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## **THE EASTERN DIMENSION OF THE UNITED EUROPE**

**Political and economical aspects of the Eastern  
politics of the European Union**

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## **GEOPOLITICAL LOCATION AND TERRITORIAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF UKRAINIAN TERRITORY AND THE COMPLEXITY OF THEIR INTERNAL STRUCTURES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The imperialist 19<sup>th</sup>-century division of Ukraine had a significant impact on the geopolitical and internal situation of Ukraine in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The irreconcilable prejudices, as well as the Polish and Ukrainian national aspiration in Galicia turned into an open struggle, which destabilised the situation in Ukraine many times multiple times throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tsarist authorities excluded the Chełm Governorate from the Congress Poland and annexed it directly into Russia (Ślusarczyk 1992, p. 52). This act became the argument for fixing the western boundary of the Ukrainian statehood in 1917.

The outbreak of World War I started the internationalisation of Ukraine. Ukrainians fought in the armies of the invaders, often against their brothers and relatives. About 4 million Ukrainians served in different armies. Ukrainians in Russia remained mostly faithful to their oppressors and bet their faith on their victory. Some Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire also saw their future in uniting the whole Ukraine under the Habsburg rule, in an empire of several equal countries, one of them being Ukraine.

The war was also fought in Ukraine. On 21 August 1914, the Russian army conquered Lviv and approached Przemyśl and Chernivtsi. In 1915, the Austrians started their counteroffensive, regaining Przemyśl, Lviv, and then almost all of Galicia and Bukovina, winning even part of Volhynia. In the summer of 1916, Russia once again regained some lost areas – Lutsk, Brody and Bukovina (Serczyk 2001, p. 245).

Initially, the war situation had a negative impact on the potential Ukrainian statehood but, towards the end of the war, the Ukrainians saw an opportunity to seize control of the land perceived by them as their homeland. In addition, this was favoured by the fact, that the statehood of the invader who occupied most of the Ukrainian territory fell apart as a result of the revolution of February 1917, but the forces occupying the western part of Ukraine did not fall apart until Fall of 1918.

## **2. TERRITORIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN TERRITORY AFTER WORLD WAR I AND THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD**

Therefore, Ukrainian statehood emerged full 20 months earlier than Polish and was met with the political vacuum after the falling Russian Empire. Just two days after the formation of the Provisional Government in Russia, on 17 March 1917, the Central Council of Ukraine was formed in Kyiv to represent Ukrainian national interests (Darski 1993, p. 18). The new authorities had all the area inhabited by the Ukrainian ethnic group east of the front line, to The Volga and Kuban rivers. Of the territories previously under Austro-Hungarian occupation, only small fragments (Bukovina and part of Podolia) remained east of the border. Thus, the area of operation for the Central Council of Ukraine could include the whole territory under Russian rule, extended to the east with the lands than were never a part of the Republic (Wild Fields, Kuban, Crimea, Southern Bessarabia) (*Ukraine. Istorичnij atlas* 2005, pp. 2–3). However, the developments in Russia meant that the Ukrainian statehood experienced opponents in both the Russian republican forces and the Ukrainian military formation of the tsarist army that lived off the Ukrainian land but, above all, among the new political force – the Bolsheviks.

The initial claims of the Ukrainian authorities were limited to the autonomy of the Ukrainian lands (in their very broad meaning) within the future democratic Russian federation. The Russian Provisional Government initially accepted the request, but later began to withdraw from it (Serczyk 2001, p. 255). The Central Council has therefore undertaken unilateral actions by proclaiming, on 23 June 1917, the First Universal establishing the autonomy of Ukraine within Russia. These events coincided with a further shift of the western front line to Zbruch and Siret rivers, which meant the loss of all the territory under Austro-Hungarian rule (Galicia). Despite the fact that Ukraine, as Lenin argued, was one of the least Bolshevik Russian regions (there were no more than 3

thousand activists here), the wartime disasters spurred this political option on Ukrainian lands. In the countryside the peasants supported rich landowners. In just a few factories, the Bolshevik ideas had any more followers (Arsena plant in Kyiv, some mines and foundries in the Donetsk and Kryvorizkyi regions). The wartime disasters and the economic crisis fostered the increasing influence of the Bolsheviks, so after a few months, over 3% of the workers supported them. This has allowed for the forming of a Bolshevik terrorist group (under the name Red Guards), an armed formation planning to take over the country by force. The Ukrainian government facilitated the situation for the Bolsheviks, since it delayed the appointment of its own army, hoping for the creation of democratic Russia.

In the face of the Bolshevik threat, a deal was struck on 13 July 1917, in which the Russian Provisional Government recognized Ukraine's autonomy (Serczyk 2001, p. 256, Olszański 1994, p. 41). The Ukrainian parliament – the Central Council – included representatives of national minorities (including 20 Poles).

The Bolshevik coup of 7 November 1917 that overthrew the legal authority of the Provisional Government and established the Soviet government was a turning point in the history of Russia and Ukraine. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, published concurrently by Lenin, seemingly acknowledged the right of all nations to self-determination. Taking this as a signal of co-operation, the forces subordinate to the Central Council, along with the Red Guards, drove the forces loyal to the Russian democratic authorities from Kyiv on 10–13 November (Serczyk 2001, p. 260). Soon, Ukrainians managed to push the foreign Guards troops out of the capital. The authority of the Central Council included a large part of the ethnic Ukrainian lands, except for the Crimea, where the White Guards troops stayed, and the territories beyond the front line.

In these circumstances, on 20 November 1917, the Central Council proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) in a federal relationship with Russia. The situation of the new state was very difficult, various armed formations moved through the country without control, there was anarchy in the provinces, the industry and agriculture were ruined. Even though Ukraine gained the support of the Entente, the formation of the government and the army proceeded very slowly, sabotaged by the Bolsheviks and the Russian reaction. Russia was not going to allow the disintegration of the empire. Both the Bolsheviks and the monarchists were equally opposed to Ukrainian independence (Wandycz 2000, p. 450). The first success of the new republic was the suppression of the Bolshevik coup in Kyiv on 13 December, 1917, and the

purification of the capital of the Red Guards and Russian troops (Olszański 1994, p. 44).

The authorities of the Bolshevik Russia formally recognized the UNR, but it was a tactical move. This was done to achieve Ukraine's consent to the march of the Cossacks returning from the front line, who were needed on the Don river to contain the anti-Bolshevik uprising.

The UNR's military position became difficult. Since the beginning of war, pro-independence aspirations have been appearing in the Crimea, and on 16 December 1917, the Muslim Congress declared independence of Crimea (Agadžanov and Sacharov 1988, p. 87). In late December 1917, the Bolsheviks took up arms against the government of Ukraine. The Red Guards troops set out from Bilhorod and Bryansk in Russia and from Gomel in Belarus, that had already been taken over by the Bolsheviks. Around 30 thousand guards attacked the Ukrainian People's Republic, which had just 16 thousand soldiers at the time. The Bolsheviks conquered Kharkiv on 26 December 1917, and proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic of Soviets on the following day, suggesting that it will be a separate communist country independent of Russia (Olszański 1994, p. 45). Soviet Russia immediately recognized this creation and promised comprehensive assistance. After entering Ukraine, the Russian Bolshevik forces took more cities like Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Odessa and were going to Kyiv.

It was only then that the Central Council decided to ultimately break their relations with Soviet Russia and on 22 January 1918, by the power of the 4<sup>th</sup> Universal, proclaimed full independence of Ukraine, the second fully autonomous Ukrainian state and the first state of the Ukrainian nation (Konaševič 1990, pp. 13–16). In response, the Bolsheviks started further uprising in Kyiv on 25 January, while defeating Ukrainians in several battles and taking the capital with virtually no fighting (Olszański 1994, p. 46). The remaining Ukrainian troops took refuge in Volhynia, where they had to defend in a siege, as the troops in this part of the front line were also taken over by the Bolsheviks.

Without any help from the allies, on 9 February 1918, in Brest, the Ukrainian People's Republic started peace negotiations with the central states (Serczyk 2001, p. 266; Subtel'nij 1991, p. 307; Polons'ka-Vasilenko 1992, p. 480). As a result, apart from food aid, the UNR also received the territories of Chełm Governorate and Podlasie along the line of Tarnogród – Biłgoraj – Szczeczeszyn – Krasnystaw – Radzyń Podlaski – Międzyrzecz – Sarnaki – Mielnik – Kamanyets Litewski and Pruzhany, i.e. the areas reaching far into the territory of today's Poland. In addition, Austria promised in a secret agreement to divide Galicia into two separate countries and institute Ukrainian autonomy in Eastern Galicia, but withdrew from the agreement when it was made public (Serczyk

2001, p. 266). Although the Brest agreement clearly violated the national interest of Poles, no one consulted this with them and the lack Polish state meant there was no one to stand up for the Polish *raison d'etat*. By signing the Brest agreement, Ukraine broke with the Entente, which withdrew its recognition of the state. German troops invaded Ukraine on 19 February, and the Austro-Hungarian followed on 27 February 1918, providing support against the Bolsheviks. Over the next nine months, the two countries had actual authority over the occupied territories (Olszański 1994, p. 49). The Central Council, despite its formal termination by the German occupation authorities, announced on 29 April the constitution of the UNR, a land reform and elected a president. The same day, the Germans forced the Ukrainian officers to stage a military coup. The government and the Central Council were overthrown, and a dictatorship called the hetmanate was instituted. General P. Skoropadsky was chosen to be the dictator (Hetman) (Podraza, Pankowicz 2001, p. 261). The Ukrainian army, which in January regained Zhytomyr, the temporary capital, from the Bolsheviks, was disarmed. The Germans also took the Crimea and the Black Sea fleet. The authorities of the Ukrainian People's Republic of Soviets took refuge in Taganrog and were not bothered by the Germans, as they did not hold any real power (Serczyk 2001, p. 267). There, the Bolsheviks held a conference to set up a separate Ukrainian Bolshevik Party, which meant accepting the idea of Ukrainian independence. Moscow was not going to tolerate such a policy of Ukrainian communists. In response, at the Assembly of the Communist Organisations of Ukraine in Moscow in July 1918, it formed a Ukrainian section of the Russian Bolshevik party and disbanded the government of Soviet Ukraine. A Volga-region German Emanuel Kviring, opposed to national independence, was appointed as a leader of the party (Olszański 1994, p. 51).

The Hetmanate became the Ukrainian State. The Hetman surrounded himself with Russians, and they formed the armed forces ready to fight the Ukrainian nation (Subtel'nij 1991, pp. 310–311). The promised territories in Poland were not gained either, even though the Ukrainian administration started to form here. Germany also failed to transfer Kuban to Ukraine. It was there that the National Cossack Council formed in October 1917, proclaiming the Kuban Republic in federation with Russia, and fully independent after the Bolshevik coup (Olszański 1994, p. 52). The Hetmanate time also had its benefits, as it brought relative calm and allowed for rebuilding Ukrainian statehood. However, the issue of building their own strong army was neglected again. The peasants turned against the State of Ukraine and uprising broke out. Insurgent leaders had strong armies; some, like Nestor Macho in the Azov Steppes, even formed actual independent states (Serczyk 2001, p. 275, Olszański 1994, p. 58).

In order to save his weakened political position, the Hetman made a suicidal step and on 14 November 1918 announced federation with Russia (Darski 1993, p. 20, Subtel'nij 1991, p. 313). In response, the Directorate of the People's Republic of Ukraine was formed, whose members, headed by Symon Petliura, went to the seat of the 3.5-thousand-strong troop of Sich Riflemen in Bila Tserkva, where they called for an uprising against the Germans and the Hetmanate. The rebels defeated the Hetman's forces on 18 November 1918 at Motovidlovka and on 24 November began the siege of Kyiv (Olszański 1994, p. 55, Polons'ka-Vasilenko 1992, p. 505). This coincided with the outbreak of the revolution in Germany and the occupation authorities, without directives from Berlin, preferred to remain neutral in this conflict. The Hetman was forced to flee the country, and the Republican forces captured Kyiv on 14 December (Serczyk 2001, p. 270).

The Germans turned out to be not fully neutral, as they struck a deal with the Bolsheviks, giving them their weapons and control of the eastern Ukraine with Kharkiv in exchange for the right of transit through the Bolshevik territory of Belarus to East Prussia. There were numbers of Bolshevik troops still standing at the northern Ukrainian border, while the White Guards stayed on the lower Dnieper river (Olszański 1994, p. 55). The coast was occupied by the Entente troops, Romanians were on the over shore of the Dnieper, and from the west the Polish front line was approaching, manned in the southern part by the Ukrainian Galician Army. In this situation, Soviet Russia withdrew on 13 November 1918, from the Treaty of Brest and issued a directive to seize the previously occupied territories of Russia with Ukraine, Belarus, Baltic countries, Poland and Finland, even though it formally recognised the independence of these countries. The Bolshevik forces invaded Ukraine and on 3 January 1919 took Kharkiv, where the government of Soviet Ukraine was moved, and on 6 January proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, formally an independent country, which was in fact fully dependent of Moscow (Serczyk 2001, p. 270). The Directorate made a political mistake, accepting the Soviet Russia's agency in this conflict, which turned it into a civil war in Ukraine. In the meantime, the intervening land and sea troops of France, Greece and the US seized southern Ukraine – Sevastopol, Odessa, Mykolaiv and Kherson – cutting it off from the sea and helping the Bolshevik forces, but also the forces of the anti-Ukrainian general Denikin (Darski 1993, p. 20).

The issue of statehood had a completely different course in western Ukraine, under Austro-Hungarian occupation. Ukrainian actions in the area, inhabited by the Polish and Jewish population (in cities), and the Ukrainian and Polish population (in rural areas), preceded the emergence of the Polish state structures by just a week. In eastern Galicia, owing to the support of the Austrian autho-

rities, the Ukrainians managed, on 1 November 1918, to take Lviv and proclaim the Ukrainian State, converted on 13 November into the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) (Subtel'nij 1991, pp. 321–322; Serczyk 2001, p. 285; Polons'ka-Vasilenko 1992, p. 510). The state included lands between the San and Zbruch rivers with an area of 44 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, but it was intended to stretch it to the whole Ukrainian ethnographic territory, which was met with opposition from Poles and Romanians.

In Lviv, Polish youth, supported by a few Polish Military Organisation (POW) troops, fiercely fought the Ukrainians until the relief came from Polish troops on 21 November. The government of ZUNR moved to Stanislaviv and Romania seized the opportunity and annexed Bukovina on 28 November. Even sooner, on 9 April 1918, Romania managed to take Bessarabia, where only 28% of the population was Ukrainian (Polons'ka-Vasilenko 1992, p. 511).

Faced with such a hard situations, both Ukrainian states decided to unite, which was confirmed by the UNR Directorate on 22 January 1919 in a universal (Subtel'nij 1991, p. 323). Unfortunately, the Bolshevik offensive launched on 6 January resulted in the loss of Kyiv, and soon the rest of the territory of the UNR in Volhynia and Podolia. The Polish army moved from the west and encountered the Bolshevik troops after a couple of days. In the face of the threat of Bolshevik aggression in Europe, the Entente allowed Poland to take Eastern Galicia to Zbruch River, thus occupying the whole ZUNR (Serczyk 2001, p. 286). A diplomatic struggle for the recognition of this fact lasted for a few years (Podraza and Pankowicz 2001, p. 261).

In May 1919, UNR decided to establish relations with Poland and on 21 April 1920 signed a treaty to fight against the Bolsheviks together. In return, Ukraine gave up the western part of the country to Poland (Olszański 1994, p. 71, Subtel'nij 1991, p. 327). These plans were implemented in the form of an offensive by the troops of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski along with the Ukrainian army of Ataman Symon Petliura which started on 25 April 1920 and resulted in both armies seizing Kyiv (Darski 1993, p. 23). Unfortunately, on 5 June, the counter-offensive of Budyonny's Bolshevik cavalry broke the front, on 12 June Bolsheviks took Kyiv, and then the whole western Ukraine, where they proclaimed Soviet rule. Soviet troops advanced towards Warsaw, but on 15–16 August 1920 suffered a famous defeat, which decided the fate of the war (Serczyk 2001, p. 283). The Riga Treaty of 18 March 1921 between Poland and the Soviet authorities of Russia and Ukraine gave Western Ukraine to Poland. However, the full rights of the Republic to Eastern Galicia were not recognised by the ally Council of Ambassadors until 15 March 1923, requiring Poland to give it autonomy, which was only partially met by Poland in July of 1924. Even

earlier, on 3 March 1919, Czechoslovakia received Carpathian Ukraine (Carpathian Ruthenia) (Olszański 1994, p. 81, Serczyk 2001, p. 287).

After World War I, Poland regained the entire Galicia, and the eastern border ran along the river Zbruch, the same as the border between Austria and Russia since the end of the eighteenth century, for more than 120 years. In consequence of this territorial division, Poland included the part of the Ukrainian nation most aware of their identity and ethnic-religious uniqueness.

For Ukrainian territories, the five-year period of 1917–1922 was especially eventful politically and abounded in numerous state-forming acts of various political origins, more or less ephemeral, that are really scarcely documented in Polish literature (Tab. 1, Fig. 1).

Table 1. Territorial transformations of the Ukrainian lands  
in the period of 1917–1922

Date	State-forming event and territorial annexation
23.06.1917	Ukraine proclaimed within the federal Russian state, capital in Kyiv
13.07.1917	Russia gives Ukraine limited autonomy without defining its territory
17.08.1917	Russia defines the territory of autonomous Ukraine as governorates: Kyiv, Podolsk, Poltava and part Volhynia, Chernihiv, and limits the scope of its autonomy
14.09.1917	After the proclamation of a republic in Russia, Ukraine is declared to be an autonomous part of the Russian Republic
3.11.1917	In Chisinau, the congress of Bessarabian troops proclaims the political and cultural autonomy of Bessarabia within the future Russian federation state. National Council is created (Sfatul Țării)
7.11.1917	Soviet rule is proclaimed in the Russian Republic by a coup
10.11.1917	The formal proclamation of the socialist system in Russia – the Russian Soviet Republic
13.11.1917	The autonomous authorities keep most of the Ukrainian territory. Soviet rule was proclaimed only in the Donetsk region (Luhansk, Makeyevka, Gorlovka, Szczerbinowka, Lisichansk, Kramatorsk)
20.11.1917	Proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic in federation with future federal democratic Russian Republic. The extension of the territory of Ukraine to include the Kherson, Kharkiv, Yekaterinoslav and northern Tauride governorates (without Crimea), area of 560.5 thousand km <sup>2</sup> , capital in Kyiv
25.11.1917	Soviet rule proclaimed in part of Kharkiv
28.11.1917	Proclamation by the Crimean Tatar Kurultai of the independence of the Democratic Republic of Crimea (also known as the People's Republic of Crimea), capital in Bakhchysarai



20.12.1917	The troops of the Russian Soviet Republic enter the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, taking Kharkiv (26.12)
23.12.1917	Proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Moldova in Bessarabia (also known as the Moldovan People's Republic), area of 44 thousand km <sup>2</sup> , capital in Chisinau. The authorities of the republic appealed to the Entente for recognition of the fact of its separation from Russia
27.12.1917	In the territory of eastern Ukraine occupied by Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) is proclaimed as an autonomous part of the future federation Russian Soviet Republic, capital in Kharkiv
9.01.1918	The army of Soviet Russia takes further cities of the Ukrainian SSR – Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Odessa (on 20.01) and Konotop (26.01)
14.01.1918	In Chisinau, the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, capital in Chisinau
18.01.1918	Moldova is invaded by the troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic and, on 19.01 also the Romanian troops. Soviet rule is removed by 02.1918
22.01.1918	Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) proclaims total independence from Russia, without ruling out some future form of federation, capital in Kyiv
22.01.1918	In Sevastopol (Crimea), the Soviet authority was proclaimed, making it a governorate within Soviet Russia, removing (on 19.02) the independence of the Democratic Republic of Crimea
25.01.1918	Soviet Russia officially adopted the name the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (abbreviated RSFSR)
25.01.1918	Proclamation of Soviet power in part of Kyiv. Russian troops continue to push further into Ukrainian People's Republic, taking Bakhmach (27.01) and Kyiv (8.02)
25.01.1918	The proclamation of Donetsk-Krivoy Rog (Federal) Soviet Republic within the Russian SSR, in the eastern-Ukrainian governorates of: Yekaterynoslav, Kharkov, Kherson and parts of the Russian Rostov and Kamien districts, capital in Kharkiv
31.01.1918	Proclamation in the governorates of Kherson and Bessarabia of the Odessa Soviet Republic, capital in Odessa
6.02.1918	Under military occupation by Romania, the National Council proclaims in Chisinau the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Moldova
8.02.1918	The capital of the Ukrainian SSR moved to Kyiv. UNR authorities move temporarily to Zhitomir
9.02.1918	By the power of the Treaty of Brest, the Ukrainian People's Republic takes from the Vistula Land (the Kingdom of Poland) the Chełm

	Province and Podlasie up to the line of Tarnogród–Biłgoraj–Szczeczebrzeszyn–Krasnystaw–Puchaczów–Radzyń Podlaski–Międzyrzecz Podlaski–Sarnaki–Mielnik–Kamyanyets–Pruzhany–Vygonov Lake. Ukrainian People's Republic – area of 620.9 thousand km <sup>2</sup> . Due to the Bolshevik attack on Zhitormir, the UNR authorities move to Sarny
9.02.1918	The National Council of the Moldavian Democratic Republic announces their will to join Romania
16.02.1918	UNR asks Germany and Austro-Hungary for help to fight against the Bolshevik Russia's aggression
17.02.1918	UNR agrees to submit the issue of the border with Austro-Hungary in Galicia to a special arbitration commission
18.02.1918	German troops launch an offensive against Soviet Russian army in the eastern front, between Lutsk and Dubno, by 20.02 taking the railway line Rowne–Sarny–Lunets, attacking through Berdychiv and Koziatyn towards Kyiv. Germany also drove the Czech troops out of Zhitomir
18.02.1918	The People's Republic of Moldova proclaims their independence as the Republic of Moldova in the area under Romanian military administration, capital in Chisinau
19.02.1918	Austro-Hungarian troops take offensive, supporting the German offensive along the whole front line. Armed Forces of both countries take further areas of Ukraine and by 3.03 reach the line of Dnieper–Cherkasy, and go further westward into Zhmerynka and Kamianets-Podilskyi. Under the Treaty of Brest, the Germans occupy the Ukrainian People's Republic and, from 27.02, it is also occupied by Austria-Hungary
19.02.1918	Liquidation of independence of the Democratic Republic of Crimea by Russia's Bolshevik troops
19.02.1918	The capital of the Ukrainian People's Republic is temporarily moved to Zhitomir
02.1918	Proclamation of the Hutsul Republic, with capital in Yasinia
1.03.1918	The capital of the Ukrainian People's Republic is moved again to Kyiv, which remains under German occupation
3.03.1918	By the power of the Brest Peace Treaty, the Russian-German border is drawn from the Baltic Sea to Ukraine. Large part of Ukraine remains under German occupation. The area occupied by Germany is increased by 150 thousand km <sup>2</sup> . The Treaty provides for the dissolution of the federation of the Soviet republics of Russia and Ukraine (ratified by Russia)
8.03.1918	The agreement between Germany and Austro-Hungary concerning the delimitation of the areas controlled by the armies of both allies in Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The border was established along the Boh river, from Olhopil to its mouth

9.03.1918	Under the Treaty of Jassy between Romania on one side and Soviet Russia and the Odessa Soviet Republic on the other, Romania declares to withdraw their troops from Moldova (Bessarabia) within two months
13.03.1918	German troops take the centre of Odessa, eliminating the Odessa Soviet Republic. Romanian troops enter the Moldovan part of this republic, by 15.03 eliminating the Soviet rule
14.03.1918	The Austro-Hungarian troops drive out the last units of Soviet Russian troops from Odessa. German-Austrian conflict for control of the Odessa port
18.03.1918	Proclamation of the Free Republic (or the Free City) of Odessa in the Odessa, Tiraspol and Ananyev counties
22.03.1918	Proclamation of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Taurida in Crimea, including Simferopol, Feodosiya, Yalta, Yevpatoria and Perekop counties
22.03.1918	The Don District (the District of Don Troops) proclaims that it joins the Ukrainian People's Republic
04.1918	Germany and Austria-Hungary occupy the entire territory of Ukraine and Crimea to the line of Rostov–Millerovo–Rovnyenki–Belgorod. The capital of the Ukrainian SSR is moved to Taganrog, occupied by the German troops. Extending the USSR autonomy within the Russian SFSR
9.04.1918	The Democratic Republic of Moldova joins Romania
28.04.1918	The Ukrainian People's Republic, remaining under German and Austro-Hungarian occupation, is transformed into a Hetmanate – the Ukrainian State
30.04.1919	Removal of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tauride in Crimea, taken by the UNR troops
5.05.1918	In Odessa, the authorities of Bolshevik Russia form a Provisional Workers' & Peasants' Government of Bessarabia and the Bessarabian Red Army, which moves towards Moldova
14.05.1918	The formation of the demilitarised zone in RSFSR between Klinty and Rovnyenki – a Neutral Territory, i.e. a belt of 20–30 km along the demarcation line with the Germany-occupied Ukraine
06.1918	In Crimea, occupied by Germany, the independence of the Tartar Crimean Khanate is proclaimed
07.1918	Significant reduction in the autonomy of the Ukrainian SSR in the RSFSR
07.1918	Romania occupies Bessarabia. Local atamans Hryhoriv (near Cherson), Zelenny (near Trypillia) and Makhno (south Ukraine), as well as the Russian general Denikin form their own quasi-state organisations.
07.1918	By the power of the German power arbitrage between the independent

	Almighty Don Host and the Ukrainian State, the old border on Yuzovka River (Kalmius) was restored
31.07.1918	According to the provisions of the of the peace treaty of Brest, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic formally proclaimed independence from the Russian SFSR, declaring, however, the actual maintenance of federal bonds
09.1918	In Ukraine the Bolshevik Provisional Government of the Worker-Peasant Bessarabia, which fled Moldova, dissolves
18.10.1918	Proclamation, in connection with Austria-Hungary, of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (abbreviated ZUNR), with capital in Lviv
10.1918	Russian troops invade the Crimean Khanate and eliminate its independence
1.11.1918	The troops of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) take eastern Lviv, driving the Austro-Hungarian troops from the city. Polish self-defence troops start fighting. By 5.11, the front line dividing Lviv into the Polish and Ukrainian parts is set. The West-Ukrainian troops take Przemyśl (4.11), Sambor (5.11), Boryslav (9.11), Sanok and Zagórz
3.11.1918	The Ukrainian People's Viche (Council) of Bukovina proclaims the annexation of the northern part of the country to join the West Ukrainian People's Republic
6.11.1918	The Ukrainian People's Viche transforms into the government of Northern Bukovina, taking power from a representative of the Austro-Hungarian administration. Romanian Council of Bukovina takes power in Southern Bukovina
7.11.1918	Agreement between the two councils of Bukovina concerning the division of the country into the northern – Ukrainian, and southern – Romanian parts
9.11.1918	Carpathian Ruthenia receives autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary as the Ruthenian State, with capital in Uzhhorod (Hungarian-Ungvár)
11.11.1918	Romanian troops take Northern Bukovina with Chernivtsi, eliminating the autonomy of the country
11.11.1918	Polish troops regain Przemyśl, the route to Lviv (20.11) and the whole city (22.11), which remained under siege from the ZUNR troops until 05. 1919
13.11.1918	Restitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic, from 15.11. temporary capital in Bila Tserkva
14.11.1918	The Hetman Ukrainian State proclaim a federation with the Russian Republic, capital in Kyiv
22.11.1918	After the Polish army takes Lviv, the capital of the West Ukrainian People's Republic is moved to Stanyslaviv. ZUNR troops try to take Carpathian Ruthenia

23.11.1918	Southern Ukraine with Crimea is occupied by French and Greek troops and Ukrainian ports are occupied by French, British and American troops, also taking Sevastopol, which is occupied by Russian army
24.11.1918	The UNR army besiege the capital of the Ukrainian State – Kyiv, which is still occupied by German troops
1.12.1918	Bukovina proclaims that it joins the Kingdom of Romania
10.12.1918	The Republic of Moldova proclaims that it joins Romania
14.12.1918	The troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic take Kyiv, restoring the capital city there. Liquidation of the Ukrainian State (16.12). The occupying German and Austro-Hungarian forces begin their evacuation from Ukraine (finished by 01.1919)
29.12.1918	Romanian Parliament ratifies the act of incorporation of Moldova and Bukovina
12.1918	The ZUNR drive the Polish army to Bug River (by 01.1919)
3.01.1919	RSFSR troops enter the territory of Ukrainian People's Republic and take Kharkiv
3.01.1918	The proclamation of the union between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which retains its considerable autonomy as the Western District
5.01.1919	The occupying German troops leave eastern Ukraine with Kharkiv, giving it to the RSFSR occupying forces. Elimination of the demilitarised zone along the demarcation line between the Germany-occupied Ukraine and RSFSR, where the Bolsheviks formed the armed forces of the Ukrainian SSR and the government of this republic
5.01.1919	Under RSFSR troops' occupation, the independence of the Ukrainian SSR is proclaimed with capital in Kharkiv
12.01.1919	Czechoslovakian troops take a part of the Uzhhorod County
24.01.1919	Proclamation in Khushcha of the annexation of Carpathian Ruthenia to the West Ukrainian People's Republic (the Western District of the Ukrainian People's Republic), whose army takes Kukacheve and Sighet. Romanian troops soon recover Sighet
31.01.1919	The French-Greek troops occupying southern Ukraine take Kherson and (by 2.02) Mykolaiv, reaching the Tiraspol–Berezovka–Kherson–Perekop–Kerch line. The Russian army is also stationed in the occupied territory
01.1919	The Khotyn Raion of Northern Bessarabia, occupied by Romania, is annexed by the Ukrainian People's Republic
02.1919	The anarchist quasi-state of Ataman Makhno in southern Ukraine achieves its greatest range from the Sea of Azov to Yekaterinoslav and Lozova, capital in Huliaipole
5.02.1919	The Army of the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR take Kyiv and

	drive the French-Greek troops, who leave Sevastopol by 29.04 from southern Ukraine. Quasi-state organisations of Atamans Makhno and Hrihoriev join the Ukrainian SSR
02.1919	Polish army drives the ZUNR troops to the Hrubieszów–Volodymyr-Volynskyi–Stochid–Manevychi line, setting, on 25.02, the demarcation line east of Lviv
4.03.1919	Under the directives from the Versaille conference, Carpathian Ruthenia is annexed by Czechoslovakia
21.03.1919	The proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which also includes Carpathian Ruthenia
6.04.1919	The troops of Hryhoriev's quasi-state take Odessa
04.1919	Soviet rule is re-established in Crimea by the proclamation of the Crimean SSR within the Russian SFSR. Russian republican authority is restored after 06.1919
7.04.1919	A national district called the Ruthenian State is formed in Carpathian Ruthenia within the Hungarian Soviet Republic
14.04.1919	In the Drohobych region of West Ukrainian People's Republic Soviet rule was proclaimed (until 15.04)
16.04.1919	Romanian troops enter the territory of Hungarian Soviet Republic, taking part of Carpathian Ruthenia
05.1919	Russian Bolshevik army offensive on Moldova. The proclamation of the Bessarabian Socialist Soviet Republic within the RSFSR
1.05.1919	Proclamation of the federation between Russian SFSR and Ukrainian SSR
16.05.1919	Proclamation in Uzhhorod of the accession of Carpathian Ruthenia into Czechoslovakia with autonomy
25.05.1919	Romanian troops occupy Pokuttya to the Dniester and outskirts of Stanislaviv. Polish troops take Stanislaviv and the whole Podolia, up to Zbruch and Dniester. The territory of the West Ukrainian People's Republic is limited by the bifurcation of Dniester and Zbruch rivers
1.06.1919	The unification military and natural resources of the Soviet republics of: Russian SFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Latvian SSR and Lithuanian-Byelorussian SSR
06.1919	Hryhoriev appoints himself the Ataman of Ukraine from Mikolayev to Cherkasy, Yekaterinoslav and Kremenchuk. After three weeks, the Soviet Russian-Ukrainian forces defeat him and take the territory, by 08.1919 eliminating Makhno's quasi-state
7.06.1919	ZUNR army offensive pushes Polish troops to the Hnyla Lypa–Peremyshliany–Krasna–Brody
19.06.1919	Autonomy is given, within the Hungarian Soviet Republic, to the national district in Carpathian Ruthenia called Ruska Kraina

25.06.1919	Russian troops of general Denikin take east Ukraine with Kharkiv and Crimea, where they eliminate the independence of the Crimean Khanate
28.06.1919	Czechoslovak troops drive the forces of the Hungarian Soviet Republic out of Carpathian Ruthenia, and the Romanian troops eliminate the Hutsul Republic
30.07.1919	ZUNR troops take Kyiv and on 31.07 push the Russian troops, that already managed to take the whole Ukrainian coast, out of the city
07.1919	Polish army push the forces of the West Ukrainian People's Republic beyond Zbruch, actually eliminating this state (formally still remaining in union with the Ukrainian People's Republic, occupied in large part by the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR)
08.1919	Romanian troops evacuate from Pokuttia and give it to Poland
09.1919	Russian military offensive against the Ukrainian People's Republic
10.09.1919	Under the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye – Bukovina is merged with Romania. Czechoslovakia was granted the Carpathian Ruthenia with broad autonomy
16.09.1919	In southern part of Ukraine, taken by the Russian republican forces, the autonomous Bashtanka Guerrilla Republic is proclaimed, within the RSFSR, which includes the area with the villages Bashtanka and Balitskoie, taken by the Bolshevik guerrillas
2.10.1919	The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is dissolved, transferring the control over the Ukrainian SSR directly to the Russian SFSR
11.1919	Russian republican troops reach Bershad–Skvyra line. The capital of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic is moved to Vinnytsya
18.11.1919	Elimination of the Bolshevik Bashtanka Guerrilla Republic in south Ukraine by the republican Russian forces
19.11.1919	The army of the West Ukrainian People's Republic side with the democratic republican Russia
25.11.1919	By the decision of the Council of Ambassadors, Poland receives, for 25 years, the mandate over Eastern Galicia as an autonomous unit, area of 48.0 thousand km <sup>2</sup> , capital in Lviv
11.1919	Polish troops occupying Ukraine move to the Ushytsya–Proskuriv–Shepetivka–Olevs'k. On 8.12, they take Kamianets-Podilskyi
11.12.1919	The troops of Russian SFSR in Ukraine take Kharkov and Kyiv (16.12)
7.02.1920	The troops of Russian SFSR take Odessa
04.1920	The Cossack Council from Kuban withdraws from the Crimea, controlled by Russian troops. Makhno rebuilds his quasi-state near Huliai-pole

22.04.1920	The delineation of the Polish border with Ukrainian People's Republic on Zbruch and further through Vyshhorodok, east of Ostroh and along the eastern border of the Rivne District and the western border of the Minsk Governorate to Prypiat and Dnieper
25.04.1920	Polish and UNR troops take Mohyliv-Podilskyi and the Mikashevichy–Novohrad-Volynskyi–Novyi Mirpol–Ostropol–Letychiv–Mohyliv line
26.04.1920	Polish and UNR troops liberate Zhitomir from the occupation of Russian SFSR
26.04.1920	Czechoslovakia specifies the extent of autonomy of the Carpathian Ruthenia, without actually realising it
7.05.1920	Polish and UNR troops take Kyiv, reaching by 15.05 the Dnieper–Trypillia–Bila Tserkva–Samhorodok–Haisyn–Yampil line
17.05.1920	The capital of the Ukrainian People's Republic is moved to Kyiv again
06.1920	An offensive of the republican troops is launched from Crimea, reaching the Dnieper line from Cherson to Yekaterinoslav
5.06.1920	Russian SFSR's army offensive near Samhorodok, that takes Kyiv (11.06) and by the end 06.1920 set the front line between Yampil, Starokostiantyniv and Novohrad-Volynskyi
15.07.1920	The proclamation Galician Soviet Republic, with a capital in Ternopil
08.1920	The Russian SFSR troops set the front line of Dniester–Zhydachiv–suburbs of Lviv–Rava-Ruska–Stryi
28.08.1920	The occupying forces of the Russian SFSR reach Zamość
10.1920	Polish and UNR army offensive stopped on the line of: suburbs of Zhmerynka–Novyi Mirpol–Korosten–Milashevichy. An offensive of the Russian republican forces is launched in southern Ukraine
12.10.1920	By the power of the truce, the Polish and Ukrainian People's Republic's troops retreat to the demarcation line (later border), giving the conquered territories to the administration of the Ukrainian SSR
20.10.1920	Romania, France, Great Britain, Japan and Italy sign the Bessarabian protocol in Paris, recognising the eastern border of Romania on the Dniester and the annexation of Moldova. This agreement was not ratified by the time Romania lost these territories in 1940
8.11.1920	The army of the Russian SFSR push the republican Russian forces south, taking Perekop and, by 16.11, the whole Crimea
10.11.1920	The armies of the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR launch an offensive against the Ukrainian People's Republic on the Zbruch river, by 20.11 taking all of its territory (actual elimination of the Ukrainian People's Republic, whose government evacuates to Tarnów)
25.11.1920	The final liquidation Makhno's quasi-state, now part of the USSR, by the Russian SFSR and Ukrainian SSR forces



28.12.1920	Closer union of the Russian SFSR and the Ukrainian SSR
18.03.1921	Setting the borders in Eastern Europe by the Peace of Riga. Ukrainian SSR – area of 459.8 thousand km <sup>2</sup> , capital in Kharkiv
4.10.1921	Operating from Poland, the troops of the Ukrainian People's Republic take the territories of the Ukrainian SSR: Kotosten up to Bazar, the areas around Ploskirow, Latoszow, Radomysl and Maliny (by 29.11), while the troops operating from Romania take Tiraspol (11.1921)
18.10.1921	The creation, within the Russian SFSR, of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, area of 25.98 thousand km <sup>2</sup> , capital in Simferopol
30.12.1922	Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR, Russian SFSR and Transcaucasian SFSR form a federation – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (abbreviated USSR). The south-eastern regions of Shahta and Taganrog were detached from the Ukrainian SSR and annexed to the RSFSR, compensating this with small fragments in the north given to Ukraine

Source: own study based on numerous chronological sources.

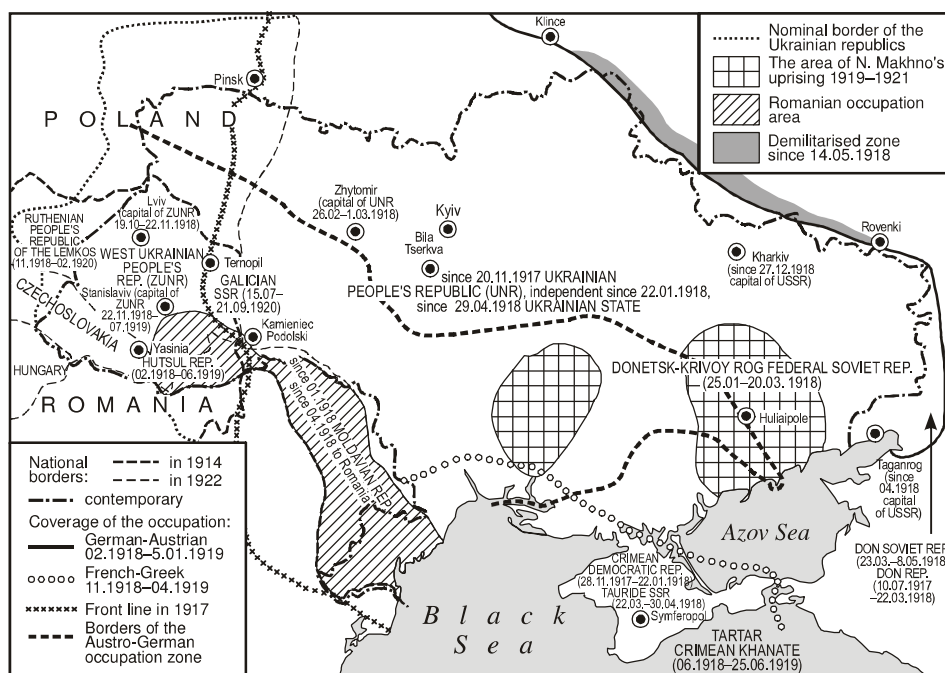


Fig. 1. Political and territorial transformations in Ukrainian lands between 1917 and 1920

Source: authors' own elaboration

### 3. UKRAINIAN LANDS WITHIN THE USSR

Although the Ukrainian SSR was formally a separate state, it was actually fully dependent on Soviet Russia since its inception. Almost immediately after the Ukrainian SSR was formed, it entered into arrangements with the Russian SFSR, renouncing its own economic and financial policies. In 1920, Ukraine also relinquished control over the army, fleet, internal communication, foreign trade, post and labour matters, ceding all of them to the authorities of the Soviet Russia. The Ukrainian government lost its remaining rights after the agreement to form the USSR was signed in 1922 (Serczyk 2001, p. 291). The capital of the Ukrainian SSR, remained until 1934 in Kharkiv, a city inhabited by a large number of Russians. The Ukrainian authorities included many leading activists of Bolshevik Russia, Russian chauvinists (Podraza and Pankowicz 2001, p. 262). Several Polish communists, who gained high positions in the Ukrainian SSR also played some disgraceful parts (e.g. Stanisław Kosior and Feliks Kon).

Under the Soviet administration, the territorial shape of Ukraine changed. Crimea was detached in 1921 and transformed in to the Crimean Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic within the Russian SFSR (Agadžanov and Sacharov 1988, p. 68). When the Soviet Union was being formed in 1922, the districts of Shahty and Taganrog were torn from Ukraine in the east, as compensation for Russia for some small border corrections in the north. The detached areas were part of the industrialised Donets Basin, while the areas gained by Ukraine in the north were forests and agricultural lands. Polesie, Starodubie, Belgorod and Voronezh – Ukrainian ethnic lands remained outside (*Ukraina. Istoricznij atlas* 2005, pp. 12–13). In 1924, as part of the Ukrainian SSR, the Moldavian ASSR was formed, thus opening a conflict that still has not ended (Serczyk 2001, p. 299). It is a fragment of today's Moldova, which was not owned by Romania. In this area, in 1990, Russians formed the Dnestr Republic, which wanted to break away from the independent Republic of Moldova.

By the power of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the Soviet Union had liberty to conduct aggressive policies in Eastern Europe. When Poland was invaded on 17 September 1939, the territory reaching Narew, Bug and San was taken, and its southern part was annexed in November by the Ukrainian SSR as the so called West Ukraine (Subtel'nij 1991, p. 393, Serczyk 2001, pp. 330–331). In August 1940, a similar invasion of Romania allowed the Ukrainian SSR to annex North Bukovina and the southern part of Bessarabia. The rest of the lands confiscated from Romania were passed to the Moldavian ASSR, excluded from the Ukrainian SSR and raised to the status of union republic as Moldavian SSR

(Serczyk 2001, p. 332). This fact also has geopolitical consequences lasting to this day. The disintegration of the Soviet Union took place at the union republics' level. Had Moldova not reached this level of Soviet autonomy in 1940, it would probably be part of Ukraine today. After 1940, of the ethnically Ukrainian territories, only the Carpathian Ruthenia, taken by Hungary after the fall of Czechoslovakia, remained beyond the reach of Soviet power.

For the Ukrainian nation, the invasion of USSR by Germany could seem like salvation, especially since the fascists suggested support for Ukraine's independence. Unfortunately, the hopes for their own state, even under the protection of Germany, proved to be illusory. They vanished after the occupation of Lviv, where on 30 June 1941, at the initiative of the fraction of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) led by Stepan Bandera, the independence of Ukraine was resumed. Jaroslav Stetsko formed a government (Subtel'nij 1991, p. 401, Sergijčuk 2001, p. 6). In October 1941, the leader of another faction of OUN, Andriy Melnyk, tried to form an Ukrainian government in Kyiv, but Germans did not approve of this and arrested the leaders. The fight for independence was spearheaded by OUN and their armed forces formed in 1943 – the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) (Serczyk 2001, p. 342). They fought all enemies of Ukraine – Germans, Soviets, as well as the Polish resistance. German occupying forces also formed Ukrainian armed formations, used to control other conquered territories, e.g. to suppress the Warsaw Uprising. In the course of the war, all ethnic Ukrainian territories ended up under German, Hungarian and Romanian occupation.

The war resulted in huge loss for Ukraine of 5.3 million killed, 28 thousand villages burned, and destroyed 16 thousand manufacturing plants destroyed (Serczyk 2001, p. 357). The first damage was done by the Red Army, retreating under German pressure.

As a result of the war, the political situation in Ukraine did not change. On the contrary, all Ukrainian lands were under the control of USSR or its allies. In 1945–1947, the Soviet authorities wanted to relocate the Ukrainian settlements in Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the OUN's fight for independence lasted the longest, to the USSR. Additionally, the 'Vistula Operation', a military pacification of Ukrainian population was conducted in south-eastern Poland, though this population was not relocated to the USSR, but the northern and western parts of Poland (Olszański 1994, p. 239, Serczyk 2001, p. 349). However, the Soviet (Russian) concern for the unification of Ukrainians in one country was purely propagandist, since the Ukrainians had been taken from their homeland for hundreds of years for penal servitude, forcibly moved to Siberia as labour at the flagship construction sites of Communism. The migration of Ukrainians that

enhanced the Slavic ethnos in non-Slavic USSR republics was also supported (Serczyk 2001, p. 360).

The only positive outcome of the war for Ukraine was the amendment of the USSR constitution (1 February 1944), granting the union republics seeming national sovereignty, in order to enter the Byelorussian SSR and Ukrainian SSR into the UN, regardless of the whole country (25 June 1945) (Subtel'nij 1991, p. 423). Although the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR did not have any political liberty in the UN and only executed the directives from the USSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it still got selected for various commissions, including the UN Security Council, which surely served to perpetuate the notion of Ukrainian independence from Russia in the international community. After the proclamation of sovereignty, only Russia (formal successor of the USSR), Belarus and Ukraine did not have to apply for membership in the UN, which took some war-torn post-Soviet states several years (e.g. Georgia).

The last changes shaping the Ukrainian territory under Soviet rule took place in the post-war period. A slight change was made on 2 April 1946 at the Ukrainian-Czechoslovak border and involved one village (Lekárovce), which was returned to Czechoslovakia. The second of these changes involved the exchange of territories on the Polish-Soviet border and in its nature resembled an earlier operation of this kind on the Ukrainian-Russian border. On 15 February 1951, in exchange for an area of 480 km<sup>2</sup> in the bend of Bug River near Sokal, given by Poland to the Ukrainian SSR, we received the same area in Bieszczady mountains near Ustrzyki Dolne and Krościenko (Ślusarczyk 1992, p. 83). The formal reason for the change was the desire to keep the whole Rava-Ruska–Volodymyr-Volynskyi railway, which ran along the western bank of Bug between Belz and Sokal, in the USSR. In fact, it was about the USSR gaining access to shallow coal deposits near Lviv. In exchange for this economically valuable area, Poland received a mountainous, forested borderland area, neglecting the fact that Poland could have also gained the section of the Przemyśl–Zagórz railway that ran through the Ukrainian SSR. The population of these territories has been displaced, so only the infrastructure was transferred.

The third major territorial changes which, as it now turns out, was carried out in a non-legal way, was the return of the Crimean district, stripped of its autonomy just after World War II (30 June 1945) to the Ukrainian SSR. This was done by Nikita Khrushchev, the former first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, later the head of the Soviet state (Darski 1993, p. 82). This act is still challenged by modern Russia, demanding from Ukraine a proof of its legality.

#### **4. THE REVIVAL OF THE UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Political changes started in the fall of 1989 in Poland quickly spread to the whole system of the so called people's republics, leading to the overthrow of communism and the rebirth of the states that this system was forcibly imposed on from 1917 to 1949. The end result of this process was the collapse of the first communist empire in history – the USSR in December 1991. The emergence of 15 new states as a result of the disintegration of our eastern neighbour was one of the largest political changes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Rościszewski 2003, p. 171).

The beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the gradual transition to independence of the union republics was started by the death of the CPSU's First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in 1998. His two consecutive successors at this position, Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko, did not manage to maintain his imperial politics. The fate of the 'evil empire' was significantly influenced by the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev took power in March 1985 and announced his policy of reforms (Perestroika), which further expanded the autonomy of the republics, as well as the tragic incident in Ukraine, namely the disaster in the Chernobyl nuclear power plant on 26 April 1986. (Serczyk 2001, p. 368). In Ukraine, the independence movement was reborn and glasnost (freedom of speech) was spreading.

The progress of democratisation was further strengthened by grassroots citizens' movement, whose climactic moment happened on 21 January 1990, on the 71<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the unification of the Ukrainian states (in 1919), when a living chain of people holding hands from Lviv to Kyiv was formed. The local parliamentary elections in March 1990 were more liberal than in the past and resulted in choosing numerous real representatives of the society. More parties and political movements emerged, breaking the communist monopoly. A seemingly insignificant fact, setting the new time zone for Ukraine, an hour apart from the Moscow time, by the new parliament, was perceived as an act of sovereignty.

Key acts leading to independence were the declaration of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of 19 July 1990, proclaiming the sovereignty of the republic (as part of the new post-Soviet federation) and, on the other hand, the referendum concerning the preservation of the USSR of 17 March 1991, in which as much as 70% Ukrainian citizens supported the project, while 80% opted for changing the federation into a more democratic entity.

But the putsch of reactionary and anti-democratic forces that took place on 19 August 1991 in Moscow accelerated the decision of gaining full sovereignty of most union republics, including Ukraine. The independent state of Ukraine was

proclaimed on 24 August 1991, and Poland was the first country in the world to recognise its statehood (Podraza, Pankiewicz 2001, p. 265). The independence of the country was confirmed by the referendum of 1 December 1991. With a very high turnout of 84.2%, 90.3% of the voters were in favour of independence. This act showed the inner complexity of the state, as over 96% of the citizens voted in favour of independence in Galicia, while only approx. 83% voted in favour in such eastern district as Lugansk and Donetsk, just 57% in Sevastopol, and as low as 54% in the rest of Crimea. The referendum also selected the first president of reborn Ukraine, the current First Secretary of CPU Leonid Kravchuk. He was supported by almost all districts in the country, with only three districts in Galicia (Lviv, Tarnopol and Ivano-Frankivsk) voting for the democratic opposition candidate Viacheslav Chornovil (Serczyk 2001, p. 375).

At a meeting in a hunting centre in Wiskule in the Białowieża Forest on 8 December 1991, three leaders of the new states L. Kravchuk of Ukraine and Stanislav Shushkevich of Belarus, and Boris Yeltsin of Russia signed the act dissolving the USSR. At the same time, an interstate political organisation called the Commonwealth of Independent States was formed, joined gradually by more former republics, with the exception of Baltic states.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in accordance with its federal division demonstrates the importance of the status of autonomy of the individual parts of the Soviet state for the future of the region. Such past decisions as the transferring of Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR, raising Moldavian autonomy to the level of a union republic and the degradation of Abkhazia and Karelia gained a new dimension.

Under the constitution introduced of 28 June 1996, the Ukrainian state adopted the popular name of Ukraine as the official name (*Konstytucja...* 1996). This was due to the fact that the republic included Crimea, formerly an autonomous (as an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), which lost the Republican status and became a regular district after it was annexed by Ukraine. Ukrainian population in the peninsula is in the minority (24%), with a Russian majority of 60% similar to the eastern part of the country. Additionally, there was a tradition of historical Tartar statehood (khanate) in the Crimea, and the Tartar population, even though it was marginalised (10%) also became more active during Perestroika. Since 1987, there also was an ongoing process of Tartar families exiled after World War II to Central Asia returning. On 20 January 1991, a referendum was held in Crimea concerning its future district status (the first of its kind in the USSR), in which 93% voted in favour of regaining autonomy. The Supreme Council of the USSR decided on 12 February 1992 to recognise this demand and proclaimed the Crimean ASSR within the

Ukrainian SSR. However, the actual aim of the Crimean population (Russians and Tartars) was not autonomy, but the complete detachment of the peninsula from Ukraine and returning it to the Russian SFSR (for Russians) or full independence (for Tartars).

These aspirations materialised in the form of the announcement of 2 August 1992 of a referendum concerning the detachment of Crimea from Ukraine, which was blocked by the Ukrainian authorities (Serczyk 2001, s. 379). The final status of the peninsula has been established by art. 10 of the Constitution of Ukraine, which identified it as the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, with its own constitution, parliament (Supreme Council of the Crimean AR) and government, remaining 'an integral part of the Ukraine' (*Konstytucja...* 1996). The official language of the Crimea is Russian, while Ukrainian and Tartar are defined as state languages. Determining the status of Crimea did not solve the problem of the Crimean city and the Soviet war naval base in Sevastopol. Until the collapse of the USSR, no one questioned that the city belonged to the Crimea and Ukraine, in which it was included in 1954.

However, after Ukraine proclaimed its independence, the citizens of the city, 72% Russian, questioned this fact, arguing that the base was directly subordinate to the central USSR authorities (along with the whole surrounding as a 'closed city'), and not local administration. Thus, it could not have been given to the Ukrainian SSR back in 1954 and remains part of the Russian territory. On 10 July 1993, the Russian Duma announced that Sevastopol is a Russian federal city. In April 1993, Crimean authorities were preparing to choose a local president and Russia proposed the adoption of the Crimea to the CIS as a separate entity. The Local Russian Council of Sevastopol called for a military coup in the city and the overthrow of Ukrainian authorities.

This important international conflict was ultimately alleviated by the treaty of friendship, co-operation and partnership between Ukraine and Russia of 28 May 1997, which leased the facilities in a part of the naval port of Sevastopol for the Russian Black Sea fleet for 20 years, for 98 million dollars per year (Felgenhauer 1999). This means that the city of Sevastopol, with an area of 863.5 km<sup>2</sup> has a special status, is not part of the Crimean AR, and the mayor reports directly to the President of Ukraine.

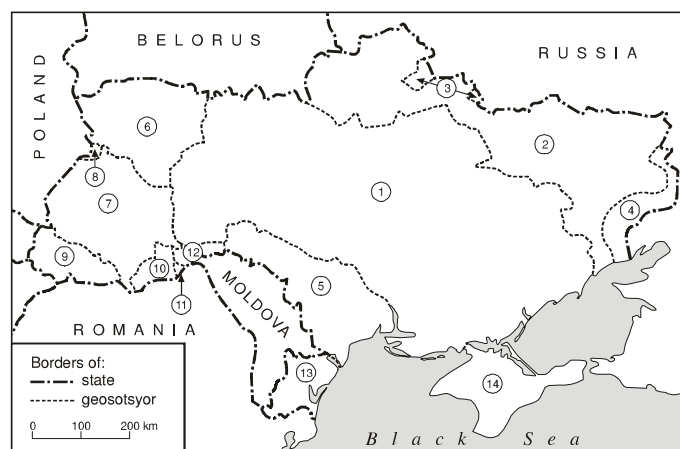
There was also a border conflict between Ukraine and Russia in the Strait of Kerch over the Tuzla Spit. This island, in the form of elongated sandbank, has been separated during a storm in 1925 from the Taman Peninsula in Russia. In 1954, it was transferred to Ukraine along with the Crimea. The area of 35 ha is inhabited by just 100 people (Gorbachew 2000). In 2003, Russia began constructing a causeway connecting the island with its territory, which caused

tension between the two countries. In December 2003, construction was halted, and Russia recognised the former course of the border, with the agreement that the Sea of Azov is an internal Russian-Ukrainian reservoir.

The conflict between Ukraine and Romania concerning the Snake Island (Ukr. Zmijnyj, Rum. Șerpilor), a 17-ha island in the Black Sea, that continued since 2004, was solved by the arbitration of the International Justice Tribunal in the Hague in a sentence of February 2009. The island itself remained under Ukrainian rule and neither of the countries can use it in any claims concerning the continental shelf, even though its division was very unfortunate for Ukraine, who was given just 20.66% of the disputed sea area. This is important due to the potential oil production in this part of the shelf.

## 5. THE COMPLEXITY OF THE INTERNAL STRUCTURES OF MODERN UKRAINE

A. Kuczabski (1999, pp. 51–53), using the method of geosotsyorsk<sup>1</sup>, proved that it is possible to distinguish 14 genetically different spatial units in the territory of modern Ukraine (Tab. 2, Fig. 2).



Legend: 1 – Central Ukraine; 2 – Eastern Ukraine; 3 – North-Eastern Ukraine; 4 – Eastern Donetsk region; 5 – South-Western Ukraine; 6 – Volhynia; 7 – Eastern Galicia; 8 – Transbugia; 9 – Transcarpathia; 10 – Northern Bukovina; 11 – Hertsa region; 12 – Northern Bessarabia; 13 – Southern Bessarabia; 14 – Crimea

Fig. 2. The internal division of Ukrainian lands using the geosotsyorsk method

Source: A. Kuczabski (1999, p. 61)

<sup>1</sup> The term geosotsyorsk (*geosocjor*) was coined by J.J. Siemionow in 1966 to signify the smallest territories divided by diverse borders, characterised by homogenous history of political and administrative affiliation.



Table 2. Internal division of Ukraine using the geosotsyor method in 1900–2009

Period	Political and administrative affiliation
1. Central Ukraine, main city: Kyiv	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1919	part of independent Ukraine
1920–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR (since 1922 in the USSR)
1941–1944	part of Reichskomisariat Ukraine, German occupation
from 1944	part of the Ukrainian SSR (till 1991 in the USSR, later independent Ukraine)
2. Eastern Ukraine, main cities: Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1919	part of independent Ukraine
1920–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR (since 1922 in the USSR)
1941–1943	under German occupation
from 1943	part of the Ukrainian SSR (till 1991 in the USSR, later independent Ukraine)
3. North-Eastern Ukraine, main city: Putivl	
until 1926	part of the Russian Empire (since 1918, the Russian SFSR)
1920–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1943	under German occupation
from 1943	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
4. Eastern Donietsk region, main city: Dmitrivsk	
until 1918	part of the Russian Empire (since 1917, the Russian Republic)
1919–1942	part of the Ukrainian SSR (since 1922 in the USSR)
1942–1943	under German occupation
from 1943	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
5. South-Western Ukraine, main city: Odessa	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1919	part of independent Ukraine
1920–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR (since 1922 in the USSR)
1941–1944	under Romanian occupation
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
6. Volhynia, major cities: Rivne, Lutsk	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1919	part of independent Ukraine

1919–1939	part of Poland
1939–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of Reichskomisariat Ukraine, German occupation
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
7. Galicia, main city: Lviv	
until 1918	part of Austria as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire
1918–1939	part of Poland
1939–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of the General Government of the Reich, German occupation
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
8. Zaburze, main city: Chervonograd (Krystynopol)	
until 1918	part of Austria as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire
1918–1939	part of Poland
1939–1945	part of the General Government of the Reich, German occupation
1945–1951	part of Poland
from 1951	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
9. Transcarpathia (Carpathian Ruthenia), main city: Uzhgorod	
until 1918	part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Austro-Hungarian Empire
1919–1938	part of Czechoslovakia (from 1938 the autonomous Carpathian Ruthenia)
1939–1944	part of Hungary
from 1945	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
10. Northern Bukovina, main city: Chernivtsi	
until 1918	part of Austria as the Duchy of Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire
1918–1940	part of Romania
1940–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of Romania
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
11. Hertza region, main city Hertza (Gierca, Herța)	
until 1940	part of Romania
1940–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of Romania
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)

12. Northern Bessarabia, main city: Khotyn	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1940	part of Romania
1940–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of Romania
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
13. Southern Bessarabia, main city: Izmail	
until 1917	part of the Russian Empire
1918–1940	part of Romania
1940–1941	part of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR
1941–1944	part of Romania
from 1944	part of Ukraine (until 1991 Ukrainian SSR in the USSR)
14. Crimea, main cities: Simferopol, Sevastopol	
until 1941	part of the Russian Empire (since 1920 in the Russian SFSR, since 1921 the Crimean ASSR)
1941–1943	under German occupation
1943–1954	part of the Russian SFSR, since 1945 the Crimean district
from 1954	part of Ukraine (until 1991 in the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR, in 1991 as the Crimean ASSR, from 1992 as Crimean AR)

Source: own study based on A. Kuczabski (1999, pp. 51–53, 61).

Today, we can add one more (15<sup>th</sup>) geosotsyor to the division proposed by A. Kuczabski – Sevastopol, i.e. the part of the naval port and its infrastructure leased for 20 years by the Russian Federation as the Black Sea fleet base under the agreement of 1997.

Internal territorial divisions continue to exist, becoming a tangible expression of the diverse history of the country. Above all, there is still a threat of the break-up of Ukraine into two or more geo-political entities, few of whom would be able to maintain sovereignty. It is paradoxical that the Galician part of Ukraine, historically most strongly associated with Poland, is the bastion of the extreme nationalist organisations, while the areas dominated by the Russian minority are far less affiliated with Ukrainian statehood and culture. There is no unanimity concerning the strategy of geopolitical choices in the highest authorities of Ukraine. On one hand, they declare the will to join NATO and the EU and return to the western civilisation. On the other, though, more political and economic arrangements with Russia are made, and the eastern of western direction of Ukrainian foreign policies became a hostage in elections (Rościszewski 2000, p. 31, Kłoczowski 2002, p. 64).

The complexity of the internal structures of Ukraine seriously affects the diversity of the election space in the country. As I. Kavetsky stated (2010, pp. 181–184), this space has a number of dimensions. The first one reveals itself in an opposition between the traditionalist western regions and the cosmopolitan east. The maximum concentration of supporters of right-wing organisations can be seen in elections in the historical eastern Galicia (Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk). The cosmopolitan pole is much more blurred, but it generally includes the Donets Basin (Donetsk, Luhansk). This division was shown even more explicitly during the presidential election of 1994 (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Division of the Ukrainian election space during the 1994 presidential election

Source: <http://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/u/ukraine/ukraine-presidential-election-1994.html>

In subsequent elections, the traditionalist option was gradually spreading eastward, reaching its apogee during the Orange Revolution of 2004. Traditionalism not only took the whole centre of the country, including the capital, but it also found strongholds in such districts as Sumy, the birthplace of president Viktor Yushchenko (Fig. 4).

## 6. GEOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS OF UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY

The growing occidental tendency in Ukrainian foreign policies was proven by the unfavourable, from the western option's point of view, solution of the Odessa-Brody pipeline built in 1996–2001, which was supposed to be used for transporting crude oil from Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, sent from Black Sea ports (Euroasian Oil Corridor) to Poland and further west. In 2008, an extension of the Gdańsk-Płock-Brody was approved to connect the western and Ukrainian transfer systems. However, Ukraine did not decide whether it still wants to use the pipeline after Russia stopped using it to send crude oil to Ukraine in 2010 and Belarus stopped using it to import Azer oil in March 2012. Without a doubt, the actions of two neighbours of Ukraine are not unrelated with its pro-west plans concerning this route.

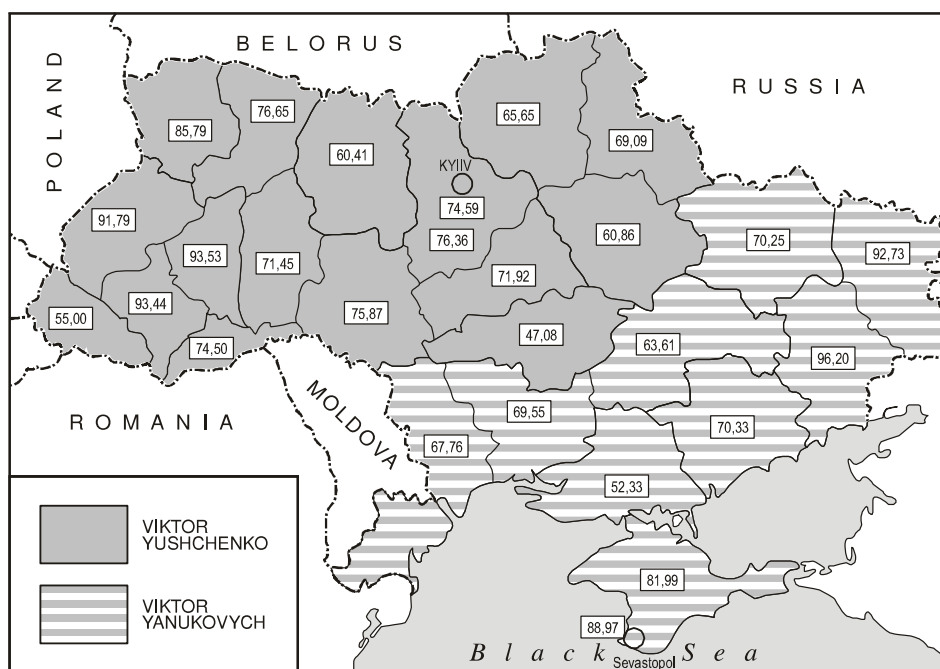


Fig. 4. Division of the Ukrainian election space during the 2004 presidential election  
Source: <http://gondwanaland.com/mlog/2004/11>

Another proof of the east-facing course of Ukraine is the Ukrainian-Russian agreement concerning the rules for stationing Russian Black Sea fleet in Kharkiv, concluded on 27 April 2010, which extends the lease on the naval base

in Sevastopol by further 25 years (till 2042). for USD 100 million per year in exchange for a reduction in the price of Russian natural gas by 30%.

The meanders of Ukraine's foreign policy are also reflected in its relation to the issue of regional integration. Ukraine seeks to be admitted to NATO (since February 1994, it has been a member of the Partnership for Peace, and since November 2002, it has had an individual membership negotiations plan, which gained momentum in April 2005). It also tries to join the European Union (since 1 March 1998 – partnership and co-operation agreement, since June 2004 – included in the European Neighbourhood Policy, since January 2005 – UE recognition of Ukraine's strive for membership, since 5 March 2007 – negotiations over the new EU-Ukraine agreement without the association status).

At the same time, as a founding member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Ukraine currently only has the status of an observer (*de facto* participates fully in this organization), it did not join the military agreement between members of the CIS and does not participate in the United Command of the Armed Forces (Kuspyś 2009). Ukraine is also just an observer in the Eurasian Economic Community founded in 2000.

Since 1997, Ukraine, along with a number of countries with anti-Russian sentiments created a forum for international co-operation GUUAM, transformed in 2008 into the GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development.

All of this points to a dichotomy in the Ukrainian politics concerning the core issue of its geopolitical location.

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