

H

Heroism of Ukrainian People in 20th and 21st Centuries



Serhii Shumylo¹ and Valerii Lastovskyi²

¹Institute of History of Ukraine NAS of Ukraine, Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine

²Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts, Kyiv, Ukraine

Synonyms

[Ukraine heroism](#); [Ukrainian activist heroism](#); [Ukrainian freedom fighters](#)

Definition

The heroism of the Ukrainian people in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is defined by their resilience and steadfastness in the face of numerous challenges, including wars, famine, and political oppression. Ukrainians have continually fought for their independence, sovereignty, and democratic values, showcasing remarkable courage and a strong sense of national identity. Their struggles and triumphs, from the fight for independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union to the more recent efforts to uphold territorial integrity and democratic ideals, embody their enduring spirit of heroism.

Since the beginning of the large-scale invasion and war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine

in 2022, the topic of studying heroism among the Ukrainian people has become relevant. Thus, on December 20, 2022, the well-known publication “The Economist” chose Ukraine as country of the year. This editorial underscored the heroism of the Ukrainian people, referring to the events of the Russian Federation’s war against independent Ukraine. However, it would be mistaken to consider this issue solely in the context of the events of the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022–2023. To understand the essence of the phenomenon of Ukrainian heroism and heroic resistance to Russian aggression during the current war, it is important to consider the centuries-long struggle of Ukrainians for their statehood and independence. Without factoring in these nuances of Ukrainian history, for as a minimum the last century, it is difficult to fully comprehend and realize the true causes and motives of this war and the resistance of Ukrainians to military aggression by the Russian Federation.

Heroism has been inherent in the Ukrainian people throughout its centuries-long history. It was most evident in the struggle for the right to freedom, independence, and the creation of the Ukrainian state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and most particularly in the twentieth century. The very emergence of Ukrainian national identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries happened in a context of endless wars with neighboring states: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire, and the Muscovite/Russian Empire. As a result of the

Ukrainian National Revolution of 1648–1676, an autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state, known as the Hetmanate or Zaporozhian Army, emerged on Ukrainian lands. It had its own government, headed by a hetman, regimental and administrative structures, a separate army, economy, judicial, financial, and tax systems, etc. Having entered into a military alliance with Muscovy, the Ukrainian Cossack state from the end of the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century came under the influence of the Russian state. The latter, taking advantage of disputes among the Ukrainian elites, tried to eliminate Ukrainian statehood and occupy Ukrainian territory by force.

The Russian state has had various political forms throughout its history: Moscow Tsardom, Russian Empire, Russian Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the Russian Federation; it acts as the main opponent of the independent existence of the Ukrainian people, denying its right to separateness and otherness, trying to assimilate it by force, Russify it, and turn it into a part of the “single Russian people.” Thus, throughout the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, Ukrainians had to constantly, at the cost of their own lives and numerous victims, heroically fight for the right to their own originality, identity, and independence. All of this resulted in the emergence of the idea of heroism as a specific feature of the mentality of the Ukrainian people and a particular component of the Ukrainian national idea over the centuries.

The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence in the Early Twentieth Century

In the course of the Great War (1914–1918), the Russian Empire collapsed and ceased to exist as a result of revolutionary events. The fall of the monarchy and the collapse of the empire led to the fact that the peoples enslaved by Russia embarked on the path of self-determination and the restoration of their own statehood. As a result of these processes, Ukrainians began to demand the restoration of their once lost statehood,

seeking to get rid of the centuries-old Russian imperial yoke. This is how the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR) emerged, gradually beginning to exist in 1917 and evolving from an autonomous republic to an independent state. As a reaction to the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, in December of that year, Soviet Russia declared war and launched an offensive against the UPR, trying to nip Ukraine’s independence in the bud and bring it back under its influence by force. This led to the beginning of the Soviet-Ukrainian war, which lasted 4 years (1917–1921) (Soldatenko 1999).

The most striking manifestation of Ukrainian heroism at this time was the event known as the Battle of Kruty. It took place on January 30, 1918, near the Kruty railway station close to the town of Nizhyn. During this battle, a 4000-strong detachment of the Russian army, led by Mikhail Muravyov, faced a Ukrainian detachment of approximately 500 men, which included Kyiv students and soldiers from the Free Cossacks (Boiko 2008). As a result of the 5-hour battle, Ukrainian soldiers managed to delay the enemy’s advance on the capital of independent Ukraine, Kyiv, allowing UPR diplomats to secure the signing of the Brest Peace Treaty (1918) and the recognition of the Ukrainian People’s Republic as an independent state. The belated capture of Kyiv by Russian Bolshevik troops and the numerous executions of the local population (according to various estimates, three to five thousand citizens were shot by Russian Bolshevik troops during the 3 weeks of Kyiv’s occupation) could not prevent Ukraine from establishing itself as an independent state (Shumylo 2019, 2020). Subsequently, the entire territory of Ukraine was liberated from Russian-Bolshevik troops in February–March 1918. However, in December 1918, the second phase of the Soviet-Ukrainian war began, as a result of which Soviet Russia resumed its attempts to occupy the territory of Ukraine, forming a puppet government of the so-called “Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic” (USSR) with its capital in the captured city of Kharkiv (Kovalchuk 2015). At the same time, the “White Guard” Armed Forces of Southern Russia, which opposed the Bolsheviks but also did not recognize the right

of the Ukrainian people to self-determination and independence, began an offensive against Ukraine from the south and tried to occupy the territory of Ukraine under the slogans of restoring “united and indivisible Russia” (Buravchenkov 2003).

Despite military offensives and the threat of the destruction of their statehood, Ukrainians, who had long been divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, united for the first time in many centuries into a single state. On January 22, 1919, the governments of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR) and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic (WUPR) proclaimed the “Act of Unification” to unite the two republics into a single independent state (Vynnychenko 1920).

The numerical superiority of the Russian Bolshevik troops over the army of the young Ukrainian People’s Republic in 1920 led to the occupation of a large part of Ukraine’s territories by the Russian Bolsheviks. This forced the UPR leadership to sign the Warsaw Pact with the Polish Republic (April 22, 1920) for a joint Polish-Ukrainian offensive against the Bolsheviks. As a result, on May 7, 1920, Ukrainian-Polish troops liberated Kyiv and other Ukrainian territories from Russian Bolshevik troops (Wyszczelski 2009). After the Polish government signed the armistice proposed by the Russian side on October 18, 1920, the weakened UPR army was forced to continue the fight against the Russian Bolshevik troops on its own (Nahaievskiy 1993).

The last armed action of the UPR troops against the Russian Bolshevik occupation took place in November 1921 during the so-called “Second Winter Campaign.” However, this campaign ended in defeat and was the last attempt of the Ukrainian national-state forces to win Ukraine’s independence by open military means during this period. In the course of the national liberation struggle of 1917–1921, the UPR army fought more than 30 battles with the army of Soviet Russia. The exact number of Ukrainian soldiers killed during the Soviet-Ukrainian war has not yet been established. According to rough estimates, the number of Ukrainian casualties during this period was at least two million (Laver 2004).

The Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Ukraine in the 1920s

After the defeat of the UPR army and the Bolshevik occupation of the territory of Ukraine, Ukrainian resistance to Soviet rule took the form of an insurgency. This form was actively used by the Ukrainian population of the occupied territories from the beginning of 1919. The basis of the insurgency was the Ukrainian peasantry.

In the course of the development of the anti-Soviet insurgency, a significant number of local units were formed, which had the advantage of the support of the local population. Such spontaneous insurgent groups operated in all provinces of Ukraine, causing significant damage to the Soviet occupation authorities. For the overall management of this movement, the UPR authorities created a special secret body, the Insurgent, and Partisan Headquarters of the UPR (1920–1922) (Sribniak 2001). However, the insurgency was mostly spontaneous.

One of the most well-known regions where there was constant resistance to Soviet rule was the territory of the so-called “Kholodnoyarska Republic” (near the city of Chyhyryn). Yuri Horlis-Horsky (1898–1946), a direct participant in those events, wrote: “The insurgent struggle in the vicinity of Kholodny Yar differed from the same struggle in other areas by its organizational structure and the consciousness of the goal – the liberation of Ukraine – among the masses” (Horlis-Horskyi 1992). Within the Kholodnoyarska Republic, active armed struggle continued until autumn 1922. After these events, the Ukrainian insurgency, under the pressure of repressive actions by Soviet troops and in the context of the economic decline of the village, gradually declined. However, some anti-Soviet insurgent groups operated on the territory of Ukraine until the 1930s (Heroizm i trahediia Kholodnoho Yaru 1996).

It is believed that between 1918 and 1922, at least two million 050 thousand people became victims of hostilities on the territory of Ukraine, and in a wider range, from 1900 to 1924, Ukrainian losses in all wars, during epidemics

and famine of 1921–1922 amounted to three million 455 thousand people (Laver 2004).

Soviet Repressions in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s

The main driving force behind the Ukrainian national revival, the struggle for independence, and the anti-Soviet insurgency of the 1920s was the Ukrainian peasantry. For this reason, the Soviet regime, after occupying the territory of Ukraine, launched a policy of deliberate oppression and destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry and increased pressure on it. This resulted in the forced collectivization and introduction of a system of collective farms (*kolkhozes*), *dekulakization* and repression of peasants in order to eliminate individual farms, and the creation of conditions for the artificial famine of 1932–1933. According to rough estimates, at least 3–four million people became victims of the famine organized by the Soviet regime in Ukraine. The official figure of losses established in court is three million 941 thousand people (Ukraina zasudyla Stalina za Holodomor 2010).

The population of Ukraine suffered terrible losses during the Soviet political repressions of the 1920s and 1930s. The exact number of people killed by these repressive actions of the Soviet regime in Ukraine is still unknown. During the period of the “Great Terror” of 1937–1938 alone, 198,918 people were convicted on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, of whom about two-thirds were sentenced to death. The rest were sent to prisons and labor camps. A significant number of the repressed were accused of sympathizing with “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” and “anti-Soviet sentiments.”

Terror and repression affected all segments of the Ukrainian population, from the scientific and creative intelligentsia to the peasantry. The hierarchs and clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), the True Orthodox Church (TOC), and other denominations were massively repressed, and their activities were banned.

One of the symbols of the repressive policy in Ukraine was the Bykivnia Forest near Kyiv, where a classified “special section of the NKVD” operated from 1937 to 1941. It is the largest mass grave site in Ukraine for victims of communist political repression. According to various sources, between 1937 and 1941, from 60 to more than 100 thousand people who were tortured during interrogations or shot extrajudicially by the NKVD in Kyiv found their final resting place here (Pamiat Bykivni 2000; Shumylo 2022). There are similar mass graves of victims of communist repression in all regional centers of Ukraine.

The consequences of the communist terror of the 1930s in Ukraine included the destruction of the political, artistic, and scientific elite, deformation of social ties, destruction of traditional value orientations, denationalization, and Russification.

The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence During World War II

During the Second World War, the Ukrainian people were divided in the face of confrontation between different armies and states. During this time, about 8–ten million Ukrainians died in the war (Lysenko, Perekhrest 2015). In addition, nearly 700 cities, 28,000 villages, and 5600 bridges were destroyed. Material losses were estimated at 40% of the losses of the entire USSR.

In World War II, part of the Ukrainian people fought against both Nazi Germany and the USSR. At that time, attempts to revive Ukrainian statehood were renewed. There was an attempt to proclaim it in 1941, but the Nazi occupation regime arrested and repressed the organizers of the action. Subsequently, new military structures and partisan groups independent of Germany and the USSR were created to fight for Ukraine’s state independence. The most effective was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA), which began to organize in 1941–1942 and fought against both the German and Russian-Soviet occupations of Ukraine. Active military and guerrilla resistance to Soviet rule by UIA units after World War II continued until 1956. In order to suppress

their activities, the USSR's punitive units used mass repression against the local population and forcibly deported them to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In total, 203,662 people were deported from Ukrainian lands in 1944–1952 (Bazhan 2004). At this time, the Soviet regime forcibly liquidated the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), and their hierarchs and clergy were subjected to repression.

The Ukrainian Dissident Movement of the 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s, under the conditions of the rigid political system of the USSR, a new form of struggle against the Soviet regime emerged in Ukraine: the Ukrainian dissident movement. It was based on the idea of fighting for the restoration of independence, including the rights of citizens. During the 1960s and 1980s, a number of illegal dissident centers emerged in Ukraine, aimed at conducting intellectual propaganda for national revival and getting rid of the communist dictatorship in the cultural and educational spheres. Such centers were created in almost all regions of Ukraine, but their activities did not usually last very long. For example, the Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv, the Party of National Progress in Horlivka, the Struggle for Civil Justice in Mykolaiv, and others (Zakharov 2003). The existence of such centers was severely suppressed by the repressive bodies of the KGB of the USSR.

The most well-known group in the dissident movement was the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (UHG), established on November 9, 1976. Formally, this organization was aimed at ensuring human rights in accordance with the decisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975), to which the USSR became a party. Gradually, the organization shifted to defending the national interests of the Ukrainian people. Among the founders of this organization were well-known cultural and scientific figures such as Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhyi, Petro Hryhorenko, Levko Lukianenko,

Myroslav Marynovych, and others. Between 1977 and 1979, the group was joined by Vasyl Stus, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yuriy Lytvyn, Vasyl Ovsienko, Vitaliy Kalynichenko, Oles Shevchenko, Joseph Zissels, and others (Zakharov 2003).

The members of the UHG began to be persecuted almost immediately after the organization was created. They were accused of anti-state activities and sentenced to imprisonment, exile, and camps under existing Soviet legislation. Some of them could not survive in these conditions, including Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn, and Oleksa Tykhyi. Under such conditions of persecution and constant pressure, some members of the UHG were able to continue their activities only abroad.

The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence in the Late 1980s and Early 1990s

With the beginning of the policy of “perestroika” in Ukraine, the dissident movement came out from the underground and intensified its activities in the struggle for Ukraine’s independence. In July 1988, members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group formed a socio-political and human rights organization, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), which opposed the communist monopoly and aimed to proclaim Ukraine’s independence. In September 1989, the People’s Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika (PMU) was also founded, which also began to advocate for Ukraine’s secession from the USSR. Also in 1990, on the basis of the youth branch of the UHF, an all-Ukrainian youth organization, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (UIUY), was founded, which acted as a democratic alternative to the Komsomol and advocated for Ukraine’s independence. In April 1990, the first political party in Ukraine, an alternative to the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP), was created on the basis of the UHU (Shumylo 2018).

Subsequently, other political parties and organizations emerged that actively advocated for Ukraine’s secession from the USSR and the

proclamation of state independence. Mass demonstrations, rallies, and acts of disobedience demanding the restoration of Ukraine's independence took place throughout the country (Boiko 2002). The most effective action was the so-called "Student Revolution on Granite" – a campaign of large-scale nonviolent civil disobedience organized by Ukrainian youth. The protests lasted throughout Ukraine from October 2–17, 1990. The epicenter of the events was a student hunger strike on October Revolution Square in Kyiv (now Independence Square). The protests resulted in the resignation of Vitaliy Masol, the head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, and the signing of a resolution by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR that guaranteed the fulfillment of the protesters' demands.

Thanks to the activation of Ukrainian society, under public pressure, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990, and a year later, on August 24, 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. On December 1, 1991, an all-Ukrainian referendum was held throughout the republic to proclaim Ukraine's state independence and confirm the Act of Independence of Ukraine. The referendum was attended by 31,891,742 people – 84.18% of the population of Ukraine. Of these, 28,804,071 people (90.32%) voted in favor (Vidomist 1991).

Russia's Annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and the Outbreak of War in Donbas in 2014

The collapse of the USSR in 1991 repeated the situation with the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917. But this time, Ukraine declared its independence by a democratic vote of more than 90% of the population and could develop peacefully for quite some time. For the Russian Federation, the main task was to keep Ukraine under its control and influence. To this end, it initiated splits among Ukrainian political elites and confrontation within society, a significant part of which was focused on the development of democratic institutions and

further rapprochement with the European Union, and another part on continued integration with Russia and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The immediate consequence of this confrontation was the emergence of strongly political social explosions, known, respectively, as the Orange Revolution (2004) and the Euromaidan and Revolution of Dignity (2013–2014). In December 2013, U.S. Senator John McCain addressed the participants of the Revolution of Dignity on Independence Square in central Kyiv, saying on behalf of himself and Senator Chris Murphy: "Your peaceful protest inspires the world. We are here to support your just struggle. Only the PEOPLE of Ukraine should determine their future. Ukraine will make Europe a better place, and Europe will make Ukraine a better place" (Senators McCain and Murphy, on the Euromaidan 2013).

The events related to the Revolution of Dignity became a sign of the failure of the Russian authorities' plans to absorb Ukraine. Therefore, on February 27, 2014, the Russian Federation launched an open aggression, which resulted in the annexation of a part of Ukrainian lands and support for the activities of pro-Russian terrorist organizations. The Crimean peninsula and certain districts of Luhansk and Donetsk regions were seized under the control of the aggressor by introducing Russian terrorist groups.

As the Armed Forces of Ukraine managed to reduce the areas of rebellion in the east of the country to a minimum in the summer of 2014, the Russian Federation resorted to direct aggression in August. The very first battles with the regular Russian army turned into a tragedy for Ukrainian troops and the Ukrainian population. The most famous of these was the Ilovaysk tragedy (Ilovaysk Cauldron) on August 23–30, 2014. The insidious part of this event was the point-blank shooting by Russian troops of a column of Ukrainian troops that was departing through the "green corridor" as agreed between the parties. As a result of the shooting, 366 people were killed on the Ukrainian side, 429 people were wounded, and another 300 people were taken prisoner (Lazarovych 2017).

In the same year of 2014, a long-lasting heroic epic related to the defense of Donetsk airport began. It lasted for 242 days, until January 23, 2015. It is the battle for this foothold that is associated with a special manifestation of heroism and courage of Ukrainian soldiers. Unofficially, they are known as “cyborgs.”

During the period of Russian military aggression from 2014 to 2021, according to preliminary data from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, about 13,300 Ukrainian citizens, including 4200 military personnel, were killed (UN estimates).

Russia’s Full-Scale Military Invasion of Ukraine in 2022

On February 24, 2022, an even more active phase of Russia’s unprovoked military invasion of Ukraine began, accompanied by large-scale military operations and bombing of Ukrainian cities and villages. This period was characterized by the Russian army’s particular brutality toward the civilian population of Ukraine. The most bloody battles were for Kyiv, Mariupol (including the territory of the Azovstal metallurgical plant), Kharkiv, Kherson, Chernihiv, Sumy, and others.

On February 6, 2023, General Mircea Geoană said about these events: “President Putin’s war of aggression against Ukraine is the biggest conflict in Europe since the Second World War. And a brutal and deliberate attack on the international rules-based system. When Putin’s forces invaded almost a year ago, he expected swift victory. He didn’t get it, because he made two strategic mistakes. First, he underestimated the skill and bravery of the Ukrainian people. And also he underestimated our unity, our solidarity, and the strength of NATO and of our partners” (Speech by NATO Deputy Secretary General Mircea Geoană 2023).

Ukraine’s resistance to the powerful Russian Federation not only attracted significant support from democratic countries in the West and around the world, but also became an example and inspiration for many artists around the world. David Jon Gilmour, together with other Pink Floyd

musicians, created the song “Hey Hey Rise Up,” a comic manga about the exploits of the pilot of the “Ghost of Kyiv” appeared in Japan, the British artist Banksy and the Paris-based artist Christian Hemi created a number of their murals in Kyiv and other cities of Ukraine. . .

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in 2022, as a result of the invasion of the Russian Federation, more than 17 million citizens were forced to leave Ukraine, of whom 9.2 million returned in the same year (Karpliuk 2023). At the same time, between February 24 and November 20, 2022, 6595 civilians were killed (The UN has published the statistics concerning deaths in the civilian population 2022). Military losses have not been officially announced.

Despite the superiority of the Russian army in numbers and the unexpectedness of the invasion, the Russian Federation failed to occupy Ukraine. The main forces of the Russian army in the first months of the war were aimed at capturing Kyiv, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Sumy, Zaporizhzhia, and other regional centers of Ukraine. However, due to the heroic resistance of the Ukrainian army and the Ukrainian population, Russian troops failed to capture any of these cities and were forced to retreat from most of the Ukrainian territories. The only regional center that was captured by Russian troops was the city of Kherson. However, the Russian occupiers were unable to keep it under their control and were forced to retreat from it on November 11, 2022, under pressure from the offensive of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (Lysohor 2022). Active hostilities continue in Luhansk, Donetsk, and partially in the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions. Having been defeated on most of the territory of Ukraine, the Russian Federation has turned to terrorist tactics of shelling Ukrainian cities from Russian territory, destroying civilian infrastructure and the population of Ukraine. In essence, the actions of the Russian Federation are a manifestation of genocide of the Ukrainian population with the aim of its destruction and assimilation. Representatives of the ruling regime of the Russian Federation, headed by Vladimir Putin, have repeatedly denied the right of Ukrainians to be considered a separate

people and to have a separate state. The most heinous and massive crimes of the Russian army against the Ukrainian civilian population were recorded in the cities of Bucha, Irpin, Izyum, Mariupol, and others.

Conclusion

The events of the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022–2023 are not an exception in Ukrainian history; they are in fact a continuation of all the tragic processes that have taken place in relations between Russia and Ukraine for many centuries, including the twentieth century. Fighting for their right to their own identity, independence, and statehood, Ukrainians for many centuries were forced to show heroism and self-sacrifice in resisting the aggression of the neighboring Russian state.

All of this led to the establishment of the idea of heroism as a specific feature of the mentality of the Ukrainian people and a special component of the Ukrainian national idea. The struggle of the Ukrainian people for their independence was particularly sacrificial throughout the twentieth century. The proclamation of Ukraine's independence in 1917 and the heroic struggle for its statehood during 1917–1921, as well as the Ukrainian anti-Soviet insurgency of the 1920s, led to unprecedented mass repression by the Russian Soviet regime against the Ukrainian population in order to subdue, assimilate, and Russify it. This was a policy of genocide against the Ukrainian people. The manifestations of this genocidal policy were the artificially provoked famine in Ukrainian villages, dekulakization, and mass repression of the Ukrainian peasantry and intelligentsia.

During the Second World War, attempts to restore Ukraine's statehood and independence were renewed, but were thwarted by the German occupation forces. In the confrontation with the German and Soviet occupation armies, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) emerged, which continued the armed guerrilla struggle for Ukrainian independence until the late 1950s. In the 1960s and 1970s, a new form of anti-Soviet resistance emerged in Ukraine, the dissident

movement, which also advocated the restoration of Ukraine's independence. Their activities resulted in the intensification of public life in Ukraine in the late 1980s and early 1990s, massive acts of disobedience, demonstrations, and rallies throughout the republic demanding Ukraine's secession from the USSR. This resulted in the proclamation of Ukraine's state independence in 1991.

Russia's illegal annexation of the Crimean peninsula and the unleashing of the war in Luhansk and Donetsk regions in 2014 with its proxies in order to annex them to the Russian Federation, as well as the full-scale military invasion of Ukraine by the Russian army in February 2022 to occupy it and eliminate state independence, are the consequences of Russia's centuries-old imperial policy of expanding and seizing neighboring territories. Without understanding the many nuances of Ukrainian history, at least over the past century, it is difficult to fully grasp and realize the true causes and motives of the current Russian-Ukrainian war, the unwillingness of Ukrainians to be re-conquered and assimilated by the so-called "Russian world," and the resistance to military aggression by the neighboring Russian Federation.

Cross-References

- ▶ [Empowerment](#)
- ▶ [Political Heroes](#)
- ▶ [Power and Abuse of Power](#)
- ▶ [Social Change and Heroism](#)
- ▶ [Social Heroism](#)
- ▶ [Social Justice](#)
- ▶ [Social Movements](#)
- ▶ [War Heroes](#)

References

- Bazhan, Oleh. 2004. Deportatsii v retrospektyvi ukrainskoi istorii. In *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 2, 335–337. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka.
- Boiko, Oleksandr. 2002. *Ukraina v 1985–1991 rr.: osnovni tendentsii suspilno-politychnoho rozvytku*, 306. Kyiv: Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsionalnykh doslidzhen.

- Boiko, Olena. 2008. Kruty, bii 1918. In *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 5, 420–421. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka.
- Buravchenkov, Anatolii. 2003. Bilyi rukh v Ukraini. In *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 1, 279–281. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka.
- Heroizm i trahediia Kholodnoho Yaru. 1996. Kyiv: Nezbornyma natsiia, 316 s.
- Horlis-Horskyi, Yurii. 1992. *Kholodnyi Yar*, 342. Lviv: Chervona Kalyna.
- Karpluk, Dzvenyslava. 2023. Viina RF sprychynyla naibilshu mihratsiinu kryzu z chasiv Druhoi svitovoi – OON. Available: <https://glavcom.ua/country/society/vijna-rf-sprichimila-najbilshu-mihratsijnu-kryzu-z-chasiv-druhoji-svitovoi-oon-900795.html>
- Kovalchuk, Mykhailo. 2015. *Bytva dvokh revoliutsii*. Vol. 1, 608. Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim “Stylos”.
- Laver, Oleksandr. 2004. Statystyka vtrata naselennia Rosiiskoi imperii, SRSR ta ukrainskoho narodu v lokalnykh viinakh i konfliktakh KhKh stolittia. *Problemy istorii Ukrainy* 10: 415–429.
- Lazarovych, Mykola. 2017. *Rosiisko-ukrainska viina (2014–2017): korotkyi narys*. Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV. 240 s.
- Lysenko, Oleksandr, and Oleksandr Perekhrest. 2015. Demografichni vtraty Ukrainy u roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny. *Arkhivy Ukrainy* 3: 8–34.
- Lysohor, Iryna. 2022. Okupanty zaiavyly, shcho povnistiu vyishly z pravoho bereha Dnipra v Khersonskii oblasti. Available: https://lb.ua/society/2022/11/11/535542_okupanti_zayavili_shcho_povnistiu_viyshli.html
- Nahaievskiy, Isyodor. 1993. *Istoriia Ukrainiskoi derzhavy dvadtsiatoho stolittia*, 413. Kyiv: Ukrainyskyi pysmennyk.
- Pamiat Bykivni: dokumenty ta materialy. 2000. Kyiv, 320 s.
- Senators McCain and Murphy, on the Euromaidan. (2013). Available: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131225094542/http://5.ua/euromaidan/68285-SENATORY-SSHA-MAKKEIN-TA-MERFI-VYSTUPYLY-NA-YEVROMAIDAN-VIDEO>
- Shumylo, Serhii. 2018. SNUM ta antykomunistychnyi molodizhno-opozytsiinyi rukh na Chernihivshchyni v 1989–1991 rr. – z choho vse pochynalosia? *Siverianskyi litopys: Vseukrainskyi naukovyi zhurnal* 1–2 (139–140): 246–258.
- . 2019. “Krasnyj terror” v Kieve i ubijstvo mitropolita Vladimira (Bogoyavlenskogo) (po materialam Sledstvennogo otdela Komissariata publichnogo obvineniya RSFSR po delu M. A. Murav’eva za 1918 god). In *Sviashchennomuchenyk Volodymyr (Bohoiavlenskyi) i pochatok honin na Pravoslavnu Tserkvu v XX stolitti. Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii (7–8 liutoho 2018)*, uporiadnyk S. V. Shumylo, 88–105. Kyiv: Kyievo-Pecherska lavra.
- . 2020. Do pytannia pro vbyvstvo Kyivskoho mytropolita Volodymyra (Bohoiavlenskoho) v 1918 rotsi. *Tserkva muchenykiv: honinnia na viru ta Tserkvu u KhKh stolitti: materialy Mizhnarodnoi konferentsii (Kyiv, 6–7 liutoho 2020)*, uporiadnyk S. V. Shumylo, 267–285. Kyiv: Vydavnychiy viddil UPTs.
- . 2022. Rozstriliani sviashchennyky z Brovarshchyny: postati Bykivnianskoho martyrolohu (za materialamy arkhivno-kryminalnykh sprav NKVS 1937–1938 rr.). In *Bykivnia – vid terytorii smerti do mistia pamiaty (do 20-richchia zasnovannia Natsionalnoho istoriko-memorialnoho zapovidnyka “Bykivnianski mohyly”): zbirnyk statei za materialamy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii (Kyiv, 23 veresnia 2021)*, 375–400. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy.
- Soldatenko, Valerii. 1999. *Ukrainska revoliutsiia*, 976. Istorychnyi narys. Kyiv: Lybid.
- Speech by NATO Deputy Secretary General Mircea Geoaană at the Leangkollen Security Conference in Oslo. 2023. Available: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_211391.htm
- Sribniak, Ihor. 2001. Diialnist Partyzansko-Povstanskoho Shtabu pry Holovni Komandi Viisk UNR u 1921 r. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 5: 107–120.
- The UN has published the statistics concerning deaths in the civilian population. 2022. Available: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3619310-oon-opriludnila-ostanni-dani-sodo-vtrata-sered-civilnih-ukrainciv.html>
- Ukraina zasudyla Stalina za Holodomor. 2010. Available: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2010/01/13/4613506/>
- Vidomist pro rezultaty Vseukrainskoho referendumu, 1 hrudnia 1991 r. 1991. Available: https://web.archive.org/web/20131203032951/http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/15r-V_Ref/index.php?11
- Vynnychenko, Volodymyr. 1920. *Vidrodzhennia natsii. Chastyna III*, 542. Kyiv: Viden.
- Wyszczelski, Lech. 2009. *Kampania ukrainska 1920 roku*, 373. Warszawa: Neriton.
- Zakharov, Borys. 2003. *Narys istorii dysydentskoho rukhu v Ukraini (1956–1987)*. Kharkiv: Folio. 144 s.