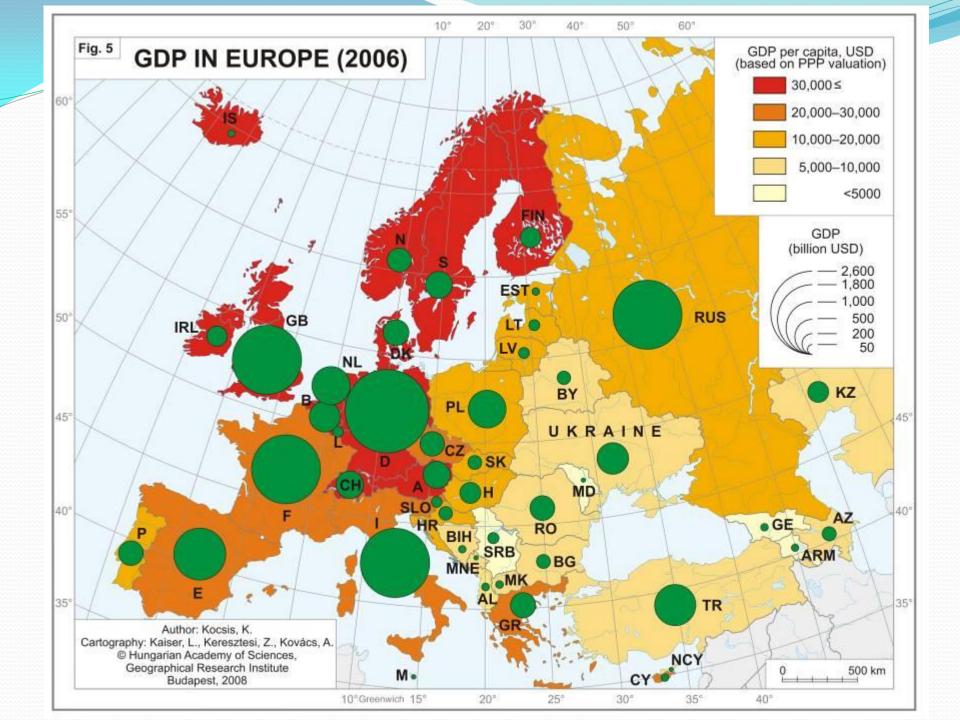
Geographic background of the Ukrainian – Russian conflict in Ukraine

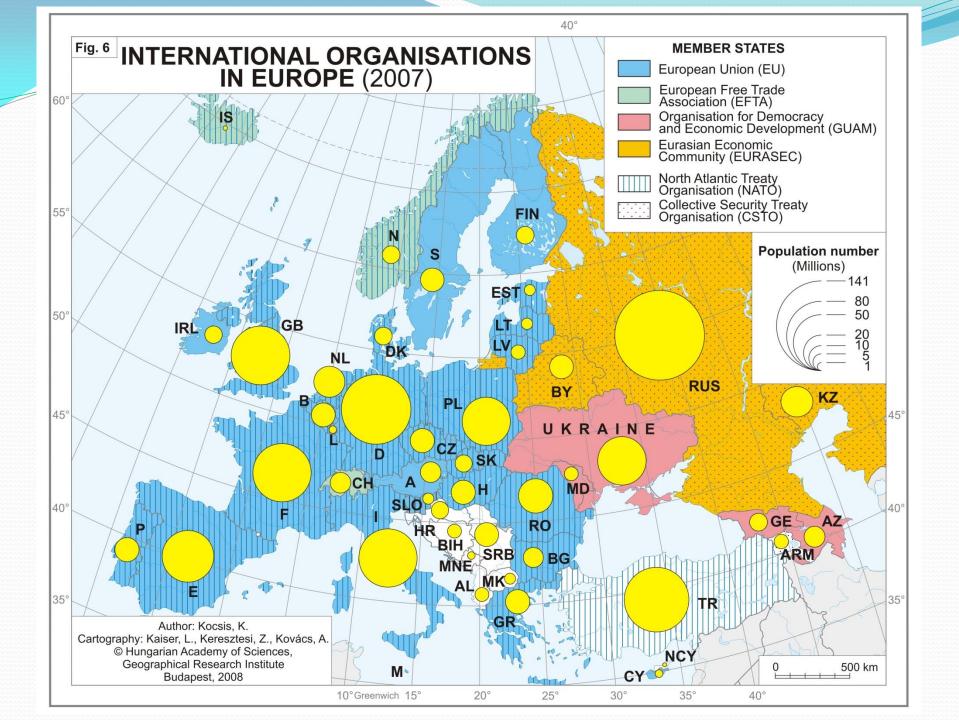
Kocsis Károly – Karácsonyi Dávid – Kovály Katalin – Molnár József – Póti László





Territory: 603,549 km², Population: 45.4 millions (2014), 48.5 millions (2001)





Ukraine as a state and the Ukrainians as a nation

Ukraine's regional diversity (the east-west dichotomy) has three interrelated causes:

- 1. On the present territory of Ukraine, there was **no unified and independent country** in the longer term until the mid-20th century.
- 2. The **term Ukraine** had a rather **broad meaning** until the early 20th century: U-kraina borderland, periphery or frontier region. U-kraina "in/inside the country, domestic land"
- 3. **Ukrainian identity** also exhibits dichotomic features: eg.

In L'viv: 78% self-identify primarily as Ukrainians.

In Donets'k: 45% self-identity as Soviet citizens, 23% as Russians and 26% as Ukrainians (2000, sociological survey).

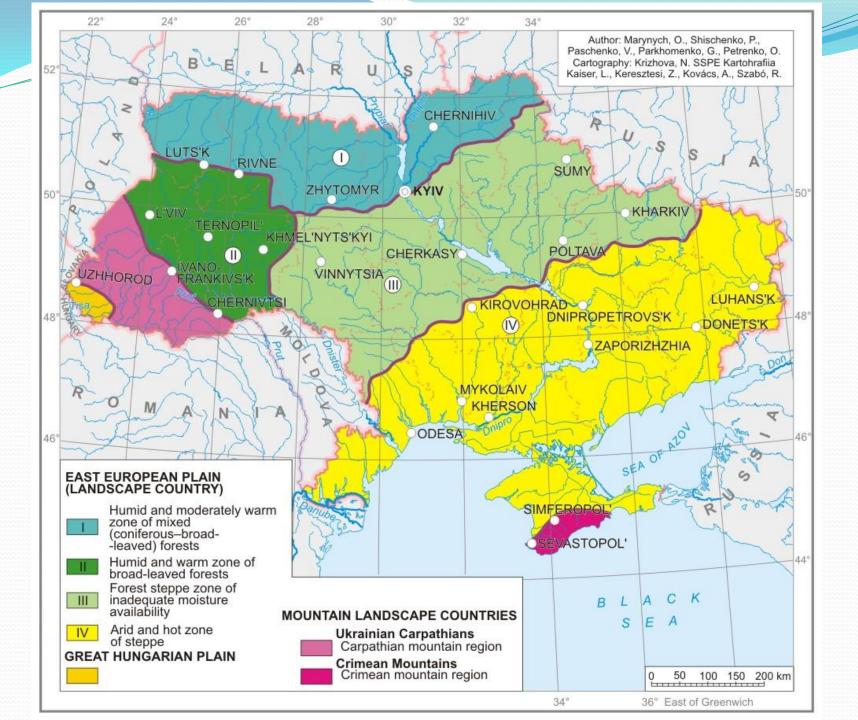
Historical and geographical roots of regional diversity in Ukraine

Steppe and the forest zone, as the dichotomic arena of societal development

Forest area and forest steppe (NW): ancient homeland of the early Slavs, East Slavic empire of Kiev

Steppe (SE): "highway" for nomadic peoples, sometimes forming part of a great empire stretching from Central Asia to the Carpathian Basin Hunnic Empire, Golden Horde

- The great nomadic empires could not retain control the forest areas inhabited by the Slavic people in the long term.
- The Slavs until the 18th century were similarly unable to control the steppe (break up of the Kievan Rus, Tatar domination, rivalry between Poland (Poland-Lithuania) and Russia)



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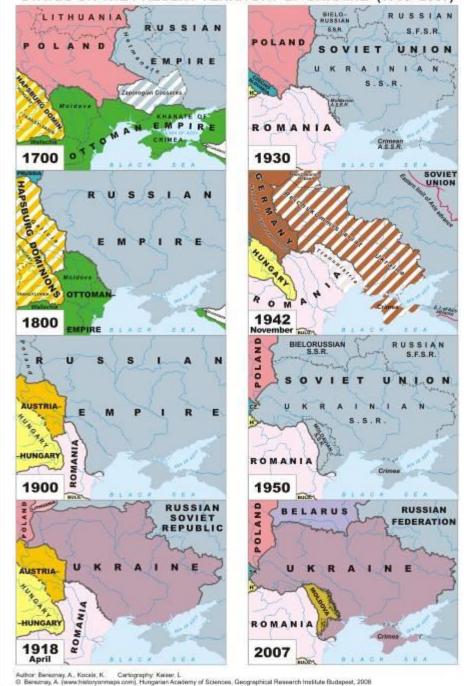
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Fig. 7



STATES ON THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF UKRAINE (1700-2007)

Fig. 8



Ukrainians in a power triangle

By the 16th century: in the middle of the power triangle of Muscovy, the Polish Rzeczpospolita, and the Ottoman Empire (*Crimean Tatar* vassals)

In the "Wild Plains", there arose a free, semi-military peasant group, having escaped serfdom – the Cossacks, the first ethnic community that came to reflect the characteristic features of the Ukrainians as an ethnically independent society. Fighting for the right to an existence and economic and spiritual development. The Cossacks established a new era of Ukrainian nation-building.

Gradual Cossack advance, conquest in the forest steppe (16-17th century).

17th century: The balance of power between Muscovy, Poland and the Ottoman Empire gradually broke down. The increasingly powerful Russian Empire started to push the Poles out of Eastern Europe.

1654 (Pereiaslav Agreement) decision of the Cossack state of **Bohdan** Khmelnytskyi to break away from the Poles and form an alliance with the Russian Tsar.

1667 (Treaty of Andruszów) **east-west division of Ukrainian areas** along the Dnieper (Polish west, Russian east)

1795 (Final partition of Poland) Ukrainian areas became the Russian Empire's western borderland (excl. Austrian Galicia and Bukovina)



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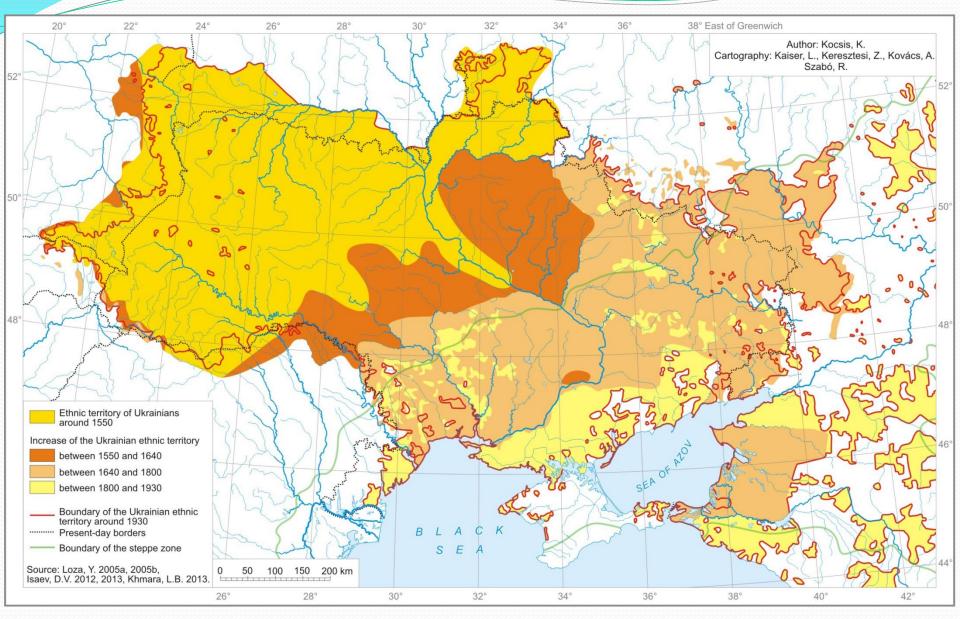
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Increase of the Ukrainian ethnic territory (1550 – 1930)



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Russian colonisation in the steppe

The reign of Catherine the Great: the Russian Empire "defeated" the steppe by the end of the 18th century (1775 – devastation of Zaporozhian Sich, end of the autonomy of the Cossacks, advance to the Black Sea, 1783, occupation of Crimea)

Organisation of governorate "Novorossiya"

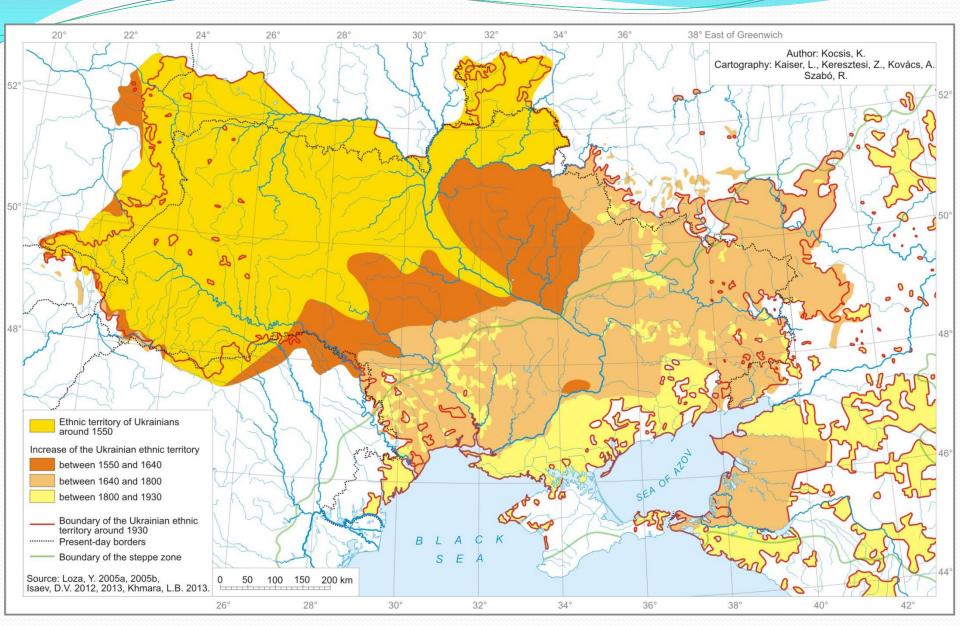
Organised **mass immigration** (Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks etc)

Foundation of Odesa, Sevastopol, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Mariupol as **bases** of the expanding **Russian navy** and **principal ports** of the booming **grain trade** (fertile Chernozem soils of the Ukrainian steppe were ploughed to produce grain for export)

Following the Crimean War (1856) and the Russian emancipation of serfs (1861) → intensive Russian immigration wave: population increase (1810 – 1910) in the Coastal Lowland: 9x, inner steppe zone 5x

Industrialisation, booming heavy industry, mining (rich mineral resources of the steppe: coal, salt- Donets Basin, iron − Kryvyi Rih, Kerch, manganese ore − Nikopol) → intensive Russian immigration wave (skilled Russian workforce from the Ural)

Az ukrán etnikai tér változása (1550 – 1930)



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CT.

The shaping of Ukraine within the Soviet frame

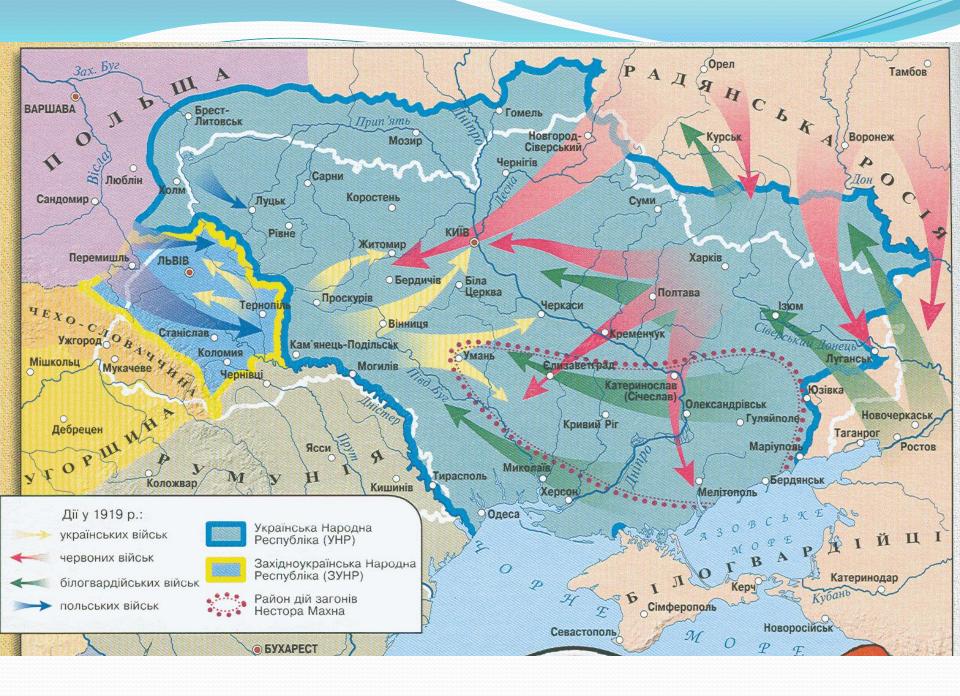
1917-1921: short-lived period of independence (Ukrainian People's Republic, 1917-1921 and Western Ukrainian People's Republic in Galicia, 1918)
1922: most of Ukraine's present territory became a part ("founding member") of the Soviet Union

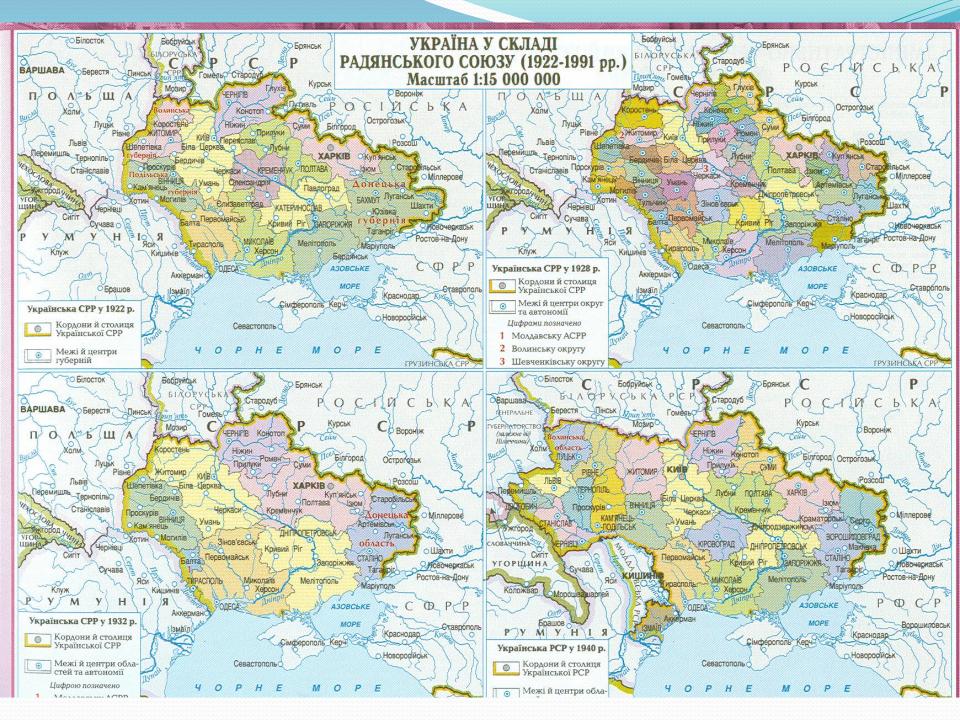
1932-33: **Holodomor** (man-made famine, Hunger-extermination). ca 3-8 million people died due to an artificially engineered famine, particularly affecting the Ukrainian peasantry.

From 1928: "second industrial revolution", urban boom→ Between 1913 and 1939, the number of urban dwellers doubled, as millions of peasant farmers, fearing collectivisation and the man-made famine (Holodomor), fled to the growing Soviet industrial cities.

Massive immigration of Russians in the frame of Soviet industrialisation, Russification of Ukrainians, ethnic homogenisation: ratio of Russians in 1926: 8.1%, in 1989: 22%









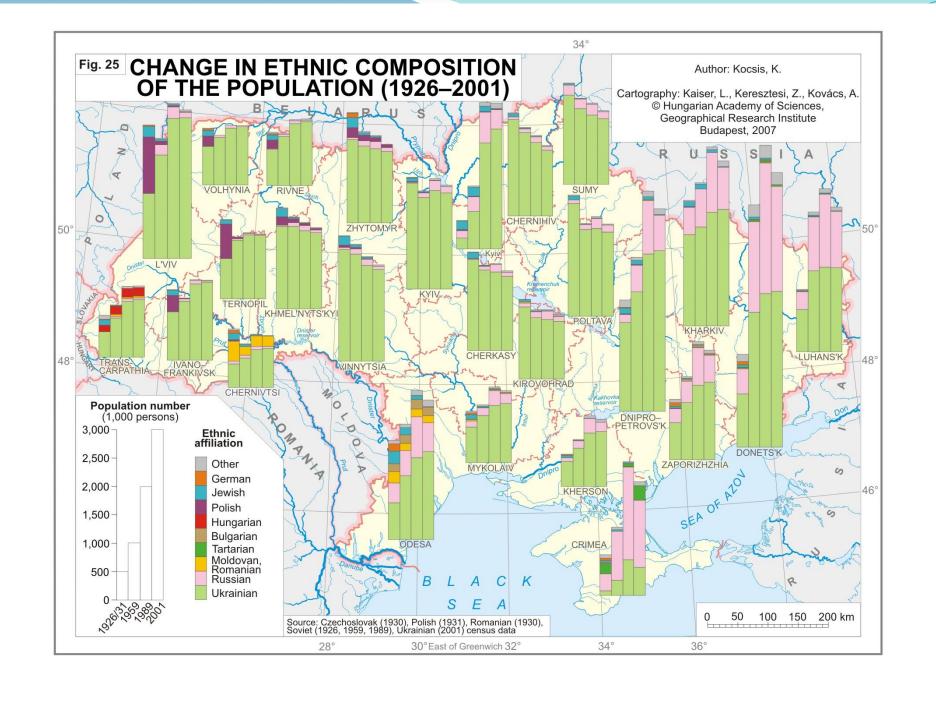
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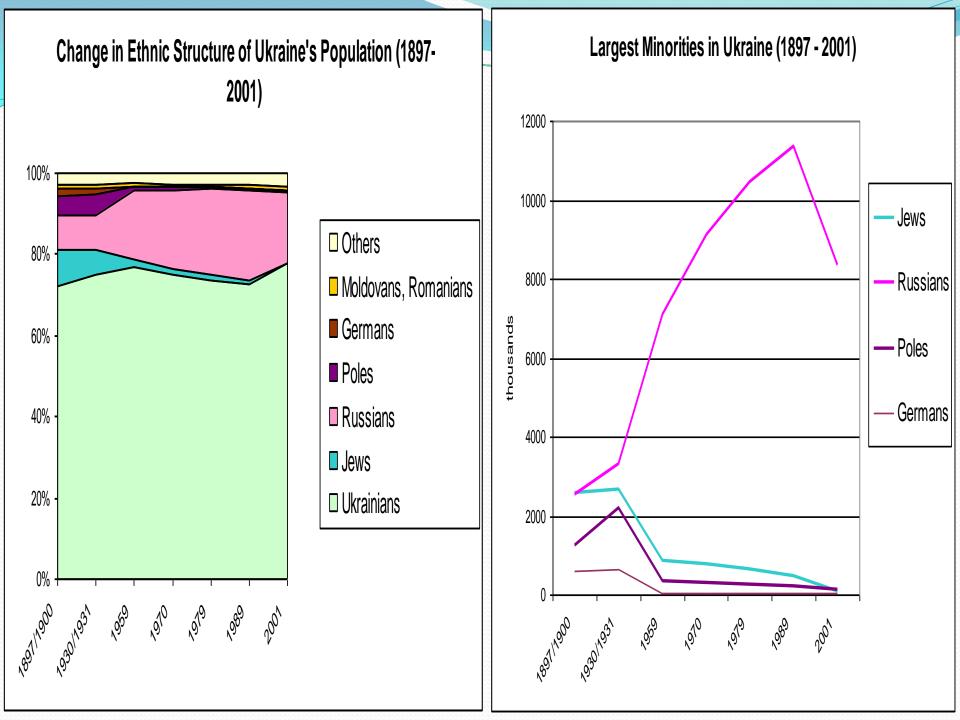


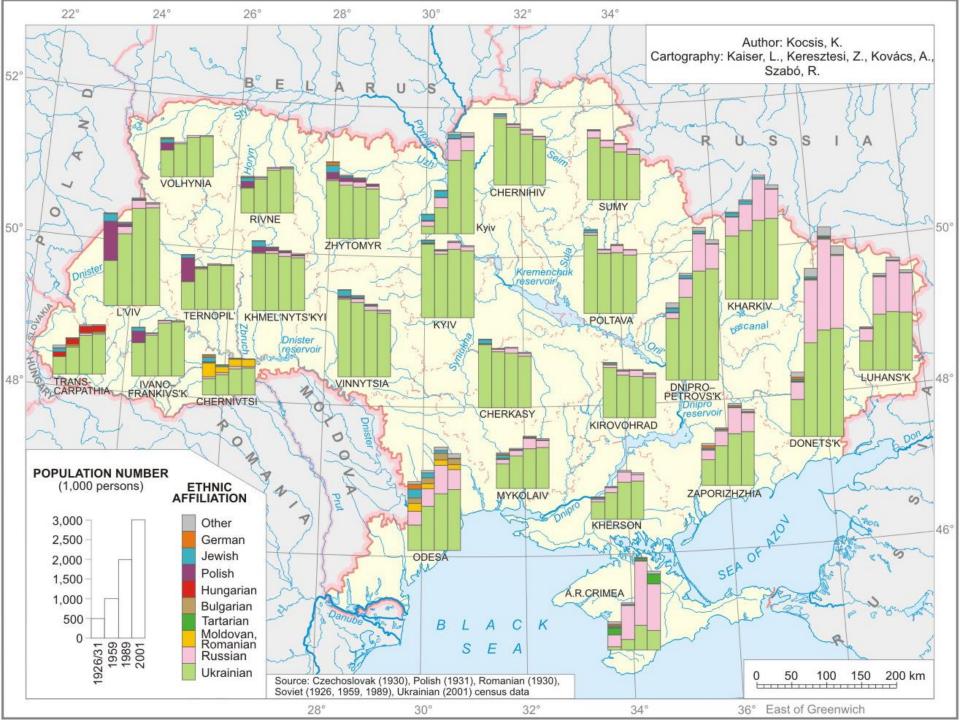
Change in the ethnic structure of population on the present-day territory of Ukraine (1897 – 2001)

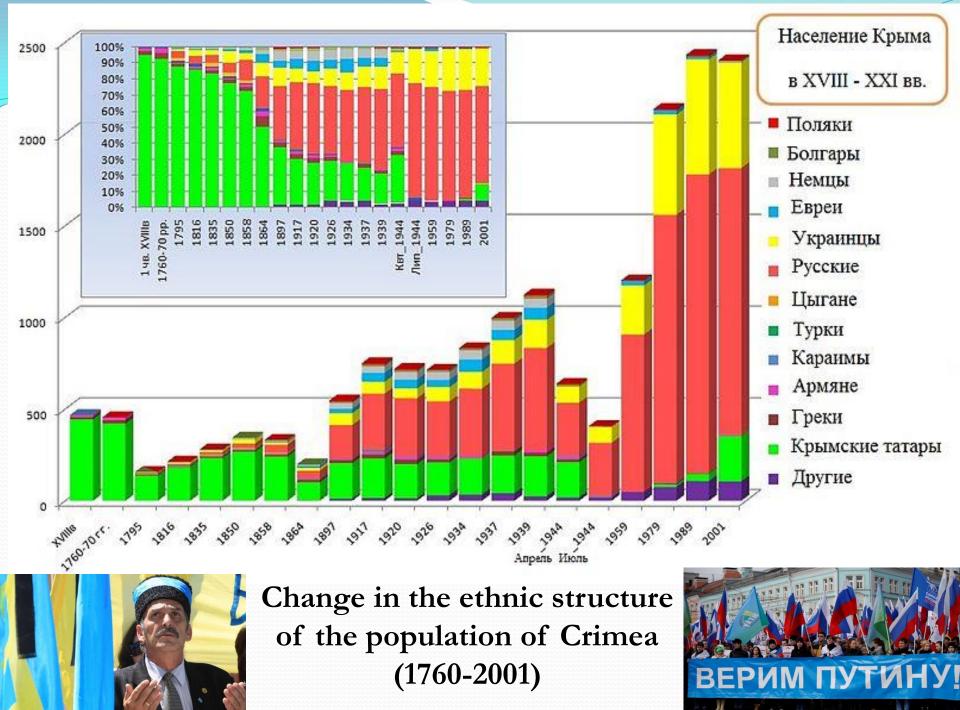
						AAAAAAA						
	1897/1900	1930/1931	1959	1970	1979	1989	2001					
	Persons in thousands											
Total population	28,810	40,889	41,869	47,127	49,609	51,452	48,241					
Ukrainians	20,750	30,584	32,158	35,284	36,489	37,419	37,542					
Jews	2,590	2,654	840	776	633	486	104					
Russians	2,535	3,303	7,091	9,126	10,472	11,356	8,334					
Poles	1,263	2,211	363	295	258	219	144					
Germans	617	630	23	30	34	38	33					
Moldavians, Romanians	278	463	343	378	416	460	410					
Tatars	228	225	62	77	91	134	321					
Bulgarians	143	202	219	234	238	234	205					
Hungarians	106	118	149	158	164	163	157					
Belarussians	92	84	291	386	406	440	276					
Greeks	75	126	104	107	104	99	92					
Czechs, Slovaks	50	87	29	22	20	17	12					
Armenians	••	21	28	33	39	54	100					
Gypsies	••	22	23	30	34	48	48					
Azeris	••	••	7	11	17	37	45					
Others	83	159	139	180	194	248	418					

Change in the ethnic structure of population on the present-day territory of Ukraine (1897 – 2001)

	1897/1900	1930/1931	1959	1970	1979	1989	2001			
	In %									
Total population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Ukrainians	72.0	74.8	76.8	74.9	73.6	72.7	77.8			
Jews	9.0	6.5	2.0	1.6	1.3	0.9	0.2			
Russians	8.8	8.1	16.9	19.4	21.1	22.1	17.3			
Poles	4.4	5.4	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3			
Germans	2.1	1.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1			
Moldavians, Romanians	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8			
Tatars	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7			
Bulgarians	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4			
Hungarians	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3			
Belarussians	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.6			
Greeks	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2			
Czechs, Slovaks	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
Armenians	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2			
Gypsies	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1			
Azeris	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1			
Others	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.9			







East-West dichotomy today – an ethnic, lingusitic, religious, cultural, economic or political dichotomy?

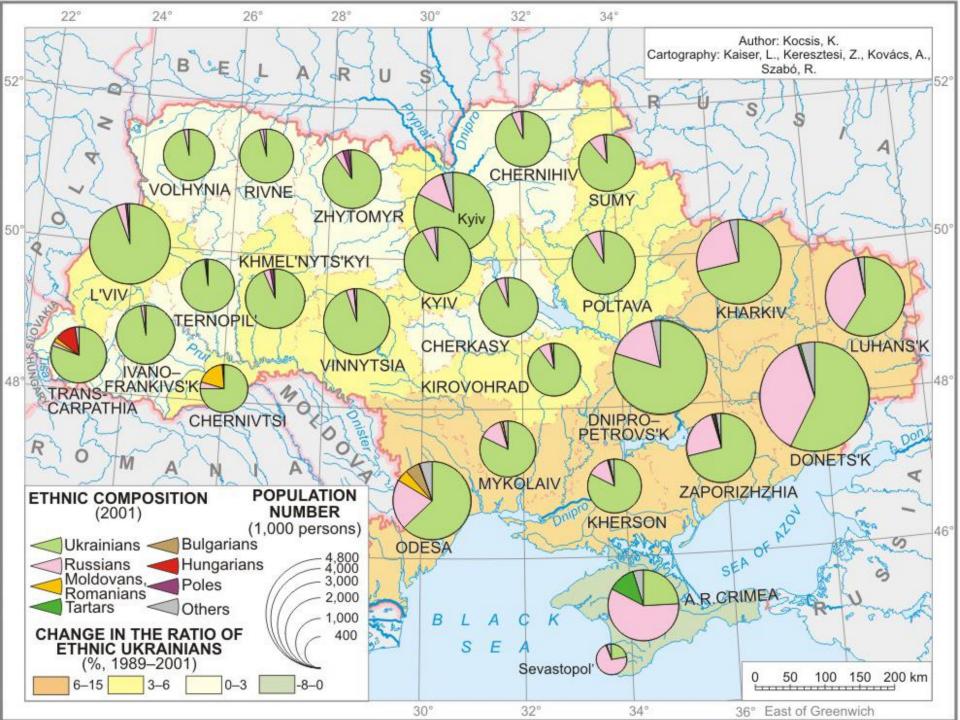
Ethnic Ukrainians vs. Ethnic Russians?

The **Ukrainians** (37.5 million) constituted **77.8%**, the **Russians** (**8.3 million**) **17.3%** of the total population in 2001.

The Russian-Ukrainian ethnic boundary cannot be precisely drawn, as there is **no clear separation** between the two groups.

Russian share of the population decreases steadily from the south-east to the north-west. Ethnic Russians live mainly in the industrialised eastern regions of the country. Their ratio is especially high in Crimea, the only region of the country where Russians form an absolute majority (58.3%).

Despite the large population number, the Russian minority percentage is not of such magnitude to explain the east-west dichotomy that characterises Ukraine.



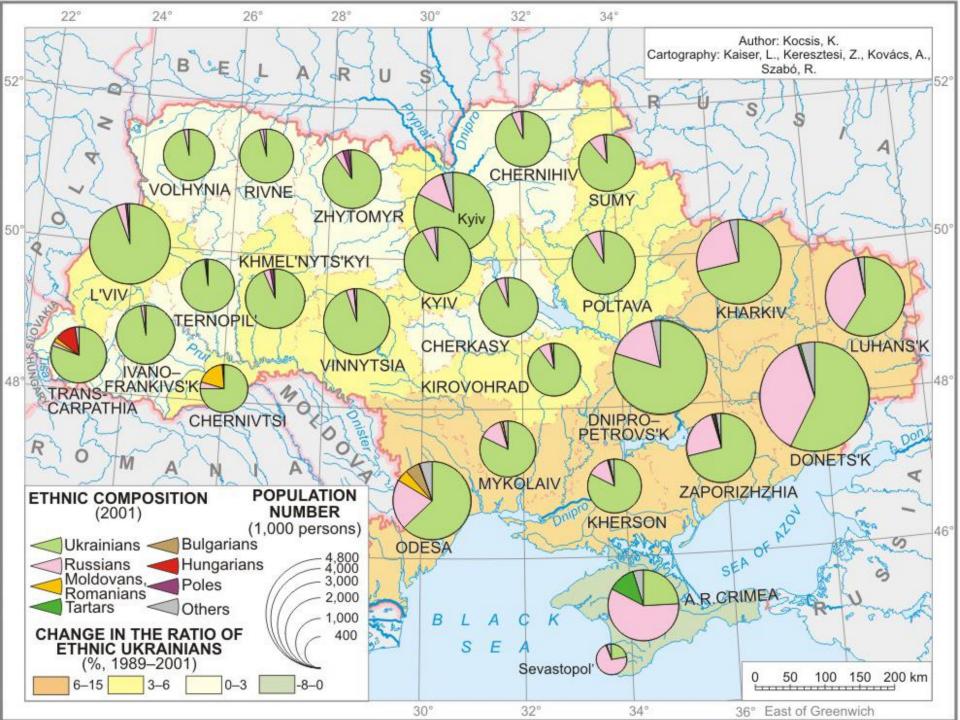
Native Ukrainians vs. Native Russians?

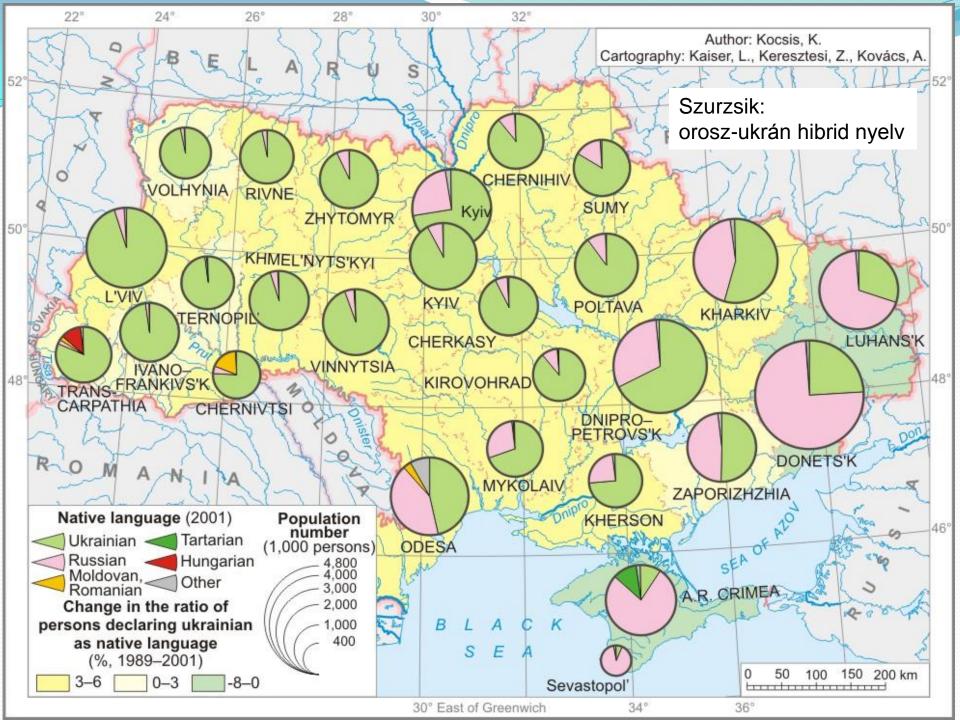
The percentage of **Russian native speakers** in Ukraine is significantly **higher than the Russian ethnic** ratio.

Russian was indicated as the mother tongue by **29.6%** (**14.3 million**) of the population. Only **67.5%** of the country's inhabitants declared **Ukrainian** as their native language in 2001.

Regions dominated by Russophones (Crimea, Donets'k and Luhans'k oblasts).

Use of various mixtures of Russian and Ukrainian – the Surzhyk – in everyday life. Surzhyk has *low prestige*; its speakers tend to be *poorly educated* with *insecure identities*. It is the primary language of 10-15% of Ukraine's population, with the highest ratio of speakers in the central-eastern part of the country.





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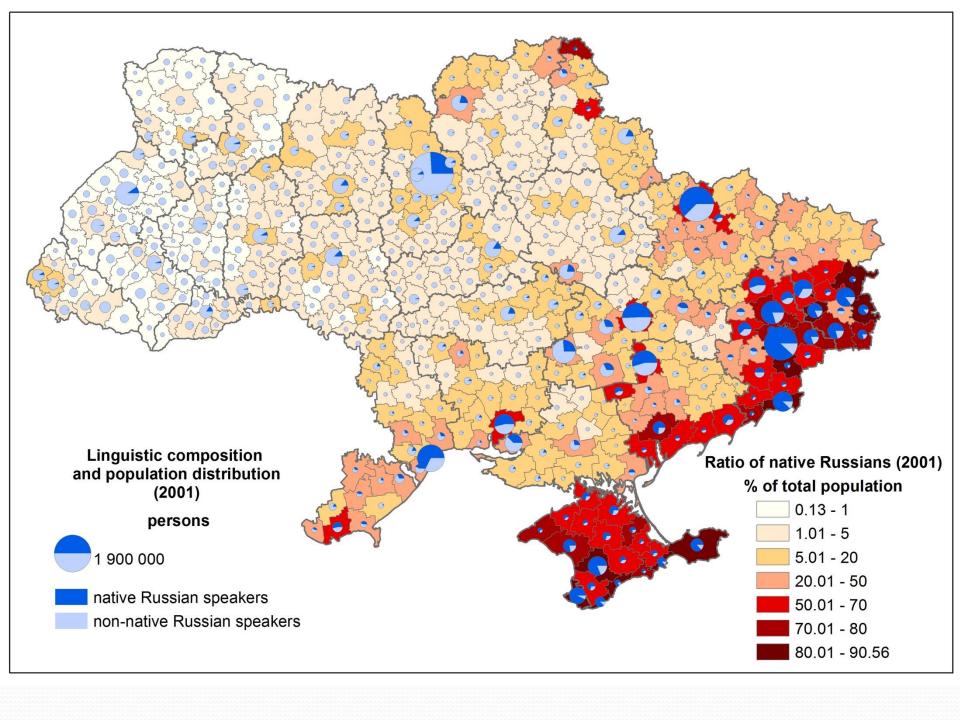
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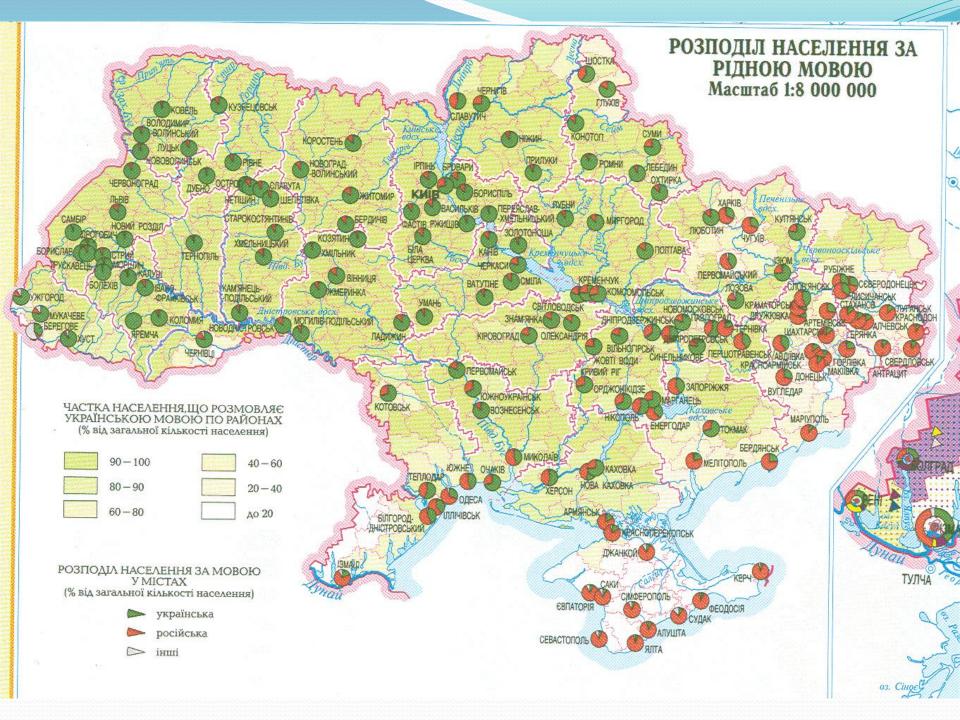
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Найпоширеніша рідна мова у міських, селищних та сільських радах за результатами Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року 80% українська російська румунська і молдавська кримськотатарська угорська болгарська гагаузька Crimea польська албанська





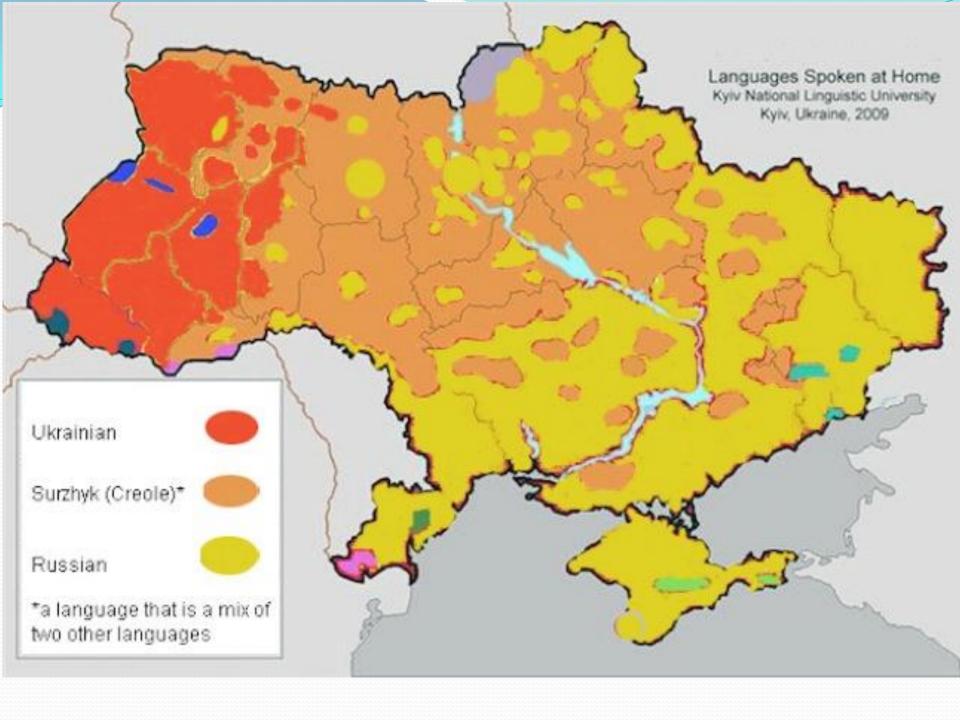
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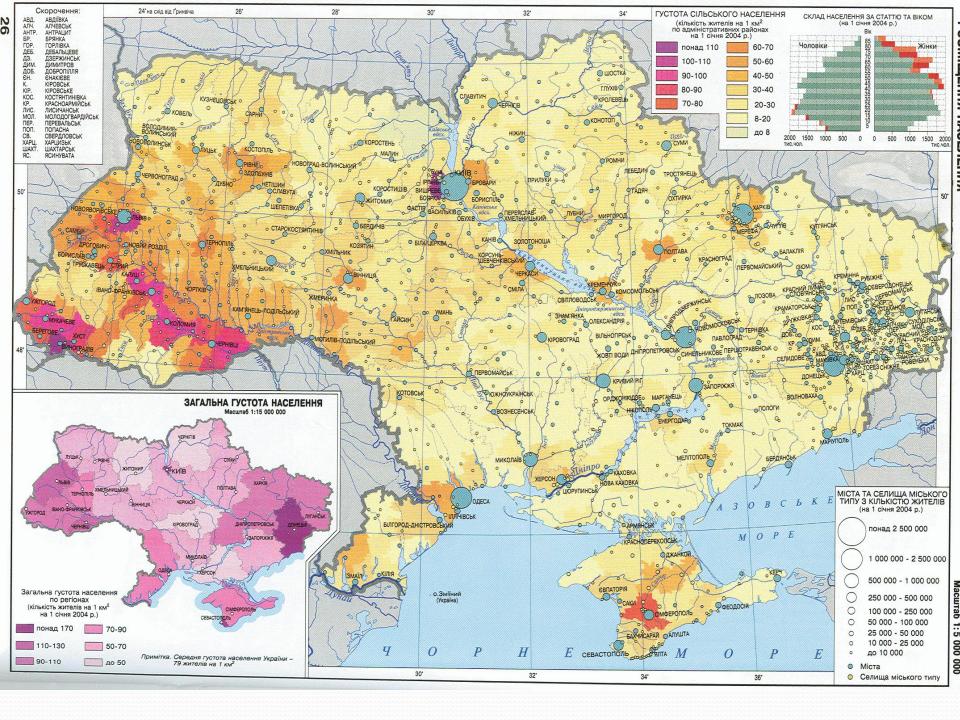
Urban vs. Rural Ukraine?

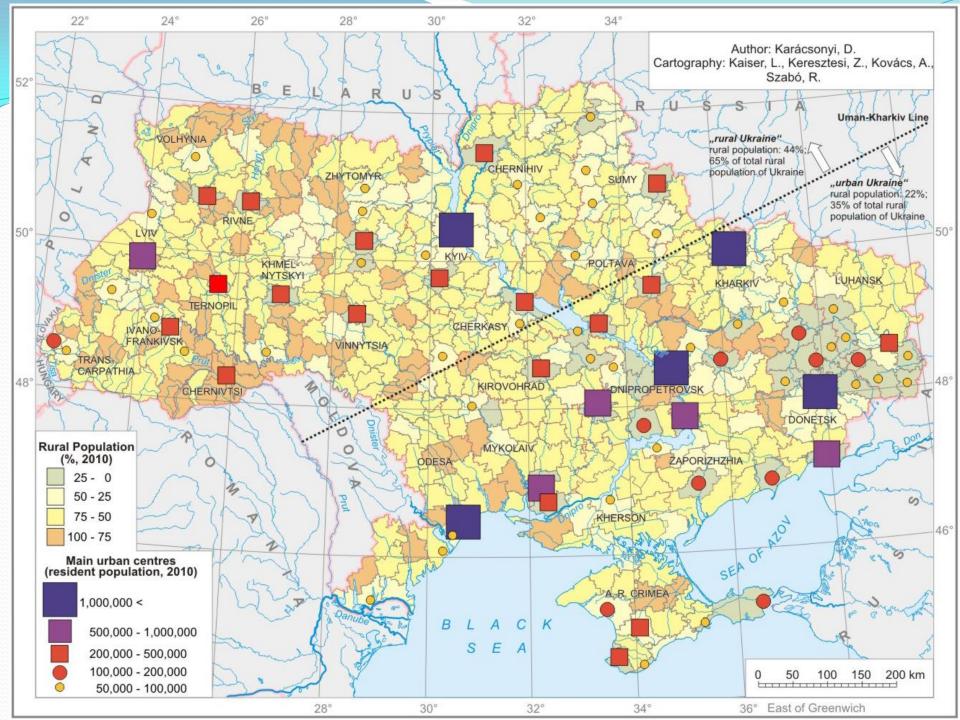
65% of rural inhabitants live in the **western** part of the country, where the **rural** population **share** is **44%**. In contrast, **urban** dwellers account for **78%** of the population in the **eastern** part of the country.

Industrial East vs. Agrarian West?

The western part of Ukraine is a region dominated by agriculture and forestry, and the eastern part is well known for its industrial specialization and is characterized by mining and heavy industries. The industry of the cities upon the Dnieper is high-tech (missile and aerospace technology). There are multiple links with the Russian defence industry within the framework of technological cooperation among production plants. Most Russian investment has come to Donets'k, the economic-financial and political-administrative centre of the region.

Ukraine's most developed regions lie in the Russophones dominated, eastern part of the country, and this is linked with urbanisation.





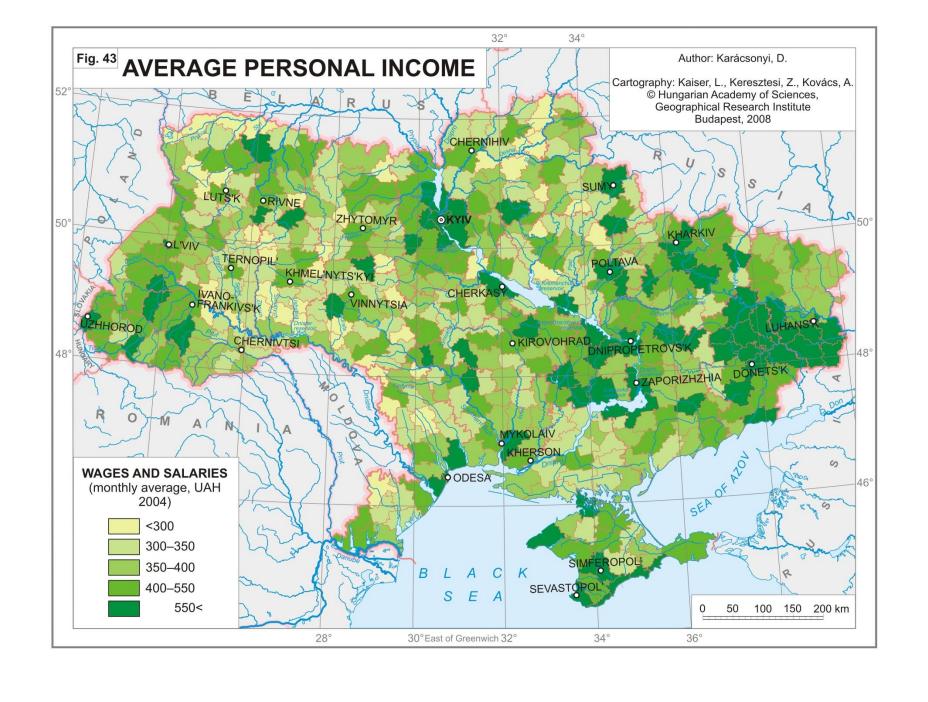
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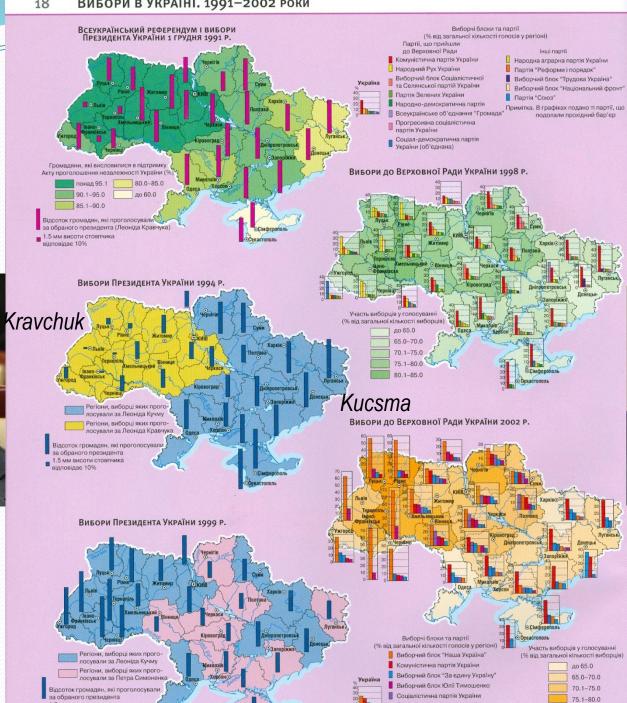
Yanukovich vs. Maidan?

Ukraine's population is **regionally divided** also in terms of **political activity** and **party affiliation**. In the **1990s**, Ukraine moved towards the **political division** that has been a feature ever **since** the presidential elections of **2004**. In fact, **this division could be observed as early as the 1994** presidential elections (**Kravchuk** and **Kuchma**).

In the elections of December 2004, the western part of the country supported the "Orange Revolution", Yushchenko, the presidential candidate seeking an alliance with the West. Meanwhile, in southern and eastern Ukraine the majority of voters supported the pro-Russian candidate Yanukovich.

Indications of Ukraine's social, political, and geographic divisions were also apparent in the results of the **2010** presidential elections and of the **2012** parliamentary elections.

In the southeastern (steppe) areas of Ukraine, there are historical traditions of Russian social dominance. In the Tsarist era, the majority of local nobility was Russian native speaker, as were the Orthodox priests in these areas. In the Soviet era, the same Russian dominance characterised the Bolshevik and Communist Party elites.



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Timoshenko

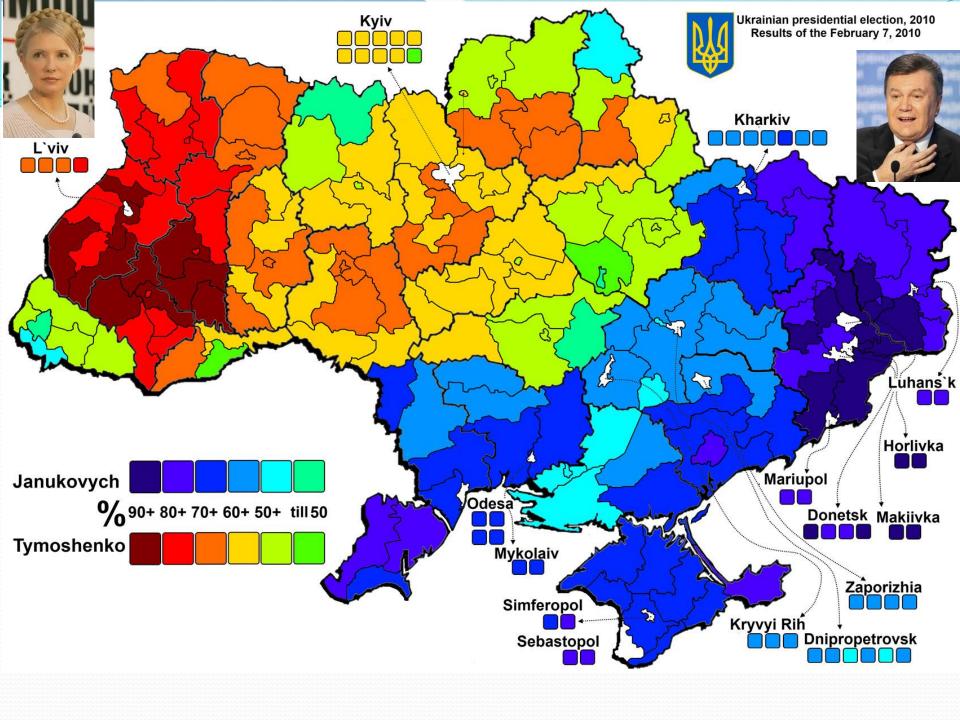
(% від загальної кількості голосів у регіоні) Партія регіонів Блок Юлії Тимошенко Блок "Наша Україна" Соціалістична партія України Комуністична партія України Вибори до Верховної Ради України 2006 р. Вибори до Верховної Ради України 2012 Р. Участь виборців у голосуванні (% від загальної кількості виборців) 60.0-65.0 50.0 50.1-54.9 55.0-59.9 Виборчі блоки та партії (% від загальної кількості голосів у Блок Юлії Тимошенко Комуністична партія України Блок "Наша Україна-Народна самооборона" Блок Литвина Вибори Президента України 2010 р. 2010 Timoshenko Участь виборців у голосуванні (% від загальної кількості виборців) до 50.0 50.0-54.9 55.0-59.9 Виборчі блоки та партії 60.0-64.9 (% від загальної кількості голосів у регіоні) Регіони, виборці яких прого-Партія регіонів лосували за Віктора Януковича понад 65.0 Регіони, виборці яких прого-лосували за Юлію Тимошенко Всеукраїнське об'єднання "Батьківщина" Yanukovich Партія "УДАР Віталія Кличка" Комуністична партія України Відсоток громадян, які проголосу-Всеукраїнське об'єднання "Свобода" зали за обраного президента 📗 Радикальна партія Олега Ляшка 1.5 мм висоти стовпчика Партія "Русский блок" відповідає 10% Масштаб 1:13 000 000 (у 1 см 130 км)

Yanukovich

Yanukovich

19





Кандидати в президенти, які отримали найбільший відсоток голосів виборців по громадах* (міських, селищних та сільських радах) 7.02.2010p Presidential candidates, who received highest percentage of votes by communities (city, town, and village councils) February 7, 2010 *смт Городок - до 2012р закрите військове містечко Макарів-1, жителі не приймали участі у виборах *Gorodok town - before 2012 it was a closed military settlement Makariv-1, Чорнобильська зона Choronbyl Zone - abandoned territory of the former Choronbyl Nuclear Station Юлія Тимошенко (7742)Yulia Tymoshenko Віктор Янукович (3775)Viktor Yanukovych Деякі громади складаються з окремих чакількість об'єктів на карті не відповідає : Some communities consist of several parts, therefore the number of objects does not correspond with stated in the legend

Створив Сергій Васильченко (vasylchenko.in.ua) на основі даних з сайту ЦВК (cvk.gov.ua)

Developed by Serhiy Vasylchenko (vasylchenko.in.ua) using information of the official website of the Central Election Committee (CVK) of Ukraine (cvk.gov.ua)

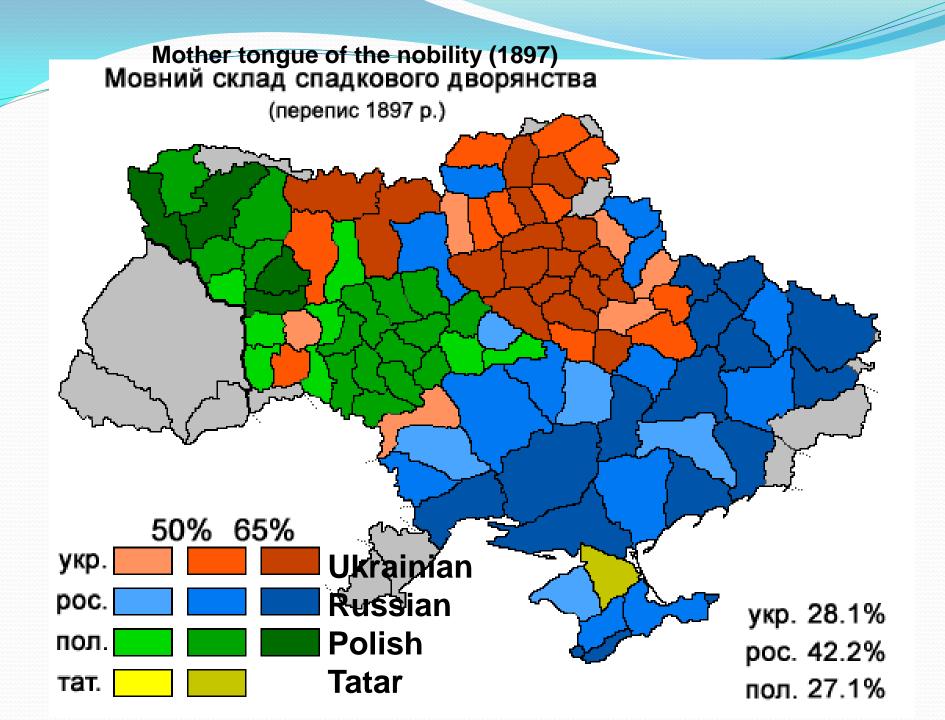
Yanukovich vs. Maidan?

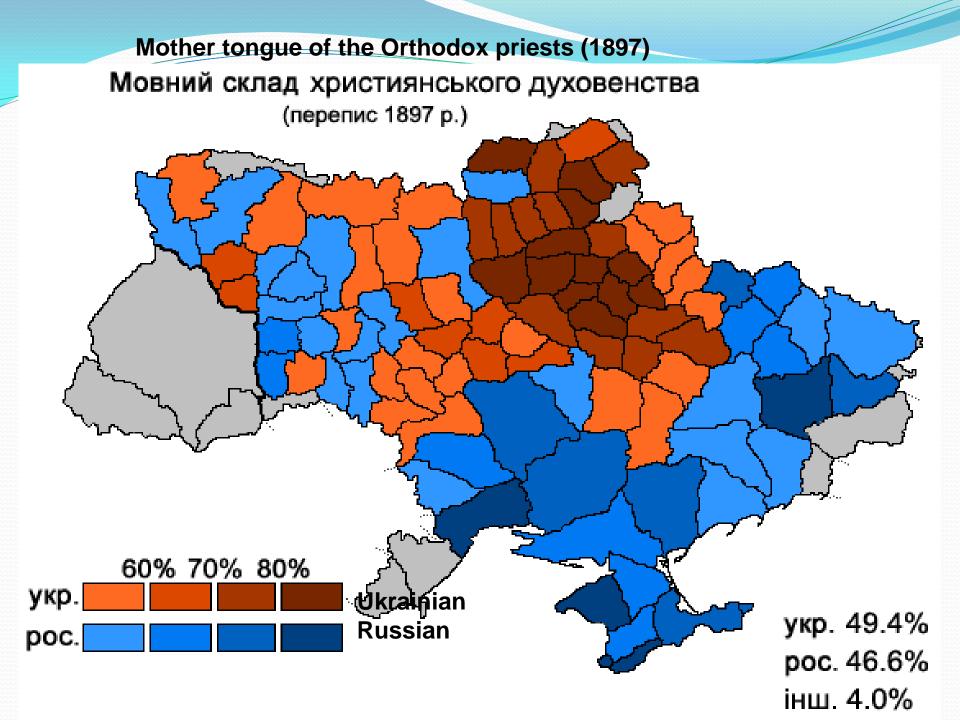
Ukraine's population is **regionally divided** also in terms of **political activity** and **party affiliation**. In the **1990s**, Ukraine moved towards the **political division** that has been a feature ever **since** the presidential elections of **2004**. In fact, **this division could be observed as early as the 1994** presidential elections (**Kravchuk** and **Kuchma**).

In the elections of December 2004, the western part of the country supported the "Orange Revolution", Yushchenko, the presidential candidate seeking an alliance with the West. Meanwhile, in southern and eastern Ukraine the majority of voters supported the pro-Russian candidate Yanukovich.

Indications of Ukraine's social, political, and geographic divisions were also apparent in the results of the **2010** presidential elections and of the **2012** parliamentary elections.

In the southeastern (steppe) areas of Ukraine, there are historical traditions of Russian social dominance. In the Tsarist era, the majority of local nobility was Russian native speaker, as were the Orthodox priests in these areas. In the Soviet era, the same Russian dominance characterised the Bolshevik and Communist Party elites.





Geography and space in the current conflict

In **November 2013**, **protests** began in **Kyiv** (*Euromaidan*) in response to the Ukrainian leadership's decision – taken under Russian political and economic pressure – to withdraw from an association agreement with the EU.

From the end of November 2013, the authorities tried to end the initially peaceful protest with its limited demands. These actions led ultimately to overt armed violence.

In **January** the **conflict** began to **spread to western** Ukraine (Lviv) and **central** parts of the country (*Automaidan*). In a symbolic **break from the Soviet past**, dozens of Lenin statues were toppled (the so-called *Leninopad*) in the second half of February.

In late February 2014, President Yanukovich left the country.









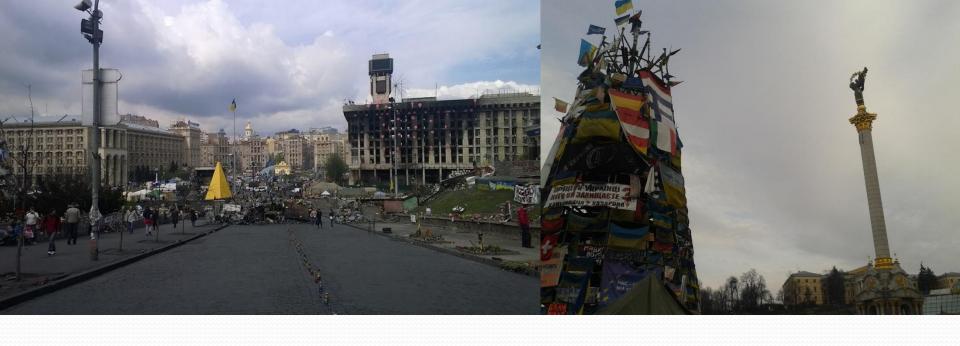


















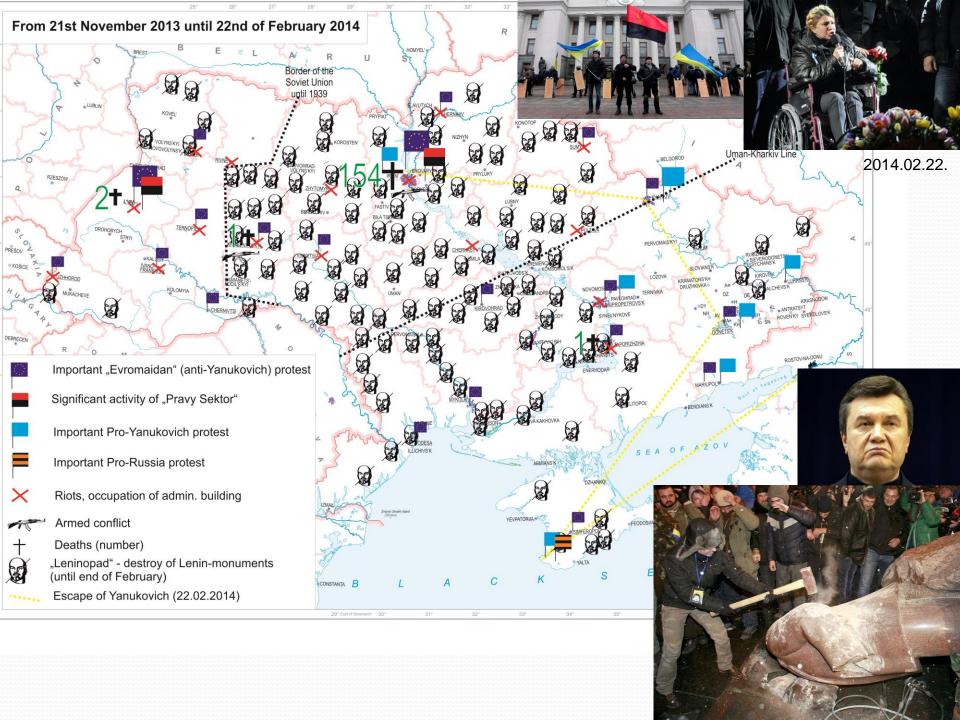
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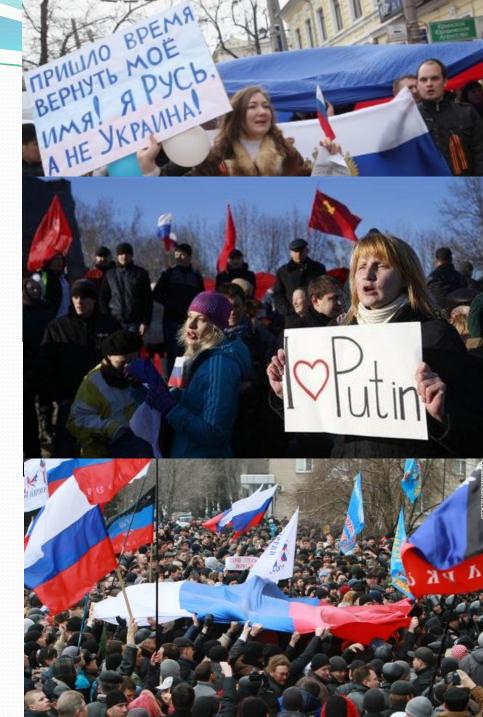
After Yanukovich's flight, the direction of the conflict changed. In late February, the "epicentre" of the conflict switched to the dominantly Russian-inhabited Crimea.

Concurrently, a **counter protest group** launched intense protests in the **south-eastern** half of the country (*Antimajdan*).

In March, events in Crimea transformed a domestic conflict into an international one. Following a Russian-supervised referendum on 16 March and Russia's subsequent annexation of Crimea, the confrontation turned into armed conflict in April and continued in the south-eastern part of Ukraine, in the Donets Basin.

In **April**, based on the Crimean model, **people's republics were declared** in **Donetsk**, **Luhansk**, Kharkiv and Odesa. On *11 May*, the two former regions (oblasts) held "*independence referendums*", which were followed by what the **Kyiv authorities** termed "anti-terrorist" actions. These self-proclaimed state formations have not been recognised by any other states, including Russia.







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16 МАРТА ДОМОЙ, В РОССИЮ!

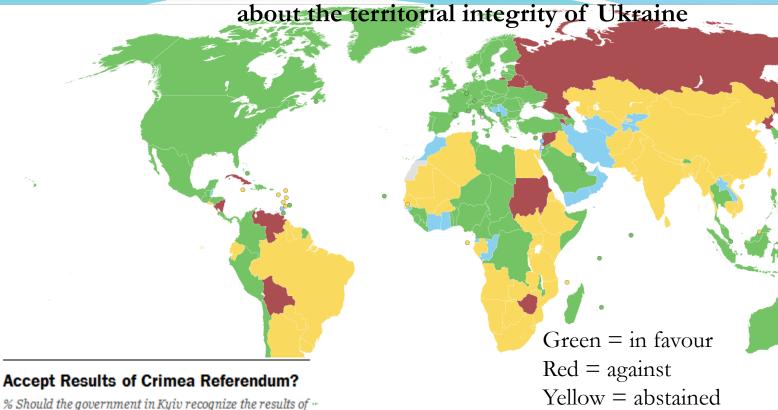
Вы за воссоединение Крыма с Россией на правах субъекта Российской Федерации?

Вы за восстановление действия Конституции Республики Крым 1992 года и за статус Крыма как части Украины?



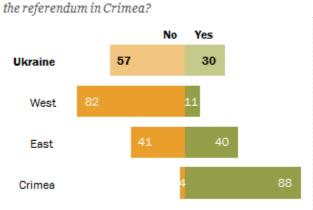


UN General Assembly resolution 68/262 (27 March 2014)



Yellow = abstained

Blue = absent when the vote took place



Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. UKR9.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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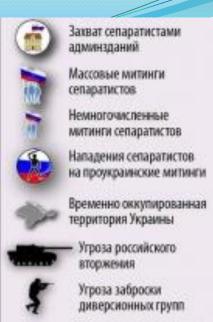
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Оценка угроз на Юго-Востоке Украины. 1 мая



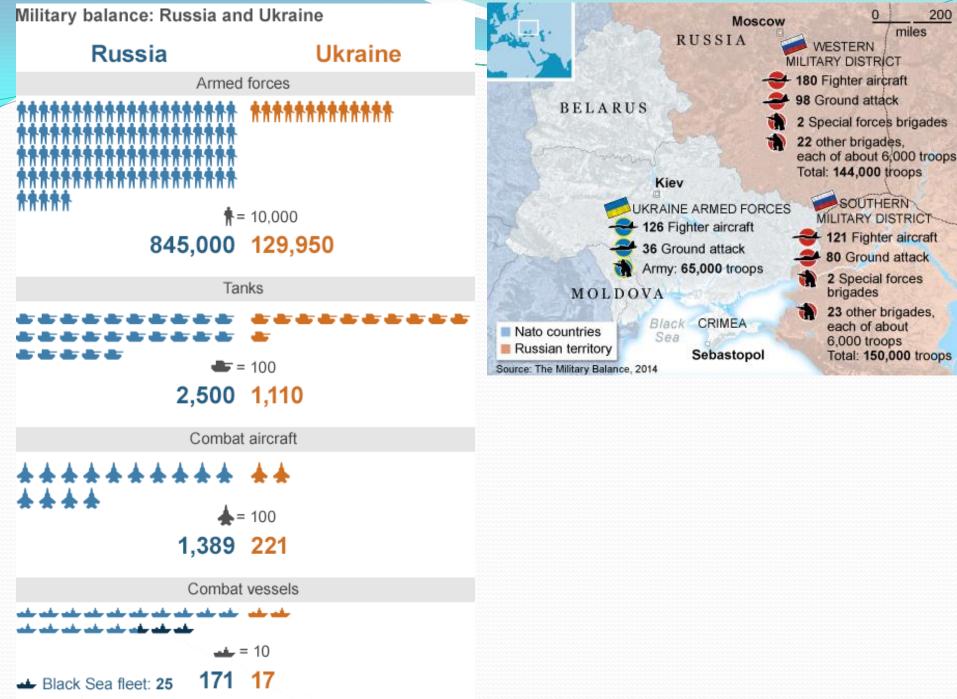


Уровень угрозы по областям

на побережье

Угроза высадки десанта

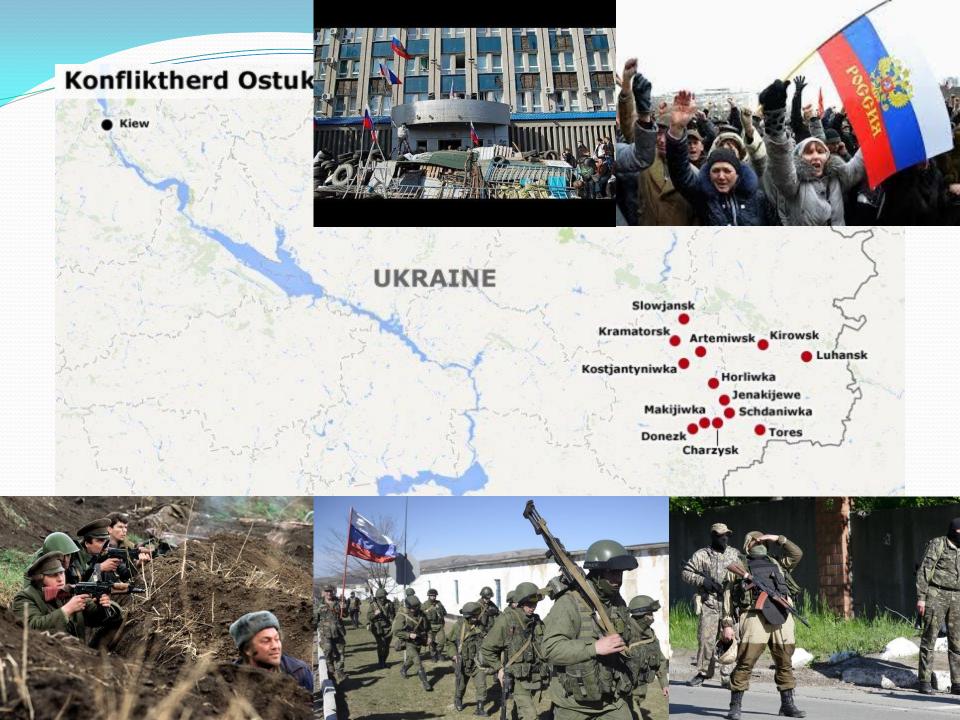
-	
	Донецкая, Луганская
7	
6	Харьковская
5	Одесская
4	Запорожская
3	Николаевская, Херсонская
2	Днепропетровская
1	

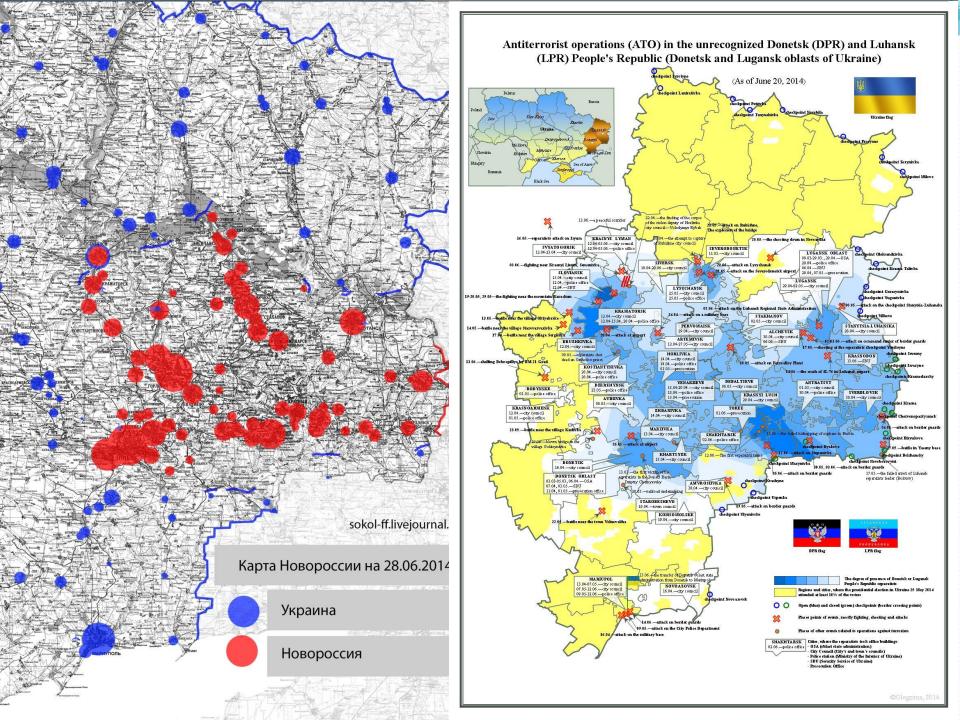


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Source: IISS

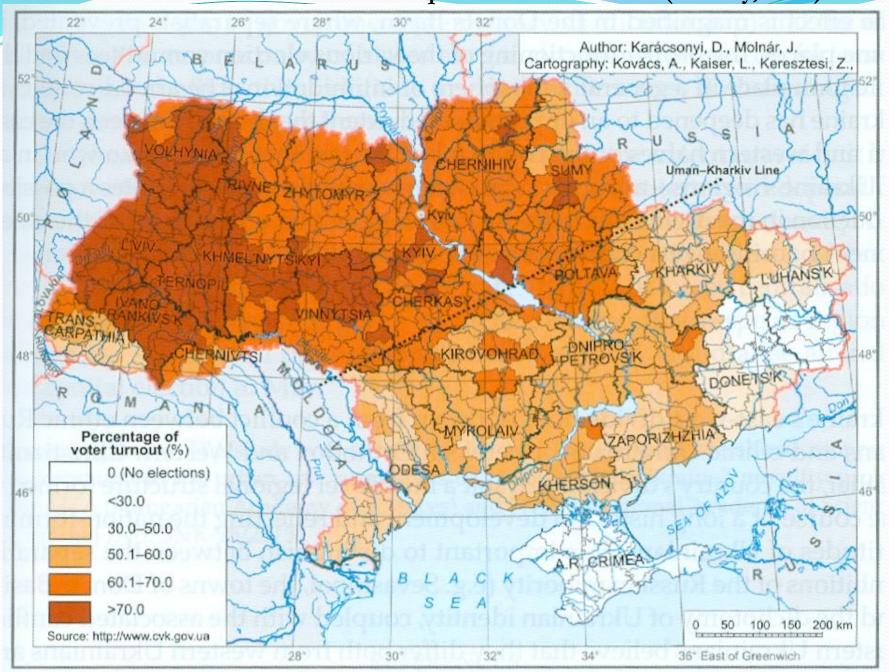




25 May 2014 Ukrainian presidential election. The traditional west—east "gradient" is evident once again in the voter turnout figures and in the percentage of voters supporting Petro Poroshenko, the candidate who won the election. The low turnout in the southeast reflects primarily the decision of former Yanukovich supporters to stay away. The effect is magnified in the Donets'k Basin, where separatists prevented, in some places, the proper functioning of the various election committees and the vote took place in a general atmosphere of intimidation.

The armed conflict in Ukraine has deepened to an unprecedented extent the discord between the eastern and western halves of the country.

Voter turnout at the Ukrainian presidential election (25 May, 2014)



Results of Poroshenko at the Ukrainian presidential election (25 May, 2014)



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Control over settlements:



Date of the liberation

Human resources of terrorists:



Location terrorists



The positions of Ukrainian military



Existed



Places fights with terrorists

The border



Border areas under the control of Ukraine



Places of armed clashes between the Border Guard Service of Ukraine and the terrorists



Territory controlled by terrorists as of June 18



Seven task forces (ships and coast guard motorboats) are continuing to guard the Azov Sea to prevent the penetration of sabotage and intelligence groups on the coast of Donetsk and Zaporizhia oblasts, and to guard the raids of the Mariupol and Berdyansk ports.



Location civilian airports.



The location of military units of the Russian Federation



Boeing 777 crash site July 17, 2014





Information and **Analysis Center** of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine

www.mediarnbo.org



Control over settlements:



Liberated

Terrorist forces:



Serrorists bearties



The positions of Ukrainian military



Existing



Cartetians of complust



The direction of attacks of Ukrainlan troops



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Border areas under the control of Shoales



Places of armed climbes between the Barder Sound Service of Elicaine and the terrorists



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Bowing TTT mask site July TT, 2014



Information and Analysis Center of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine

www.mediarnbo.org

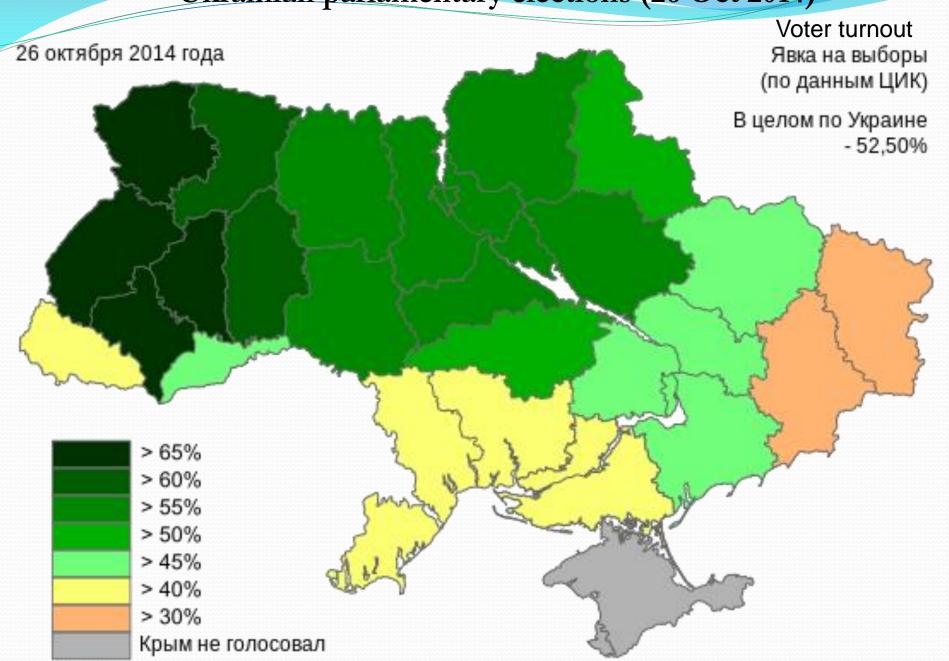


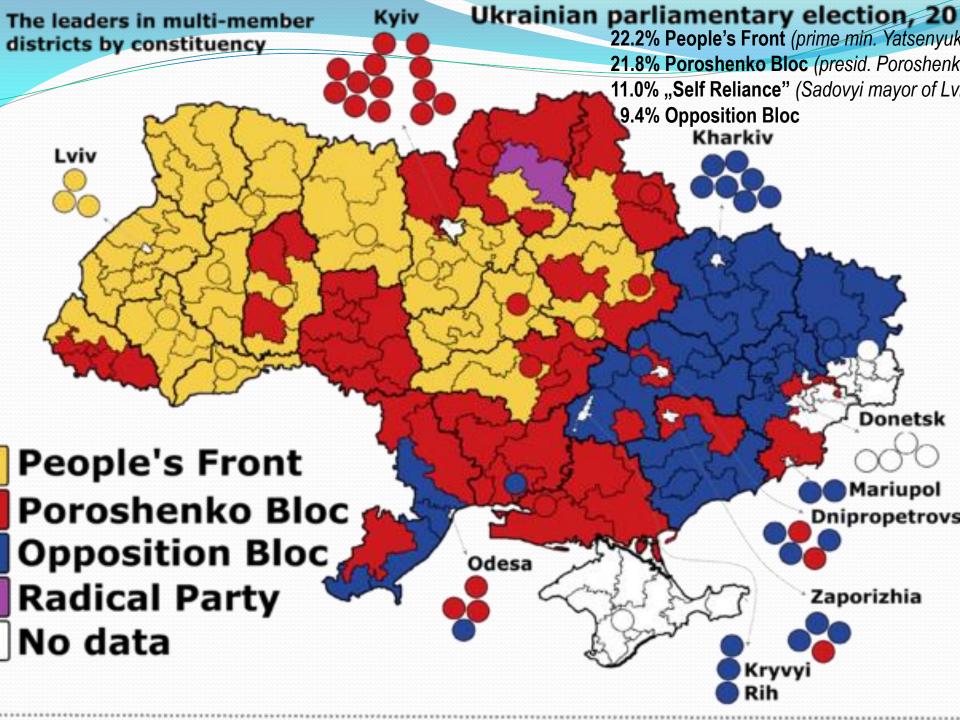
Territory of the separatist People's Republic of Donets'k and Luhans'k (5th October 2014)





Ukrainian parlamentary elections (26 Oct 2014)





Ukraine's territory according to the Russians



Рис. 1







Russia won the battle of Crimea, but lost the war for Ukraine.
Ukraine is gradually moving from the periphery of Russia to the periphery of the EU

Conclusions

Ukraine's east-west divide does not stem from a conflict between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. Rather, the country's divisions exhibit a multilevel regional structure formed in the course of a long historical development and reflecting the nation-forming attitudes of Ukrainians.

It is important to distinguish between the separatist ambitions of the Russian minority (e.g. Crimea, Donets Basin) and the dichotomy of Ukrainian identity, coupled with the associated conflict. Eastern Ukrainians believe that they differ both from western Ukrainians and from Russians: they view the West with suspicion and look to the Russians as partners. Even so, they do not want to accede to Russia at any cost.

The escalation of the conflict is due to the lack of domestic political cohesion of the young Ukrainian state and to the gravitational effect of the major powers. The conflict over Crimea was the belated conflagration of a trouble spot.

Ukraine will not split of its own accord, but the extent to which it becomes a battleground for the major powers in the short term will depend on whether the current conflict deepens and whether the long-term damage can be reversed. It is crucial for Ukraine to strengthen domestic political cohesion and to create an effective and functional state. In place of forced centralisation, the means for this may be a policy of regionalisation that respects regional differences.

- •Ďakujem za pozornosť!
- •Děkuji za pozornost!
- Köszönöm a figyelmet!

www.mtafki.hu/konyvtar/geobull_en.html