



**Centre for strategic
communication
and information
security**

GENOCIDAL RHETORIC OF THE RUSSIAN REGIME

Kyiv 2023

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INTRODUCTION

The object of the study is the policy of Russia towards Ukrainians as an ethnic and political community.

The subject of the study is genocidal rhetoric, that is, public justification of the genocide of Ukrainians and its substantiation.

The purpose of the study is to identify official genocidal rhetoric, that is, in Russian legislation, statements, and publications of Russian high-ranking officials and government agencies.

Among **the objectives of the study** are the following:

- analysis of the legislation of Russia;
- analysis of public statements of Vladimir Putin, texts published under his name, statements of other Russian high-ranking officials;
- analysis of Russian history textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, the tone of references to Ukraine and Ukrainians in them;
- analysis of texts in official publications of the authorities of Russia and other state publications.



The main focus is on the content created on the eve of and during the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia, that is, before and after February 24, 2022.

The content created in the previous eight years, February 2014 – early 2022, is also analysed, that is, since the beginning of the armed aggression of Russia against Ukraine, the occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

The study of this array aims to find out whether the justification and substantiation of the genocide of Ukrainians is part of the Russian national policy.



The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of **Genocide** defines **genocide** as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such. Such acts include:

- killing members of the group;
- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.



Considering this, public calls for the commission of genocide, its justification, substantiation of its necessity, incitement to actions that are components of genocide, dehumanisation of victims, and glorification of the perpetrators of genocide, etc. can be considered **genocidal rhetoric**.



Félicien Kabuga, the founder of Radio of the Thousand Hills in Rwanda, is accused of using the rhetoric of incitement to commit genocide within the framework of the International Residual Mechanism for UN Criminal Tribunals.



The **indictment** in the Kabuga case lists the signs of this rhetoric, in particular:

- direct incitement to killings and other actions that are components of genocide;
- the use of euphemisms to mitigate the perception of crimes and their concealment;
- the use of twisted phrasing to dehumanise a group undergoing genocide;
- sacralisation of crimes, speculation with religious concepts to justify the crime of genocide;
- approval or neutral coverage of the committed acts containing signs of the crime of genocide.
- ignoring calls for genocide in the statements of officials.



In the analysis of Russian propaganda, statements of officials, and regulatory acts of the Russian Federation, the Centre for Strategic Communication and Information Security relies on the above definitions of genocide and signs of genocidal rhetoric.

Genocide rhetoric is contained in Russian propaganda, in public statements by Russian officials and other representatives of the ruling regime. This allows

discussing **not individual incidents of ordinary officials, but the consistent policy of the Russian state towards Ukraine**. Analysis of Russian laws and other regulatory documents to identify genocidal rhetoric or creation of conditions to commit the crime of genocide and its components will confirm or refute this hypothesis.



1. REGULATORY ACTS

1.1. Ban on Ukrainian organisations and imposition of responsibility for involvement in them

Russian legislation provides for responsibility for involvement in foreign and international non-governmental organisations whose activities in the territory of Russia are recognised as undesirable.

Art. 20.33 of the [Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation](#) provides for monetary penalties for participation in undesirable organisations.

Art. 284.1 of the [Criminal Code of the Russian Federation](#) provides for monetary penalties, forced labour, or imprisonment for organising the activities of undesirable organisations.



The list of these organisations is published on the official website of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. It includes, in particular, the Ukrainian World Congress, an international organisation whose goal is to coordinate associations of Ukrainians in the diaspora. In Russia, the Ukrainian World Congress cooperated with the Association of Ukrainians of Russia. This organisation was liquidated by the decision of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation on May 18, 2012, as were

the federal national and cultural autonomy Ukrainians of Russia and other Ukrainian civil society organisations that operated in Russia from the early to mid-1990s.

By eliminating organisations that were supposed to support the cultural life of the Ukrainian minority in Russia and its identity, the Russian authorities introduced responsibility for involvement in the organisation coordinating the activities of Ukrainian diaspora in the world. This is evidence that the Russian authorities deny their own citizens of Ukrainian origin the right to national identity and persecute them for its manifestations.

After the occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the Ukrainian civil society organisation Crimean Human Rights Group was included in the list of undesirable ones.





1.2. Acts on annexation of Ukrainian territories

The illegal annexation of Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, Luhansk, and Donetsk oblasts, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol is not only an act of aggression against Ukraine, an encroachment on its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The wording used by the Russian authorities in their own regulatory acts, by which they ‘formalised’ the illegal annexation, testifies **to the non-recognition of the entity of the Ukrainian people and the denial of its existence in general at the national level.**



Decrees of the President of the Russian Federation [No.685](#) and [No.686](#) dated September 29, 2022, recognise ‘the will of the people of Zaporizhzhia Oblast’ and ‘the will of the people of Kherson Oblast,’ respectively. Decrees [No.71](#) and [No.72](#) concern ‘the will of the people of the Donetsk People’s Republic’ and ‘the will of the people of the Luhansk People’s Republic.’ Similar wording appears in the federal laws on the inclusion of Zaporizhzhia and Kherson oblasts, the so-called ‘LPR’ and ‘DPR’ in the Russian Federation.



1.3. Passportisation of citizens of Ukraine

On April 29, 2019, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a decree on a simplified procedure for granting Russian citizenship to Ukrainian citizens living in separate raions of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Less than three months later, on July 17, Putin signed [a new decree](#), according to which the mention of 'separate raions' was removed from the previous decree, and the right to use the simplified procedure was granted to all residents of the two mentioned oblasts. Both decrees were regarded by Ukraine, EU and NATO countries as another encroachment on Ukraine's state sovereignty and a violation of the Minsk agreements.

On May 1, 2019, Putin signed [a decree](#) simplifying the granting of Russian citizenship to another category of Ukrainian citizens – persons who lived in Crimea before March 2014, that is, before the occupation of the peninsula.

The issuance of these decrees can be considered in the context of the information warfare after the presidential elections in Ukraine in 2019, attempts by the Kremlin to solve its own demographic problems and create grounds for a full-scale escalation. In accordance with Article 10, clause 2.1 of [the federal Law 'On Defence,'](#) the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation can be used 'to protect citizens of the Russian Federation outside the Russian Federation from an armed attack on them.'

After the full-scale invasion, occupation of new territories, and the announcement of the annexation of four oblasts of Ukraine, the Russian authorities adopted acts aimed at implementing an even tougher policy on passportisation of the population.

On March 18, 2023, Putin signed [a federal law](#) adopted by the State Duma of the Russian Federation on March 14 to simplify the procedure for renouncing Ukrainian citizenship of persons who received a Russian passport. By this law, the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation were granted the right to terminate Ukrainian citizenship and revoke the passports of a citizen of Ukraine, which is a gross violation of its sovereignty. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine stated that the mentioned law not only ignored the norms of Ukrainian legislation, but also violated international law. On May 25, a decree was signed on a simplified procedure for granting Russian citizenship to residents of Kherson and Zaporizhzhia oblasts.



According to [the Decree](#) of the President of the Russian Federation 'On the Features of the Legal Status of Certain Categories of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons in the Russian Federation,' citizens of Ukraine in the newly occupied territories were obliged to obtain Russian citizenship by September 30, 2023. Those who wished to retain the citizenship of Ukraine had to notify the occupation administration within



the specified period, and from July 1, 2024, they would obtain the status of foreigners or stateless persons 'staying on the territory of the Russian Federation.' Similar obligations were imposed on citizens of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol after the occupation of the peninsula. The new decree of Putin provides not only for the restriction of the rights of persons who do not want to renounce Ukrainian citizenship and swear allegiance to the Russian



Federation, but also for repressive methods against them, in particular, deportation. The document refers to the right of the Russian authorities to 'expel from the Russian Federation' (that is, from the territory controlled by Russian troops) foreign citizens suspected of 'creating a threat to national security, planning crimes of an extremist or terrorist nature.' The decree does not specify where exactly they are planned to be deported.

Declaring local residents 'foreigners' at home and restricting their rights associated with this status is open discrimination. Enshrining in Russian legislation the conditions for the deportation of the disloyal population, which includes the risks of family separation and deprivation of access to property, can be considered as the deliberate **creation of living conditions aimed at the partial or complete destruction of the group, that is, as a component of genocide.**

The analysis of these steps of Russia in conjunction with the rhetoric of officials, propaganda about 'one people,' and discrimination in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukrainian citizens who evaded passportisation, suggests that systematic pressure has been and is being exerted on the population of the occupied territories. Its purpose is to force the population to obtain Russian passports and transition to a Russian identity.



The Declaration UNESCO and the Struggle against Ethnocide, signed in San José on December 11, 1981, defines denying the right of ethnic groups to the respect for their cultural identity as a component of ethnocide.



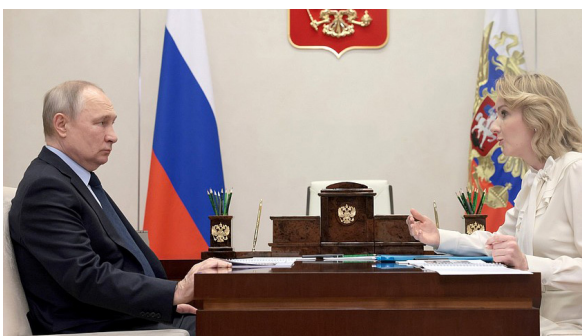
1.4. Legalisation of deportations

During the full-scale invasion, Russia repeatedly resorted to forced displacement of the population: the facts of the removal of Ukrainian citizens, in particular children, from the temporarily occupied territories to Russia and Crimea were recorded. Having announced the annexation of four Ukrainian oblasts, the Russian authorities launched a process of normalisation of deportations. Pavel Krasheninnikov and Andrey Klishas, the heads of the legislative committees of the two chambers of the Russian parliament, initiated [amendments to the federal law](#) on martial law. On May 18, 2023, the State Duma adopted these changes in the third reading. The law allows additional restriction of human rights in the territories where martial law is declared. In particular, it is about extending to 30 days the terms of administrative arrest for violation of the restrictions established by the presidential decree on martial law, and about ‘forced and controlled forced displacement of citizens to territories where martial law has not been introduced.’

That is, Russian lawmakers are creating a legal framework for practice, which is already systematically applied and considered as a war crime. The OSCE Expert Mission in [the Report](#) ‘Report on Violations and Abuses of International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, related to the Forcible Transfer and/or Deportation of Ukrainian Children to the Russian Federation,’ published on May 4, 2023, stated numerous facts of forced displacement of Ukrainian children to the territory of Russia and the occupied Crimea. Children there are exposed to ‘pro-Russian information campaigns, often amounting to targeted re-education.’ In addition, Russia creates obstacles for families seeking to return their children. This is a violation of international humanitarian law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention, and can be interpreted as a war crime.

[By decree](#) of May 30, 2023, Putin introduced a simplified procedure for granting Russian citizenship to Ukrainian orphans, incapacitated persons, and children left without parental care on the initiative of guardians from among Russian citizens, owners of so-called ‘passports’ of the ‘LPR/DPR,’ and organisations caring for orphans.

It was for the illegal deportation of Ukrainian children from Ukraine that the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Putin and Russian children’s ombudsman Maria Lvova-Belova.



The cases identified by the OSCE mission and the ICC warrant refer to such a component of genocide as the **forced displacement of children from one group to another**. The Kremlin’s actions are aimed at assimilating Ukrainian children, severing their ties with the Ukrainian community (including the separation of families), including into the Russian community, and instilling a Russian identity under the guise of

‘re-education.’

In the case of deportation of the adult population, we can elaborate on the creation of conditions aimed at the partial or complete destruction of the group and chang-



es in the ethnic composition of the population of the occupied territory.

1.5. Reducing the status of the Ukrainian language and ousting it from use

The actions of Russia are aimed at ousting the Ukrainian language from all spheres of public life. This is evidenced by the practice that has developed in the temporarily occupied territories. In 2014, during the proclamation of the so-called 'DPR' and 'LPR,' Russian and Ukrainian were proclaimed the state languages in the pseudo-republics. On May 10, 2020, [the mention of the Ukrainian language was removed](#) from Art. 10 of the so-called 'Constitution' of the 'DPR,' the official status was left only for Russian. On June 3, [similar amendments](#) were introduced to the 'Constitution' of the 'LPR.' According to [an interim decision](#) of the European Court of Human Rights, Russia has exercised effective control over parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts not controlled by the Ukrainian government since May 14, 2014. Therefore, the above-mentioned changes can be considered as part of the policy of Russia to deprive Ukrainians of the right to use their native language, receive education, administrative services, realise cultural needs, etc.

After the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the Russian occupiers granted the status of the state language on the peninsula to three languages: Russian, Ukrainian, and Crimean Tatar. This was enshrined in the ['Treaty between the Republic of Crimea and the Russian Federation'](#) of March 18, 2014, and the so-called ['Constitution of the Republic of Crimea.'](#) The so-called 'Republic of Crimea' is the only 'subject' of the Russian Federation where the Ukrainian language has official status.

However, this norm is purely declarative. All record keeping, legal proceedings on the occupied peninsula are carried out exclusively in the Russian language, and the volume of use of Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar in the field of education decreases every year and is currently [minimised](#), there is a tendency towards the complete ousting of the Ukrainian language from the educational process.



The proclamation of the annexation of four Ukrainian oblasts means that the federal legislation of the Russian Federation, including the only state language – Russian and educational standards of Russia, has been introduced in this territory, although the absolute majority of the population of these regions are Ukrainians.

On August 1, 2022, the Ministry of Education of Russia approved approximate curricula for the Ukrainian language and literary reading in Ukrainian for secondary school students. The Ministry proposed to allocate 88 hours for the study of the Ukrainian language in the first grade and 68 hours (two lessons per week) in grades 2-11. Only 11 hours are suggested for reading in the first grade and 34 hours (one lesson per week) in grades 2-11.



In April 2023, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation reported that a textbook on the Ukrainian language for primary classes was developed. There were no reports of work on literary reading guides. According to Oleksandr Bugaev, the deputy head of the department, each region will individually determine which format will be applied to teach the Ukrainian language (as a compulsory or as an optional subject) and whether it will be taught at all. Given the fact that the official status of the Ukrainian language in the 'LPR' and 'DPR' was formally abolished back in 2020, the practice that took place in Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts in 2014-2022, as well as the destruction of Ukrainian textbooks in the temporarily occupied territories, the intentions of Russia regarding the invaded territories are obvious: the total Russification and ousting of the Ukrainian language from the educational process. The presence of educational programs or even textbooks shall only create the illusion of respect for the rights of national minorities in Russia. This policy is part of a set of measures aimed at changing the identity of the population of the temporarily occupied territories to Russian and can be considered as an ethnocide and a component of genocide.



CONCLUSIONS

Russian legislation does not directly provide examples of rhetoric that can be regarded as genocidal towards Ukrainians. However, the analysed regulatory acts contain discriminatory norms

against Ukrainians and create a basis for the implementation of the policy of genocide and ethnocide. Legislative norms of the Russian legal field legalise the deportation of Ukrainians from their place of permanent residence, the removal of children from the Ukrainian community, and their transfer to a Russian one.

Russian legislation discriminates against citizens of Ukraine and ethnic Ukrainians, violates the right to receive education in their native language, and creates grounds for violation of other rights. Discrimination is a tool for changing the identity of Ukrainians and forcing persons loyal to Ukraine out of the temporarily occupied territory.

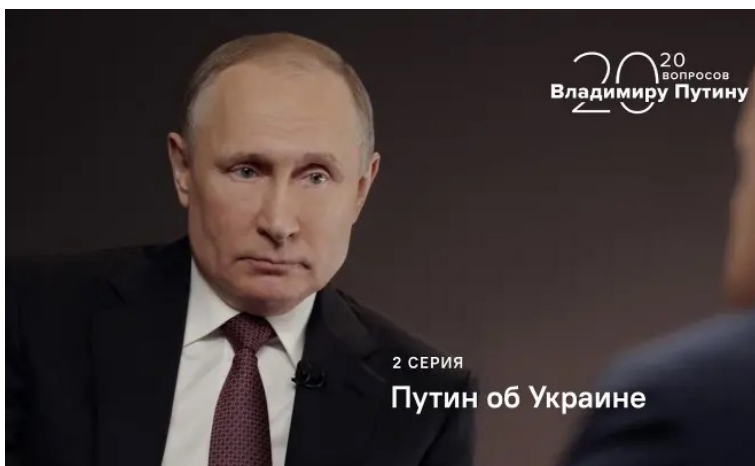
2. RHETORIC OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND STATE MEDIA

2.1. Promoting the concept of 'one people'

Statements about the 'fraternal' Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peoples or about them as part of the 'united people' were present in the rhetoric of the Russian authorities both before and after the beginning of the armed aggression of Russia against Ukraine. This narrative is a slightly modified concept of the 'triune Russian people' (the Great Russians, Little Russians, and Belarusians), which was part of the ideology of the Russian Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries. The rhetoric of the Soviet era was layered upon it, when the official recognition of the separateness of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peoples was combined with the unofficial interpretation of them as the 'Slavic core' of the USSR. In the Soviet version of history, these three peoples emerged from the cradle of Kievan Rus and, at least in the past, were a single ethnic community. In the future, all the nationalities of the USSR were to form a 'new historical community' – the Soviet people.

The main political actor who sets trends in the historical rhetoric of Russia is President Vladimir Putin. In a message to [the Federal Assembly on April 25, 2005](#), he called the collapse of the USSR 'the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century.' Despite the absence of direct references to Ukraine and Ukrainians, this speech laid the foundation for the Kremlin regime's claims to neighbouring states, questioned the sovereignty of the former republics of the USSR, their right to their own statehood and national identity. After all, later in Putin's rhetoric, the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation began to appear as identical concepts, and he began to call the former Kremlin-controlled territories 'historical Russia.'

In an interview with the state news agency TASS in 2020, Putin tried to publicly devalue the name of the state of Ukraine and the name of the Ukrainian people,



stating they derived from the Russian word 'окраина' (outskirts). According to the President of Russia, 'Ukrainians were the people who lived on the borders of the Russian state. Ukrainians lived in Pskov, Ukrainians were called those defending on the South from the raids of the Crimean Khan.'

Putin returned to the statement of 'one people' in his article [On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians](#), published on the Kremlin's official website on July 12, 2021. The first paragraph contains the presumptuous statement that 'I said that Russians and Ukrainians were one people, a single whole.'

Further in the text, Putin confirms that part of his world-view is the imperial con-

cept of the triune Russian people – ‘the greater Russian nation, which united the Velikorussians (“Great Russians”), the Malorussians (“Little Russians”) and the Belorussians.’ He is confident that ‘there was no historical basis – and could not have been any’ for ‘the idea of Ukrainian people as a nation separate from the Russians.’

Thus, Putin directly denies the national identity of Ukrainians and their right to consider themselves a separate people from Russians. The President of Russia associates the actual manifestations of Ukrainian identity with the ‘speculations’ of the Polish and Austrian elites, as well as with the ‘mistakes’ of the national policy of the Soviet authorities.

Статья Владимира Путина «Об историческом единстве русских и украинцев»

12 июля 2021 года 17:00

Недавно, отвечая в ходе «Прямой линии» на вопрос о российско-украинских отношениях, сказал, что русские и украинцы – один народ, единое целое. Эти слова – не дань какой-то конъюнктуре, текущим политическим обстоятельствам. Говорил об этом не раз, это моё убеждение. Поэтому считаю необходимым подробно изложить свою позицию, поделиться оценками сегодняшней ситуации.

Сразу подчеркну, что стену, возникшую в последние годы между Россией и Украиной, между частями, по сути, одного исторического и духовного пространства, воспринимаю как большую общую беду, как трагедию. Это прежде всего последствия наших собственных ошибок, допущенных в разные периоды. Но и результат целенаправленной работы тех сил, которые всегда стремились к подрыву нашего единства. Формула, которая применяется, известна испокон веков: разделяй и властвуй. Ничего нового. Отсюда и попытки сыграть на национальном вопросе, посеять рознь между людьми. А как сверхзадача – разделить, а затем и сравить между собой части единого народа.





2.2. Claims about the ‘artificiality’ of Ukrainian identity and the Ukrainian language.

In order to justify the claim about ‘one people,’ Putin and other officials resort to pseudo-scientific reflections on ethnogenesis, identity, and language.

Based on what the Russian president said, Ukrainians were ‘invented by the Austrian General Staff.’ In the [TASS interview](#) in 2020, Putin claimed that ‘the Ukrainian factor was originally played by the Austrian special services ahead of World War I,’ that is, in the early 20th century. The Russian president ‘recognised’ that ‘a sense of national identity emerged for a large part of the Ukrainian population,’ even pointing out condescendingly that it ‘should be treated with respect.’



Ignoring historical facts, Putin similarly promotes unscientific claims about the absence of linguistic differences between the inhabitants of modern Ukraine and Russia up to and including the 16th century. Putin is a supporter of the outdated [Stalin-time theory](#) about the single ‘old Rus language,’ which he knowingly or unknowingly confuses with the written Church Slavic language. He claims that language differences allegedly appeared only as a result of the Polonisation of Ukrainians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Putin’s article ‘[On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians](#)’ contains the same statements and demonstrates that the author doesn’t understand the difference between Russian, the Old Rus language, and Church Slavic, or gets these notions confused on purpose.



2.3. Statements about ‘Ukrainian neo-Nazism’ as a component of the dehumanisation of Ukrainians.

In the vocabulary of the Russian propaganda, ‘nationalists,’ ‘radical nationalists,’ ‘Banderovites,’ ‘(neo-)fascists,’ ‘(neo-)Nazis’ are used to refer to Ukrainians interchangeably. All of them are used to denote representatives of the Ukrainian political nation, supporters of Ukraine’s independence. Mixing concepts, branding Ukrainians as bearers of criminal ideology is part of their dehumanisation in the Russian political discourse. During the meeting of the Security Council of the Russian Federation on March 3, 2022, Putin explained the resistance of Ukrainians to the Russian invasion by the fact that many of them were «deceived by Nazi nationalist propaganda, and some deliberately followed the path of the “Banderovites” – henchmen of the Nazis who fought on Hitler’s side during the Great Patriotic War.



The idea of the ‘Ukrainian Nazism’ was actively promoted by Putin in the video addresses on February 21 ([about recognition of the ‘LPR’ and ‘DPR’](#)) and on February 24, 2022 ([on the announcement of the ‘special military operation’](#)) to justify the full-scale invasion and the violation of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the article [‘On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians,’](#) supporters of Ukraine’s independence, its European and Euro-Atlantic course are labelled as ‘Nazis,’ ‘neo-Nazis,’ and ‘followers of the Banderovites.’ This is done to dehumanise Ukrainian citizens who do not support the pro-Russian development vector and the Russian occupation. The goal of dehumanisation, in turn, is justifying the physical extermination of Ukrainians based on their lack of loyalty for Russia, which Putin views as ‘Nazism.’ The idea of ‘Ukrainian Nazism’ was also promoted by the deputy head of Russia’s Security Council, Dmitry Medvedev, in his article [‘Why Contacts with the Current Ukrainian Leadership Are Pointless,’](#) published on the Kommersant website on October 11, 2021.

Thus, the Russian leader’s rhetoric includes:

- non-recognition of the national identity of Ukrainians, assertions about the artificiality of the Ukrainian language;
- denial of Ukrainians’ rights to their own identity and state;
- dehumanisation of Ukrainians through the use of negative phrasing and accusations of affinity for Hitler.

2.4. Dehumanisation and calls for the extermination of Ukrainians in the rhetoric of government representatives.

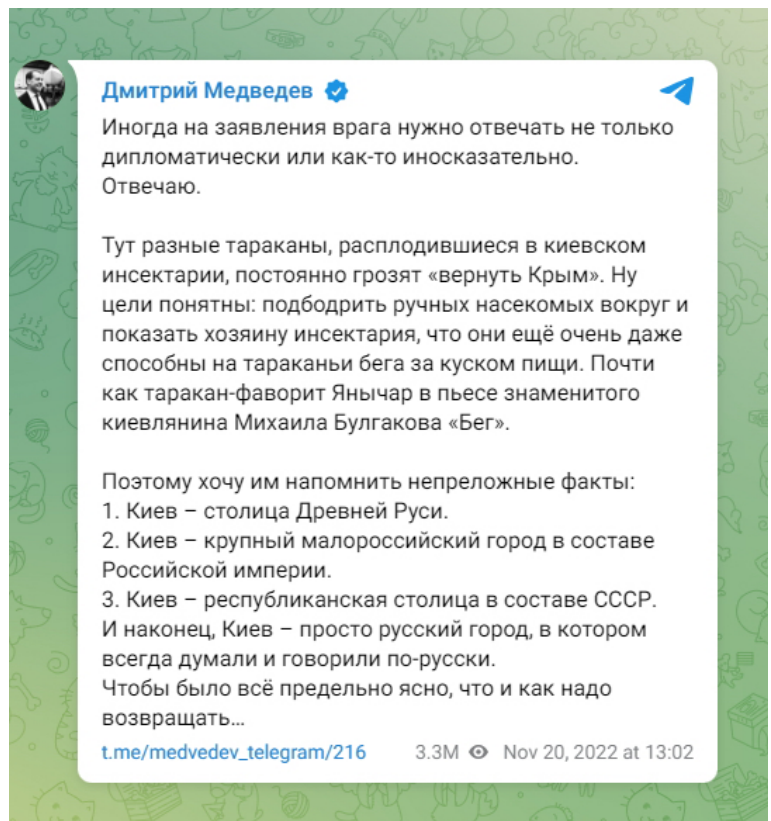
Representatives of the Russian government publicly support and regularly reproduce the ideas voiced by Putin about the ‘united people’ and ‘Ukrainian Nazis’, deny the right of Ukrainians to their own state and identity, and speculate on the subjects of history, language, and culture. Some of them resort to genocidal rhetoric by using indirect phrasing to dehumanise Ukrainians, calling for their murder.

Since 2020, former Russian president Dmitry Medvedev has been holding the position of the deputy head of Russia’s Security Council, and since 2022, also the first deputy head of the Russian Military Industrial Chamber. Both bodies are chaired by Putin. Medvedev published his statements on social media: on his own Telegram channel and on his X (Twitter) account. Medvedev’s posts are regularly shared by Russian state media.

In his [Telegram post](#) of November 20, 2022, Medvedev compares Ukrainians to cockroaches and insects, and in the post of January 6, 2023, – with pigs, calling Ukraine’s international partners ‘Western swineherds.’

In the [post](#) of April 5, 2022, Medvedev called Ukrainian authorities ‘freaks’ and the military – ‘crazed beasts,’ accused them of Nazism and lauded extrajudicial executions and acts of terror against ‘nationalists.’ These posts are a clear example when indirect phrasing is used to dehumanise a group in order to justify and facilitate the perception of killings of its representatives. During the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, representatives of the Tutsi people were also called cockroaches and calls for their extermination were voiced on Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines, RTLMC, founded by Félicien Kabuga.

In addition, in a post of April 5, 2022, Medvedev claims that Ukrainian heroes are nothing but ‘zoological Nazis, killers and collaborators,’ that there was ‘no such thing in history’ as ‘profound Ukrainian identity,’ ‘nor does it exist now,’ and he calls ‘changing the mindset’ of Ukrainians ‘the most important goal.’ That is, Medvedev systematically promotes the idea of physical extermination of a part of Ukrainians and the forced change of the identity of the remaining representatives to Russian. Medvedev’s statements can clearly be interpreted as calls for genocide and ethnocide.



2.5. Genocidal rhetoric by government media.

In Russia, the state directly or indirectly funds several information holdings. In particular, VGTRK ('Vserossiyskaya gosudarstvennaya teleradiokompaniya'), 'Pervyy kanal,' 'Rossiya Segodnya,' TASS are financed directly from the federal budget. The statutes of state media holdings are approved by the government. The CEO of 'Rossiya Segodnya' is appointed by the Russian president. State media cover the activities of state bodies and relay the official position of the Russian Federation.

On April 3, 2022, the 'RIA Novosti' website published an article by political technologist Timofey Sergeytsev **'What Russia Should Do with Ukraine'**, which contains calls for the destruction of the Ukrainian state, ethnic cleansing and genocide of Ukrainians.

Among other things, the 'denazification' pronounced by Putin is explained as 're-education' of the population, 'ideological repressions,' 'rigid censorship in the political sphere... in the field of culture and education' and 'de-Ukrainisation.' The author explains this last idea as 'rejection of... the artificial inflation of the ethnic component of identity of the population residing in the territories of historic Little Russia and New Russia,' and rejection of the very word 'Ukraine.' Sergeytsev writes about the need for the physical extermination of the Ukrainian political class and the military, mass repressions and ethnic cleansing.

Back on February 26, 2022, the same website published the text of Elena Karavayeva of RIA Novosti **'Full and Final Denazification of Ukraine: Russia Will Once Again Help Europe.'** The author also explains 'denazification' as destruction of the Ukrainian state and uses a phrase aimed at dehumanisation of Ukrainians 'belly capable of bearing scum.' In his op-ed **'Advance of Russia and the New World'** of February 27, 2022, Karavayeva's colleague Pyotr Akopov uses the phrase 'solution of the Ukrainian issue' with a positive connotation. The euphemism 'final solution of the Jewish issue' was used in the Nazi Germany to indicate the policy of discrimination and genocide of the Jews (Holocaust, Shoah).

The article by a Rossiya Segodnya columnist Irina Alkshnis **'Beast Born by Maidan Must Be Destroyed,'** published on the RIA Novosti website on February 25, 2022, contains similar messaging. The author calls Ukraine 'a monster born by Maidan.'

On March 3, 2022, RIA Novosti published an article by Viktoriya Nikiforova **'How to Treat Ukrainians for Stockholm Syndrome.'** The author calls Ukrainians 'mentally unhealthy people' and writes about the need

Что Россия должна сделать с Украиной

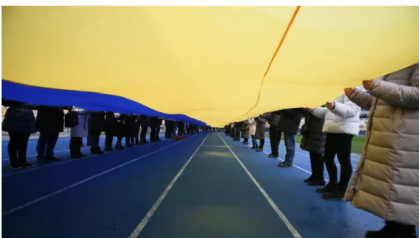


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Фото: Украины и "Правого сектора", найденные в бывшем расположении ВСУ под Мариуполем. Архивное фото

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Тимофей Сергейцев
Все материалы

Как вылечить украинцев от стокогольмского синдрома



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Виктория Никифорова
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to 'harshly' «save Ukrainians from themselves..., without coddling the patient and without regard to the «international community.” Stigmatizing a group as “sick” is a technique for its dehumanisation and justifying crimes against it by the need for “treatment.” Such euphemisms are an obvious example of genocidal rhetoric.

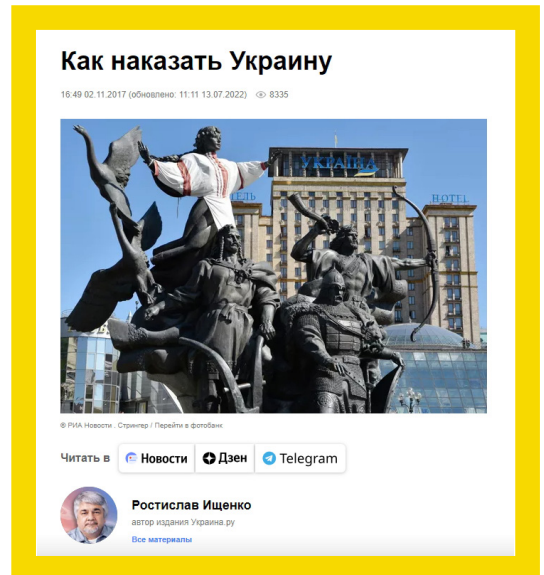
The Ukraina.ru website, which is part of the 'Россия сегодня' holding, specialises in Ukraine-related topics. He regularly publishes anti-Ukrainian disinformation, including texts justifying and rationalizing war crimes and crimes against humanity. Konstantin Kevorkyan, Rostislav Ishchenko, Zakhar Vinogradov write about the need to destroy the Ukrainian state and about the discrimination and physical extermination of the Ukrainians who disagree with it, the displacement of the Ukrainian language from the media, education, and other public spheres. Ishchenko's hallmark text has a telling name, '[How to Punish Ukraine.](#)'

Kevorkyan's call to '[cleanse Ukraine of Russophobes](#)' can be viewed as a call for physical extermination and repressions against the carriers of Ukrainian identity. In another publication, '[The Silent War. Reforming Ukraine,](#)' Kevorkyan describes a system of repressions aimed at physical destruction and forced identity change of Ukrainians. In particular, it refers to the criminal prosecution of opponents of the Russian occupation and supporters of Ukrainian independence for 'inciting national enmity,' their 're-education' through forced labour, banning them from the profession, etc.

On April 15, 2022, Ukraina.ru published an interview with Russian MP Anatoliy Vasserman where he called for '[full extermination](#)' of '[everything that can be called the independent Ukraine.](#)'

The analysis of these and other texts gives us the following components of the anti-Ukrainian narrative promoted by Russia's state media:

- Ukraine is an artificial construct;
- the Ukrainian nation does not exist;
- bearers of Ukrainian identity and supporters of Ukraine's independence are 'Nazis', 'victims of propaganda', or 'sick';
- Russia has the right to punish Ukrainians;
- Russia must destroy the Ukrainian state and reformat Ukraine at its own discretion.



That is, Russian state media are trying to convince Ukrainians not only of them having no agency, but also that being a Ukrainian and identifying as one is a deviation rather than the norm. Accordingly, Russia allegedly has to correct this deviation by any means. Portraying Ukrainians as Nazis or as unable to take care of themselves is aimed at depriving the audience of their basic rights, and is a component of dehumanisation in order to justify the destruction of the group.



CONCLUSIONS

Vladimir Putin's statements about the need to 'denazify' Ukraine should be perceived as a demonstration of intentions not only to destroy the Ukrainian state, but also to physically exterminate people who support the idea of Ukraine's independence.

That is, a direct expression of genocidal intent. Putin's deputy in the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Medvedev, makes statements aimed at dehumanizing Ukrainians and inciting hatred of Russians against Ukrainians, calling for the murder of Ukrainian citizens.

Russian state media actively use genocidal rhetoric, publish articles justifying and rationalizing genocide and urging for the commission of this crime.

3. RUSSIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

3.1. Formation of ideas about Ukraine and Ukrainians by the Russian education system in 2014-2022.

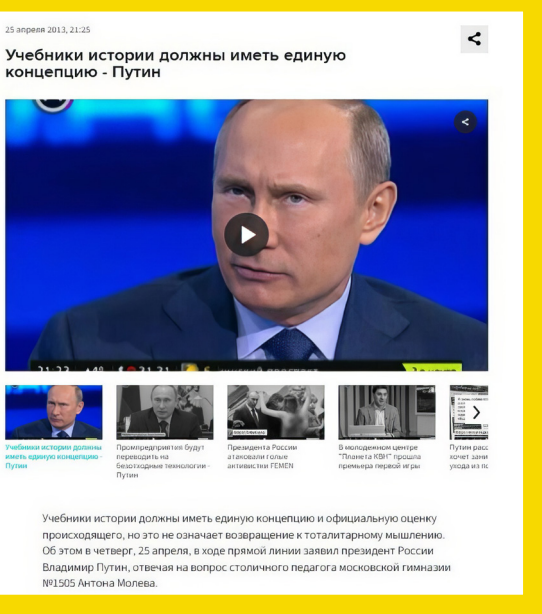
Secondary education is believed to be an important tool that forms the civic and national identity among children and adolescents. Its advantages are the almost total coverage of the target audience (children and adolescents of school age) and the obligation to learn and reproduce the educational material, the content of which is determined by the government. It is within the framework of school education that students develop ideas about their own and neighbouring countries, about other nations and attitudes towards them. A key role in the school course is played by subjects of the humanitarian cycle, primarily history. Mentions of Ukraine and Ukrainians can be found in textbooks on the history of Russia, which is a compulsory subject in schools in the Russian Federation and one of the subjects included in the unified state exam that children take before graduating from school.

The years of Putin's rule in Russia were marked by the strengthening of unification trends in the teaching of history, and issues of the past became a key component of the political ideology.

The Russian president personally requested unification of textbooks and assessment of historical events. On April 25, 2013, while live on air, he complained about the lack of unified assessment of historical events and a weak ideological component in school textbooks. Putin put forward the following requirements: absence of 'ambiguous interpretations' and 'respect for all the pages of our past.'

In 2014, the Unified Historical and Cultural Standard was approved in the Russia, which included theses about the 'eternally Russian' Crimea. The Russian Historical Society, headed by Sergey Naryshkin, head of the Foreign Intelligence Service, participated in the development of the Standard.

The standard was introduced in the 2016-2017 academic year. Two complete series of textbooks on the history of Russia and world history were published under the





editorship of the then Minister of Culture Vladimir Medinsky and the long-term rector of MGIMO Anatoliy Torkunov.

One notable feature of these textbooks is **depriving Ukraine and Ukrainians of agency, appropriating cultural heritage, and ignoring internationally recognised state borders**. This includes:

- the Greek colonisation of Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Coast (the territory of modern Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa regions of Ukraine) is presented as part of Russian history;
- modern Russia is portrayed as the sole heir of medieval Rus and its cultural heritage;
- figures of Ukrainian culture mentioned in textbooks are presented as Russian;
- when describing the events of the 18th and 19th centuries, textbook authors regularly refer to Ukrainians and Transdnieper Ukraine as Little Russians and Little Russia, respectively, without explaining the context and clarifying the irrelevance and incorrectness of this terminology in modern realities;
- the events of 1917-1921 on the territory of Ukraine are included in the integral narrative of the revolution and civil war in Russia.



The school course on the history of Russia not only does not provide students with objective ideas about the country that borders the Russian Federation in the west, but also contributes to a negatively biased attitude towards Ukrainians. In particular, Ukrainian hetmans who pursued any policies apart from pro-Moscow ones are mentioned in textbooks exclusively as ‘traitors.’ In 2021, even Bohdan Khmelnytskyi ended up on the list, despite his traditionally positive portrayal in the textbooks of the Russian Empire, the USSR, and modern Russia.

Later, the narrative about Ukrainians’ propensity for ‘treachery’ is promoted while describing the events of World War II (or ‘the Great Patriotic War,’ in the Russian interpretation) and mentions about the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA).

The authors of Russian textbooks, as well as the official Kremlin, completely **deny the genocidal and artificial nature of the Holodomor (Famine) of 1932-1933 in Ukraine**. What is more, the authors shift the responsibility for the famine from the Soviet authorities to Ukrainian peasants who did not want to join collective farms. That is, what they do is essentially concealing and denying acts that constitute genocide. Placing the blame on the victims of these acts can be viewed as justification of the crime committed by the Soviet totalitarian regime.



Supporters of Ukraine's independence in the 20th century are defined by textbook authors as nationalists. Ukrainians who support the European, pro-Western (and not pro-Russian) course of development of

an independent Ukraine are labelled the same way. It is worth noting that the term 'nationalism' in the political lexicon of the Russian Federation has a distinctly negative connotation and is opposed to patriotism. The education system also works to reinforce this perception of the concept of nationalism: the term is presented in a negative sense in history and social science textbooks. That is, the textbooks contain negative phrasing to refer to a significant part of Ukrainian society in the 20th and 21st centuries, including the modern period, in order to stigmatise this group.



Thus, Russian history textbooks used in Russian schools since 2014 contribute to the formation of:

- a distorted view of Ukraine and Ukrainians and a superior attitude towards them as a group whose culture is at least significantly inferior to the Russian one;
- claims to Ukrainian territories, since Ukraine allegedly occupies 'historically Russian' lands;
- prejudiced attitude towards Ukrainians as persons prone to treachery and incapable of creating their own sovereign state;
- hostile attitude towards Ukrainians who support Ukraine's independence and reject the pro-Russian vector of their country's foreign policy.



The negative attitude towards Ukrainians, territorial claims, denials and justifications of the past genocide can be considered as factors ensuring that Russian society approves of yet another instance of this crime for the sake of 'restoring historic justice.'



3.2. Genocidal rhetoric in the Russian history textbook published in 2023.

From September 1, 2023, a new textbook authored by Medinsky and Torkunov will be mandatory for use in 11th school year in Russia and in the temporarily occupied territories. It is meant to replace a similar book published by the same authors in 2021. The updated version of the textbook focuses much more on the 'Ukrainian issue.' In particular, it justifies the 'need' for the Russian aggression against Ukraine: the occupation of its territories and conducting the so-called 'special military operation.'



The textbooks contain ideological clichés, pseudoscientific myths about Ukraine and Ukrainians, assertions about the artificiality of the Ukrainian nation and denial of Ukrainians' right to have their own country. The authors of textbooks published until 2023 avoided direct statements about this. Medinsky and Torkunov completely synchronised the content of their new textbook with the anti-Ukrainian rhetoric of Putin and Russian propaganda. The pages of the textbook include:

■ Украинский неонацизм. Несколько поколений на Украине начиная с 1990-х гг. воспитывались в неприязни к России, на неонацистских идеях.

Здесь нам важно понимать следующее.

Украинский неонацизм — это отнюдь не прямое повторение германского национал-социализма 1920—1940-х гг. Это в значительной степени новое явление. **Это озлобленное национальное, языковое, культурное насилие агрессивного меньшинства над большинством.** Ведь до 2014 г. 80 % населения Украины составляли люди, для которых русский язык, русская культура считались родными, и они об этом не боялись заявлять. Все последние президенты Украины изначально русскоязычные и даже не владели украинским до вступления в должность. Учили его «по ходу выборов».

Но после военного переворота в Киеве в 2014 г. поэтапно под запретом оказались и русские книги, и музыка, и кино, и даже мультфильмы. Ограничено преподавание русского языка и на русском языке, использование русского языка в любых официальных учреждениях запрещено. Русская культура официально объявлена культурой вражеской, культурой «колонизаторов» и «оккупантов».

Грустно об этом говорить, но насилию подвергся и сам украинский язык: люди, закончившие украинские школы в советское время, в недоумении: они нередко с трудом понимают современную «мову». А дело в том, что в современном украинском образовании правят бал выходцы с Западной Украины, агрессивно навязывающие свой диалект, свою картину мира, свою версию «истории». Миллионы простых людей оказались под давлением, их заставляли отказаться от своего языка и культуры, от своих друзей и родственников в России.

■ a conspiracy theory that **Ukrainians were allegedly invented by the Austrian General Staff in the 19th century** to divide the 'united Russian people' (pp. 397-398);

■ the fake about the 'illegal' transfer of Crimea to Ukraine on the 'personal initiative' of Khrushchев and the 'restoration of historical justice' in 2014 (pp. 66-67);

■ the claim that the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine was '**a coup**' (pp. 328, 384, 398, 399, 401, 403), a 'military coup' (p. 396), 'a bloody armed rebellion' (p. 398), a 'bloody coup' (p. 412). The post-Maidan government is called a junta twice (p. 398,

399), but nowhere in the textbook is this word even explained. This is how the narrative about the **illegitimacy of the Ukrainian government after 2014 is promoted, and its representatives and supporters are dehumanised;**

■ the narrative about 'Ukrainian Nazis': the textbook has paragraphs with unequivocal headlines: 'Ukrainian Neo-Nazism' (pp. 396-398) and 'Ukraine Is an Ultra-nationalist State' (pp. 406-407). The authors write about fictional bans on Russian language and content in Russian, the privilege of people coming from the Western parts of Ukraine, Russophobia, and the artificiality of the modern Ukrainian language (pp. 396-397).

Thus, the textbook performs the function of dehumanizing Ukrainians by:

- promoting the narrative about the ‘artificiality’ of Ukrainian identity and the Ukrainian language;
- labelling citizens of Ukraine as ‘Nazis.’



CONCLUSIONS

With the help of the narratives and euphemisms described above, Russia can justify not only the violation of Ukraine’s territorial integrity and sovereignty or the need to destroy the state of Ukraine, but also the most outrageous war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide. ‘Nazis’ are bearers of a misanthropic ideology, ‘the absolute evil,’ and thus cannot count on a humane attitude to themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

Sources representing the official position of the Russian state and government contain **elements of genocidal rhetoric**.

Public statements by Vladimir Putin, texts published on his behalf on the Kremlin's official resources, statements made by other Russian government representatives contain **ideas of artificiality (inauthenticity) of the Ukrainian culture and national identity, rejection of the Ukrainian own identity, their right to their self-determination and their own country**.

History textbooks approved by the Russian government, which are used in the educational process since 2023, repeat the same ideas, not only forming a prejudiced and superior attitude, but also **dehumanizing Ukrainians**. The textbooks issued until 2021 as part of the implementation of the Unified Historical and Cultural Standard also established a biased attitude towards Ukraine and Ukrainians. They contained a de facto **justification of the Holodomor organised by the Soviet totalitarian regime, downplaying its scale and denying its genocidal nature**.



Publications aimed at **justifying and rationalizing the genocide of Ukrainians and the destruction of the Ukrainian state** are regularly published in government-backed media.

Genocidal rhetoric is not found in Russian legislation; however, it contains a number of **discriminatory prescriptions and norms against Ukrainians that legalise the practices of genocide and ethnocide**.

Analysing the set of the listed sources gives every reason to conclude that the **Russian state policy is aimed at forming the background for the crime of genocide against Ukrainians, justifying this crime, and promoting its support in Russian society** by appealing to 'restoration of historical justice' and dehumanizing Ukrainians using the rhetoric about '(neo-)Nazism.'

ANNEXES



<p>Timofey Sergeitsev. What Russia should do with Ukraine / Ria Novosti - 3.04.2022</p>	<p>“Further denazification of this mass of the population consists in re-education, which is achieved by ideological repression (suppression) of Nazi paradigms and strict censorship: not only in the political sphere, but also in the sphere of culture and education.”</p> <p>“The name ‘Ukraine’ apparently cannot be preserved as the title of any fully denazified state entity in the territory liberated from the Nazi regime. The people’s republics newly created in the space free from Nazism should and will grow from the practice of domestic self-government and social security, restoration and modernization of life support systems of the population.”</p> <p>“Denazification will inevitably be de-Ukrainization – a rejection of the large-scale artificial inflating of the ethnic component of the self-identification of the population of the territories of historical Little Russia and Novorossia, which was started by the Soviet authorities.”</p> <p>“Ukraine, as history has shown, is impossible as a national state, and attempts to ‘build’ such a state naturally lead to Nazism. Ukrainianism is an artificial anti-Russian structure that does not have its own civilizational content, a subordinate element of a strange and unconnected civilization.”</p>
<p>Elena Karaeva. Complete and final denazification of Ukraine: Russia will again help Europe / Ria Novosti - 26.02.2022</p>	<p>“... today’s denazification, albeit carried out by Russia in Ukraine under duress, is done in the interests of the whole of Europe, even if it is not yet known.</p> <p>We just cross t’s and dot i’s in a situation where, apparently, all other enlightened Europeans have have turned a blind eye, held their noses (Nazism stinks pretty bad if you did not know it so far), and left the hard work of denazification to us.</p> <p>And this time, rest assured, we will cleanse this womb, which, as it turned out, is still capable of ‘nurturing a bastard,’ once and for all.</p> <p>To be sure. As part of the complete and final denazification – and not only of Ukraine, but of Europe as a whole.”</p>
<p>Andrey Medvedev. Ukrainian Nazism - an explosive mixture of paganism and Satanism/ VESTI.RU - 1.05.2022</p>	<p>“Denazification is when the remains of the backbone of the Azov regiment hide behind hostages in the basements of the Azovstal plant. When the unfinished Nazis ask to be released to Turkey or to be given a humanitarian corridor. Denazification is when neo-Nazis from the Azov regiment rot alive in cold factory basements. And the bodies of other Nazis are rotting in the destroyed positions. These are the same Nazis who once terrified the inhabitants of the southeast. The war against Nazism is not an abstract thing, not a slogan. This is what the Russian army is successfully doing today.”</p>



Konstantin Kevorkyan.
Quiet war. On Reformatting
Ukraine / Ukraina.ru -
14.03.2022

“The recapture of lost positions must begin not after a military victory, but immediately. And after achieving victory, **in addition to ‘demilitarization and denazification,’ we must not forget about the restoration of the Russian information presence throughout Ukraine.** Not just the abolition of all kinds of prohibitions, but **the maximum promotion of Russian influence: from still banned information resources, books, films – to the Russian language itself** and the equal status of its speakers.

Of course, **bringing the Ukrainian media to their senses, which implies certain features of personnel policy and, at first, strict censorship. Denazification of education.** At the same time, it is necessary to stop the financial flows that feed the turbid river of ‘political Ukrainianism’ through Western embassies, foreign funds, and the local oligarchy.

Tracking hostile activity on social networks (there is no doubt that there will be some), and this is already a task for the criminal code. Incitement of hatred on ethnic grounds should be recognized as one of the most serious crimes, and **for re-education it will be enough to work on the restoration of destroyed cities; preferably not native cities – so that everyone can expand their horizons and comprehend the scale of the tragedy that befell Ukraine.**

Naturally, **open trials of war criminals, the opening of archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, lustration, bans on the profession.** There is nothing excessive in these requirements, this happened in many European countries, for example, within the framework of ‘decommunization.’ Elimination of various toponyms associated with the Nazis and pro-Hitler collaborators, **a complete and absolute ban on Bandera-related mentions.”**

Rostislav Ishchenko.
How to punish Ukraine /
Ukraina.ru - 2.11.2017

“So, **in the process of ‘punishing Ukraine’ (so that everyone can see how they are punished), Russia needs to destroy the Ukrainian armed forces and the control system, with the complete impossibility of creating a new one in a short time, adequate to the tasks set.”**



Konstantin Kevorkyan.
To save through victory.
How to cleanse Ukraine of
Russophobes / Ukraina.ru
- 2.01.2022

"The problem of Ukraine should not only **be solved, but it should be solved demonstratively – saving everything that is of Russian origin left in it (or wanting to be Russian), and the immersion of all cannibalistic where it was extracted from – back to savagery.**

Firstly, it is a ban on carriers of Nazi ideology to hold any positions in the authorities, to work in the field of education. Secondly, it is a complete change in the programmes of teaching history, literature, and other humanities in schools, universities, etc. This is the relevant work of the propaganda agencies. Prohibition of the publication of Nazi literature. And so on. All these measures are well known.

...

The prohibition of Nazi ideology automatically leads to a tougher fight against the bearers of this ideology. Everyone should get what they deserve for their participation in the transformation of Ukraine into a Nazi state.

...

to do this, it is necessary to create organizational structures and set specific tasks for them. In Russia, there are history textbooks, in particular, mine, which can be published for students of history departments in Ukraine. There are many other textbooks. They just need to be printed in appropriate editions and provided to educational institutions of Ukraine. Carry out lustration of teaching staff.

...

the Mohyla Academy is just a hotbed of Banderaism, they have been spreading all this Nazi filth for decades. It is necessary to introduce a ban on teaching history, as bearers of this Bandera ideology. I don't see any particular problems here. The Soviet authorities coped with this. And, while they kept their finger on the pulse, there were no special attempts on the part of the Banderites. Naturally, we need propaganda through the media, through works of art and culture. This should be a comprehensive denazification programme. A structure should be created, personnel should be selected. Without cleansing Ukrainian society of Nazi ideology, it is impossible to move on. It is necessary to apply the provisions of the law to its bearers.

Anatoliy Wasserman:
It is possible to separate
Ukrainians from other
Russians only through
violence and deception /
Ukraina.ru - 15.04.2022

"...I proceed from the fact that any entity called 'Independent Ukraine' should be eliminated. **As a result of the current operation, everything that can be called 'independent Ukraine' should be completely eliminated. All these lands should be included in the Russian Federation.** Precisely because all other solutions have already proved their inoperability. Based on this, I think that no matter what our politicians say now, the issue will be finally resolved in this format. ...

It's just the nature of the idea to separate the Ukrainians from the rest of the Russians. This is only possible through violence and deception.



<p>Irina Alksnis. The monster generated by the Maidan must be destroyed / Ria Novosti - 25.02.2022</p>	<p>“The Kiev regime must be destroyed as a great danger for us and for Ukraine itself. It is a pity that Russia did not have the opportunity to do this earlier– before the monster generated by the Maidan gained such strength on the blood of Donbass.”</p>
<p>Zakhar Vinogradov. Complicated things in simple terms. Russia’s goals and objectives in the operation of demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine (Ukraina.ru, 3.03.2022)</p>	<p>“As for denazification, it is a broader phenomenon than just protecting the rights of the Russian population. It also concerns the issues of countering the destruction of the Orthodox faith,that is, attacks on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and attempts to split it when creating the Orthodox Church of Ukraine.</p> <p>In addition, denazification also concerns the rejection of the cult, ideology, and exaltation of neo-Nazi movements, organizations and political parties that chose as their ideology the ideas of collaborators who actively cooperated with the German fascist invaders during World War II.“</p>
<p>Viktorija Nikiforova. How to cure Ukrainians of Stockholm syndrome / Ria Novosti - 2.03.2022</p>	<p>“After the liberation of Ukraine, of course, a whole range of measures will be required to bring this mentally ill people to life.</p> <p>The first specific steps – the Russian language should be granted the status of the second state language. All Russian schools should be restored. The system of humanitarian education should be reformatted and brought closer to the Russian one. Ideally, it would be good to create one history textbook at all and offer it to students both here and here. The textbooks of Russian and literature could thus be revised.</p> <p>In general,the education system should be as Russian-oriented as possible. Preparation for the Russian Unified State Examination, some programmes for admission to Russian universities. All this is necessary. But it is even more urgent to clean up the local information field. ...</p> <p>Ukrainians now need a vaccine of truth – historical and modern. True textbooks, true news. They have lived in a continuous stream of lies for a very long time. For years, Western elites have used them as guinea pigs in their experiments with military technology such as social media.</p> <p>And the key word here is rough. It is necessary to save Ukrainians from themselves, not have baby talks with patients and not look at the world community, which still dreams of destroying us. We carry the truth. The truth is that we are one people and must live in peace. That’s our strength.</p>
<p>Andrey Ilnitsky, Andrey Shkolnikov. Strength is in the truth/ Parliamentary newspaper - 9.05.2022</p>	<p>“The terms of denazification cannot be less than one generation, which should be born, grow and reach maturity in the conditions of denazification.The nazification of Ukraine lasted for more than 30 years – starting at least from 1989, when Ukrainian nationalism received legal and legitimate forms of political expression. As a result, Russian children by culture and language turned out to be adherents of “political Ukrainianism,” Nazi ideas, ready to kill any manifestations of their native culture in themselves and around themselves, to become mankurts who do not remember kinship.”</p>



<p>Pyotr Akopov. The offensive of Russia and the new world / Ria Novosti - 26.02.2022</p>	<p>"Russia is restoring its unity – the tragedy of 1991, this terrible catastrophe of our history, its unnatural dislocation, have been overcome. Yes, at a great cost, yes, because of the tragic events of the de facto civil war because now brothers, separated by belonging to the Russian and Ukrainian armies, are still shooting at each other – but Ukraine as anti-Russia will no longer exist. Russia is restoring its historical completeness, gathering the Russian world, the Russian people together – in all its totality of Great Russians, Belarusians and Little Russians.</p> <p>Vladimir Putin assumed – without a drop of exaggeration – historical responsibility, deciding not to leave the solution of the Ukrainian issue to future generations.</p> <p>Now there is no such problem – Ukraine has returned to Russia. This does not mean that its statehood will be liquidated, but it will be reconstructed, re-established and returned to its natural state of part of the Russian world."</p>
<p>Sergey Karaganov . It is unacceptable to preserve Ukrainian statehood on the basis of a mixture of Russophobia and the monstrous compradorism of its elites / Rossiyskaya Gazeta - 1.03.2023</p>	<p>"... the objectives of this operation. This, of course, is the protection of Donbass and the reunification of the native Russian lands of the South, the East, demilitarization, i.e., the destruction of the military machine, of what may remain of today's Ukraine. And of course, the denazification and re-education of people infected like the Germans after 1933 by fascism. This was done by the Soviet Union in the GDR, it will have to be repeated under new conditions. It is unacceptable to preserve Ukrainian statehood....</p> <p>It will be necessary to help restore those parts of present-day Ukraine that will return to Russia. But it is hardly worth (restoring - note) the whole of Ukraine, plagued and destroyed by the current operation, especially its culturally least developed west-central lands, the cradle of what our publicists call ukrofascism.</p> <p>Ukrainian lands returned back to Russia will become what they are intended to be historically and geographically – the gateway to the South, to the Mediterranean; Western Ukrainian territories with their mandatory demilitarization – a buffer, the outskirts of Russia.</p> <p>There are other regions in Siberia that are very attractive for living. As in the times of Witte and Stolypin, it is necessary to attract people from the labour-surplus regions of Russia, the republics of the former USSR, the destroyed territories of Ukraine to these territories. The lack of a programme for the resettlement of refugees from Ukraine to such regions of Siberia so far cannot be rationally explained."</p>
<p>The concept of humanitarian policy of the Russian Federation abroad. Approved by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated September 5, 2022</p>	<p>87. It is necessary to consistently develop interaction with UNESCO... It is important to prevent further politicization of this Organization, excluding issues of territorial integrity and sovereignty from its agenda...</p>



<p>Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated 29.09.2022 No. 685. On the recognition of Zaporozhye Oblast</p>	<p>In accordance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law, recognizing and reaffirming the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, taking into account the will of the people of Zaporozhye Oblast at the referendum held on September 27, 2022</p>
<p>Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated 29.09.2022 No. 686. On the recognition of Kherson Oblast</p>	<p>In accordance with the universally recognized principles and norms of international law, recognizing and reaffirming the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, taking into account the will of the people of Zaporozhye Oblast at the referendum held on September 27, 2022</p>
<p>List of foreign and international non-governmental organizations whose activities are recognized as undesirable on the territory of the Russian Federation</p>	<p>“17. Ukrainian World Congress (Canada)</p> <p>49. CRIMEAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP (Ukraine)”</p>
<p>I live, I fight, I win</p>	<p>Item 4. Not long ago, 96.7% of Ukrainians were Russians. But for 30 years of independence they were deprived of a normal education, culture, native language and turned into “savage” Russophobes....Which means they must be beaten until they surrender, until our victory.</p>



Meeting of the
Valdai International
Discussion Club on
October 27, 2022.
Transcript of V.V.
Putin's speech

"In the 9th century, Russian statehood was born in our territories – first in Novgorod, then in Kiev, then all this grew together. They are one people. They spoke the same language – Old Russian, and changes in the language began to occur, in my opinion, only in the 14th or 15th century under the influence of Poland because the western parts of the Russian state ended up in different countries. That's where the changes came from...

But this process did not happen on its own. It happened, firstly, as I said, because part of the ancient Russian western lands was part of other states for a number of reasons.

These states began to promote their interests there. In those areas that were part of Poland, open polonization took place. The language began to change. I already mentioned this: when Ukraine joined Russia, letters were written to Warsaw and Moscow. There are documents in the archives. They say: we, Russian Orthodox people, address you with this, with that. Moscow was asked to allow Ukraine to join Russia, Poland was asked to respect the interests and their Orthodox traditions. But they wrote: we, Russian Orthodox people. I didn't say that. **This is the part of the people that we now call Ukrainians.**

Yes, then everything began to happen according to the laws. A huge Russian Empire emerged. European countries tried and partly created such a barrier between themselves and the Russian Empire, a well-known principle since ancient times: divide and conquer. Thus began the attempts to divide the united Russian people. In the 19th century, this began to happen, acquired more and more scope and was supported primarily by the West. Of course, part of the population cultivated it, someone began to like it, both from the historical and linguistic points of view.

Of course, this was used precisely for the purpose of dividing and conquering. There is nothing unusual here, but they have achieved certain goals, of course. Then it degenerated into cooperation with Hitler during World War II, when Ukrainian collaborators were used to carry out actions to annihilate Russians, Poles, Jews, and Belarusians. This is well known, this is a historical fact: the punishers entrusted the dirtiest, bloodiest cases primarily to the Banderites. It's all part of our history. **But the fact is that Russians and Ukrainians are basically one people, this is a historical fact....**



	<p>But we found ourselves in different states, unfortunately, for a number of reasons, and above all because, creating the Soviet Union after the collapse of the empire, as I have already written in my articles and said repeatedly, the Bolshevik leadership of that time made decisions in order to please the nationalist-minded part of the Bolsheviks, who were originally from Ukraine, to endow them with native Russian historical territories, without asking the population who lived in these territories. They handed over the whole of Little Russia, the whole of the Black Sea region, the whole of Donbass, and at first they decided to give Donbass to Russia, then a delegation from Ukraine arrived, came to Vladimir Il'yich Lenin, he called a representative of Donbass and said that it was necessary to change the decision. They made a decision – they gave it back to Ukraine.</p> <p>In this sense, Ukraine, of course, developed as an artificial state. Moreover, after World War II – this is also a historical fact – Stalin took and transferred to Ukraine a number of Polish territories, a number of Hungarian, a number of Romanian ones, taking away their territories from these countries. He gave part of the eastern German lands to the Poles who did not participate in the Hitler coalition. Everything is well known, these are historical facts. This is how today's Ukraine has developed.</p> <p>Frankly, I just thought about this now: the only real, a serious guarantor of Ukrainian statehood, sovereignty, and territorial integrity could be only Russia, which created today's Ukraine."</p>
<p>Vladimir Putin's article On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians</p>	<p>"This Soviet national policy secured at the state level the provision on three separate Slavic peoples: Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian, instead of the large Russian nation, a triune people comprising Velikorussians, Malorussians and Belorussians.</p> <p>Therefore, modern Ukraine is entirely the product of the Soviet era. We know and remember well that it was shaped – for a significant part – on the lands of historical Russia.</p> <p>Inevitably, there came a time when the concept of "Ukraine is not Russia" was no longer an option. There was a need for the "anti-Russia" concept which we will never accept. The owners of this project took as a basis the old groundwork of the Polish-Austrian ideologists to create an "anti-Moscow Russia."</p> <p>It would not be an exaggeration to say that the path of forced assimilation, the formation of an ethnically pure Ukrainian state, aggressive towards Russia, is comparable in its consequences to the use of weapons of mass destruction against us. As a result of such a harsh and artificial division of Russians and Ukrainians, the Russian people in all may decrease by hundreds of thousands or even millions.</p> <p>All the subterfuges associated with the anti-Russia project are clear to us. And we will never allow our historical territories and people close to us living there to be used against Russia. And to those who will undertake such an attempt, I would like to say that this way they will destroy their own country."</p>



<p>Address of the President of the Russian Federation on February 24, 2022</p>	<p>"The problem is that in the territories adjacent to us, let me note, in our historical territories, a hostile 'anti-Russia' is created, which is placed under full external control, intensively settled by the armed forces of the NATO countries and pumped up with the most modern weapons.</p> <p>But Russia cannot feel safe, develop, exist with the constant threat emanating from the territory of modern Ukraine.</p> <p>We will strive for the demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine, as well as bringing to justice those who committed numerous bloody crimes against civilians, including citizens of the Russian Federation."</p>
<p>Address of the President of the Russian Federation on February 21, 2022</p>	<p>"So, let's start with the fact that modern Ukraine was entirely created by Russia, or rather, Bolshevik, communist Russia.</p> <p>Why was it necessary to satisfy any, limitlessly growing nationalist ambitions on the outskirts of the former empire thus throwing a bone? To transfer to the newly formed, and often arbitrarily formed, administrative units - union republics - huge territories that often had no relation to them at all. I repeat, together with the population of historical Russia. Moreover, in fact, these administrative units were given the status and form of national state entities.</p> <p>Actually, as already mentioned, as a result of the Bolshevik policy, a Soviet Ukraine arose, which today can be rightly called 'Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's Ukraine.'</p> <p>Do you want decommunization? Well, we are okay with that. But we shouldn't, as they say, stop halfway. We are ready to show you what real decommunization means for Ukraine.</p> <p>The bacillus of nationalist ambitions did not go away, and the initially laid mine, undermining state immunity against the contagion of nationalism, was only waiting in the wings. Such a mine, I repeat, was the right to secede from the USSR.</p> <p>It is also important to understand that Ukraine, in fact, has never had a stable tradition of its true statehood. There was no stable statehood in Ukraine, and political and electoral procedures serve only as a cover, a screen for the redistribution of power and property between various oligarchic clans."</p>



<p>Signing of agreements on the accession of the DPR, LPR, Zaporozhye and Kherson oblasts to Russia. Transcript of the speech of the President of the Russian Federation</p>	<p>”But there is nothing stronger than the determination of millions of people who, according to their culture, faith, traditions, language, consider themselves part of Russia, whose ancestors lived in a single state for centuries. There is nothing stronger than the determination of these people to return to their true, historical Fatherland.</p> <p>I want the Kiev authorities and their real masters in the West to hear me, so that everyone remembers it: people living in Luhansk and Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporozhye become our citizens forever.</p> <p>We will protect our land with all the forces and means at our disposal and will do everything to ensure the safe life of our people.”</p>
<p>Dmitry Medvedev / Telegram - 28.10.2022</p>	<p>”The way to the stability of energy supply is different. It is necessary to recognize the legitimacy of Russia’s claims within the framework of the Special Military Operation and its results, reflected in our Constitution. And then it will get better with the light...”</p>
<p>Dmitry Medvedev. Why contacts with the current Ukrainian leadership are meaningless/ Kommersant - 11.10.2021</p>	<p>”Ukraine is in search of its identity and a special path, composing its own separate history (although the very history teaches that it takes centuries). But Ukrainian leaders, especially top officials, are people who do not have any stable self-identification.”</p>
<p>Dmitry Medvedev / Telegram - 20.11.2022</p>	<p>”Here, various cockroaches that have bred in the Kiev insectarium constantly threaten to ‘return Crimea.’ Well, the goals are clear: to cheer up the tame insects around and show the master of the insectarium that they are still very capable of cockroach races for a piece of food.”</p> <p>Comment by the Centre of Strategic Communication and Information Security: A comparison with cockroaches is a method of dehumanization of the enemy, which was resorted to by the media of the Bagosora regime in Rwanda on the eve and during its genocide against the Tutsi in 1994.</p>



<p>Vladimir Putin answered journalists' questions on 22.12.2022</p>	<p>"This is a very delicate issue – the unity of the Russian world. Divide and conquer – since ancient times, this slogan has been in force and is still actively used in real politics. Therefore, our potential opponent, our opponents always dreamed about it and always did it, tried to divide us and then lead separate parts.</p> <p>What's new here? The idea of Ukrainian separatism was born a long time ago, back within a united country. You see, I talk about it all the time, if someone believes that a separate ethnic group has formed, wants to live independently – for God's sake, you cannot in any case go against the will of the people.</p> <p>But if this is the case, then this principle should be universal, and it is impossible in any case to go against the will of that part of the people who feel themselves in a different role, consider themselves part of the Russian people and the Russian world, believe that they are part of this culture, part of this language, part of this history and traditions...</p> <p>No one wants the unification of the Russian people. Separation – of course, with pleasure, they will continue dividing it. But no one wants to unite and strengthen, except us, and we will do it."</p>
<p>Dmitry Medvedev / Telegram - 6.01.2023</p>	<p>"I pity people who have lost the opportunity to go to church. But pigs do not have any faith and an innate sense of gratitude. They understand only brute force and shrilly demand grub from masters. This is the basis of the training. And it will be continued by western pig herders.</p> <p>Even the illiterate German old biddy Baerbock and a number of others underbosses of the European pigsty barked about the inadmissibility of the truce. Well, the heirs of the Nazis never spared either people or animals. They are no stranger to it..."</p>
<p>The "My History" lecture recommended by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation for the "Ministry of Education and Science of the LPR."</p>	<p>"Modern Russia preserves this ethnic diversity in its entirety, while more than 80% of its citizens belong to one triune people – Russians (Great Russians), Ukrainians (Little Russians), and Belarusians – Eastern Slavs, heirs of Ancient Rus, baptized in Chersonesos by Prince Vladimir. 'Great Russian, Little Russian, Belarussian – it's all the same,' emphasized the great Russian writer Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky.. We may call it 'fraternal peoples,' 'triune people,' 'East Slavic historical community' but the essence will be the same.</p> <p>To this, Russia responded with a preemptive strike. The independence of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics was recognized and a special operation began, the ultimate goal of which was the denazification and demilitarization of Ukraine."</p>



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Several generations in Ukraine since the 1990s were brought up in hostility to Russia, on **neo-Nazi ideas**.

Here it is important for us to understand the following.

Ukrainian neo-Nazism is by no means a direct repetition of German National Socialism of the 1920s-1940s. This is largely a new phenomenon. This is malicious national, linguistic, cultural violence of the aggressive minority over the majority. After all, until 2014, 80% of the population of Ukraine was people who considered the Russian language, Russian culture native, and they were not afraid to declare it. All subsequent presidents of Ukraine were initially Russian-speaking and did not even speak Ukrainian before taking office. They learnt it 'during the elections.'

But after the military coup in Kiev in 2014, Russian books, music, movies, and even cartoons were gradually banned.

The teaching of the Russian language in the Russian language, the use of the Russian language in any official institutions are prohibited. Russian culture is officially declared enemy culture, the culture of 'colonizers' and 'occupiers.'

Sadly, the Ukrainian language itself was also subjected to violence: people who graduated from Ukrainian schools in Soviet times are confused: they often find it difficult to understand the modern language. **And the fact is that in modern Ukrainian education, immigrants from Western Ukraine rule, aggressively imposing their dialect, their perspective of the world, their version of 'history.'**

Millions of ordinary people were under pressure, they were forced to abandon their language and culture, their friends and relatives in Russia.



<p>Medinsky V.R. Torkunov A.V., History of Russia. 1945 – the beginning of the XXI century. Textbook. Grade 11. Basic level. - M., 2023 - 447 p.</p>	<p>p. 397-398</p> <p>In the 19th century, in Austrian Galicia (the centre is the city of Lemberg-Lviv), at the suggestion and with the financing of the intelligence of the Austrian General Staff, technologies were first tested to create a 'Ukrainophile movement' and as an idea – a kind of 'anti-Moscow Russia.' The main goal was simple: to keep the Slavs in Austria, who historically and culturally tilted towards Russia, to prove to the Slavs who lived in the Austrian Empire (on the territory of modern Western Ukraine) that they were not Russians, but a separate people.</p> <p>At that time, the 'Ukrainian' 'yellow-blue' flag was invented and introduced for the 'Slavic' military units in the Austrian army.</p> <p>In the 'Austrian' lands with a Russian-speaking population, for the first time, there were demands to eliminate the 'Muscovites' and the 'Muscovite language' from public life. The 'scientific basis' of Ukrainophilism was created by Mikhail Grushevsky (professor at Lviv University in 1894–1914), the author of the multi-volume 'History of Ukraine-Rus.' In it, for the first time in the history of world science, the 'separate Ukrainian people' and the 'ancient Ukrainian statehood' were considered in isolation from Russia. There was also discord sowed among the Little Russians, subjects of the Russian Empire, anti-Moscow sentiments began to be sponsored.</p> <p>Thus, in the 19th century, with the money of Austrian intelligence, a nationalist 'Ukrainophile' idea was born.</p>
	<p>p.4066</p> <p>Ukraine is an ultra-nationalist state. Today, any dissent in Ukraine is severely persecuted, the opposition is banned, everything connected to Russia is declared as hostile.</p>
	<p>p.406-407</p> <p>Ukrainian neo-Nazis do not hide whose heirs they consider themselves to be. One of the brigade of the AFU was given the name Edelweiss. This was the name of Hitler's division, which was 'famous' for the extermination of Jews and punitive operations. The symbols of the SS divisions Das Reich, Totenkopf, Galicia are quite widespread in the army and the national guard of Ukraine while widely banned all over the world.</p> <p>Today, again, as during the Nazi occupation, the slogans '(hang) a Muscovite on a tree branch' and 'Beat Russians' are widespread in Ukraine. When liberating cities, our soldiers find evidence of mass crimes of Ukrainian nationalists who abuse civilians and torture prisoners of war.</p>