PERIODIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR

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INTRODUCTION

The latest Russian aggression against Ukraine, as is well known, began in February 2014. For many in the modern world, it serves as a kind of start of a new "Cold War". It is often quite rightly called the Second Cold War, because the first one ended with the self-disintegration and self-liquidation of the USSR in 1991.

However, for now, we will not delve into the argumentation regarding the relevance and expediency of the concept of the Second Cold War. After all, we set ourselves a more modest goal of considering scientific discourses and reflections related to the primary issue of studying any historical process, phenomenon or event, that is, periodization.

Let us immediately stipulate that the scientific problem, focused on the search for the optimal "timeline" for the study and coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian war, arouses great interest in modern historiography. This is confirmed by special studies that have been published in serial and periodical publications¹. They trace attempts to create an optimal formula that would not cause objections and would form the basis for further improvements.

After all, Russia's long-standing war against Ukraine is still ongoing. Therefore, its time frames are constantly changing, adjusting established interpretations both in general terms and in details. However, for the educational process and scientific projects, the incompleteness of events has never been an obstacle to in-depth interest in a certain situation at all levels of historical knowledge – reconstructive, empirical, or theoretical.

In Ukraine, a full consideration of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war in its "hot wake" is provided for, in particular, in updated curricula

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¹ Бойко О. Повномасштабне вторгнення Росії в Україну: перебіг основних фаз війни. *Російсько-українська війна. Енциклопедичний глосарій*. 2024. Вип. 1. С. 28–64; Грицюк В., Пашкова О. Історична періодизація російсько-української війни: методологічні аспекти та наукові рефлексії. *Воєнно-історичний вісник*. 2024. № 1. С. 5–15: Ільницький В., Куцька О. Періодизація російсько-української війни (2014–2022) в українському науковому дискурсі. *Проблеми гуманітарних наук. Серія Історія*. 2023. № 13. С. 162–176.

in secondary education institutions. This primarily concerns such mandatory school subjects as the history of Ukraine, world history, law, civic education, and the defense of Ukraine.

These programs quite reasonably emphasize Russia's genocidal actions, national resistance and international support for Ukraine, the concepts of "Russian world", "rascism", "Politics of russification", "collaborationism", "temporarily occupied territory", etc.

From this perspective, the Russian-Ukrainian war is studied in quite detail in the lessons of Ukrainian and world history in the 11th grade of secondary education institutions². And there is no doubt that modern Ukraine is fighting for its survival against totalitarian power. After all, rascism is a type of totalitarian regime that crystallized in the Russian Federation during the first two decades of the 21st century.

Given the applied tasks – educational, scientific, enlightening – it is clear that it becomes urgent to develop an uncontroversial position on clarifying the temporal specificity in the interpretations of the available event material. After all, any worldview construction grows from the foundation and basis. So it is natural that the previous results in a specific case were also not long in coming. And they deserve separate consideration.

1. The official version of the war "timeline"

In January 2023, the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine developed and commented on the periodization of the large-scale war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. This happened almost a year after its beginning. The analytical work entitled "Extended Commentary on the Table of Historical Periodization of the Third Period of the Russian-Ukrainian War" meticulously reflects the events that took place over the course of one year, or rather from December 2021 to December 2022³.

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² Всесвітня історія. Історія України. Інтегрований курс. 6 клас. Всесвітня історія. 7–9 класи. Історія України. 7–9 класи. Всесвітня історія. 10–11 класи. Історія України. 10–11 класи. Навчальні програми для закладів загальної середньої освіти. Київ, 2022. 260 с.; Офіцинський Р. Рашизм як різновид тоталітарного режиму. 1 травня 2024 р. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c4srcp2HbEs&t=3s

³ Розширений коментар таблиці історичної періодизації третього періоду російсько-української війни. Київ, 2023. 23 с.; Як говорити про російсько-українську війну в школі? Київ, 2023. 69 с.

The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine immediately sent this lengthy commentary as official information material for use for educational purposes in subordinate institutions. A little earlier, on September 29, 2022, the aforementioned ministry prepared methodological materials for teaching international humanitarian law in history, civic education, and law courses in accordance with the updated curricula of general secondary education⁴.

The specified methodological materials are a collective work on almost one hundred and forty pages with an emphasis on key issues. They are grouped into several thematic blocks, namely: the deployment of military operations; war crimes, crimes against humanity committed by the Russian military and their documentation; national resistance, Armed Forces and civil society in the defense of the state, volunteer movement; international support for Ukraine, lend-lease.

These and similar developments formed the basis of the "Instructional and Methodological Recommendations to Authors of Textbooks on the History of Ukraine for Grade 11 of Secondary Education Institutions". The aforementioned recommendations were prepared by the Ministry of Education and Science in November 2023⁵. It is in the graduating grade, which is still the 11th, that the modern Russian-Ukrainian war is extensively studied. Just in 2024, a competitive selection of new editions of textbooks for Grade 11, which are published with funds from the state budget of Ukraine, was held.

At that time, the decade of the Russian-Ukrainian war was divided into four periods: the initial (from February 20, 2014), the first (from early April 2014), the second (from September 19, 2014), and the third (from February 24, 2022). It is clear that the initial period is the first. But for some reason they were called differently.

In the noted time division, the initial period was, of course, marked by the beginning of Russian armed aggression. This included the occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the buildup of Russian troops on the border with Ukraine, and subversive hostile destabilization in its eastern and southern regions.

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 $^{^4}$ Як викладати питання з міжнародного гуманітарного права на уроках історії, громадянської освіти та правознавства. Київ, 2022. 134 с.

⁵ Інструктивно-методичні рекомендації авторським колективам підручників з історії України для 11 класу закладів загальної середньої освіти. Київ, 2023. 22 с.

It is noted with due reasoning that the Russian military invasion of Ukraine, first into Crimea and then into Donbas, began on February 20, 2014 in a covert (hybrid) form. It has become a striking historical precedent. The international community is forced to fundamentally reconsider its attitude towards the Russian Federation.

The first period, as it is defined, has already become the beginning of the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine as a result of Russia's "hybrid aggression". It has also become eventfully significant. After all, the Ukrainian defense forces liberated large parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions from Russian terrorists, mercenaries, and military.

The second period of the Russian-Ukrainian war, according to the vision of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, is associated with the localization of the armed conflict and a stabilization operation in the East and South of Ukraine.

The third period is marked by the beginning of the large-scale Russian-Ukrainian war. The emphasis is on its scope, that is, on its large-scaleness. The General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine offered a detailed overview of these events during the first ten months of the large-scale invasion, placing them in three stages – strategic defensive operations.

The first strategic defensive operation (February 24 – April 2022) included the battle for Kyiv (also considered as a separate Kyiv defensive operation, lasting 37 days⁶), the destruction of enemy warships in the Black and Azov Seas, battles for Mariupol, as well as in the Kharkiv (separately presented as a defensive operation lasting 79 days⁷), Sumy and Okhtyr directions.

The second strategic defensive operation (May–August 2022) is notable for the battles for Siverodonetsk, Lysychansk, Avdiivka, and other areas, which essentially belonged to four operational zones – Northwestern, Eastern, Southwestern, and Black Sea.

The third strategic defensive operation (September–December 2022) was soon qualified as offensive. After all, it is important for two powerful offensives of the Ukrainian defense forces, which are now known as the Slobozhanska and Kherson offensive operations.

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⁶ Коваль М., Щипанський П., Кидонь В., Грицюк В. Стратегічний характер Київської оборонної операції (24 лютого -2 квітня 2022 р.). *Український історичний журнал.* 2023. № 3. С. 5-29.

 $^{^{7}}$ Харук А. Харківська оборонна операція (24 лютого - 14 травня 2022 р.). Украінський історичний журнал. 2023. № 5. С. 23-34.

By the way, a brief commentary by one of the authors of these lines about the Balaklia operation (another later name – Slobozhanska⁸) can be viewed and heard on his personal YouTube channel⁹. Figuratively speaking, this generalization was made "hot on the heels".

Later, as part of the new correction, a fourth stage was added – the third strategic defensive operation (January–February 2023), the task of which was to contain and exhaust the enemy, creating conditions for a new offensive by the Ukrainian defense forces.

It should be noted that the updated periodization of the first year of Russia's large-scale invasion was developed by numerous specialists from several state bodies and institutions – the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the National Defense University of Ukraine, and the Center for Research on Military History of the Armed Forces of Ukraine¹⁰.

This periodization is reflected in a military-historical essay published in four books under the title "The Year of the War for Freedom". It was prepared by a large working group, or, to be more precise, 31 officers in ranks from junior lieutenant to general. They carefully analyzed the course of the Russian-Ukrainian war with professional pedantry.

2. Research editions of official periodization

However, hostilities continued. The time duration of the large-scale phase (stage) was constantly increasing. It gradually crossed the following symbolic calendar marks – "five hundred days" (July 8, 2023), "two years" (February 24, 2024), "a thousand days" (November 19, 2024), "three years" (February 24, 2025). Therefore, research questions about periodization remained and remain topical.

Unfortunately, we currently do not have a specified official position (of the aforementioned General Staff) on the results of two and three years of Russia's large-scale war against Ukraine. However, we find

⁹ Офіцинський Р. Балаклійська наступальна операція. 11 вересня 2022 р. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRUU65T5hxg

⁸ Харук А. Слобожанська наступальна операція: передумови і перший етап (6–12 вересня 2022 р.). *Український істооричний журнал*. 2023. № 1. С. 5–19.

 $^{^{10}}$ Рік війни за свободу. Воєнно-історичний нарис російсько-української війни (24.02.2022 — 24.02.2023) у чотирьох книгах. Київ, 2023. Кн. 1. 270 с.; Кн. 2. 198 с.; Кн. 3. 198 с.; Кн. 4. 268 с.

significant empirical material in numerous publications of collective authorship, mainly in newsletters. They reflect the chronicle of the Russian-Ukrainian war and present its military-historical descriptions, figuratively speaking, in a chronicle style – by days, weeks, months, years.

One of them – "The Chronicle. 1000 Days of Full-Scale War" – was published by the State Research Institution "Encyclopedia Press" in Kyiv¹¹. The appearance of this reference publication was supported by four groups of sources – the official pages of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, operational commands, and branches of the armed forces on social networks; websites and pages on social networks of government bodies and officials of Ukraine and other countries; websites of international organizations; websites of news agencies and mass media.

Let us emphasize on this occasion that in the world electronic encyclopedia "Wikipedia" the mentioned issue is represented by many information-rich articles, which are periodically updated and have a considerable number of readers. Thus, the informative articles "Russo-Ukrainian War" and "Russian invasion of Ukraine" are significant in volume, which are presented in different versions in 100 and 142 languages, respectively¹². And "Timeline of the Russian invasion of Ukraine" is maintained in 30 languages¹³. Moreover, this article contains weekly maps of hostilities according to the data of the military intelligence of Great Britain, starting from the second day of the invasion – February 25, 2022.

At the same time, the problematic issue formulated in the title of our study is constantly in the field of view of various researchers. It is being solved taking into account already published developments.

For example, in the printed encyclopedic glossary "Russian-Ukrainian War", which was published in Kyiv in November 2024, namely in the aforementioned "Encyclopedia Press", an updated version of the periodization of Ukraine's armed counteraction to the Rus-

¹² Російсько-українська війна (з 2014). URL: https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Російсько-українська_війна_(з_2014); Російське вторгнення в Україну (з 2022). URL: https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Російське_вторгнення_в_Україну_(з_2022)

¹¹ Хроніка. 1000 днів повномасштабної війни (24 лютого 2022 – 19 листопада 2024). Київ, 2024. 500 с.

¹³ Хронологія російського вторгнення в Україну (з 2022). URL: https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Хронологія_російського_вторгнення_в_Україну_(з_2022)

sian full-scale invasion is proposed¹⁴. Already as a five-stage one. The first three stages remained unchanged in terms of time. The temporal framework of the fourth stage was expanded by several months. A new stage was added – the fifth, but without fixing the upper limit.

According to this publication, the first stage – the full-scale invasion and failure of the Russian blitzkrieg – is dated to the time period from February 24 to April 2022. The second stage – strategic defense and preparation of the Ukrainian counteroffensive, which fell on May–August 2022. The third stage includes the first Ukrainian counterof-fensive in September–December 2022, and the fourth – a positional war with attempted Russian offensive in January–May 2023. The fifth stage is the second Ukrainian counteroffensive, which began in June 2023. As is known, it ended in failure, since the strategic goal – the liberation of the occupied lands – was not achieved.

Such analytical visions always emphasize the obvious statement that Ukraine is experiencing an extremely important period in its history, when the fate of its independence is being decided.

In general, it is customary to divide wars into internal time segments (periods, stages, phases), which qualitatively differ in military-political goals, the nature and content of military actions. They are traditionally framed by turning points in certain military campaigns (operations).

In this vein, of course, there is no shortage of research efforts to clearly outline the specific historical situation. Some historians try to find and offer apt names, resorting to analogies, allusions, or comparisons. So we see the name "The Great War" (which was also called, in particular, the First World War) to designate the period of the Russian-Ukrainian war from February 24, 2022¹⁵.

According to the developers of this particular periodization scheme, "The Great War" consists of two phases, each of which has three and two stages, respectively. The first phase is characterized by the repulsion of the large-scale aggression of the Russian Federation by the Defense Forces of Ukraine for about eight months – from February 24, 2022 to November 2022. In the second phase (December 2022 – December 2023), that is, in annual terms, a parity confrontation

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¹⁴ Бойко О. Повномасштабне вторгнення Росії в Україну... С. 28–64.

¹⁵ Грицюк В., Пашкова О. Історична періодизація російсько-української війни... С. 5–15.

between the defenders of Ukraine and the Russian attackers was observed.

In the first phase, three stages are distinguished. It is obvious to us that they follow from the information and analytical publications of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which have already been discussed. The first stage (February 24 – April 17, 2022) covers the beginning of a large-scale invasion and the conduct of defensive operations, where the battle for Kyiv is seen as the decisive strategic point of the entire campaign. The second stage (April 18 – August 28, 2022) is distinguished in view of the concentration of enemy efforts in eastern Ukraine and the preparation of the Defense Forces of Ukraine for offensive actions. The third stage (August 29 – mid-December 2022) is notable for the offensive operations of Ukrainian troops in the Kharkiv and Kherson regions.

In the second phase, it is proposed to consider two stages separately. The first is the containment of the Russian offensive in eastern Ukraine from December 2022 to early May 2023. The second stage dates from May to December 2023. This refers to Ukraine's strategic offensive operation in the summer of 2023, which was remembered for counteroffensive actions in the Bakhmut direction and offensives in the Melitopol and Berdyansk directions. They exhausted themselves by December of the same year.

3. Rational organization of the event material

As we can see, the development of a convincing periodization of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war in its entire time dimension, that is, from 2014 to the present, is of increased scientific interest. One of the co-authors of the proposed study did not avoid scrupulous consideration of this issue in his dissertation¹⁶. It focuses on the unprovoked aggression of the totalitarian Russian Federation against Ukraine, a democratic state. It is especially emphasized that this aggressive attack became a turning point in history for the modern world.

For both authors of these lines, as well as for other scholars, it is undeniable that the starting point of Russia's modern war against Ukraine is February 20, 2014. It was on that day, or rather the very end

¹⁶ Офіцинський Ю. Російсько-українська війна 2014—2018 рр. (за матеріалами газети The New York Times). Дисертація доктора філософії за спеціальністю «Історія та археологія». Ужгород, 2023. 240 с.

of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine, that the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation, disguised as people's militias – "green men", began the seizure of the Crimean peninsula.

Initially, the Russian military invasion was hybrid (into Crimea and Donbas), and from February 24, 2022, or eight years later, it became full-scale, covering the north, east, and south of Ukraine.

In the unfolding of the events of the Russian-Ukrainian war, in our opinion, three periods can be distinguished: active (February 20, 2014 – February 15, 2015), positional (February 15, 2015 – February 24, 2022), large-scale (from February 24, 2022 to the present).

The first and second periods of the ceasefire and withdrawal of heavy weapons by both sides are conventionally delimited from February 15, 2015, in accordance with the agreements of the Normandy contact group (Ukraine, Germany, France, Russia) in Minsk three days earlier. When covering the indicated periods, other important political and legal events are also taken into account. Thus, on April 14, 2014, the Defense Forces of Ukraine launched the Anti-Terrorist Operation. Four years later, on April 30, 2018, it was replaced by a military one – the Joint Forces Operation.

During these two periods, armed resistance to Russian aggression was in a protracted phase of defensive war. 43,744 square kilometers, or 7.2% of Ukraine's territory, remained occupied: the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (26,081 sq. km), the city of Sevastopol (864 sq. km), part of Donetsk and Luhansk regions (16,799 sq. km), and 410 kilometers of the Ukrainian-Russian border remained uncontrolled.

Among the available factual material from that time, two plane crashes are noteworthy. In June 2014, Russian saboteurs shot down an Il-76 plane over Luhansk, killing 49 Ukrainian servicemen. The turning point in international support for Ukraine was the shooting down of a Malaysian Airlines Boeing 777 passenger plane (flight MH17) by a Russian anti-aircraft missile system in mid-July 2014 near the town of Torez (now Chystiakove) in Donetsk Oblast. 283 passengers and 15 crew members died.

Thus, the dynamic course of events at that time later resulted in the annual historical and memorial celebration of August 29 as the Day of Remembrance of the Defenders of Ukraine. One of the most tragic episodes of the Russian-Ukrainian war before the full-scale invasion was immortalized – the withdrawal of Ukrainian soldiers from the siege near Ilovaisk.

The fact is that despite the agreement of August 29, 2014, the Russians treacherously attacked Ukrainians who were leaving through the "green corridor" in the sunflower fields. 366 Ukrainian soldiers were killed, 429 were wounded, 158 went missing, and 300 were captured. Therefore, the symbol of the Day of Remembrance of the Defenders of Ukraine, which was introduced five years later, in August 2019, was the sunflower flower, which also symbolizes life.

The most famous symbol of the Ukrainians' resilience at that time was the defense of Donetsk airport, which lasted 242 days: from May 26, 2014 to January 22, 2015. Ukrainian soldiers, who were called "cyborgs", successfully repelled numerous attempts to storm the destroyed airport by enemy units. The defense of a large railway hub the city of Debaltseve - also continued until February 18, 2015.

In accordance with international law, starting from March 27, 2014 (the adoption of United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 68/262 "Territorial Integrity of Ukraine"), the Russian Federation has been consistently classified as an "aggressor state", and Crimea and certain districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions as "temporarily occupied territories".

Political and economic sanctions from Western countries slowed down the Russian aggression that began in February 2014 and prompted negotiations between Ukraine and Russia within the framework of the Trilateral Contact Group (mediated by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the Normandy contact group, where Germany and France acted as mediators between Ukraine and Russia.

The Minsk agreements served as the basis for ending the war in Donbas at that time – the protocol of September 5, 2014, the memorandum of September 19, 2014, and the set of measures of February 12, 2015.

However, Russia's large-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, has transformed into a significantly different geopolitical reality. The third period of the Russian-Ukrainian war has begun, continuing with significant daily casualties. It is unique in its dynamics in the conduct of hostilities and changes in the military-political situation.

This dynamics is associated with the enemy invasion and the defensive efforts of Ukraine's defenders, alternating offensives and counter-offensives by both sides, and the long-awaited final victorious steps in the near future.

Actually, the periodization of this war in scientific, popular science, and educational works will be expanded with details (phases, stages) around the aforementioned triad – attack, defense, victory.

For the most part, the observed phenomenon of world history is and will be considered in three-dimensional space: from the perspective of Ukraine, Russia, and the rest of the world – with the allocation of individual countries and regions, such as: the West, the Global South. In the eyes of modern Ukrainians, this war is a liberation war, for a wider world audience – an interstate war, and in Russian official usage – a "special military operation". And there is no doubt that, given world analogues, this is a truly large-scale war.

CONCLUSIONS

Currently, the periodization of the Russian-Ukrainian war from 2014 to the present day, proposed by military historians, or rather, military personnel from the administrative, information-analytical, and educational-scientific structures of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Ukraine, is mostly in scientific, educational, and enlightening usage.

This temporal scheme consists of four periods. The starting points of the first three of them are the significant military events of 2014 (the starting dates are February 20, early April, and September 19), and the third one is February 24, 2022. It is quite understandable that the third period – the large-scale war – is given the most attention, with a number of stages identified with various strategic operations, both defensive and offensive.

Instead, in the unfolding of the Russian-Ukrainian war, from the realistic point of view that we put forward and substantiate, three major periods are clearly traced. By coincidence of historical circumstances, they are "February", that is, they each began in February, although at different time intervals. Thus, the start of the active period dates back to February 20, 2014 (the beginning of the hybrid seizure of Crimea), the positional period – February 15, 2015 (ceasefire), and the large-scale period – February 24, 2022 (massive invasion).

We believe that it is possible to study and cover Russia's war against Ukraine after February 24, 2022 quite productively by adopting a periodization triad based on such concepts as attack, defense, and victory. This approach is appropriate and consistent in further scientific studies and for educational purposes.

ABSTRACT

The proposed study focuses on designing an optimal model of the latest Russian-Ukrainian war. The official periodization, prepared by representatives of the Defense Forces of Ukraine and used in updated editions by many researchers, is discussed in detail. It includes four periods. The beginning of the three of them falls on the first year of the war – February 20, early April, September 19, 2014. The fourth period began on February 24, 2022 and continues to this day. In turn, certain stages are naturally distinguished in each of the periods according to the course of the hostilities.

Instead, the authors of this study prove that the war in question logically follows three periods. They each began in February 2014, 2015, and 2022, respectively. After all, Russian aggression begins on February 20, 2014, in Crimea. Its active phase (period) in Donbas was replaced by a positional one on February 15, 2015, as a result of a diplomatic compromise with the participation of the Normandy contact group. Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine from the north, east, and south on February 24, 2022 created a new military-political situation.

Regarding the peculiarities of the Russian-Ukrainian war after February 24, 2022, the authors of this study propose to study and cover it within the framework of the "periodization triad". It reflects, firstly, the criminal attack of the Russian Federation, secondly, the sacrificial defense, and, thirdly, the approaching victory of all defenders of Ukraine.

АНОТАЦІЯ

У пропонованому дослідженні акцентується увага на проєктуванні оптимальної моделі найновішої російсько-української війни. Детально обговорюється офіційна періодизація, що підготовлена представниками Сил оборони України і використовується в оновлених редакціях багатьма дослідниками. Вона включає чотири періоди. Початок трьох із них припадає на перший рік війни — 20 лютого, початок квітня, 19 вересня 2014-го. Четвертий період розпочався 24 лютого 2022 року і триває досі. У свою чергу в кожному з періодів закономірно виділяються певні етапи відповідно до характеру бойових дій.

Натомість автори цього дослідження аргументовано доводять, що у вказаній війні логічно прослідковуються три періоди. Вони

щоразу розпочиналися в лютому відповідно 2014, 2015 і 2022 років. Адже російська агресія веде відлік від 20 лютого 2014 року з Криму. Її активну фазу (період) на Донбасі змінила позиційна 15 лютого 2015-го внаслідок дипломатичного компромісу за участі Норманської четвірки. Широкомасштабне вторгнення Росії в Україну зі півночі, сходу і півдня 24 лютого 2022 року породило нову військово-політичну ситуацію.

Ведучи мову про особливості російсько-української війни після 24 лютого 2022 року, автори цього дослідження пропонують її вивчати і висвітлювати в рамках «періодизаційної тріади». У ній відбито, по-перше, злочинний напад Російської Федерації, подруге, жертовна оборони й, по-третє, наближення перемоги всіх захисників України.

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