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### SPATIAL FEATURES OF MILITARY URBICIDE IN UKRAINE

Slyvka R., Zakutynska I. **Cechy przestrzenne fizycznego niszczenia miast („urbicid”) w wyniku działań wojennych na Ukrainie.** Donbas jest jednym z najstarszych wschodnich regionów przemysłowych Europy. Dla gospodarki Ukrainy odgrywał on bardzo ważną rolę z uwagi na znaczące rezerwy węgla i znaczny potencjał eksportowy przemysłu stalowego. Powstało tu unikatowe dla Ukrainy środowisko zurbanizowane. Cechy radzieckiego uprzemysłowienia znacząco wpłynęły na skład etniczny ludności, gdzie oprócz Ukraińców istotną rolę odgrywają Rosjanie i członkowie innych mniejszości etnicznych. Geopolityczne, ekonomiczne, polityczne i etniczne czynniki spowodowały rozprzestrzenianie się ideologii regionalizmu i brutalnego konfliktu w Donbasie pod koniec 2013 i w 2014 roku. Działania wojenne występują w wysoko zurbanizowanym środowisku. Podczas konfliktu występują przejawy „urbicidu” wojennego – fizycznego zniszczenia miast. Użycie broni ciężkiej, utworzenie stanowisk wojennych w gęsto zaludnionych obszarach miejskich i celowa prowokacja przyczyniły się do znacznych zniszczeń obszarów mieszkalnych, przemysłowych, infrastruktury społecznej, transportowej, a także do wielu ofiar wśród ludności cywilnej. W artykule zwrócono uwagę na aspekty przestrzenne przejawów wojennego „urbicidu” na różnych etapach konfliktu.

Слывкa P., Закутинская И. **Пространственные особенности военного урбицида в Донбассе.** Донбасс является одним из наиболее восточных старых промышленных регионов Европы. Для экономики Украины он имеет важную роль, учитывая значительные запасы каменного угля и заметный экспортный потенциал черной металлургии. Здесь сформировалась уникальная для Украины урбанизированная среда. Особенности советской индустриализации существенно повлияли на этнический состав населения, в котором кроме украинцев заметную роль играют россияне и представители других этнических меньшинств. Геополитические, экономические, политические, этнические факторы повлекли распространение идеологии регионализма и возникновение насильственного конфликта в Донбассе на протяжении конца 2013 и в 2014 г. Военные действия происходят в высокоурбанизированной среде. На протяжении конфликта наблюдались проявления военного урбицида – физического разрушения городов. Применение тяжелых вооружений, установления боевых позиций в густозаселенных городских районах, умышленные провокации обусловили многочисленные жертвы среди гражданского населения, уничтожение жилищных кварталов, производственной, социальной и транспортной инфраструктуры. В статье отображены пространственные аспекты проявления военного урбицида на разных этапах конфликта.

**Key words:** geography of conflict, military urbicide, old industrial district, territorial and political conflict

**Słowa kluczowe:** geografia konfliktów, „urbicid” wojenny, stary region przemysłowy, konflikt terytorialno-polityczny

**Ключевые слова:** география конфликтов, военный урбицид, старый промышленный район, территориально-политический конфликт

#### Abstract

Donbass is one of the easternmost old industrial regions of Europe. It was of great importance for the economy of Ukraine in terms of substantial coal reserves and export potential of iron and steel industry. A unique urbanized environment of Ukraine was formed here. Peculiarities of soviet industrialization significantly influenced the ethnic composition of the population, which in addition to Ukrainian people involved considerable part of Russians and other ethnic minorities. Geopolitical, economic, political, ethnic factors contributed to the spread of the ide-

ology of regionalism and violent conflict in Donbass during late 2013 and 2014. Military actions took place in the urbanized environment. During military conflicts manifestations of urbicide, physical destruction of cities, occurred. The use of heavy weapons, the establishment of military positions in densely populated urban areas, deliberate provocation caused numerous civilian casualties, destruction of residential areas, industrial, social and transport infrastructure. The article highlighted the spatial aspects of military urbicide manifestations at different stages of the conflict.

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The phenomenon of "urbicide" is insufficiently investigated by our national geographical scientific community. Meanwhile, we can trace the manifestations of urbicide throughout the whole history of Ukraine. Territorial and political conflicts in Ukraine define a practical need for a comprehensive study of the phenomenon.

Urbicide is a term that literary means "violence against cities." The phenomenon of urbicide has existed since the time cities appeared. Mentions are found even in the Bible. In the context of the consequences of military conflicts, the term "urbicide" was used by M. BERMAN (1996). The group of Mostar Bosnian architects used the same term to define violence against urban landscape during the Serbo-Croatian war (RAMADAN, 2009). More recent definition of urbicide is related to the Palestinian cities of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Besides destruction, planning and construction of new Israeli settlements takes place here, which could also be qualified as urbicide. At present, urbicide is observed in Syria and Palestine, which are involved in civil wars, as well as within ATO zone in eastern Ukraine.

Great attention to the problem of urbicide was paid by M. COVARD (2004), J. AGNEW (2009), M. BONINE (2009), S. FREGONESE (2009), A. RAMADAN (2009), O. YIFTACHEL (2009), S. GRAHAM (2011). In Ukraine, the only academic publication, which reflects various aspects of urbicide in Donbas, is the collective report of National Academy of Science of Ukraine and a number of specialized universities and institutes under the general superintendence of E. Libanova (*Відродження Донбасу: оцінка соціально-економічних втрат...*, 2015). This report assesses the socio-economic losses resulting from the war. Socio-demographic losses, the destruction of settlement infrastructure, the loss of social and industrial infrastructure, environmental losses and deterioration of natural resources are also analyzed there.

According to M. BERMAN (1996), "urbicide" is a destructive phenomenon that reflects the physical destruction of the city or its component parts. M. BONINE (2009, p. 85) defines urbicide as a specific policy and strategy of ruining urban structures and cities in order to control, repress or exclude the population. In his review of S. GRAHAM'S (2004) book "Cities, War and Terrorism: On the Way to Urban Geopolitics" a well-known American political geographer J. AGNEW (2009) said: "During World War II massive bombing campaigns were directed by all sides at During World War II massive bombing campaigns were directed by all sides at the cities of the others (and their allies). The logic was as frequently psychological as it was devoted to

destroying the supply chain, to diminish the collective will to fight, but the outcome was usually just the opposite". Cities are characterized by high vulnerability of infrastructure to explosions and destruction as in the case of both the development of military operations on their territory, and in the case of distant war, which is represented by terrorist attacks leading to destruction, fear and uncertainty caused by terrorists.

M. COVARD (2004) distinguishes between two main groups of reasons that cause the phenomenon of "urbicide", social and natural. Social urbicide can be both a chaotic (man-made disaster) and targeted (military actions). Depending on the degree of damage caused to urban environment, absolute (the city loses its functional value) and partial (it can rebuild its shattered pieces) forms of urbicide can be singled out.

The history of Ukraine has been constantly reflecting processes that are close to the modern concept urbicide in their characteristics. Generally, it used to be a partial urbicide that was an integral component of permanent wars and conflicts on the territory of Ukraine. Nowadays, destruction of cities, process bearing signs of partial urbicide, was observed in 2014–2016 in urban areas of Donbas: Donetsk, Sloviansk, Stanytsia Luhanska, Vuhlehirsk, Lysychansk, Bulavynsk, Chornukhine, Alexandrivsk, Debaltseve, Yasynuvata and Shyrokin. Settlement structures, industrial and social infrastructures were ruined. As a result of conflict and military operations, densely populated, unique in terms of urbanization, Donetsk and Lugansk regions suffered the greatest loss of urban settlements against the background of the disruption of people's livelihood and social services, full or partial destruction of housing and strategically important infrastructure projects. The average population density decreased by 20.2%, which is critical in terms of fast population settlement recovery. Most of the damage occurred in people's houses and systems of energy, water and heat supply. The total amount of damages only in Donetsk region exceeds 1.25 billion hryvnas (ЛІБАНОВА, 2015).

## THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the study is the urban space of Donbas, which has become a theater of war. The aim of the article is to reflect the geography of the devastation of urban space resulting from hostilities in Donbas in 2014–2015. To reach this goal we offer:

1. to identify the preconditions of the conflict in Donbas;
2. to set the list of cities that are most affected by the conflict actions;
3. to determine the spatial differentiation of urbicide within Donbas;

4. to outline ways of rebuilding the infrastructure of Donbas in the post-conflict period.

## METHODS AND SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH

The study of urbicide in Donbas involved such methods as structural and component analyses, comparative and geographic, mapping and so on. Reports the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (*Стратегія відновлення Донбасу...*, 2015), the National Institute for Strategic Studies (*Донбас і Крим: стратегія...*, 2015), HRMMU (*UN Reports on Human Rights...*, 2016), and OSCE (*Thematic reports...*, 2016) are an important source of investigating urbicide in the Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

## THE MAIN MATERIAL

During the nineteenth century, densely populated and highly urbanized industrial areas were formed near coalfields. In mainland Europe, there is a belt of large coal basins stretching from west to east along the southern borders of Northern European Plain, from northern France and Belgium through Germany (Ruhr), West Bohemia in the Czech Republic, Silesia in southern Poland and Donetsk Basin in eastern Ukraine (БЛІЙ, МУЛЛЕР, 2004: p. 70).

Donbas is Donetsk Coal Basin that began developing in early 1860s. This coal basin occupies a central part of Donetsk region, southern parts of Luhansk region, and western parts of Rostov region, which belongs to the Russian Federation. This area, with its mines, rising waste banks, miners' settlements, workers' settlements, plants and factories, and developed railroad network, is real Donbas. It is so densely populated that it is difficult to say where exactly one town ends and another one begins. This mosaic of cities, settlements, mines, and plants stretches from Donetsk to Luhansk, creating the appearance of a whole region. On the other hand, Luhansk region consists mostly of rural areas devoid of industry (OSIPIAN, OSIPIAN, 2006: p. 497).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, industrial regions of Europe were repeatedly the theater of operations. For example, the subject of Franco-German conflict, the First and Second World Wars were Alsace, Lorraine, Saarland and Rhineland. In the twentieth century, the reason for the German-Polish and Polish-Czechoslovak disputes and conflicts was Upper Silesia, which in our time remains the center of devolution pressure in Poland, like Wallonia, Catalonia and Basque region (БЛІЙ, МУЛЛЕР, 2004: p. 80). Certain geographical and historical analogies in the history of the

twentieth century can be traced in these regions. Geographical analogies are associated with their location in the border regions of their countries. As for historical analogies, even in the Rhineland, Alsace and Lorraine, as in Donbas, Soviet republics emerged. In 1917–1918, Bolshevik territorial base in Ukraine was formed in Donbas and industrial cities such as Katerynoslav, Yuzovka, Lugansk, Mariupol and others. This Russian enclave in the East formed some sort of a wedge that served as a leader for Bolshevik influence (ГРИЦАК, 2000: p. 119). From February to April 1918 a puppet state called Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih Republic was located here, which relied on the support of Soviet national state and opposed the Ukrainian People's Republic. Like in Ukraine, centers of emergence of Soviet republics were Alsace and Lorraine in 1918, but they existed not too long (FORTIER, 2008).

Revolutionary events and military conflicts destroyed the urban environment, caused acts of genocide and mass migration of population during wars and post-conflict period. For example, during World War II, bombing of Ruhr in 1940–1944 caused loss of 30% of plant and equipment (compared to 15–20% of German industry as a whole) (BOTTING, 1985). Military urbicide took place in Donbas during World War II, too, although there were no major military operations on its territory.

Donbas is the most eastern political geographical region of Ukraine. It is characterized by a significant level of industrial development, but unlike old industrial regions in the EU, it did not undergo restructuring processes of polluted, energy-intensive and technologically outdated coal and steel industry. When Ukraine was pronounced independent in 1991, its most eastern region, as well as the Crimea, preserved pro-Soviet and pro-preserved traditions. According to O. Shablii (ШАБЛИЙ, 1994: p. 130), geopolitical situation at that time was very strongly influenced by two factors: a large proportion of Russian population and high levels of urbanization (about 90%).

The formation of ethnic and linguistic composition of the population of this ethnolinguistic region was greatly influenced by coal mining, which actively began in the late nineteenth century, as well as the development of other industries associated with the use of local resources. As a result, besides Ukrainian population from the surrounding countryside and neighboring regions, a large number of Russians and Belarusians, Tatars and representatives of other ethnic groups of the former Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union were migrating to the region during many decades.

Several researchers single out an incomplete nature of urbanization, particularly A. L. OSIPIAN, A. L.

OSIPIAN (2006) indicate that living conditions are not much different from those in the countryside and are often lower, depending on environmental conditions. The majority of the population in cities and towns live in private houses with small backyards and kitchen gardens. In miners' settlements, living conditions are especially poor. Cities lack well-developed architectural planning. The history of cities in the region started from building of a plant or a mine where the workers were settlers from nearby settlements. Gradually, the construction of multistory apartment complexes began to replace neighborhoods with private housing, and settlements transformed into towns. Most of the cities are young and do not have metropolitan features. This explains why the people in the most urbanized region have features similar to rural areas as far as living standards and culture are concerned (ЛОЗИНСЬКИЙ, 2008: p. 497).

M. Dnistrianskyu (ДНІСТРЯНСЬКИЙ, 1992: p. 278) suggests that referring to later massive settlement, a significant impact of migration and assimilation of ethnic Ukrainian population in the process of economic development nowadays carries a double ethnic, Ukrainian and Russian character. The region was inhabited by 34% of Russians in Ukraine, among which over 11% of the population were born in Russia. Index of ethnic Ukrainian population predominance reaches only 1.5. A characteristic feature of the region is a deep

crisis of Ukrainian ethnicity, especially in the center and south. However, a high proportion of inter-ethnic marriages, along with other factors, led to some leveling of ethno-national identity and relatively wider expansion of regional identity (ДНІСТРЯНСЬКИЙ, 2011: p. 279). R. Lozynskyi (ЛОЗИНСЬКИЙ, 2008) states that linguistic russification of the population was intensified by border position towards Russia. Nowadays, in terms of the language the part of population considering Russian their mother tongue is 80% or higher.

Military operations in eastern Ukraine occur in areas that occupy an important place in the economics of Ukraine. The share of Donetsk and Luhansk regions made up 11.7%, and 4% respectively in the structure of the gross regional product in 2012.

Powerful industrial enterprises are located in on the territory of Donbas. The region manufactures large volumes of production in mining, metallurgical, machine building, food and chemical industries. The share of Donetsk and Lugansk regions in the total volume of industrial production in 2012 was 27.3% (*Обсяг реалізованої промислової продукції...*, 2012). Cities of regional importance, occupied by terrorist organizations, the so-called DPR and LPR, composed about 14% of the industrial production of Ukraine (fig.1). Parts of Donetsk and Lugansk regions that played an important role in industrial production not only of Donbas but also of all Ukraine are now occupied.

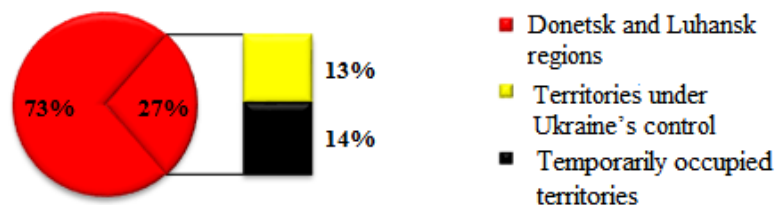


Fig. 1. Proportion of Donbas and temporarily occupied cities of regional importance in the total volume of industrial production in Ukraine in 2012, % (*Обсяг реалізованої промислової продукції...*, 2012)

Rys.1. Udział Donbasu i tymczasowo zajętych miast o znaczeniu regionalnym w ogólnej produkcji przemysłowej na Ukrainie w 2012 roku, % (*Обсяг реалізованої промислової продукції...*, 2012)

Рис. 1. Доля Донбасса и временно оккупированных городов в общем объёме промышленной продукции Украины в 2012 году, % (*Обсяг реалізованої промислової продукції...*, 2012)

Potential of natural resources in the region is characterized by significant reserves of mineral resources that are of great importance on a national scale. First of all, they are the resources of Donetsk coal basin. According to structural and tectonic features, the area of Donbas is divided into 30 coal-bearing regions that differ in their tectonic position, coal composition and supply (*Горючі корисні копалини...*, 2009: p. 232). 19 coal-producing regions are located in Ukraine. 17 of them are of the greatest significance. The rest 2 coal-producing regions today have no commercial value.

About 80% of Ukrainian coal is mined in Donbas (in 2012 the combined share of Donetsk and Luhansk regions accounted for 78.5% of total coal production in Ukraine, in 2013 – 76.6% and in January-May 2014 – 76.1%). The share of Donetsk region in realization of goods of the extracting industry in 2013 was 24.1%, and that of Luhansk – 8.4% (*Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень...*).

Nowadays, in Ukraine coal is produced in 150 mines, 83 of which (that is 55% of their total number) are of all forms of ownership and located on the territories of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, controlled by terrorist groups (*Поточний стан підприємств...*) (fig. 2).

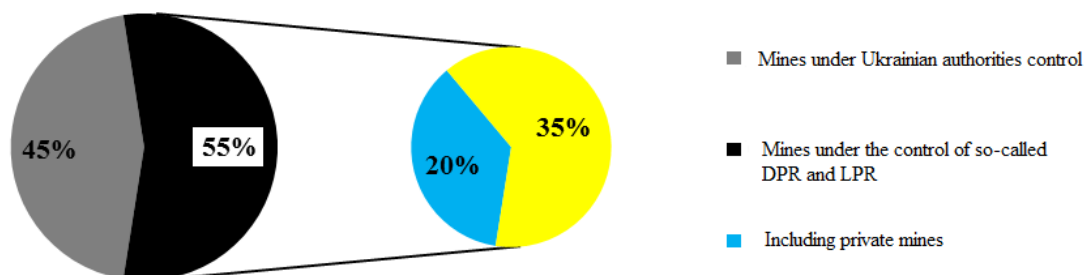


Fig. 2. The structure of mine distribution on the territories controlled by the Ukrainian government and terrorist organizations, %

Rys. 2. Struktura rozmieszczenia kopalń między terytoriami kontrolowanymi przez Ukrainę oraz organizacje terrorystyczne, %

Рис. 2. Структура распределения шахт между территориями, контролируемые Украиной и террористическими организациями, %

Besides, Donetsk region provides more than 90% of national production of rock salt and clay for refractory materials, and 79% of fluxing limestone; Lugansk region is responsible for 80% of national supplies of titanium ore and quartzite, which are raw materials for the steel industry (*Інвестиційний паспорт...*).

Donbas is a major metallurgical center, on the territory of which considerable production capacities are located; they are represented by large enterprises of

national importance in cities like Alchevsk, Stakhanov, Lugansk, Mariupol, Khartsyzsk, Donetsk and Yenakiyevo. The share of two regions in the structure of steel products realization in 2012 accounted for more than 45%, Donetsk and Luhansk region – 36.4% and 8.7% respectively (*Державний комітет статистики України; Обсяги реалізованої промислової продукції...; Обсяг реалізованої промислової продукції...*) (table 1).

Table 1. Proportions of steel products of the region in the national production in 2012 (*Державний комітет статистики України; Виробництво основних видів...; Інтернет-портал компаній...*, 2012)

Tabela 1. Udział produkcji metalurgicznej regionu w stosunku do produkcji krajowej w 2012 roku (*Державний комітет статистики України; Виробництво основних видів...; Інтернет-портал компаній...*, 2012)

Таблица 1. Доля металлургического производства региона от национального производства в 2012 г. (*Державний комітет статистики України; Виробництво основних видів...; Інтернет-портал компаній...*, 2012)

Production of certain types of steel products	Ratio of regions in the economics of Ukraine,%
Cast iron	55
Rolled ready ferrous metal products	54
Steel	53
Pipes with large and small diameters; hollow profiles made of ferrous metals	33
Ferroalloys	14.8

On the territories controlled by the so-called terrorist organizations DPR and LPR, such large metallurgical industries as JSC "Alchevsk Iron and Steel Works", JSC "Yenakiyevo Metallurgic Plant" are located, which in 2012 collectively smelted 6.6 million tons of steel and 5.98 million tons of cast iron (*Метпідприємства оприлюднили звітність...*, 2012), which totally made up 19.7% and 20.9% of the national production of steel and iron, respectively (fig. 3) (*Державний комітет статистики України...; Метпідприємства оприлюднили звітність...*, 2012). JSC "Stakhanov Ferroalloy Plant", which is also located on the territory currently

under control of terrorist organizations, in the same year produced 168.8 thousand tons of ferroalloy production, which was about 13% of the national production of that year. Besides, on the territories temporarily controlled by the so-called DPR and LPR such powerful enterprises are located as LLC "Metals and Polymers", JSC "Steel", LLC "Lugansk Pipe Plant", JSC "Khartsyzsk Pipe Plant", JSC "Production Association "STALKANAT-SILUR"", JSC "Donetsk Metallurgical Plant", PJSC "Doneststeel" – Metallurgical Plant", PJSC "Donetsk Electrometallurgical Plant".

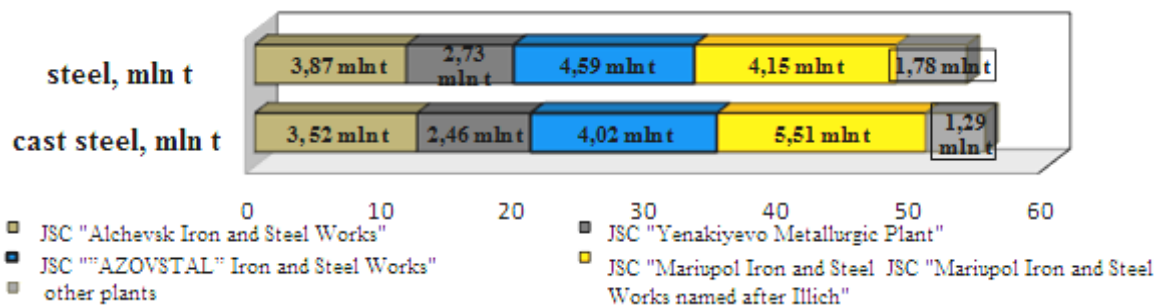


Fig. 3. Ratio of some metallurgical enterprises of Donetsk and Lugansk regions in the national production of cast iron and steel, % (after: *Державний комітет статистики України...; Металургійні підприємства оприлюднили звітність...*, 2012)

Rys. 3. Udział niektórych przedsiębiorstw metalurgicznych obwodu donieckiego i ługańskiego w krajowej produkcji żeliwa i stali, % (wg: *Державний комітет статистики України...; Металургійні підприємства оприлюднили звітність...*, 2012)

Рис. 3. Доля некоторых металлургических предприятий Донецкой и Луганской областей в национальном производстве чугуна и стали, % (по: *Державний комітет статистики України...; Металургійні підприємства оприлюднили звітність...*, 2012)

Non-ferrous metal industry occupies a minor position in the industrial structure of the region. The largest enterprises are located in the cities controlled by the Ukrainian authorities. JSC "Artemivsk Non-ferrous Metal Plant" in the city of Artemivsk produces copper rolling and bullions of non-ferrous metals; PJSC "Lead" in Kostiantynivka produces lead, zinc and tin.

Significant capacities of heavy and raw material intensive engineering are located on the territory of Donbas. The region specializes in manufacturing locomotives and rail cars, machinery and equipment for metallurgy and chemical industry, material handling and mining equipment (*Інвестиційний паспорт Донецької області...; Виробництво основних видів...*). The share of Donetsk region in realization of engineering products in 2012 was 17.4%, and that of Luhansk – 6.9% (*Обсяги реалізованої промислової продукції...; Державний комітет статистики України...; Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень...*).

Well-known companies in the region are PJSC "Novokramatorsk Machine Building Plant", JSC "Energomashspetsstal" in Kramatorsk, group corporation "Azovmash" in Mariupol, which are controlled by Ukrainian authorities.

Besides, till 2014 military-industrial complexes were working, for example, JSC "Topaz" in Donetsk, which was involved in the development and series production of complex radio systems and systems for special purposes, radio equipment of wide range of use, and PJSC "Lugansk Cartridge-Manufacturing Plant" in Lugansk producing small arms ammunition.

Donetsk and Lugansk regions play an important role in the production of chemical products; in 2013 their share in total sales of such products in Ukraine reached 15.9% and 12.9%, respectively (*Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень...*).

An important and technologically interconnected condition of regional metallurgy functioning is by-product coke industry. In 2012, two regions produced 13.6 million tons of coke and semi-coke of coal, which is 72% of the national production (*Державний комітет статистики України...; Виробництво основних видів...; Інтернет-портал компаній...*). Other products of the chemical industry, which were produced in large quantities on the territory of a military conflict, are fertilizers and sulfuric acid. The share of Donetsk region in their production is 22.9% and 7.9%, respectively (*Інвестиційний паспорт Донецької області...*). The share of Luhansk region in the production of fertilizers is 16.3% (*Обсяги реалізованої промислової продукції...*). A leading enterprise of chemical industry of the region is a group corporation "Stirol" (in Horlivka), which is among ten largest world producers of ammonia and nitrogen fertilizers and provides more than a third of the regional chemical industry (ЯКОВЛЕВ, 2014). Besides, in the city of Petrovsk in Luhansk region, which is currently controlled by terrorist groups, there is a state chemical community named after G. I. Petrovsky that produces explosives.

## PRECONDITIONS AND FACTORS OF CONFLICT IN DONBAS

For a long time in Ukrainian geography, Donbas was not presented as a region that may have separatist intentions. Scientific geographical discourse concerning the role of Donbas in economic, social, political and territorial structure of Ukraine was limited to establishing specific regional peculiarities, primarily caused by the character of natural resources of the region, its historical past, ethnic composition of the population, specific urban settlement of the population in the form of urban agglomerations and a specific set of social and

environmental problems. Indicative in this respect is the work of I. Melnyk (МЕЛЬНИК, 2006).

However, when the Ukrainian state was established in 1992, M. DNISTRYANSKY (1992) predicted the threat of separatism, pointing to an obvious and undisguised Russian desire to implement its great-power intentions at the cost of Ukraine. This was shown in explicit territorial claims expressed at both the official and the informal levels. The implementation of these dangerous intentions was carried out in two ways: firstly, through the attempt to take certain regions of the national territory (Donbas, Slobidska, the Black Sea from the side of Russian statesmen) and secondly, through the attempt to inspire certain part of population, relying on its ignorance of some historical facts, violation of territorial state unity (projects "New Russia", "Tavrida", "The Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih republic").

In 1990s the theme of separatism in Donbas subsided, stormy transit processes took place there, which were associated with deregulation, privatization, emergence, struggle and consolidation of new oligarchic business groups. In the Ukrainian edition "Geography: realms, regions, and concepts" by H. J. de Blij, P. Muller (БЛИЙ, МУЛЛЕР, 2004), O. Shablji on map of "Europe: centers of devolution pressure in 2002" only Crimean separatist center was singled out in Ukraine. Generally, a positive view on Donbas prevailed, as one of two industrial regions was considered a "locomotive" of Ukraine though it was characterized by outdated industrial structure.

In the early 2000s, deindustrialization occurred, in Ukraine, which led to a significant loss of economic potential. Against this background, Donbas and the Dnieper region retained its industrial profile through export orientation of its metallurgical complex. World market conjuncture contributed to this process. It was at the beginning of the 2000s when the price boom for iron and steel industry products occurred. In terms of gas wars with Russia, Donbas coal reserves were extremely important for the stability of the economy of Ukraine. Coalmining companies received substantial state budget donations. Weak control over these flows of money contributed to the development of "shadow economy". At that time, the region had economic advantages in comparison to others. Asymmetrical role of Donbas in Ukraine was described by O. Topchiev (ТОПЧИЄВ, 2009: p. 427). However, the consolidation of regional business elites belonging to the "Party of Regions" gave reason to fight for dominance of this group at the national level. Slogans of regionalism, geographic neighbourhood, close economic, family and mental relations with Russia began to be exploited by elites for mobilizing voters. Historical myths of local population are well reflected in the research "*Workers of*

*Donbas speak*" (1995). Strengthening of regionalism in Donbas was parallel to strengthening and maintaining autocratic political regime of Vladimir Putin in Russia. The first attempt to realize their ambitions for gaining power in Ukraine by the "Party of Regions" failed and ended in Orange Revolution (2004) and attempts to blackmail opponents trying to create South East Ukrainian Autonomous Republic (SEAR).

The desire to take revenge on opponents led to political speculations concerning the peculiarities of the region. A new scientific discourse appeared "that the South East of Ukraine serves as a "geohistorical corridor" (or buffer), through which communications and cultural enrichment between neighboring geohistorical regional formations are held... Besides, the region is defined as a frontline in the historical and socio-geographical dimension, i.e. the one that for quite a considerable period of historical time occupied an intermediate position between powerful civilized worlds ..." (АФАНСЬЄВ, 2013). One of the first who loudly declared the "otherness" of Donbas in Ukraine was western Ukrainian writer Yu. Andrukhovych, one of the devotees of "geopoetics" in Ukraine. He suggested the need for "internal colonization" of Donbas by Ukraine, and then the possibility of separating Donbas, as one of possible ways to overcome the obstacles for Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine (Андрухович вважає, що...). However, this position raised a storm of criticism and rejection in Ukrainian intellectual circles. S. Adamovych highlighted separatism manifestations in Donbas in detail in his work "Donbas in social and political life of Ukraine" (АДАМОВИЧ, 2006). He cited arguments of ideologists of separatism in favor of Donetsk autonomy:

- 1) ethnic conditions (the issue of religion, belonging to religious denomination, language aspects);
- 2) historical conditions and different assessments of the past between East and West of Ukraine;
- 3) peculiarities of geopolitical situation of individual regions of Ukraine;
- 4) various regional economic capacities of the regions (ВАСИЛЕНКО, 2004).

Political speculation on the historical past of Ukraine, different types of political culture, differences in economic and social development of the regions in terms of their artificial opposition for political purposes caused strengthening of regional separation between East and West.

As the experience of election campaigns (2002, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2010) shows, it is a problem of language policy, formation and implementation of ethnic policy in Ukraine, creation of a political identity that became their main slogans, and a subject for

political manipulation and mythmaking (*Політичні проблеми...*: p. 18].

Political protests in the winter of 2013–2014 in Ukraine were marked by an extraordinary level of political confrontation, severity of forms and, in fact, the decisive role of "street" that eventually led to changes of state power (ЗЕЛЕНЬКО, 2014: p. 34) and interference of military forces with the political process in Ukraine. Occupation of the part of Ukrainian territory and the Crimea occurred as well as the emergence of rebel self-appointed and unrecognized republics and in Eastern Ukraine took place. Many international experts call the conflict in Donbas an internal Ukrainian conflict. For example, an authoritative source "Conflict Barometer" indicates that this is a war over secession, the orientation of the political system, and the resources of the coal and shale gas-rich Donetsk and Luhansk regions broke out between several militant antigovernment groups, supported by Russia, and the government under interim president Oleksandr Turchynov and President Petro Poroshenko supported by Western countries (*Conflict Barometer...*, 2015: p. 42). But in fact it is internationalized internal conflict, in which Russian party participates. The impact of Russia on illegal armed groups in Donbas are confirmed in reports of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Ukraine, based on the work of the *United Nations Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine* (HRMMU) (2016). According to various sources, 30 armed groups suffered over 50 casualties, among them at least 31 volunteers were reportedly from the Russian Federation, including from Chechnya and other republics in the Northern Caucasus (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014a: p. 3). In addition, the Second Minsk Agreements that had to help reconcile the sides of the conflict, being one of the measures to monitor the situation in the region, suggested the withdrawal of foreign-armed groups, arms and mercenaries beyond Ukrainian boundaries. According to HRMMU and OSCE reports (*The withdrawal of all foreign...*) no record of other militias and mercenaries than Russians, is noted, it indicates that there is actually Ukrainian-Russian conflict on the territory of Donbas. For the first time since Ukraine's independence in 1991, military actions took place on its territory, which resulted in military urbicide.

## MANIFESTATION OF MILITARY URBICIDE IN DONBAS

Military actions on the territory of Ukraine were held in regions characterized by high levels of urbanization, industrialization, political polarization of the so-

ciety. This affected the intensity of the destruction of the urban environment of the region. Analysis of HRMMU reports (*Thematic Reports...*, 2016) gave the possibility to establish some spatial patterns of urbicide manifestations in Donbas during April 2014 and June 2016. 4 periods, characterized by certain specific manifestations of urbicide, can be singled out:

1<sup>st</sup> period (from the beginning of armed opposition to the unilateral ceasefire by the Ukrainian forces in June 20<sup>th</sup>–30<sup>th</sup>). During this period, the HRMMU observed early signs of rapid deterioration of the security situation as in April 2014. Initially, demands from protestors in the east were a referendum on the federalization of Ukraine and the recognition of the Russian language as a second State language. Groups of armed men in a well-organized and coordinated fashion unlawfully seized public buildings and police and security facilities in cities and towns across Donetsk and Luhansk regions (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b: p. 3). On April 14<sup>th</sup>, the Government launched a security operation to re-establish control over those territories. By the end of April the self-proclaimed 'Donetsk People's Republic' and the self-proclaimed 'Luhansk People's Republic' were announced to have been established, which was followed by the May, 11<sup>th</sup> so-called 'referendum' on self-rule, contravening the constitution of Ukraine and international norms and standards (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b: p. 3). In the initial phase of the conflict, there was no single line of confrontation between the Armed Forces of Ukraine and illegal armed groups. Armed clashes took place in densely populated areas of Donbas, which resulted in injury and damage of local population, devastation of residential sector, industrial facilities, social, industrial and transport infrastructure. The confrontation carried an areal character on the majority of Donetsk and Lugansk territories. At this stage, the illegal armed groups focused their activities on capturing key administrative structures, establishing control over military units and divisions of power structures. Ukrainian armed groups, involving the army, military police (National Guard), the National Security Service (NSS) and "volunteer" battalions, opposed them. During this period, the scene of the most intense fighting was the city of Slovyansk, which was under pro-Russian militants control since April 2014. Ukrainian forces managed to surround the city and on July 5<sup>th</sup> 2014 the city was set free by the Ukrainian forces. During the firefights that lasted the next months, serious damage to civilian objects, including houses, was caused. Testimonies about the death of civilians from shrapnel wounds were received. Major battles took place in the downtown area,



near military units, transportation units, particularly Lugansk and Donetsk airports. So, from the very beginning in April 2014 the conflict was aimed at the destruction of buildings and urban infrastructure.

2<sup>nd</sup> period (July 1<sup>st</sup> 2014–September 5<sup>th</sup> 2014, the signing of the tripartite Minsk Agreement). The second phase of the conflict is associated with successful actions of Ukrainian Armed Forces and other armed groups. It resulted in the encircling of gunmen surrounding in several areas of the city. It became possible to free such cities as Artemivsk, Kramatorsk, Druzhkovka, Konstantynivka, and Slovyansk. During the reporting period, fighting lines moved to the suburbs of Donetsk and Luhansk cities, and a number of other settlements, such as Avdiivka, Debaltsevo, Horlivka, Snizhne, Stepanivka and Yasynuvata in Donetsk region, and Pervomaisk in Luhansk region, became arenas of fighting (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014c: p. 7). At that time more and more heavy armament, including artillery, missiles, tanks, military aviation and helicopters were used. This immediately caused the destruction of the urban environment. Besides, HRMMU confirms that current intense fighting using heavy weaponry in and around population areas, has devastated towns and villages, demolishing residential buildings and killing an increasing number of their inhabitants (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b: p. 3). There has been deliberate targeting critical public utilities like water, electricity and sewerage plants by the armed groups to shut down essential supplies to the residents. Public and private properties have been illegally seized and residences destroyed. Banks have been robbed and coal mines attacked. Railways were blown up. Hospitals and clinics were forced to shut down and essential medicines and emergency medical services became scarce or totally unavailable (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b: p. 3). According to the Ministry of Regional Development of Ukraine, in September 2014 in Donetsk region 28 cities of regional subordination (3.67 million people) and 18 districts (650 thousand people), 21 towns (3,390,000 people) 13 districts (520 thousand people) suffered considerable damage (appendix 10). In Lugansk region fighting caused considerable damage to 14 cities of regional subordination (1.6 million people) and 8 districts (350 thousand people) (*Стратегія відновлення Донбасу...*, 2015: p. 41). The period ended in counter-attack of illegal armed groups of DPR and LPR, supported by military forces, equipped with weapons Russian citizens (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b). The period was characterized by the use of heavy weapons, causing significant destruction to the ur-

ban environment especially near Donetsk Airport, Ilovaisk and Stanytsia Luhanska.

3<sup>rd</sup> period (September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014–February 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> 2015, when the Second Minsk Agreement was signed). The third phase is associated with the direct intervention of military forces in the conflict, and the beginning of heavy weapons usage, causing significant destruction of the urban environment. This is the period of formation of the confrontation line between Ukrainian and pro-Russian forces and the destruction of basic urban infrastructure. In fact the real front was formed. This line was assigned by Minsk Agreements, but was immediately broken by pro-Russian forces attack in Mariupol. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> period the confrontation for Debaltsevo prominence exacerbated, such cities as Shchastia, Popasna, Stanitsa Luganska and Mariupol eastern suburbs suffered from destruction. Heavy fighting and destruction in the northwest suburbs of Donetsk, especially in Donetsk international airport and in the suburbs of cities of Gorlivka and Lugansk took place. However, along the confrontation line the use of indiscriminate shelling in residential areas has led to the killing of civilians, as well as the damage to property and infrastructure (*Report on the human rights...*, 2015a: p. 3). During this period, vulnerability of urban residents significantly deteriorated, access to education, medicine, sources of drinking water and food significantly reduced. Provocative attacks on the cities, which were controlled by militants for shifting responsibility to the Ukrainian side, intimidating the population and supporting military mobilization of their side took place. The MLRS rockets reportedly came from areas controlled by the armed groups (*Report on the human rights...*, 2014b: p. 7).

4<sup>th</sup> period (from the point of signing the Second Minsk Agreement in February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015 up to the present time). Due to the Second Minsk Agreement, heavy weapons were taken from the confrontation line, which somewhat reduced the destruction of municipal infrastructure and the number of casualties. HMRRU noted that people living in the territories controlled by armed groups continued to face obstacles in exercising any type of rights: civil, political or economic, social and cultural. They experienced particular problems in accessing qualified medical services and social benefits. In order to receive their benefits, people had to either move or regularly travel across the confrontation line to the Government-controlled areas (*Report on the human rights...*, 2015b: p. 5). During this period, uricide manifestations were typical mostly of the so-called "buffer zone". This zone is shown on the map in the report of HMRRU (*Report on the human rights...*, 2016: p. 5).

The confrontation line has 800,000 civilians physically, politically, socially and economically isolated, affecting all of their human rights and complicating the prospect for peace and reconciliation (*Report on the human rights...*, 2016: p. 5). Nowadays, major fights are for gaining control over the industrial zone of Avdiivka, resulting in its significant destruction.

Based on the report of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine we have made a map that displays the greatest destruction of industrial enterprises and transport infrastructure in Donbas (fig. 4). It is obvious that considerably larger part of the destroyed enter-

prises is located on the territories of Donetsk region beyond the control of Ukrainian authorities, and slightly less part belongs to uncontrolled areas in Luhansk region. Much less damage was made to the industry located on the territory where sovereignty of Ukraine was restored. For residents of Donbas destruction of industry has dramatic consequences, especially for residents of medium and small towns with non-diversified specialization. Under conditions of absence of government responsibility, lawlessness and lack of alternatives, the vulnerability of the population on the territories beyond Ukraine's control increases.

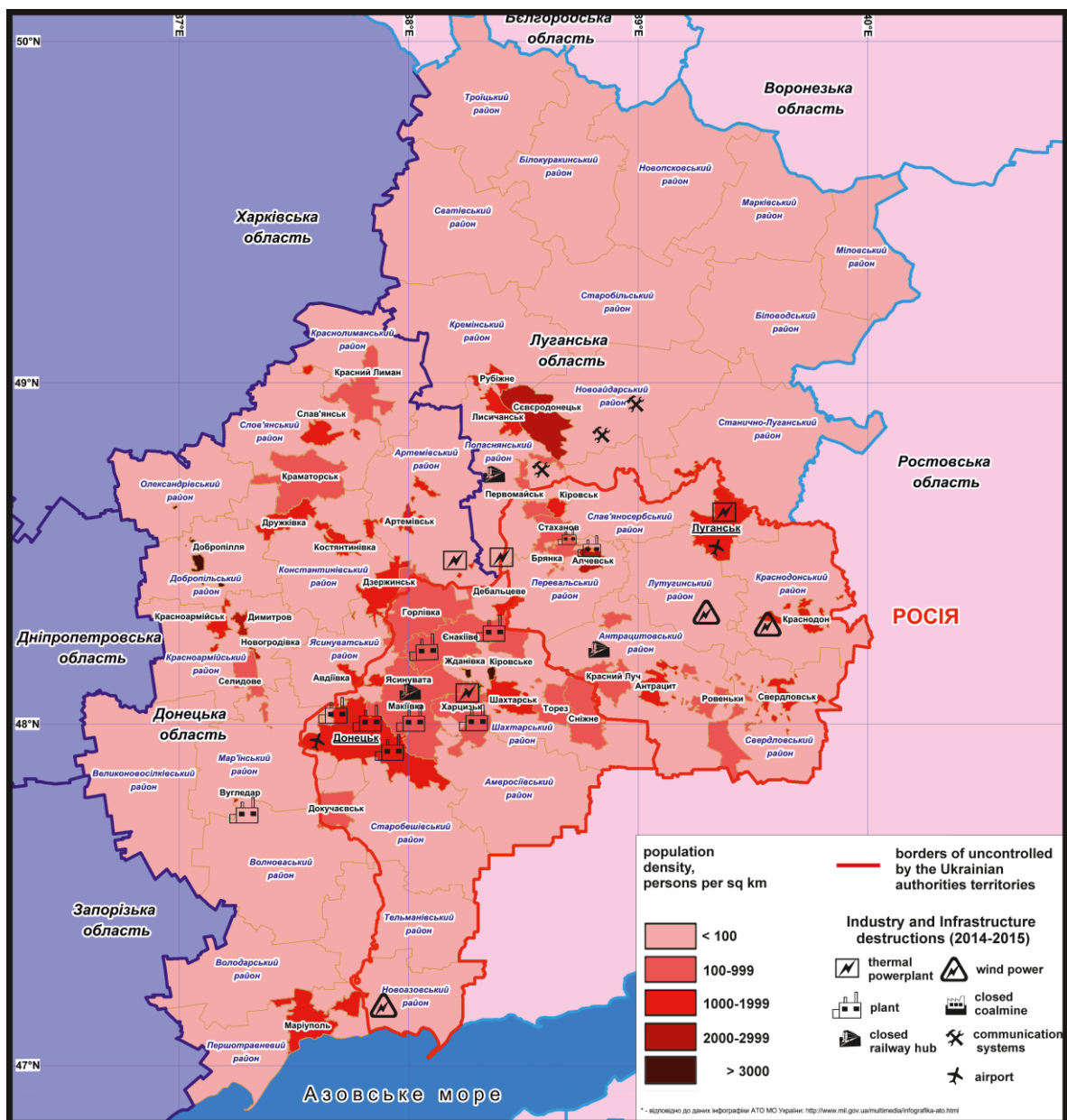


Fig. 4. The consequences of military urbicide in 2014–2015 for Donbas industry (*Стратегія відновлення Донбасу...*, 2015)

Rys. 4. Konsekwencje urbicydu wojennego w latach 2014–2015 dla przemysłu Donbasu

(*Стратегія відновлення Донбасу...*, 2015)

Рис. 4. Последствия военного урбцида в 2014–2015 годах для промышленности Донбасса

(*Стратегія відновлення Донбасу...*, 2015)

The most difficult situation is in the "buffer zone" near the boundary line between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian forces, which completely or partially involves Kominternove, Oktiabrsk, Pavlopol, Novotroitske, Dokuchaievsk, Mariinka, Donetsk, Yasyniuvata, Shyroka Balka, Leninske, Kirovske, Gorlivka, Stakhanov, Slovianoserbsk, Stanychno Luhanske, Pionerske and Bolotene. In case of frozen conflict in Donbas further outflow of population from the frontline zones in other regions of Ukraine as well as in other countries may become possible. This will strengthen the process of de-industrialization and decline of urban network of the region.

In case of the optimistic scenario of Donbas reintegration to Ukraine, rebuilding of the region will demand significant financial resources from both Ukraine and international community. It is important that rebuilding of this industrial region include restructuring of outdated, inefficient and energy intensive businesses. There is hope that new economy in Donbas will promote the ideas of new urbanism, sustainable and inclusive development, which will replace industrial inertia of Soviet model of industrial region development that for so long was blocking positive social changes and integration into global economy.

## CONCLUSIONS

Thus, because of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict urbicide manifestations took place in Donbas. This is the most extensive destruction of the urban environment in Europe since the war in Bosnia in 1990s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hostilities affected a unique region for Ukraine, as it is characterized by a very high level of urbanization and industrialization. The conflict was caused by both internal and external factors. It took place in densely populated industrial landscapes. Such geographical features resulted in destruction of the urban environment of top priority. It concerned the residential sector of the city, industrial enterprises, social and transport infrastructure. This significantly increased the vulnerability of the urban population, which suffered from the inability to satisfy its basic needs. Applying tactics of "human shields" during military operations has increased the number of death tolls of civilians. In the early stages of the conflict hostilities occurred in many separate places. Since the end of 2015 a confrontation line between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian forces has been formed. A "buffer zone" was created along it, which involved a number of cities. Up to now they have been suffering from pulsating conflict escalation. In case of implementation of peaceful scenario to reintegrate Eastern Donbas, Ukraine will not cope alone with the reconstruction of destroyed cities.

It will require the assistance of international community. The prospect of further research of urbicide in Donbas is associated with post-conflict reconstruction of the region and search for effective models of conflict-free development in the future, as it happened in other old industrial regions of Europe.

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