

*"From the San to the Don"?
Reconfirming Ukraine's territorial
borders after 1991*

URIS Ringvorlesung «Geschichte der Ukraine seit 1991»

Prof. Dr. Olena Palko



"We emphasize once again: Ukraine will be ready for one or another format of diplomacy when we are really on our borders. On our real borders in accordance with **international law,**"

Volodymyr Zelensky,
01.07.2023

Source: [WikiCommons](#)

Legal definition of borders

- Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (16.07.1990)
Article 5 “**Territorial Supremacy**”: “The territory of the Ukrainian SSR within its existing boundaries is inviolable and cannot be changed or used without its consent”
- Law on the Succession of Ukraine (12.08.1991)
Article 5: “the state border of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (...) as of 15 July 1990 was the state border of Ukraine”
- The Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine (24.08.1991)
“The territory of Ukraine as indivisible and inviolable”

International recognition of borders

1. Delimitation
2. Signing of a bilateral treaty
3. Ratification by both parliaments
4. Preservation by the UN Secretary General

..... *Demarcation on the ground*

UKRAINE



Ukraine

Author:
United Nations
Publication Date:
Saturday, 01 March
2014

Source: [United Nations](#)



Ukraine's border:
6,992.98 km

Switzerland: 1,935 km
Germany: 3,767 km

Russia: 22,407 km

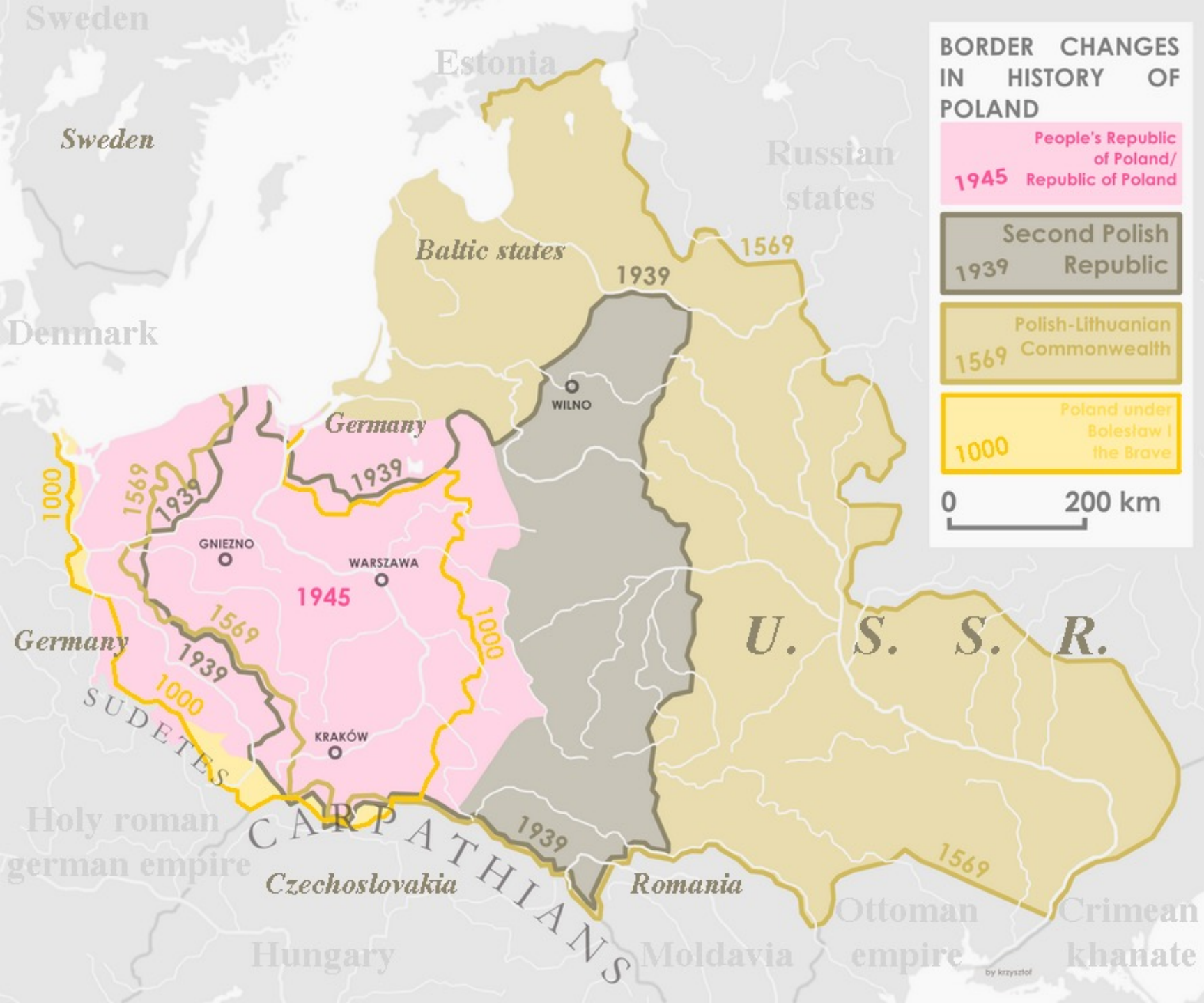
Poland

Length: 535 km

Ratified on 18.05.1992

Source: ukrayina.pl





Border changes in Poland's history

**Polish People's
Republic**

**Ukrainian
Soviet
Socialist
Republic
(U.S.S.R.)**

**Polish-Soviet
Territorial exchange**
February 15, 1951

-  Polish territory that was ceded to the USSR
-  Soviet territory that was ceded to Poland

Map made by Minkeslandian
MinkesSM#1623 - u/SaturatedMink - User:Minkeslandian



Map of the border adjustment in 1951. The territory ceded by Poland is in red, territory ceded by USSR is in pink.

Source: [WikiCommons](#)



Slovakia

Length: 97 km

Ratified on 14.10.1993



Hungary

Length: 136,7 km

Ratified on 16.06.1993



Transcarpathia

- Carpatho-Ukraine within the Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1940)
- 15 March 1939 – independence of Carpatho-Ukraine
- Hungarian Occupation in 1939-44
- Zakarpats'ka Ukraina, 1944-45
- Part of the UkrSSR since 1945

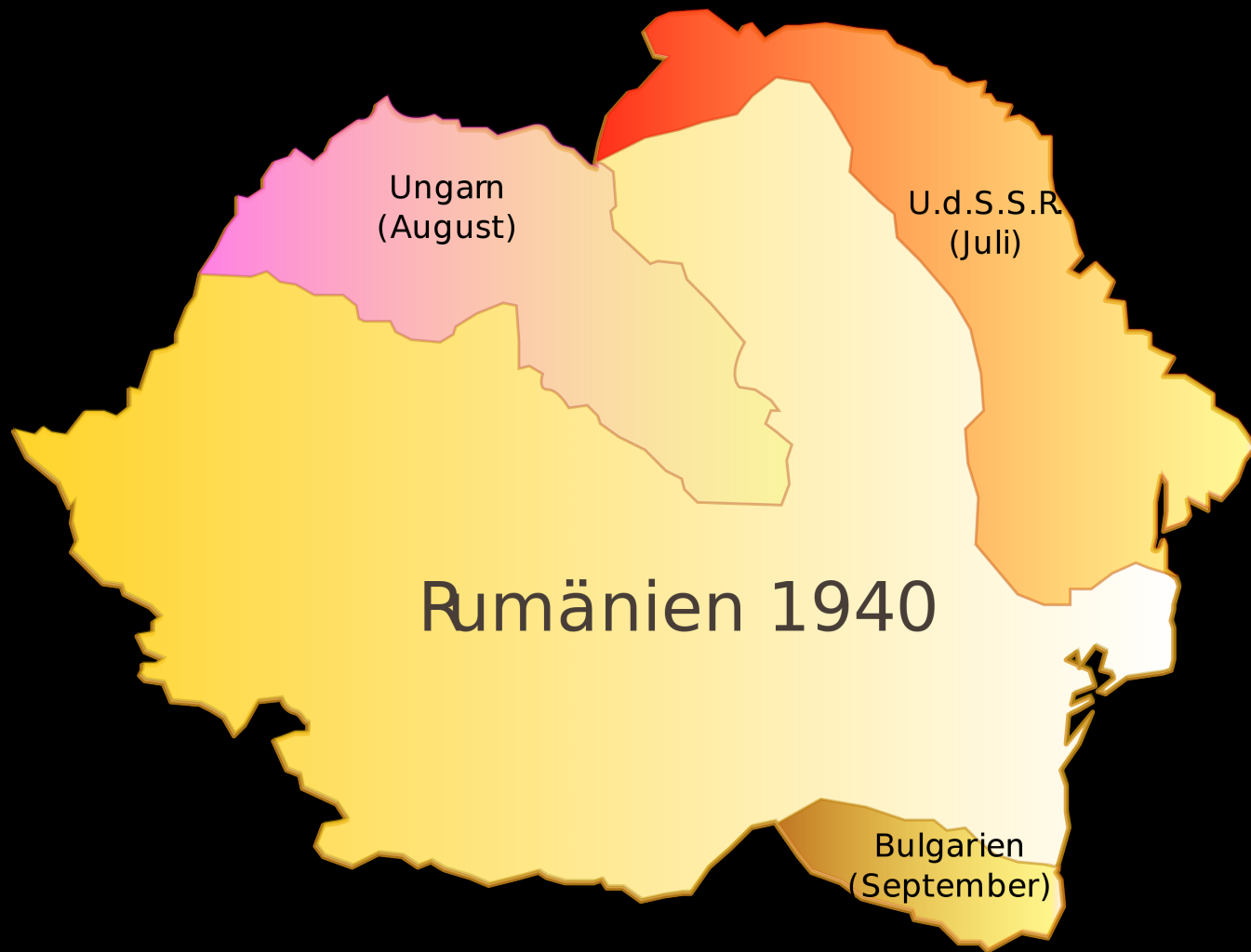
Romania

Length: 613.8 km

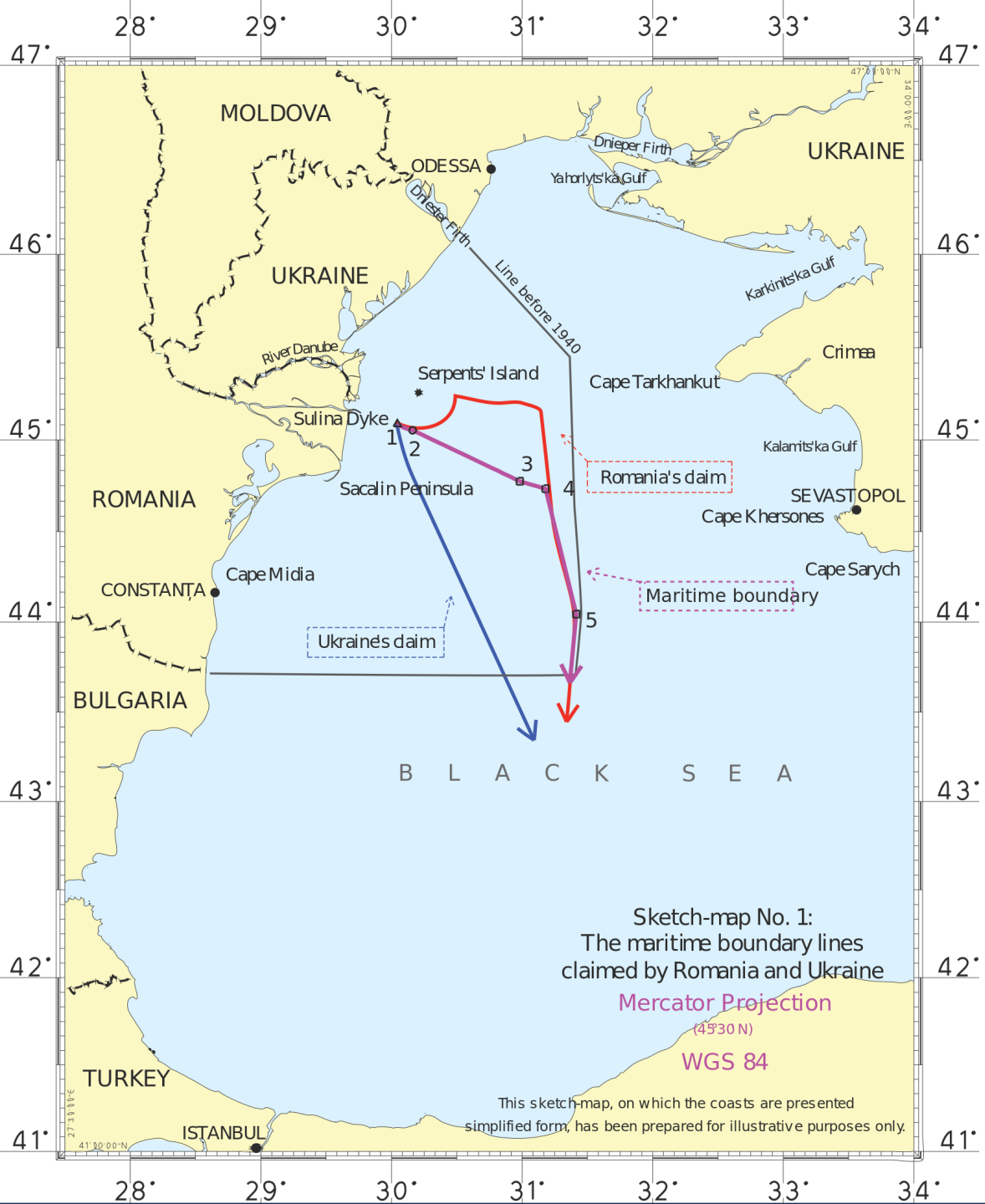
Ratified 12.05.2004

Source: [WikiCommons](#)





Occupation of Romania during WW2



The Case concerning maritime delimitation in the Black Sea (*Romania v Ukraine*) [2009]

Maritime boundaries claimed by Romania (red) and Ukraine (blue)



“Russkiy voennyi
korabl’ idi ...!”
24.02.2022

Source: [UkrPoshta](https://www.ukrposhta.gov.ua/)

Soviet Union Administrative Divisions, 1989

DEPOSITORY

The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.





Belarus

Length: 1,084 km

Ratified: 12 May 1997

© Belarus State Border Committee/dpa/picture alliance



Map of Russian military activities in Belarus as of 15 March 2022



Moldova

Length: 1222 km
Ratified 06.04.2000

Source: LB.ua

Moldovan Autonomous SSR, 1924



Source: [WikiCommons](#)



Source: [BBC](#)

Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1990



Source: [Radio Svoboda](https://www.radiosvoboda.org/)

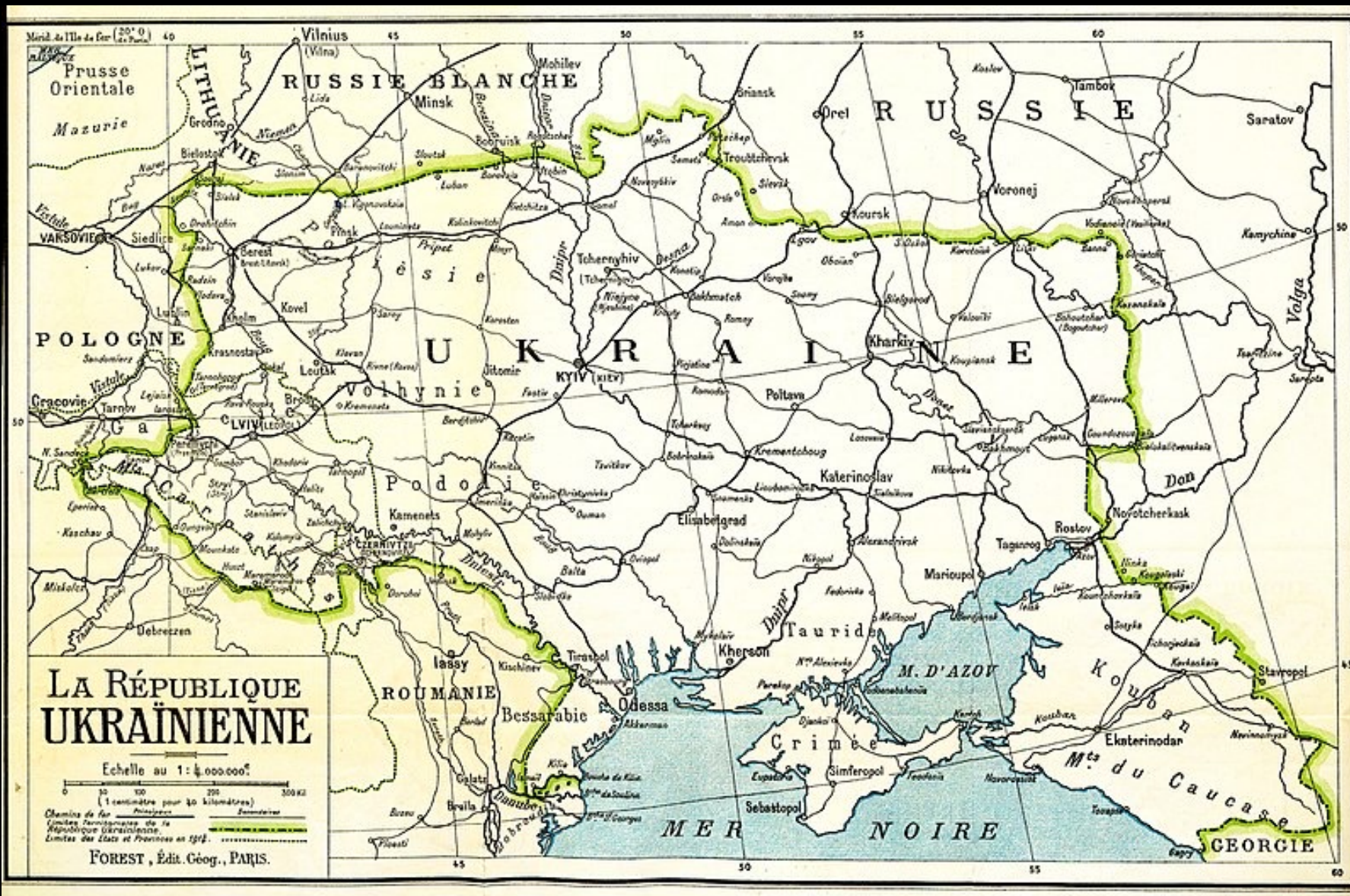
RadioSvoboda.org (RFE/RL)



Russia

Length: 1974 km
Ratified 20.04.2004

Source: Focus.ua

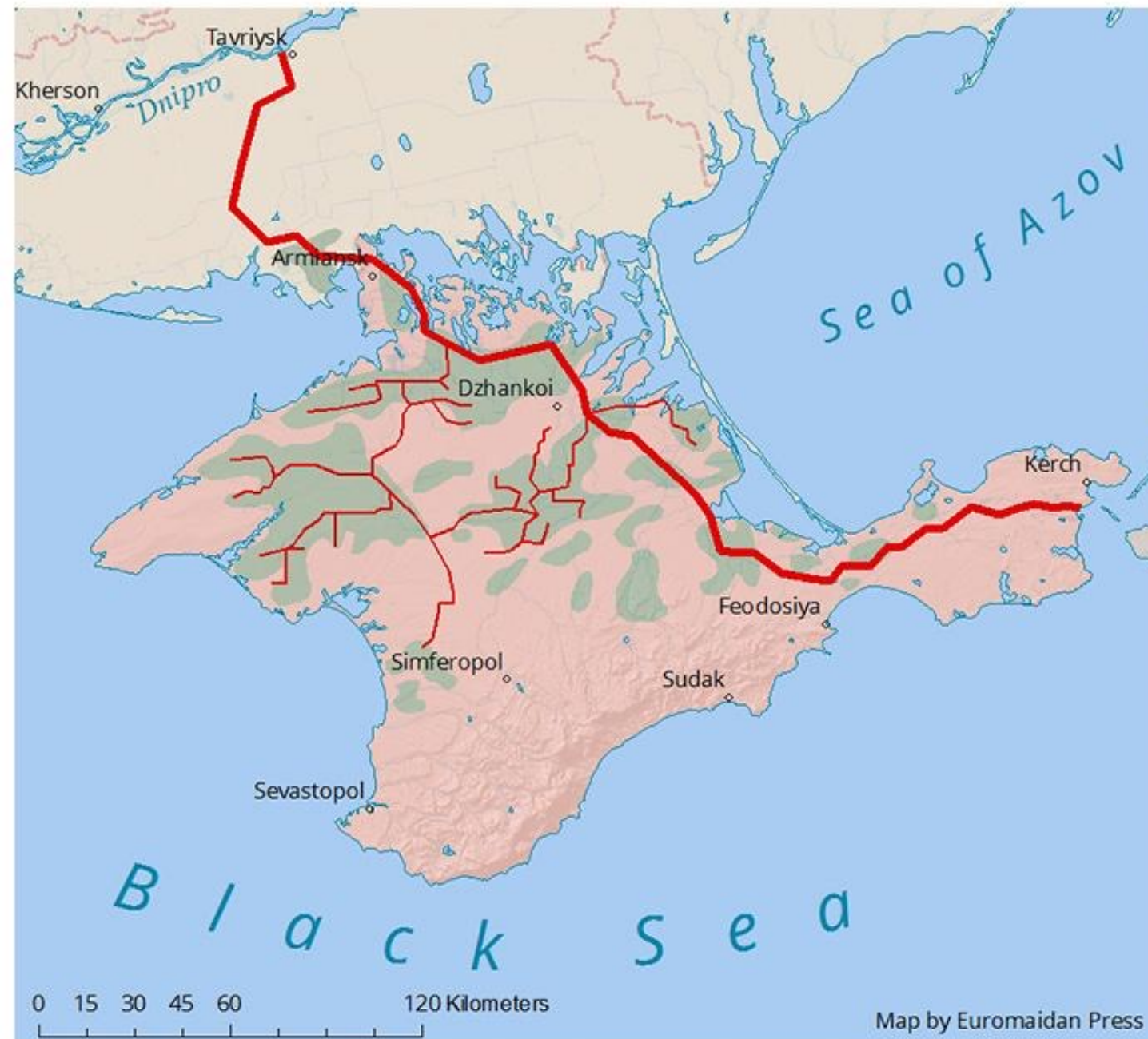


Map of Ukraine presented by Ukrainian delegation on Paris Peace Conference, 1919



The formation of the Russo-Ukrainian border between 1919 and 1928.

THE NORTH CRIMEAN CANAL - CRIMEA'S WATER



The North-Crimean Canal



The North-Crimean Canal, 2021

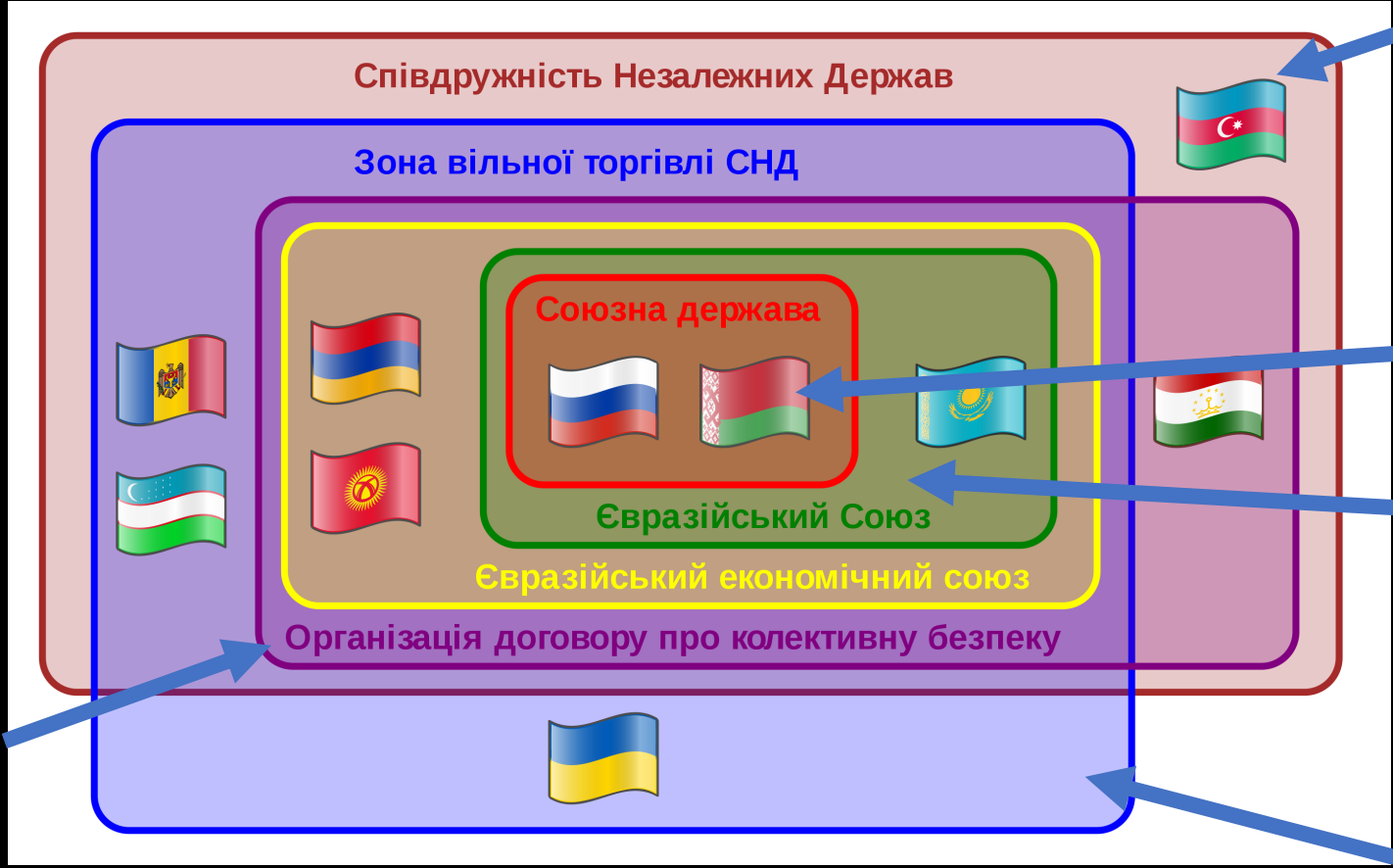
Source: [Ukrinform](#)



Independent Ukraine,
1991.

Source: [Ukrinform](#)

Eurasian Integration



Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS):
RU, BY, AM, KZ, KG, AZ, MD, TJ, UZ

Union State of Russia and Belarus

Eurasian Economic Union:
RU, BL, KZ

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
Free Trade Area: RU, BY, AM, KZ, KG, AZ, MD, TJ, UZ, UA

Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO):
RU, BY, AM, KZ, KG, TJ



Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kuchma signing the "Wide-Ranging Friendship Treaty." Kyiv, 13 May 1997.

Signing of the “Kharkiv Accords”, 2010

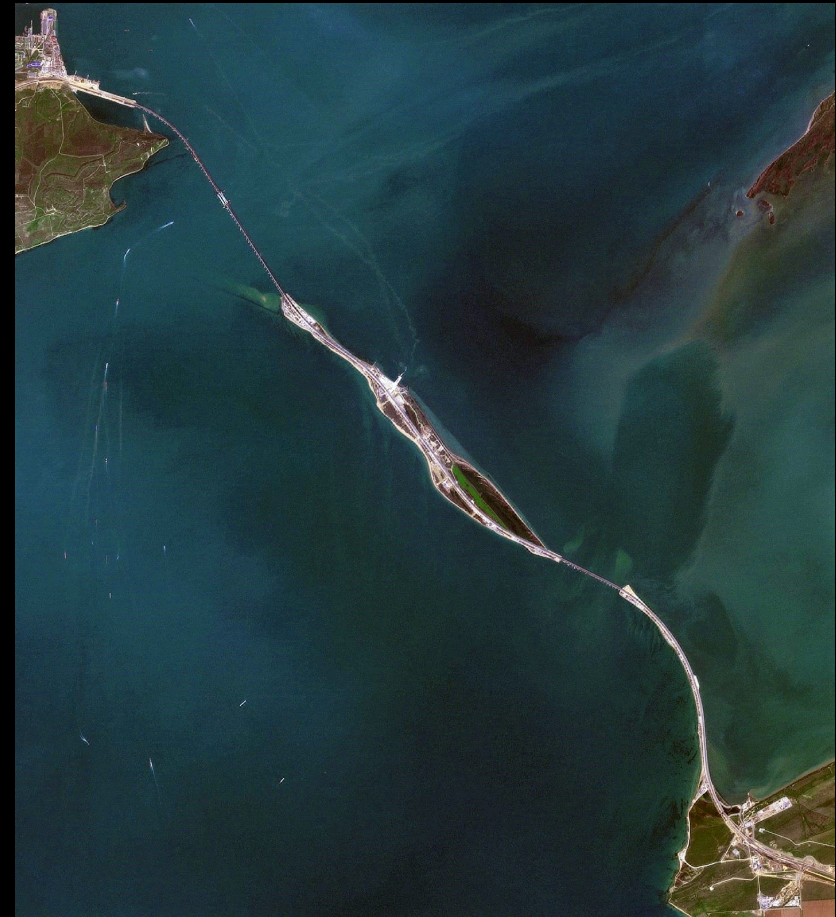


Source: [WikiCommons](#)

The Tuzla crisis, 2003

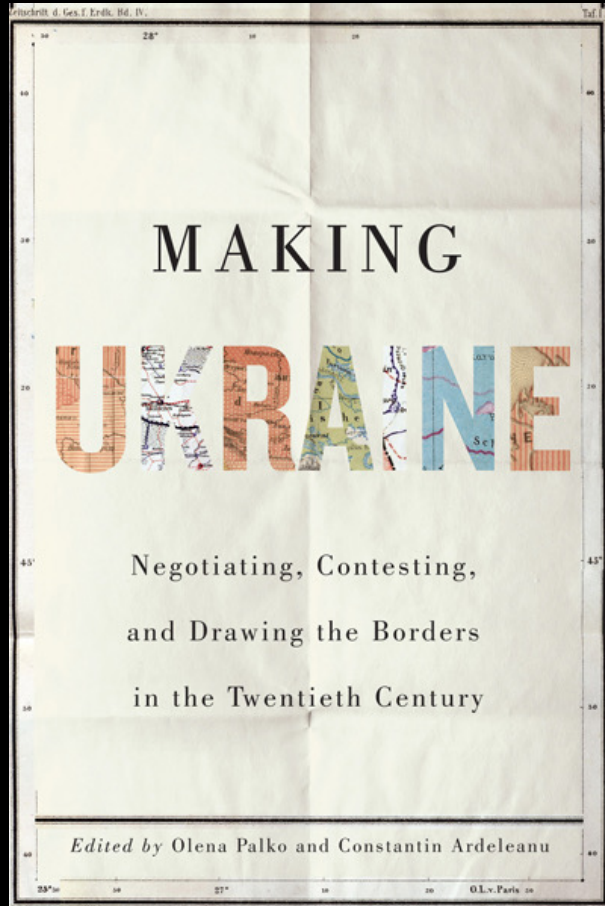


Source: kp.ru



Satellite photo of the Strait of Kerch and the Crimean Bridge, with Tuzla Island at center

Source: [WikiCommons](https://commons.wikimedia.org/)



Palko, O. and Ardeleanu, C. (eds.)
(2022) *Making Ukraine
Negotiating, Contesting, and
Drawing the Borders in the
Twentieth Century*. Montreal:
McGill-Queen's University Press.

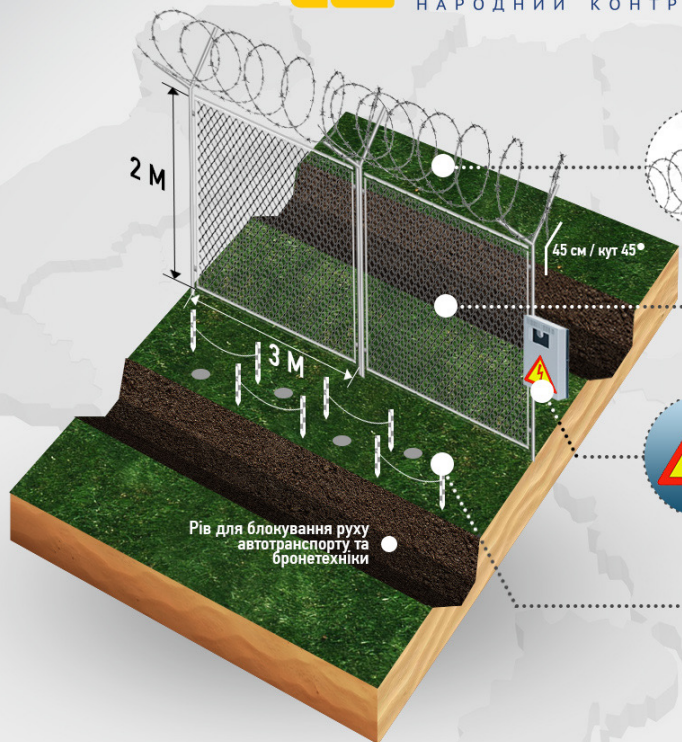
Leonid Osovalyuk

“Here is an example from the early 2000s. Sumy Oblast borders with Bryansk Oblast. Farming and vegetable growing are developed in the border area of Sumy region, while in Bryansk region there are abandoned lands. The chairmen informally agreed: I will send cattle to your plot to graze, OK? The next summer there were already farms there... This is a real case when a whole Ukrainian cattle-breeding complex ended up on Russian territory. Houses for service personnel were being built nearby. But when the working groups agreed where to draw the border, the Russians lifted the archives. Overnight, they took away hundreds of cattle and tractors from the peasants and expelled the Ukrainian staff. And we were forced to admit: yes, a violation, we are starting over.”

Source: Novayagazeta.eu

ПАРКАН КОЛОМОЙСЬКОГО

СЛОВО І ДІЛО
НАРОДНИЙ КОНТРОЛЬ



Колючий дріт
JOWA
2,0/2,2/120

Сітка зварна оцинкована
Розмір вічка:
50,8 x 50,8 мм

По металевому паркані може бути пропущений електричний струм

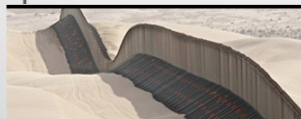
Сигнальні ракета та протипіхотні міни



“Kolomoiski Wall”, 2014

СВІТОВІ БАР'ЄРИ

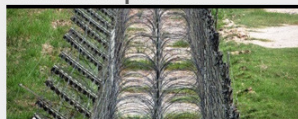
США - Мексика
Арізонська стіна



Довжина **3141** км

Будівництво завершилося у 2008 році

Індія - Пакистан
Лінія Контролю



Довжина **550** км

Будівництво завершилося у 2008 році

Іран - Пакистан



Довжина **700** км

Будівництво завершилося у 2004 році

Ізраїль
Стіна безпеки

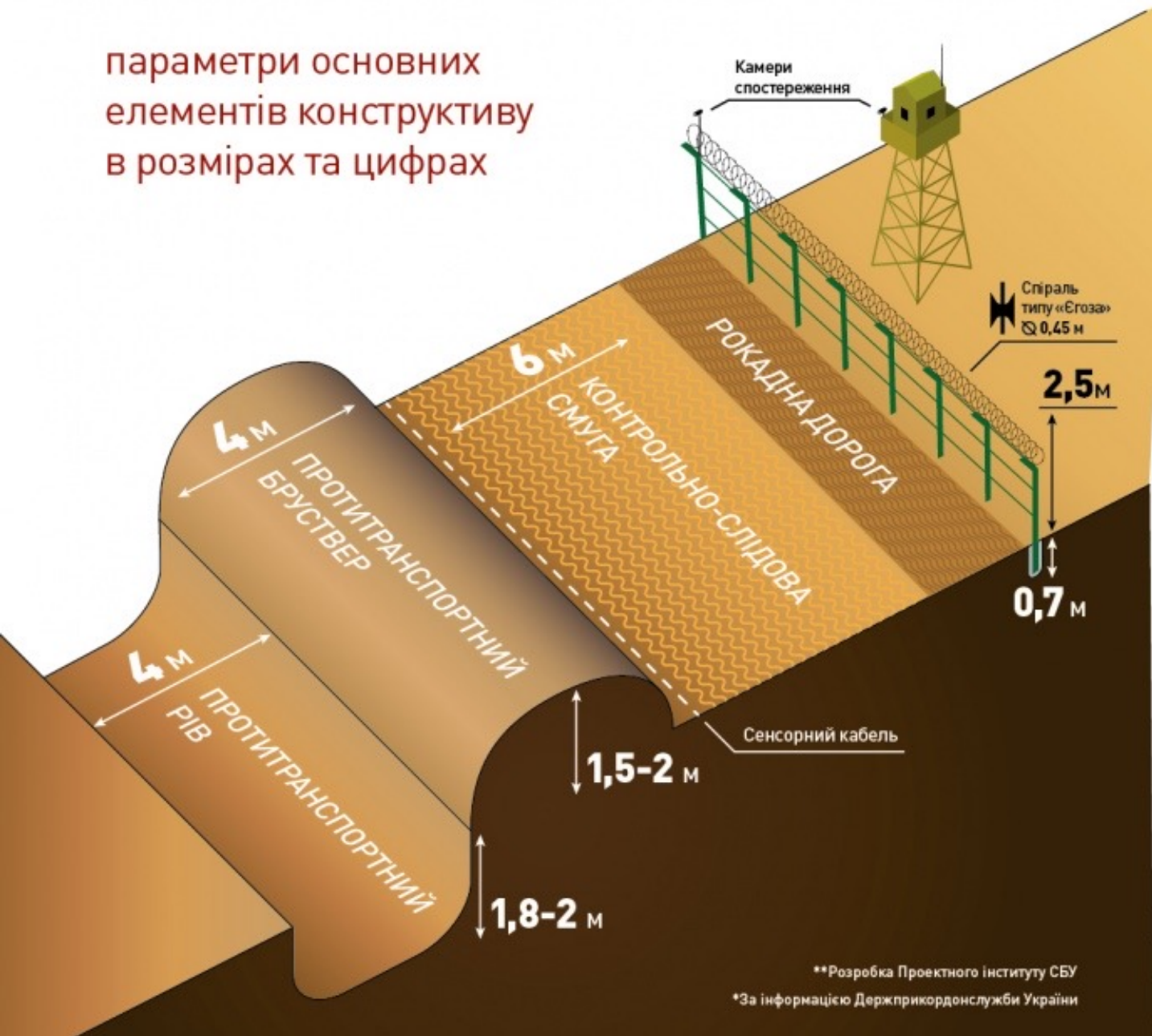


Довжина **850** км

Будівництво розпочалося у 2002 році і триває досі

НОВИЙ УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОРДОН

параметри основних елементів конструктиву в розмірах та цифрах



**Розробка Проектного інституту СБУ
*За інформацією Держприкордонслужби України

Project of the Ukrainian Secret Services (SBU)

"Project Wall" (since 2014)



2017



2022

Vladimir Putin, 21 February 2022

“This process started practically right after the 1917 revolution, and Lenin and his associates did it in a way that was extremely harsh on Russia – by separating, severing what is **historically Russian land**. Nobody asked the millions of people living there what they thought.

Then, both before and after the Great Patriotic War, Stalin incorporated in the USSR and transferred to Ukraine some lands that previously belonged to Poland, Romania and Hungary. In the process, he gave Poland part of what was traditionally German land as compensation, and in 1954, Khrushchev took Crimea away from Russia for some reason and also gave it to Ukraine. In effect, this is how the territory of modern Ukraine was formed.”

Source: [Kremlin.ru](https://www.kremlin.ru)





Signing of treaties on accession of Donetsk and Lugansk people's republics and Zaporozhye and Kherson regions to Russia, September 30, 2022

From left to right: Head of the Kherson Region Vladimir Saldo, Head of the Zaporozhye Region Yevgeny Balitsky, Russian President Vladimir Putin, Head of the Donetsk People's Republic Denis Pushilin, Head of the Lugansk People's Republic Leonid Pasechnik.

Photo: Grigoriy Sisoiev, [RIA Novosti](#)



“We will teach you how to love the Motherland!”

Andrey Plakhonin

2d · 🌐

Тамбов. Карта "Родины".

😂👍🙄 Iurii Zazuliak and 105 others

👍 106

💬 9

➦ 2

Source: Facebook

