



Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle, Khmelnytskyi Oblast
Wikimedia/Moahim

UKRAINE



Ukrainian folk dancers perform the traditional Hopak
Wikimedia/Mykola Vasylechko

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Map of Ukraine
CIA/The World Factbook

Chapter 1 | Geography



Carpathian National Park
Flickr/cobravictor

Introduction

Ukraine means “border.”^{1, 2} Boundaries of physical and cultural geography form the country: forest meets steppe, water meets land, and Europe meets Asia in the former frontiers of many empires and nations. Ukraine’s modern borders are with Romania (601 km/373 mi) and Moldova (1,202 km/747 mi) to the southwest; Hungary (128 km/80 mi) and Slovakia (97 km/60 mi) to the west; Poland (498 km/309 mi) to the northwest; Belarus (1,111 km/690 mi) to the north; Russia (1,944 km/1,2708 mi) to the north and east; and the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to the south.³

Today Ukraine is the largest European nation excluding Russia, which spills over into Asia.^{4, 5} Ukraine’s current shape and size are largely the result of military actions and socioeconomic policies of the former Soviet Union.⁶

¹ Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 1.

² Alexander B. Murphy, Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov, and Bella Bychkova Jordan, *The European Culture Area* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), 191.

³ Central Intelligence Agency, “Ukraine,” *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

⁴ Maps of World, “Europe Largest and Smallest Countries by Area,” n.d., <http://www.mapsofworld.com/europe/thematic/european-countries-by-area.html>

⁵ Most Today, “10 Largest Countries in Europe,” n.d., <http://10mosttoday.com/10-largest-countries-in-europe/>

⁶ Andrij Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

^{7, 8} The shrinking population of 43.5 million is 70% urban and 30% rural, distributed throughout 27 administrative districts: 24 provinces (*oblasti*, singular *oblast*), two municipalities (*mista*, singular *misto*) provincial status, and one autonomous republic (*avtonomna respublika*). The United States does not recognize Russia's 2014 annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the municipality of Sevastopol.^{9, 10}

Geography

Ukraine lies almost entirely on the Eastern European Plain, at an average elevation of 175 m (574 ft).¹¹ The country is divided into several broad geographic regions. Forest occupies the northern 20% of the country. Roughly 25% of the region is forested in pine, oak, birch, and alder trees. Peat bogs and marshes are common. Some agriculture also occurs in the region, with sizeable plots of cereals, flax, and potatoes. Much of the area is cultivated for its natural pasture lands. Dairy and beef cattle operations are common.^{12, 13, 14}

The mountain zone makes up around 1% of Ukraine's total area and is divided into two main sections. In the west are the Carpathian Mountains, which average 600 to 2,000 m (1,969 to 6,562 ft) in elevation and include the nation's highest peak, Mount Hoverla (2,061 m/ 6,762 ft). Along the southern coast lie the Crimean Mountains, which are forested with natural alpine meadows, alpine grasses, and shrubs. The highest peak in this region, Mount Roman-Kosh, rises 1,545 m (5,069 ft).^{15, 16}

Making up roughly 35% of Ukraine's total area, the forest-steppe zone extends northeast from the northern shore of the Black Sea. Forests of oak, beech, and ash cover approximately 11% of the zone. Over 80% of the region's fertile plains are heavily farmed. Wheat, corn, peas, beets, and potatoes are the primary crops, and grains are important commodity crops.^{17, 18, 19}

The steppe zone, located in the southern and southeastern sections of the nation, accounts for approximately 45% of Ukraine's total area. More than 60% of the zone is heavily farmed. One of the largest and most important regional

- 7 Paul Donnelley, "Amazing Time-lapse Video Shows How the Constantly Changing Borders in Europe over the Past 1,000 Years Shaped the Continent We know Today," *Daily Mail*, 17 May 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2602799/Amazing-time-lapse-video-shows-constantly-changing-borders-Europe-past-1-000-years-shaped-continent-know-today.html>
- 8 Magda Teter, "22 Maps that Explain the Centuries-long Conflict in Ukraine," Talking Points, 28 February 2014, <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/cafe/22-maps-that-explain-the-centuries-long-conflict-in-the-ukraine>
- 9 State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, "Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2014," 2015, 7, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/publicat/kat_u/2015/zb/07/zb_Uk_14_eng.zip
- 10 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 11 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 12 A.V. Bogovin, "Country Pasture, Forage Resources Profile: Ukraine," (report, Food and Agriculture Organization, October 2006), <http://www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/Ukraine/ukraine.htm#2.2%20SOILS%20AND>
- 13 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 14 Anna Kuzemko, "Dry Grasslands on Sandy Soils in the Forest and Forest-Steppe Zones of the Plains Region of Ukraine: Present State of Syntaxonomy," *Tuexenia* 29 (2009): 371–372, <http://www.edgg.org/publ/members/SP0006.pdf>
- 15 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 16 A.V. Bogovin, "Country Pasture, Forage Resources Profile: Ukraine," (report, Food and Agriculture Organization, October 2006), <http://www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/Ukraine/ukraine.htm#2.2%20SOILS%20AND>
- 17 A.V. Bogovin, "Country Pasture, Forage Resources Profile: Ukraine," (report, Food and Agriculture Organization, October 2006), <http://www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/Ukraine/ukraine.htm#2.2%20SOILS%20AND>
- 18 Volodymyr Kubijovyč, "Forest-Steppe," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), vol. 1, 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\F\O\Forest6steppe.htm>
- 19 Anna Kuzemko, "Dry Grasslands on Sandy Soils in the Forest and Forest-Steppe Zones of the Plains Region of Ukraine: Present State of Syntaxonomy," *Tuexenia* 29 (2009): 372, <http://www.edgg.org/publ/members/SP0006.pdf>

crops is sunflowers. Maize is grown for fodder, and cattle and sheep husbandry is important. Grapes thrive in the steppe climate.^{20, 21, 22}

Climate

Ukraine's temperate continental climate has warm summers and cold winters, with snow blanketing the ground nearly three months of the year. The most pleasant months are May through September.²³ There are considerable variations in temperature, however. Winters in western Ukraine are warmer and summers cooler than in the eastern regions.^{24, 25}

During July, the hottest month of the year, temperatures average 23°C (73°F) in the warmer southeast but drop to an average of 18°C (64°F) in the northwest. In the summer, hot dry winds (*sukhoviya*) blow from the east.^{26, 27, 28} In 2010, the country's highest summer temperature ever (42°C/107.6°F) was recorded in the eastern province of Luhansk.²⁹

The coldest month of the year is January, which sees average temperatures of 5.5–7°C (42–45°F) in the cooler north and 11–13°C (52–55°F) in the warmer south. The mercury can, however, fall to -20°C (-4°F) in some parts of the country. Winter temperatures often feel colder due to the northeasterly winter wind known as the *bora*.^{30, 31,}

³² The extreme winter low of -42°C (-43.6°F) was recorded in the city of Playi.³³ Rivers freeze in winter, interrupting navigation from December to March.^{34, 35}

Average annual precipitation is about 60 cm (24 in) and is heaviest in the northwest. June and July usually see the maximum amounts of rain, with February being the driest month.^{36, 37} Less rainfall in the southeastern semiarid

- 20 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 21 Volodymyr Kubijovyč, "Forest-Steppe," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), vol. 1, 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\F\O\Forest6steppe.htm>
- 22 A.V. Bogovin, "Country Pasture, Forage Resources Profile: Ukraine," (report, Food and Agriculture Organization, October 2006), <http://www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/Ukraine/ukraine.htm#2.%20SOILS%20AND>
- 23 Weather Online, "Ukraine," n.d., <http://www.weatheronline.co.uk/reports/climate/Ukraine.htm>
- 24 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 12.
- 25 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 26 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 12.
- 27 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 28 Weather Online, "Ukraine," n.d., <http://www.weatheronline.co.uk/reports/climate/Ukraine.htm>
- 29 WorldData, "The Climate in Ukraine," 2022, retrieved on 5 May 2022, <https://www.worlddata.info/europe/ukraine/climate.php>
- 30 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 12.
- 31 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 32 Weather Online, "Ukraine," n.d., <http://www.weatheronline.co.uk/reports/climate/Ukraine.htm>
- 33 Meteorology Climate, "Extreme Temperature Records," n.d., <http://www.meteorologyclimate.com/extreme-temperature-records.htm>
- 34 Volodymyr Kubijovyč and Ivan Teslia, "Dnieper River," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), vol. 1, 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CD%5CN%5CDniproRiver.htm>
- 35 Travel Kiev, "About Ukraine," n.d., http://www.biztravel.kiev.ua/about_ukraine.shtml
- 36 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 13.
- 37 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

steppe requires irrigation for the region's agriculture.^{38, 39} Too much rain in the northwestern lowlands and mountains often causes flooding.^{40, 41, 42}

Bodies of Water

Rivers

Ukraine has thousands of small lakes, but the most important water resources are its nearly 23,000 rivers. Most of the rivers course in a southeasterly direction through the Ukrainian plains on their way to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.^{43, 44, 45} Four of the most significant rivers are the Dniester (925 km / 575 mi) and Southern Bug (806 km / 501 mi) in the west, the Dnieper (1,121 km / 697 mi) in the center, and the Donetsk (700 km / 435 mi) in the east.⁴⁶ The Southern Bug is the only one entirely within Ukrainian territory—the others flow from, along, or into neighboring countries. Other rivers Ukraine shares are the Northern Bug, which flows north along the Polish border, and the Danube, which empties into the Black Sea along the border with Romania.^{47, 48, 49} The Danube and Dnieper are navigable in Ukraine, in part because of engineered canals and dams.^{50, 51} Soviet-era hydroelectric stations built along the Dnieper (with United States equipment and advice) created large reservoirs and submerged the historic Zaporizhian Rapids.⁵² Thousands of dams throughout the country regulate river flow, generate hydroelectricity, irrigate farm fields, and support fisheries.^{53, 54}

Seas

The Black Sea forms Ukraine's southernmost border. It is the terminus of Ukraine's primary rivers and home to many shipping ports. Commerce is crucial to the region, and the Black Sea zone sees extremely heavy traffic. The Ukrainian cities of Odesa and Illichivsk handle the majority of the shipping traffic. Heavy shipping has contributed to pollution. Oil spills in the region have endangered habitats. Pollution from the Dniester and Dnieper rivers enters the sea. Pesticides from farming, heavy metals from industrial waste, overfishing, and the introduction of non-native

38 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 13.

39 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

40 Accuweather, "Cars, People Struggle through Deep Flood Waters in Ukraine," 10 June 2015, <http://videowall.accuweather.com/detail/videos/trending-now/video/4288276738001/cars-people-struggle-through-deep-flood-waters-in-ukraine?autoStart=true>

41 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Floods in Ukraine," 27 July 2010, <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2010/07-ukraine-floods/index.html>

42 World Health Organization, "Ukraine: Flood Hazard Distribution Map," 2010, <http://data.euro.who.int/e-atlas/europe/images/map/ukraine/ukr-flood.pdf>

43 Ihor Stebelsky and Ivan Teslia, "Rivers," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 1993, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\R\Rivers.htm>

44 Ukraine, "Geography—Travel over Seas and Mountains, across Grass Plains and through Rivers," n.d., <http://www.ukraine.com/geography/>

45 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

46 State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, "Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2014," 2015, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/publicat/kat_u/2015/zb/07/zb_Uk_14_eng.zip

47 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

48 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-first Century Books, 2009), 10.

49 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Southern Buh," 12 May 2014, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Southern-Buh>

50 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

51 Encyclopedia.com, "Dnieper," 18 May 2018, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Dnieper.aspx>

52 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, "Dnieper Hydroelectric Station," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\D\DnieperHydroelectricStation.htm>

53 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

54 Food and Agriculture Organization, "Ukraine: Climate and Water Resources," n.d., <http://www.fao.org/docrep/w6240e/w6240e19.htm>

species have threatened marine habitats. The six nations of the Black Sea—Turkey, Russia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine—signed the Convention for the Preservation of the Black Sea during the 1990s. Today, pollution levels remain high and threaten industry in the region.^{55, 56, 57, 58, 59}

The inland Sea of Azov, the world's shallowest sea, forms part of the southeastern border of Ukraine. Linked to the Black Sea by the Kerch Strait, the Sea of Azov is an important body of water. Numerous rivers flow into the sea, depositing large amounts of silt that prevailing currents disperse in the sea. The silt is high in nutrients. The waters are nutrient rich, supporting a wide variety of marine life. The main species for harvest are anchovies and sardines. Transportation is a major industry in the region. Passengers are ferried to numerous ports along the seacoast. Coal, iron ore, building materials, oil, and other freight crisscross the sea. Violent storms can erupt in the region, causing some ships to spill or jettison their freight. Oil spills have caused great environmental harm to the area. A large sandbar on the western coast extends 113 km (70 mi), creating a web of inlets that separates the mainland from the Crimean Peninsula.^{60, 61, 62, 63, 64}

Major Cities

City	Population in 2021 ⁶⁵
Kyiv (capital)	2,962,180
Kharkiv	1,433,886
Odesa	1,015,826
Dnipro	980,948
Donetsk	905,364
Zaporizhzhya	722,713
Lviv	721,510

Kyiv

Kyiv spreads for 780 sq km (300 sq mi) along both sides of the Dnieper River in north central Ukraine, 170 km (106 mi) south and downstream of the border with Belarus, and 951 km (591 mi) north of the Dnieper's exit into the Black Sea. Some 1,500 years ago, Kyivan Rus, the ancestral state of Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians, was

55 Volodymyr Kubijovyč and Ivan Teslia, "Black Sea," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), vol. 1, 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?AddButton=pages\B\BlackSea.htm>

56 Vladimir Petrovich Goncharov et al., "Black Sea," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 7 May 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Black-Sea>

57 World Atlas, "Black Sea," 29 September 2015, <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/infopage/blacksea.htm>

58 International Commission for the Protection of the Danube River, "Black Sea," 25 March 2011, <http://www.icpdr.org/icpdr-pages/black-sea.htm>

59 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

60 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Sea of Azov," 8 July 2009, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Sea-of-Azov>

61 Volodymyr Kubijovyč, "Sea of Azov," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), vol. 1, 1984, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages/A/Z/AzovSeaof.htm>

62 World Atlas, "Sea of Azov," 10 August 2015, <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/infopage/seaofazov.htm>

63 BBC News, "Black Sea Faces Oil 'Catastrophe,'" 13 November 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7092071.stm>

64 BBC News, "Crews Missing in Black Sea Storm," 12 November 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7090141.stm>

65 City Population, "Ukraine: Provinces and Major Cities," 2022, retrieved on 5 May 2022, <http://www.citypopulation.de/en/ukraine/cities/>

established on the high bluffs of the right (west) bank of the river.⁶⁶ The city's history is displayed in its buildings and monuments. A 20 m (66 ft) monument to Volodymyr the Great, who chose Byzantine Orthodox Christianity for the Rus, overlooks the site of the mass baptism of Kyivans in 988.⁶⁷ Two 11th-century religious architectural ensembles, the cathedral of St. Sophia and the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), are UNESCO World Heritage Sites.⁶⁸ The 17th-century Kyivan Mohyla Academy, an early seat of Ukrainian higher education, closed in 1817 but reopened as a national university soon after independence.⁶⁹

Kyiv has been the site of many violent occupations since the Mongol invasion of the 13th century. When nationalists proclaimed Kyiv the capital of an independent Ukraine during the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918, the city was occupied by warring independents, Germans, White and Red Russians, and Poles.⁷⁰ World War II left behind the Nazi "resettlement" site of Babi Yar.⁷¹ The city was an early target of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, but Russian efforts were thwarted, leading to their retreat from the north of the country.⁷²

Kharkiv

Ukraine's second city, Kharkiv, is the largest city in the industrial east. Located in the transitional forest-steppe belt at the confluence of three rivers, the city lies just 40 km (25 mi) south of the Russian border. It is home to a large Russian population—a minority in Ukraine but a majority in the city.⁷³ Cossacks ("free men" of the steppe) built a 17th-century fortress against Tatar raiders at the site, under the formal jurisdiction of Muscovy. The Industrial Revolution brought many Russian immigrants to Kharkiv in the 19th century, while at the same time the city experienced a Ukrainian cultural renaissance. In 1920, the city became Soviet Ukraine's first capital until 1934, when the capital was moved to Kyiv.^{74, 75, 76}

Large parts of Kharkiv were destroyed during both world wars.⁷⁷ Post-war Soviet construction created a modern city of massive buildings and public spaces, as well as a center for manufacturing industrial equipment such as diesel locomotives, mining and agricultural machinery, tractors, generators, steam turbines, tools, and electrical items. Kharkiv is also a communications center as well as a major highway and rail hub.⁷⁸ After Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Kharkiv came under sustained Russian bombardment, and a majority of residents left the city.⁷⁹

66 Richard Antony French, "Kyiv," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2 April 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kyiv>

67 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "St. Wladimir's (i.e., Vladimir's) Monument, Kiev, Russia (i.e., Ukraine)," World Digital Library, 17 October 2011, <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/4216/>

68 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Ukraine," World Heritage List, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ua>

69 National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, "History of NaUKMA," 2015, <http://www.ukma.edu.ua/eng/index.php/about-us/history>

70 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 147.

71 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 154–155.

72 Anjali Singhvi et al., "How Kyiv Has Withstood Russia's Attacks," *New York Times*, 2 April 2022, retrieved on 26 April 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/02/world/europe/kyiv-invasion-disaster.html>

73 Steven Otfinoski, *Ukraine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 90

74 Vasyl Markus, Roman Senkus, Ihor Stebelsky, "Kharkiv," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2006, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/k/h/kharkiv.htm>

75 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Kharkiv," 22 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kharkiv-Ukraine>

76 Richard Antony French, "Kyiv," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2 April 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kyiv>

77 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Battle of Kursk," 28 June 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Kursk>

78 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Kharkiv," 22 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kharkiv-Ukraine>

79 Christina Wilkie et al., "Ukrainians Are Pushing Russians Back from Kharkiv, Pentagon Says; Evacuations Continue from Mariupol," CNBC, 3 May 2022, retrieved on 5 May 2022, <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/05/02/russia-ukraine-live-updates.html>

Odesa

Odesa, Ukraine's main commercial seaport, is located on the northwest coast of the Black Sea, 31 km (19 mi) north of the Dniester River estuary. It is regarded as Ukraine's most international city.^{80, 81} Named for an ancient Greek colony, Odesa began in the 14th century as a Tatar fortress, and was subsequently claimed by Lithuania-Poland, Ottoman Turkey, and finally Catherine the Great as part of "New Russia."⁸² Western Europeans governed Odesa on behalf of the czar in the beginning of the 19th century.⁸³ Rail connections made Odesa a center for exporting grain, and the city became imperial Russia's second-most important port (after St. Petersburg).⁸⁴

Jews lived an unusually free life in Odesa during the 18th and 19th centuries, and came to constitute roughly 30% of the city's population. The Jewish community supported a press and writers, as well as Russian Zionism and the Social Democratic Workers Party. Anti-Jewish riots and violence spread to Odesa in 1881 and 1905, and from 1920 the Soviets closed Jewish schools and synagogues. During World War II, Romanian and German occupiers deported and killed almost all the Jews in the city.⁸⁵

Odesa has not escaped the political insecurity caused by the Ukraine-Russia crisis. Roughly 29% of Odesa's population is Russian and tensions between Ukrainians and Russians rose after 2014. Terrorists attacked the offices of the Ukrainian Security Service in September 2015, further adding to tensions.^{86, 87} In early 2022, Odesa became an important strategic prize for the invading Russians, since controlling the city would allow Russia to realize its goal of cutting Ukraine off completely from the Black Sea and global shipping lanes.⁸⁸

Dnipro

Dnipro, roughly 450 km (280 mi) southeast of Kyiv along the Dnieper River, was founded in 1787 as Ekaterinoslav, named for Catherine the Great.^{89, 90, 91} For much of the 20th century, Dnipro was closed to foreign visitors, while Soviet physicists and engineers came to study rocket science and build satellites and other military space projects.^{92, 93} The city's Yuzhmash science-industry complex continues to be a world leader in these fields.⁹⁴ Iron and steel are other

80 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 60–63.

81 Jeffrey Zuehlke, *Ukraine in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2006), 16–17.

82 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Odessa," 17 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Odessa-Ukraine>

83 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 60.

84 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Odessa," 17 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Odessa-Ukraine>

85 Steven J. Zipperstein, "Odessa," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, 2010, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Odessa>

86 Reuters, "Explosion Near Ukraine's Security Service in Odessa," 27 September 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/video/2015/09/27/explosion-near-ukraines-security-service?videoid=365743026>

87 "Powerful Blast Damages Ukrainian Security Service HQ in Odessa," *Russia Today*, 27 September 2015, <https://www.rt.com/news/316620-odessa-blast-security-service-ukraine/>

88 Oleksiy Goncharenko, "Ukraine's Southern Capital Odesa Prepares to Repel Russian Invasion," Atlantic Council, 25 March 2022, retrieved on 5 May 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraines-southern-capital-odesa-prepares-to-repel-russian-invasion/>

89 GoogleMap, "Driving Directions to Dnipropetrovsk, Dnipropetrovsk'ska oblast, Ukraine," GIS Innovatsia, 2011.

90 *Merriam-Webster's Geographical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., "Dnipropetrovsk," 1997, 325.

91 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 57.

92 Gwynne Oosterbaan, "Clan Based Politics in Ukraine and the Implications for Democratization," in *Perspectives on Political and Economic Transitions after Communism*, ed. John S. Micgiel (New York: Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia College, 1997).

93 Sergei Zhuk, "Soviet Baby Boomers—Closed Cities, SHMO and Soviet Regionalism," Russian History Blog, 17 December 2012, <http://russianhistoryblog.org/2012/12/sergei-zhuk-comments-soviet-baby-boomers-closed-cities-chmo-and-soviet-regionalism/>

94 Allie Wharf, "One Square Mile of Dnipropetrovsk," BBC News, 25 March 2011, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/direct/ukraine/9436030.stm>

major industrial products.^{95, 96} The city's location a mere 241 km (150 mi) from the separatist capital of the Donetsk People's Republic, has caused some problems.^{97, 98} After the Russian invasion, Dnipro became a clearing house for humanitarian assistance and a reception point for people fleeing from the fighting in the east of the country.⁹⁹

Donetsk

Donetsk, near the eastern border with Russia on the headwaters of the Kalmius River, rests on the large coal deposits of the Donbas (Donets river basin) region. Welshman John Hughes founded the town in 1872 to produce iron rail.^{100, 101} The labor-intensive heavy industries produced unions that played a pivotal role in the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the independence of Ukraine.¹⁰² In 2001, the city started its unique Forged Figures Park, filled with dozens of wrought-iron sculptures.¹⁰³ Donetsk enterprises produce not only coal and iron, but steel, chemicals, textiles, apparel, furniture, and household appliances.¹⁰⁴

In 2014, Donetsk came under the control of Russia-backed separatists and was declared the capital of the breakaway Donetsk People's Republic (DPR). Many residents fled, and the city and region began a steady process of Russification, including the use of Russian currency, the introduction of Russian textbooks in schools, and the distribution of Russian passports to inhabitants.¹⁰⁵ As the Russian invasion of Ukraine got underway in February 2022, Donetsk authorities launched a major initiative to conscript military-age males into the local security forces.¹⁰⁶

Zaporizhzhya

Zaporizhzhya, about 85 km (53 mi) south of Dnipropetrovsk along the Dnieper River, is the historic home of the Zaporizhian Cossacks, who resisted outside authority—Tatars, Poles, other Cossacks, and finally Russian-sponsored Serbs and Romanians—from the 16th to the 18th centuries.^{107, 108} The river island of Khortytsia, site of a Zaporizhian Sich (fortress), is now a national reserve with a history museum and a Cossack horse show.¹⁰⁹ The ruins of other sichts, as well as rapids that once prevented navigation between Zaporizhzhya and Dnipropetrovsk, were

- 95 Gwynne Oosterbaan, "Clan Based Politics in Ukraine and the Implications for Democratization," in *Perspectives on Political and Economic Transitions after Communism*, ed. John S. Micgiel (New York: Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia College, 1997).
- 96 Irena Chalupa, "Ukraine's Gold-Plaited Comeback Kid," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 23 September 2008, http://www.rferl.org/content/Tymoshenko_Profile/1291005.html
- 97 Vijai Maheshwari, "The Town Determined to Stop Putin," *Daily Beast*, 12 June 2014, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/06/12/dnipropetrovsk-the-ukrainian-town-determined-to-stop-putin.html>
- 98 James Coomarasamy, "Ukraine Crisis: Dnipropetrovsk Prepares for Rebel Advance," BBC News 6 October 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29503377>
- 99 Becky Sullivan, "With Front Lines on 3 Sides, Ukraine's Dnipro Sharpens Its Focus on the War," NPR, 29 March 2022, retrieved on 5 May 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/29/1089146927/russia-war-ukraine-dnipro>
- 100 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Donetsk," 22 February 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Donetsk-Ukraine>
- 101 Bohdan Krawchenko, "Working Class," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 1993, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/w/o/workingclass.htm>
- 102 Gwynne Oosterbaan, "Clan Based Politics in Ukraine and the Implications for Democratization," in *Perspectives on Political and Economic Transitions after Communism*, ed. John S. Micgiel (New York: Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia College, 1997).
- 103 Lubava (Anastasia), "The Forged Figures Park (Historical Information)," Magazine of Metal (website), n.d., <http://gefest-ua.com/english/magazine/90-the-forged-figures-park-historical-information.html>
- 104 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Donetsk," 22 February 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Donetsk-Ukraine>
- 105 Roman Goncharenko, "Donetsk and Luhansk in Ukraine: A Creeping Process of Occupation," *Deutsche Welle*, 23 February 2022, retrieved on 9 May 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/donetsk-and-luhansk-in-ukraine-a-creeping-process-of-occupation/a-60878068>
- 106 Ihor Burdya and Regina Gimalova, "How Ukraine Separatists Are Mass Conscripting Anyone of Fighting Age," *Deutsche Welle*, 27 April 2022, retrieved on 9 May 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/how-ukraine-separatists-are-mass-conscripting-anyone-of-fighting-age/a-61608760>
- 107 GoogleMap, "Driving directions to Zaporizhzhya, Zaporiz'ka Oblast, Ukraine," Transnavicom, 2011.
- 108 Borys Krupnytsky and Arkadii Khukovsky, "Zaporizhia," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 2001, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/Z/A/ZaporizhiaThe.htm>
- 109 Arkadii Zhukovsky, "Khortytsia Island," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 1989, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=/pages/K/H/KhortytsiaIsland.htm>

submerged under reservoirs created by a series of hydroelectric stations along the river.¹¹⁰ The dam at Zaporizhzhya is a source of employment as well as pollution.¹¹¹ Area factories produce iron, steel, and chemicals.¹¹²

After Russia's February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Zaporizhzhya became a reception point for refugees fleeing the devastated city of Mariupol to the south. As fighting shifted to the east and south of Ukraine in April, the city came under Russian airstrikes as Ukrainian forces held off Russian advances.^{113, 114}

Lviv

Lviv sits at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, an hour's drive east of the Polish border.¹¹⁵ Prince Danylo of Halych named the new city for his son Lev in the 13th century. It passed through Polish, Cossack, Swedish, Austrian, Russian, German, and Soviet hands before becoming the western cultural and political center of independent Ukraine.^{116, 117} The historic city center, filled with ancient buildings and cobblestone streets, is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.¹¹⁸ The university, one of Europe's oldest, has Lviv Dormition (Orthodox) and Jesuit roots, and is now named for 19th-century writer and nationalist Ivan Franko.¹¹⁹ The baroque St. George Cathedral is a historic seat of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.¹²⁰ The Lychakiv Cemetery, established in 1786, has become a park-like sightseeing destination.¹²¹

Geographically distant from Russian supervision, Lviv developed a publishing industry in the 19th century that fostered the Ukrainian language and cultural identity.^{122, 123} Lviv has been the site of many different efforts toward self-determination, including a 1980s dissident movement that produced the political party Rukh and eventually led to national independence.^{124, 125} After Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Lviv became a transit hub for millions of displaced persons fleeing the fighting in the east of the country, as well as a home base for diplomats, aid workers, and journalists.¹²⁶ Although not on the front lines, the city was the target of Russian missile attacks.¹²⁷

110 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, "Dnieper Cascade of Hydroelectric Stations," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 2001, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\D\N\DnieperCascadeofHydroelectricStations.htm>

111 Steven Otfinoski, *Ukraine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 96–97.

112 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Zaporizhzhya," 20 June 2011, retrieved on 19 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Zaporizhzhya-Ukraine>

113 Igor Kossov, "Zaporizhzhia Fights as Russians Intensify Offensive in Region," *Kyiv Independent*, 30 April 2022, retrieved on 9 May 2022, <https://kyivindependent.com/national/zaporizhzhia-fights-as-russians-intensify-offensive-in-region/>

114 PBS News Hour, "As Russian Forces Redeploy Intense Fighting Shifts to Ukraine's South," 5 April 2022, retrieved on 9 May 2022, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/as-russian-forces-redeploy-intense-fighting-shifts-to-ukraines-south>

115 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 71.

116 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Lviv," 2016, 9 June 2021, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lviv-Ukraine>

117 Steven Otfinoski, *Ukraine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 94–95.

118 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Lviv: the Ensemble of the Historic Centre," World Heritage List, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/865>

119 Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (LNU), "About," n.d., <http://www.mathmods.eu/about/associated-partners/lviv>

120 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 68–69.

121 "Which Cemetery in Lviv Has a Status of a Museum?" Lviv Ecotour, accessed 8 February 2017, <http://lvivecotour.com/lychakiv-cemetery/>

122 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Lviv," 19 January 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lviv-Ukraine>

123 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 90.

124 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Lviv," 19 January 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lviv-Ukraine>

125 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 87–92.

126 Stefanie Gliński, "Lviv Becomes the Center of Ukraine's Resistance," *Foreign Policy*, 21 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/21/russia-war-ukraine-lviv-refugee/>

127 Paul LeBlanc, "'This Invasion Is Horrifying': What It's Like on the Ground in Lviv Following Russian Missile Attacks," CNN, 28 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/28/politics/lviv-ukraine-russian-invasion-what-matters/index.html>

Natural Hazards

Ukraine is at risk from a variety of natural hazards including earthquakes. The most seismically active regions are in the western, southwestern, and southern parts of the country, where the Carpathian and Crimean-Black Sea seismic regions are located. The single most active part of the country is in the Zakarpatska region. Earthquakes in the west generally measure less than 5.5 on the Richter scale, although tremors as high as 7.5 have been recorded.^{128, 129,}

¹³⁰ Other risks are weather related and include drought, temperature extremes, and storms that can cause severe flooding and landslides, especially in the southwestern regions. Floods are a frequent occurrence in about 27% of the nation. The most flood-prone regions include the areas near the Carpathians, the Lower Danube River, and the Donbas region.¹³¹ In the summer of 2020, the worst flooding since the 1990s devastated bridges, dams, roads, and private property in nearly 300 towns and villages in western Ukraine.¹³²

Severe weather can also cause problems. Extreme cold temperatures can cause damage to crops.¹³³ Subfreezing temperatures also create hardships for people, especially the sections of the country where fighting is ongoing.¹³⁴ In 2012, more than 130 people died after temperatures plummeted to -23°C (-9°F).^{135, 136} In March 2022, a blast of cold air over northern Ukraine worsened the precarious conditions of civilians near conflict zones and internally displaced persons.¹³⁷

Dangerously high temperatures can also pose risks. New national highs for temperature are set nearly every summer.^{138, 139, 140} In addition to causing discomfort for residents, heatwaves can also trigger summer storms that can cause flooding and drought.^{141, 142} In 2019 there was 25% less rainfall than average, and droughts nearly doubled from

128 World Data Center, "Seismicity of Ukraine," n.d., <http://wdc.org.ua/en/node/193>

129 Amanda Vervaeck, "Important Historic Earthquakes in Ukraine," Earthquake-Report.com, 4 May 2014, <http://earthquake-report.com/2014/05/04/important-historic-earthquakes-in-ukraine/>

130 World Health Organization, "Ukraine: Seismic Hazard Distribution Map," 2010, <http://data.euro.who.int/e-atlas/europe/images/map/ukraine/ukr-seismic.pdf>

131 Katya Stepanova, "Natural Hazards Assessment: Practice in Ukraine," 20 June 2015, <https://prezi.com/jo6cepaq8j9r/natural-hazards-assessment-practice-in-ukraine/>

132 Zhanna Bezpiatchuk, "Ukraine Floods: Why Climate Change and Logging Are Blamed," CNN, 2 July 2020, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53233387>

133 NASA Earth Observatory, "Stressed Crops in Ukraine and Russia," n.d., <http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/NaturalHazards/view.php?id=15726>

134 "Deadly Freeze: Hundreds Dead in Ukraine, Russia and Eastern Europe," *Russia Today*, 6 February 2012, <https://www.rt.com/news/frost-deaths-traffic-europe-437/>

135 Marian Striltsiv, "Ukraine and Russia Hit by Extreme Cold Snap and Heavy Snow," *Telegraph*, 18 December 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/9753603/Ukraine-and-Russia-hit-by-extreme-cold-snap-and-heavy-snow.html>

136 Bloomberg Business, "Extreme Cold in Ukraine," 15 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/slideshow/2012-02-15/extreme-cold-in-ukraine>

137 Larisa Brown, "Arctic Winds in Ukraine 'Will Turn Russian Vehicles into 40-Tonne Freezers,'" *Times*, 9 March 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/arctic-winds-in-ukraine-will-turn-russian-vehicles-into-40-tonne-freezers-89nb557j8>

138 Eric Leister, "Dangerous Heat Wave from Poland to Ukraine and Romania this Week," Accuweather.com, 12 August 2015 <http://www.accuweather.com/en/weather-news/dangerous-heat-wave-from-poland/51607149>

139 Statista, "Monthly Air Temperature Anomalies in Ukraine in 2020 Compared to the Average Long-Term Norm from 1991 to 2020," 2 December 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1275502/air-temperature-anomalies-by-season-ukraine/>

140 Kyiv Post, "UkrInform: Kyiv Breaks Another Heat Record," 25 June 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/ukrinform-kyiv-breaks-another-heat-record.html>

141 Global Travel Industry News, "Europe Summer Forecast: Extreme Heat to Grip the Balkans, bypass UK, France," 7 May 2015, <http://www.eturbonews.com/58688/europe-summer-forecast-extreme-heat-grip-balkans-bypass-uk-france>

142 RobertScribblor, "Smoke from Peat Bog Fires Blankets Europe and Russia amidst Record Heat and Drought," 3 September 2015, <http://robertscribblor.com/tag/ukraine-heatwave/>

2000 to 2020.¹⁴³ Forest pose a double hazard in areas polluted by industrial waste, most notably in the Chernobyl fallout region along the Belarus border.^{144, 145, 146}

Environmental Concerns

Ukraine's natural environment is taxed by over a century of human activity that has intensified with population growth. Major challenges include pollution, inadequate supplies of potable water, deforestation, and radiation contamination caused by the 1986 reactor meltdown at Chernobyl.¹⁴⁷ Air pollution is particularly problematic in the industrial sectors, including the areas of Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk, and Donetsk, where factories belch out sulphur dioxide and other chemicals.^{148, 149} For one day in April 2020, Kyiv held the dubious distinction of the most polluted city in the world.¹⁵⁰ Many of the nation's water sources are equally polluted. Urban and industrial waste is often dumped directly into the major rivers.^{151, 152}

Land has been deforested, overgrazed, and overfertilized, thereby depleting soils and generating agricultural waste.^{153, 154} Rivers that were altered to produce power and irrigate arid lands have been polluted by agricultural, urban, and industrial runoff, lowering water quality and poisoning seas.^{155, 156, 157} Chernobyl is Ukraine's most dramatic environmental disaster to date. The radioactive contamination will linger for decades, and the concrete sarcophagus covering the damaged reactor is in danger of failing, prompting the construction of a new containment structure

143 Anna Ackermann, "Climate Change Threatens the Ukrainian Breadbasket," Atlantic Council, 30 January 2020, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/climate-change-threatens-the-ukrainian-breadbasket/>

144 Sputnik News, "Higher Radioactivity Detected at Chernobyl amid Forest Fires," 7 February 2015, <http://sputniknews.com/europe/20150702/1024111335.html>

145 BBC News, "Forest Fire Breaks Out Near Chernobyl Nuclear Plant," 26 April 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-32502393>

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147 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

148 Naturvernforbundet, "Environmental Issues in Ukraine," n.d., <http://naturvernforbundet.no/international/environmental-issues-in-ukraine/category948.html>

149 Ukraine at Present, "Pollution in Ukraine," n.d., http://ukraineatpresent.com/Pollution_in_Ukraine_p_49

150 Hromadske International, "Kyiv Recognized Most Polluted City in the World," 16 April 2020, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://en.hromadske.ua/posts/kyiv-recognized-most-polluted-city-in-the-world>

151 International Commission for the Protection of the Danube River, "Danube Facts and Figures: Ukraine," September 2015, <https://www.icpdr.org/main/sites/default/files/nodes/documents/ukraine-facts-figures.pdf>

152 Daria Shulzhenko, "Alarming River Pollution Endangers Health, Environment," *Kyiv Post*, 1 August 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.kyivpost.com/lifestyle/alarming-river-pollution-endangers-health-environment.html>

153 V. Kubijovyč and B. Luchakovsky, "Forest," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 2001, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\F\O\Forest.htm>

154 Sergey Bulgin, "Ukraine," in *Soil Erosion in Europe*, eds. John Boardman and Jean Poesen (West Sussex, England: Wiley, 2007), 199–204.

155 Nikolai Nazarov, Hadrian F. Cook, and Graham Woodgate, "Water Pollution in Ukraine: The Search for Possible Solutions," *Water Resources Development* 20, no. 2 (June 2004): 205–218.

156 Ihor Stebelsky and Ivan Teslia, "Rivers," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), 2001, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/r/i/rivers.htm>

157 Black Sea Commission, "Strategic Action Plan for the Environmental Protection and Rehabilitation of the Black Sea," 17 April 2009, http://www.blacksea-commission.org/_bssap2009.asp

in 2017.^{158, 159} During Russia's occupation of the Chernobyl site in February and March 2022, vehicles and troops disturbed radioactive soil, and monitors registered an increase in radiation levels.¹⁶⁰

The requirements and consequences of war also threaten Ukraine's environment.^{161, 162} Land mines from World War II remain, and surplus mines wait to be destroyed.¹⁶³ Military industrial waste may be improperly disposed of because of a lack of civilian or public oversight.¹⁶⁴ Nuclear waste is a threat to security and the environment.^{165, 166} Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine is expected to cause long-lasting environmental damage. Of notable concern are the consequences from destroyed and neglected industrial sites such as chemical factories and coal mines.¹⁶⁷

158 International Atomic Energy Agency, *Chernobyl's Legacy: Health, Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts and Recommendations to the Governments of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine*, 2nd revised edition (Vienna: The Chernobyl Forum, International Atomic Energy Agency, 2006), 7–8, <https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/chernobyl.pdf>

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165 National Nuclear Security Administration, U.S. Department of Energy, "NNSA, Ukraine Secure Thousands of Disused Radiological Sources," 13 December 2010, <http://www.nnsa.energy.gov/mediaroom/pressreleases/gaz121310>

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167 Julia Jacobo, "Experts Predict Lasting Environmental Damage from Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *ABC News*, 20 April 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://abcnews.go.com/International/experts-lasting-environmental-damage-russias-invasion-ukraine/story?id=83347671>

Ukraine in Perspective

Geography Assessment

Read the following statements and answer True or False

- | | | | |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1. | Ukraine is a landlocked country. | True | False |
| 2. | There are large deposits of coal and iron ore in eastern Ukraine. | True | False |
| 3. | The greatest amount of precipitation in Ukraine falls along the southeastern coast. | True | False |
| 4. | The leading cause of water pollution in Ukraine is the release of raw sewage into the river systems. | True | False |
| 5. | Odesa is Ukraine's main commercial seaport. | True | False |

Ukraine in Perspective

Geography Assessment Answers

1. False:
Ukraine's southern boundary is formed by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Major seaports include Odesa and Sevastopol.
2. True:
Ukraine's largest industrial cities, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, and Zaporizhzhya, are also located in the east.
3. False:
Average annual precipitation is about 60 cm (24 in) and is heaviest in the northwest. The southeastern steppe is semiarid and requires irrigation for the region's agriculture.
4. False:
Industrial factory waste and agricultural runoff along the country's rivers are the leading sources of water pollution in the country.
5. True:
Odesa is located on the northwest coast of the Black Sea. Rail connections to the rest of the country make it the main port for the export of Ukraine's agricultural products.

Chapter 2 | History



Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle, Khmelnytskyi Oblast
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Introduction

Ukraine is an independent state with a long and complicated history. Neighbors Russia, Belarus, Poland, Hungary, and Romania all appear in the story of Ukraine, as do Lithuania, Austria, Germany, Scandinavia, Greece, Turkey, and Mongolia. Competing interpretations of Ukrainian history reach back 1,000 years to the early writings of saints and scholars in Kyiv. In the following centuries, winners, losers, and outside observers recorded multiple versions of historical events and eras. The challenge for the contemporary nation-state is to recognize the history that speaks for all the Ukrainian people.¹

Ancient Peoples

Hominids appeared in Ukraine during the Paleolithic period some 200,000 years ago.^{2, 3} Both Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon (anatomically modern) humans lived in Crimea along the northern Black Sea coast around 30,000 BCE.⁴

- 1 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 2 John F. Hoffecker, *A Prehistory of the North: Human Settlement of the Higher Latitudes* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 50–51.
- 3 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 4 Eric Delson et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Human Evolution and Prehistory* (New York: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2006), 203, 522.

⁵ Around 20,000 years ago humans had dwellings made of mammoth bones, and by 5000 BCE, they were making pottery, clay figurines, and farm tools at Trypillya (downstream of Kyiv on the Dnieper River).^{6, 7} These “Trypillians” probably practiced shifting agriculture and cattle herding.⁸

From about 3,000 years ago, a succession of sometimes nomadic, sometimes warlike peoples populated the region. First to arrive were the Cimmerians, probably from Iranian lands to the south.^{9, 10, 11} Next came the Scythians from Central Asia, who fought all challengers for centuries, defeating the army of Alexander the Great of Macedonia.^{12, 13} Ruins of the fifth century BCE Greek colony of Chersonesos (Greek for “peninsula”) are preserved near Sevastapol on the Crimean Black Sea coast.¹⁴ Chersonesos later developed into a source of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity for Ukraine.^{15, 16} The Sarmatians broke Scythian power in the third century BCE, and dominated the territory until Germanic Goths migrated from the north in the second century CE.^{17, 18, 19, 20} Within a century, warrior Huns from Asia defeated the Goths, and Attila later ruled until his death in 453.^{21, 22} Scandinavian Varangians (known as Vikings or Normans in western Europe) established trade outposts along the Dnieper River by the early ninth century.²³

Slavic peoples were settled in eastern and southern Europe as early as the second millennium BCE.²⁴ During the early centuries of the Common Era, they began to separate into eastern, western, and southern groups, mixing with other peoples in each region. Historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, who became president of the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, wrote that the Eastern Slavs developed into three distinct groups: the Ukrainians, interacting with Turks; the Belarusians, interacting with Lithuanians; and the Russians, interacting with Finns.^{25, 26} Russian and

- 5 Sandrine Prat et al., “The Oldest Anatomically Modern Humans from Far Southeast Europe: Direct Dating, Culture and Behavior,” *PLoS ONE* 6, no. 6 (June 2011): 1–2, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.plosone.org/article/doi/10.1371/journal.pone.0020834&representation=PDF>
- 6 Olga Soffer et al., “Cultural Stratigraphy at Mezhirich, an Upper Paleolithic Site in Ukraine with Multiple Occupations,” *Antiquity* 71, no. 271 (1997): 48–62.
- 7 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 26.
- 8 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Trypillya Culture,” 14 April 2013, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Trypillya-culture>
- 9 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 27–28.
- 10 Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971 [reprint from Yale University Press, 1941]), 12–13.
- 11 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, “Cimmerians,” Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\C\I\Cimmerians.htm>
- 12 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 27–30.
- 13 Bohdan Kravtsiv and Andrii Makuc, “Scythians,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\S\C\Scythians.htm>
- 14 Myroslav Labunka, “Chersonese Taurica,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\C\H\ChersoneseTaurica.htm>
- 15 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 32, 34.
- 16 Myroslav Labunka, “Chersonese Taurica,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\C\H\ChersoneseTaurica.htm>
- 17 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 30–32.
- 18 Bohdan Kravtsiv and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “Sarmatians,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\S\A\Sarmatians.htm>
- 19 Arkadii Zhukovsk, “Goths,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\G\O\Goths.htm>
- 20 Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971 [reprint from Yale University Press, 1941]), 17–19.
- 21 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 31–32.
- 22 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, “Huns,” Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\H\U\Huns.htm>
- 23 Arkadii Zhukovsky, “Varangians,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\V\A\Varangians.htm>
- 24 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Slav,” 6 May 2020, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Slav>
- 25 Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971 [reprint from Yale University Press, 1941]).
- 26 Andrii Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

Soviet historians wrote that the differences among Eastern Slavs were small, and that Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians share a single, Russian Slavic heritage.^{27, 28}

Kyivan Rus

In 1982, the city of Kyiv celebrated its 1,500th anniversary as the capital of Kyivan Rus.²⁹ From settlements along the Dnieper, Kyivan Rus grew to include all the lands from Carpathia to the Volga River between the Baltic and Black Seas.³⁰ According to tradition, Prince Kyi of the Polianians, one of several Slavic tribes along the Dnieper, founded Kyiv with his siblings in 482. Their successors fought each other to expand control of surrounding areas until Volodymyr (“the Great,” later “Saint”) consolidated rule in 980–1015. Chronicles describe the young Volodymyr as violent and licentious, and emphasize his transformation into a just ruler after his conversion to Christianity.^{31, 32} Byzantine Orthodoxy gave to Volodymyr a divine right to rule, and to his subjects a source of shared identity. Kyivan Rus culture was enriched with Byzantine architecture, art, music, and literature.³³ Volodymyr’s son Yaroslav (“the Wise”) built St. Sophia Cathedral and was buried there. At St. Sophia, Yaroslav established a school and library, where he had many books copied and translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic, a liturgical language of the Slavic Orthodox churches. He is credited with authorship of the *Ruskaia Pravda*, the first Slavic law code.^{34, 35}

Power struggles among related rulers were common in Kyivan Rus—when he died, Volodymyr was preparing to fight Yaroslav to collect unpaid tribute—and after Yaroslav’s death in 1054, conflicts among regional princes caused Kyivan Rus to decline.³⁶ In 1169, Andrei Bogoliubskii of Suzdal (now in Russia) sacked Kyiv and took control of Kyivan Rus. In 1204, Prince Roman of Galicia-Volhynia conquered Kyiv. He was subsequently described as “grand prince, the sole ruler of all Rus.”^{37, 38} In 1240, the Mongol Tatar sack of Kyiv marked the end of Kyivan Rus.³⁹

Galicia-Volhynia

Roman, the Prince of Volhynia (northwestern Ukraine), took the nearby territory of Halych (western Ukraine) in 1199 to form the powerful new principality of Galicia-Volhynia.⁴⁰ In later times, “Galician” became an identity that sometimes united Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, Jews, and other area residents. Roman was succeeded by his

27 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 2–4.

28 Mykhailo Zhdan, “Kyivan Rus,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\K\Y\KyivanRushDA.htm>

29 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Kiev,” 2016, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Kiev?anchor=ref320201>

30 Mykhailo Zhdan, “Kyivan Rus,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\K\Y\KyivanRushDA.htm>

31 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 41.

32 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 8–9.

33 Mykhailo Zhdan, “Kyivan Rus,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\K\Y\KyivanRushDA.htm>

34 Arkadii Zhukovsky, “Yaroslav the Wise,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\Y\A\YaroslavtheWise.htm>

35 Andrij Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

36 Arkadii Zhukovsky, “Yaroslav the Wise,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\Y\A\YaroslavtheWise.htm>

37 Zenon E. Kohut and David M. Goldfrank, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History to 1917: Emergence of the East Slavs: The Rise of Regional Centers,” in *A Country Study: Soviet Union (Former)*, ed. Raymond E. Zickel Washington DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, May 1989), 8–9, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <https://cdn.loc.gov/master/frd/frdcstdy/so/sovietunioncount00zick.pdf>

38 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, “Roman Mstyslavych,” Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\R\O\RomanMstyslavych.htm>

39 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 17.

40 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 17–18.

son and heir Danylo, who struggled to regain control of the entire principality until 1239 when he retook Kyiv. The Mongols soon destroyed Halych and Kyiv, and Danylo was forced to acknowledge Tatar rule. Seeking help, he turned to Pope Innocent IV, and agreed to accept Roman Catholic authority for the Galician church in 1253.⁴¹ In 1256, Danylo founded the city of Lviv, naming it for his son Lev, who reigned from Lviv after his father's death in 1264. Lev's grandsons died without male heirs, and the principality became fair game for neighboring competitors.⁴²

The Rule of External Powers—Lithuania, Mongol Hordes, and Poland

In the 1300s, Lithuanian royalty married into Galicia and pushed the Tatars from the area.^{43, 44} The Grand Duchy of Lithuania controlled much of Ukraine and Belarus through the 15th century in what is sometimes referred to as the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state.⁴⁵ ("Ruthenian" is a Latin derivation of "Rus").^{46, 47} During this time, the Lithuanians also allied with the Poles in royal marriages, Roman Catholicism, and the battle against the Teutonic Knights (from Germany).⁴⁸ Orthodox Ruthenian nobility turned to the Russian principality of Muscovy in failed attempts to break away from the Lithuanian-Polish coalition.⁴⁹

Descendants of the Mongols who had conquered Kyivan Rus in the 13th century ruled the steppe and the Crimean Peninsula for the next 500 years.⁵⁰ But in the later 1400s, the Tatar Golden Horde disintegrated, and independent khanates emerged. In Crimea, the Giray Khanate had its own legal system, administration, currency, and army under the nominal rule of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. The Giray made their living raiding mainland Ukraine, capturing people for sale into slavery, and collecting tribute from Poland and Muscovy.⁵¹

In 1569, the Polish crown, already in control of Galicia, took from Lithuania the direct control of eastern Ukrainian territory in the Union of Lublin. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania retained the territory of Belarus. During the next 200 years, Ruthenian nobles were inculcated with the language, culture, and religion of the Polish aristocracy. Cities became filled with multinational tradesmen, merchants, and officials. Ruthenian peasants became landless serfs in Polish efforts to capitalize on grain exports. In the 1596 Union of Brest, Kyivan Orthodoxy agreed to acknowledge the

41 Pavlo Hrytsak, "Danylo Romanovych," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\D\A\DanyloRomanovych.htm>

42 Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971 [reprint from Yale University Press, 1941]), 111–113.

43 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 14–15.

44 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 45–46.

45 Lubomyr Wynar, "Lithuanian-Ruthenian State," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\L\L\Lithuanian6Ruthenianstate.htm>

46 John-Paul Himka, "Ruthenians," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\R\U\Ruthenians.htm>

47 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Rusyn," 1 February 2022, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Rusyn-people>

48 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Grand Duchy of Lithuania," 9 February 2016, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/grand-duchy-of-lithuania>

49 Lubomyr Wynar, "Lithuanian-Ruthenian State," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\L\L\Lithuanian6Ruthenianstate.htm>

50 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

51 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 174–176.

authority of the pope, creating the controversial Uniate Church. Poles became resented overlords as their ambitions reached all the way to Moscow.^{52, 53, 54, 55}

Cossacks

The first Cossacks (from Turkic *qazaq*, “free man”) were 15th century Tatar mercenaries hired to protect the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Crimean khanate.^{56, 57} Soon others—not only Ruthenians and Muscovites, but also Moldovans, Poles, Jews, and Greeks—fled economic or religious persecution and sought self-determination in the “wild fields” of the steppe.⁵⁸ By the mid-16th century, Cossacks had *sichs* (fortresses) that housed and protected communities known as *hetmanates*, after the elected leader’s title of *hetman*. Sometimes Cossacks fought on behalf of one of the era’s dominant powers (Poles, Muscovites, Crimean Tatars, Ottoman Turks), and sometimes they raided villages and towns for their own interests. Poland registered Cossack military formations and granted some Cossacks the privileges of the nobility. But by the end of the century, many Cossacks were rebelling against Poland.^{59, 60, 61}

In 1648, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, an Orthodox lesser noble of possible Cossack descent, began a personal vendetta with far-reaching consequences for Ukraine. To avenge the beating and deaths of loved ones at the hands of a Pole, Khmelnytsky convinced the Cossack Zaporozhian Host to rise up under his leadership.^{62, 63} He declared himself *hetman* of a Cossack (and Rus) state, then brought Tatar, Muscovite, and Swedish allies into the fight and expanded the territories under Cossack control until his death in 1657.^{64, 65} In 1654, looking for an ally more reliable than the Crimeans, Khmelnytsky negotiated the Treaty of Pereiaslav with Muscovy. Some historians view this as a temporary agreement that Khmelnytsky planned to replace with a Swedish alliance—a plan interrupted by his death. Others

52 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 27.

53 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

54 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “History of Ukraine: Ukraine under Lithuanian and Polish Rule,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/H/I/HistoryofUkraine.htm>

55 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Truce of Deulino,” 24 August 2015, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/event/Truce-of-Deulino>

56 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 58.

57 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 31.

58 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 58–59.

59 Borys Krupnytsky and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “Zaporizhia, The,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/Z/A/ZaporizhiaThe.htm>

60 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 58–63.

61 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 30–32.

62 Oleksander Ohloblyn, “Khmelnytsky, Bohdan,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/K/H/KhmelnytskyBohdan.htm>

63 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 34–35.

64 Oleksander Ohloblyn, “Khmelnytsky, Bohdan,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/K/H/KhmelnytskyBohdan.htm>

65 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 61.

view it as the surrender of Cossack autonomy to Muscovy and the basis of Russian rule of Ukraine.^{66, 67, 68} Yet it would be another century before imperial Russia's Catherine the Great formally (and forcibly) ended Cossack *hetmanates*.⁶⁹

Russia

By the 17th century, Muscovy was strong enough to appeal to Khmelnytsky as a military ally. After his death, Muscovite Russian influence grew in the Left Bank east of the Dnieper River. This was formalized in the 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo that divided Ukraine between Poland and Russia.⁷⁰ In 1685–86, the Moscow Patriarch of the Orthodox Church achieved authority over the Kyiv Metropolitanate.⁷¹

In the 18th century, Ukrainian resentment grew, challenging imperial Russian rule.⁷² Ivan Mazepa, a Cossack *hetman* and advisor to Czar Peter I ("the Great"), turned against his ruler and fought for the king of Sweden at the Battle of Poltava in 1709. When the Swedish army surrendered, Peter's forces executed Mazepa's Cossacks, and Mazepa died in exile soon after.⁷³ Peter and his court became less and less tolerant of Ruthenian "difference" and banned Ukrainian language publications in 1720.⁷⁴ In 1762, a German princess who married Peter's grandson ascended to the throne to become Catherine the Great. Remembered for a brilliant European court, she expanded her empire at great cost to many Ukrainians, ending the Cossack *hetmanates* and enserfing the peasants.^{75, 76} When the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth fell, Catherine claimed lands all the way to Volhynia in the northwest, leaving only Galicia to Habsburg Austria.⁷⁷ Wars against the Ottoman Empire ended with the Russian annexation of Crimea, where Catherine's early lover and longtime advisor Grigori Potemkin built Sevastapol and Russia's Black Sea fleet.⁷⁸

- 66 Mark Kramer, "Ukraine, Russia, and US Policy," PONARS Policy Memo 191, (policy memo, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington Harvard University, 2001 April)2001), 1, retrieved on 7 July 2022, http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pm_0191.pdf <https://www.csis.org/analysis/ponars-policy-memo-191-ukraine-russia-and-us-policy>
- 67 Oleksander Ohloblyn, "Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\P\E\PereiaslavTreatyof1654.htm>
- 68 Amelia M. Glaser, ed., *Stories of Khmelnytsky: Competing Literary Legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising*, 1st ed., Stanford University Press, 2015.
- 69 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 70 Zenon E. Kohut and David M. Goldfrank, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History to 1917: Muscovy: Expansion and Westernization," in *A Country Study: Soviet Union (Former)*, ed. Raymond E. Zickel (Washington DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, May 1989), 18-19, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <https://cdn.loc.gov/master/frd/frdcstdy/so/sovietunioncount00zick/sovietunioncount00zick.pdf>
- 71 Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 270.
- 72 Zenon E. Kohut and David M. Goldfrank, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History to 1917: Early Imperial Russia: Peter the Great and the Formation of the Russian Empire," in *A Country Study: Soviet Union (Former)*, ed. Raymond E. Zickel (Washington DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989), 20-22, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <https://cdn.loc.gov/master/frd/frdcstdy/so/sovietunioncount00zick/sovietunioncount00zick.pdf>
- 73 Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 262.
- 74 Stephen Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process* (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 230.
- 75 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Catherine II," 28 April 2022, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Catherine-II>
- 76 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, "History of Ukraine: The Decline of Ukrainian Autonomy," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/h/i/historyofukraine.htm>
- 77 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 78 Nataliia Polonska-Vasilenko, "Potemkin, Grigori," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\P\O\PotemkinGrigori.htm>

In the 19th century, Russia lost the Crimean War against the British, French, and Turks, after defending their naval base at Sevastopol for almost a year. Resentment against Russian czarist rule simmered, forcing Alexander II to abolish serfdom.⁷⁹

In eastern Ukraine, many freed peasants found jobs in the developing regional industries of mining and iron working.⁸⁰ Interest in Ukrainian influence developed at universities in Kharkiv and Kyiv, inspired by the popularity of Western European philosophy, politics and culture. To combat this “Ukrainophilia,” imperial Russia arrested and exiled many nationalist-leaning intellectuals, most famously the poet and artist Taras Shevchenko, and again banned the printing or importing of Ukrainian language publications.^{81, 82}

Austrian Galicia

In Austrian-ruled western Ukraine, similar events occurred in the 1800s. The reigning Habsburg, threatened by revolt, abolished serfdom.⁸³ Freed peasants with neither land nor jobs began to immigrate to the Americas, carrying nationalist and early socialist ideas with them. Ukrainians demanded representation and rights equal to Poles in regional politics and society. Seminarians in Lviv developed nationalistic ideas, and Greek Catholic clergy began Ukrainian-language publications beyond the reach of imperial Russian control. Revolution broke out in 1848, with insurgents demanding the division of Galicia into two provinces: one Polish and the other Ukrainian. The revolt was quashed, and in the aftermath Austria ceded political control of the province to the Poles. Efforts at reconciliation between the Polish and Ukrainian groups largely failed, and by the beginning of the 20th century ethnic tensions mounted, culminating in the assassination of the Galician governor by a Ukrainian student in 1908.^{84, 85}

Revolutions, Wars, and Ukrainian Republics

The early 20th century saw rebellion against czarist rule throughout the Russian Empire. In Ukraine, industrial and agricultural laborers struck repeatedly in the revolution of 1905–07, and workers’ councils (called *soviets* in Russian, *radas* in Ukrainian) arose in many cities. Sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied at Odesa, and on the cruiser *Ochakov* at Sevastopol.⁸⁶ When World War I broke out in 1914, more than 3 million Ukrainians fought for the Russian Empire, while about 250,000 western Ukrainians fought for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁸⁷ A borderland between the major powers, Ukrainian territory was a battle site where unknown numbers of soldiers and civilians died—one

79 Geoffrey Alan Hosking et al., “Russia,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 30 April 2022, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Russia/Russia-from-1801-to-1917>

80 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

81 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “History of Ukraine: Ukraine under Imperial Rule: The Rise of National Consciousness,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/H/U/HistoryofUkraine.htm>

82 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

83 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “History of Ukraine: Ukraine under Imperial Rule: Imperial Change and Reforms,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/H/U/HistoryofUkraine.htm>

84 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, “History of Ukraine: Ukraine under Imperial Rule: The Rise of National Consciousness,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages/H/U/HistoryofUkraine.htm>

85 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

86 John-Paul Himka, “Revolution of 1905,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/r/e/revolutionof1905.htm>

87 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 97.

casualty estimate for the 1914 Battle of Lemberg (Lviv) is 250,000.⁸⁸

As empires collapsed during the war, Ukrainians tried to establish states independent of their fallen masters. When the Russian tsar was overthrown by Lenin's Bolshevik (Russian for "one of the majority") revolutionaries in 1917, Ukrainians proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic in Kyiv. With the Habsburg Empire collapsing in 1918, Ukrainians declared the Western Ukrainian Republic in Lviv. By the end of that year, the world war had concluded with Germany's defeat, but Ukrainians and Poles continued to fight over Galicia, and the Bolshevik Red Army entered eastern Ukraine to quell Ukrainian nationalists and anti-Bolshevik "White" Russians. Civil war to the point of anarchy continued for several bloody years—for a time, the Poles and Ukrainians joined forces against the Soviets—and civilians suffered as well, especially Jews in the pogroms of 1919.^{89, 90} The 1921 Treaty of Riga gave the western third of Ukraine to Poland, and the rest to Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks declared the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922.⁹¹

Soviet Ukraine

Formation and Early Years

In 1919, the third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets adopted the first constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.⁹² In 1920, the city of Kharkiv, near Russia and the resource-rich Donbas region, became the first capital of Soviet Ukraine.⁹³ In the beginning, Soviet leaders adopted a policy of "Ukrainization" as a means to strengthen Ukrainian acceptance of Soviet control. They recruited locals into Communist Party ranks and required officials (and later, the general populace, including resentful Russian speakers) to learn the Ukrainian language, history, and culture.⁹⁴ Lenin's New Economic Policy permitted some private enterprise; in particular, letting peasants reap personal benefits from surplus harvests. But in the 1930s, Stalin's policies reversed course, enforcing economic industrialization, land and farming collectivization, and cultural Russification.⁹⁵

The primary event of early Soviet Ukrainian history is the Great Famine, or Holodomor, of 1932–33. In a tragically successful effort to destroy the "enemy class" of rich rural peasants, Stalin imposed unattainably high quotas on the 1932 grain harvest. Historian Andrew Wilson describes some of the consequences: systematic destruction of villages, mass starvation, and restriction of movement. Some resorted to cannibalism in order to survive.⁹⁶ Soviet

88 Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (reprint) (New York: Presidio Press [Random House Digital], 2004), 365.

89 Kazimierz Maciej Smogorzewski, "Russo-Polish War (1919–20)," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 30 July 2014, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/event/Russo-Polish-War-1919-1920>

90 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

91 Tony Wesolowsky, "A Century Ago, the Treaty of Riga Redrew The Map. It Still Reverberates Today," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 17 March 2021, retrieved on 7 July 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/treaty-of-riga-1921-disaster-poland-ukraine-belarus-lithuania/31156317.html>

92 Vasyl Markus and Oleksander Yurchenko, "Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\C\O\ConstitutionoftheUkrainianSovietSocialistRepublic.htm>

93 Vasyl Markus, Roman Senkus, and Ihor Stebelsky, "Kharkiv," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2006, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\K\H\Kharkiv.htm>

94 James Mace, "Ukrainization," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\U\K\Ukrainization.htm>

95 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

96 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 144.

borders into Ukraine were closed to food imports.^{97, 98} At least 3.9 million Ukrainians are believed to have died in the famine.⁹⁹

Ukrainians in the Polish west and elsewhere protested the famine, and a member of the underground militant Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) assassinated the Soviet consul in Lviv in 1933 to force public awareness. Soviet officials denied the event or minimized its consequences.¹⁰⁰ In 2010, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich raised eyebrows when Holodomor information posted by previous president Viktor Yushchenko disappeared for a time from the presidential website.¹⁰¹

While Soviet Ukraine suffered under Stalin, Ukrainians in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania were resisting assimilation. In Galicia, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church countered attempts to inculcate Polish identity upon Ukrainians. But in the Volhynian north, Ukrainian Orthodox believers were forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism. By the late 1920s, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was sabotaging and assassinating Polish officials.¹⁰²

World War II

Ukraine's experience of the Great Patriotic War (as World War II was known to the Soviets) was similar to World War I. Ukrainians fought each other by allying with one of the main combatants—the Soviet Union or Germany—and by fighting for Ukrainian autonomy. Ukrainian territory saw years of terrible battles that left 80% of industrial and agricultural capacity destroyed, 10 million homeless, and 5 to 7 million dead.¹⁰³ Fighting in Ukraine continued a decade beyond the war's official end in 1945.¹⁰⁴

The war began with the Soviet occupation of Polish and Romanian western Ukrainian territories in 1939, sanctioned by a secret, German-Soviet non-aggression pact. When the Germans invaded the USSR in 1941, some Ukrainians welcomed them as liberators. Germany soon disappointed by arresting OUN members, returning liberated Ukrainian territories to Poland and Romania, and killing Jews. Ukrainian peasants were forced to continue collective farming, or worse, were sent to Germany as slaves. Underground resistance developed among both Soviet partisans and the nationalist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who fought each other as well as the Nazis.¹⁰⁵

97 Andriy Makuch and Vasyl Markus, "Famine Genocide of 1932–3," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2009, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\F\A\Famine6Genocideof1932hD73.htm>

98 Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 329.

99 Anne Applebaum, "Holodomor," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8 May 2022, retrieved on 13 July 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Holodomor>

100 Andriy Makuch and Vasyl Markus "Famine-Genocide of 1932–3," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2009, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\F\A\Famine6Genocideof1932hD73.htm>

101 Alexander J. Motyl, "Deleting the Holodomor: Ukraine Unmakes Itself," *World Affairs* 173, no. 3 (September/October 2010): 25–34.

102 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

103 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

104 Ann Duszak, "Chapter 12: From the 'Reunification of the Ukrainian Lands; to the Soviet Occupation,'" in *The Use and Abuse of Memory: Interpreting World War II in Contemporary European Politics*, ed. Christian Karner and Bram Mertens (New Brunswick, CT: Transaction Publishers, 2013), 233–234.

105 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

In 1943, Germany began to withdraw from Ukraine, and by November, the Soviets were back in Kyiv. Guerrilla nationalists in western Ukraine continued to fight while the Red Army retook the region. End-of-war settlements extended Soviet Ukraine's western territories into Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania.¹⁰⁶

Postwar Stalinism proved almost as damaging as before. Hundreds of thousands of suspected dissidents were transported to the Gulag, a network of penal labor camps concentrated in the far north and Siberia. Russification reached into western Ukraine—the entire hierarchy of the Greek Catholic Church was arrested, and worshippers were forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁰⁷

From Khrushchev to Gorbachev

As Ukraine's communist leader in the late 1930s, Nikita Khrushchev conducted a party purge for Stalin.^{108, 109} When he rose to national power after Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev tolerated some "Ukrainization," even appointing a Ukrainian to lead the local Communist Party. In 1954, much was made of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereiaslav as a symbol of Russian-Ukrainian fraternity, and Crimea was transferred to Ukraine. In 1956, Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin moved some Ukrainians to reopen formerly taboo topics and rehabilitate former enemies of the state. For the next three decades alternating frosts and thaws in Moscow-Kyiv relations saw the development of Ukrainian history studies and the circulation of dissident *samvydav* (self-published) literature, but also the reduction of Ukrainian language education and the exile of human rights activists. Ukraine's agricultural and industrial output, which accounted for one-fifth of the Soviet economy, ultimately slowed.¹¹⁰

In 1986, the year when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev introduced *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) throughout the USSR, another significant event of Soviet Ukrainian history occurred—Chernobyl. Still the worst human-caused nuclear accident in history, the breakdown of the nuclear power reactor immediately killed 31 (and later, thousands more), and irradiated 258,980 sq km (nearly 100,000 sq mi) of territory in Ukraine and elsewhere—for centuries to come.^{111, 112, 113} Many analysts now view the accident and its aftermath as the event that began the end of the Soviet Union.^{114, 115, 116} Within a few years, independent Ukraine would inherit the ongoing problems of containing the reactor fuel and compensating the victims.¹¹⁷

106 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

107 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

108 Alden Whitman, "Obituary: Khrushchev's Human Dimensions Brought Him to Power and to His Downfall," *New York Times*, 12 September 1971, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0417.html>

109 William J. Thompson, *Khrushchev: A Political Life* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan 1997), 60–64.

110 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

111 Piers Paul Read, *Ablaze: The Story of the Heroes and Victims of Chernobyl* (New York: Random House, 1993), 75.

112 Eben Harrell and James Marson, "Apocalypse Today: Visiting Chernobyl, 25 Years Later," *Time*, 26 April 2011, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://content.time.com/time/health/article/0,8599,2067562,00.html>

113 Steven Otfinoski, *Ukraine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 105–106.

114 Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 194.

115 Orest Subtelny and Arkadii Zhukovsky, "History of Ukraine," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/h/i/historyofukraine.htm>

116 James Rodgers, "How the Chernobyl Nuclear Disaster Shaped Russia and Ukraine's Modern History," *Forbes*, 1 May 2021, retrieved on 8 July 2022, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jamesrodgerseurope/2021/05/01/how-the-chernobyl-nuclear-disaster-shaped-russia-and-ukraines-modern-history/?sh=37cb7c89539a>

117 Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, "Constitution of Ukraine—Chapter I: Article 16," 28 June 1996, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/44a280124.pdf>

Independent Ukraine

Early Years

By 1988, rallies in Kyiv and Lviv were calling for national autonomy, and in 1989 the Ukrainian Writers' Union formed the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Reconstruction, known as Rukh (movement). In 1990, electoral law was changed to institute direct voting for representatives to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (the national legislative body), and the newly elected deputies declared Ukraine's state sovereignty to be above that of the USSR. U.S. President George H.W. Bush warned Ukraine against "suicidal nationalism" in July 1991 because the United States was concerned about the capability of the new state to secure nuclear weapons.^{118, 119, 120, 121} But in August 1991, the KGB (Soviet state security) briefly held Gorbachev prisoner at his summer home in Crimea during an attempted coup. Within days, the Ukrainian parliament proclaimed independence from the Soviet Union, and soon banned the Communist Party of Ukraine. Voters throughout Ukraine approved the declaration of independence in a December national referendum, and the new state of Ukraine was soon recognized by Poland, Canada, Hungary, Russia, and the Baltic states.¹²²

Ukraine was proud and protective of its new sovereignty. The new nation limited its participation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, a post-Soviet federation of former republics, to focus on independent state building: forming an army, creating a banking system, and issuing currency. Internal security issues arose early in Crimea. The needs of some 250,000 returning Tatars, who had been deported en masse by Stalin at the close of World War II, clashed with the concerns of the ethnic Russians who had replaced them, particularly the former Soviet military presence in Sevastopol.^{123, 124} Some Ukrainians looked west for economic, political, and social support. Ukraine signed a cooperation agreement with NATO in 1997.^{125, 126} In 2001, John Paul II became the first pope to visit Ukraine.¹²⁷ Yet some Ukrainians disapproved of NATO actions in Kosovo, and Orthodox Ukrainians protested the pope's visit. In 2004, Ukraine disregarded Romanian and European Union objections to opening a canal from the Danube to the Black Sea.^{128, 129}

118 Vasyl Markus and Ihor Stebelsky, "History of Ukraine (continued)," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/h/i/historyofukraine.htm>

119 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

120 Volodymyr Dubovyk, "U.S.-Ukraine Relations: The Long Road to Strategic Partnership," PONARS Policy Memo No. 424 (Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Odessa National University, December 2006), retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/ponars-policy-memo-424-us-ukraine-relations>

121 *Washington Times*, "Bush Sr. Clarifies 'Chicken Kiev' Speech," 23 May 2004, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/may/23/20040523-101623-2724r/>

122 Vasyl Markus and Ihor Stebelsky, "History of Ukraine (continued)," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/h/i/historyofukraine.htm>

123 Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 690.

124 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

125 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine," 4 March 2009, retrieved on 8 July 2022, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25457.htm

126 Beata I. Gonzales, "NATO, Russia, Poland, and Ukraine: Perspectives on the Ukraine Candidacy for NATO Membership" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, June 2011), 37–49.

127 Popes were exiled to Crimea in Byzantine times.

128 Mark Kramer, "Ukraine, Russia, and US Policy," PONARS Policy Memo 191, (Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Harvard University, 2001 April), 1, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/ponars-policy-memo-191-ukraine-russia-and-us-policy>

129 BBC News, "Ukraine Timeline," 8 May 2012, retrieved on 8 July 2022, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1107869.stm

The Orange Revolution

Corruption, censorship, and violence plagued the administrations of Ukraine's first presidents, Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma.¹³⁰ Yet democracy prevailed in the Orange Revolution of 2004, named for the campaign color of political leader Viktor Yushchenko. He had been the opposition prime minister for a time under Kuchma, and advocated for a government that operated transparently and took responsibility for its actions. When a rigged election went to Kuchma's preferred successor Viktor Yanukovich, Yushchenko and his supporters took to the streets for 17 days of nationwide nonviolent protest, and eventually brought about a new election that Yushchenko won.¹³¹ Yushchenko's presidency was diminished by political infighting with his prime minister, Yulia Tymoshenko. Ukraine-Russia relations, prickly from the start, also deteriorated. Russia stopped gas flow to and through Ukraine in 2006 and in 2009, affecting Europe as well as Ukraine.¹³²

The Maidan Protests and Revolution of Dignity

By 2010, Yushchenko's popularity had plummeted. Longtime rival Victor Yanukovich won the presidency and turned toward Russia and away from the West. Yanukovich instituted several foreign policy actions to appease Russia: He extended Russia's Black Sea naval base leases for decades, halted Ukraine's movement toward NATO membership, and refused to describe the Holodomor as a genocidal action of Russian Soviets against Ukrainians. Inside Ukraine, regulatory changes regarding parliament, judges, and elections, as well as the cancellation of constitutional reforms stemming from the 2004 Orange Revolution, gave the presidential office more power.^{133, 134, 135}

In late 2013 Yanukovich announced that he would not sign a long-planned agreement with the European Union, sparking protests in Kyiv. Protestors occupied Maidan Square demanding his resignation. As riots spread and deaths mounted in early 2014, the European Union imposed sanctions on Ukraine in an effort to stop the violence. In February, the two sides agreed to install an interim government and hold new elections; Yanukovich fled the nation.^{136, 137} Eventually, Petro Poroshenko was elected president in May, and he signed an EU agreement in June.¹³⁸

Russia Moves into Crimea and Donbas

In the heavily Russian Crimea, armed pro-Russian separatists aided by unidentified masked commandos—who the Kremlin later admitted were Russian military personnel—occupied the parliament building and raised the Russian flag. On 6 March 2014, the Crimean parliament voted to secede from Ukraine and join the Russian Federation. Ten days later, 97% of the residents voted for secession. Over a huge international outcry and

130 Jane's, "Ukraine: Security," in Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS, 7 April 2010.

131 Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 2 (March/April 2005): 35–52, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60620/adrian-karatnycky/ukraines-orange-revolution>

132 BBC News, "Ukraine Country Profile," 8 May 2012, retrieved on 8 July 2022, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1102303.stm

133 Interfax-Ukraine, "Ukrainian Parliament Ratifies Agreement Extending Russian Black Sea Fleet's Presence in Crimea," *Kyiv Post*, 27 April 2010, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <http://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/politics/ukrainian-parliament-ratifies-agreement-extending--65103.html>

134 Beata I. Gonzales, "NATO, Russia, Poland, and Ukraine: Perspectives on the Ukraine Candidacy for NATO Membership" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, June 2011), 37–49.

135 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

136 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

137 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "A Year After Maidan: Why Did Viktor Yanukovich Flee After Signing the Agreement with the Opposition?" 25 February 2015, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/59172>

138 Steven Pifer, "Poroshenko Signs EU-Ukraine Association Agreement," Brookings, 27 June 2014, retrieved on 13 July 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/06/27/poroshenko-signs-eu-ukraine-association-agreement/>

strenuous objections from Ukraine's government, Russia officially annexed Crimea into the Russian Federation on 18 March 2014. Russian troops quickly occupied bases throughout Crimea including the Ukrainian naval headquarters in Sevastopol.^{139, 140, 141, 142}

The European Union and other Western nations rushed to support Ukraine's position even as Russia continued to strengthen its hold on Crimea. In April 2014, as tens of thousands of Russian troops massed near Ukraine's eastern border, pro-Russian fighters stormed regional governments in several cities in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine (Donetsk, Luhansk, Horlivka, Kramatorsk, Sloviansk); there was also fighting in Kharkiv, Mariupol, and later Odesa. In May, separatists in some locales began to declare autonomy or independence from Ukraine. In the ensuing battles between Ukrainian troops and Russian-backed forces, residents were displaced and civilian casualties mounted, including 298 people on Malaysia Airlines flight MH17, which crashed in the Donetsk region in July 2014, shot down with a Russian weapon from a location controlled by Russia-backed separatists.^{143, 144, 145} Attempts to broker a peace (including the Minsk agreements of September 2014 and February 2015) were unsuccessful, and the simmering conflict continued.¹⁴⁶

Recent Events

In 2018, Russia opened a 12-mile-long bridge over the Kerch Strait linking Russia to occupied Crimea. In November, Russian naval vessels forcibly prevented Ukrainian naval vessels from passing through the strait to reach Ukrainian shores, illegally detained 24 crew members for 10 months, and returned their heavily damaged ships after two more months.¹⁴⁷ Independent Ukraine declared martial law for the first time.¹⁴⁸

As Russian provocations continued, Ukraine declared martial law for the first time in 2018 and drew closer to the West. In 2019 the Ukrainian constitution was amended to require pursuit of full NATO membership as a strategic foreign and security policy objective; the following year Ukraine was granted NATO Enhanced Opportunity Partner status.^{149, 150}

139 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

140 Center for Preventive Action, "Conflict in Ukraine," Council on Foreign Relations, updated 12 May 2022, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-ukraine>

141 David M. Herszenhorn, "Crimea Votes to Secede from Ukraine as Russian Troops Keep Watch," *New York Times*, 16 March 2014, retrieved on 8 July 2022, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/17/world/europe/crimea-ukraine-secession-vote-referendum.html?_r=0

142 Carl Schreck, "From 'Not Us' to 'Why Hide It?': How Russia Denied Its Crimea Invasion, then Admitted It," Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, 26 February 2019, retrieved on 13 July 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/from-not-us-to-why-hide-it-how-russia-denied-its-crimea-invasion-then-admitted-it/29791806.html>

143 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

144 Maria Tsvetkova, "Exclusive: Russia Masses Heavy Firepower on Border with Ukraine—Witness," Reuters, 28 May 2015, retrieved on 8 July 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-russia-military/exclusive-russia-masses-heavy-firepower-on-border-with-ukraine-witness-idUSKBN0OC2K820150527>

145 BBC News, "MH17 Ukraine Plane Crash: What We Know," 26 February 2020, retrieved on 13 July 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28357880>

146 Becky Sullivan, "Russia's at War with Ukraine. Here's how We Got Here," NPR, 24 February 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/02/12/1080205477/history-ukraine-russia>

147 Cory Welt, "Ukraine: Background, Conflict with Russia, and U.S. Policy," version 12, Congressional Research Service, 15 October 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R45008.pdf>

148 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

149 Cory Welt, "Ukraine: Background, Conflict with Russia, and U.S. Policy," version 12, Congressional Research Service, 15 October 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R45008.pdf>

150 NATO, "Relations with Ukraine", 11 March 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37750.htm

In April 2019, sitcom star Volodymyr Zelensky was elected president of Ukraine with an anti-corruption, pro-peace campaign. But Zelensky's anti-corruption promises bore little fruit, and Ukraine soon became enmeshed in a political scandal involving the Trump administration, a U.S. military aid package, the son of Joseph Biden, and a Ukrainian energy company.^{151, 152} In 2020, as Ukraine struggled with the global COVID-19 pandemic, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a USD 5 billion stand-by lifeline.¹⁵³ In April 2021, Russia began mass military drills along Ukrainian borders. Over the next 10 months, U.S., NATO, EU and other analysts reported Russian preparations for major military operations. In February 2022, the Russian invasion of Ukraine commenced.^{154, 155, 156}

151 Mary Ilyushina and Frederik Pleitgen, "Everyone in Ukraine Is 'So Tired' of Hearing about Burisma, Zelensky Tells CNN," 19 November 2019, CNN, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/11/19/politics/volodymyr-zelensky-burisma-probe-intl/index.html>

152 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

153 Press Release No. 20/239, "IMF Executive Board Approves 18-Month US\$5 Billion Stand-By Arrangement for Ukraine," International Monetary Fund, 9 June 2020, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/06/09/pr20239-ukraine-imf-executive-board-approves-18-month-us-5-billion-stand-by-arrangement>

154 Becky Sullivan, "Russia's at War with Ukraine. Here's how we got here," NPR, 24 February 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/02/12/1080205477/history-ukraine-russia>

155 Nigel Walker, "Ukraine Crisis: A Timeline (2014–present)," (CBP 9476), House of Commons Library, UK Parliament, 1 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9476/CBP-9476.pdf>

156 Zoe Danon and David A. Blum, "Russia's 2022 Invasion of Ukraine: Related CRS Products," Congressional Research Service, updated 13 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47054/7>

Ukraine in Perspective

History Assessment

Read the following statements and answer True or False

- | | | | |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1. | Ukraine declared independence after the Orange Revolution in 2004. | True | False |
| 2. | The Holodomor was a famine that took place in Ukraine in 1932–33. | True | False |
| 3. | Ukraine's industrial capacity was largely unaffected by the events of WWII. | True | False |
| 4. | The Chernobyl reactor melt-down is the worst nuclear accident in history. | True | False |
| 5. | By declaring independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine cut its ties to Russia. | True | False |

Ukraine in Perspective

History Assessment Answers

1. False:
Independence came with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Orange Revolution was a nonviolent, democratic transfer of power.
2. True:
Through restricting imports and imposing unattainable production quotas, Stalin created a famine that caused the deaths of some 3.9 million Ukrainians.
3. False:
WWII saw 80% of Ukraine's industrial capacity destroyed and 5 to 7 million of its citizens dead.
4. True:
The accident immediately killed 31 (and later, thousands more), and irradiated 258,980 sq km (nearly 100,000 sq mi) of territory in Ukraine and elsewhere.
5. False:
Ukraine remained in the Russian sphere of influence in terms of energy and security issues.

Chapter 3 | Economy



Patona Bridge, Kyiv
Wikimedia/Роман Наумов

Introduction

At independence, Ukraine's centrally-planned economy was, by definition, entirely in the public sector. In the disentanglement of Ukrainian interests from the larger Soviet economy, privatization often transferred valuable state holdings to corrupt and unscrupulous insiders, the notorious oligarchs. The government's dysfunctional management of the transition to a free-market economy set the tone for corruption, inflation, and years of economic hardship for the majority of Ukrainians.^{1, 2}

Ukraine has experienced two major recessions since the turn of the millennium, in 2008–09 and 2013–16, and it remains one of the poorest countries in Europe. Its central geographic location and bountiful natural resources have been both a blessing and a curse. Voters and leaders have disagreed about how to curtail corruption and

¹ Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 256, 260.

² Katya Gorchinskaya, "A Brief History of Corruption in Ukraine: The Kravchuk Era," Eurasianet, 14 May 2020, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://eurasianet.org/a-brief-history-of-corruption-in-ukraine-the-kravchuk-era>

best manage the country's natural wealth. Reliance on energy from Russia and on loans from the International Monetary Fund have both proved problematic.^{3, 4, 5, 6}

Ukraine is classified as an emerging free-market economy. In 2020, the country had a gross domestic product (GDP) purchasing power parity of USD 568.16 billion, giving its economy a global rank of 40 out of 228 countries. GDP is the overall value of all goods and services created by an economy within a certain period.⁷ Before the economy could recover from the ill effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2022 Russian invasion sent it into a contraction, with worldwide knock-on effects in food and energy supplies.⁸

Agriculture

Over half of Ukraine is covered in the black chernozem soils that help make the country one of the most fertile agricultural areas of the world. The agricultural sector has been the only part of the economy to defy a downward economic trajectory. Even so, agriculture accounts for only 12.2% of GDP and employs only 5.8% of the labor force. Wheat, barley, rapeseed (canola), and sunflowers account for about 55% of agricultural output. Other important crops include corn, sugar beets, tobacco, legumes, fruits, and vegetables.^{9, 10, 11} Before February 2022, the European Union received about half of its vegetable oils and cereals from Ukraine.¹²

Livestock is an important subsector of the agricultural economy. Cattle and pigs are raised mainly in the forest-steppe regions. Beef cattle are common in the region near the Carpathian foothills. Sheep and goats are farmed in the Carpathian Mountains and in the southern steppe. Dairy farming has suffered as a result of the Ukraine-Russia conflict. After Russia's 2022 invasion, many dairy farms and supporting infrastructure were destroyed, making it difficult to ship dairy products.¹³ Poultry is raised throughout the country.^{14, 15} Before February 2022, the European Union received about one quarter of its poultry from Ukraine.¹⁶

- 3 Andrian Prokip, "30 Years of Ukrainian Independence and Energy Dependence," Focus Ukraine, Kennan Institution, Wilson Center, 7 September 2021, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/30-years-ukrainian-independence-and-energy-dependence>
- 4 *Economist*, "Not Exactly Profligate: How Much Has the IMF Really Given to Ukraine?" 16 February 2016, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/02/not-exactly-profligate?zid=307&ah=5e80419d1bc9821ebe173f4f0f060a07>
- 5 Russia Today, "Ukraine's Economy Hits Rock Bottom," 14 December 2015, <https://www.rt.com/business/325842-ukraine-economy-contraction-inflation/>
- 6 *Economist*, "Lviv Is not Donetsk: The Ukrainian Economy Is not Terrible Everywhere," 20 January 2016, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/01/lviv-not-donetsk>
- 7 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 8 Justin-Damien Guénette et al., "Implications of the War in Ukraine for the Global Economy," World Bank, April 2022, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/5d903e848db1d1b83e0ec8f744e55570-0350012021/related/Implications-of-the-War-in-Ukraine-for-the-Global-Economy.pdf>
- 9 Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich, "The Transformation of Agriculture in Ukraine: From Collective Farms to Agroholdings," 7 February 2014, <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2014-02-07/transformation-agriculture-ukraine-collective-farms-to>
- 10 CFC Consulting, "Agriculture," n.d., <http://www.ukraine-arabia.ae/economy/agriculture/>
- 11 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 26 April 2022, retrieved on 2 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 12 Claudia Vinci, "Russia's War on Ukraine: EU-Ukraine Trade in Agri-Food Products, European Parliamentary Research Service," 18 March 2022, retrieved on 19 May 2022, <https://epthinktank.eu/2022/03/18/russias-war-on-ukraine-eu-ukraine-trade-in-agri-food-products/>
- 13 Mary Kennedy, "Cash Market Moves: Ukraine Dairy Farmers Struggle as War Rages On," *Progressive Farmer*, 12 April 2022, retrieved on 19 May 2022, <https://www.dtnpf.com/agriculture/web/ag/columns/cash-market-moves/article/2022/04/11/ukraine-dairy-farmers-struggle-war>
- 14 CFC Consulting, "Agriculture," n.d., <http://www.ukraine-arabia.ae/economy/agriculture/>
- 15 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 16 Claudia Vinci, "Russia's War on Ukraine: EU-Ukraine Trade in Agri-Food Products, European Parliamentary Research Service," 18 March 2022, retrieved on 19 May 2022, <https://epthinktank.eu/2022/03/18/russias-war-on-ukraine-eu-ukraine-trade-in-agri-food-products/>

About 16% of Ukraine's land area is covered with forest, a low number compared to European countries like France and Germany. Less than 1% of the wooded area is old-growth forest. Most forest cover is in the north and northwest of the country. The primary tree species are Scots pine, European oak, common beech, and Norway spruce. Ukraine's timber industry comprises sawmills, carpentry, and pulp- and paper-producing enterprises. About 36% of the wood harvested in the country is exported. Deforestation and illegal logging are persistent problems.¹⁷

¹⁸ Ukraine has alleged that Russian occupying forces plan to harvest and sell Ukrainian timber for profit.¹⁹

Ukraine carries out commercial fishing activities in the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, its inland waters, and the high seas. The catch from the Black and Azov seas consists primarily of goby, sprats, anchovies, and rapa whelk. For inland fishing and aquaculture, the main species are pike-perch, bream, carp, tench, catfish, and sturgeon. The largest volume of inland fishing is done on the Dnieper River. Most of Ukraine's oceanic catch consists of krill, and it is the only country in the world to process krill for human consumption. Following Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014, Ukrainian fishing in the Sea of Azov decreased dramatically. Russia's 2022 invasion disrupted crucial fish spawning grounds north of Kyiv.^{20, 21}

Industry

Under Soviet rule, Ukraine's industries grew and developed. Today, major industries include machinery, power generation, fuels, chemicals, gas, wood, and food production. The largest subsector is machine building, accounting for about 33% of manufacturing jobs and 25% of industrial assets.^{22, 23, 24} The breakup of the Soviet Union caused a decline in production when government subsidies ended and guaranteed markets disappeared. Modest growth returned in the 21st century. Industry employed 26% of the labor force in 2014 and contributed about 28% of GDP in 2017.^{25, 26} In 2019, manufacturing accounted for roughly 43% of national exports. Fuels and mining products account for another 11%.²⁷

Ukraine is rich in the ores, fuels, and raw construction materials needed for massive infrastructure projects—mines, dams, foundries, factories, canals, ports, rails, roads, and nuclear power plants—and for the manufacture of energy, metals and machinery, petroleum and chemical products, glass, and paper. Industrial workers also make processed foods, beverages, tobacco products, textiles, and leather goods.²⁸ Most of the heavy industries,

17 Timber Trade Portal, "Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://www.timbertradeportal.com/en/ukraine/114/country-context>

18 Zhanna Bezpiatchuk, "A Billion New Trees Might Not Turn Ukraine Green," BBC News, 27 June 2021, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-57566701>

19 Michael Starr, "Ukraine Accuses Russia of Planning to Cut Down and Sell Its Forests in 'Ecocide,'" *Jerusalem Post*, 16 March 2022, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/international/article-701426>

20 Aleksandra Petersen, "Resource-Rich Ukraine Expands Fishing, Farming, and Its links to International Markets," *Eurofish Magazine*, 16 February 2021, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://eurofishmagazine.com/magazine-issues/item/801-resource-rich-ukraine-expands-fishing-farming-and-its-links-to-international-markets>

21 Ukrainian Nature Conservation Group, "The War in Ukraine Will Shake the Country's Fishing Industry," 6 April 2022, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://uncg.org.ua/en/the-war-in-ukraine-will-shake-the-countrys-fishing-industry/>

22 Library of Congress, "Economic Development of the Ukraine: A Guide to Selected Information Sources: Industry and Agriculture," 11 June 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/business/ukraine/industry.html>

23 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

24 CFC Consulting, "Industry," n.d., <http://www.ukraine-arabia.ae/economy/industry/>

25 Jane's, "Ukraine: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 10 February 2016.

26 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 26 April 2022, retrieved on 2 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

27 World Trade Organization, "Ukraine: Trade Profile," n.d., retrieved on 11 May 2022, https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/daily_update_e/trade_profiles/UA_e.pdf

28 State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, *Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2010* (Kyiv: Avgust Trade, 2011), 106–107, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/st_sc/SEU2010_e.zip

especially for fossil fuels, are located in the Donetsk region. Other smaller centers are located around Kryvbas, Nikopol, and Zakarpatska.²⁹

Ukraine is among the world's top producers of steel and iron.³⁰ The metallurgical sector suffered acutely during the economic downturn of 2008–09, when the local steel market dropped 50% and caused a similar drop in production.^{31, 32} In 2017, many metallurgical, chemical, and extractive plants of the Donbas region were taken over by the administrations of the separatist republics in the region and restarted with imports of coal and the export of final products to Russia and other countries.³³ In 2022, intense fighting in the east of the country, including Russia's destruction of the sprawling Azovstal metallurgical plant in Mariupol, crippled Ukraine's industrial base.^{34, 35}

Energy and Natural Resources

Before 2022, Ukraine was one of the world's largest energy consumers, due in large part to its manufacturing industry. In 2019, natural gas represented nearly one-third of Ukraine's primary energy consumption, followed by coal at 30% and nuclear at 21%. Petroleum and other liquids and renewable energy sources together accounted for the remaining 18% of primary energy consumption.³⁶ Much of the natural gas was imported, mostly from Russia, but also through European intermediaries.^{37, 38} Most of the national oil supplies were lost to Russia after the annexation of Crimea in 2014.³⁹

Before 2022, Ukraine relied heavily on its 15 nuclear energy facilities for electricity production. The country mined about 30% of the uranium used in its plants but had to send it to Russia for processing into fuel.⁴⁰ During its 2022 invasion, Russia shelled the Zaporizhzhia nuclear plant, Europe's largest, before taking it over, prompting outcries of jeopardized safety from nuclear experts.⁴¹

29 CFC Consulting, "Ukraine: Industry," n.d., <http://www.ukraine-arabia.ae/economy/industry/>

30 Elena Safirova, "The Mineral Industry of Ukraine," in *2017 2018 Minerals Yearbook: Ukraine* (Washington, DC: United States Geological Survey, January 2022), 49.1-11, <https://pubs.usgs.gov/myb/vol3/2017-18/myb3-2017-18-ukraine.pdf>

31 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Executive Summary and Policy Recommendations," in *Investment Policy Reviews: Ukraine 2011* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2011), 9, http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/finance-and-investment/oecd-investment-policy-reviews-ukraine-2011_9789264113503-en

32 Jane's, "Ukraine: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 10 February 2016.

33 Elena Safirova, "The Mineral Industry of Ukraine," in *2017 2018 Minerals Yearbook: Ukraine* (Washington, DC: United States Geological Survey, January 2022), 49.1-11, <https://pubs.usgs.gov/myb/vol3/2017-18/myb3-2017-18-ukraine.pdf>

34 Phillip Inman, "Ukraine Economy to Shrink by Almost Half This Year, World Bank Forecasts," *Guardian*, 10 April 2022, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2022/apr/10/ukraine-economy-gdp-russia-invasion-world-bank-forecast>

35 Al Jazeera, "Russia Says Azovstal Siege Is Over, in Full Control of Mariupol," 21 May 2022, retrieved on 24 May 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/5/21/russia-azovstal-siege-over-full-control-ukraines-mariupol>

36 U.S. Energy Information Agency, "Ukraine: Ukraine's Key Energy Statistics," August 2021, <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/country.cfm?iso=UKR>

37 U.S. Energy Information Agency, "Ukraine: Ukraine's Key Energy Statistics: Analysis," August 2021, <https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/UKR>

38 Global Security, "Ukraine Energy," 25 November 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/ukraine/energy.htm>

39 Reuters, "Crimea Cost Ukraine over \$10 Billion in Lost Natural Resources," 7 April 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-resources-idUSBREA360YB20140407>

40 Nuclear Threat Initiative, "Ukraine Profile," 30 April 2022, <http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/ukraine/>

41 Victoria Gill, "Ukraine Nuclear Plant: Russia in cControl after Shelling," BBC News, 4 March 2022, retrieved on 26 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60613438>

In addition to its energy resources (coal, oil, and natural gas), Ukraine is rich in minerals. Among the largest deposits are iron ore, manganese, titanium, bauxite, nepheline, alunite, and mercury.^{42, 43} Ukraine is also home to a great variety of soils, some of which are the most fertile in the world.⁴⁴

Services

In 2017, services comprised an estimated 60% of Ukraine's GDP. The sector employed nearly 70% of the workforce in 2014.⁴⁵ Among the primary drivers of the services sector are transportation, communications, and tourism.⁴⁶

Information and communication technology (ICT) is the most valuable and notable component of Ukraine's services sector. Leading up to February 2022, ICT was the fastest-growing sector of the economy, seeing 26–36% annual growth and accounting for 4% of GDP. Technology products and services were Ukraine's third-largest export. ICT was driven by a well-educated workforce of 285,000 workers, a legacy of the Soviet era's focus on math and science education. ICT also benefitted from a prioritization of digital infrastructure under the Zelensky administration, and largely avoided falling under the control of the country's oligarchs. The sector catered to major international corporations, including Siemens, Boeing, Cisco, Oracle, Samsung, Apple, Deutsche Bank, and Microsoft. American customers make up half of Ukraine's ICT clients.^{47, 48, 49}

Faced with Russia's invasion, the Ukrainian ICT sector showed remarkable resilience. Many IT professionals quickly relocated out of harm's way, either in the west of the country or internationally. The continuing availability of electricity and connectivity in much of the country allowed ICT companies to continue operations, helping to ameliorate the war's destructive economic impact. A few months into the conflict there was a 28% increase in ICT exports over the previous year, and the sector saw a record USD 2 billion in exports in the first quarter of 2022.⁵⁰

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- 42 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
 - 43 Elena Safirova, "The Mineral Industry of Ukraine," in *2017 2018 Minerals Yearbook: Ukraine* (Washington, DC: United States Geological Survey, January 2022), 49.1-11, <https://pubs.usgs.gov/myb/vol3/2017-18/myb3-2017-18-ukraine.pdf>
 - 44 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine: Land: Soils of Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 8 June 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine/Soils>
 - 45 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
 - 46 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
 - 47 Bhaskar Chakravorti, "Western Companies Can Help Ukraine by Sending Work," *Foreign Policy*, 12 May 2022, retrieved on 27 May 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/12/ukraine-war-economy-jobs-workers-tech-it-outsourcing/>
 - 48 BBC Future, "The growing IT Sector in Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 27 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/storyworks/future/ukraine-innovating-for-the-future/ukraines-dynamic-it-sector>
 - 49 Yuliya Rimsky and Filip Sasic, "Ukraine's Booming IT Sector Can Drive Positive Change," Atlantic Council, 23 September 2020, retrieved on 27 May 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraines-booming-it-sector-can-drive-positive-change/>
 - 50 Bhaskar Chakravorti, "Western Companies Can Help Ukraine by Sending Work," *Foreign Policy*, 12 May 2022, retrieved on 27 May 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/12/ukraine-war-economy-jobs-workers-tech-it-outsourcing/>

Tourism

In 2019, Ukraine's tourism industry accounted for 5–6% of GDP and employed about 1.1 million people. That same year, over 13.7 million international travelers visited Ukraine. The majority came from neighboring nations, particularly Moldova, Russia, Belarus, Poland, and Hungary.^{51, 52, 53, 54}

Before 2022, Ukraine's vast tourism potential remained underdeveloped and in need of better infrastructure.^{55, 56,}
⁵⁷ The country worked to improve passenger rail and air networks, including high-speed trains and international budget airlines. A wide variety of destinations, from historical sites to health spas, were attractive to tourists. Hunters, hikers, skiers, and spa-lovers visited the Carpathian Mountains.^{58, 59} Other popular tourist activities were Dnieper River cruises between Odesa and Kyiv, Cossack performance experiences, and even tours of the defunct Chernobyl nuclear plant.^{60, 61}

Trade

Since 2006, Ukraine has carried a negative balance of trade. In 2020, Ukraine's trade balance was negative USD 1.64 billion, or 1.05% of GDP.⁶² Balance of trade is the difference in value between a country's imports and exports over a period of time; if exports exceed imports, the trade balance is positive.⁶³ Ukraine's major exports include corn, sunflower seed oils, iron and iron products, wheat, insulated wiring, and rapeseed. In 2019, Ukraine's biggest export partners were Russia, China, Germany, Poland, Italy, and Turkey.⁶⁴ The major imports include refined petroleum, cars, packaged medicines, coal, and natural gas. Major import partners in 2019 were China, Russia, Germany, Poland, and Belarus.⁶⁵

- 51 Knoema, "Ukraine—Contribution of Travel and Tourism to GDP as a Share of GDP," n.d., retrieved on 31 May 2022, <https://knoema.com/atlas/Ukraine/topics/Tourism/Travel-and-Tourism-Total-Contribution-to-GDP/Contribution-of-travel-and-tourism-to-GDP-percent-of-GDP>
- 52 World Travel and Tourism Council, "Travel and Tourism: Economic Impact 2021: Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://wtcc.org/Research/Economic-Impact>
- 53 World Bank, "International Tourism, Number of Arrivals—Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 31 May 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL?locations=UA>
- 54 Visit Kiev Ukraine, "Ukraine Tourism and Visitor Statistics," 2016, <http://www.visitkievukraine.com/essential/tourism-statistics/>
- 55 A. Ivasenko and K. Chala, "Tourism of Ukraine," (report, 2015), <http://dspace.nuft.edu.ua/jspui/bitstream/123456789/20642/1/Ivasenko.pdf>
- 56 Sustainable Tourism Working Group, "Assess of National Tourism Development Strategy: Ukraine," (report, 2012), 1-3, http://www.ceeweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Final_NTDS-Assessment_Ukraine1.pdf
- 57 Viktoriia Riashchenko, Marga Zivitere, and Liubov Kutyrieva, "The Problems of Development of the Ukrainian Tourist Market and Ways of their Solutions," *Information Technologies, Management and Society* 8, no. 1 (2015): 21-22.
- 58 Ukraine, "Tourist Attractions—Everything from Religious Sites to Museums and Architecture," n.d., <http://www.ukraine.com/attractions/>
- 59 A. Ivasenko and K. Chala, "Tourism of Ukraine," (report, 2015), <http://dspace.nuft.edu.ua/jspui/bitstream/123456789/20642/1/Ivasenko.pdf>
- 60 Linda Hodges and George Chumak, *Hippocrene Language and Travel Guide to Ukraine* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994), 310–311.
- 61 Andrew Osborn, "Chernobyl: The Toxic Tourist Attraction," *Telegraph*, 6 March 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/8363569/Chernobyl-The-toxic-tourist-attraction.html?loc=interstitialskip>
- 62 Macrotrends, "Ukraine Trade Balance 1989–2022," n.d., retrieved on 31 May 2022, <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/UKR/ukraine/trade-balance-deficit>
- 63 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Balance of Trade," 25 September 2019, retrieved on 31 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/balance-of-trade>
- 64 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 26 April 2022, retrieved on 2 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 65 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 26 April 2022, retrieved on 2 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

The 2022 Russian invasion ravaged Ukraine's export capabilities. With the Black Sea port of Odesa blockaded by Russia and mined by Ukraine, thousands of tons of foodstuffs and minerals for export were stuck in storage or railcars. Possible alternative land routes were limited in capacity and fraught with logistical challenges, such as the differing railroad gauge sizes used by Ukraine and its European neighbors. Before the war, Ukraine was the world's third-largest grain exporter, and supplied 12% of the world's wheat, 15% of its corn, and 50% of its sunflower oil. The situation in 2022 presaged severe food shortages in Africa and the Middle East.^{66, 67, 68, 69}

Ukraine became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2008. The WTO supervises and regulates some 90% of global trade through sets of privileges and rules for its 164 member countries.^{70, 71} Ukraine has bilateral trade agreements with the United States and some 16 other countries plus the European Union. After its independence, Ukraine was a reluctant and partial participant in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Russia-dominated association of former Soviet countries. After Russia's initiation of hostilities in 2014, Ukraine began withdrawing from CIS agreements.^{72, 73}

Banking and Finance

Banking

Ukraine operates a two-tiered banking system. The first tier is the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU), which is charged with maintaining the stability of the national currency. NBU began as the Kyiv office of the State Commercial Bank (of imperial Russia) in 1839. The NBU's mandate to ensure the stability of independent Ukraine's monetary unit, the hryvnia (UAH), was formalized in the 1996 constitution.^{74, 75} In June 2022, USD 1 traded for UAH 29.54.⁷⁶ Following the 2022 Russian invasion, inflation rates rose considerably, reaching 13.7% in March and 16.4% in April.⁷⁷

The second banking tier consists of commercial banks, which provide traditional banking, lending, and investment services.⁷⁸ Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea set off a financial crisis, with rising inflation and a decrease in bank assets relative to GDP, from 96% in 2014 to 50% in 2019. Banking was restructured and partly nationalized,

66 Al Jazeera, "Time Running Out for Ukraine Grain Exports from Blocked Seaports," 22 May 2022, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/5/25/time-running-out-for-ukraine-grain-exports-from-besieged-seaports>

67 Silvia Aloisi and Pavel Polityuk, "Thousands of Goods Railcars Stuck at Ukraine's Border as War Hits Exports," Reuters, 7 April 2022, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/thousands-goods-railcars-stuck-ukraines-border-war-hits-exports-2022-04-07/>

68 Andrew Higgins and Erika Solomon, "As Food Shortages Loom, a Race to Free Ukraine's Stranded Grain," *New York Times*, 1 June 2022, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/01/world/europe/ukraine-grain-shortages.html>

69 U.S. Department of State, "2020 Investment Climate Statements: Ukraine," 2020, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-investment-climate-statements/ukraine/>

70 World Trade Organization, "Members and Observers," n.d., retrieved on 1 June 2022, https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org6_e.htm

71 Kym Anderson, "World Trade Organization," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 24 March 2021, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/World-Trade-Organization>

72 International Trade Administration, "Ukraine—Country Commercial Guide: Trade Agreements," 24 September 2021, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/ukraine-trade-agreements>

73 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Commonwealth of Independent States," 24 July 2018, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Commonwealth-of-Independent-States>

74 Library of Congress, "Ukraine Economic Development: Banking and Finance," 25 August 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/business/ukraine/banking.html>

75 National Bank of Ukraine, "History of the Central Bank of Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://bank.gov.ua/en/about/nbu-history>

76 XE Currency Converter, "1 USD to UAH—Convert US Dollars to Ukrainian Hryvni," 1 June 2022, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://www.xe.com/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=1&From=USD&To=UAH>

77 Trading Economics, "Ukraine Inflation Rate," May 2022, retrieved on 1 June 2022, <https://tradingeconomics.com/ukraine/inflation-cpi>

78 Library of Congress, "Ukraine Economic Development: Banking and Finance," 25 August 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/business/ukraine/banking.html>

and over 100 banks, many insolvent, were liquidated. By 2022 approximately 69 banks were operating in Ukraine. Two months into Russia's 2022 invasion, the banking sector remained remarkably resilient, with about 70% of bank branches continuing to operate. The success was due to the NBU's sound long-term policies and quick implementation of emergency measures, as well as to about USD 15 billion in external financial support.^{79, 80, 81}

Finance

In 2019, foreign direct investment (FDI) into Ukraine reached USD 5.8 billion, an increase of USD 830 million over 2018. The FDI figure is equal to 2% of GDP and is considered a low share of FDI for eastern Europe. FDI is defined as investment across borders in which an investor from one economy significantly controls or influences a business enterprise in another economy. Renewable energy, software, and logistics projects accounted for over half of inbound FDI. The biggest investors were the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Ukraine's large consumer market, well-educated workforce, many natural resources, and trade agreements with the European Union gave it investment potential. Investment dollars to the nation dropped in 2015, partly as a result of the uncertainty related to Russia's annexation of Crimea and the continued state of unrest in the eastern regions. Other challenges were corruption, underdeveloped infrastructure, and weak protections for property rights.^{82, 83, 84} According to the World Bank, Ukraine was the 64th-easiest place in the world to do business out of 190 economies in 2019.⁸⁵

Standard of Living

By international reckoning, Ukraine is a lower middle-income country with high human development. Ukraine ranked 74 of 188 countries in the 2020 United Nations Human Development Index, which measures a country's standard of living based on key dimensions.⁸⁶ In 2020, the minimum wage was the equivalent of USD 193 per month and the average wage was the equivalent of USD 503 per month.⁸⁷ Ukraine spent 7.1% of GDP on health expenditures in 2019, but only 3.2% was public government spending, placing Ukraine well behind its European neighbors.^{88, 89}

79 Black Sea Trade & Development Bank, "Overview of the Financial Sector in Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 2 June 2022, https://www.bstadb.org/BSTADB_Overview%20of%20the%20financial%20sector_UKRAINE.pdf

80 Natalia Datskevych, "Ukraine's 'Banking Miracle': How Its Banking System Keeps Operating amid Invasion," *Kyiv Independent*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://kyivindependent.com/hot-topic/ukraines-banking-miracle-how-its-banking-system-keeps-operating-amid-invasion/>

81 Natalia Zinets and Alessandra Prentice, "Ukraine's Banking System Remains Resilient despite War, Says Central Bank Governor," *Reuters*, 3 March 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/business/finance/ukraines-banking-system-remains-resilient-despite-war-says-central-bank-governor-2022-03-03/>

82 U.S. Department of State, "2021 Investment Climate Statements: Ukraine," 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-investment-climate-statements/ukraine/>

83 World Bank, "Foreign Direct Investment, Net Inflows (BoP, current US\$)—Ukraine," 2020, retrieved on 2 June 2021, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.KLT.DINV.CD.WD?locations=UA>

84 Glenn Barklie, "Ukraine: An FDI Snapshot," *Investment Monitor*, 4 March 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.investmentmonitor.ai/analysis/ukraine-fdi-snapshot-foreign-investment>

85 Trading Economics, "Ease of Doing Business in Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://tradingeconomics.com/ukraine/ease-of-doing-business>

86 United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Index (HDI) Ranking," 2020, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>

87 U.S. Department of State, "2021 Investment Climate Statements: Ukraine," 2021, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-investment-climate-statements/ukraine/>

88 World Bank, "Current Health Expenditure (% of GDP)—Ukraine," 30 January 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.CHEX.GD.ZS?locations=UA>

89 World Health Organization, "Budgetary Space for Health in Ukraine: Policy Document to Support Budget Preparation Dialogue for 2021," July 2020, retrieved on 2 June 2022, https://www.euro.who.int/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/463327/UKR-Budgetary-space-for-health.pdf

The Ukrainian demographic profile is about average among the world's nations and below average for the European region. Life expectancy at birth is 73.45 years, 78.39 years for females and 68.8 years for males. The infant mortality rate is 7.33 deaths per 1,000 live births; the maternal mortality rate is 19 deaths per 100,000 live births.⁹⁰ The major causes of death and disability are heart disease, stroke, cirrhosis, low back pain, and self-harm.⁹¹ As of early June 2022, the United Nations confirmed 4,169 civilian deaths as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The actual figure is believed to be significantly higher.⁹²

The standard of living for ordinary Ukrainians has dropped significantly in recent years due to ongoing armed conflict and economic hardships.⁹³ In 2019, about 23% of Ukrainians lived in poverty, according to the government's standards, an improvement from 35% in 2017. Before 2022, poverty levels had been dropping and had returned to pre-2014 levels. Ukraine is among the world's top-10 countries with the lowest overall wealth inequality; the wealth gap across the country's regions is also low. The country's rural areas, however, are significantly poorer than its urban areas.^{94, 95} In the months following the 2022 Russian invasion, 6.6 million people left Ukraine and 7.1 million became displaced within the country.^{96, 97} The conflict has caused "the fastest and largest displacement of people in Europe since World War II."⁹⁸ If the war continues for over 12 months, as many as 90% of Ukrainians could face poverty or dire economic vulnerability.⁹⁹

Employment

In the years before the 2022 Russian invasion, Ukraine's unemployment figures ranged between 8–10%, out of a labor force of about 16 million.^{100, 101} Among those aged 15–24, unemployment rates reached 19.3% in 2020. After the turn of the millennium many Ukrainians, especially those from the rural west of the country, traveled abroad in search of better employment opportunities. While this trend created regional labor shortages in Ukraine, the remittances sent back by migrant workers came to contribute as much as 4% of GDP.¹⁰² Many Ukrainians also take

90 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

91 Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation, "Ukraine," 2019, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.healthdata.org/ukraine>

92 Statista, "Number of Civilian Casualties in Ukraine during Russia's Invasion Verified by OHCHR as of June 1, 2022," 1 June 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1293492/ukraine-war-casualties/>

93 Alina Patrick, "Top 10 Facts about Living Conditions in Ukraine," Borgen Project, 14 June 2019, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://borgenproject.org/top-10-facts-about-living-conditions-in-ukraine/>

94 World Bank, "Poverty & Equity Brief: Ukraine," April 2021, retrieved on 2 June 2022, https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/987B9C90-CB9F-4D93-AE8C-750588BF00QA/AM2020/Global_POVEQ_UKR.pdf

95 World Population Review, "Wealth Inequality by Country 2022," 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/wealth-inequality-by-country>

96 BBC News, "How Many Ukrainians Have Fled Their Homes and Where Have They Gone?" 26 May 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>

97 International Organization for Migration, "7.1 Million People Displaced by the War in Ukraine: IOM Survey," 5 April 2022, <https://www.iom.int/news/71-million-people-displaced-war-ukraine-iom-survey>

98 United Nations: Ukraine, "The War Has Caused the Fastest and Largest Displacement of People in Europe Since World War II," 2 March 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://ukraine.un.org/en/175836-war-has-caused-fastest-and-largest-displacement-people-europe-world-war-ii>

99 Stephanie Nebehay, "Ninety Percent of Ukrainian Population Could Face Poverty in Protracted War—UNDP," Reuters, 16 March 2022, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ninety-percent-ukrainian-population-could-face-poverty-protracted-war-undp-2022-03-16/>

100 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

101 Macrotrends, "Ukraine Unemployment Rate 1991–2022," 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/UKR/ukraine/unemployment-rate>

102 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 5 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

cash-based part-time work.¹⁰³ In 2020 the shadow economy was estimated at 35–54% of GDP, with the shadow wage estimated at 18% of GDP.¹⁰⁴

Ongoing armed conflict has had a negative impact on employment. By the end of 2015, Ukraine's labor market was depressed and the demand for labor had dropped.¹⁰⁵ In the eastern conflict-affected regions, unemployment rates soared. In mid-2021 unemployment was 15.7% in Donetsk and 16.6% in Luhansk, against a 10.3% national rate.¹⁰⁶ By May 2022, some 4.8 million Ukrainian jobs had been lost due to Russia's invasion, accounting for about 30% of the pre-invasion workforce.¹⁰⁷

By law, most Ukrainian workers can form labor unions and bargain collectively. The government generally respects workers' right to strike in defense of their interests. The right to strike does not extend to the transportation sector, military, law enforcement, and other parts of the government. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, the country's largest association of unions, has been accused of maintaining undue ties with employers and politicians and of marginalizing workers and labor unions not affiliated with it. The government entity responsible for enforcing labor laws has limited capabilities.¹⁰⁸

Outlook

The economic fallout for Ukraine from the ongoing Russian invasion is as immense as it is difficult to quantify and forecast. Much depends on how long the conflict will continue. In May 2022, economists predicted a contraction of as much as 55% for the Ukrainian economy for that year. The economy in Europe and Central Asia was expected to contract by 4.1%. Globally, the conflict has generated a sharp rise in oil prices and stoked the concerns of a global economic slowdown that began with the COVID-19 pandemic.¹⁰⁹

Yet amid the chaos and destruction, the Ukrainian economy has shown remarkable resilience. In March 2022, at the height of the Russians' siege of Kyiv, a survey showed that over half of Ukrainian companies were still operating and an additional quarter wished to resume operations. The following month, farmers in the south of the country donned body armor and ballistic helmets as they set out to plow their fields. The agriculture ministry is expecting only a 20% reduction in the sowing area compared to previous years.^{110, 111}

The Ukrainian government estimates that the war has caused at least USD 500 billion in damage to the country and destroyed about 30% of its infrastructure. Ukrainian and European leaders are beginning to look beyond the war to the eventual reconstruction of the country. While support from Western countries and private investment

103 Abel Polese et al., "Presenting the Results of the Shadow Economy Survey in Ukraine while Reflecting on the Future(s) of Informality Studies," *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 30:1, 101-123, DOI: 10.1080/25739638.2022.2044585, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/25739638.2022.2044585>

104 Novik Alina Yu, "Designing a System Dynamics Model of Shadow Wage Formation in Ukraine," DOAJ, January 2020, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://doaj.org/article/086e8bb6b58a41b6b48baa14e5f10804>

105 Trading Economics, "Ukraine Unemployment Rate," n.d., retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://tradingeconomics.com/ukraine/unemployment-rate>

106 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, "The Impact of the War in Ukraine on Rural Labour Markets," 2 April 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/cb9421en.pdf>

107 Reuters, "Nearly 5 Million Jobs Lost in Ukraine as War Pummels Economy—ILO," 11 May 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/business/nearly-5-million-jobs-lost-ukraine-war-pummels-economy-ilo-2022-05-11/>

108 U.S. Department of State, "2020 Investment Climate Statements: Ukraine," 2020, retrieved on 2 June 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-investment-climate-statements/ukraine/>

109 World Bank, "Russian Invasion to Shrink Ukraine Economy by 45 Percent This Year," 10 April 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2022/04/10/russian-invasion-to-shrink-ukraine-economy-by-45-percent-this-year>

110 Bhaskar Chakravorti, "Western Companies Can Help Ukraine by Sending Work," *Foreign Policy*, 12 May 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/12/ukraine-war-economy-jobs-workers-tech-it-outsourcing/>

111 Joseph Campbell, "Ukrainian Farmers Don Bulletproof Vests to Plough Frontline Fields," Reuters, 26 April 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukrainian-farmers-don-bulletproof-vests-plough-frontline-fields-2022-04-26/>

are expected to play a major role in the reconstruction, many are also calling for the use of seized Russian assets, including USD 300 billion in frozen reserves of the Russian central bank.^{112, 113}

112 Pavel Polityuk, “Exclusive: Russian Invasion Damaged up to 30% of Ukraine’s Infrastructure, Says Minister,” Reuters, 18 April 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/exclusive-russian-invasion-damaged-up-30-ukraines-infrastructure-says-minister-2022-04-18/>

113 Ashish Valentine, “Here’s How Much It Could Cost to Rebuild Ukraine—And Who Would Pay for It,” NPR, 26 May 2022, retrieved on 3 June 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/05/26/1100501433/heres-how-much-it-could-cost-to-rebuild-ukraine-and-who-would-pay-for-it>

Ukraine in Perspective

Economy Assessment

Read the following statements and answer True or False

- | | | | |
|----|---|------|-------|
| 1. | Before February 2022, the European Union received almost half of its vegetable oils and cereals from Ukraine. | True | False |
| 2. | Most of Ukraine's heavy industries are located in the Donetsk region | True | False |
| 3. | Technology products and services are Ukraine's third-largest export. | True | False |
| 4. | Ukraine's banking system collapsed after the 2022 Russian invasion. | True | False |
| 5. | Ukraine has one of the world's highest levels of overall wealth inequality | True | False |

Ukraine in Perspective

Economy Assessment Answers

1. True:
About one quarter of the European Union's poultry also came from Ukraine.
2. True:
The Donetsk region is located in the east of the country and is home to the majority of the country's petrochemical industry as well as other heavy industry such as iron and steel production.
3. True:
Agricultural products and iron and steel are Ukraine's leading exports, with information and communication technology (ICT) ranking third.
4. False:
Two months into Russia's 2022 invasion, the banking sector remained remarkably resilient, with about 70% of bank branches continuing to operate
5. False:
Ukraine is among the world's top-10 countries with the lowest overall wealth inequality, and the wealth gap across regions is also low, but rural areas are significantly poorer than urban areas

Chapter 4 | Society



Ukrainian folk dancers
Wikimedia/Alina Vozna

Introduction

For much of its history, Ukraine's political status was determined by other nations including Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and the Soviet Union. Yet even under Soviet rule, the Ukrainian people continued to cultivate a distinct identity and culture.¹ Most Ukrainians were pleased when their leaders declared an independent nation-state in 1991, and a shared Ukrainian civic identity soon blossomed.² But the slow pace and uncertain direction of change in the following years disappointed many. Social inequities among classes, genders, and linguistic and ethnic groups remained, and economic disparities grew.³ In 2014, Russia claimed the right to protect its ethnic and linguistic minority within Ukraine, and it occupied Crimea and fomented fighting in the Donbas region.^{4, 5} Russia's subsequent invasion of Ukraine in 2022 made national identity a life-or-death choice for many Ukrainians.

- 1 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 2 Jeffrey Mankoff, "Russia's War in Ukraine: Identity, History, and Conflict," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 22 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-war-ukraine-identity-history-and-conflict>
- 3 Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).
- 4 Andrij Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 5 David M. Herszenhorn, "Crimea Votes to Secede from Ukraine as Russian Troops Keep Watch," *New York Times*, 16 March 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/17/world/europe/crimea-ukraine-secession-vote-referendum.html?_r=0

Ethnic Groups and Languages

In 2014 the government counted 130 nationalities and communities in Ukraine.⁶ The largest ethnic groups are Ukrainians (77.8%) and Russians (17.3%).^{7, 8} There are small ethnic populations from Ukraine's other neighbors: Belarusians (0.6%), Poles (0.3%), a few Slovaks (among 1.8% of reported "others"), Hungarians (0.3%), Romanians (0.3%), and Moldovans (0.5%), as well as Crimean Tatars (0.5%), Bulgarians (0.4%), Jews (0.2%), Greeks, and Roma.^{9, 10} Among these minority populations are the Hutsul, Boiko, and Lemko (aka Rusyn) peoples of the Carpathians in western Ukraine, who have maintained traditional ways of life suited to the mountainous, sparsely populated region.^{11, 12, 13}

The only official national language is Ukrainian, which is spoken by roughly 68% of the population. Russian is an important regional language and spoken by roughly 30% of the population. Twenty-four other languages are spoken among the various ethnic groups, including Crimean Tatar, Moldovan/Romanian, and Hungarian.^{14, 15} A 2012 law that a language spoken by at least 10% of the population in a given *oblast* (district) could be considered a "regional" language to use in schools, courts, and other government offices, was ruled unconstitutional in 2018.¹⁶ A new language law, passed in 2019, expanded the required use of Ukrainian as the state language over the next several years, but diminished support for minority languages including Russian.¹⁷ In 2022 many Ukrainians, especially those who grew up speaking Russian, chose to speak Ukrainian as a political act.¹⁸

- 6 Embassy of Ukraine in the United States of America, "On the Protection of the National Minority Rights in Ukraine," 4 March 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://usa.mfa.gov.ua/en/press-center/news/18859-on-the-protection-of-the-national-minority-rights-in-ukraine>
- 7 State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, *Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2010* (Kyiv: Avgust Trade, 2011), 328, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/st_sc/SEU2010_e.zip
- 8 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine: People and Society," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 9 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine: People and Society," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 10 Andriy Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>
- 11 Nicolae Pavliuc, et al., "Hutsuls," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\H\U\Hutsuls.htm>
- 12 Sofia Rabil-Karpynska, "Boikos," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\B\O\Boikos.htm>
- 13 Volodymyr Kubijovyč, "Lemkos," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\L\E\Lemkos.htm>
- 14 State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, *Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2010* (Kyiv: Avgust Trade, 2011), 442, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/st_sc/SEU2010_e.zip
- 15 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine: People and Society," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 16 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine: People and Society," *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 17 Pavel Polityuk, "Ukraine Passes Language Law, Irritating President-elect and Russia," Reuters, 25 April 2019, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-parliament-language/ukraine-passes-language-law-irritating-president-elect-and-russia-idUSKCN1S111N>
- 18 Ievgen Afanasiev et al., "Ukraine Agonizes over Russian Culture and Language in its Social Fabric," NPR, 2 June 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/02/1101712731/russia-invasion-ukraine-russian-language-culture-identity>

Religion

Ukraine is a secular nation that provides religious freedom to its people. Most Ukrainians are Christian; roughly 67–70% belong to the Orthodox Church.^{19, 20} Questions of leadership have long divided Ukrainian Orthodoxy into separate branches, led from Kyiv (Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyiv Patriarchate), Moscow (Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Moscow Patriarchate), or historical Poland (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church²¹). Politicians often ally themselves with one branch or another—Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko advocated for greater autonomy for the Kyiv branch, while Russian president Vladimir Putin supports Patriarch Kirill of Moscow, the leader of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 2019, the “first among equals” of Eastern Orthodoxy, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople, formally granted autocephalous (independent) status to a new Orthodox Church of Ukraine, formed from these branches.²² The Moscow-led branch rejected this ruling, and its parent Russian Orthodox Church cut ties with Constantinople.²³ After Russia’s 2022 invasion, Ukraine’s Moscow-led branch broke its allegiance to Russian Orthodoxy, accusing Patriarch Kirill of failures “to condemn Russia’s military aggression” and “to find words for the suffering Ukrainian people.”^{24, 25}

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) is strong in western Ukraine. This church was aggressively attacked by Stalinist Russia. UGCC followers, who survived for years in hiding and in the diaspora that fled Stalin’s purges, returned to Ukraine in 1991. The Church claims about 4 million members and is a majority religious group in three western *oblasts*: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil.^{26, 27, 28} In western Ukraine, the Roman Catholic Church has a following of approximately 1 million, mostly ethnic Poles or Ukrainians of Polish descent.^{29, 30}

Ukraine has a small Protestant community (1%). The largest Protestant group is the Evangelical Baptist Union of Ukraine. Other significant groups include Pentecostals, Seventh-day Adventists, Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Latter-day Saints.³¹

19 Central Intelligence Agency, “Ukraine: People and Society,” *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

20 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>

21 Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, “History of UAOC,” n.d., retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.soborna.org/history/en/001.html>

22 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>

23 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

24 Scott Peterson, “Ukrainian Orthodox Church Says Follow the Gospel, not Putin,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 retrieved on 11 July 2022, May 2022, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2022/0531/Ukrainian-Orthodox-Church-says-follow-the-gospel-not-Putin>

25 Ukrainian Service, “Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Loyal To Russia Since 2019 Schism, Now Cuts Ties Over War,” Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 27 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/orthodox-church-kirill-war-russia/31872141.html>

26 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, “Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church,” 10 November 2020, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Ukrainian-Greek-Catholic-Church>

27 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>

28 “Ukraine’s Churches: Inspiring and Confusing,” *Economist*, 21 February 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2014/02/ukraines-churches>

29 Dompavlov Travelling, “Roman Catholic Church,” n.d., retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.dompavlov.com/ukrainecatholic.htm>

30 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>

31 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>

Ukraine has a small non-Christian population. The Muslim population numbers between 500,000 and 2 million, depending on the source. The majority of Muslims are Crimean Tatars, concentrated in the Crimean Peninsula. There is a small Jewish community consisting of between 100,000 and 370,000 members. Even smaller numbers of Buddhists, Falun Gong, and Krishna Consciousness are present.^{32, 33}

Gender Issues

Traditional Ukrainian ideas about gender stem from farming, where men work in the fields and women care for the homestead. The warrior Cossack—strong, tough, fearless, loyal—later came to represent masculinity, and mandatory military service continues to be the most widespread male rite of passage to adulthood.^{34, 35} These gender stereotypes influence attitudes and behaviors and have negative consequences. For example, Ukrainian women were legally banned from pursuing hundreds of professions such as aircraft pilot or train engineer until recently. Although the ban was lifted in 2017, training and recruitment of women in these professions remains scarce.^{36, 37, 38} In another example, both a former prime minister and a survey of public opinion rated women as less suited for politics than men, which may explain why women held only 10–12% of Ukraine’s parliamentary seats from independence in 1991 to 2015.^{39, 40, 41} Despite Ukraine’s record as the first post-Soviet country to implement laws against human trafficking and domestic violence, thousands of Ukrainian women and girls are trafficked annually as prostitutes and for forced domestic or sweatshop labor.^{42, 43, 44, 45} Young women of the Ukrainian activist

- 32 Central Intelligence Agency, “Ukraine: People and Society,” *World Factbook*, 4 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 33 Office of International Religious Freedom, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine,” 12 May 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ukraine/>
- 34 Sarah D. Phillips, “Ukrainians,” in *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World’s Cultures*, vol. 1, eds. Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 932.
- 35 Hege Toje, “Cossacks,” in *Ethnic Groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jeffrey Cole (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 80–84.
- 36 Wilson Center, “Women’s Top-level Political Participation in Ukraine: Challenges and Opportunities,” 21 May 2012, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/womens-top-level-political-participation-ukraine-challenges-and-opportunities>
- 37 Euromaidan Press, “Ukraine’s Health Ministry Opens Up Previously Banned 450 Professions for Women,” 21 December 2017, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://euromaidanpress.com/2017/12/21/ukraines-health-ministry-lifts-restrictions-on-womens-employment-in-450-professions/>
- 38 Anti-Discrimination Centre, “Results of the Fight against the List of Professions Banned for Women: Three Years of the #Alljobs4allwomen Campaign,” 6 March 2020, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://adcmemorial.org/en/news/3-years-alljobs4allwomen/#ukr>
- 39 Luke Harding, “Ukrainian Women Berate ‘Neanderthal’ PM for Sexist Remarks,” *Guardian*, 24 March 2010, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/mar/24/ukraine-mykola-azarov-women>
- 40 Wilson Center, “Women’s Top-level Political Participation in Ukraine: Challenges and Opportunities,” 21 May 2012, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/womens-top-level-political-participation-ukraine-challenges-and-opportunities>
- 41 World Bank, “Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%)” 2021, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=UA>
- 42 Alexandra Hrycak, “Global Campaigns to Combat Violence against Women: Theorizing Their Impact in Post-Communist Ukraine (Chapter 4),” in *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine*, eds. Olen Hankivsky and Anastasiya Salnykova, University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- 43 C. Deighan, “A Business of Supply and Demand: The Trafficking of Women and Girls from Russia and Ukraine,” in Wylie, G., McRedmond, P. (eds) *Human Trafficking in Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230281721_6
- 44 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Launches Campaign to Prevent Human Trafficking ahead of European Sports Event in Ukraine,” 4 November 2011, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.osce.org/ukraine/84621>
- 45 Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, U.S. Department of State, “Ukraine,” in *Trafficking in Persons Report 2021*, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-trafficking-in-persons-report/ukraine/>

group Femen stage provocative protests against sex tourism in their country, and against other abuses of power in neighboring countries.^{46, 47, 48}

The armed conflict in Ukraine has exacerbated serious problems for women and sparked an increase in domestic violence. In addition, women are increasingly victims of human rights abuses including sexual violence by opposition troops. Some women in conflict areas have turned to prostitution as a means of providing food and shelter for their families because normal economic opportunities are extremely limited.^{49, 50, 51} In June 2022, the Ukrainian legislature took the major step of approving ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence and Violence against Women, known as the Istanbul Convention. The treaty contains binding measures for preventing violence against women and girls, supporting survivors, and holding abusers accountable; it applies to war-time incidents as well as domestic violence.⁵²

In the years after independence, LGBTQ rights in Ukraine faced strong opposition from a conservative society. While not a crime, homosexuality is not mentioned in Ukraine's penal code, and the government does not recognize gay marriage or nonbinary genders. Every year, LGBTQ marches and other events are disrupted, sometimes violently, by members of right-wing groups. Less than 20% of Ukrainians believe homosexuality is socially acceptable. After the 2022 Russian invasion, Ukrainian gay rights activists hoped that the renewed sense of national unity and growing Western orientation would lead to stronger legal rights and greater societal tolerance for LGBTQ people.^{53, 54, 55}

Cuisine

Ukrainian cuisine is as diverse as its population. Breads and cereals, vegetables and fruits, dairy products, poultry, pork, beef, and fish have local sources and traditional Ukrainian preparations. Ukrainians (and most of their neighbors) claim to be the originators of hearty peasant dishes like *borscht* (beet soup), *varenyky* (pasta-like boiled dumplings stuffed with everything from cheese to cherries), and *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls). Steppe-grown grains combined with local honey, fruits, and poppy seeds become festive holiday breads. Kasha (buckwheat) and other grains are also served as a side dish or hot breakfast cereal. *Salo*, flavorful pig fat, is eaten like butter or cheese, and is sometimes prepared with bacon or garlic (or, as a gag gift, dipped in chocolate). *Salo*, pickles, and smoked

46 André Eichhofer, "Students Fight Prostitution in Ukraine," *Spiegel*, 30 July 2009, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,639246,00.html>

47 Olena Nikolayenko and Maria DeCasper, "Why Women Protest: Insights from Ukraine's EuroMaidan," *Slavic Review*, Volume 77 Issue 3, 25 October 2018, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/slavic-review/article/why-women-protest-insights-from-ukraines-euromaidan/A4943759BD4A1CD9F9B17CA0870599BB>

48 *Kyiv Post*, "Femen Archives," 16 February 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.kyivpost.com/tag/femen>

49 Kristina Jovanovski, "Ukraine Conflict Causes Spike in Domestic Violence," *Al Jazeera*, 23 July 2015, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/07/ukraine-conflict-spike-domestic-violence-150722094335117.html>

50 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "'Men Return Completely Changed:' Ukraine Conflict Fueling Surge in Domestic Violence," 26 April 2015, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.rferl.org/content/ukraine-conflict-domestic-violence/26979064.html>

51 UN Women and CARE International, "Rapid Gender Analysis of Ukraine," 4 May 2022, retrieved on 10 May 2022, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/05/rapid-gender-analysis-of-ukraine>

52 Hillary Margolis, "In Ukraine, Women Should Be Protected from Violence in War and Peace," Human Rights Watch, 21 June 2022, retrieved on 14 July 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/21/ukraine-women-should-be-protected-violence-war-and-peace>

53 Equaldex, "LGBT Rights in Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 14 July 2022, <https://www.equaldex.com/region/ukraine>

54 Max Bearak, "Ukraine's LGBTQ Rights Movement Contends with War's Mixed Impact," *Washington Post*, 10 June 2022, retrieved on 14 July 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/06/10/ukraine-lgbt-rights-war-european-union/>

55 Associated Press, "Thousands March in Ukraine for LGBT Rights, Safety," *ABC News*, 19 September 2021, retrieved on 14 July 2022, <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/thousands-march-ukraine-lgbt-rights-safety-80107859>

or salted fish are popular snacks served with alcohol. Over the centuries Ukrainian cuisine has absorbed the flavors and techniques of Tatars, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, and Moldovans.^{56, 57, 58}

Tea is the hot drink of choice in Ukraine.⁵⁹ In summer, street vendors appear with vats of *kvas*, a root beer-like drink fermented from rye bread. *Horilka*, Ukrainian vodka, is distilled from grain or potatoes and often flavored with honey, fruits, or spices, especially chili peppers (*horilka z pertsem*). The British ambassador to Ukraine suggested that *horilka* might be protected as national intellectual property, like France's champagne or Mexico's tequila.⁶⁰ Odesa and Kyiv produce "Soviet champagne," and Lviv claims the oldest brewery and some of the best beer of the former Soviet Union.^{61, 62} Cost-conscious Ukrainians buy close to half their beer in plastic containers rather than more expensive glass.⁶³

Traditional Dress

Today Ukrainians typically wear traditional outfits only for folk arts performances or special occasions. The cut, colors, and patterns of the basic white embroidered shirt identify the gender, age, ethnicity, and activity of the wearer. Men wear their shirttails either out over narrow pants or tucked into *sharovary* (baggy trousers). A sleeveless jacket and an embroidered or tasseled waistband are common. Traditional men's dress also includes a *kozuhukh*, a long, sometimes embroidered robe, and boots.^{64, 65}

Women wear a wraparound skirt, a short or long vest or corset with their shirt, an embroidered belt and apron, and leather boots, preferably in red, which signifies beauty in Ukrainian and other Slavic cultures.⁶⁶ Distinctive regional headgear includes fur or felt hats and woolen caps for men, flowers and ribbons for girls, and embroidered, starched, folded, and wrapped scarves for women. One such head covering for married women, the *ochipok*, covers the entire head but has slits down the back for laces. A headscarf traditionally worn by married women is slowly disappearing.^{67, 68, 69}

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- 56 Anton Masterovoy, "Ukraine," in *Food Cultures of the World Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. Ken Albala (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2011), 378.
- 57 S. Stechishin, "Traditional Foods," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/t/r/traditionalfoods.htm>
- 58 Ryan Ver Berkmoes et al., *Russia, Ukraine, & Belarus*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2000), 759–760.
- 59 Maryna Irlklyenko, "Coffee Appetite Brewing, but Far behind Europe," *Kyiv Post*, 10 December 2008, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/business/coffee-appetite-brewing-but-far-behind-europe-31843.html>
- 60 Leigh Turner, "Should Ukraine Protect Horilka as Intellectual Property?" *Kyiv Post*, 17 November 2010, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/should-ukraine-protect-horilka-as-intellectual-pro-90231.html>
- 61 Alexandra Matoshko, "Beer Drinking, Ukrainian-Style," *Kyiv Post*, 30 July 2009, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.kyivpost.com/article/guide/about-kyiv/beer-drinking-ukrainian-style-46185.html>
- 62 "Law Could Quickly Fizzle Ukrainian Champagne Business," *Kyiv Post*, 26 January 2006, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/business/law-could-quickly-fizzle-ukrainian-champagne-busin-23764.html>
- 63 European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), *Agribusiness Handbook: Barley, Malt, Beer* (Rome, Italy: FAO, 2009), 48, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.fao.org/3/i1003e/i1003e.pdf>
- 64 Sarah D. Phillips, "Ukrainians," in *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures*, vol. 1, eds. Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 931.
- 65 National Clothing, "National Costumes in Ukraine. Ukrainian Folk Dress," 20 August 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://nationalclothing.org/15-nationalclothing/europe/ukraine/4-national-costumes-in-ukraine-ukrainian-folk-dress.html>
- 66 Sarah D. Phillips, "Ukrainians," in *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures*, vol. 1, eds. Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 931.
- 67 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, "Ukraine Now," n.d., retrieved on 10 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, https://ukraine.ua/?before_the_war
- 68 Lidiia Burachynska, "Dress," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=/pages/D/R/Dress.htm>
- 69 "National Costumes in Ukraine. Ukrainian Folk Dress," National Clothing, 20 August 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://nationalclothing.org/15-nationalclothing/europe/ukraine/4-national-costumes-in-ukraine-ukrainian-folk-dress.html>

Notable traditional hairstyles are the Cossack shaved head with a forelock known as *oseledets* (herring) or a topknot called a *khokhol*. *Khokhol* became a derogatory Russian term for Ukrainians, and later a Ukrainian insult for Russified Ukrainians.⁷⁰ Yulia Tymoshenko made the tradition of braids pinned up around the head into a political statement. In daily life, most Ukrainians wear contemporary European styles.^{71, 72, 73}

Arts

Folk Arts

Decorated eggs called *pysanky* (literally, “written eggs”) may be Ukraine’s most well-known folk art. *Pysanky* use colors and designs drawn from nature that have been stylized over thousands of years. Symbolic of renewal, *pysanky* were once believed to have protective powers, and are now made for Easter.⁷⁴ *Pysanky* patterns of geometric shapes or representations of rivers, plants, and the sun appear in other traditional arts such as embroidery, wood carving, ceramics, and weaving.⁷⁵

Ukrainian folk dance is also well known, particularly the Cossack *hopak*, in which men try to outdo each other in acrobatic feats.⁷⁶ Other, older folk dances celebrate the seasons, and are performed to choral chanting instead of rhythmic musical instruments.⁷⁷ The Christmastime “Carol of the Bells” is based on a Ukrainian folk tune once sung to wish a bountiful new year.⁷⁸ Folk architecture and artifacts are preserved in large open-air museums, where dozens of homesteads, windmills, and churches may dot the landscape of hundreds of acres.^{79, 80}

Religious Influences

Christianity inspired architecture, art, and music in Ukraine. Byzantine, “Cossack Baroque,” and rococo churches remain, although the Soviets destroyed many religious buildings and repurposed others into museums of atheism.^{81,}

^{82, 83} Ukrainian religious icon painting first developed in 11th-century Kyiv, and a few 12th- and 13th-century works

70 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, “Khokhol,” Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\K\H\KhokholIT.htm>

71 Clifford J. Levy, “‘The Braid’ Is Crowning Glory for the Ukrainian Politician Yulia Tymoshenko,” *New York Times*, 7 October 2007, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/europe/07iht-hair.4.7786675.html>

72 Lidiia Burachynska, “Dress,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\D\R\Dress.htm>

73 Colleen Curry, “Why Ukraine’s Former Prime Minister (and her Hair) Are so Important,” ABC News, 21 February 2014, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2014/02/why-ukraines-former-prime-minister-and-her-hair-are-so-important/>

74 Volodymyr Hodys, “Easter Egg,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\E\A\Easteregg.htm>

75 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

76 Mykola Mushynka, “Hopak,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\H\O\HopakIT.htm>

77 Mariia Pasternak, “Folk Dance,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\F\O\Folkdance.htm>

78 B.J. Almond, “Grad Student Traces Origin of Super Holiday Hit,” Rice University News and Media Relations, 16 December 2004, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://news.rice.edu/2004/12/16/grad-student-traces-origin-of-super-holiday-hit/>

79 Ryan Ver Berkmoes et al., *Russia, Ukraine, & Belarus*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2000), 794, 814, 820, 836.

80 Mykola Mushynka, “Museums of Folk Architecture and Folkways,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages/m/u/museumsoffolkarchitectureandfolkways.htm>

81 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

82 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, “Kyiv’s Architectural Monuments Destroyed in the 1930s and 1940s,” Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2001, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/art.asp#Topic_11

83 Crispin Paine, “Militant Atheist Objects: Anti-Religion Museums in the Soviet Union,” *Present Pasts* 1 (2009), retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.presentpasts.info/articles/10.5334/pp.13/>

survived. By the 16th century, a Western-influenced Galician style developed in Lviv, and soon Cossack icons were portraying local *hetmans* including Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The craft disappeared in 18th century Ukraine, but was revived among Ukrainian communities outside the country in the 20th century, and is developing again in post-Soviet Ukraine.^{84, 85} In music, the early liturgical chant of the monks at Kyiv's Caves Monastery evolved into the splendid polyphonic choral singing that later spread east into the Russian Orthodox Church.^{86, 87}

“High” and “Low” Culture

The Ukrainian intellectual and cultural elite grew from many different national traditions, and many world-famous writers, artists, and musicians have come from Ukraine. In literature, the words of Taras Shevchenko, the Bard of Ukraine, are memorized by schoolchildren, quoted by politicians and statesmen, and inscribed on monuments and gravestones. His life and art embody Ukraine's story: born a serf, he was freed in recognition of his creative talent, then exiled for writings critical of the tsar.⁸⁸ Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka (a pseudonym of Larysa Kosach-Kvitka) followed Shevchenko as champions of a Ukrainian nation and literary tradition.⁸⁹ Sholem Aleichem authored Yiddish stories about Ukraine's shtetlach, Jewish communities, that became the source for *Fiddler on the Roof*, and Isaac Babel wrote about Odesa's Jewish minority.^{90, 91} Russian writers with Ukrainian connections include Nikolai Gogol, Anton Chekhov, Mikhail Bulgakov, Anna Akhmatova, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.^{92, 93, 94, 95} The painter Ilya Repin spent over a decade on the many versions of *Zaporozhian Cossacks Writing a Mocking Letter to the Turkish Sultan* (1880–91), a work that has inspired much Ukrainian nationalist analysis.^{96, 97} Classical composer Mykola Lysenko, who adapted the folk song “Shchedryk” that later became “Carol of the Bells,” studied with the famed Russian maestro Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and impressed Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky with his opera *Taras*

84 Sviatoslav Hordynsky, “Icon,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkPath=pages\I\CI\Icon.htm>

85 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 230.

86 Wasyl Wytwycky, “Church Music,” 1984, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages%5CC%5CH%5CChurchmusic.htm>

87 Andriy Makuch et al., “Ukraine,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

88 M. Antokhii et al., “Taras Shevchenko,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2004, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/pages/S/H/ShevchenkoTaras.htm>

89 Danylo Husar Struk, “Literature,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1993, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages\L\L\Literature.htm>

90 Ruth R. Wisse, “The Comedy of Endurance: Sholem Aleichem,” in *The Modern Jewish Canon: A Journey through Language and Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), 31–64.

91 Isaac Babel, *The Complete Works of Isaac Babel*, ed. Nathalie Babel (New York: Norton, 2002).

92 Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Danylo Husar Struk, “Gogol, Nikolai,” *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages/g/o/gogolnikolai.htm>

93 Museum of Kyiv History, “Mikhail Bulgakov Museum,” n.d., retrieved on 10 May 2022, <http://www.kyivhistorymuseum.org/en/mikhail-bulgakov-museum>

94 David Wells, *Anna Akhmatova: Her Poetry* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 1–10.

95 Claire Bigg, “Solzhenitsyn Leaves Troubled Legacy across Former Soviet Union,” Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 6 August 2008, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.rferl.org/content/Solzhenitsyn_Leaves_Troubled_Legacy_across_Former_Soviet_Union/1188876.html

96 Walther K. Lang, “The Legendary Cossacks: Anarchy and Nationalism in the Conceptions of Ilya Repin and Nikolai Gogol,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2002), retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring02/193-the-legendary-cossacks-anarchy-and-nationalism-in-the-conceptions-of-ilya-repin-and-nikolai-gogol>

97 Victor A. Friedman, “The Zaporozhian Letter to the Turkish Sultan: Historical Commentary and Linguistic Analysis,” *Slavica Hierosolymitana* (Magnes Press) 2 (1978): 25–38, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://home.uchicago.edu/~vfriedm/Articles/015Friedman78.pdf>

Bulba (based on Gogol's novel about a Cossack warrior).^{98, 99, 100} Modest Mussorgsky, Sergei Prokofiev, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and Igor Stravinsky are some other Russian composers associated with Ukraine.¹⁰¹

Ukraine's post-Soviet economy has given rise to a popular culture noted for extremes of consumption and unexpected juxtapositions (e.g., chocolate *sa/o*, mudwrestling feminists).^{102, 103} Andrii Danilko pokes fun at Ukrainian gender, class, language, ethnicity, politics, and nationalistic pretensions when he performs as Verka Serduchka, a bossy train car attendant who sometimes speaks *surzhyk*, a mix of Ukrainian and Russian, and sings like a pop star.^{104, 105, 106} Verka took second place in the 2007 Eurovision Song Contest.¹⁰⁷ In the 2022 Eurovision contest, the Kalush Orchestra became Ukraine's third first-place winner. They auctioned their trophy for USD 900,000 to buy aerial drones for the Ukrainian military.¹⁰⁸

Sports and Recreation

Soccer is Ukraine's most popular professional sport, and Dynamo Kyiv is usually the top Ukrainian team.¹⁰⁹ Ukraine co-hosted the 2012 European World Cup with Poland; the championship match was played in Kyiv.^{110, 111} In 2022, the national team missed qualifying for the World Cup by one game.¹¹² Chess is a serious competitive pastime throughout the former Soviet sphere, and Ukraine claims some of the game's youngest grand masters.^{113, 114} The competitive athleticism of Cossacks and earlier warriors survives in exhibition groups that perform trick horseback riding, gymnastic dancing, and weapons demonstrations.^{115, 116, 117}

98 B.J. Almond, "Grad Student Traces Origin of Super Holiday Hit," Rice University News and Media Relations, 16 December 2004, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://news.rice.edu/2004/12/16/grad-student-traces-origin-of-super-holiday-hit/>

99 Hanna Chumachenko, "Ukraine: Performance Arts," in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 4, eds. Melvin Ember and Carolyn R. Ember (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 2307–2324.

100 Roman Sawycky, "Sounds and Views: Three Pictures, Three Musicians," *Ukrainian Weekly* 61, no. 22 (30 May 1993): 8.

101 Yakov Soroker, "Russian Composers," in *Ukrainian Musical Elements in Classical Music* (Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995), 76–124.

102 Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 272–273.

103 Sarah D. Phillips, *Women's Social Activism in the New Ukraine: Development and the Politics of Differentiation* (Indiana University Press, 2008), 111–112.

104 Laada Bilaniuk, *Contested Tongues: Language, Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 165–170.

105 Brigid McCarthy, "The Two Faces of Verka Serduchka," *PRI's The World* (BBC, PRI, WGBH), 7 April 2010, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.pri.org/stories/2010-04-07/two-faces-verka-serduchka>

106 Ilya Khineyko, "The Little Russian: Verka Serduchka," Current Politics in Ukraine (blog), 22 May 2007, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2007/05/22/the-little-russian-verka-serduchka/>

107 Eurovision Song Contest, "Eurovision Song Contest Helsinki 2007," EBU, retrieved on 18 May 2022, <https://eurovision.tv/event/helsinki-2007/grand-final#main>

108 Raman Namachandran, "Kalush Orchestra Raises \$900,000 for Ukraine War Effort by Auctioning Eurovision Trophy," *Variety*, 30 May 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://variety.com/2022/music/global/kalush-orchestra-eurovision-trophy-auction-1235281038/>

109 Andrii Makuch et al., "Ukraine," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine>

110 Chris Murphy, "Euro 2012: Are Poland and Ukraine Ready to Host Festival of Football?" CNN, 9 December 2011, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/12/02/sport/football/football-euro-2012-explainer/>

111 Union of European Football Associations, "Euro 2012 Poland-Ukraine: Match Schedule," n.d., retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://www.uefa.com/MultimediaFiles/Download/competitions/Draws/01/72/67/72/1726772_DOWNLOAD.pdf

112 Andrew Gastelum, "Ukraine Harnesses Its Emotions to Keep War-Torn Nation's World Cup Dream Alive," *Sports Illustrated*, 1 June 2022, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <https://www.si.com/soccer/2022/06/01/ukraine-world-cup-qualifying-scotland-playoff-wales>

113 Ukraine Chess Federation, "Ukrainian Chess Elite by 2016, March FIDE Rating—List (MAN—All Players)," 2016, retrieved on 11 July 2022, http://ukrchess.org.ua/eng/elita_e.html

114 Chess Base, "Record Breaking Mini-grandmaster?" 16 May 2002, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://en.chessbase.com/post/record-breaking-mini-grandmaster->

115 Lviv, "To Simply Unwind and Have a Good Time," 2011, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://lviv.biz/en/ukraine/travel/good-time>

116 Odessa Tourism, "Museum of History of Ukrainian Cossacks," n.d., retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.odessatourism.org/en/do/museums/muzej-istorii-razvitiya-ukrainskogo-kazachestva>

117 Chatsworth, "Daredevil Horseback Cossack Stunt Team to Make Chatsworth Country Fair Debut," 17 April 2015, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.chatsworth.org/press-and-filming/press-releases/2015/04/17/cossack-stunt-team-make-country-fair-debut>

Ukraine was part of the former Soviet Olympic training program, and continues to produce many competitive athletes. Ice skater Oksana Baiul was independent Ukraine's first gold medalist, and other golds have gone to Ukraine in swimming, weightlifting, wrestling, shooting, and gymnastics.^{118, 119} Sergey Bubka, 1988 gold medalist in the pole vault, led Ukraine's failed bid to host the 2022 Winter Olympics in the Carpathian Mountains around Lviv.^{120, 121, 122} Wladimir Klitschko won Olympic gold for boxing in 1996, and with his brother Vitaly dominated professional boxing for nearly two decades.¹²³ Vitali was elected mayor of Kyiv in 2014, an office he still held in 2022.¹²⁴

118 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Oksana Baiul," 2016, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Oksana-Baiul>

119 Olympic National Committee of Ukraine, "Olympic Champions," n.d., retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://noc-ukr.org/en/olympic/winners/gold/>

120 BBC Sport, "Bubka Says Farewell," 4 February 2001, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/athletics/1153086.stm>

121 Reuters, "Yanukovich Wants Ukraine to Host 2022 Winter Games," *Kyiv Post*, 27 May 2010, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://gamesbids.com/eng/winter-olympic-bids/future-winter-bids/ukraine-wants-to-host-2022-winter-olympics/>

122 National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, "Ukraine Attends 'Bidding for the Games' Conference en Route to 2022 Olympics," 7 November 2011, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://noc-ukr.org/en/news/3415/>

123 Heavy, "Vitali and Wladimir Klitschko: 5 Fast Facts you Need to Know," 25 April 2015, retrieved on 11 July 2022, <http://heavy.com/sports/2015/04/klitschko-brothers-net-worth-who-wins/>

124 Mike Coppinger, "Vitali Klitschko, Former Boxing Champion and Mayor of Kyiv, to Receive Arthur Ashe Courage Award at the ESPYS," ESPN, 14 June 2022, retrieved on 14 July 2022, https://www.espn.com/boxing/story/_/id/34092036/vitali-klitschko-former-boxing-champion-mayor-kyiv-receive-arthur-ashe-award-courage-espys

Ukraine in Perspective

Society Assessment

Read the following statements and answer True or False

- | | | | |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1. | Nine out of 10 Ukrainians are ethnically Ukrainian. | True | False |
| 2. | Russian is the second official language of Ukraine. | True | False |
| 3. | Eastern Orthodoxy has splintered into several churches in Ukraine. | True | False |
| 4. | In 2014, former boxer Vitaly Klitschko was elected mayor of Kyiv. | True | False |
| 5. | Women are legally prohibited from working in some professions. | True | False |

Ukraine in Perspective

Society Assessment Answers

1. False:
The largest ethnic groups are Ukrainians (77.8%) and Russians (17.3%). Among the smaller groups are Belarusians, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, and Crimean Tatars.
2. False:
The only official national language is Ukrainian, spoken by roughly 68% of the population. A 2019 language law expanded the required use of Ukrainian and diminished support for minority languages including Russian, spoken by roughly 30% of the population.
3. True:
Different churches recognize competing authorities in Kyiv, Moscow, Lviv, and Rome. In 2019, the leader of all Eastern Orthodoxy granted independent status to a new Orthodox Church of Ukraine; in 2022, the Moscow-led branch of Ukrainian Orthodoxy severed its ties with Patriarch Kirill and the Russian Orthodox Church.
4. True:
As of 2022, he still holds this position. Prior to his political career, Vitaly Klitschko and his brother Wladimir dominated professional boxing for nearly two decades.
5. True:
Gender stereotypes have led to the designation of hundreds of professions as prohibited to Ukrainian women.

Chapter 5 | Security



Ukrainian troops on a training exercise, 2015
Defense Visual Information Distribution Service (DVIDS)

Introduction

Ukraine occupies a strategic area between Russia to the east and Europe to the west. Since independence in 1991, Ukrainian leaders have alternated between seeking security guarantees from NATO or the Russian Federation. In the early post-Soviet years, Ukraine transferred its inherited nuclear weapons to Russia for destruction. Over six presidential administrations, Ukraine oscillated between pursuing closer integration with the West, including seeking NATO membership, and remaining within Russia's orbit. When a popular protest ended the pro-Russia presidency of Viktor Yanukovich in 2014, Russia occupied Crimea and escalated the fighting in eastern Ukraine. More than 9,000 Ukrainians were killed in the early years of the conflict and 900,000 displaced persons became political refugees. The economic loss caused by the conflict reached approximately USD 111.521 billion in 2016. In 2022, Russia began a larger invasion of Ukraine, which continues at the time of this writing.^{1, 2, 3}

¹ Jane's, "External Affairs: Ukraine," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 12 August 2015.

² John Psaropoulos, "Timeline: The First 100 Days of Russia's War in Ukraine," Al Jazeera, 3 June 2022, retrieved on 5 July 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/6/3/timeline-the-first-100-days-of-russias-war-in-ukraine>

³ BBC News, "Ukraine Profile—Timeline," 5 March 2020, retrieved on 5 July 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18010123>

U.S.-Ukraine Relations

The United States recognized Ukraine's independence on December 25, 1991. Since 1992, the United States has given over USD 9.5 billion to Ukraine to support democracy and a market economy by reducing corruption and implementing governmental reforms. Annual aid amounts fluctuated in response to Ukraine's successes and failures in curbing corruption and developing a transparent democracy.^{4, 5} In 2008, the U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership recognized the importance of the bilateral relationship. It was designed to improve defense, security, trade, energy, democracy, and cultural exchange. Renewed in 2021, the charter continued the commitment of the United States to support enhanced engagement between NATO and Ukraine.⁶

The United States and Ukraine cooperate in multiple military ventures.⁷ The Ukrainian military has been a long-time partner with the U.S. Coast Guard and the California National Guard.^{8, 9} In 2018, Ukraine joined the United States and seven other NATO countries in a series of large-scale air exercises in western Ukraine.^{10, 11} The U.S. also supports the Ukrainian military with equipment, arms and funds.¹² In 2017, the sale of lethal weapons to Ukraine was authorized.¹³

After the 2014 "Revolution of Dignity," the United States was the first to recognize Ukraine's new government.¹⁴ The Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014 required the U.S. president to impose sanctions on Russia's defense, energy and financial sectors, and authorized both military and non-military assistance for Ukraine.¹⁵ Since 2014, the United States has provided more than USD 7.3 billion in security assistance for training and equipment to help Ukraine preserve its territorial integrity, secure its borders, and improve interoperability with NATO. In the wake of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, the United States supplied Ukraine with multiple multi-billion-dollar military aid packages that included crucial anti-aircraft, anti-armor, and artillery systems. U.S. policy remains centered on supporting Ukraine in the face of continued Russian aggression.^{16, 17}

- 4 U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Assistance Fact Sheet: Ukraine," June 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Ukraine_FY-2020-Country-Assistance-Fact-Sheet.pdf
- 5 Vincent L. Morelli, "Ukraine: Current Issues and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, 3 January 2017, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33460.pdf>
- 6 U.S. Department of State, "U.S.-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership," 10 November 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.state.gov/u-s-ukraine-charter-on-strategic-partnership/>
- 7 Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "U.S. Security Cooperation with Ukraine," 6 May 2022, retrieved on 18 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine/>
- 8 Jim Garamone, "Ukraine-California Ties Show Worth of National Guard Program," DoD News, 21 March 2022, <https://www.nationalguard.mil/News/Article/2972128/ukraine-california-ties-show-worth-of-national-guard-program/>
- 9 Megan Eckstein, "After 2014 Decimation, Ukrainian Navy Rebuilds to Fend off Russia," Defense News, 9 August 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.defensenews.com/naval/2021/08/09/after-2014-decimation-ukrainian-navy-rebuilds-to-fend-off-russia/>
- 10 Center for Preventive Action, "Conflict in Ukraine," Council on Foreign Relations, 12 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-ukraine>
- 11 Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, "Ukraine Launches Air Exercises with NATO Countries," 8 October 2018, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-launches-air-exercises-with-nato-countries/29532389.html>
- 12 Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "U.S. Security Cooperation with Ukraine," 6 May 2022, retrieved on 18 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine/>
- 13 Council on Foreign Relations, "A Historical Timeline of Post-Independence Ukraine," PBS News Hour, 22 February 2022, retrieved on 9 June 2022, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/a-historical-timeline-of-post-independence-ukraine>
- 14 Jane's, "External Affairs: Ukraine," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 12 August 2015.
- 15 *Ukraine Weekly*, "2015: U.S.-Ukraine Relations: Support at a Time of War," 22 January 2016, <http://www.ukrweekly.com/uwp/u-s-ukraine-relations-support-at-a-time-of-war/>
- 16 Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "U.S. Security Cooperation with Ukraine," 6 May 2022, retrieved on 18 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine/>
- 17 Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "U.S. Relations with Ukraine," 27 August 2021, <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-ukraine/>

Relations with Neighboring Countries

Belarus

Belarus and Ukraine share close historical, economic, and ethnic ties with each other and with Russia. Bilateral Belarus-Ukraine relations were cordial after both countries achieved independence in 1991. In 1997, the two nations tried to resolve a border dispute, but it has yet to be ratified. Relations strengthened after Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea, as Belarusian leader Alexander Lukashenko tried to position Belarus as neutral between Ukraine and Russia.^{18, 19, 20} However, after Lukashenko brutally suppressed pro-democracy protests in 2020 in the wake of disputed presidential elections, Ukraine recalled its ambassador and imposed sanctions and restrictions on Belarus.^{21, 22, 23, 24}

Trade relations between the two nations were initially strong. To aid Ukraine and facilitate trade, Belarus announced it would conduct transactions in the hryvna, Ukraine's national currency, in January 2015.²⁵ In recent years, bilateral trade declined as Belarus became more dependent on trade with Russia, and Ukraine increased trade with China and Europe.^{26, 27}

In 2022, the Minsk-Moscow alliance was again evident as Lukashenko allowed tens of thousands of Russian troops to stage their invasion of neighboring Ukraine from Belarusian territory.^{28, 29}

18 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

19 Jane's, "External Affairs: Belarus," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 6 August 2015.

20 Siarhei Bohdan, "Belarus Helps Ukraine with Military Equipment," *Belarus Digest*, 10 April 2015, <https://belarusdigest.com/story/belarus-helps-ukraine-with-military-equipment/>

21 Talant, Bermet, "Ukraine joins EU sanctions against Belarusian officials," *Kyiv Post*, 21 November 2020, retrieved on 1 March 2022, <https://www.kyivpost.com/eastern-europe/ukraine-joins-eu-sanctions-against-belarus-as-eu-plans-more-sanctions.html>

22 Warsaw Institute, "Ukraine Is Ambiguous about the Events in Belarus," 4 September 2020, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://warsawinstitute.org/ukraine-ambiguous-events-belarus/>

23 Pavel Polityuk, Reuters, "Ukraine Will Ban Belarus Airlines from Using Its Airspace from May 29" *Nasdaq*, 28 May 2021, retrieved 1 March 2022, <https://www.nasdaq.com/articles/ukraine-will-ban-belarus-airlines-from-using-its-airspace-from-may-29-2021-05-28>

24 Ukrinform, "Ukrainian Parliament Group Demands Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Belarus," 25 May 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-polytics/3251435-ukrainian-parliament-group-demands-severance-of-diplomatic-relations-with-belarus.html>

25 Interfax-Ukraine, "Belarus Industrial Enterprises Go Over to Hryvnia in Settlements for Export to Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, 12 January 2015, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/business/belarus-industrial-enterprises-go-over-to-hryvnia-in-settlements-for-export-to-ukraine-377135.html>

26 Central Intelligence Agency, "Belarus," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/belarus/>

27 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

28 Becky Sullivan, "Why Belarus Is So Involved in Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *NPR*, 11 March 2022, retrieved on 21 April 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/11/1085548867/belarus-ukraine-russia-invasion-lukashenko-putin>

29 Tatsiana Kulakevich, "3 Reasons Belarus Is Helping Russia Wage War against Ukraine," *Conversation*, 3 March 2022, retrieved on 21 April 2022, <https://theconversation.com/3-reasons-belarus-is-helping-russia-wage-war-against-ukraine-177984>

A day after the invasion began, Belarus held a constitutional referendum to revoke Belarus's non-nuclear country status.^{30, 31} Soon Ukrainian hackers targeted Belarusian government agencies and critical infrastructure.^{32, 33} Both countries then expelled most of each other's diplomatic staff.³⁴

Hungary

Hungary supported Ukrainian independence and autonomy starting in 1991.³⁵ Trade between the two nations was not extensive, but the countries cooperated in the energy sector, mostly in natural gas supplies flowing through Ukraine.³⁶ In 2017, a Ukrainian law requiring the Ukrainian language to be used nationwide for secondary education angered minority Hungarian speakers and communities in Ukraine, and Hungary retaliated with efforts to block Ukraine's entry into the European Union and NATO.^{38, 39}

After February 2022, Hungary aided Ukrainian war refugees but refused to allow the transit of weapons into Ukraine.^{40, 41, 42} Hungarian leader Victor Orban was re-elected in April 2022 on a Russia-friendly platform.⁴³ In an indication of Hungary's close ties to Russia, Hungary obtained an exemption from a planned EU ban on Russian crude oil imports in May.⁴⁴

Moldova

Ukraine and Moldova share similarities in culture and history, yet their formal relations have yet to stabilize. Although they have partnered to resolve issues pertaining to Moldova's breakaway Transnistria region that lies between them,

- 30 Reuters, "Belarus Referendum Approves Proposal to Renounce Non-Nuclear Status—Agencies," 27 February 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/launchpad-russias-assault-ukraine-belarus-holds-referendum-renounce-non-nuclear-2022-02-27/>
- 31 Swissinfo (Reuters), "Mass Arrests as Belarus Confirms Ditching Non-Nuclear Status in Referendum Vote," 28 February 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/mass-arrests-as-belarus-confirms-ditching-non-nuclear-status-in-referendum-vote/47387048>
- 32 Matt Burgess, "Ukraine's Volunteer 'IT Army' Is Hacking in Uncharted Territory," *Wired*, 27 February 2022, Retrieved on 1 March 2022, <https://www.wired.com/story/ukraine-it-army-russia-war-cyberattacks-ddos/>
- 33 Adam Smith, "Hackers Attack Train Network to Stop Putin's Troops Moving to Ukraine," *Independent*, 28 February 2022, retrieved 1 March 2022, <https://www.independent.co.uk/tech/hackers-attack-train-putin-troops-russia-ukraine-b2024907.html>
- 34 Reuters, "Ukraine Tells Belarus to Cut Diplomatic Staff in Reciprocal Move," 24 March 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-tells-belarus-cut-diplomatic-staff-reciprocal-move-2022-03-24/>
- 35 Eva S. Balogh, "Ukrainian-Hungarian Relations During the Orbán Years," Hungarian Spectrum Blog, 2014, <http://hungarianspectrum.org/2014/03/02/ukrainian-hungarian-relations-during-the-orban-years/>
- 36 Embassy of Ukraine in Hungary, "Political Issues of Ukraine and Hungary: History of Bilateral Relations," 20 August 2012, <https://hungary.mfa.gov.ua/en/embassy/263-istorija-dvostoronnih-vidnosin>
- 37 Colin Harrison and Zuzana Princova, "A Quiet Gas Revolution in Central and Eastern Europe," *Energy Post*, 29 October 2015, <http://www.energypost.eu/quiet-revolution-central-eastern-european-gas-market/>
- 38 Mark Temnycky, "Hungary and Ukraine Are Finally Making Amends," Wilson Center, 25 September 2020, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/hungary-and-ukraine-are-finally-making-amends>
- 39 Pavel Havlicek, "Ukraine-Hungarian Relations: A Tale of Mounting Mutual Mistrust," *Global Policy*, 6 January 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/06/01/2021/ukraine-hungarian-relations-tale-mounting-mutual-mistrust>
- 40 Emma Wallis, "Questions Raised over Treatment of Ukrainians in Hungary as Tensions Mount," *Info Migrants*, 4 May 2022, <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/40290/questions-raised-over-treatment-of-ukrainians-in-hungary-as-tensions-mount>
- 41 Lauren Egan, "Hungary's Orban Softens His Rhetoric on Ukrainian Refugees but Offers Little in Official Support," *NBC News*, 15 April 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/hungarys-orban-softens-rhetoric-ukrainian-refugees-offers-little-offic-rcna23546>
- 42 Reuters, "Hungary Will Not Allow Lethal Weapons for Ukraine to Transit Its Territory—FM," *U.S. News & World Report*, 28 February 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-02-28/hungary-will-not-allow-lethal-weapons-for-ukraine-to-transit-its-territory-fm>
- 43 Joe Hernandez, "Pro-Putin Leaders in Hungary and Serbia Win Reelection as Europe Grapples with War," *NPR*, 4 April 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/04/04/1090835656/orban-vucic-hungary-serbia-reelection-pro-putin-russia>
- 44 Kate Abnett et al., "EU Agrees Russia Oil Embargo, Gives Hungary Exemptions; Zelenskiy Vows More Sanctions," *Reuters*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/best-we-could-get-eu-bows-hungarian-demands-agree-russian-oil-ban-2022-05-31/>

those same issues have stalled agreements on border demarcation. The Crimean crisis worsened relations between Moldova and Transnistria and created tensions with Ukraine.^{45, 46} In November 2015, Moldova and Ukraine signed an agreement to jointly control the checkpoint at the Transnistrian segment of their common borders, which would allow continued trade.⁴⁷ That agreement was breached in 2016 when Ukraine blockaded international trucks from crossing its border into Transnistria.⁴⁸

In 2022 Moldova took in over 483,000 war refugees from Ukraine, the most per capita among the receiving nations.⁴⁹

⁵⁰ There were concerns about Russia using Transnistria as a pretext to expand the war beyond Ukraine.⁵¹ In May Ukraine began exporting electricity to Moldova to lessen Moldova's dependency on Russia.⁵²

Poland

Since 1991, Ukraine-Polish relations have been cordial, despite historical issues. The two nations signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation in 1992 and in 1994 adopted a declaration recognizing their mutual strategic importance.⁵³ In the years prior to 2019, Poland was a top-five trading partner of Ukraine.^{54, 55} In 2016–21, Poland was a top arms exporter to Ukraine.⁵⁶

45 Oleksandr Sushko, "A Look from the Outside: Moldova and Ukraine—Bilateral Relations" (discussion transcript, International Conference "Europe and the Transition Process in the Republic of Moldova," Berlin, 2–3 July 2004), <http://www.cisr-md.org/reports/Notes%202004/note7.html>

46 Jane's, "External Affairs: Moldova," in *Sentinel and Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 19 August 2015.

47 Tatiana Urbanskaya, "Moldova's Ex-ambassador to Ukraine: 'Our Conflicts Have Same Causes and Scenarios, but Ending Unclear,'" UNIAN Information Agency, 28 November 2015, <http://www.unian.info/politics/1197001-ex-ambassador-of-moldova-to-ukraine-our-conflict-and-your-conflict-arose-for-the-same-reasons-evolved-by-the-same-scenario-and-its-unclear-how-theyll-end.html>

48 Sputnik News, "Petty Move: Ukraine Trying to Block Russian Trade with Moldova," 20 January 2016, <http://sputniknews.com/business/20160120/1033423650/ukraine-moldova-russia-trade-conflict.html>

49 United Nations, "UN Human Rights in Moldova: Providing Vital Support to Ukrainian Refugees," 21 April 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/stories/2022/04/un-human-rights-moldova-providing-vital-support-ukrainian-refugees>

50 BBC News, "How Many Ukrainians Have Fled Their Homes and Where Have They Gone?" 6 June 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>

51 Jennifer Rankin, "Moldova Facing 'Dangerous Moment' amid Fears It Could Be Drawn into Ukraine War," *Guardian*, 28 April 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/28/moldova-facing-very-dangerous-moment-amid-fears-it-could-be-drawn-into-ukraine-war>

52 Aura Sabadus, "Disarming Russia's Energy Weapon: Ukraine Begins Electricity Exports to Moldova," 18 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/disarming-russias-energy-weapon-ukraine-begins-electricity-exports-to-moldova/>

53 Andrzej Szeptycki, "Poland-Ukraine Relations," *UNISCI Journal* 40 (January 2016): 59–63, <https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/pag-78913/UNISCIDP40-4AndrzejSzeptycki.pdf>

54 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

55 Andrzej Szeptycki, "Poland-Ukraine Relations," *UNISCI Journal* 40 (January 2016): 65–66, <https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/pag-78913/UNISCIDP40-4AndrzejSzeptycki.pdf>

56 Forum on the Arms Trade, "Arms Transfers to Ukraine," n.d., retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.forumarmstrade.org/ukrainearms.html>

Poland has been a top (and welcoming) destination for Ukrainians looking for work.⁵⁷ The 2014 Crimean crisis added political refugees to the mix, and the 2022 invasion increased the number to 3 million.^{58, 59, 60} In the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Poland became a major conduit for Western aid and weapons into Ukraine.⁶¹

Romania

Testy relations between Ukraine and Romania pre-date Ukraine's 1991 independence. Each country is protective of the welfare of its minority speakers who live on the other.⁶² There are rivalries over resources including the Danube River, its delta, and maritime economic zones issuing from Ukraine's Snake Island in the Black Sea.^{63, 64, 65, 66} In February 2009, the International Court of Justice in The Hague awarded the largest portion of Black Sea rights to Romania and left a smaller but resource-rich portion to Ukraine.⁶⁷

Russia's actions in Ukraine helped warm relations. Romania, a NATO member, is eager to resist Russian expansion. In 2014, Romania and Ukraine signed a military agreement, along with other forms of cooperation.⁶⁸ A meeting between the two nations' presidents in 2015 reinforced their mutual desire for improved relations and expanded trade and economic cooperation.⁶⁹ In early 2022, Romania assisted over 587,000 refugees from Ukraine.⁷⁰

Russia

Ukraine-Russia relations deteriorated after 1991 as Ukraine began cultivating relationships with the West. Ukraine stated its intent to join the European Union and NATO, going so far as to request a membership action plan from

- 57 Denys Kiryukhin, "Losing Brains and Brawn: Outmigration from Ukraine," Wilson Center, 14 May 2019, retrieved on 6 Jun 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/losing-brains-and-brawn-outmigration-ukraine-0>
- 58 Andrzej Szeptycki, "Poland-Ukraine Relations," *UNISCI Journal* 40 (January 2016): 69-70, <https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/pag-78913/UNISCIDP40-4AndrzejSzeptycki.pdf>
- 59 Rick Lyman, "Ukrainian Migrants Fleeing Conflict Get a Cool Reception in Europe," *New York Times*, 30 May 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/31/world/europe/ukrainian-migrants-fleeing-conflict-get-a-cool-reception-in-europe.html>
- 60 BBC News, "How Many Ukrainians Have Fled Their Homes and Where Have They Gone?" 4 July 2022, retrieved on 5 July 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>
- 61 Colm Quinn, "Once a Pariah, Poland Becomes Indispensable," *Foreign Policy*, 25 March 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/25/poland-biden-duda-ukraine/>
- 62 Jakub Pienkowski, "Romania's Relations with Ukraine: Cooperation Despite an Impasse," Polish Institute of International Affairs, 10 March 2021, retrieved on 6 June 2022, https://pism.pl/publications/Romanias_Relations_with_Ukraine_Cooperation_Despite_an_Impasse
- 63 Yaroslav Dovgopol, "Ukraine-Romania: Relations Reloaded?" *Kyiv Post*, 21 December 2011, <https://www.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/ukraine-romania-relations-reloaded-119373.html>
- 64 Tadeusz Iwański, "Ukraine-Romania: A Sustained Deadlock," *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich Commentary* 68 (30 December 2011), <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2011-12-30/ukraine-romania-a-sustained-deadlock>
- 65 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>
- 66 World Wildlife Fund, "Ukraine Opens Bystroye Canal through Danube Delta," 16 May 2007, retrieved on 6 June 2022, https://www.panda.org/wwf_news/?102720/Ukraine-opens-Bystroye-Canal-through-Danube-Delta
- 67 Constance Johnson, "Romania; Ukraine; United Nations: Decision on Black Sea Boundaries," Library of Congress, 12 February 200, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2009-02-12/romania-ukraine-united-nations-decision-on-black-sea-boundaries/>
- 68 Marian Chiriac, "Romania Risks Russian Ire with Ukraine Military Deal," *Balkan Insight*, 11 March 2014, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/romania-ukraine-sign-military-cooperation-agreement>
- 69 Olexandra Zasmorzhuk, "A New Friend of Ukraine," UNIAN Information Agency, 16 April 2015, <http://www.unian.info/politics/1067966-a-new-friend-of-ukraine.html>
- 70 BBC News, "How Many Ukrainians Have Fled Their Homes and Where Have They Gone?" 6 June 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>

NATO. The Orange Revolution of 2004 exacerbated already strained relations with Russia, which saw the revolution as a U.S.-backed conspiracy.^{71, 72}

After the 2014 overthrow of Ukraine's Russia-friendly president, relations went into a deep-freeze when Russia annexed Crimea and stoked a civil war in eastern Ukraine by supporting pro-Russian separatists.^{73, 74} As Ukraine intensified its attempts to leave Russia's sphere of influence, Russia increasingly cast doubts on the validity of Ukraine's statehood and on the ethnic distinctions between Russians and Ukrainians. Additionally, Russia aired grievances about Ukraine's alleged persecution of Russian-speaking Ukrainians. In February 2022, Russia acted on its rhetoric and launched a full-scale military invasion of Ukraine.⁷⁵

Slovakia

Slovak-Ukrainian relations are heavily influenced by Slovak-Russian relations. Ukraine became an important Slovakian business partner and the two implemented an agreement on mutual support and protection of investments in 2009.⁷⁶ Bilateral trade was further facilitated by a Ukraine-EU trade agreement in 2016.⁷⁷ A natural gas pipeline between Slovakia and Ukraine became operational in September 2014 and the two nations signed an agreement on natural gas delivery that same year, leading to a considerable reduction in Ukraine's dependence on Russian energy.^{78, 79} Following Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Slovakia took in over 466,000 Ukrainian refugees and supplied its neighbor with military aid, including a crucial air-defense system.^{80, 81}

Police

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) is responsible for maintaining internal security and order and oversees police and other law enforcement personnel. The Security Service of Ukraine is responsible for state security broadly defined, nonmilitary intelligence, and counterintelligence and counterterrorism matters. The MIA reports to the Cabinet of Ministers while the Security Service reports directly to the president. The State Border Guard Service under the MIA

71 "Relations with Ukraine," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 22 November 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm.

72 Taras Kuzio, "Poor Ukrainian-Russian Ties Reflect Yanukovich-Putin Relationship," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* (Jamestown Foundation) 8, no. 180 (30 September 2011), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=38477

73 CBS News, "Russia Officially Annexes Crimea away from Ukraine with Signature from Vladimir Putin," 21 March 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/russia-annexes-crimea-away-from-ukraine-with-signature-from-vladimir-putin/>

74 Jane's, "External Affairs: Ukraine," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 12 August 2015.

75 Paul Kirby, "Why Has Russia Invaded Ukraine and What Does Putin Want?" BBC News, 17 April 2022, retrieved on 25 April 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-56720589>

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77 Elena Kašťáková et al., "Changes in Foreign Trade between Slovakia and Ukraine," *Studia Commercialia Bratislavensia*, February 2019, retrieved on 6 June 2022, https://of.euba.sk/www_write/files/veda-vyskum/scb/vydane-cisla/2019-02/scb0219-kastakova-zabojnik-bebiakova.pdf

78 Stratfor, "Through Slovakia, Russia Loses Power over Ukraine," 7 April 2015, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/through-slovakia-russia-loses-power-over-ukraine>

79 Colin Harrison and Zuzana Princova, "A Quiet Gas Revolution in Central and Eastern Europe," *Energy Post*, 29 October 2015, <http://www.energypost.eu/quiet-revolution-central-eastern-european-gas-market/>

80 BBC News, "How Many Ukrainians Have Fled Their Homes and Where Have They Gone?" 6 June 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>

81 WION Web Team, "Russia-Ukraine Crisis: Slovakia Sends S-300 Air Defence System to Kyiv," WION, 9 April 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022,

<https://www.wionews.com/world/russia-ukraine-crisis-slovakia-sends-its-s-300-air-defence-system-to-kyiv-469669>

implements state policy regarding border security; the State Migration Service, also under the MIA, implements state policy regarding migration, citizenship, and registration of refugees and other migrants.^{82, 83}

The Ukrainian National Police falls under the MIA and is responsible for public safety, protection of human rights, crime prevention, and providing emergency assistance. The force consists of 140,000 personnel and is structured into a central office, 24 regional departments, and several transregional departments. The transregional departments include traffic police, internal security, cybercrime, and financial crimes.^{84, 85} Since 2014, law enforcement in Crimea and parts of the Donbas has been carried out by Russian-backed personnel of self-declared autonomous areas.⁸⁶

In 2015, the government initiated a set of wide-ranging police reforms meant to stamp out the corruption, repression, and criminality that characterized Ukraine's post-Soviet police force. The reforms were initiated with support from Western partners, inspiration from recent police reforms in nearby Georgia, and the involvement of civil society. They included a new police law establishing the National Police structure, reevaluations of the employment feasibility of current officers, the creation of a new Patrol Police with fresh recruits and modern vehicles and equipment, and the promise of higher pay to reduce the incentive for corruption. After a promising start, the reforms petered out in the face of determined resistance and obfuscation from entrenched interests within the MIA. All the officers who were dismissed as part of the reevaluation process got their jobs back, the higher pay never materialized, and the police impunity continued.^{87, 88, 89} In 2021 Arsen Avakov, the powerful interior minister seen as responsible for the failure of the police reforms, resigned after a disagreement with newly elected president Volodymyr Zelenskiy.⁹⁰

Military

The Armed Forces of Ukraine consist of the Ground Forces, Naval Forces, Air Forces, Air Assault Forces, Ukrainian Special Operations Forces, and Territorial Defense Forces (Reserves). Prior to the 2022 Russian invasion, the total active-duty troops numbered approximately 200,000, including 125,000 in the Ground Forces, 25,000 in the Air Assault Forces, 2,000 in the Special Operations Forces, 10,000 in the Naval Forces, and 40,000 in the Air Forces.⁹¹

- 82 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Ukraine," 2021, retrieved on 17 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ukraine/>
- 83 POLIS, "Country Profile: Ukraine," Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, n.d., retrieved on 8 June 2022, <https://polis.osce.org/country-profiles/ukraine#national-police-10621>
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- 85 Liliane Biving, "Ukraine's Powerful Interior Minister Avakov under Fire over Police Reform Failures," Atlantic Council, 30 June 2020, retrieved on 9 June 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraines-powerful-interior-minister-avakov-under-fire-over-police-reform-failures/>
- 86 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Ukraine," 2021, retrieved on 17 May 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ukraine/>
- 87 Tetiana Goncharuk, "Where Is Ukraine's New Police Force?" Open Democracy, 31 January 2018, retrieved on 9 June 2022, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/where-is-ukraines-new-police-force/>
- 88 Liliane Biving, "Ukraine's Powerful Interior Minister Avakov under Fire over Police Reform Failures," Atlantic Council, 30 June 2020, retrieved on 9 June 2022, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/ukraines-powerful-interior-minister-avakov-under-fire-over-police-reform-failures/>
- 89 Nick Pehlman, "When Ukraine Abolished the Police: Lessons for America," Wilson Center, 27 July 2020, retrieved on 9 June 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/when-ukraine-abolished-police-lessons-america>
- 90 Reuters, "Ukraine's Interior Minister Submits Resignation," 13 July 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraines-interior-minister-resigns-2021-07-13/>
- 91 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

Ukrainian men 20–27 years of age have a one-year compulsory military service obligation. Conscription was abolished in 2012 and reintroduced in 2014. The military is a mix of conscripts and professional soldiers serving under contracts. Women can volunteer for military service, and made up 15–20% of the military in 2021.⁹² As the Russian invasion in February 2022 got underway, the Territorial Defense Forces saw an upsurge of ordinary Ukrainians wanting to join and defend their country.⁹³

Before the Russian invasion, the land forces were equipped with some 2,600 tanks, 12,000 armored vehicles, 1,000 self-propelled artillery pieces, 2,000 towed artillery pieces, and 490 rocket projectors. The navy had 1 frigate, 1 corvette, 13 patrol vessels, and 1 mine warfare vessel. The air force had 69 fighters, 29 dedicated attack aircraft, 32 transport aircraft, 71 training aircraft, 5 special-mission aircraft, 112 helicopters, and 34 attack helicopters.⁹⁴

Ukraine began modernizing its military in 2015. The security posture was shifted to defense against Russia, including pursuit of NATO membership.⁹⁵ The national defense budget was focused on procuring modern weaponry, training, and maintenance of existing equipment. The force was formed into smaller, more self-contained units in order to improve readiness and response time.⁹⁶ Laws were passed to improve defense procurement and reform the military-industrial conglomerate Ukroboronprom.⁹⁷ In 2020, Ukraine spent about 4% of GDP on military expenditures.⁹⁸

Ukraine's strong military resistance at the start of the 2022 invasion seemed to surprise Russian offensive forces. Despite having a smaller military than Russia, and a quantitative and qualitative disadvantage in equipment and resources, Ukrainian forces were highly motivated, resilient and adaptive, demonstrating greater flexibility than the Russian military and exploiting Russian missteps and weaknesses.⁹⁹ Furthermore, President Zelenskiy broadcast daily requests for more weaponry to counter Russia's grinding war of attrition. As of May 2022, Ukraine received over USD 33 billion in international military aid from 31 countries. In addition to the United States, the biggest donors were the United Kingdom, Poland, Germany, and Canada. The bulk of the weaponry consisted of arms and ammunition; anti-tank, anti-aircraft, and anti-ship missiles; attack drones, primarily of U.S. and Turkish origins; and various artillery systems.^{100, 101}

92 Central Intelligence Agency, "Ukraine," *World Factbook*, 31 May 2022, retrieved on 6 June 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ukraine/>

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96 Jane's, "World Armies: Ukraine," in *World Armies*, 4 January 2016.

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Cybersecurity

Ukraine was an early locus of cybercrime, as well as a “sandbox” for Russia-sanctioned hacking practice (Russian and Ukrainian are still the most common languages of underground online forums).^{102,103} The State Service of Special Communication and Information Protection (SSSCIP) oversees cyber security regulations, and cyber defense and law enforcement is divided between the MIA and the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).¹⁰⁴ In 2007 the government and military formed the Computer Emergency Response Team-Ukraine (CERT-UA), which soon joined the global Forum of Incident Response and Security Teams (FIRST).¹⁰⁵ Implementation of an August 2021 decree creating a military cybersecurity force was interrupted by the 2022 invasion.¹⁰⁶

In 2014, after the Euromaidan protests brought down the Yanukovich presidency, Russian-backed cyberattacks soon breached Ukraine’s Central Elections Commission; during the early days of the Donbas conflict, cyber espionage aided in targeting Ukrainian army units.¹⁰⁷ From 2015, attacks followed on the Ukrainian power grid, banks, airports, government agencies, and information portals; a loosely associated network of private Ukrainian hackers responded by targeting Russian government entities and exposing Russia’s involvement in the fighting in eastern Ukraine.^{108, 109} By 2021, Ukraine was experiencing several hundred to several thousand cyberattacks each month.¹¹⁰

In the months leading up to the 2022 Russian invasion, U.S. cyber specialists assisted the Ukrainian government in disabling malware that could have caused damage and disruption to the country’s infrastructure.¹¹¹ After the beginning of the invasion, the government’s cyber defense team continued to operate, and a government-backed volunteer “IT Army” was formed to counter Russia’s onslaught of cyber-attacks.^{112, 113} In March 2022, Ukraine was unanimously voted into a contributing participant status in NATO’s cybersecurity group.¹¹⁴

102 Nadiya Kostyuk, “Ukraine: A Cyber Safe Haven?” Chapter 13, in Kenneth Geers, ed., *Cyberwar in Perspective: Russian Aggression against Ukraine*, NATO CCD COE Publications, Tallinn 2015, https://ccdcoe.org/uploads/2018/10/Ch13_CyberWarinPerspective_Kostyuk.pdf

103 Lillian Ablon et al., “Markets for Cybercrime Tools and Stolen Data: Hackers’ Bazaar,” Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2014, pages 7–8, https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR600/RR610/RAND_RR610.pdf

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106 Jennifer Shore, “Don’t Underestimate Ukraine’s Volunteer Hackers,” *Foreign Policy*, April 11 2022, retrieved on 13 June 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/11/russia-cyberwarfare-us-ukraine-volunteer-hackers-it-army/>

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112 Jennifer Shore, “Don’t Underestimate Ukraine’s Volunteer Hackers,” *Foreign Policy*, 11 April 2022, retrieved on 30 June 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/11/russia-cyberwarfare-us-ukraine-volunteer-hackers-it-army/>

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Issues Affecting Stability

Armed Conflict

Instabilities that led to the 2014 occupation of Crimea and the subsequent years of fighting in Donbas became an existential threat to Ukraine with Russia's 2022 invasion. Economic harm prior to the invasion was partly due to most industrial centers being located in the eastern provinces, where the most fighting had been taking place as of 2022. In 2016, damage to national infrastructure was already estimated to exceed USD 350 billion.^{115, 116} In the face of Russia's all-out invasion, the government has shown remarkable resilience and competence.¹¹⁷ But as the war entered its fourth month and Russia was steadily gaining ground in the artillery battle in the Donbas region. Here, Ukraine's limitations in the face of prolonged assault from a stronger adversary were becoming apparent.^{118, 119} Ukraine's combat casualties, officially a state secret, were believed to be as high as 100 soldiers per day, and military planners were increasingly relying on inexperienced and poorly trained Territorial Defense Forces volunteers to man the front lines in the east.^{120, 121}

Corruption

Ukraine is one of Europe's most corrupt nations.^{122, 123} Economists and investors (both internal and external) have warned repeatedly that Ukraine cannot improve sovereignty and stability without ending corruption. After the start of Russian aggression in 2014, the Ukrainian government turned to oligarchs for financial support. That support was readily provided, but in the process the oligarchs became immensely influential over the state, to the detriment of other, less-corrupt political actors. In 2016 the IMF nearly withheld billions of dollars in much-needed funds due to the freewheeling corruption within Ukraine.^{124, 125, 126, 127} President Zelenskiy came to power in part on an anti-

115 Jane's, "Security: Ukraine," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—Russia and the CIS*, 7 March 2016.

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corruption platform, but a leak of financial documents in 2021 revealed he and his circle benefitted from suspect offshore holdings.^{128, 129}

Crime

Before the 2022 Russian invasion, crime rates in Ukraine were high for a European country, particularly in the eastern regions where governmental control was in dispute. The public saw crime as a serious problem, but most people did not believe the police could or would help when they were victimized.¹³⁰ Financial crimes, including money laundering, fed national corruption. Arms trafficking was a major activity of organized crime.¹³¹ Organized criminal networks maintained ties to political and business leaders, as well as the police, making it difficult to enact reforms and further eroding confidence in the government.¹³²

Outlook

Ukraine is once again a battlefield in a struggle between powers to its east and west. Since the Russian invasion began in February 2022, the country lost tens of thousands of lives and sustained billions of dollars in losses. As of early June 2022, Russia controlled about 20% of Ukraine's territory.^{133, 134} The conflict has seen most Western democracies rally to Ukraine's side with economic and military aid. In June 2022, the European Union formally accepted Ukraine's bid to join the bloc.¹³⁵ But with the war dragging on over months and possibly years, the prospect of prolonged national trauma and an increased dependence on the West for arms and aid casts a shadow over Ukraine's long-term stability.^{136, 137}

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Ukraine in Perspective

Security Assessment

Read the following statements and answer True or False

- | | | | |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1. | The United States recognized Ukraine's independence on December 25, 2004. | True | False |
| 2. | Poland refused to allow its territory to be used to transfer weapons to Ukraine. | True | False |
| 3. | Russia's aggression in Ukraine brought Ukraine and Romania closer together. | True | False |
| 4. | Ukraine's attempts to reform its police force failed. | True | False |
| 5. | Russia's 2022 invasion defeated Ukraine's cyber defense capabilities. | True | False |

Ukraine in Perspective

Security Assessment Answers

1. False:
The United States recognized Ukraine's independence on December 25, 1991.
2. False:
In the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Poland became a major conduit for Western aid and weapons into Ukraine.
3. True:
Romania, a NATO member, is eager to resist Russian expansion. In 2014, Romania and Ukraine signed a military agreement, along with other forms of cooperation.
4. True:
After a promising start, the reforms petered out in the face of determined resistance and obfuscation from entrenched interests within the Ministry of Internal Affairs
5. False:
After the beginning of the invasion, the government's cyber defense team continued to operate, and a government-backed volunteer "IT Army" was formed to counter Russian cyber-attacks.

Ukraine in Perspective

Further Readings and Resources

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Ukraine in Perspective

Final Assessment

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