

# RUSSIAN «SPECIAL MILITARY OPERATION» (SMO) IN UKRAINE AS A GENOCIDAL WAR

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## INTRODUCTION

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022, was not disguised under the cover of so-called «little green men», as had been the case in 2014, and was officially termed a «special military operation» (SMO) of the Russian Federation in Ukraine. The main declared objectives of the SMO were the «denazification» and «demilitarization» of Ukraine, as well as the transformation of Ukraine into a neutral state in international politics. Putin's real objective – the destruction of Ukraine and Ukrainians by the Kremlin – was not declared. Nor was the principal task of the SMO announced: the absorption of Ukrainian territory with the aim of its subsequent incorporation into a restored Soviet Union.

### 1. Theoretical foundations of the study

I borrowed the concept of «genocidal wars» from the American scholar Norman Naimark, having encountered it in his book *Stalin's Genocides*, published in Ukrainian translation in 2011. The professor of Princeton University also employs the term «genocidal policy»: both when he emphasizes Stalin's key role in the «genocidal policy of the 1930s» and when he writes of Stalin's «Ukrainophobic attitude toward the politics, history, and culture of the Ukrainian SSR and its people, especially the Ukrainian peasantry»<sup>1</sup>.

The genocidal war waged by Stalin in the Ukrainian SSR was a policy aimed at the extermination of the Ukrainian peasantry, which constituted the numerical majority and the core of the Ukrainian ethnic community. The English scholar Robert Conquest, author of *The Harvest of Sorrow*, was not only the first Western researcher to conclude that Stalin was aware of the deaths by starvation of millions of Ukrainian peasants, but also convincingly demonstrated that the General Secretary did nothing to save

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<sup>1</sup> Норман Н. Наймарк. *Геноциди Сталіна* / Пер. з англ. В. Старка. Київ: Видавничий дім «Києво-Могилянська академія», 2011. С. 6.

them. Consequently, as Norman Naimark argues, the terror by famine employed by Stalin «was indeed intended to destroy the Ukrainians»<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the American professor continues, «now that new documents from Ukrainian and Russian archives have become available, a substantial body of evidence has been assembled clearly demonstrating that Stalin and his associates were aware of the terror by famine. Stalin deliberately allowed the famine to exterminate an extraordinarily large number of Ukrainian peasants and used it as a weapon of retribution for crimes allegedly committed by these innocent people. In doing so, he committed genocide»<sup>2</sup>.

The term «genocide» (from the ancient Greek γένος – race, tribe, and the Latin *caedo* – I kill) was introduced by the Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation – Analysis of Government – Proposals for Redress*, published in Washington in November 1944<sup>3</sup>.

In this study R. Lemkin included a definition of the term «genocide», which he had proposed, as a deliberate act aimed at the destruction of an entire nation or ethnic group. He also suggested that «genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when carried out through the mass killing of all members of that nation. Rather, it signifies a coordinated plan of various actions aimed at destroying the essential foundations of the life of national groups in order to bring about their annihilation. The objective of such a plan would be the disintegration of the political and social institutions, culture, language, national sentiments, religion, and economic existence of national groups, as well as the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of individuals belonging to such groups»<sup>4</sup>.

It must be acknowledged that the term «genocide» did not immediately gain wide acceptance and is not identical to the concept of «crimes against humanity». For some time, jurists and politicians proceeded from the assumption that genocide was merely one of

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<sup>1</sup> Норман Н. Наймарк. *Геноциди Сталіна*. С. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Там само.

<sup>3</sup> Raphaël Lemkin. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation – Analysis of Government – Proposals for Redress*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944. P. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Там само.

the possible forms of crimes against humanity. For example, this view was expressed in 1947 in a ruling by the United States Military Tribunal operating in the territory of Western Germany in the case against Nazi judges. One should also note, as important for understanding the essence of the concept of «genocide», the 1950 Law of the State of Israel «On the Punishment of Nazis and Nazi Collaborators». In that law, instead of the term «genocide», the formulation «crimes against the Jewish people», closely related to the notion of crimes against humanity, was used. Notably, the definition of this crime essentially reproduced the definition of genocide enshrined in the aforementioned 1948 Convention<sup>1</sup>.

For this reason, the tragedy of the Armenian people in 1915–1916 continues to be classified by a number of states as a crime against humanity. Since history does not admit of the conditional mood, interested readers may now compare the definitions of these crimes as set forth in the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. We shall note the principal distinction between them: the crime of genocide is always committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such. Crimes against humanity, by contrast, are directed against a civilian population but do not necessarily aim at its total or partial destruction solely on the basis of the individuals' membership in that population.

It is known that the practice of physical destruction of the Ukrainian population was introduced by the Russian Bolsheviks, who in 1917–1920 waged wars against the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR). And if the government of V. Ulyanov (Lenin) waged wars to destroy the statehood of the Ukrainian people, then his successor J. Stalin destroyed the Ukrainian peasantry and intellectual elite as carriers of Ukrainian identity. The war against the sovereign Ukrainian state, launched by the Russian dictator V. Putin in 2014, aims to «finally resolve the Ukrainian question». All these Russian-Ukrainian wars, according to the authors, can be considered genocidal, the purpose of which is to destroy Ukrainian

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<sup>1</sup> Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. [електронний ресурс]. Режим доступу: <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html>. Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 1994. Дата перегляду: 10.10.2022.

statehood and the Ukrainian political nation. The purpose of this study is to substantiate this conclusion with convincing arguments.

## 2. Historiography of the problem

The full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine in February 2022, accompanied by the terror of the Russian army against peaceful Ukrainians, has forced researchers and politicians to increasingly emphasize the genocidal nature of this largest war in Europe in the last 80 years. The genocidal nature of the Russian war in Ukraine is pointed out by historians<sup>1</sup>, international lawyers<sup>2</sup>, diplomats<sup>3</sup> and journalists<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Snyder T. «Genocide» and Genocide. How Putin's atrocity talk leads to atrocities [електронний ресурс]. Thinking about... Режим доступу: [https://snyder.substack.com/p/genocide-and-genocide?utm\\_source=%2Fsearch%2FGenocide&utm\\_medium=reader2](https://snyder.substack.com/p/genocide-and-genocide?utm_source=%2Fsearch%2FGenocide&utm_medium=reader2) Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 28.02.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022; Timothy Snyder. Russia's genocide handbook. The evidence of atrocity and of intent mounts. atrocities [електронний ресурс]. Thinking about... Режим доступу: <https://snyder.substack.com/p/russias-genocide-handbook?s-g> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 08.04.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022; Російська агресія проти України: Тімоті Снайдер виокремив шість головних ознак геноциду [електронний ресурс]. Детектор медіа. Режим доступу: <https://ms.detector.media/withoutsection/post/30496/2022-10-22-rosiyska-agresiya-proty-ukrainy-timoti-snyder-vyokremyv-shist-golovnykh-oznak-genotsydu/> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 22.10.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022; Дорошко Микола. Геноцидні війни Леніна – Сталіна – Путіна в Україні. Монографія. Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2024. 272 с.; Дорошко М., Алексейченко О. Війни і «заморожені» конфлікти в політиці Російської Федерації на пострадянському просторі. Монографія. Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2025. 192 с.

<sup>2</sup> Азаров Д. С., Коваль Д. О., Нуріджян Г. С., & Венгер В. М. Війна Росії проти України як геноцид українського народу (переклад з англійської Дениса Азарова). *Наукові записки НаУКМА. Юридичні науки*. 2023. Т. 11. С. 12–39. [Електронний ресурс]. Режим доступу: <https://nrplaw.ukma.edu.ua/article/view/289958>; Дата перегляду 27.01.2026; Огречук, А. Чому війна Росії проти України є геноцидом українського народу [електронний ресурс]. LCF. Режим доступу: <https://lcf.ua/thought-leadership/litigation/chomu-vijna-rosiyi-proti-ukrayini-ye-genotsidom-ukrayinskogo-narodu/> Дата публікації: 04.07.2022 Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022.

<sup>3</sup> Дмитро Кулеба: російські звірства в Україні є геноцидом. Авторська стаття міністра закордонних справ України для видання «The Hill» (США) [електронний ресурс]. Міністерство закордонних справ України. Режим доступу: <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/dmitro-kuleba-rosijski-zvirstva-v-ukrayini-ye-genocidom> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 01.08.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022

Thus, the American historian Timothy Snyder identified the main features of the genocidal policy of the Putin regime in Ukraine, including: denial of the existence of the state of Ukraine, dehumanization of the Ukrainian nation, denial of past genocides, support for the idea of the displacement of some nations by others, distortion of information for Russian society about the genocide being carried out by Russia in Ukraine<sup>2</sup>.

Instead, in an article published in the professional publication of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy<sup>3</sup>, its authors seek to prove the presence of the deliberate intention of the Russian authorities to commit the crime of genocide in Ukraine from the beginning of the full-scale aggression on February 24, 2022. They, in particular, cite such obvious acts of genocide as murders; causing serious bodily or mental harm; forcible transfer of Ukrainian children to Russia and the deliberate creation of living conditions aimed at the physical destruction of the Ukrainian nation<sup>4</sup>.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in 2020–2024 Dmytro Kuleba, in an article for the American tabloid «The Hill» (USA), emphasized that «the Russian war against Ukraine is not only a war

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<sup>1</sup> «Зупинити машину звірств». Вісім причин, чому війна РФ в Україні – справжній геноцид, а Заходу настав час відреагувати - Foreign Affairs [електронний ресурс]. NV. Режим доступу: <https://nv.ua/ukr/ukraine/events/chomu-viynarosiiji-v-ukrajini-ce-genocid-forreign-affairs-50259797.html> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 29.07.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022; Стельмах Марта. Геноцидна війна Росії проти України: питання кваліфікації (на основі праць Тімоті Снайдера). *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія Журналістика*. 2024. Випуск 54-55. С. 160–170.

<sup>2</sup> Російська агресія проти України: Тімоті Снайдер виокремив шість головних ознак геноциду [електронний ресурс]. Детектор медіа. Режим доступу: <https://ms.detector.media/withoutsection/post/30496/2022-10-22-rosiyska-agresiya-proty-ukrainy-timoti-snyder-vyokremyv-shist-golovnykh-oznak-genotsydu/> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 22.10.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022.

<sup>3</sup> Азаров Д. С., Коваль Д. О., Нуріджанян Г. С., & Венгер В. М. Війна Росії проти України як геноцид українського народу (переклад з англійської Деніса Азарова). *Наукові записки НаУКМА. Юридичні науки*. 2023. Т. 11. С. 12–39. [Електронний ресурс]. Режим доступу: <https://nrplaw.ukma.edu.ua/article/view/289958> Дата перегляду 27.01.2026

<sup>4</sup> Там само.

of aggression, but also a genocidal campaign aimed at the destruction of Ukrainians as a national group»<sup>1</sup>.

Historian Mykola Doroshko, using the definitions of «genocidal war» and «genocidal policy» introduced into scientific circulation by the British researcher N. Neumark, proves that such main tasks of the Russia's "special military operation" («SMO») in Ukraine as «denazification» and «demilitarization» are aimed at Putin's «final solution» of the «Ukrainian question», that is, the liquidation of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian political nation<sup>2</sup>.

The analysis of the above publications, as well as new crimes that are permanently committed by the Russian army in Ukraine, convince of the need to continue accumulating, processing and systematizing data that confirm the genocidal nature of the Russian war in Ukraine. The lessons of the genocidal wars of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet space also seem important for the international community.

### **3. Russia's policy of «denazification» of Ukraine: the theory and practice of genocide**

Political regimes that plan the commission of genocide against national groups usually conceal their criminal actions behind euphemistic formulations, such as the «Final Solution to the Jewish Question» used by the Nazi regime in Germany before and during the Second World War. The founders of the USSR, Lenin and Stalin, likewise masked their genocidal intentions toward Ukrainians (which is why the successor state to the USSR, the Russian Federation, has still not been held accountable for the crimes of the Soviet communist regime). Nothing similar is observed in the actions of Putin's Russia, which, from the very outset of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, has openly committed acts of genocide against Ukrainians. Moreover, Russia's military and polit-

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<sup>1</sup> Дмитро Кулеба: російські звірства в Україні є геноцидом. Авторська стаття міністра закордонних справ України для видання «The Hill» (США) [електронний ресурс] Міністерство закордонних справ України. Режим доступу: <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/dmitro-kuleba-rosijski-zvirstva-v-ukrayini-ye-genocidom> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 01.08.2022. Дата перегляду: 27.10.2022.

<sup>2</sup> Дорошко Микола. Геноцидні війни Леніна – Сталіна – Путіна в Україні. Монографія. Київ: Ніка-Центр, 2024. 272 с.

ical leadership has publicly boasted of these crimes, justifying their necessity as a struggle against «Nazis» in Ukraine – that is, against those Ukrainians who defend the independence of their own state. This is explicitly articulated, for example, in the article by T. Sergeytsev entitled «What Russia Should Do with Ukraine», published on 3 April 2022 by the Russian state media outlet RIA Novosti – the same Russian political technologist who created the notorious «three types of Ukraine» map during the 2004 presidential campaign of Moscow’s loyal satrap V. Yanukovych.

Sergeytsev’s new publication is a continuation of his earlier article, «What Kind of Ukraine We Do Not Need», posted on the RIA Novosti platform a year before the Russian Federation’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, in which the author explains why, in his view, Ukraine is «Nazi»: «Ukraine has taken a mass Nazi oath through the seemingly respectable political vector of ‘aspiration to Europe’, within which, however, ‘Europeanness’ is unequivocally regarded not only by ideologues but also by a significant part of the population as a sign of racial superiority»<sup>1</sup>. In order to prevent Ukrainians from attaining what is natural for them – to be part of the European community rather than «younger brothers» of Russians, as desired in the Kremlin - Sergeytsev argues that Ukrainians must be «denazified», that is, those who do not wish to return under Russian rule must be physically eliminated, while the rest are to be assimilated and transformed into «Russians».

Sergeytsev declares that the principal objective of the «denazification» of Ukraine is military victory over the «Kyiv regime», which entails the «liberation of territories from armed supporters of Nazification, the elimination of irreconcilable Nazis, and the capture of war criminals».

Following the occupation of Ukraine’s territory by Russia, Sergeytsev argues that «de-Europeanization» and «de-Ukrainization» must be carried out. The former, in his view, poses a threat to the very existence of Russia, since Ukrainian identity – which he acknowledges as European – stands in opposition to such Russian

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<sup>1</sup> Денацифікація» по-кремлівськи: росіяни оприлюднили програму геноциду українців [електронний ресурс]. Укрінформ. Режим доступу: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-uarazom/3451395-denacifikacia-pokremlivskirosiani-opriludnili-programu-genocidu-ukrainciv.html> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 07.04.2022. Дата перегляду: 11.10.2022.

«values» as totalitarianism, the absence of human rights and freedoms, and the primacy of force and aggression against neighboring peoples. As it is impossible to erase European values from the mentality of the Ukrainian nation, Russia seeks de-Europeanization through de-Ukrainization – and de-Ukrainization through genocide<sup>1</sup>.

A leitmotif of Sergeytsev's publication is the denial of the Ukrainian people's right to their own national identity and statehood, which in Putin's Russia is branded as «Nazism». Russian nationalists even deny Ukrainians the right to call the territory they have «denazified» Ukraine. «The name 'Ukraine'», Sergeytsev writes, «apparently cannot be retained as the title of any fully denazified state entity on the territory liberated from the Nazi regime»<sup>2</sup>.

He means by which the «denazification» of Ukraine is to be carried out merit particular attention and full citation, since the program of genocide against Ukrainians, published under Sergeytsev's name, is being methodically implemented by Russian occupying forces in those Ukrainian territories they have managed to seize and temporarily hold.

Accordingly, the following measures are envisaged by Russia for the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories:

- the elimination of armed «Nazi» formations, as well as the military, informational, and educational infrastructure that supports their activities;
- the establishment of a Russian information space;
- the removal of educational materials and the prohibition of educational programs at all levels that contain «Nazi» ideological views;
- the conduct of mass investigative actions to establish personal responsibility for war crimes, crimes against humanity, the dissemination of «Nazi» ideology, and support for the «Nazi regime»;
- the adoption at the local level, under Russian supervision, of primary normative acts of denazification «from below», the prohi-

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<sup>1</sup> Там само.

<sup>2</sup> Денаціфікація» по-кремлівськи: росіяни оприлюднили програму геноциду українців [електронний ресурс]. Укрінформ. Режим доступу: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-uarazom/3451395-denacifikacia-pokremlivskirosiani-opriludnili-programu-genocidu-ukrainciv.html> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 07.04.2022. Дата перегляду: 11.10.2022.

bition of all types and forms of revival of «Nazi» ideology, and the incorporation of a set of anti-fascist and denazification norms into the constitutions of the new «people's republics»;

– the creation of permanent denazification bodies for a period of 25 years, while at the same time designating the territory as one of «potential integration into Russian civilization»<sup>1</sup>.

The practical implementation of the above plan signifies the dismantling of the Ukrainian sovereign state. Its instruments are to include the liquidation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (the so-called «demilitarization» of Ukraine), and the creation of a unified political, economic, informational, and humanitarian-cultural space with the Russian Federation - a space in which there will be no room for Ukrainian identity or even quasi-statehood (as was the case during Soviet Ukraine's existence within the USSR).

Such is the ideological foundation of Russia's genocidal policy in Ukraine, openly professed and pursued by the current leadership of the Russian Federation. Evidence of this is found in the fact that, as early as 5 April 2022, former President of Russia and Deputy Chairman of the Security Council of the Russian Federation D. Medvedev virtually reproduced Sergeytsev's ideas in a post on his Telegram channel: «...deep-rooted Ukrainianness, fueled by anti-Russian poison and all-encompassing lies about its identity, is one great fake. Such a phenomenon has never existed in history. And it does not exist now... Changing the bloody consciousness of some present-day Ukrainians, full of false myths, is the most important goal»<sup>2</sup>.

It should also not be forgotten that Ukraine has been denied the right to exist by the Russian Federation on numerous occasions. In his programmatic article «On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians», published on 12 July 2021, V. Putin described Ukraine as a product of the «Soviet era» and its territory as having been formed on the lands of «historical Russia». According to Putin's mythologized narrative, the Ukrainian people are merely a

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<sup>1</sup> Там само.

<sup>2</sup> Денацифікація» по-кремлівськи: росіяни оприлюднили програму геноциду українців [електронний ресурс]. Укрінформ. Режим доступу: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-uarazom/3451395-denacifikacia-pokremlivski-rosiani-opriludnili-programu-genocidu-ukrainciv.html> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 07.04.2022. Дата перегляду: 11.10.2022.

part of the Russian people. At present, he claims, they have been «Nazified» and therefore require «denazification», to be carried out by the Russian army<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the objective of the Russian Federation is the genocide of Ukrainians, the destruction of Ukraine, and the erasure of its memory.

It is noteworthy that Sergeytsev's article was published in early April 2022, at the very moment when Ukrainian Self-Defense Forces had liberated the Kyiv region from Russian occupiers, and when the world, confronted with the tragedy of mutilated Bucha, Irpin, Borodyanka, and other settlements freed from Moscow's invaders, witnessed what Putin's policy of «denazification» meant in practice. Under the pretext of «denazifying» the Kyiv «fascist regime» and «Nazi formations», allegedly responsible for «genocide» in the territories of the so-called DPR/LPR, Russian forces carried out genocide against the Ukrainian people. Evidence of this lay in the planned and prepared repressive actions: Russian soldiers went door to door with pre-compiled lists of Ukrainian officials, volunteers, civic activists, and military personnel<sup>2</sup>.

What does the definition of «denazification» mean, and why did V. Putin choose this term to justify the full-scale invasion of Ukraine? It is well known that the concept of «Nazism» (or «National Socialism») refers to the ideology and practice that prevailed in Hitler's Germany from 1933 to 1945. The means of implementing the Nazi political doctrine were military aggression and genocide. War served as Hitler's instrument for achieving world domination. The policy of genocide, which entailed the physical extermination of «inferior» peoples and groups (Jews, Roma, gays, and others), became a tool for implementing the theory of racial superiority of the Germanic peoples and the cult of the leader as the fundamental principle of political power. The enforcement of Nazi ideology relied on methods of dictatorship and repression.

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<sup>1</sup> Путин написал статью об Украине: «Детище советской эпохи, в значительной степени создавалась за счет исторической России» [электронный ресурс]. Настоящее время. Режим доступа: <https://www.currenttime.tv/a/putin-ukraina/31354841.html> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 12.07.2021. Дата перегляду: 11.10.2022.

<sup>2</sup> Як у Бучі почули благу звістку після звірячої рашистської «денацифікації» [електронний ресурс]. Inform. Режим доступа: <https://cutt.ly/cN8aKLC> Назва з екрана. Дата публікації: 09.04.2022. Дата перегляду: 11.10.2022.

After Germany's defeat in the Second World War and as a result of the Nuremberg Tribunal (the trial of war criminals – leaders of the Third Reich), a process of denazification was carried out. This process involved identifying Nazi criminals, prosecuting and punishing them, dismantling the Nazi regime, and banning Nazi ideology.

For the international community, the terms «Nazi» and «genocide» have become embodiments of absolute evil. Thus, in contemporary Russian propaganda, «denazification» is intended to evoke memories of the atrocities of Hitler's Nazi regime and the victory over it in the Second World War – a victory which, as Putin has repeatedly asserted, was achieved thanks to «the Russians and their Red Army» By applying the labels «Nazism» and «genocide» to our state, the Kremlin seeks to convince the world that present-day Ukraine is analogous to Nazi Germany.

However, Putin's use of the term «denazification» bears no relation to the actual history of the crimes committed by German Nazis in the 1930s and mid – 1940s. It is therefore entirely inappropriate to invoke the Holocaust in the context of Russia's alleged «struggle against Nazism». As Ukrainian scholars V. Lozovyi and H. Yavorska note, Russia's war against Ukraine «has revealed the Russian understanding of who a 'Nazi' is: a Nazi is a Ukrainian who refuses to recognize himself as Russian. This becomes grounds for genocide and an attempt to conceal the Nazi essence of the contemporary Russian regime. However, within the framework of propaganda warfare, this method has proved effective».

Another target audience of the Russian Federation's propaganda efforts is Russian society itself. The promotion of the false narrative about the «revival of Nazism» in Ukraine is aimed at mobilizing support for Putin's authoritarian regime within Russia. In particular, these terms have been employed in a powerful disinformation campaign among Russian military personnel in order to demonize Ukraine. To justify the «justice» of the invasion and military actions, they were persuaded that the Russian army was carrying out a «mission to liberate Ukraine from Nazism» and to stop «genocide».

References to the «denazification» of Ukraine have also been directed at the population of Crimea and the so-called LPR/DPR, who were told that they had been «saved» from a Nazi regime. One

of the justifications for the unlawful occupation of Crimea was the claim that the peninsula's residents might otherwise have remained «under the rule of neo-Nazis». Similarly, the creation of the «LPR/DPR» was framed, inter alia, as a struggle against «Ukrainian fascism».

The Kremlin has explained that by «denazification» it means the liberation and cleansing of Ukraine from «pro-Nazi individuals». However, the criteria for identifying such individuals remain undefined. Russian propaganda asserts that «Nazis and fascists» hold power in Ukraine and are allegedly oppressing and exterminating the local Russian population, which therefore supposedly requires «liberation from the Kyiv regime». Given that Ukraine's leadership includes broad representation of national minorities, «denazification» clearly does not signify the removal of ethnic Ukrainians from power, but rather pursues broader objectives: the overthrow of the Ukrainian state authorities, the elimination of the country's social and cultural elites and civic activists, and the carrying out of repressions against them.

Another declared aim of Moscow's «denazification» campaign is the discrediting of the West and NATO, which are portrayed as supporting «extreme nationalists and neo-Nazis» in Ukraine to achieve their own goals. According to Kremlin ideologues, this narrative was intended to provoke criticism of the states and organizations assisting the «Kyiv regime».

Thus, by disseminating and emphasizing the theme of Ukrainian «neo-Nazism» and «fascism», as V. Lozovyi and H. Yavorska underscore, Kremlin propaganda focused on four target audiences and corresponding objectives for each:

- Russian society – to create the image of an enemy and generate a perceived need to fight it; to consolidate the population around the Putin regime;
- the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation – to dehumanize Ukrainians and justify the legitimacy of military actions and violence;
- the population of Crimea and the so-called LPR/DPR – to portray the actions of the Russian Federation and the separatists as protection against Nazism;

– the international community – to render supporters of Ukraine vulnerable to criticism for allegedly backing a «Nazi regime»<sup>1</sup>.

The Russian propaganda apparatus, reinforced by the participation of differently motivated Western journalists with anti-fascist inclinations and certain Kremlin-aligned scholars who exaggerate the role of Ukrainian ultra-right groups, sought to convince the world of the legitimacy of «denazification» as the declared objective of the Russian Federation’s «special operation» in Ukraine.

In the West, as early as 2014, media publications and television programs began to appear warning against Ukrainian nationalism. A telling example was the report «Hitler’s Helpers: How Nationalists Continue to Divide Ukraine», broadcast on the German television channel *Das Erste*. The authors emphasized that a portrait of S. Bandera had been «placed near the main stage of the Maidan», and claimed that his struggle for an independent Ukraine was also a «struggle against Jews, Poles, and Russians», asserting that this was why he had entered into an alliance with Hitler<sup>2</sup>.

The American television network NBC aired a report entitled «Ukraine’s Hypernationalist Military Summer Camp for Kids». Subsequently, Reuters published a commentary titled «Ukraine’s Neo-Nazi Problem», noting a supposed «revival of the far right» in Ukraine<sup>3</sup>. Isolated incidents were manipulatively presented as a broader trend, thereby creating the illusion of widespread Ukrainian ultranationalism.

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine launched by the Russian Federation on 24 February 2022 failed to achieve its initial objective - the rapid seizure of Kyiv and the replacement of the Ukrainian government. The aggressor was forced to reformulate the goals of the invasion and, accordingly, adjust its propaganda. The term «denazification» was almost immediately restricted in its use for domestic audiences: data from closed polls commissioned by the Kremlin to assess public attitudes toward propaganda narratives

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<sup>1</sup> «Денацифікація» України в російській пропагандистській війні [електронний ресурс]. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. Режим доступу: <https://niss.gov.ua/news/statti/denatsyfikatsiya-ukrayiny-v-rosiyskiy-propahandystskiy-viyni> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 28.05.2022. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

<sup>2</sup> Там само.

<sup>3</sup> Там само.

revealed that respondents were unable to explain what «denazification» meant and complained that the word was «difficult to pronounce». As a result, its usage in the media was significantly reduced<sup>1</sup>. However, it was impossible to abandon the term entirely, since in his televised address on 24 February 2022 the President of the Russian Federation had already declared denazification to be one of the objectives of the «special military operation», also referring to the need to protect against alleged «genocide» in the territories of the «LPR/DPR».

Why does Russian society – or at least the 80 percent of sympathizers of dictator Putin – support not only Russia’s invasion of Ukraine but also the «denazification» of Ukrainians? Above all, because the consciousness of the majority of the Russian population is easily manipulated. This is a particular mental feature attributed to Russian society – an unquestioning trust in state authority. Accordingly, paternalism toward the population has been a characteristic of Russian rule regardless of who stands at its head – a tsar, a general secretary, or a president.

Researchers of Soviet totalitarianism also draw attention to the persistence within Russian society of the cult of the ruler, who is perceived as being permitted to do whatever he deems necessary. Thus, despite the official condemnation of the «cult of Stalin» in 1956, its consequences have never been fully overcome in the present-day successor state of the USSR – the Russian Federation. On the contrary, the current Russian dictator, Putin, has long described Stalin as an «effective manager» who resorted to mass repression in order to assert the greatness of the Soviet Union.

However, as the well-known British historian Robert Conquest observed, «the cult of personality is by no means the principal feature of the Stalinist regime. It is little more than a stock phrase first used by Khrushchev. The most terrifying aspect of Stalinism is not the glorification of the dictator, but the terror and the falsifications that constituted the essence of his policy». Echoing this view, the Ukrainian scholar L. Yakubova notes that «the most dreadful ele-

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<sup>1</sup> «Денацифікація» України в російській пропагандистській війні [електронний ресурс]. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. Режим доступу: <https://niss.gov.ua/news/statti/denatsyifikatsiya-ukrayiny-v-rosiyskiy-proporahandystkiy-viyni> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 28.05.2022. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

ment of Stalinism lies in its destructive impact on the fundamental value foundations of social reproduction, in the mass dysplasia of consciousness manifested in the mimicry of ordinary citizens, as well as in the transformation of entire professional strata into predators serving Bolshevik terror – both physically and ideologically, in Chekist torture chambers, in the Soviet press, and in the Soviet school»<sup>1</sup>. According to L. Yakubova, this became «the most ruinous consequence of unovercome Stalinism»<sup>2</sup>.

Evidence that Stalinism has not been overcome in Russia is reflected in the results of a sociological survey conducted in May 2021 by the Levada Center. In this poll, Stalin ranked first among the most outstanding historical figures, with 39 percent of respondents naming him as such (the second most popular figure was the founder of Soviet Russia, Lenin, with 30 percent). This points to the persistence of the Soviet Bolshevik legacy in Russia – a totalitarian political regime whose aim was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a global scale.

This largely explains why the majority of the Russian population supports the political course of the Putin regime aimed at restoring the USSR, in which Ukraine was regarded as the most valuable «pearl». That is why many Russians enthusiastically endorsed Putin's «special operation» with its proclaimed objectives of the «denazification» and «demilitarization» of Ukraine.

As for the civilized world, the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 and the numerous crimes committed by Russian occupiers came as a genuine shock. Today, few in the West – apart from those «useful idiots» of Moscow allegedly financed by the Kremlin – attempt to justify Putin's genocidal practices in Ukraine. Indeed, it was the genocide perpetrated by Putin against Ukrainians that became the decisive factor in the formation of an anti-Putin coalition of more than forty countries, which united their efforts to supply Ukraine with weapons, military equipment, and ammunition in order to secure the victory of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on the battlefield against the army of dictator Putin. The genocidal actions of the Russian occupiers in

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<sup>1</sup> Лариса Якубова. Анатомія рашизму [електронний ресурс]. Український тиждень. Режим доступу: <https://tyzhden.ua/anatomiia-rashyzmu/> Дата публікації: 19.03.2022. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

<sup>2</sup> Там само.

Ukraine have even compelled parts of the Western world to reconsider their attitude toward the very names «Russia» and «Russians». In defiance of established grammatical norms, these words have at times been written with lowercase letters as a symbolic statement that they do not belong to the community of civilized states and nations.

Yet the world is still far from fully freeing itself from deeply entrenched stereotypes such as the notion of Russia's «special place and role in global politics» or the «decisive role of the Russian soldier in liberating the world from Nazism», and similar narratives. The Putin propaganda machine continues to operate at full speed, disseminating groundless and absurd accusations that the «Kyiv regime» is allegedly guilty of «genocide» and «Nazism». These claims, together with the spread of various pseudo-historical myths, form an integral part of Russia's propaganda war against Ukraine, aimed at delegitimizing the Ukrainian state.

For example, by accusing Ukraine of «Nazism», Putin once again seeks to play upon the German sense of historical guilt – as evidenced by his telephone conversation with German Chancellor Olaf Scholz on 13 May 2022. However, as the Chancellor noted, equating «Nazis in power in Kyiv» with Hitler's Nazi regime is an unfounded and «false» assertion<sup>1</sup>. Thus, Kremlin propaganda manipulations are gradually losing their force when confronted with the horrific and visible evidence of criminal actions committed by Russian troops in Ukraine. Likewise, the fictitious «genocide in Donbas», invented by Kremlin political technologists, has collapsed in the face of the real genocide of Ukrainians carried out by Russian aggressors.

At the same time, references to «denazification» are already being used as a tool of intimidation. According to a recent statement by one of the deputies of the State Duma, Poland is allegedly encouraging Russians «to put it first in line for denazification after

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<sup>1</sup> «Денацифікація» України в російській пропагандистській війні [електронний ресурс]. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. Режим доступу: <https://niss.gov.ua/news/statti/denatsyfikatsiya-ukrayiny-v-rosiyskiy-prorahandystkiy-viyni> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 28.05.2022. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

Ukraine»<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the «queue» for Russian «denazification» is said to be growing.

To overcome the negative impact of Russian propaganda's construction of a «Nazi image» of Ukraine, it is advisable to mobilize existing state and civil society resources in the sphere of countering disinformation and to make use of mechanisms for participation in international historical and media projects. The world must be widely and consistently informed about the real grounds, intentions, and circumstances of Russian aggression, as well as about the manipulative techniques employed by the Russian Federation – namely, the copying and imitation of elements of Nazi ideology with their false projection onto the conduct of the state that is the object of aggression.

Since Putin's «denazification» of Ukraine aims at the liquidation of the Ukrainian political nation, the Ukrainian response to this genocide must be a policy of deconstructing the Russian historical interpretations imposed upon Ukrainians.

For this reason, the preparation of a truthful history of the origins of the state of Rus', centered in Kyiv and based on original sources, and its dissemination at all levels of Ukrainian society, constitutes an extremely important Ukrainian weapon in the fierce struggle on the historical battlefield with Muscovy. Victory in the war over history will become the final nail in the coffin of the Russian Empire, for it will demonstrate that no European imperial tradition – based, in particular, on the myth of Muscovy's succession from the Kyivan state – ever truly existed. The Askoldian period of Ukrainian history stands as the most compelling evidence of the groundlessness of Moscow's claims to the political heritage of the state of Rus' centered in Kyiv<sup>2</sup>.

In order to eradicate Russian pseudo-historical myths from Ukrainian national consciousness, the Ukrainian authorities must

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<sup>1</sup> «Денаціфікація» України в російській пропагандистській війні [електронний ресурс]. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. Режим доступу: <https://niss.gov.ua/news/statti/denatsyifikatsiya-ukrayiny-v-rosiyskiy-prorahandystskiy-viyni> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 28.05.2022. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

<sup>2</sup> Дорошко М.С. Війни пам'яті як інструмент російської агресії проти України. *International journal Law & Society*. 2022. № 6. С. 60-69; Doroshko M. Rosja kontra Ukraina: front historyczny. *Wschód Europy. Studia humanistyczno-społeczne*. 2022. Vol.8. № 2. S. 141-153.

develop a coherent state historical policy. Its priority tasks should include: the formulation of principles and a regulatory framework for state historical policy with a clear definition of its subjects, as well as mechanisms of coordination and oversight; strengthening the scientific and expert support of this policy and ensuring its systemic character; deconstructing the myth of «all-Russian» unity; overcoming Soviet-Russian historical mythology; constructing Ukrainocentric interpretations of the past; incorporating a truthful Ukrainian history and national memory into the contemporary European sociocultural space; and developing a European strategy for representing the historical past<sup>1</sup>.

These tasks have become even more urgent following the proclamation on 24 February 2022 of the policy of Ukraine's «denazification». This signifies that Putin's Russia leaves Ukraine no chance not only to return to the European community of nations, but even to survive as a distinct nation and sovereign state. Therefore, the «battles» over history will be difficult for Ukraine, yet indispensable for achieving final victory over the Russian aggressor and, consequently, for realizing its European and Euro-Atlantic choice.

#### **4. Why Russia's actions in Ukraine constitute genocide against the Ukrainian nation?**

As early as the third day of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, on 26 February 2022, Ukraine filed an application with the International Court of Justice regarding the Russian Federation's violations of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The purpose of this application was not only to stop the war, but also to expose Putin's lie – namely, his claim that Russia's invasion of Ukraine was justified by an alleged «genocide» committed by official Kyiv against the population of Donbas, which Russia had occupied.

In fact, we are witnessing a huge number of crimes committed by the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine against the Ukrainian nation and its statehood. According to Oleksandra

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<sup>1</sup> «Інтерпретації історії у політиці Російської Федерації як загроза національній безпеці України». Аналітична записка 13.05.2015. [Електронний ресурс]. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. Режим доступу: <https://niss.gov.ua/en/node/1659> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 13.05.2015. Дата перегляду: 28.10.2022.

Matviychuk, a well-known Ukrainian human rights activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine opened 67,000 criminal proceedings for crimes committed by «racists» in Ukraine in the first year of Russia's full-scale aggression alone. Meanwhile, the Verkhovna Rada Commissioner for Human Rights, Dmytro Lubinets, argues – with good reason – that Russia's actions in Ukraine constitute genocide against the Ukrainian nation. In support of this conclusion, the Ukrainian Ombudsman cites the following irrefutable facts:

- the killing of members of a particular group – as of 23 February 2023, Russia had killed 8,006 civilians (and this figure covers only those territories to which access is available);

- causing serious bodily harm – as a result of Russian attacks, 13,287 civilians have been injured, including 927 children;

- deliberately creating conditions calculated to bring about the partial or complete destruction of people – including massive missile strikes against energy infrastructure facilities that began on the eve of the heating season;

- preventing births, including crimes of sexual violence (the youngest recorded rape victim was four years old);

- the forcible transfer of children from one ethnic group to another (officially, more than 16,000 children);

- the imposition of Russian-language education and the «re-education» of children in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine;

- the forced passportization of the population in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine;

- the forced mobilization of the male population into the ranks of the Russian army – in occupied Crimea, this was first carried out in areas predominantly inhabited by Crimean Tatars<sup>1</sup>.

As noted by the well-known American historian Timothy Snyder in his address to the United Nations Security Council on 14

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<sup>1</sup> «Ознак геноциду немає»: Омбудсман запросив Міжнародну комісію ООН з розслідування порушень в Україні відвідати українські населені пункти, аби побачити очевидне [електронний ресурс]. Омбудсман України. Режим доступу: [https://www.ombudsman.gov.ua/news\\_details/oznak-genocidu-nemaye-ombudsman-zaprosiv-mizhnarodnu-komisiyu-oon-z-rozsliduvannya-porushen-v-ukrayini-vidvidati-ukrayinski-naseleni-punkti-abi-pobachiti-ochevidne](https://www.ombudsman.gov.ua/news_details/oznak-genocidu-nemaye-ombudsman-zaprosiv-mizhnarodnu-komisiyu-oon-z-rozsliduvannya-porushen-v-ukrayini-vidvidati-ukrayinski-naseleni-punkti-abi-pobachiti-ochevidne) Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 05.09.2023. Дата перегляду: 07.09.2023.

March 2023, the Russian authorities, while pretending to be an innocent victim of so-called Ukrainian aggression and «Russophobia», are committing the crime of genocide on Ukrainian territory, cynically portraying these barbaric actions as concern for the «protection of Russians and Russian culture»<sup>1</sup>. In fact, Snyder argues, «the Kremlin is training Russians to believe that genocide is normal. We see it in the Russian president's repeated statements that Ukraine does not exist. We see it in the fantasies of genocide in Russian state media... We see it when someone appears on Russian state television and says, «We will kill 1 million, we will kill 5 million, we can destroy you all», meaning all Ukrainians. And then the Kremlin accuses Ukrainians of so-called «Russophobia», thereby promoting the claim that the imperial state is the victim, even though the imperial state, Russia, is waging a brutal war. This is historically typical behavior. The imperial power dehumanizes the actual victim and claims to be the victim itself... Now Russia's war crimes in Ukraine can and will be assessed under Ukrainian law, because they are taking place on Ukrainian territory, and under international law. It is clear to the naked eye that an aggressive war, crimes against humanity and genocide are taking place»<sup>2</sup>.

In reality, Snyder argues, the Kremlin is accustoming Russians to the idea that genocide is normal. We see this in the repeated statements by the President of Russia claiming that Ukraine does not exist. We see it in fantasies of genocide disseminated by Russian state media. We see it over the course of a year as state television broadcasts daily to millions or tens of millions of Russian citizens. We see it when Russian state television depicts Ukrainians as pigs. We see it when Russian state television portrays Ukrainians as parasites. We see it when Russian state television describes Ukrainians as worms. We see it when Russian state television presents Ukrainians as Satanists or vampires. We see it when Russian state television declares that Ukrainian children should be drowned. We see it when Russian state television

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<sup>1</sup> «Русофобия» як аргумент РФ для геноциду: виступ Тімоті Снайдера на Радбезі ООН [електронний ресурс]. texty.org.ua Режим доступу: <https://texty.org.ua/fragments/109208/rusofobiya-yak-arhument-rf-dlya-henocydu-vystup-timoti-snajdera-na-radbezi-oon/> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 16.03.2023. Дата перегляду: 16.04.2023.

<sup>2</sup> Там само.

proclaims that Ukrainian homes should be burned together with the people inside them. We see it when individuals appear on Russian state television and say: «They should not exist at all. We must shoot them». We see it when someone appears on Russian state television and says: «We will kill one million, we will kill five million, we can destroy you all», referring to all Ukrainians. And after all this, the Kremlin accuses Ukrainians of so-called «Russophobia», thereby advancing the claim that the imperial state is the victim – even though that imperial state, Russia, is waging a brutal war. This, Snyder emphasizes, is historically typical behavior. Imperial power dehumanizes the actual victim and simultaneously claims the status of victim for itself. When the victim (in this case, Ukraine) resists attack, killing, and colonization, the empire declares that wanting to be left alone is irrational – that it is a disease, a «phobia». This assertion that victims are irrational, that they are «phobic», that they suffer from a «phobia», is intended to distract from the real-world experience of the victims, which is one of aggression, war, and brutality. The term «Russophobia» is an imperial strategy designed to shift attention away from a real war of aggression and toward the alleged feelings of the aggressors, thereby undermining the existence and lived experience of those who have suffered the greatest harm. The imperialist says: «We are the only real people here. We are the true victims. And our hurt feelings matter more than other people’s lives». Russia’s war crimes in Ukraine, Snyder concluded, can and will be assessed under Ukrainian law, since they are committed on Ukrainian territory, and under international law as well. It is evident to the naked eye that what is taking place is a war of aggression, crimes against humanity, and genocide<sup>1</sup>.

The use of the term «Russophobia» in this context – the claim that Ukrainians are mentally ill rather than enduring atrocities – constitutes colonial rhetoric. It forms part of a broader practice of inciting hatred. This is why the session was important: it allowed the international community to recognize Russia’s frenzied rhetoric

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<sup>1</sup> «Русофобія» як аргумент РФ для геноциду: виступ Тімоті Снайдера на Радбезі ООН [електронний ресурс]. texty.org.ua Режим доступу: <https://texty.org.ua/fragments/109208/rusofobiya-yak-arhument-rf-dlya-henocydyyustup-timoti-snajdera-na-radbezi-onn/> Назва з екрану. Дата публікації: 16.03.2023. Дата перегляду: 16.04.2023.

about genocide. The notion that Ukrainians suffer from a «disease» called «Russophobia» is deployed as an argument for their destruction, alongside claims that they are parasites, Satanists, and so forth.

To assert that one is a victim while in fact being the aggressor is not a defense. On the contrary, it is part of the crime itself. The incitement of hatred directed against Ukrainians is not a component of protecting the Russian Federation or its citizens; it is an element of the crimes committed by Russian citizens on Ukrainian territory. In this sense, by convening this meeting, the Russian state found yet another way to confess to war crimes, Snyder observed.<sup>1</sup>

Snyder's speech at the UN Security Council convinces us that the international community must definitely punish Russian war criminals who committed the crime of aggression against the sovereign Ukrainian state. All Russian initiators and perpetrators of the crime of genocide against the Ukrainian people must also be punished. Because, as the history of the crimes of Russian communism proves, unpunished evil always repeats itself.

## CONCLUSIONS

Thus, an analysis of the prerequisites for Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, called by the Kremlin a «special military operation», allows us to define the Russian invasion against the sovereign Ukrainian state not as a war for territory, but as a genocide planned by the Putin regime, the main instruments of which were the policy of destroying Ukrainian identity (Kremlin propagandists called it «denazification») and Ukraine's economic potential (Putinists formulated this task as «demilitarization»). The implementation of these tasks, as Moscow believes, will contribute to the restoration of the Soviet Union, since history shows that the Russian imperial project cannot be implemented without Ukraine. Only its defeat in the war with Ukraine can prevent the implementation of the geostrategic goal of imperial Russia.

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<sup>1</sup> Там само.

## ABSTRACT

The study analyzes the prerequisites for Russia's armed aggression in Ukraine, called by the Kremlin a «special military operation» (SMO). An important component of the publication is its theoretical part, which provides a definition of the terms «genocidal war» and «genocidal policy». This makes it possible to define the Russian invasion against the sovereign Ukrainian state not as a war for territory, but as a genocide planned by the Putin regime, the main instruments of which were the policy of destroying Ukrainian identity (Kremlin propagandists called it «denazification») and Ukraine's economic potential (Putinists formulated this task as «demilitarization»). The implementation of these tasks, as Moscow believes, will contribute not only to Russia's absorption of the state territory of Ukraine, but also to the «final solution to the Ukrainian question» in a new version of the Russian empire with the code name «USSR 2.0». This study is also extremely relevant in light of the international community's attempts to classify Russia's actions in Ukraine as genocide. This is facilitated by an in-depth historical and political analysis of the sequence of crimes that pose a threat not only to Ukraine but also to the international security system. The authors are convinced that the study of this issue contributes to the understanding of the root causes of modern war and the need for global condemnation and holding accountable the perpetrators of genocidal policies.

## АНОТАЦІЯ

В дослідженні аналізуються передумови збройної агресії Росії в Україні, названій Кремлем «спеціальною військовою операцією» (СВО). Важливою складовою публікації є її теоретична частина, в якій подається визначення термінів «геноцидна війна» і «геноцидна політика». Це дає змогу визначити російську інвазію проти суверенної Української держави не як війну за територію, а як спланований путінським режимом геноцид, основними інструментами якого стали політика знищення української ідентичності (кремлівські пропагандисти назвали це «денацифікацією») і економічного потенціалу України (це завдання путіністи сформулювали як «демільтаризація»). Реалізація цих завдань, як вважають у Москві, сприятиме не лише поглиненню Росією державної території України, а

й «остаточному вирішенню українського питання» у новій версії російської імперії з умовною назвою «СССР 2.0»). Також дане дослідження є надзвичайно актуальним у світлі спроб міжнародної спільноти кваліфікувати дії Росії в Україні як геноцид. Цьому сприяє поглиблений історико-політичний аналіз послідовності злочинів, які становлять загрозу не лише для України, а й для міжнародної системи безпеки. Автори переконані, що дослідження цього питання сприяє усвідомленню глибинних причин сучасної війни та необхідності глобального осуду і притягнення до відповідальності виконавців геноцидної політики.

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