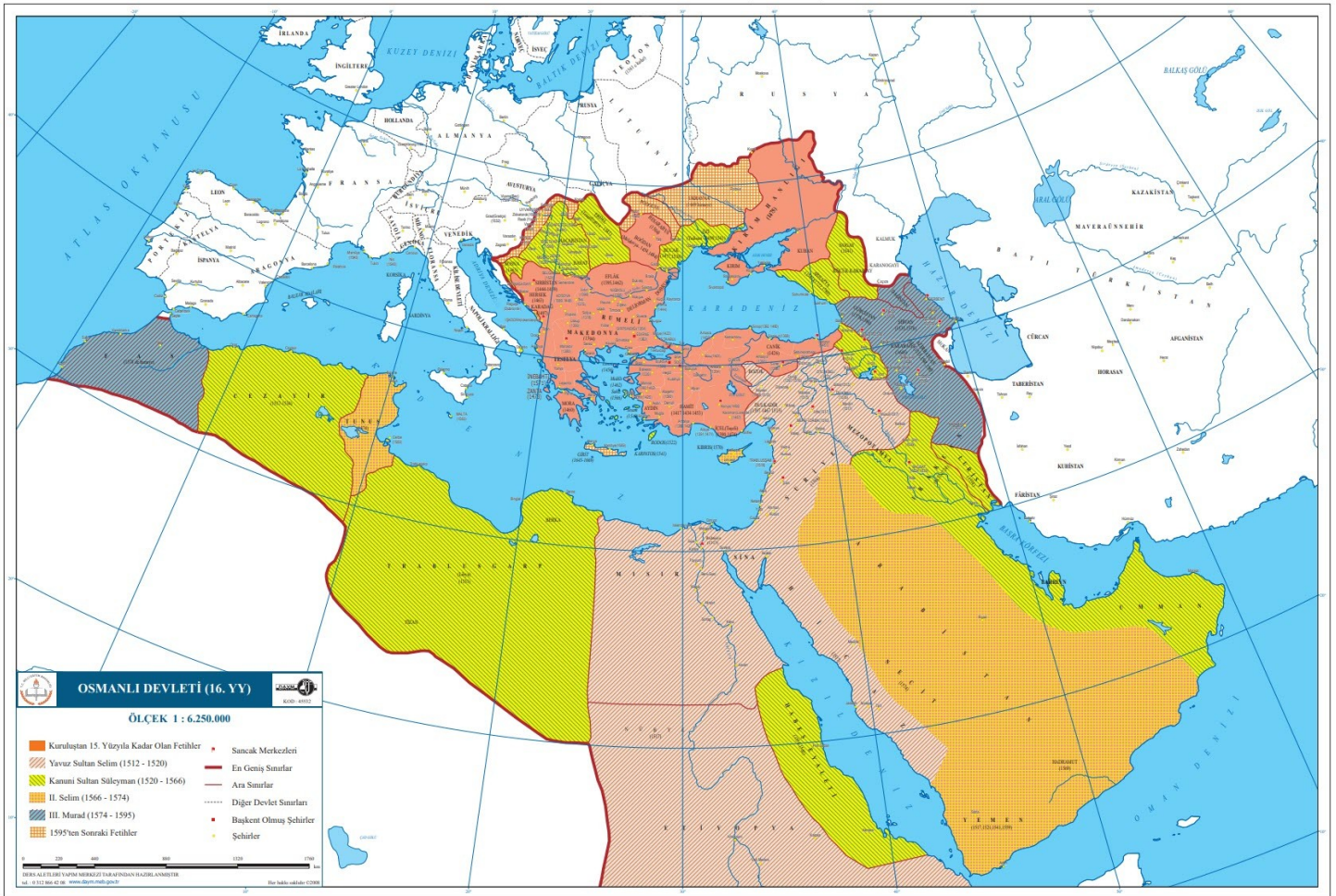
The initial restoration of the Historical Homeland of Turkey might extend to the boundaries of Turkey (the Ottoman Empire), just prior to WW1. Turkey included the Levant, and reached through Arabia and northeast Africa.



In the further future, the earlier extents of the Ottoman Empire could be included in the Turkish Historical Homeland:

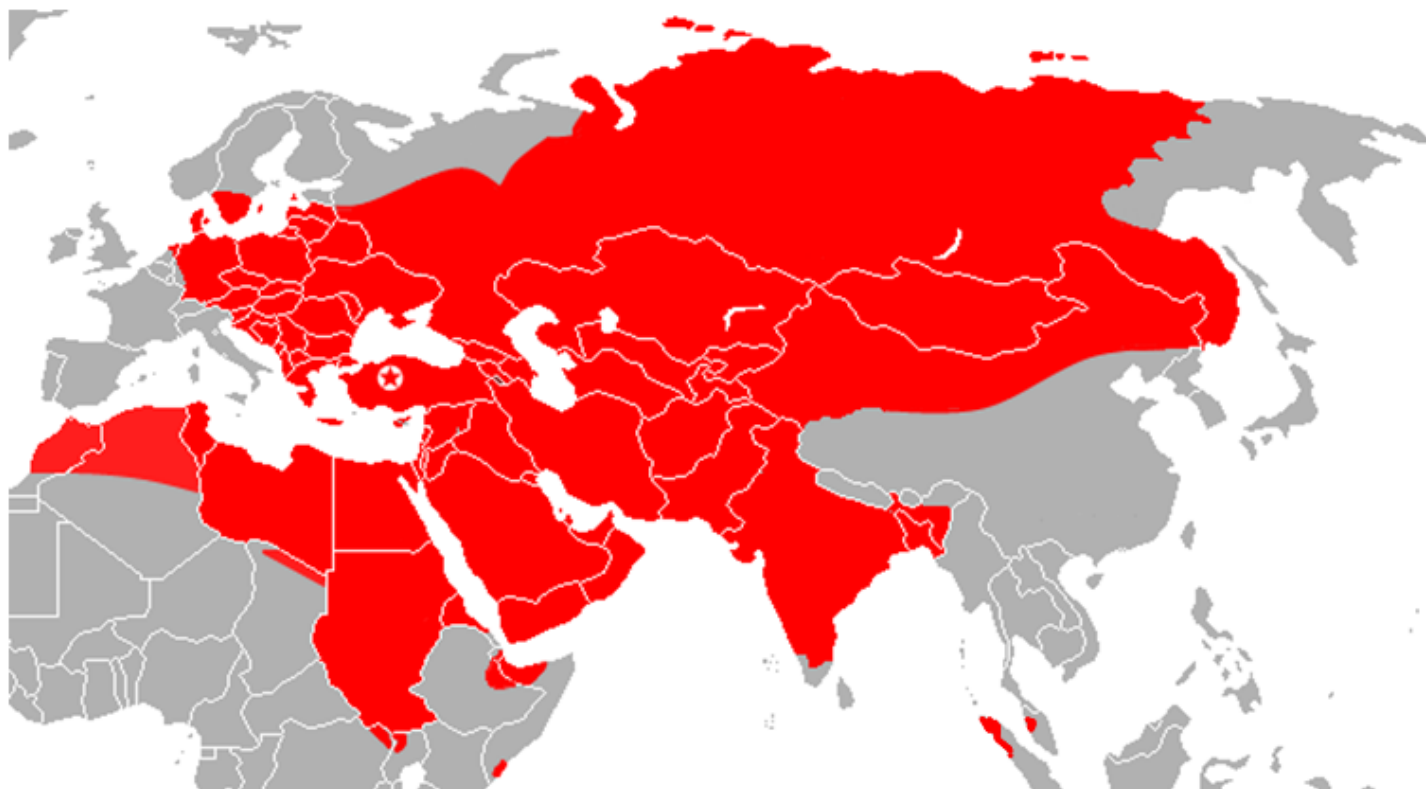


OSMANLI DEVLETİ (16.YY)



Official Turkish history identifies Sixteen Great Turkish Empires as its predecessors, as symbolized by the 16 stars on the present-day Presidential Seal. Notably, from a European perspective, this includes the Western Hun Empire which, as conceived by Turkish national history, extended into Germania and Scandinavia. The following map is composite of those 16 imperial territories. Turkey would be free to develop Cultural Provinces (Kültürel İller) throughout its vast Historical Homeland. See:

- For maps: <http://blog.tesbihane.com/2015/10/tarihin-en-buyuk-16-turk-devleti/>
- For (reconstructed) flags: https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/tr_imp1.html



If the Turkish national conception included all Indo-Anatolian peoples, that would be an even bigger map.

APPENDIX B: UKRAINE: THE WORLD'S FIRST TRI-SECTOR ENTITY?

“The reconciliation of these profoundly conflicting trends—the political and nationalist [cultural] trends affirming state sovereignty, the economic trends forcing their wider association and the ethnically [culturally] driven fragmentation trends threatening their unity—is a central task for modern statecraft.”

—Gidon Gottlieb (1994), emphasis added.

*“Such tri-sectoral networks have the potential to pull diverse groups and resources together and address issues that **no one sector can resolve by itself.**”*

—from “Visioning the UN,” an initiative of the UN Secretary-General and the United Nations Foundation (1999), emphasis added.

BEHOLD the trident. The eyes of humanity are fixed on that symbol now.

Beyond Gidon Gottlieb's separation of culture (i.e. nation) and state, lies a further evolution which our Institute points to as an even more comprehensive solution: the Tri-Sector Entity (3SE).

The 3SE is inspired by Dimitrije Mitrinović, a Bosnian Serb philosopher, and by Joseph Beuys, a German artist and ecologist whose shaman-like journey began in WW2, in the Crimean Peninsula. Beuys' call for a FUTURE SOCIAL ORDER came from hard experience in Ukraine.

Interviewer: *You must have traveled as a soldier.*

Beuys: *Yes, I took part in the whole war, from 1941 until 1946. I was in Russia.*

Interviewer: *What did you see there?*

Beuys: *Certainly not art! (laughs) What can I say? I was a fighter pilot. I cannot talk about the war. There were dead people lying around, everywhere.*

Interviewer: *Were you in Stalingrad?*

Beuys: *No, I was more to the South, in Ukraine[.]*

—*Artforum* interview (1969)

Mitrinović and Beuys both proposed the transformation of each Nation-State into a Tri-Sector Entity composed of three sovereign sectors: the House of Guilds (a.k.a. House of Industry or Economic Forum), the House of Commons (or Rights Assembly), and the House of Culture (or Cultural Council). Each of the three sectoral bodies is as independent from each other as are national governments today.

In a Tri-Sector society, the three sovereign sectors have their own diplomatic relations with their counterparts in other lands, and their own separate membership in international forums. For example, the Economic Entity represents the country in the World Bank and trade agreements, the Rights Entity represents the country in the United Nations General Assembly (a political forum) and in military alliances, and the Cultural Entity represents the country in UNESCO and other cultural forums.⁶

⁶ We recommend that the Trident Cultural Council as a whole represent the country in global cultural forums which are not primarily based on national culture per se, but which are predominantly anational fields, such as scientific research (for example, the World Meteorological Organization). But that in cultural forums which are primarily based on national culture (such as the Olympics), each NCO would send its own independent representation; in a similar way that the U.S. and Puerto Rico both field

Yet there is unity in this tri-articulated diversity. The three sovereign bodies coordinate their activities within a given territory via a Threefold Senate, which is a consultative body composed of an equal number of representatives from each of the three sectoral administrations. And though the Senate has no sovereignty above the three sovereign sectors, it livingly embodies the entire social body...the entire “country.”

Together, the four bodies comprise what Mitrinović calls the **THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH** or the **ORGANIC SOCIAL ORDER**; or what Joseph Beuys calls the **THIRD WAY SOCIAL SCULPTURE**, or the **TOTAL ARTWORK OF THE FUTURE SOCIAL ORDER** which fulfills what Beuys names the “Three Basic Needs.” See Beuys' *Appeal for an Alternative*: [issuu.com/sethjordand/docs/beuys_appeal](https://www.issuu.com/sethjordand/docs/beuys_appeal)

“Perhaps I have a mission ... to change the social order.”

—Joseph Beuys (1979)

This selfsame Threefold Commonwealth or Third Way Artwork, is what the Gottlieb Initiative names the Tri-Sector Entity. Here's a provisional sketch of flags for the three sovereign administrations: (Though of course the Ukrainian leadership and people would design their own Tri-Sector flags and emblems.)

The Land of the Trident—A Tri-Sector Entity



The Trident Economy

(Design: yellow earth + bronze trident)



The Trident Governance

(the middle sector where earth & sky meet + silver trident)



The Trident Cultures

(blue sky + gold trident)

In this conflict the economic factor has played a role. For example: in the Western economic sanctions and asset seizures, in the question of Rossiyan fuel deliveries and in which national currency those will be paid, in global oil prices, in the compulsory introduction of the ruble in occupied districts, in the shipment (or non-shipment) of Ukrainian commodities (such as sunflower and grains), in the role of loot as a motivating factor for the desperate soldiery (many of whom, in all nations, enter the military due to the “economic draft”), in the gigantic Western monetary disbursements to (bribery-prone Ukrainian officials) in order support the Ukrainian economy and war effort, and in the question of tallying future reparations.

When human consciousness, from kindergarten on up, is drawn into compelling national-cultural narratives of national losses and national victories...when children are, in large part, raised by the government via twelve years of eight-hour schooldays within governmentalized (=nationalized) pedagogical spaces...when the same national-governmental flag flies above the schoolyard and in church sanctuaries as flies above the prisons and legionary bases...when WW2 is viewed as the defining heroic era, not only in Rossiya, but also in the North American narrative of the “Greatest Generation” (forever?)...when, in the English-speaking world, “Godwin's law” still more-or-less applies (as a discussion grows longer—regardless of topic or scope—the probability of a comparison to Nazis or Adolf Hitler eventually approaches nearly 100%)...when the entire global political-security structure is centered on the veto power of the five victorious nation-states of WW2...and when those cultural narratives are fused with deep state apparatuses (“national security”) and commercial interests (the competitive “national economy”)...then it's predictable that all factors will be tangled together.

Olympic teams even though Puerto Rico is a part of the same political governance as the rest of the United States. Individual athletes who are members (nationals) of multiple NCOs would choose which nation to compete under. Since NCOs territories (Historical Homelands) may freely overlap, this will necessitate a revision of the eligibility rules of each sport. And as thousands of NCOs achieve cultural independence, nation-based sporting events might need to implement further bracketing.

If there are global cultural forums where the national and anational cultural aspects cannot be untangled (such as in UNESCO), then perhaps the Trident Cultural Council and the NCOs would all have seats in that forum.

Tangled both in the individual psyche of the national-citizen, and in external events. Tangled in the underlying cause of conflict, tangled in the unfolding of the conflict, and tangled in the final resolution, whenever that comes. Without a fresh impulse, that tangled ending looks to be years or decades from now.

One could also look at the tangled cultural-political-commercial motives of each conflict from the past century of nightmare. My own father conveyed his experience in the French Michelin rubber plantations which played a role in the dark-hearted human sacrifice in Southeast Asia.

Heading into the future, the three influences—cultural, political, and economic—could be seen more clearly if, not only the national culture were to be differentiated from the state, but also from the economy. In a Tri-Sector Entity, the entire business sector is palpably and visibly distinct from the political and cultural sectors. With its own responsible leadership—a sort of Head of the Economy—as an equal peer of the Head of State, and of the cultural Head of Nation; and with an Economic Forum and Cultural Council standing independently alongside the political Rights Assembly.

To characterize the three sectors:

The Cultural Entity: We've seen that the Cultural Sector includes not only the National-Cultural Organizations (the focus of the previous chapters of this book), but also the cultural initiatives which are not owned or operated by the state, such as religious and philosophical organizations, political parties (via the complete separation of party and state, which we have never seen, even in Western multi-party states), private/independent schools, universities, arts groups, science institutes, museums and libraries, service clubs, gender-based advocacy groups, hospitals and the healing arts, sports and games, and generally the entire non-profit / non-governmental / charitable / civil society sector. Also called the Third Sector.

In a Tri-Sector society, there are Cultural Councils at all levels, from the municipality on down to the federal level. It may be noted that Ukraine already has a local network of Soviet-era “Houses of Culture,” but these would be divested from State ownership, and reconstituted as venues for the local Cultural Councils. And beyond the municipality, instead of political rayons (districts) and oblasts, the Cultural Entity is geographically organized by watershed—a neutral matrix which is not affiliated with any NCO.

The Cultural Entity is inherently omni-national, since all nations (NCOs) which are incorporated in that country are participants in the Third Sector. This sector's guiding principle is **Freehood**. (Real, actual freedom, greater than Americanist-style, national-statist-shaped “freedom.” Genuine cultural liberty.)

The Economic Entity: In contrast, the Economic Sector basically means: food, clothing, shelter, and transportation; and services which maintain those commodities. The Economic Entity includes all businesses and their industry associations, trade groups and chambers of commerce; banks and stock exchanges, along with (what has survived of the) labor unions, and the nascent consumer federations. But also the aspects of the present-day government which are primarily economic in nature, such as the Department of Commerce (in Ukrainian terms, the Ministry of Economy) and the Central Bank (the National Bank of Ukraine). These together constitute the Economic Entity. There are Economic Forums at all scales, from the local municipality to the federal level. Beyond the municipality, instead of political rayons and oblasts, the Economic Entity is geographically organized by ecoregion, since the economy primarily comes from the earth. This sector's guiding principle is **Goodwill**, or **Unity**. The economics behind Twelffold Municipalism is called **Unitism**.

The Rights Entity: The Rights Governance is drastically streamlined, having been divested of all cultural and economic undertakings. Yet in that way it becomes clearly empowered to do what it's meant to do: vigorously ensure a truly egalitarian legal framework; and from that basis, it legislates not only political rights and obligations, but also an array of cultural and economic rights.

In a Tri-Sector society, cultural rights and economic rights are actually (rather than abstractly) realized through egalitarian earmarked vouchers (like food stamps) which are equally issued to all citizens, regardless of their wealth or dearth. A more articulated version of Unconditional Basic Income. The purpose of the economy is the meet the needs of humanity. Needs (which are covered by the vouchers) are distinguished from wants/luxuries (which are truly privileges).

When all citizens' basic needs (but not wants) are unconditionally met, there would be no excuse for the bribery culture which currently pervades the Ukrainian State. The Western reader may not know that Ukraine has long ranked among the very most corrupt governments in the entire world. See:

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corruption_in_Ukraine

This “Unitist economics” also brings an end to the desperation which results in the trafficking of women, and other sordid, economically-induced desolations.

In Unitism, the state doesn't own or manage any cultural or economic enterprises—in the same way that in Western societies, food stamps don't mean that the state owns or manages grocery stores. Issuing the vouchers equally to all citizens defuses the predictably snide division of humanity into so-called “makers and takers.”

In the Economic sector, all individuals are viewed to be entrepreneurs and business people. These entrepreneurs are subsidized at a basic human level, so that they may engage in various enterprises (including micro-businesses and labor services) without the existential fear of them and their offspring having to become wretched vagrants if their businesses suffer setbacks in the market. The market is free, yet, at the same time, the market—through the funding of Economic Rights vouchers and Cultural Rights vouchers—provides a basic, dignified baseline for everyone, without having to fill out bureaucratic forms and enter into the dismal social subclass of government welfare clients.

The Tri-Sector Entity practically inoculates humanity from the poisonous left-right mindset. Free enterprise holds sway even more than in Americanism, since all economic powers—including currency issuance and trade negotiations; and all cultural powers—including all school systems and the national consciousness itself—are divested from the Rights-State. Yet peoples' real needs are met in an unconditional way. The Tri-Sector Entity is both infra-sociable (deeper than red) and ultra-libertarian (higher than blue) at the same time. This sector's guiding principle is **Equality**. Beyond Americanist corporate democracy stands **Equalocracy**.

Joseph Beuys speaks to the heart of the matter:

*“I decided in my life not to become a physicist but to try to make an experience with the Arts; to widen understanding of the Arts, to become able to change the social order.’ Science, whilst being highly developed so as to render us ‘even able to fly to outer-terrestrial planets,’ is however unable to make clear ‘what it means to be a human being and what the inner goal of life on earth would mean, and what would be **the highest quality for the life of the different peoples on earth, and how they could overcome their inner frustration, and how they could overcome the alienation of their working places.** So, in being directed to bring a wider understanding of art which is related to everybody’s labor, on every existing working place, it is on the point where it touches the economical system.”*

—Joseph Beuys (1983), emphasis added

The Tri-Sector Entity may seem like a dry outline, yet it is the systemic solution to almost all the sicknesses which are embedded in societal structures, both in Eurasia and the North Atlantic. And in the Global South.

“If every action has its consequences, an evil embedded in the structures of a society has a constant potential for disintegration and death. It is evil crystallized in unjust social structures, which cannot be the basis of hope for a better future. We are far from the so-called ‘end of history,’ since the conditions for a sustainable and peaceful development have not yet been adequately articulated and realized.”

—Francis, Bishop of Rome, *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013)

Not to put a fearful point on it, and not to say that things can't be temporarily mitigated in the usual, predictably hamhanded, stupid ways, but just to say: would the North Atlantic leadership prefer the 3SE or WW3?

The following luminaries are vocal proponents of Tri-Sector Idea:

- Ibrahim Abouleish (Egyptian Right Livelihood Laureate, founder of the SEKEM Companies)
- Owen Barfield (British writer, “the first and last Inkling,” friend of C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien)
- Andrei Bely (Rossiyan writer, Scythianist)
- Yeshayahu Ben-Aharon (Israeli philosopher, son of the revolutionary Yitzhak Ben-Aharon)
- Joseph Beuys (German artist, whose artistic origin story took place in Crimea, where his plane crashed during World War Two)
- Jack Bucknall (English priest, Church of England, founder of the Order of the Church Militant)
- Christopher Houghton Budd (English economist)
- John Maurice Clark (American economist, University of Chicago and Columbia University)
- Russell Davenport (American, editor of Fortune magazine, republican advisor)
- Daniel Dunlop (Irish, founder of the World Energy Council)
- Michael Ende (German fantasy writer, author of *The Neverending Story*)
- Mariya Jakovlevna fon Sivers (Rossiyan-Polish artist)
- Genevieve Fox (American writer, New York Times)
- Zviad Gamsakhurdia (Georgian head of nation and head of state, who was slain for failing to differentiate the two)
- Tho Ha Vinh (Vietnamese Buddhist, co-founder of the Eurasia Foundation)
- Gerald Häfner (German legislator)
- Cecil Harwood (English writer, friend of C.S. Lewis and Owen Barfield)
- Rudolf Hauschka (Austrian chemist, founder of Dr. Hauschka cosmetics)
- Johannes Heinrichs (German, Catholic philosopher, proponent of Fourfold Parliamentism)
- Herman Hesse (German writer, author of *Siddhartha*)
- Karl König (Jewish-Austrian educator)
- James Edward Le Rossignol (Canadian economist)
- Otto Lerchenfeld (German legislator)
- Bernard Lievegoed (Dutch organizational consultant)
- William Frederick Lofthouse (English, Methodist theologian and President of the Wesleyan Conference)
- John Stuart Mackenzie (Scottish philosopher)
- Dimitrije Mitrinović (Bosnian Serb philosopher and social critic)
- Emil Molt (German businessman, founder of the Waldorf School movement)
- Nicanor Perlas (Filipino Right Livelihood Laureate and presidential candidate)
- Ehrenfried Pfeiffer (German farmer, co-founder of Biodynamic and Organic agriculture)
- Ludwig Polzer-Hoditz (Austrian, friend of Tomáš Masaryk, founder of Czechoslovakia)
- Tom Powers, Sr. (American, editor of the *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions* of Alcoholics Anonymous)
- Sergei O. Prokofieff (Rossiyan writer, grandson of the namesake composer)
- Ulrich Rösch (German author, and colleague of Joseph Beuys)
- Otto Scharmer (German, professor at MIT, author of the *Theory U* organizational paradigm)
- Michael Spence (English, administrator of Emerson College in Sussex)
- Marjorie Spock (American environmentalist)
- Walter Johannes Stein (Jewish-Austrian philosopher, friend of Kemal Atatürk, founder of modern Turkey)
- Rudolf Steiner (Austrian-Hungarian-Croatian philosopher)
- Asya Turgeneva (Rossiyan artist)
- Gopi Krishna Vijaya (Indian physics researcher)
- Andy Warhol (Slovak-American artist)
- Ita Wegman (Dutch-Indonesian physician)
- Joseph Weizenbaum (Jewish-American computer scientist, MIT)
- Arthur Zajonc (Polish-American physicist, friend of the Dalai Lama)

“The conception of the Threefold Commonwealth is noble—a little aloof in its mighty grandeur. It is almost presumptuous in its scope and magnitude. It is a conception, nevertheless, worthy of man.”

—The New York Times

THE TWELVEFOLD MUNICIPAL ORGANISM

Congratulations, you made it to the end of the book. You've found the secret appendix.

FIRST things first. Yet beyond the Tri-Sector Entity lies the Twelfefold Municipal Organism (12MO), where the entire political state is dissolved into its constituent municipalities—as sovereign city-states, town-states, and village-states. And the three sectors are further unfolded.

In a 12MO, each animal and plant species, and each landscape feature, is symbolic represented by a group of human beings (scientists, artists, storytellers, mythographers, conservationists, amateur naturalists and animal lovers) who serve as Keepers (a.k.a. Stewards or Pals) of that species or feature. As symbolic voices of, and for, that feature. This sector is symbolic, yet not merely symbolic. Artist Joseph Beuys prefigured such a voice:

Beuys: *Two years ago I created a political party for animals.*

Interviewer: *Do you have a lot of animals in the party?*

Beuys: *It's the largest party in the world.*

Interviewer: *And you are the leader?*

Beuys: *I am the leader.*

Interviewer: *You're crazy. (Laughter.)*

Beuys: *And therefore I am a very mighty man. Mightier than Nixon. (More laughter.)*

Interviewer: *But he has all the insects.*

Beuys: *I have all the insects.*

Interviewer: *They are not animals.*

Beuys: *Insects are animals. [...]*

Interviewer: *I assume, then, that you are the Chief of the animals and that this can be seen in your work, "The Chief," of 1963–4, which you performed rolled up in a felt rug with a dead hare at each end and fat works in the corners of the room.*

Beuys: *Yes, I speak for the hares that cannot speak for themselves.*

Interviewer: *Which you do literally by making noises which are amplified in the room and in the street.*

Beuys: *The human responsibility to all living things . . .*

—[Artforum, Willoughby Sharp interviewer \(1969\)](#)

The twelfefoldness comes from the fact that each of the four independent sectors contains three branches of activity, for a total of Twelve Sub-Sectors in each city-state:

- I. The Ecological Entity, composed of a body of human Keepers who symbolically represent each species and landscape feature within the three kingdoms of nature:
 1. **The Landscape Features and Abiotic Resources**
 2. **The Plant Species**
 3. **The Animal Species**

- II. The Economic Entity, a forum of associations which, in a practical way, embodies various threenesses: the three economic sectors (Primary extraction of raw materials, Secondary manufacturing, and Tertiary service industries), the three participants in the supply chain (Producers, Distributors, and Consumers), the three stakeholders (Management, Labor, and Consumers), the Triple Bottom Line (The Planet, People, and Profit), and the Three Ethics of Permaculture (Earth Care, People Care, and Fair Share):
 4. **The Primary Economy | Producers | Ownership/Management | The Planet | Earth Care**
 5. **The Secondary Economy | Distributors/Retailers | Labor | People | People Care**

6. **The Tertiary Economy | Consumers | Profit | Fair Share/Future Care**

III. The Rights Entity—the transformed, fully equalocratized remnant of the State—constituted of the three branches of governance, divested of all economic and cultural-educational functions:

- 7. **The Executive Branch**
- 8. **The Legislative Branch**
- 9. **The Judicial Branch**

IV. The Cultural Entity, encompassing the three main cultural domains:

- 10. **The Arts and Play** (including sports and games)
- 11. **The Sciences and Humanities** (including the school systems and university systems, of all educational philosophies)
- 12. **The Worldviews and Identities** (faiths, secular philosophies, nations, nationalities, and peoples)

As for the dissolution of Ukraine and the rest of humanity's world into Twelfefold City-States. The city is the human scale. All national sentiment is drained out of the polity, and instead finds vibrant new life in the cultural sphere, where it rightfully belongs. The naughtiness which the Nations have inflicted upon humanity is thus brought to an end.

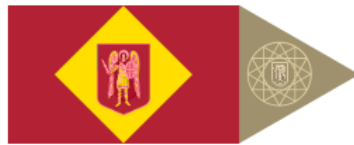
A politically sovereign and independent Twelfefold City-State of Moscow would not need 6000 nuclear warheads. Nor would a Twelfefold City-State of Washington, Douglass Commonwealth. Nor would Beijing, London, Paris, Berlin, or Jerusalem.

The following sectoral flags show an archetypal Twelfefold symbology, as it would be applied to an independent Twelfefold City-State of Kyiv. The city emblem is the Archangel Michaël, a legendary being which, in secular terms, represents the quality or archetype of courageous human action.

The Twelfefold City-State of Kyiv



The Living Ecology in Kyiv



The Unity Economy in Kyiv



The Equalocratic Governance in Kyiv



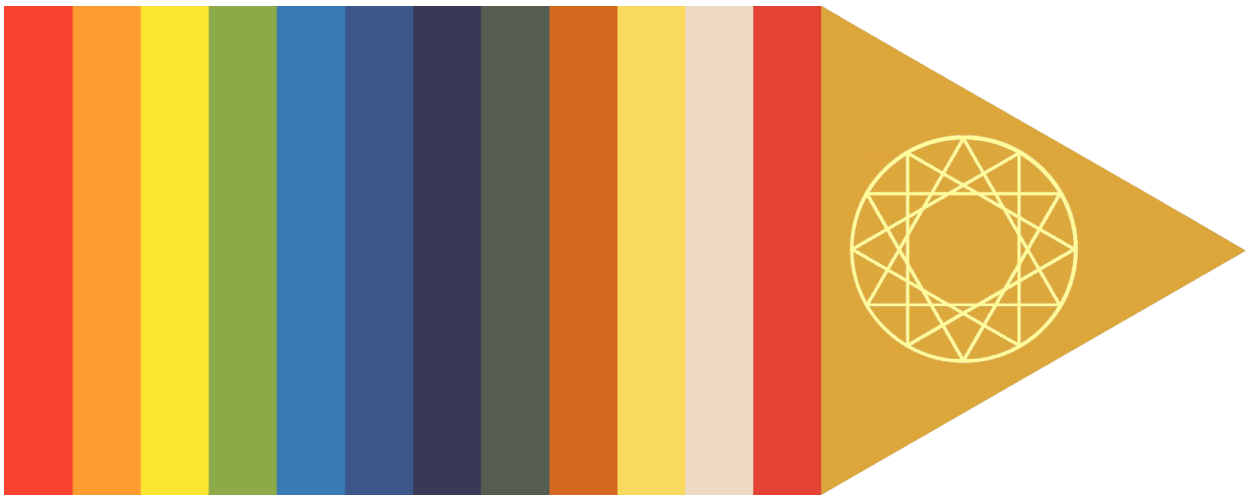
The Freehood Culture in Kyiv



The Twelfefold Senate in Kyiv

Twelfefold Municipalism stands firmly counterpoised vis-à-vis National-Statism, Continental Statism, and World Statism. The latter two merely perpetuate the wounded nation-state fusion, but now distractingly scaled up.

On the following page we see the flag of global Twelfefold Municipalism—with the seven colors of the rainbow, and with five colors of humanity (ebony, cinnamon brown, royal yellow, almond, and vermillion). The triangle of wisdom (which caps the flyward end of the flag)—the resulting pentagonal shape breaks out of the nation-state box. The emblem is a dodecagram of golden sunlight.



The flag of Twelvetfold Municipalism.

We close with two voices for Municipalism—one voice from the world's oldest and largest continuously functioning international institution, and another voice from the Traditionalist faction of the Hopi Culture, who are an indigenous Pueblo people in the U.S. Southwest. For thousands of years, the Traditionalist Hopi have embodied a sovereign municipal consciousness, and hold to it with prophetic resilience:

“The new Jerusalem, the holy city (cf. Rev 21:2-4), is the goal towards which all of humanity is moving. It is curious that [Higher Purpose's] revelation tells us that the fullness of humanity and of history is realized in a city.”*

—Francis, Bishop of Rome, *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013)

*Francis chooses to call his conception/perception of a Higher Purpose, “God.”

*“We Hopi are simply a group of people with similar languages living in **villages which are actually independent from each other.**”*

—Techqua Ikachi newsletter of the Traditionalist Hopi, issue #2, emphasis added.

“This has happened in Hopi land not long ago when at that time a Unity Movement was introduced. With caution we examined the details and we found its basis was sound. It was clear that without unity the Hopi may not gain their goal. With unity there is some chance. There is a possibility Hopi will succeed if all the Hopi villages unite. That is, if the plan works out, Hopi will gain control in order to live in their own ways, control the land and its resources and restore Traditional Culture and beliefs including our identity as Hopi.

“At that time all the leaders from all the Traditionally established villages were present and agreed that this is a long awaited desire of the Hopi which has finally arrived. So it was agreed to organize. The name ‘United Sovereign Hopi Independent Nations’ was adopted.

*“However, the Traditional religious leaders and people of Hotevilla Village chose not to join. **They would maintain their position as an Independent Nation as always since the founding of the Village of Hotevilla. There was no sign of dispute or friction because everyone knew each village has a self-governing body.***

*“People must understand that all Hopi Villages are united on a spiritual [cultural] level, but the **local political matters in each village are something else.** [...]”*

*“Hotevilla was established for a specific purpose, that is, to protect and preserve their beliefs. Hotevilla has been looked upon with scorn because most people think **the people of Hotevilla believe and follow the impossible.**”*

—Techqua Ikachi #25, emphasis added.