

The Enduring Conflict: A Millennium of Ukraine-Russia Relations

Welcome!

This presentation is designed to give you a foundational understanding of Ukraine. We'll start by looking at **the situation today**, and then delve into **the complex history of Ukraine**, a nation that has spent much of the last two millennia under the control of various empires.

These slides are intended for a more detailed read before Wednesday evening's session. Please don't worry if you don't fully grasp every detail on your first pass. However, taking the time to read through them will provide you with a valuable overview and familiarize you with the subject matter we'll be discussing on Wednesday night.

Enjoy the read!

Introduction - A World in Crisis

Date of Full-Scale Invasion

On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, marking a significant escalation in the ongoing conflict and triggering a global crisis.



Global Impact of the Conflict

The invasion has caused widespread humanitarian suffering, displaced millions, disrupted global economies, and heightened geopolitical tensions worldwide.

Moral Outrage: Denying Self-Determination



Political Self-Determination

Political self-determination is the right of a people to freely choose their own political system and future without external interference or coercion.



Russia's Aim

Russia's invasion seeks to decide Ukraine's political future for it, ignoring the will of the Ukrainian people and denying their ability to selfgovern.



Violation of Sovereignty

By invading, Russia violates Ukraine's sovereignty, undermining the fundamental principle that nations govern themselves independently.



Threat to Global Order

This breach threatens the global order by setting a dangerous precedent that powerful states can impose their will on others by force.

International Law

International Law: Violation of the UN Charter

UN Charter's Key Principle The UN Charter is the foundation of international law for maintaining global peace and security, emphasizing respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Article 2(4)
Text

Article 2(4) states: 'All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state...'

Direct Violation by Russia

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, is a blatant breach of Article 2(4), undermining Ukraine's sovereignty and violating the UN's core purpose of peace.

Russia's UN
Obligations

As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Russia is legally bound to uphold the UN Charter and maintain international peace, making its actions a serious breach of its commitments.



Justifications

Disputed Justifications and False Pretexts

- Russian Claims
- "Denazification" of Ukraine to remove alleged extremist elements.
- Allegations of "genocide" against Russian-speaking populations in Ukraine.
- Claim of self-defense against threats posed by Ukraine.

Factual
CounterArguments

- International law experts and evidence overwhelmingly reject these justifications as baseless pretexts.
- No credible evidence supports claims of genocide in Ukraine.
- Ukraine's government was democratically elected by its people.
- Self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter applies only to an armed attack initiated by another state, which Ukraine did not do.

Treaties

Breach of International Agreements





Budapest Memorandum of 1994 Russia, along with the US and UK, guaranteed Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity in exchange for Ukraine giving up its nuclear weapons. This agreement was a key security assurance for Ukraine.



Violation of Guarantees

Russia's invasion directly breaches the Budapest Memorandum commitments, undermining the trust in international agreements that protect state sovereignty and peace.



Other Disregarded Treaties

Beyond the Budapest Memorandum, Russia has ignored other relevant international treaties and agreements that uphold Ukraine's territorial integrity and the rules of war.

The Crime of Aggression



Definition of Crime of Aggression



The Invasion as an International Crime



ICC Investigations

The crime of aggression is defined under international criminal law as the planning, preparation, initiation, or execution of an act of aggression by a person in a position of control or leadership over a state.

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine is considered a clear example of the crime of aggression, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another state without justification.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has launched investigations into the invasion, seeking to hold individuals accountable, including issuing warrants for alleged war crimes and crimes of aggression.

The Human Cost: Civilian Casualties

Civilian and Military Deaths and Injuries

The true toll is difficult to find online but it is huge.

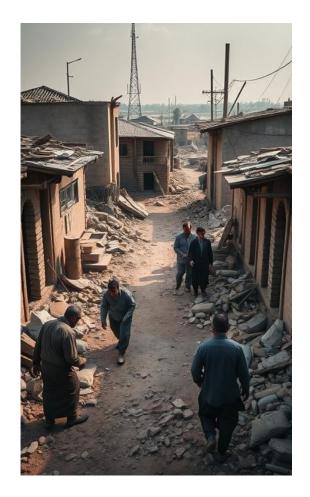
One recent estimate is that over 1 million Russian soldiers have died.

Impact on Children

Children have suffered greatly, The war has disrupted their lives, education, and safety, causing long-term trauma and loss.

Elderly and Frontline Communities

Elderly civilians are disproportionately affected, especially in frontline communities where access to medical care and essentials is severely limited, compounding their vulnerability.



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The Humanitarian Crisis: Displacement and Refugees

01	Internal
	Displacement

04

Over 7 million Ukrainians have been forced to flee their homes but remain within Ukraine, often living in temporary shelters, overcrowded cities, or with host families, facing uncertain futures and limited resources.

02 Refugee Outflows

More than 6 million Ukrainians have crossed international borders seeking refuge in neighboring countries, mainly Poland, Romania, and Hungary, triggering a major humanitarian response across Europe.

VulnerablePopulations

Women, children, elderly, and disabled individuals are disproportionately affected by displacement, with many facing heightened risks of exploitation, trauma, and lack of access to healthcare and education.

04 Global Humanitarian Response International organizations and governments have mobilized aid, including food, medical supplies, shelter, and psychological support, but ongoing hostilities continue to complicate relief efforts and access.

Humanitarian Impact

Targeting Civilian Infrastructure & Essential Services



Russian armed forces have systematically targeted critical civilian infrastructure, deliberately damaging systems that support daily life and wellbeing.



Energy Infrastructure Power plants, transformers, and electrical grids have been attacked, causing widespread outages and severely impacting civilian life, especially during harsh weather.



Water and Sanitation

Attacks on water distribution and sewage systems have disrupted access to clean water and sanitation, increasing the risk of disease and worsening humanitarian conditions.



Healthcare and Education

Hospitals and schools have been damaged or destroyed, undermining public health services and education, leaving civilians vulnerable and communities destabilized.



War Crimes

Documented War Crimes and Atrocities



War crimes are violations of the laws of war that protect civilians and limit methods and means of warfare, ensuring humanitarian conduct during conflicts.

Indiscriminate Attacks

Russian forces have carried out shelling and bombing of residential areas, markets, and civilian shelters, causing widespread destruction and civilian casualties.

Direct Targeting of Civilians

Evidence from locations like Bucha and Irpin shows executions and targeted killings of civilians, constituting grave breaches of international law.

Forced
Displacement and
Deportation

There is a systematic program of coerced deportation, including the forced adoption of Ukrainian children into Russian families, violating human rights.

Other Atrocities

Torture and ill-treatment of prisoners of war, use of prohibited weapons, and other severe violations have been documented by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the UN HRMMU.

International Response and Accountability



Global Condemnation

The UN General Assembly, G7, EU, and numerous countries have issued strong statements condemning Russia's invasion as a violation of international law and a threat to global peace.



Economic Sanctions

Unprecedented sanctions targeting Russia's economy, financial systems, and key individuals have been imposed by the US, EU, UK, and other allies to pressure Russia to cease hostilities.



International Criminal Court (ICC)

The ICC has issued arrest warrants for President Putin and other officials for alleged war crimes, including the forced deportation of Ukrainian children, signaling a strong push for legal accountability.



European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)

The ECHR has ruled that Russia violated international law in Ukraine, including responsibility for the downing of flight MH17, reinforcing judicial condemnation of the invasion.



A Call for Justice and Peace

- Russia's invasion of Ukraine is a clear and undeniable violation of fundamental moral principles and international law.
- The conflict has inflicted immense suffering on the Ukrainian people,
 with countless civilian casualties and widespread destruction.
- Holding perpetrators accountable for war crimes and crimes against humanity is crucial to justice and prevention of future atrocities.
- The ongoing struggle emphasizes the importance of international solidarity and efforts toward a just and lasting peace for Ukraine and the world.
- Ukrainian people's resilience and hope remain a powerful symbol of endurance amid adversity.

A Millennium of Entanglement



- Historical context is crucial for understanding.
- The presentation covers a millennium of history.
- It explains complex Ukraine-Russia relations.
- Various perspectives are explored in detail.

Pre-Kyivan Rus': Ancient Roots and Early Slavs

Nomadic Empires of the Steppe

The Pontic Steppe hosted powerful nomads: Scythians (7th-3rd c. BCE) known for horsemanship & gold artifacts; Sarmatians (3rd c. BCE - 4th c. CE) who displaced Scythians; Greek colonies like Olbia & Chersonesus brought Hellenic influence via trade.

Early Slavs and Migration Period Early Slavic tribes, ancestors of Ukrainians, Russians & Belarusians, emerged between 4th-8th c. CE. Their Proto-Slavic homeland lay between the Vistula & Dnieper rivers. During the Great Migration, they expanded amid Roman decline, settling forest zones with tribal societies practicing paganism.



Early Medieval Era

Interactions with Neighbors and Emerging Powers (7th-9th Centuries)

Varangians and Trade Routes Scandinavian Varangians (Vikings) traveled along the 'Route from the Varangians to the Greeks,' major river routes connecting the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. They established trading posts and eventually became ruling elites among some Slavic tribes, facilitating commerce and political integration.



The Byzantine Empire (Constantinople) exerted growing cultural and religious influence on East Slavs through trade routes leading to the Black Sea. This influence laid the groundwork for the later Christianization of Kyivan Rus' and shaped early East Slavic religious traditions.



Byzantine Cultural and Religious Influence



The Route from the Varangians to the Greeks



Overview of the Varangian Route

This ancient waterway network linked the Baltic Sea through rivers such as the Dnieper, enabling Varangians (Vikings) to travel and trade with the Byzantine Empire, establishing early political ties.



Significance of the Route

The route was crucial for the development of Kyivan Rus', as it fostered economic prosperity, cultural exchange, and the spread of Orthodox Christianity via Byzantine influence.



Kyivan Rus

Kyivan Rus': A Shared Cradle, Diverging Paths

- Kyivan Rus' formed in the 9th century, widely considered the common ancestral state of modern Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus, though interpretations of its legacy differ.
- The traditional narrative credits the Varangians (Norsemen) with its formation, invited by Slavic tribes to bring order—Rurik's arrival in Novgorod followed by Oleg's capture of Kyiv and consolidation.
- Kyiv became the political and cultural center of this early East Slavic state, strategically located along important trade routes.
- In 988, under Volodymyr the Great, Kyivan Rus' adopted Orthodox Christianity, solidifying strong ties with the Byzantine Empire and shaping the spiritual and cultural identity of the region.

Kyivan Rus

Boundaries of Kyivan Rus on a Modern Map



Estimated Geographic Boundaries

Kyivan Rus' extended from the Baltic Sea in the north through modern Belarus and Ukraine, reaching eastward into parts of western Russia, including cities like Novgorod and Chernihiv, encompassing major river routes such as the Dnieper and the Volga.

Key Cities and Trade Routes

Kyiv was the political and cultural center, with important cities like Novgorod and Chernihiv facilitating trade along the river routes connecting the Baltic and Black Seas, which were vital for commerce and cultural exchange within Kyivan Rus'.

The Mongol Yoke and Divergence (13th-15th Century)



Mongol Invasion and Kyiv Devastation

The Mongol invasion by the Golden Horde in 1240 devastated Kyiv, marking the collapse of Kyivan Rus'. The Dnieper region declined as lands fragmented and became vulnerable to external powers.



Rise of Muscovy and Autocracy

Northeastern Rus' (Muscovy) survived Mongol domination, gradually consolidating power. It developed a more autocratic political tradition by learning to operate under and then resist Mongol rule.



Western Rus' under Lithuania and Poland

Former western and southwestern Rus' lands became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, exposing the region to Western European political, social, and religious influences.



Fragmentation and External Influence

The Mongol invasion resulted in the political and cultural fragmentation of East Slavic lands, with competing influences from Mongols, Lithuanians, Poles, and emerging Rus' powers shaping divergent historical paths.

Historical Maps

Maps of the Mongol Yoke (13th-14th Century)



Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth & Ukrainian Identity (15th-17th Centuries)

Union of Lublin and Polish Rule

The 1569 Union of Lublin created the vast Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, transferring most Ukrainian lands from Lithuanian to Polish control. This shift intensified serfdom and Polonization among the Ukrainian nobility, deeply influencing the social and political landscape of the region.

Religious Divisions: Catholicism and the Uniate Church

Religious tensions grew as Catholicism spread and the Union of Brest (1596) established the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church. This church retained Orthodox rites but recognized the Pope, further separating Ukrainian religious life from Muscovy's staunch Orthodox traditions.

Rise of the Cossacks

The Zaporozhian Cossacks emerged as a powerful, semi-autonomous military force on the southern frontier. They became guardians of Orthodox faith and defenders of Ukrainian autonomy against Polish nobles, developing democratic traditions that contrasted sharply with Muscovite autocracy.

Historical Context

Map of the Commonwealth

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Geographic and Political Landscape

The Commonwealth encompassed most of modern Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, with major cities like Warsaw, Vilnius, and Lviv.

Formed by the 1569 Union of Lublin, the Commonwealth transferred Ukrainian lands from Lithuania to Polish control, intensifying serfdom, Polonization, and religious tensions with the rise of Catholicism and the Uniate Church.



The Pereiaslav Agreement & Imperial Expansion



Khmelnytsky Uprising

The 1648 massive Cossack revolt against Polish rule, led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, sought protection from the Orthodox Tsar of Muscovy. It was a defining moment for Ukrainian autonomy and military strength.



Treaty of Pereiaslav Interpretations

Signed in 1654, the treaty pledged Cossack allegiance to the Muscovite Tsar. Ukrainians viewed it as a temporary military alliance preserving autonomy, while Russia saw it as a definitive 'reunion' and incorporation into the Tsardom.



Russian Expansion & Partitions

Over the next century, Russian Tsars systematically eroded Cossack autonomy, notably under Peter I and Catherine the Great. The late 18th-century partitions of Poland resulted in Russia absorbing most modern Ukrainian territories, except for some areas under Austrian rule.



The Role of the Cossacks in Shaping Ukrainian National Identity

Defenders of Autonomy

The Cossacks emerged as a semi-autonomous military community on Ukraine's southern frontier, resisting Polish-Lithuanian control and later Russian imperial encroachment. Their military campaigns and self-governance efforts symbolized the fight for Ukrainian territorial and political independence.

Guardians of Orthodox Faith

Amid increasing pressure from Catholic Poland and later Orthodox Muscovy, the Cossacks became defenders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This religious role reinforced a spiritual identity distinct from both Western Catholic and Russian Orthodox influences, strengthening national cohesion.

Symbols of National Identity

Cossack traditions emphasized democratic governance, military valor, and cultural uniqueness, inspiring later Ukrainian national revival movements.

Figures like Bohdan Khmelnytsky connected Cossack resistance to broader aspirations for Ukrainian nationhood and autonomy.

Key Dates in Cossack History in Ukraine



Cossack Emergence

First recorded mention of the Cossacks near the lower Dnieper River, marking their rise as a semi-autonomous warrior community on Ukraine's southern frontier.

Zaporozhian Sich Founded

Establishment of the Zaporozhian Sich as the Cossacks' fortified military and administrative center, solidifying their role as a key military power.

Khmelnytsky Uprising

Bohdan Khmelnytsky leads a major Cossack rebellion against Polish rule, initiating a struggle for Ukrainian autonomy and Orthodox rights.

Treaty of Pereiaslav

Cossacks pledge allegiance to the Russian Tsar seeking protection, preserving autonomy but eventually leading to loss of independence.

Zaporozhian Sich Destroyed

Russian imperial forces dismantle the Zaporozhian Sich, ending Cossack autonomy and absorbing their lands into the Russian Empire.

Origins and Differences of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

01

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church: Origins and Development

- Roots trace back to the Christianization of Kyivan Rus' in 988 under Prince Volodymyr the Great.
- Originally united under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople before Moscow's rise.
- Maintained strong ties with Constantinople historically, emphasizing Ukrainian religious identity.
- 2018-2019: Granted autocephaly (independence) by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, forming the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU).
- This move marked a break from the Moscow Patriarchate's authority, asserting Ukrainian ecclesiastical sovereignty.

02

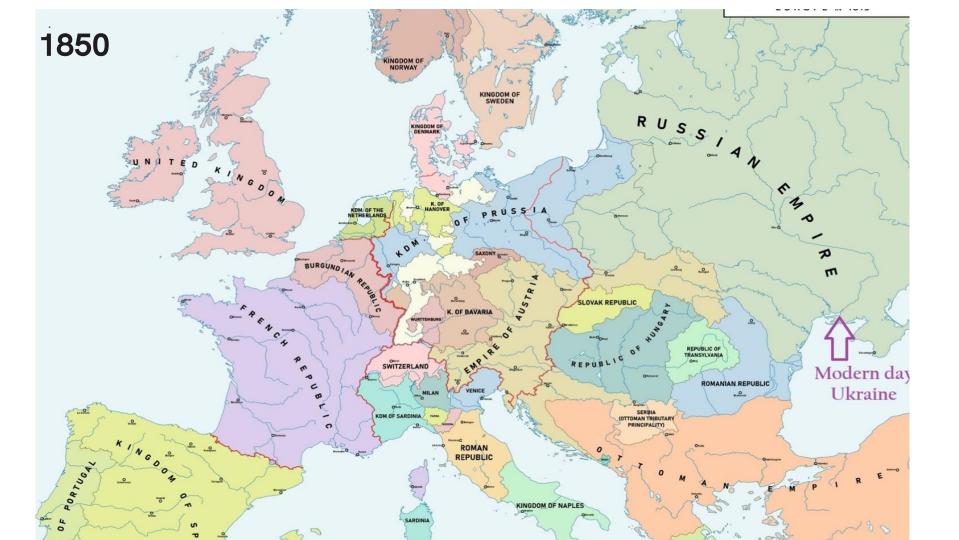
Differences from the Russian Orthodox Church

- Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) claims spiritual leadership over all Rus' lands including Ukraine.
- Ukrainian Orthodox Church supports national identity and sovereignty, rejecting Moscow's political influence.
- OCU recognized by Constantinople but not by Moscow, leading to ecclesiastical tensions.
- UOC-Moscow Patriarchate faction remains in Ukraine but is losing influence amid the conflict.
- The split reflects wider cultural and political divisions between Ukraine and Russia today.

Imperial Expansion

Map of Russian Imperial Expansion and Territorial Changes





19th & Early 20th Century Ukrainian National Identity

01

Key Themes in National Identity

- Resistance to Russification and Polonization policies
- Revival of Ukrainian language, folklore, and traditions
- Rise of national consciousness amid imperial repression
- Role of Cossacks as symbols of autonomy and freedom
- Emergence of Ukrainian political and cultural movements

02

Literary Contributions of Shevchenko & Ukrainka

- Taras Shevchenko inspired Ukrainian pride through poetry and art
- Shevchenko emphasized social justice and national liberation
- Lesya Ukrainka advanced modern Ukrainian literature and feminism
- Ukrainka's works highlighted cultural resilience and identity
- Both authors shaped the narrative of Ukrainian uniqueness

Taras Shevchenko:



- Taras Shevchenko was born in 1814.
- He passed away in the year 1861.
- He was a pivotal figure in Ukrainian literature.
- Shevchenko was a renowned poet and artist.
- He championed Ukrainian national identity.

Lesya Ukrainka: Biography

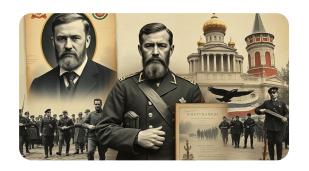


- Lesya Ukrainka was born in 1871.
- She passed away in 1913.
- Ukrainka was a prominent Ukrainian writer.
- Her work championed Ukrainian cultural identity.

Ukraine's Brief Period of Full Independence (1917-1921)

- Ukraine declared independence on January 22, 1918, forming the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) following the Russian Empire's collapse after World War I and the 1917 Russian Revolution.
- This period was marked by intense turmoil: the UPR faced invasions from Bolshevik forces, White Russians, and territorial claims by Poland, leading to ongoing military and political struggles.
- The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918) temporarily secured recognition of Ukrainian independence from the Central Powers but did not stabilize the region.
- By 1921, after the Polish-Soviet War and internal conflicts, Soviet Russia established control over most of Ukraine, ending the brief independence and incorporating Ukraine into the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian SSR.
- This short-lived independence remains a foundational moment in Ukrainian national identity and the modern struggle for sovereignty.

Russification, Ukrainian Revival, and World Wars (19th - Early 20th C.)



World War I & Revolutions

The collapse of the Russian Empire during WWI created a window for Ukrainian independence. The 1914-1921 period was marked by political upheaval and competing forces shaping Ukraine's future.

Russification Policies

Russian Empire policies suppressed Ukrainian language, culture, and identity. The Valuev Circular (1863) and Ems Ukaz (1876) banned Ukrainian publications and performances, enforcing the idea of Ukrainians as a sub-ethnicity called 'Little Russian' (Malorossy).

Ukrainian War of Independence

Ukraine declared the Ukrainian People's Republic and fought Bolsheviks, White Russians, and Poles. Despite fierce resistance, most of Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Cultural Revival

Despite repression, a strong Ukrainian cultural and literary movement emerged, led by figures like Taras Shevchenko and Lesya Ukrainka. This revival laid the foundation for modern Ukrainian national consciousness.

Western Ukraine under Poland

Western Ukraine (Galicia) came under Polish control after WWI, influencing the region's political, cultural, and social dynamics during the interwar period.

Soviet Ukraine: Famine, War, and Post-War Era





Formation of Ukrainian SSR

Ukraine became a founding republic of the Soviet Union in 1922, initially experiencing a brief period of Ukrainization before the onset of harsh Soviet centralization and repression.



World War II Devastation

Ukraine became a primary battleground with immense loss of life and destruction; Western Ukrainian territories were annexed into the Ukrainian SSR after the war.



Holodomor Famine (1932-1933)

A man-made famine orchestrated by Stalin's regime to crush Ukrainian nationalism and resistance to collectivization, resulting in millions of deaths and profound national trauma.



Post-War Soviet Era

Marked by industrialization, urbanization, and continuing suppression of Ukrainian dissent; Russification policies persisted with greater subtlety.



Great Purge & Repressions

The Soviet government eliminated much of Ukraine's intelligentsia and political leadership during Stalin's purges, severely weakening Ukrainian cultural and political structures.

0.0

Chernobyl Disaster (1986)

A catastrophic nuclear accident exposing Soviet mismanagement and environmental negligence, fueling Ukrainian discontent and becoming a symbol of Soviet failure. Ukraine within the Soviet Union:
Geographic and Political Context



Geographic Boundaries of Soviet Ukraine

The Ukrainian SSR was one of the largest republics of the Soviet Union, encompassing most of modern Ukraine's territory, including key cities like Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Lviv, with borders shaped by historical partitions and Soviet administrative decisions.



Political and Historical Significance

As a founding member of the USSR in 1922, Ukraine underwent significant political, social, and economic changes under Soviet rule, including periods of Ukrainization, harsh repression, and forced collectivization that shaped its national trauma and post-Soviet identity.

Geopolitical Context

Geopolitical Map: Soviet Ukraine and Its Neighbors

1922 - 1991: USSR



Ukrainian Independence and Early Relations (Post-1991)

- Ukraine declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, marking a pivotal moment in its modern history.
- Following independence, Ukraine agreed to nuclear disarmament by transferring its inherited Soviet nuclear arsenal to Russia under the Budapest Memorandum, which also guaranteed Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- Early post-independence relations with Russia were relatively close but became increasingly strained over time due to differing national interests and policies.
- Ukraine's foreign policy began to diverge, with significant political debate and public desire over aligning closer with the European Union versus maintaining traditional ties with Russia.
- This period laid the foundation for ongoing geopolitical tensions between Ukraine's aspirations for European integration and Russia's efforts to retain influence.

Support Base

Yanukovych's Base: The East-South Divide



Yanukovych's support was strongest in Eastern Ukraine (Donetsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv, parts of Dnipropetrovsk) and Southern Ukraine (Crimea, Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia). These areas have significant Russian-speaking populations and strong economic ties to Russia.



Voters were primarily Russian-speaking Ukrainians who favored closer ties with Russia. Many valued stability, economic cooperation with Russia, and sometimes a more authoritarian governance style.



Economic Factors

These regions have heavy industry and a strong reliance on Russian markets, shaping voter preferences towards candidates promising economic stability and cooperation with Russia.



Historical Ties

The East and South have a strong Soviet legacy and cultural connections to Russia, influencing political outlooks and regional identity supporting Yanukovych's platform.

2004 Presidential Election - First Round



First Round Results Overview

- Yanukovych received 39.3% of the vote, narrowly behind Yushchenko's 39.8%.
- The election was held on October 31, 2004.
- The first round showed a deeply divided electorate with nearly equal vote shares between the top two candidates.

Regional Support and Turnout in Donetsk & Luhansk

- Donetsk Oblast reported over 96% voter turnout with overwhelming support for Yanukovych.
- Luhansk Oblast showed similarly high turnout and strong backing.
- These regions were Yanukovych's stronghold in the East, with nearly unanimous votes.
- The high turnout and margins later became key evidence cited for election fraud.

2004 Election

2004 Presidential Election - Second Round and Orange Revolution

Initial Second Round Results

On November 21, 2004, Yanukovych was initially declared the winner with 49.42% of the vote. This announcement was based heavily on the overwhelming support from Eastern regions such as Donetsk and Luhansk, where reported turnout and vote margins were extremely high.

Allegations of Fraud and Orange Revolution

The "suspiciously high turnout" and extreme margins in Eastern Ukraine raised significant concerns of electoral fraud. These irregularities triggered mass protests, known as the Orange Revolution, demanding a fair and transparent election process.

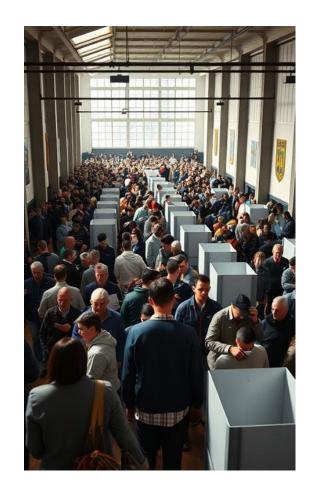
Repeat Second Round Election

A repeat second round was held on December 26, 2004. Despite the rerun, Yanukovych still secured 44.85% of the vote, demonstrating that his strong regional backing in the East and South remained entrenched even after fraud was exposed.

2010 Presidential Election - Overall Results

In the 2010 presidential election, Viktor Yanukovych won the presidency with 48.95% of the vote in the second round held on February 7, 2010. His main opponent, Yulia Tymoshenko, secured 45.47% of the vote. This election confirmed the strong regional divide in voter preferences across Ukraine, with Yanukovych dominating the East and South while Tymoshenko was favored in the West and Center.

The overall result clearly illustrated the persistent split in Ukrainian political landscape, reflecting differing political outlooks and ethnolinguistic identities within the country. Yanukovych's victory marked a continuation of his appeal to voters favoring economic stability and closer ties with Russia.



2010 Election Geographic Support Split

Yanukovych was overwhelmingly supported in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, including Donetsk Oblast where he received over 90% of the vote. Luhansk, Crimea, and other southern and eastern oblasts also showed very high support, with some sources reporting 76% of voters in the South-Eastern part of Ukraine backing him.

West & Center Support for Tymoshenko

The West and Center of Ukraine primarily supported Yulia Tymoshenko in the 2010 election, contrasting sharply with the East and South. These regions favored Tymoshenko as part of the ongoing regional and ethno-linguistic political divide in Ukraine.

Consolidation of Yanukovych's Base in 2010

01

Appeal to Economic Stability and Fatigue

- Yanukovych capitalized on widespread fatigue with the 'Orange' governments that preceded him.
- He emphasized promises of economic stability amid political uncertainty.
- Voters from his traditional base sought steady governance and economic cooperation.

02

Emphasis on Strong Ties with Russia

- Yanukovych appealed to regions valuing close economic and political cooperation with Russia.
- His base included Russian-speaking Ukrainians with historic Soviet ties.
- Maintaining these ties was a key message to consolidate support in Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

Current Conflict

The Orange Revolution and Euromaidan Protests

The Orange Revolution (2004)

- Protests erupted against election fraud during the 2004 presidential election.
- Symbolized a major push towards democratic reforms and transparency in government.
- Demonstrated widespread public demand for fair elections and rule of law.
- Ultimately led to a revote and victory for opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko.

- € Euromaidan Protests (2013-2014)
- Mass protests began after President Yanukovych rejected an EU association agreement.
- Marked a broader demand for European integration and democratic governance.
- Protests escalated into violent clashes leading to Yanukovych's removal from power.
- Set the stage for subsequent Russian military intervention and annexation of Crimea.

Summary: Regional and Ethno-linguistic Divides

Viktor Yanukovych's campaigns highlighted entrenched regional and ethno-linguistic divides in Ukraine. His core support was in Eastern & Southern Ukraine, including Crimea and parts of Central Ukraine, areas with many Russian-speaking Ukrainians and strong ties to Russia.

These regions favored Yanukovych due to a political outlook favoring closer ties with Russia, stability, and economic reliance on Russian markets.

Western & Central Ukraine primarily supported his opponents, showing a clear geographic and cultural split. This divide was evident in both the 2004 and 2010 elections, with Yanukovych's Party of Regions leveraging these divisions effectively.



Conflict 2014

Russian Annexation of Crimea and War in Donbas (2014)

- Russia annexed Crimea in March 2014 following a disputed referendum held shortly after the Euromaidan protests and the removal of Ukrainian President Yanukovych.
- The annexation was internationally condemned as illegal and a violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- Following the annexation, Russia supported separatist movements in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine, including the self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.
- This support initiated the ongoing armed conflict in Donbas, involving Ukrainian government forces and Russian-backed separatists, leading to significant casualties and displacement.
- The war in Donbas has continued since 2014, representing a persistent and unresolved conflict that has shaped the broader Ukraine-Russia crisis.

The 2022 Full-Scale Invasion: Escalation and Initial Events

- Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24,
 2022, dramatically escalating the ongoing conflict.
- The invasion followed a prolonged period of military buildup by Russia along Ukraine's borders.
- Russian demands and ultimatums preceded the invasion but were ultimately rejected by Ukraine and the international community.
- The initial days of the invasion saw widespread fighting, destruction, and significant humanitarian impact.
- This marked a turning point from the earlier hybrid and proxy conflicts to open, large-scale warfare on Ukrainian soil.



Russian Perspective

The Russian
Point of View:
Key Arguments
and
Perspectives

01	Shared Historical Origins	Russia emphasizes the common heritage with Ukraine rooted in Kyivan Rus', portraying Ukrainians and Russians as 'one people' with intertwined cultural and spiritual bonds dating back over a millennium.
02	NATO Expansion as Security Threat	The eastward expansion of NATO is seen by Russia as a direct threat to its national security, creating fears of Western military presence near its borders and undermining Russia's sovereignty.
03	Denazification and Demilitarization Claims	Russia claims the Ukrainian government harbors neo-Nazi and far-right extremist groups, using this narrative to justify its military intervention as necessary to 'denazify' and 'demilitarize' Ukraine.
04	Protection of Russian Speakers	Russia argues that Russian-speaking populations in Crimea and Donbas face discrimination and violence, positioning its intervention as protective of these communities' rights and safety.
05	Legitimate Sphere of Influence	Russia asserts a historic and geopolitical right to influence neighboring countries, viewing Ukraine as within its rightful sphere of influence and opposing Western encroachment in the region.

Geopolitics

The NATO
Expansion
Debate:
Promises and
Perspectives

01	The 'Promise' Not
	to Expand

In the early 1990s, Vladimir Putin claimed NATO promised not to expand eastward. US Secretary of State James Baker told Gorbachev NATO would not move "not one inch eastward," but this was tied to German reunification talks, not a binding treaty.

02 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act Signed in 1997, this political agreement aimed to foster NATO-Russia cooperation. It stated NATO had no plans for permanent combat forces in new members' territories, but it was not a legally binding treaty and did not grant Russia veto power.

03 Russian Interpretation

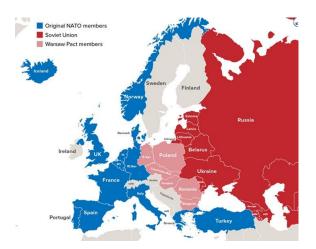
Russia views NATO's later deployments and exercises in Eastern Europe as violations of the 1997 Act's spirit, seeing the increased presence as a military expansion threatening its security.

04 NATO's Position

NATO argues the security environment changed due to Russian actions, such as Crimea's annexation. The alliance maintains its deployments are defensive, rotational, consistent with the Act, and respect sovereign nations' rights to choose alliances.

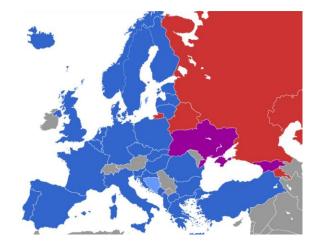
Geopolitics

NATO Expansion from 1990 to Present



NATO in 1990

In 1990, NATO consisted primarily of Western European countries and North America, with no members from Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union. The alliance focused on collective defense during the Cold War era.



NATO Today

As of the present day, NATO includes many former Eastern Bloc countries such as Poland, Hungary, the Baltic states, and others, reflecting a major eastward expansion after the Cold War.

Historical and Contemporary Far-Right Dynamics in Ukraine



WWII Ukrainian Nationalism

During WWII, Ukrainian nationalist groups like OUN and UPA collaborated with Nazi Germany, motivated by anti-Soviet goals but involved in atrocities, leaving a complex legacy.



Post-Soviet Far-Right Emergence

Since 1991, far-right groups like Svoboda and the Azov Battalion have had limited electoral success but gained visibility during the 2014 conflict and Euromaidan protests.



Current Status & Russian Narrative

Far-right political influence in Ukraine remains marginal; Russia uses the Azov Battalion and far-right presence as propaganda to justify invasion, exaggerating their role.

Occupied Territories

The 'Will' of Occupied Ukraine: Evidence and Controversies

Russian Referendums	Russia cites referendums in Crimea (2014) and Donbas, Zaporizhzhia, Kherson (2022) claiming overwhelming support to join Russia under military occupation.	Local Resistance	Ukrainian partisan activity and protests persist in occupied areas, indicating significant opposition to Russian control.
International Rejection	These referendums are widely condemned as illegal, conducted under coercion without independent observers, and rejected by the UN and most countries.	Human Rights Concerns	Reports document detentions, torture, and forced Russification, creating a coercive environment that undermines claims of genuine local support.
Historical Context	Eastern and southern Ukraine have Russian cultural ties, but prior to 2014, most residents preferred remaining part of Ukraine rather than joining Russia.	Population Displacement	Millions have fled occupied territories, choosing exile over Russian annexation, which challenges the narrative of popular desire to join Russia.

Perspectives

The Ukrainian Point of View

Sovereignty and Independence

Ukraine emphasizes its right to self-determination and to freely choose its own alliances and political future without external coercion or interference.

Ukraine affirms a separate and unique national identity, distinct from Russian identity, forged through language, culture, and historical experience.

Historical Grievances

Recognition of past oppression, including attempts at Russification, the Holodomor famine, and suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture under Russian and Soviet rule.

Defense Against Aggression

The ongoing conflict is viewed as an unprovoked act of aggression by Russia, with Ukraine fighting for national survival and territorial sovereignty.

European Future
and Territorial
Integrity

Ukraine desires integration with Europe and democratic values, while demanding the restoration of all occupied territories, including Crimea and eastern regions.

Christian Perspectives

Ukrainian Orthodox Churches (Various Branches)



Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate -UOC-MP)

Historically tied to Moscow, the UOC-MP has condemned the war and declared a degree of independence from Moscow since the invasion, emphasizing shared Orthodoxy but opposing violence.



Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU)

Recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 2019, the OCU explicitly rejects Moscow's authority and supports Ukrainian sovereignty, viewing the war as a defense of their nation and spiritual independence.



Ukrainian Greek
Catholic Church

Aligned with the Pope, this church has consistently condemned the Russian invasion and supports Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity.



Common Themes Among Ukrainian Christians Many Ukrainian Christian branches condemn the war as an act of aggression and "fratricide," calling for peace, justice, and protection of civilians, with a strong focus on pastoral care for victims and refugees.

Other Christian Denominations & Broader Responses

01

Catholic Church (Pope Francis)

Pope Francis has consistently condemned the invasion, calling it "unacceptable armed aggression." He has repeatedly urged for peace and offered humanitarian aid to those affected by the conflict. The Catholic Church advocates strongly for reconciliation and an end to violence.

02

Protestant Churches

Many Protestant denominations worldwide have condemned the invasion and expressed solidarity with Ukraine. These churches are actively involved in humanitarian efforts, providing aid and support to refugees and victims of the war. Their response emphasizes peace, justice, and compassion.

03

Ecumenical Calls for Peace

Various interfaith and ecumenical organizations have called for an end to the war and for dialogue between conflicting parties. These groups promote mutual understanding, reconciliation, and advocate for peaceful resolution in line with Christian teachings.

Christian Perspectives

Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)



Support for the Invasion

Patriarch Kirill of Moscow has justified the war in spiritual terms, portraying it as a defense against Western 'decadent values' such as LGBTQ+ rights and a fight for the 'Russian world' (Russkii Mir).



Emphasis on Spiritual Unity The church stresses the common 'baptismal font' of Kyivan Rus', promoting the idea of spiritual unity among Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians under Moscow's ecclesiastical authority.



Metaphysical
Struggle Framing

The conflict is framed as a metaphysical and spiritual battle for eternal salvation and the preservation of Christian civilization against perceived Western moral decline.



Defense of the 'Russian World'

The Moscow Patriarchate promotes the concept of Russkii Mir, defending Russian cultural and religious influence as vital to protecting the identity and values of Russian-speaking populations.

Appendix - the culture of Ukraine

- Historical Resilience
- The Ukrainian Language
- Folk Traditions & Artistry
- Culinary Identity
- Family Values & Hospitality
- Spirituality & Orthodox Church

Historical Crucible and Resilience



Kievan Rus' Legacy The medieval state of Kievan Rus', with Kyiv as its capital, is considered the cradle of East Slavic civilization. Christianity (Eastern Orthodoxy) was adopted in 988 CE, profoundly shaping Ukrainian spirituality, art, and architecture.



Cossack Spirit and Hetmanate

The 15th-18th century Cossacks embodied fierce independence, martial prowess, and democratic traditions. The Cossack Hetmanate represents a key period of Ukrainian statehood, inspiring national pride and liberty.



Resistance to Russification Centuries of suppression under the Russian Empire and Soviet Union, including bans like the 1876 Ems Ukaz, aimed to diminish Ukrainian identity but instead strengthened its resilience and language vitality.



Enduring Cultural Identity Despite foreign domination and attempts at erasure, Ukrainian culture's distinctiveness was reinforced through continuous lineage, folk traditions, and a relentless pursuit of self-determination.



The Kievan Rus' Legacy

The medieval state of Kievan Rus', with Kyiv as its capital, is considered the cradle of East Slavic civilization, and its legacy is deeply embedded in Ukrainian culture. This period saw the adoption of Christianity (Eastern Orthodoxy) in 988 CE under Volodymyr the Great, which profoundly shaped Ukrainian spirituality, art, and architecture. While Russia also claims this heritage, Ukraine emphasizes its direct and continuous lineage, particularly through the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia which preserved Rus' traditions after the Mongol invasion. The Kievan Rus' legacy remains a cornerstone of Ukrainian identity, underscoring its deep historical roots and cultural distinctiveness.



History

Cossack Spirit and Hetmanate



- The emergence of the Cossacks in the 15th-18th centuries marks a pivotal element of Ukrainian identity, characterized by semi-autonomous military communities.
- Known for their fierce independence, martial prowess, and democratic traditions within their ranks, the Cossacks fostered a unique ethos of freedom and self-governance.
- The Cossack Hetmanate, a state established by the Cossacks, represents an important period of Ukrainian statehood and inspires national pride.
- The energetic and acrobatic Hopak dance vividly embodies the Cossack spirit, showcasing agility, strength, and exuberance.

Historical Resilience

Resistance to Russification

- Suppression
 Under Russian
 and Soviet Rule
- Ukrainian culture and language faced systematic suppression through Russification policies.
- The Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union implemented bans and restrictions targeting the language.
- The Ems Ukaz of 1876 prohibited the use of Ukrainian in print and public performances.
- These efforts aimed to diminish Ukrainian identity by erasing its linguistic and cultural presence.

- Strengthening of National Identity
- Suppression ironically reinforced Ukrainian resilience and cultural pride.
- The Ukrainian language became a potent symbol of resistance and national consciousness.
- Its vitality persisted even in regions subjected to intense Russification.
- Cultural resistance helped maintain a distinct Ukrainian identity despite external pressures.

The Ukrainian Language: Pillar of Identity



Distinctive Slavic Branch

Ukrainian is an East Slavic language with unique phonetic, grammatical, and lexical features that clearly differentiate it from Russian and Belarusian. Its vocabulary reflects centuries of interaction with Polish, German, Hungarian, and other European cultures, forming a rich and diverse lexicon.



Literary Revival and Shevchenko's Influence

The 19th century literary revival was spearheaded by Taras Shevchenko, considered the father of modern Ukrainian literature. His poetry, deeply rooted in folk traditions and expressing the yearning for freedom, unified the literary language and became a cornerstone of Ukrainian national identity.

ab

Symbol of Resilience

The letter 'Ï' (pronounced 'yi'), unique to the Ukrainian alphabet, stands as an unofficial symbol of defiance and distinctiveness, especially amid ongoing aggression. This letter underscores the language's individual character and its role as a pillar of national spirit.

Literary Revival and Shevchenko's Influence

Despite periods of suppression, Ukrainian experienced significant literary revivals. The 19th century saw the emergence of figures like Taras Shevchenko, considered the father of modern Ukrainian literature. His powerful poetry, deeply rooted in folk traditions and expressing the yearning for freedom, solidified a unified literary language and became a cornerstone of national identity. Shevchenko's works not only revived the spirit of the Ukrainian people during a time of cultural repression but also fostered a collective national consciousness that endures to this day.

The letter "Î" in the Ukrainian alphabet is a powerful symbol of defiance and distinctiveness.



Found only in Ukrainian, the letter "I" (pronounced "yi") underscores the language's unique character and cultural resilience. It has become an unofficial emblem of national identity, especially in the face of ongoing aggression, highlighting the distinctiveness of Ukrainian language and spirit.

Folk Traditions

Folk Art: Pysanky and Vyshyvanka



Pysanky (Decorated Easter Eggs)

Pysanky are intricately decorated Easter eggs, each motif and color carrying ancient meanings related to fertility, protection, and prosperity. This art, known as pysankarstvo, is a revered tradition passed down through generations, symbolizing continuity and cultural depth.



Vyshyvanka (Embroidered Shirt)

The vyshyvanka is a national symbol distinguished by regional patterns, colors, and stitching techniques. These embroidered shirts often carry protective or symbolic meanings tied to family, health, and well-being, worn as a proud assertion of cultural identity and heritage.

Petrykivka Painting and Vytynanky



Petrykivka Painting

Originating from the village of Petrykivka, this decorative folk painting features vibrant floral and natural motifs, often applied on household items, walls, and paper. It is recognized by UNESCO as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.



Vytynanky (Paper Cut-outs)

Vytynanky are delicate and intricate paper cut-outs depicting symmetrical patterns, birds, and natural scenes. Traditionally used to decorate homes, they represent a beautiful example of Ukrainian decorative art.

Folk Traditions

Soulful Folk Music and Dance



Bandura Instrument

The bandura, a multi-stringed lute-like instrument, is iconic to Ukraine. Its unique sound is central to many traditional folk songs, known as dumy, which narrate historical events, heroic deeds of Cossacks, or personal laments.



Trembita Trumpet

The trembita is a long, natural wooden trumpet from the Carpathian Mountains. Its haunting sound was traditionally used by shepherds for long-distance communication and remains a powerful symbol of the mountainous regions.



"White Voice" Singing

"White Voice" (Білий голос) is a distinctive vocal technique from the Carpathian Mountains characterized by an open, bright, loud chest voice often incorporating polyphony, where multiple voices sing simultaneously.



Hopak Dance

The Hopak is a dynamic and acrobatic traditional dance rooted in Cossack military training. It showcases agility, strength, and exuberance and is a vibrant expression of the Ukrainian spirit.

Folk Traditions

Seasonal and Life Cycle Rituals

01 Traditional Carols: Koliadky and Shchedrivky

Koliadky (Christmas carols) and Shchedrivky (New Year's carols) are rich in ancient symbolism and blessings for prosperity, often performed with theatrical elements like the Vertep, a portable puppet theater.

03 Ivan Kupala Night

Marked on the summer solstice, this pagan-rooted holiday features rituals such as jumping over bonfires, weaving wreaths, and searching for the mythical fern flower, all linked to purification, love, and fertility.

02 Malanka Holiday

Celebrated before the Old New Year (January 14th), Malanka involves elaborate costumes, masks, and playful mischief, symbolizing winter's end and the renewal of life.

04 Weddings (Vesillya)

Ukrainian weddings are elaborate and traditional, featuring the korovai (decorated braided bread symbolizing unity and abundance), rushnyky (embroidered towels), and specific songs and blessings for the couple.

Ukrainian Cuisine: Breadbasket of Europe

Ukrainian cuisine is hearty, flavorful, and deeply connected to the fertile chornozem (black soil) that earned Ukraine the moniker "breadbasket of Europe." Wheat, rye, potatoes, cabbage, and beets form the cornerstone of the Ukrainian diet. Dishes typically involve a complex cooking process—often boiling or frying first, then stewing or baking—to achieve rich, layered flavors. This connection to the land and its abundant produce is reflected in the emphasis on grains and vegetables, which sustain the traditional culinary heritage and symbolize the nation's agricultural richness.

Iconic Ukrainian Dishes



Borscht

Renowned for its vibrant red color and rich flavor, Ukrainian borscht is a beet soup often made with meat, potatoes, and other vegetables, served with sour cream and garlic pampushky (soft bread rolls). It is considered the national dish.



Varenyky and Pyrohy

Boiled or steamed dumplings filled with potatoes, cheese, cabbage, meat, or fruits. Known as varenyky in Ukrainian (pierogi in English), these are beloved comfort foods central to Ukrainian culinary tradition.



Holubtsi

Cabbage rolls stuffed with rice and meat or vegetables, stewed in a tomato-based sauce. This dish symbolizes resourcefulness and is a staple in Ukrainian festive and everyday meals.



Salo

Cured pork fatback, thinly sliced and served with bread, onion, and horseradish or mustard. A quintessential Ukrainian delicacy, salo symbolizes deep connection to traditional farming and resourcefulness.



Fermented Foods

Including sauerkraut, pickled cucumbers and tomatoes, and kvass (a fermented bread drink), fermented foods reflect ancient preservation techniques and a preference for tangy flavors in Ukrainian cuisine.

Symbolism of Bread

Bread holds immense cultural and historical significance in Ukrainian culture, symbolizing well-being, hospitality, and prosperity. The palianytsia, a traditional round bread, is particularly iconic and often features in rituals and celebrations. It represents more than just sustenance; it embodies the spirit of generosity and community that is central to Ukrainian hospitality. In many gatherings, bread is offered as a sign of welcome and respect, underscoring its role as a vital cultural emblem deeply intertwined with notions of abundance and unity.

Social Fabric

Strong Family Values and Hospitality



Extended Family Bonds

Multiple generations often live together or nearby, with grandparents playing a vital role in raising children, fostering strong intergenerational ties and cultural heritage transmission.



Generous Hospitality Ukrainians are renowned for their warm hospitality, offering abundant food and drink to guests and encouraging multiple servings; refusing is often seen as impolite.



Respect for Tradition

Observance of customs during holidays and life events is central, with strong emphasis on passing down traditions through generations to maintain cultural continuity.



Patriotism and Collective Identity

While valuing individual freedom, Ukrainians possess deep patriotism and a collective identity, symbolized by the blue and yellow flag and the trident, especially in times of adversity.

Patriotism and Collective Identity

Patriotism and collective identity are deeply ingrained in Ukrainian culture. While Ukrainians value individual freedom, they also share a strong sense of collective identity and deep patriotism, especially evident in times of adversity. This collective spirit manifests in national symbols such as the blue and yellow flag, which represents the sky and wheat fields, and the trident (tryzub), an ancient emblem of statehood and strength. These symbols serve not only as expressions of national pride but also as unifying icons that strengthen the bond among Ukrainians during challenging periods, reinforcing their resilience and commitment to sovereignty.

Spirituality and the Orthodox Church



Integration of Pagan and Christian

Many traditional customs and holidays blend ancient pagan beliefs about nature, fertility, and earth cycles with Christian practices, creating a unique syncretic spirituality in Ukraine.



Architectural Heritage

Golden-domed churches and monasteries in Kyiv and Lviv showcase Byzantine influences adapted to Ukrainian styles, symbolizing deep spiritual and cultural heritage.



Role in Identity Preservation

During foreign domination, the Orthodox Church protected Ukrainian language, culture, and national identity, fostering cultural continuity and emphasizing spiritual and national sovereignty through autocephaly.

Conclusion: A Unique and Resilient Culture

Ukrainian culture is a unique blend of historical resilience, a language that defied suppression, vibrant folk arts, hearty cuisine tied to fertile land, and strong family values steeped in hospitality and patriotism. This culture has evolved yet maintained its distinct character despite immense challenges.

The survival of the Ukrainian language, the celebration of folk traditions like pysanky and the Hopak dance, and the role of Orthodox Christianity blending pagan and Christian customs highlight this resilience. Ukrainian cuisine reflects the land's bounty, while family and hospitality reinforce cultural continuity, forming a proud and enduring national identity.