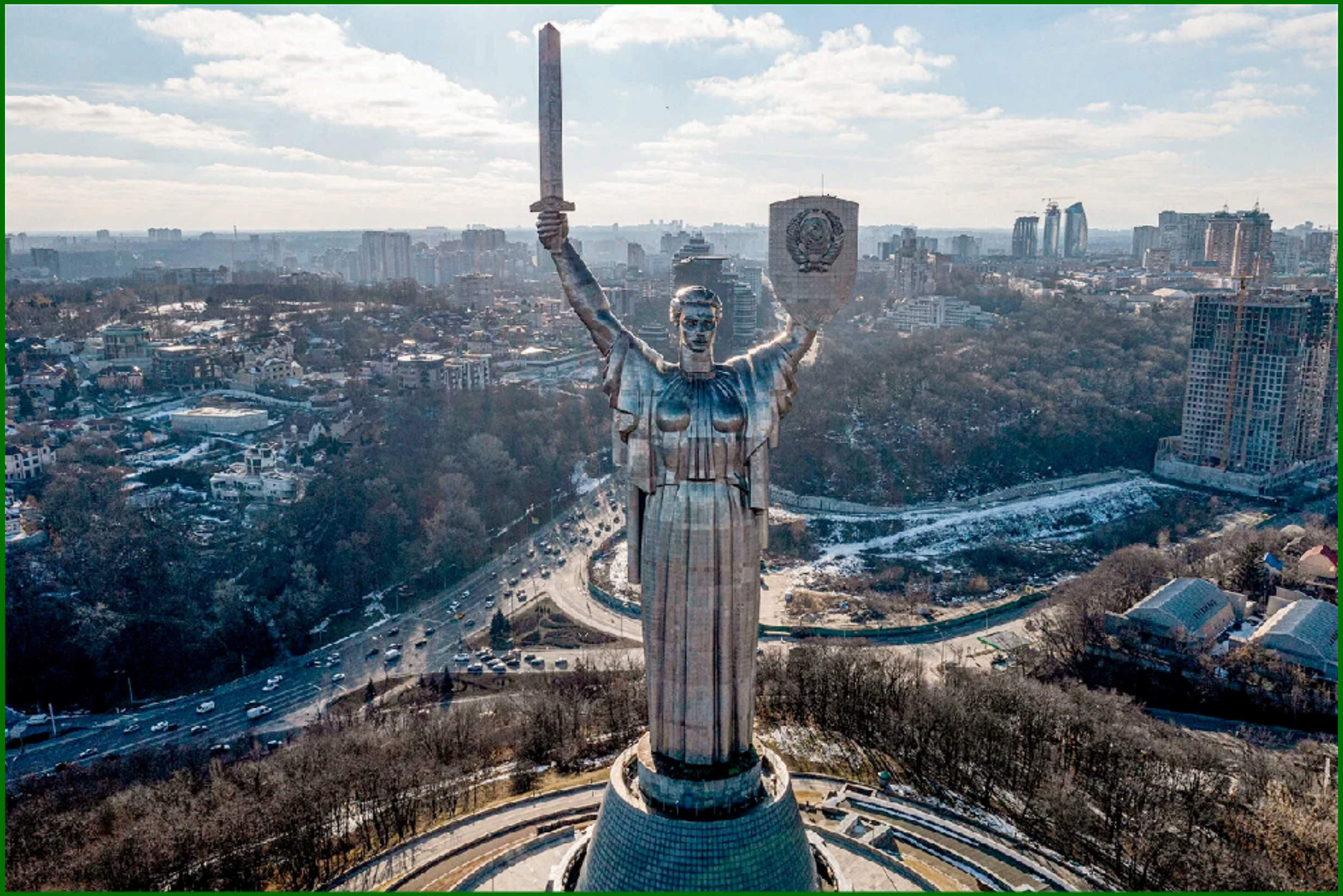
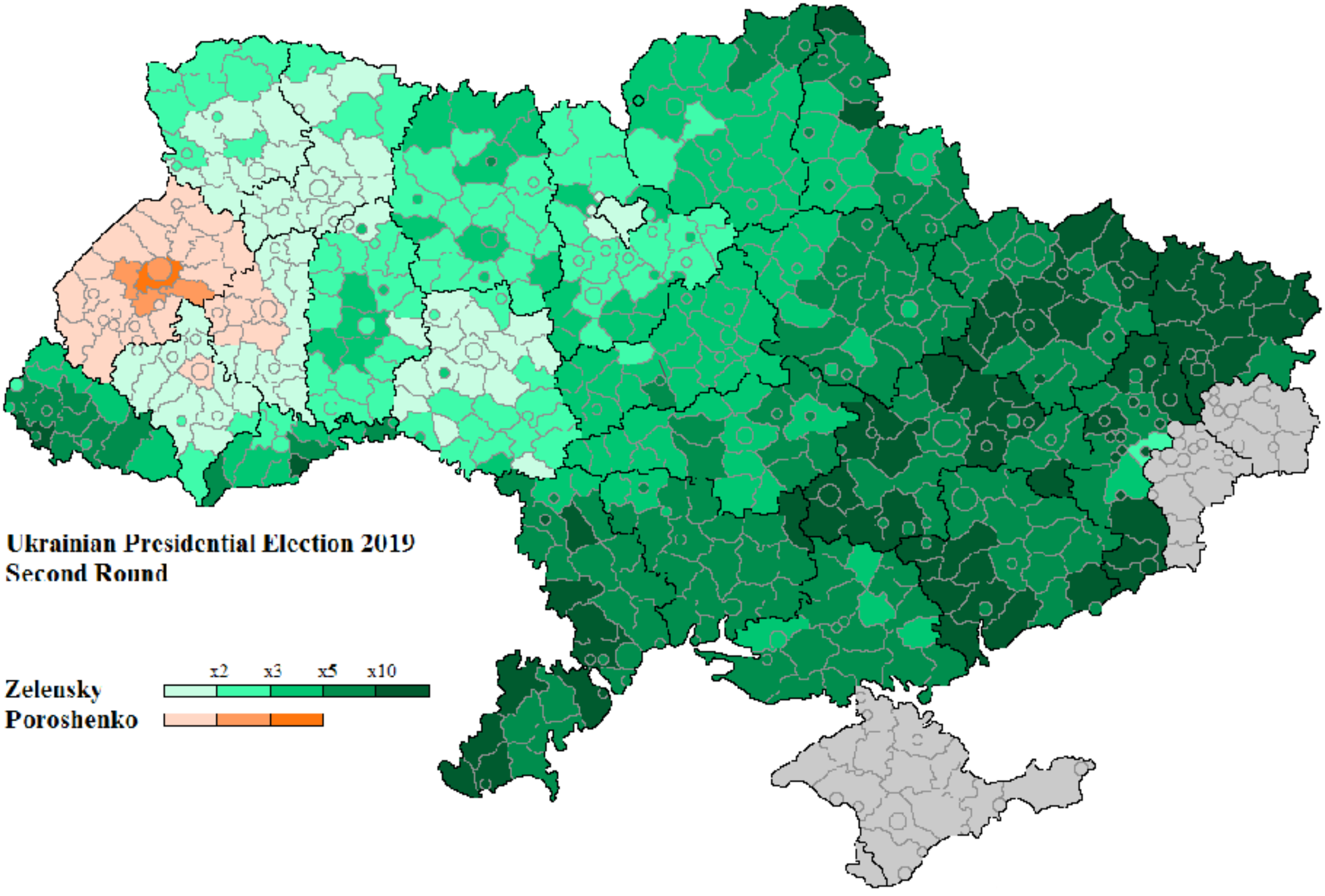
The Minsk Game

Jesse Driscoll
The Ohio State University
January 11, 2024


МИ ГОЛОСУЄМО ЗА МИР,
ЗА ДРУЖБУ МІЖ НАРОДАМИ!



Our Answer: Ukrainian Adaptation To The Unnamed War (Cambridge 2023)



The Minsk Game

- What's Being Bargained Over: National Symbols
- Strategic Setting: Russia, The USSR, The Ukrainian Nation, & The "Beached Diaspora"
- Order Of Play
- Evidence: How Does The Model Fit The Case?
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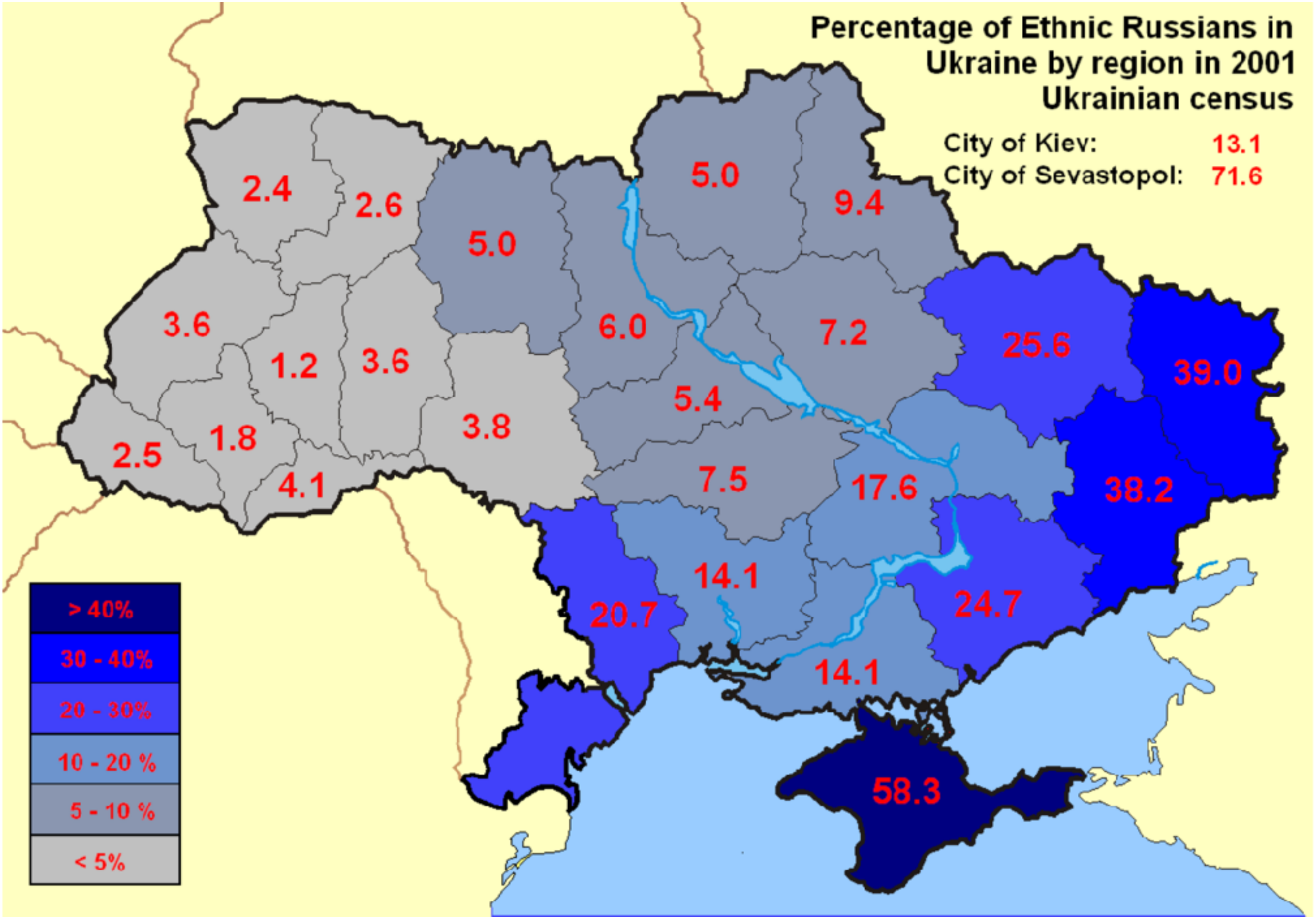
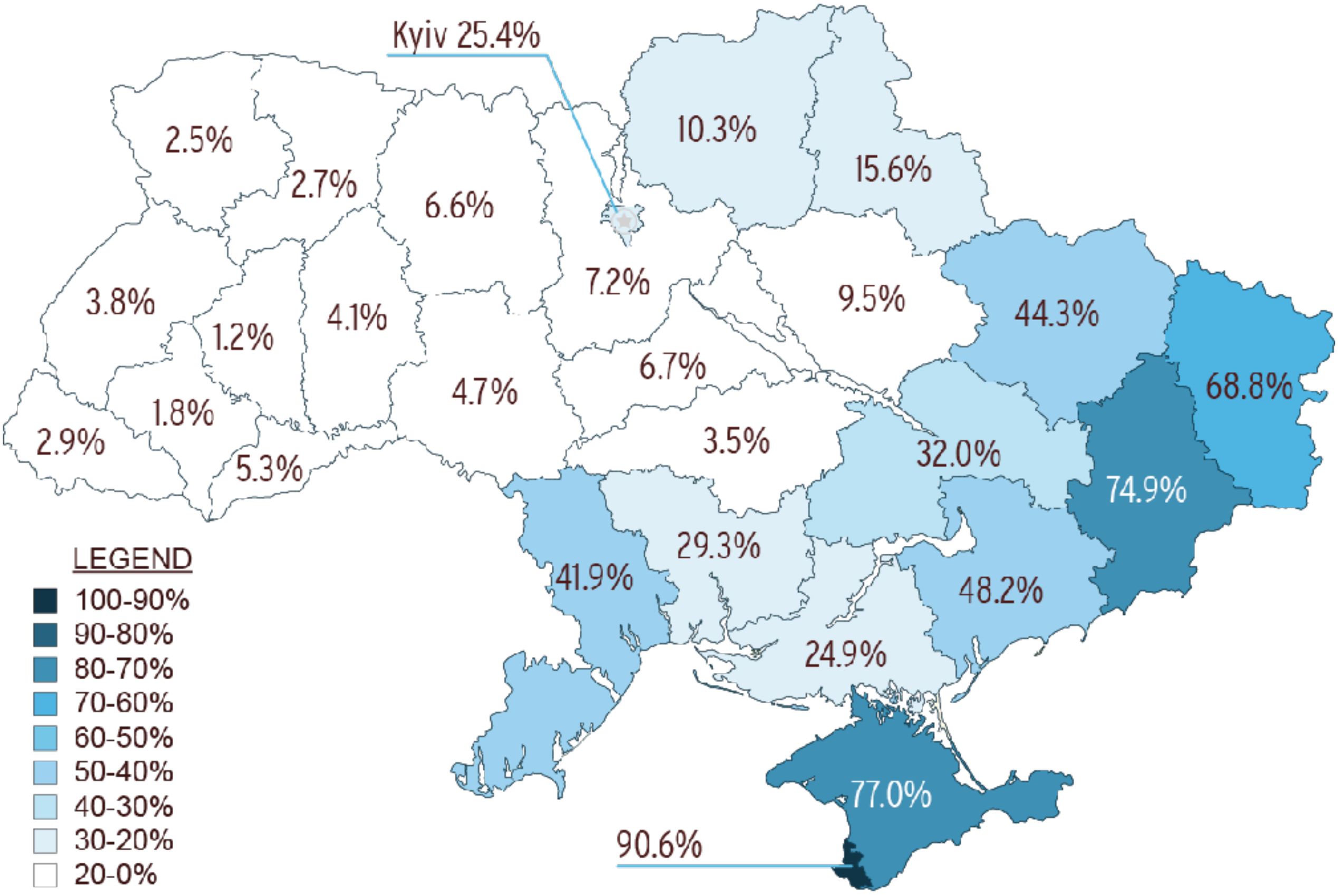

Percentage of Ethnic Russians in Ukraine by region in 2001 Ukrainian census
City of Kiev: 13.1
City of Sevastopol: 71.6
2.4
2.6
5.0
5.0
9.4
3.6
1.2
3.6
6.0
7.2
25.6
39.0
2.5
1.8
4.1
3.8
5.4
7.5
17.6
38.2
14.1
20.7
24.7
14.1
58.3
> 40%
30 - 40%
20 - 30%
10 - 20 %
5 - 10 %
< 5%

PERCENTAGE OF UKRAINE'S POPULATION (BY REGION) THAT INDICATED 'RUSSIAN' AS THEIR UNIQUE MOTHER TONGUE, ACCORDING TO THE 2001 CENSUS



Source: 2001 Ukrainian census; "Ukrainian society 1994-2005: sociological monitoring." - http://dif.org.ua/ (in Ukrainian)

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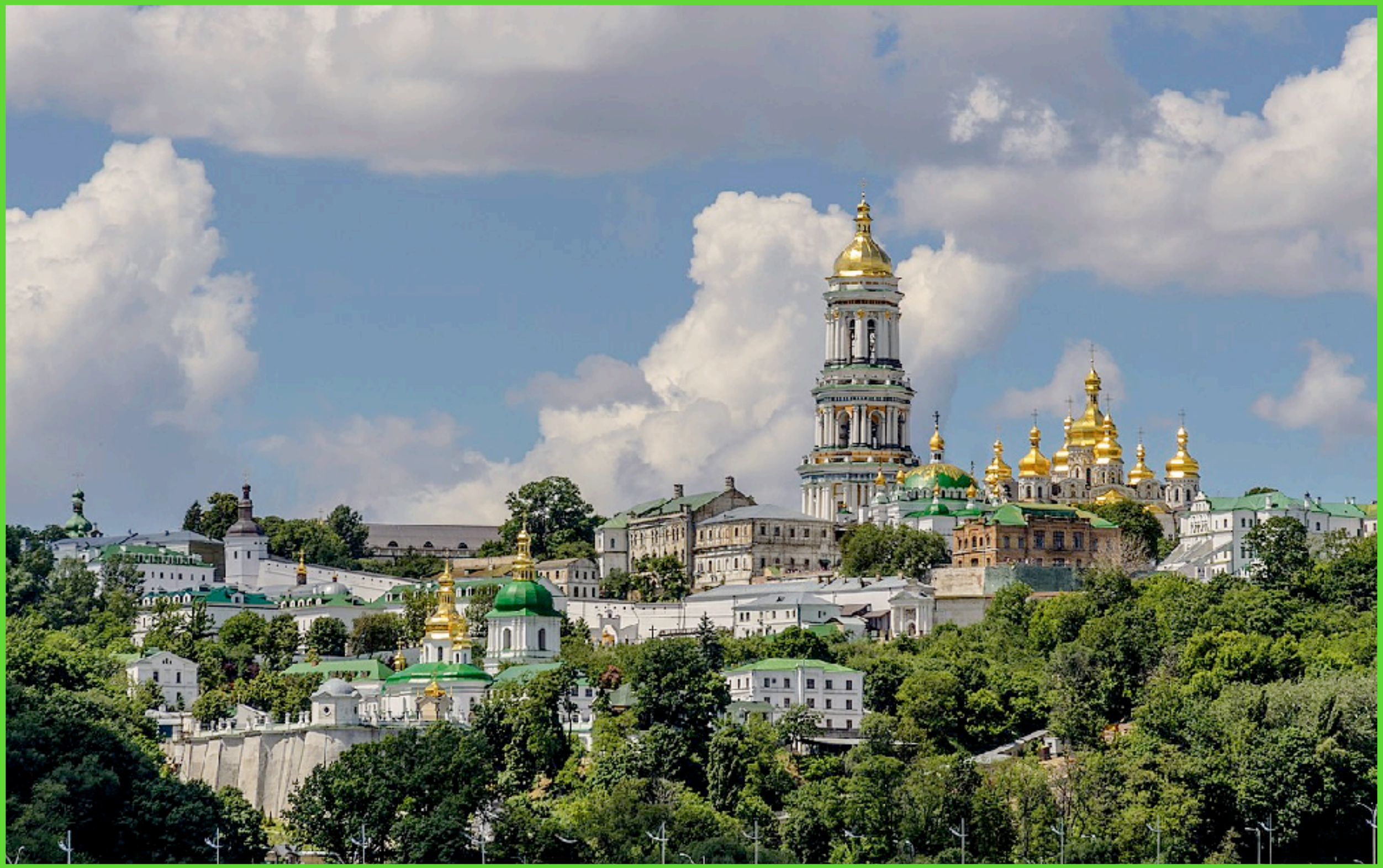

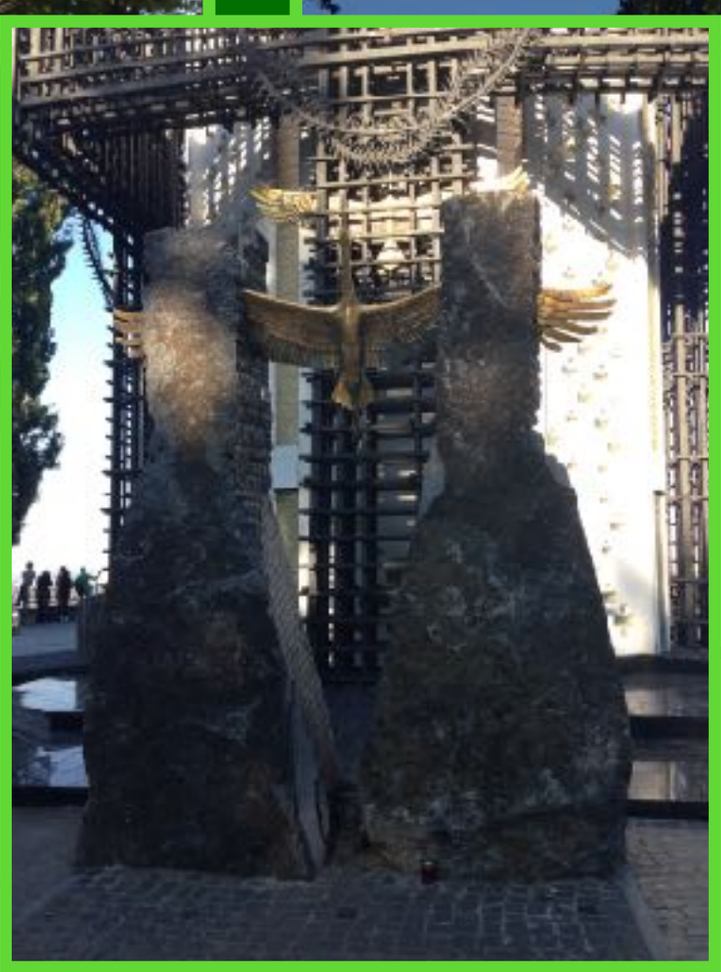

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БЕЛОЕ МОРЕ
КАРСКОЕ МОРЕ
ЛАПТЕВЫХ МОРЕ
ВОСТОЧНО-СИБИРСКОЕ МОРЕ
ЧУКОТСКОЕ МОРЕ
БЕРИНГОВО МОРЕ
ОХОТСКОЕ МОРЕ
ЯПОНСКОЕ МОРЕ
БАЛТИЙСКОЕ МОРЕ
ЧЕРНОЕ МОРЕ
АЗОВСКОЕ МОРЕ
КАСПИЙСКОЕ МОРЕ
АРАЛЬСКОЕ МОРЕ
РУССКИЕ
УКРАИНЦЫ
БЕЛОРУССЫ
ТАТАРЫ
ЧУВАШИ
МОРДВА
ЧЕРЕМИСЫ
ПЕРМЯКИ
УДМУРТЫ
ЯКУТЫ
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ОРОЧИ
ОРОКИ
ГОЛЬДЫ
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СЕВЕРНЫЙ ЛЕДОВИТЫЙ ОКЕАН
ТИХИЙ ОКЕАН
Баренцево море
Белое море
Балтийское море
Карское море
Море Лаптевых
Восточно-Сибирское море
Чукотское море
Берингово море
Охотское море
Японское море
Каспийское море
Аральское море
Черное море
Азовское море
Сокращения, принятые на карте


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СЕВЕРНОЕ МОРЕ
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БЕЛОМОРСКО-БАЛТИЙСКИЙ КАНАЛ
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КАРСКОЕ МОРЕ
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Сахалин
Камчатка
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Командорские острова
Аральское море
Каспийское море
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Ладожское озеро
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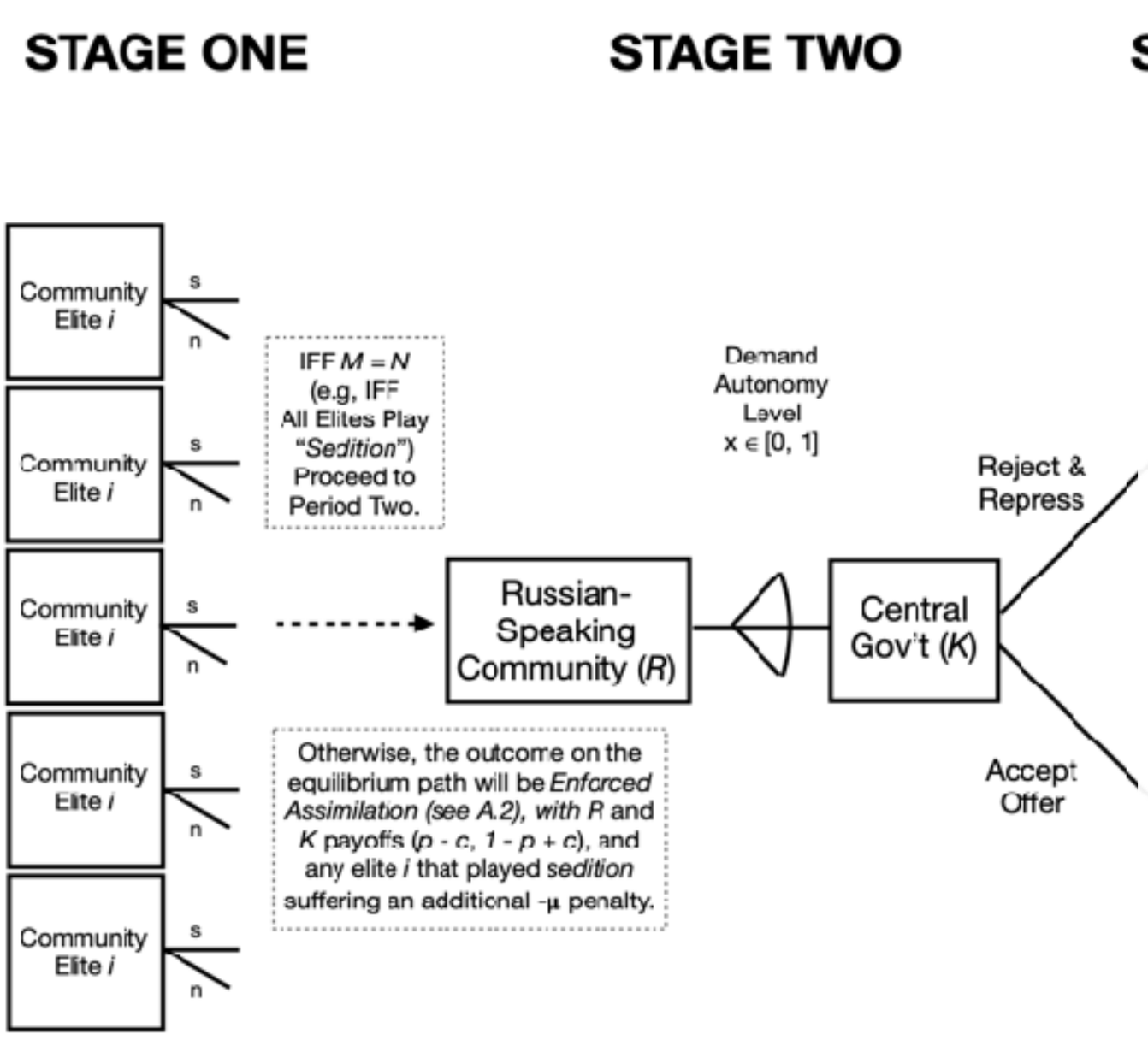
A Strategic Constructivist Approach: Order Of Moves Matters A Great Deal



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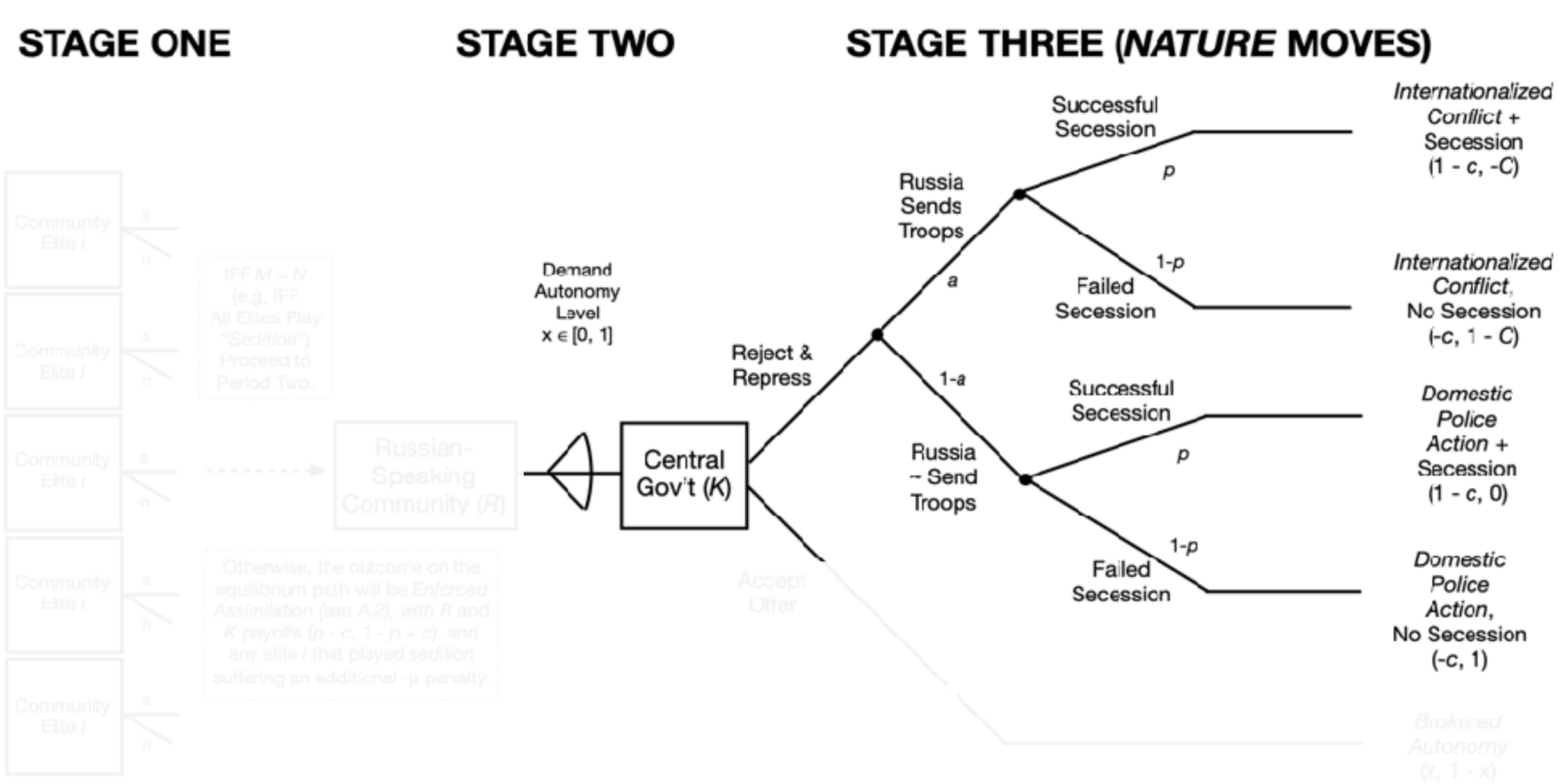

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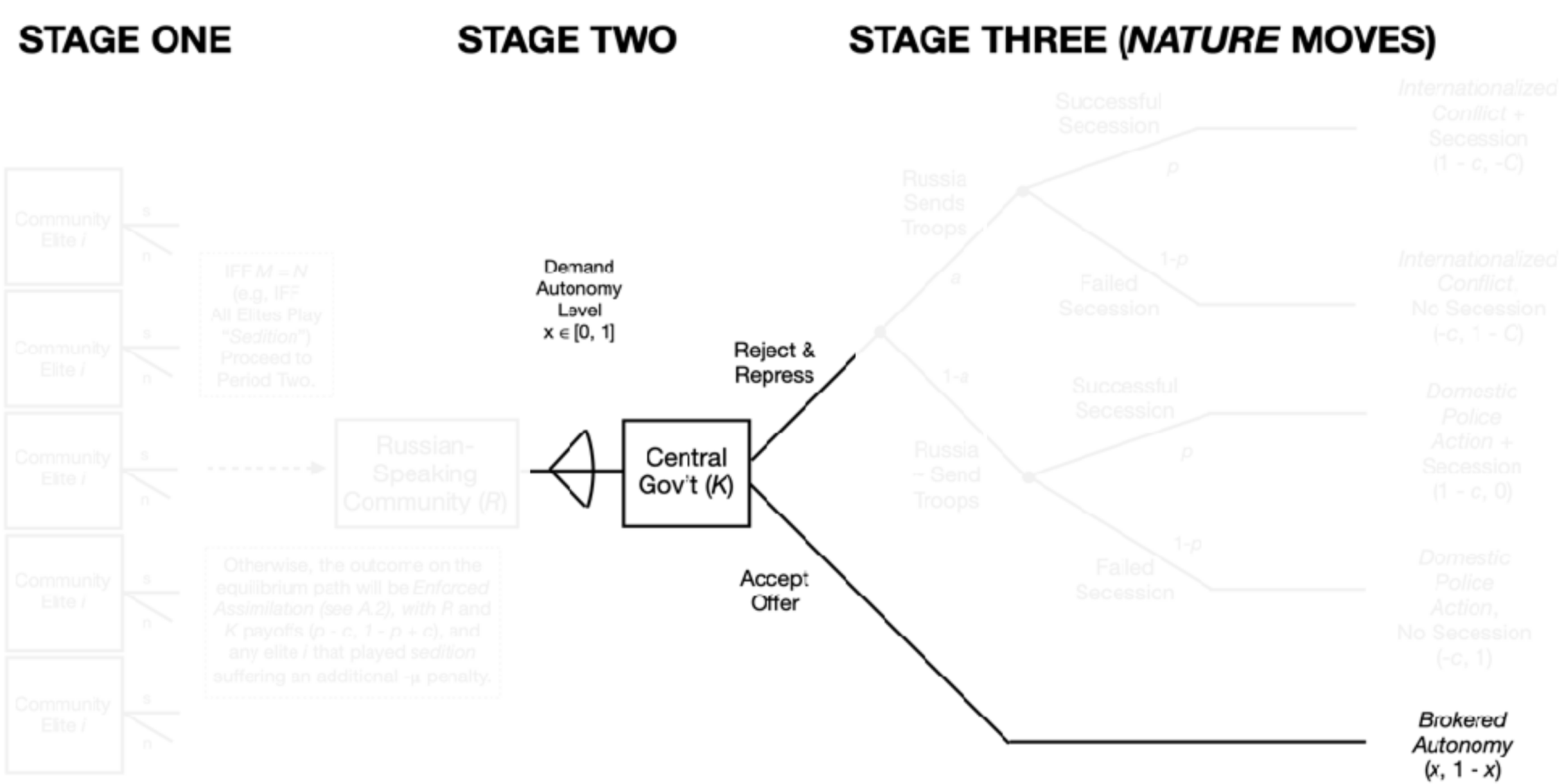

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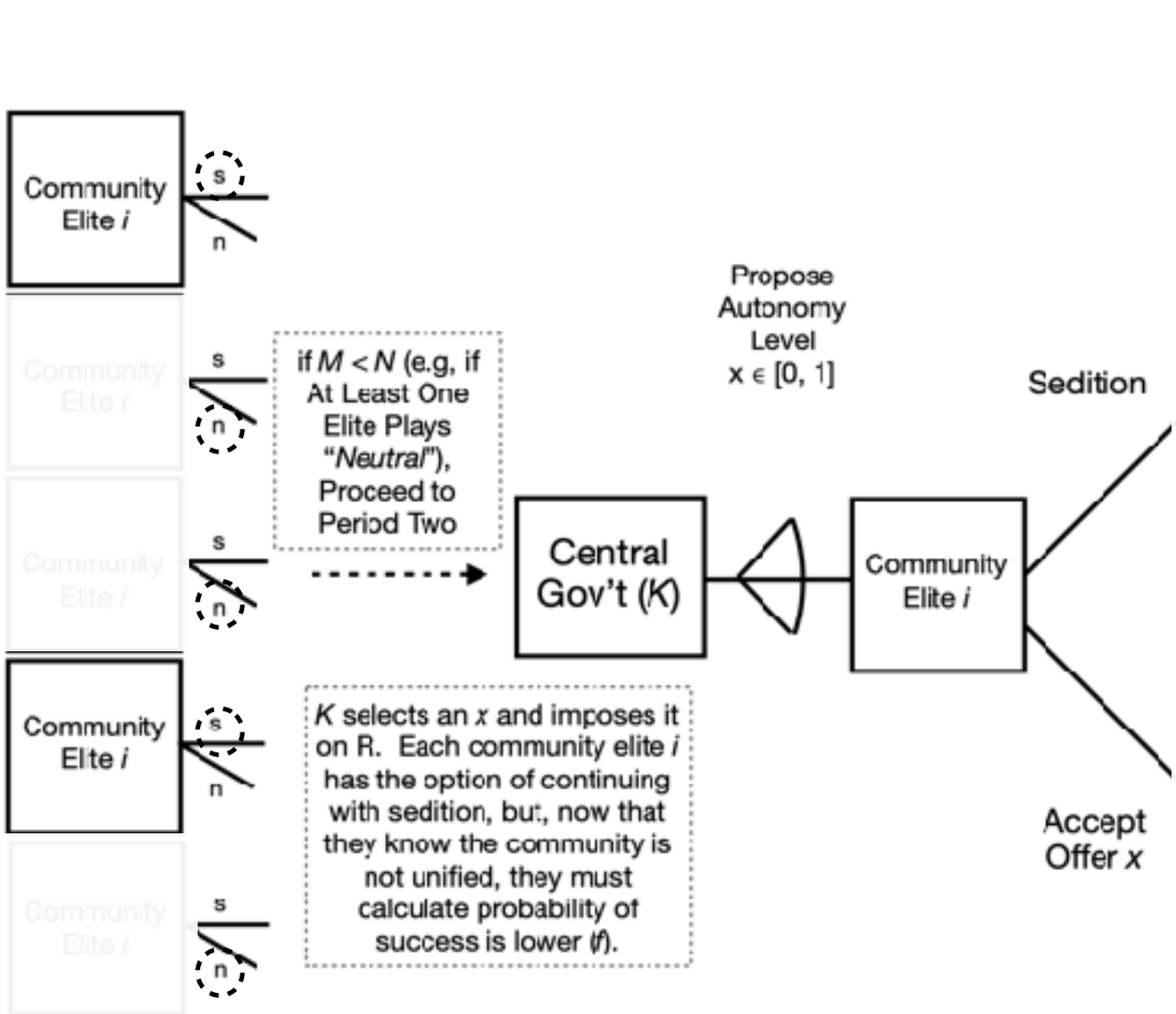

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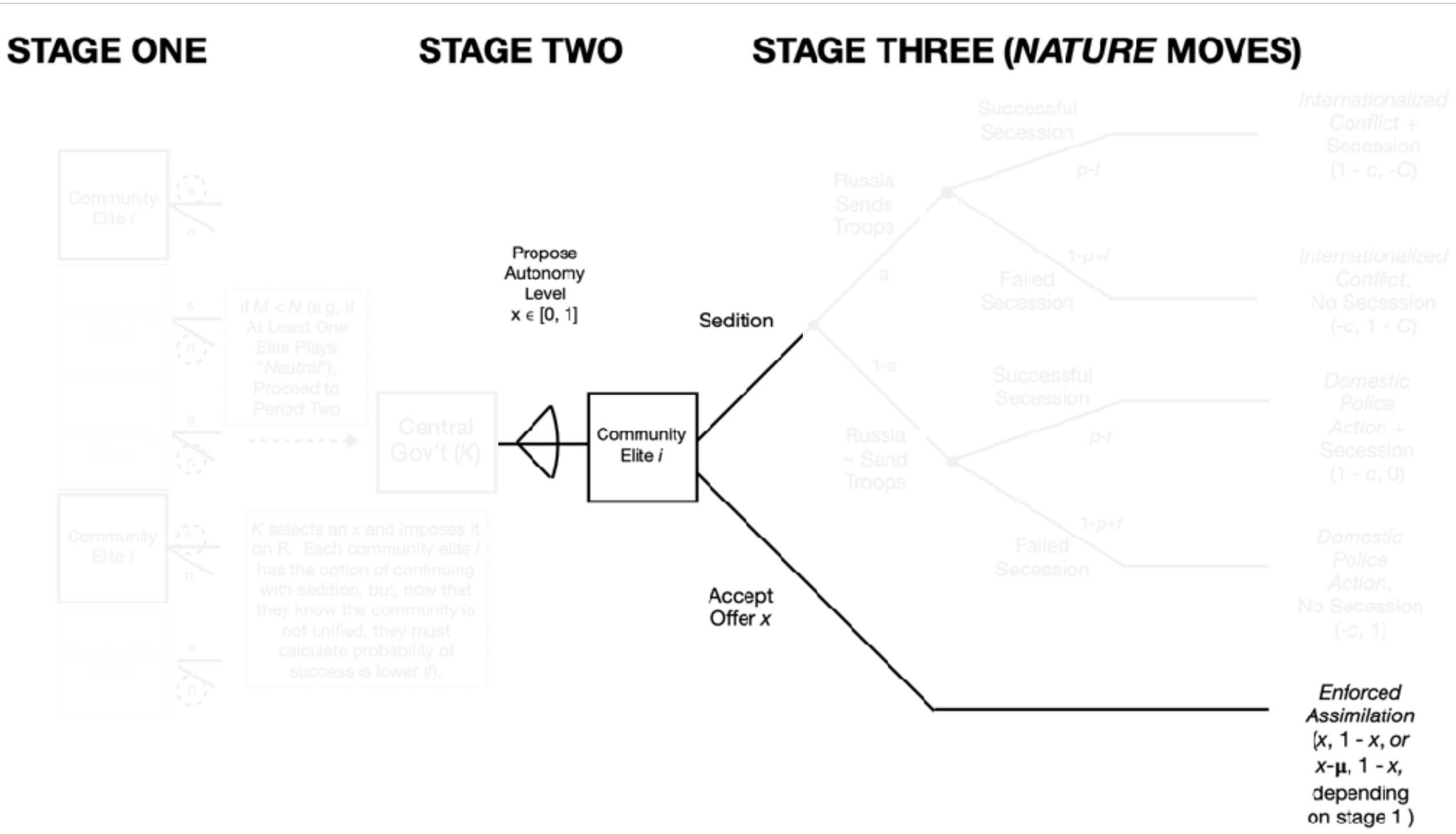

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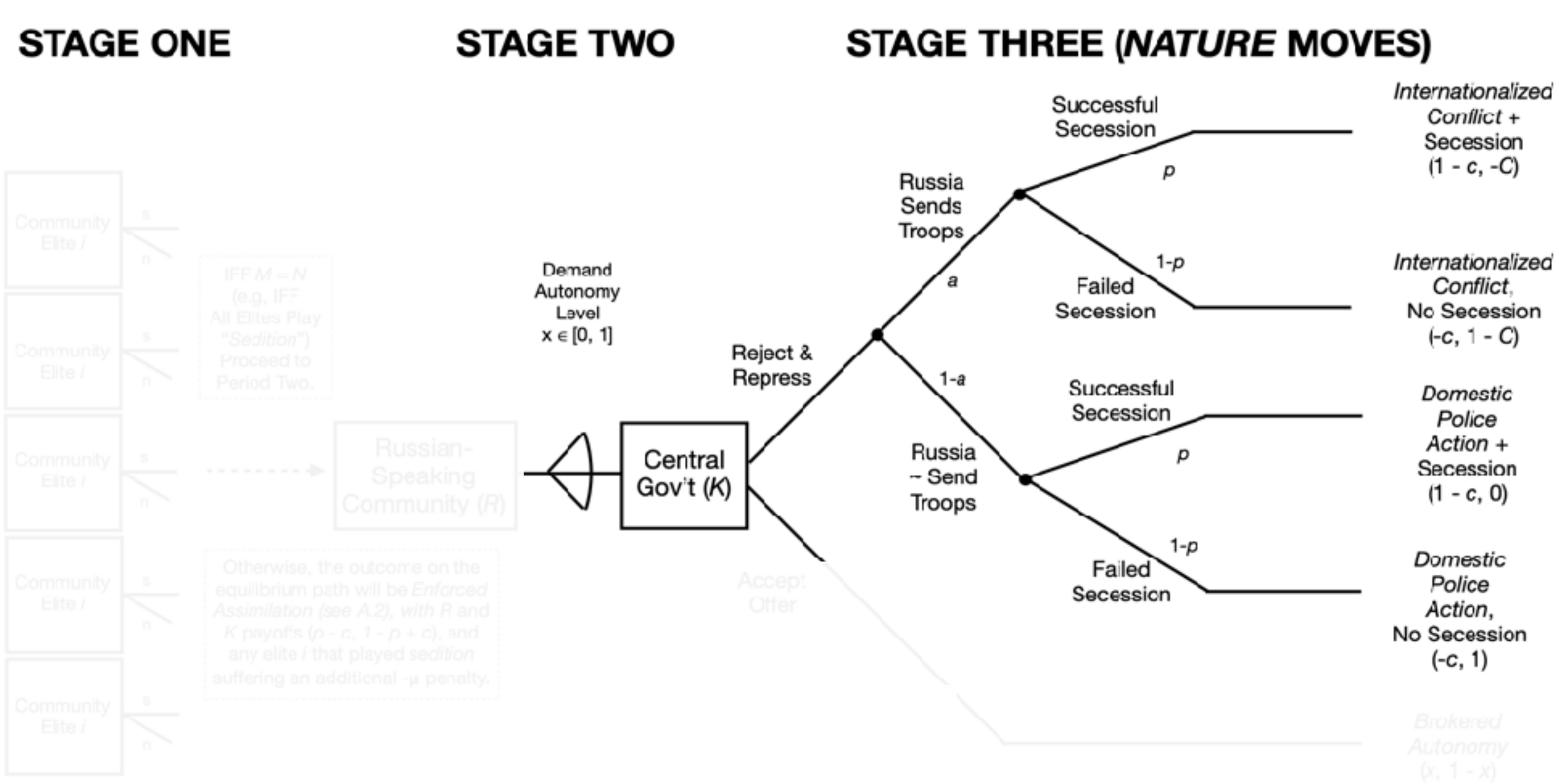

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Р. С. Ф. С. Р.

АВТ. КРЫМСКАЯ С. С. Р.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

VOL. CXLII . . . No. 49,191 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1993 50 CENTS

Ukraine's Miners Bemoan The Cost of Independence

By LIZA FERLEI

Special to The New York Times

DONETSK, Ukraine, July 14 — The already dim skyline of the October Coal Mine slumped open at the end of the first shift, releasing hundreds of cold-stunned miners, their faces and shoulders blackened and sharp from six hours of labor in deep and crutch-brace coal seams.

Last month these miners and hundreds of thousands of others were on strike, pushing an increasingly impoverished and angry Ukraine toward what many here describe as economic and political chaos.

After the Government promised more in pay increases, the miners went back to work — just to stay, they believe, crippled coal mines had to shut down. But they have made a clear that they will walk out again if the Government did not come to the aid to their faith to get the message. The miners Ukraine holds their economy.

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Workers waiting to descend at October Coal Mine in Ukraine.

More Strikes Threatened

"Unless the Government changes its policy, we can only say that the strike was on the table," said 37-year-old Mikhail Kolos, a well-dressed member of the miners' strike committee, who organized the strikes in collaboration with the miners' directors. He sat in a comfortable office with a fax machine provided by the regional authorities.

Like most the years after a border free of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is devastated by industry at present, a state farther in disinheriting output, hyperinflation and labor quarrels with

Converging Crests of Mighty Rivers Threaten the Defenses of St. Louis

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Special to The New York Times

ST. LOUIS, July 14 — The Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, swollen higher and higher because of new rains, crested very today at this city's ancient flood defenses, causing worry to residents.

All around the outer edges of the sodden metropolitan area, out of the river properties in the Midwest and near the Great Bend of 1993, there were reports of leaks and overflows.

There were relatively minor scuffles at a few locations involving the owners of sandbags. But there was at least one at St. Charles, on the Missouri just before it joins the Mississippi north of here, that was significant enough to set off a powerful explosion of water-soaked sandbags by National Guard units.

Elsewhere on the ravaged Midwest, bolstered by Quincy, Ill., facing the closing of the Baldwin Bridge connecting Quincy with West Quincy, Mo. The bridge is the only crossing for more than 100 miles on the Mississippi and is closing will compel thousands of commuters. The bridge failure was also expected to have hit an oil refinery. Private underground tanks near the river, perhaps because of a large auto plant. The resulting oil slick behind the city bears before being extinguished.

Charles Schultz, the Mayor of Quincy, predicted that all 37,000 residents would have just when it broke. Despite the

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Any Place in the Sun Will

Yulee Kristallnacht used the end of

New York Using

By MATTHEW L. WALD

Special to The New York Times

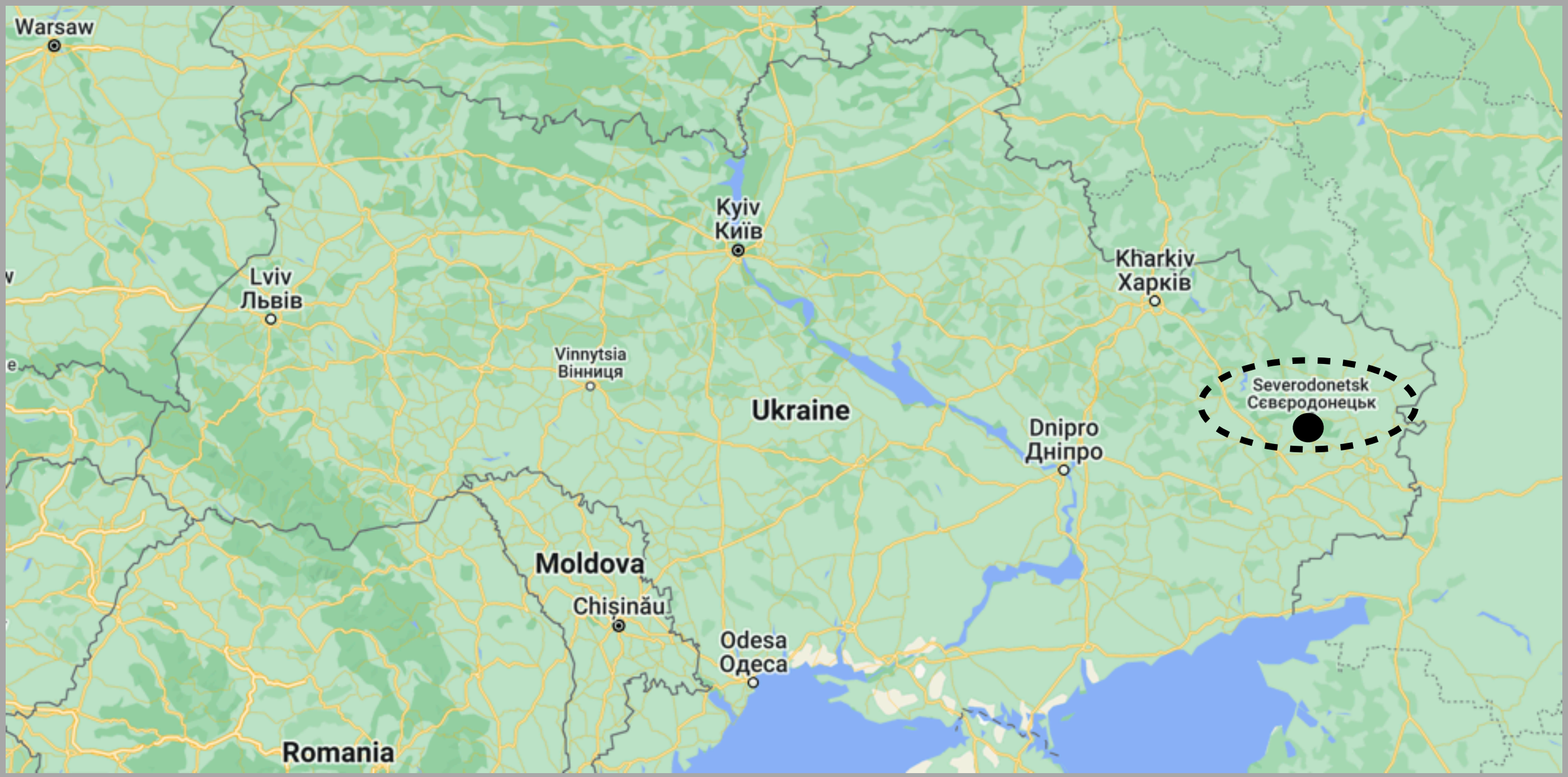
ANDREWS, N.Y. — In marked contrast to the United States' air war over Baghdad, now been overflown in training in the desolate north of Utah.

The New York State Police are using bases the same way the Air Force plans to, to mostly ranges, although the patrol runs do not follow air force patterns, with speeding tickets. But the police are beginning to sound like Air Force generals as they talk about the routes now on the highways, where some engineers said, radar speed traps brought forty tickets and before radar

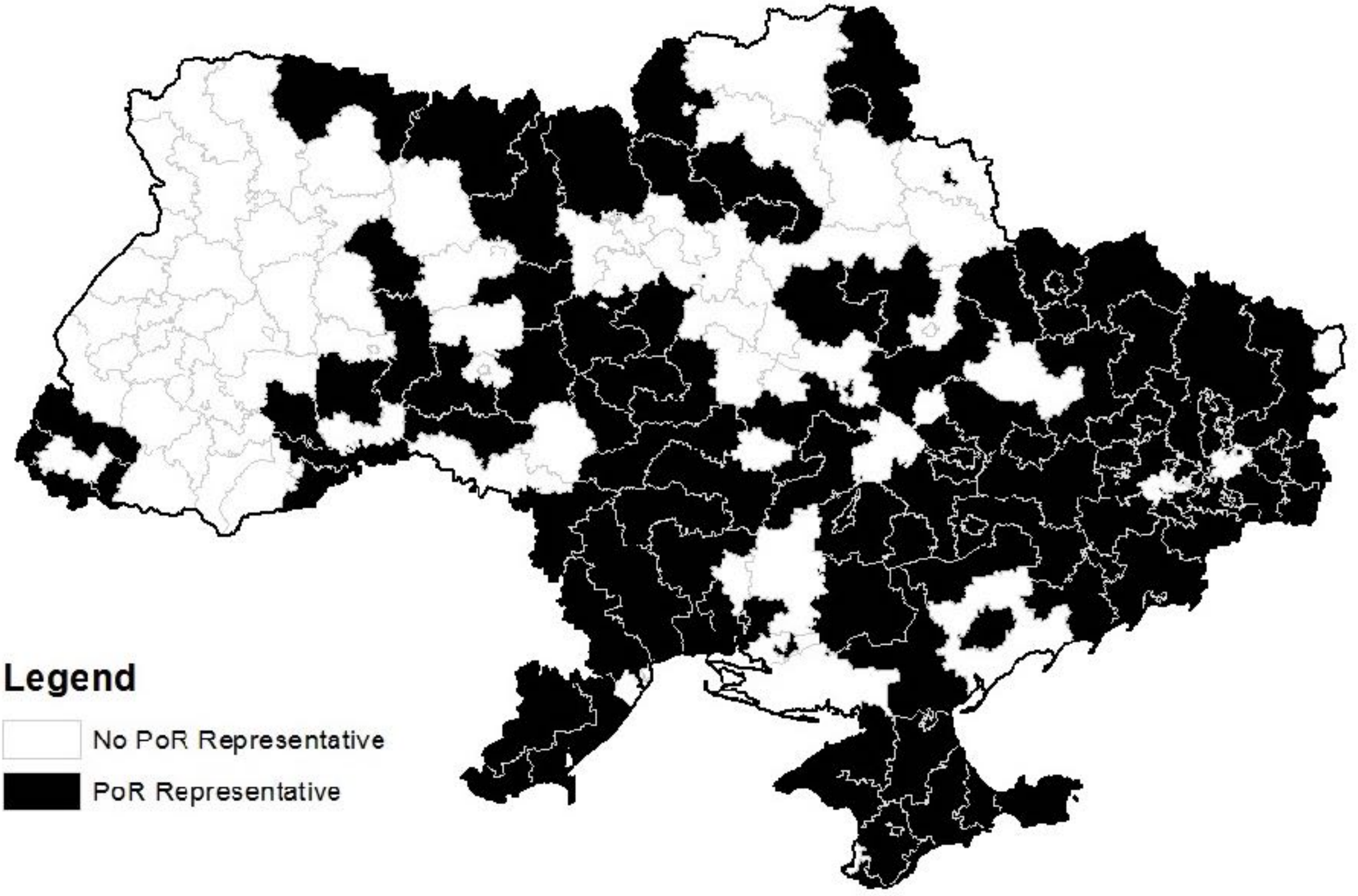
Continued on Page 21, Column 1

INSIDE


Так!
Ющенко
САЛЬНИЦЯ
ПОСО
ДНІПРОДЗЕРЖИНСЬК


Warsaw
Kyiv
Київ
Lviv
Львів
Kharkiv
Харків
Vinnytsia
Вінниця
Severodonetsk
Сєвєродонецьк
Ukraine
Dnipro
Дніпро
Moldova
Chișinău
Odesa
Одеса
Romania

Number of Party of Regions Representatives by Electoral Districts (before February 20, 2014) (for single-mandate district elected officials only)



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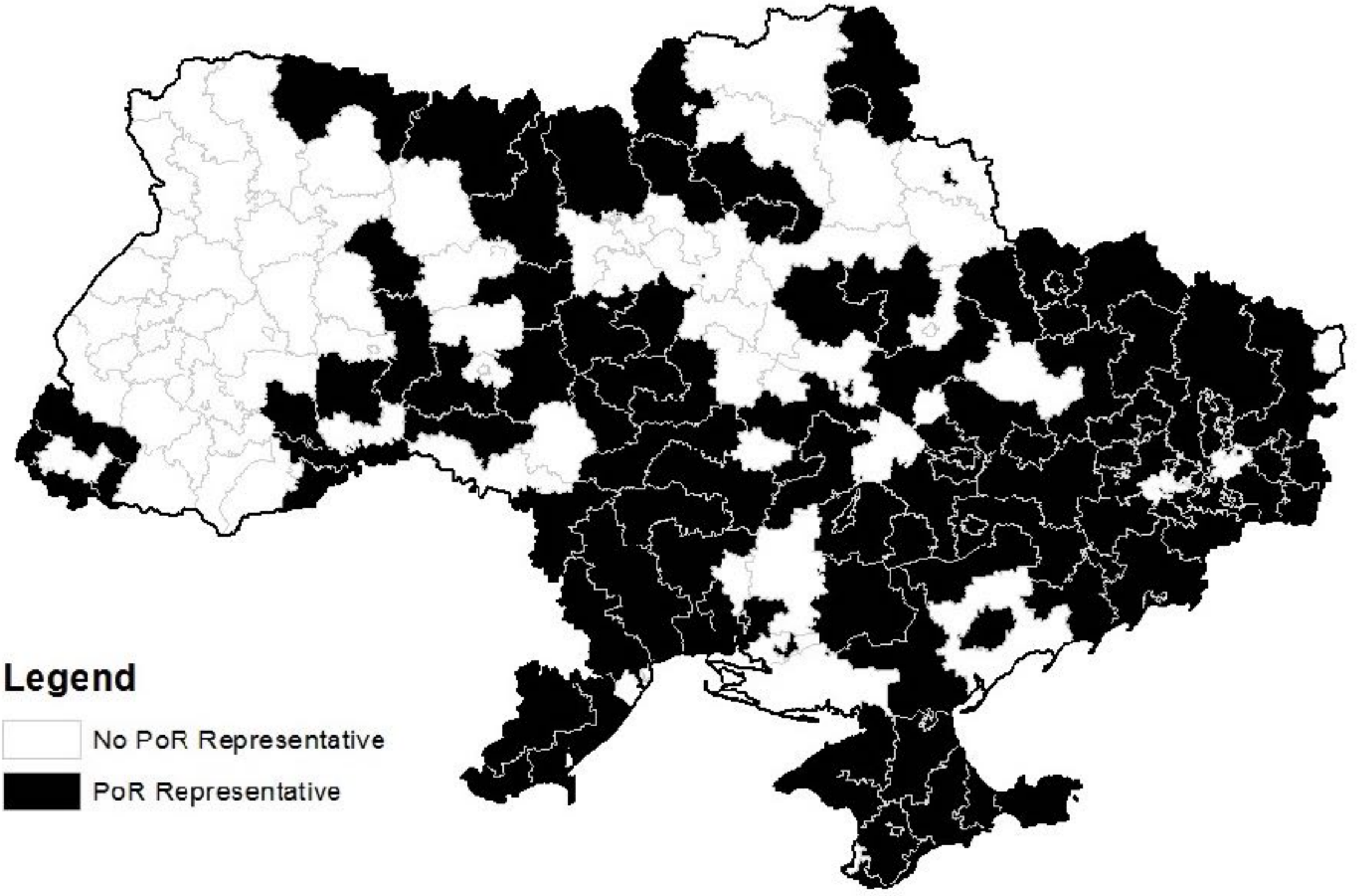

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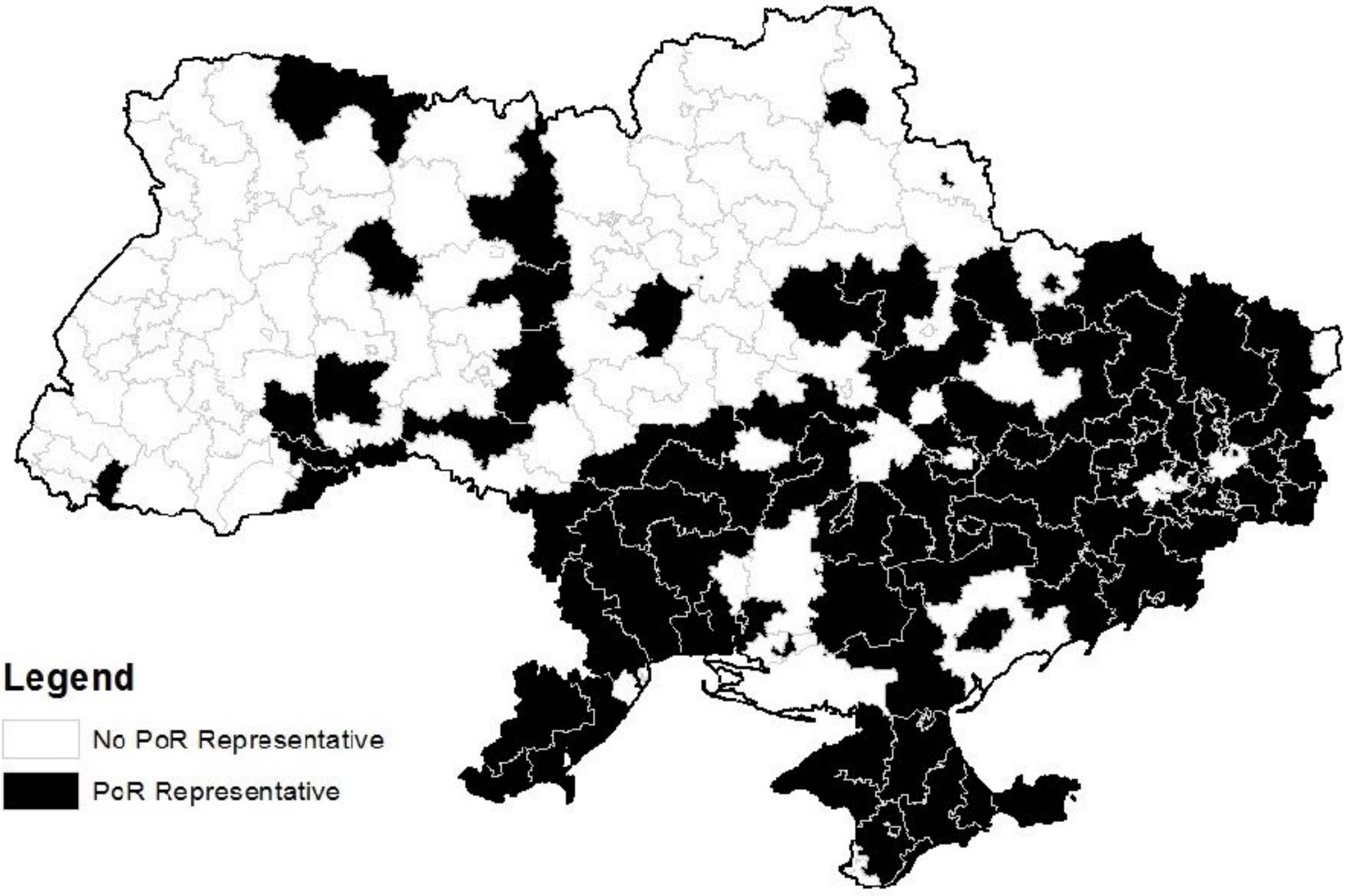

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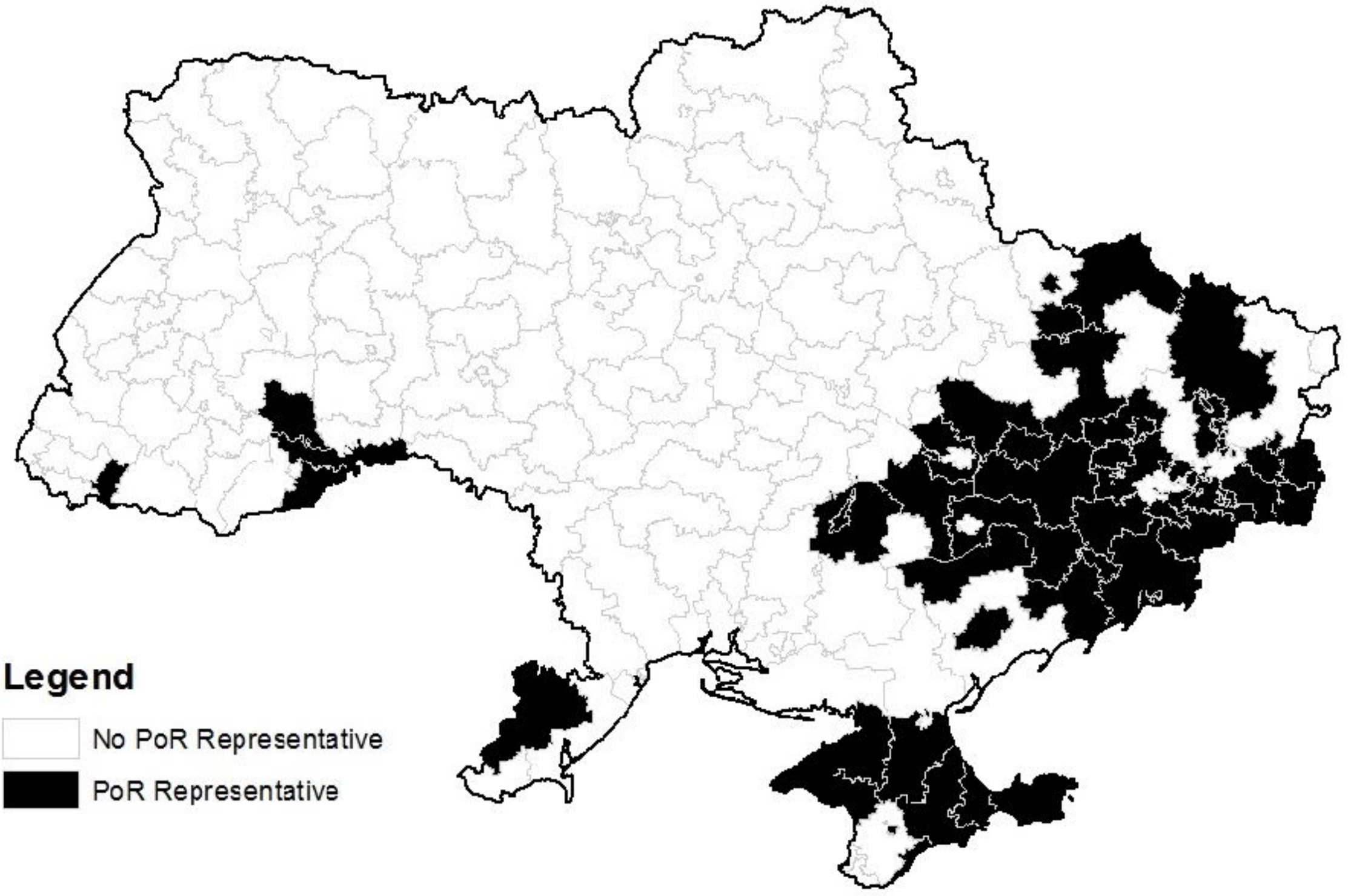
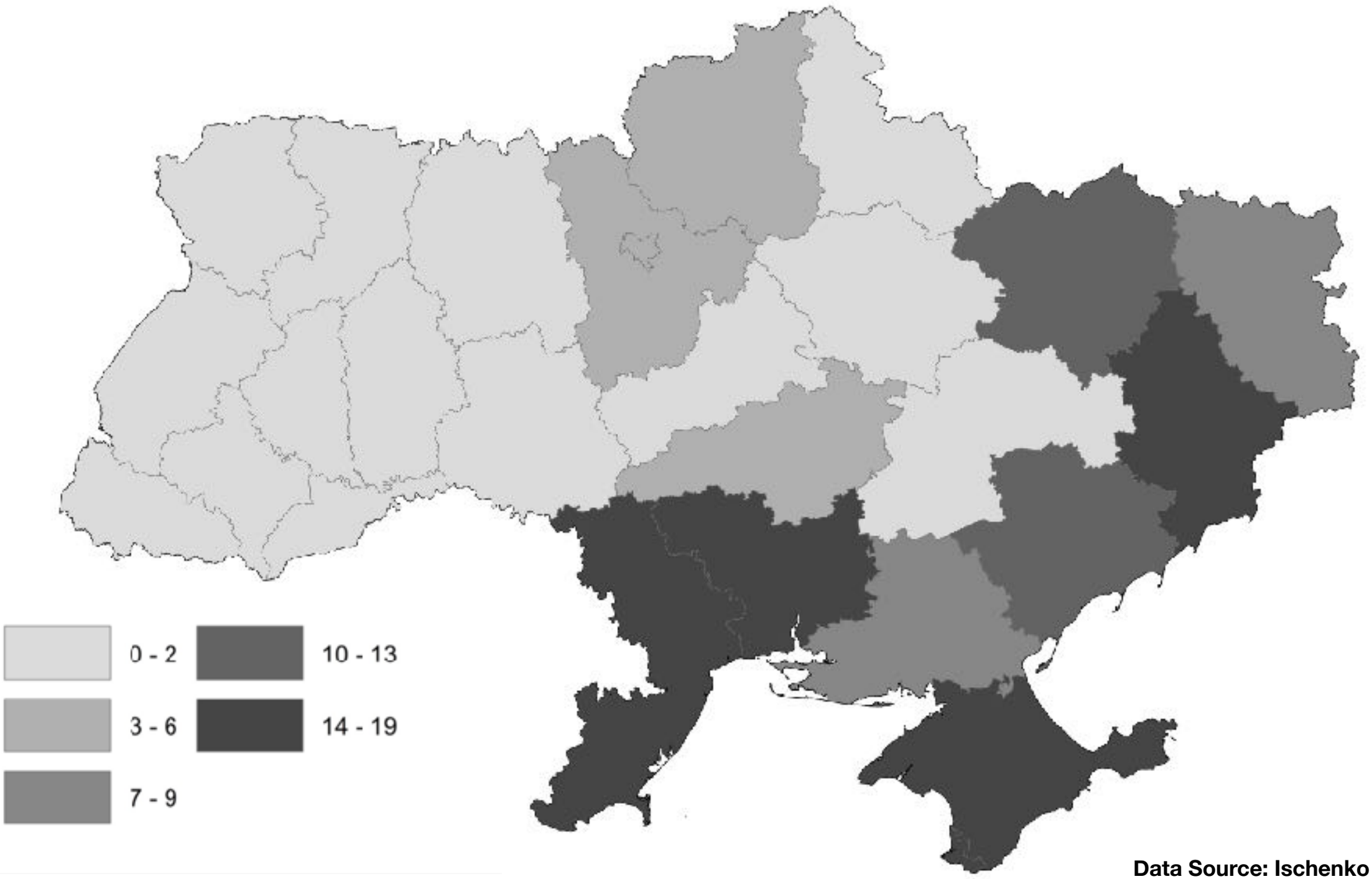


“The Narratives Diverge”

	Russian narrative	**Dignity narrative**
21 February Agreement	violated	overtaken by momentum of events
National Unity Cabinet	“of Victors”	no longer a priority
Yanukovych removal	coup	constitutional
Violence on Maidan	instigated by the West	failure to deescalate
Violence by police	heroic	disproportionate
Violence by protesters	fascist	unrepresentative/tragic
Fate of Russian-speakers	imminent threat	downplayed

Table 4.1, *The Narratives Diverge,* page 97

“Anti-Maidan” Protests (Ischenko et al 2018)



Data Source: Ischenko et al (2018)

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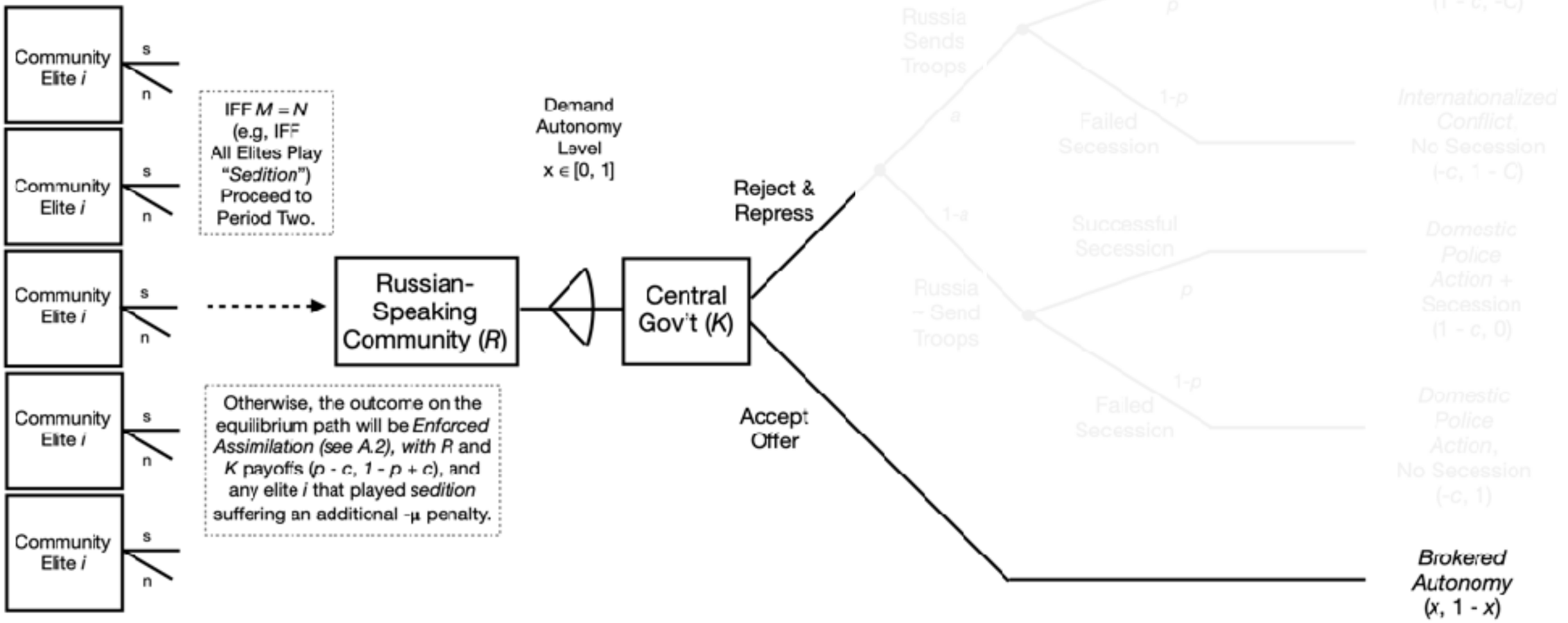
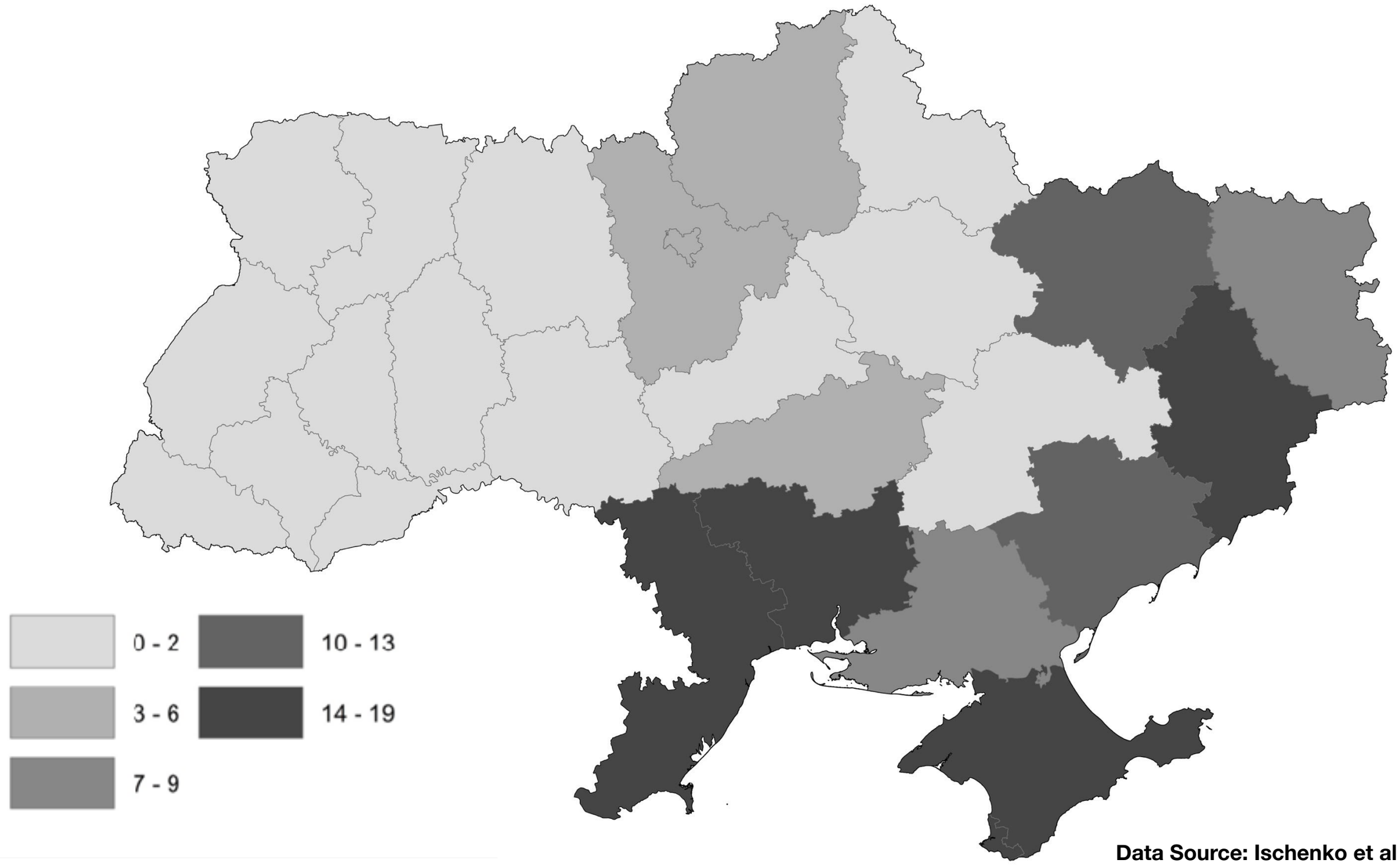
Military Defections Inside Crimea

Types of Security Forces	Armed Forces of Ukraine	State Border Guard Service of Ukraine	National Guard of Ukraine	State Security Admin.	Security Service of Ukraine (Uniforms/ Officers)	State Space Agency	**Total**
Soldiers in February 2014	13468	1870	2560	1614	527	247	**20315**
Soldiers Who Did Not Defect to Russia	3990 (30%)	519 (28%)	1177 (46%)	20 (1%)	242 (46%)	61 (22%)	**6010 (30%)**

Crimea: *a=1*, *x=1*, Brokered Autonomy

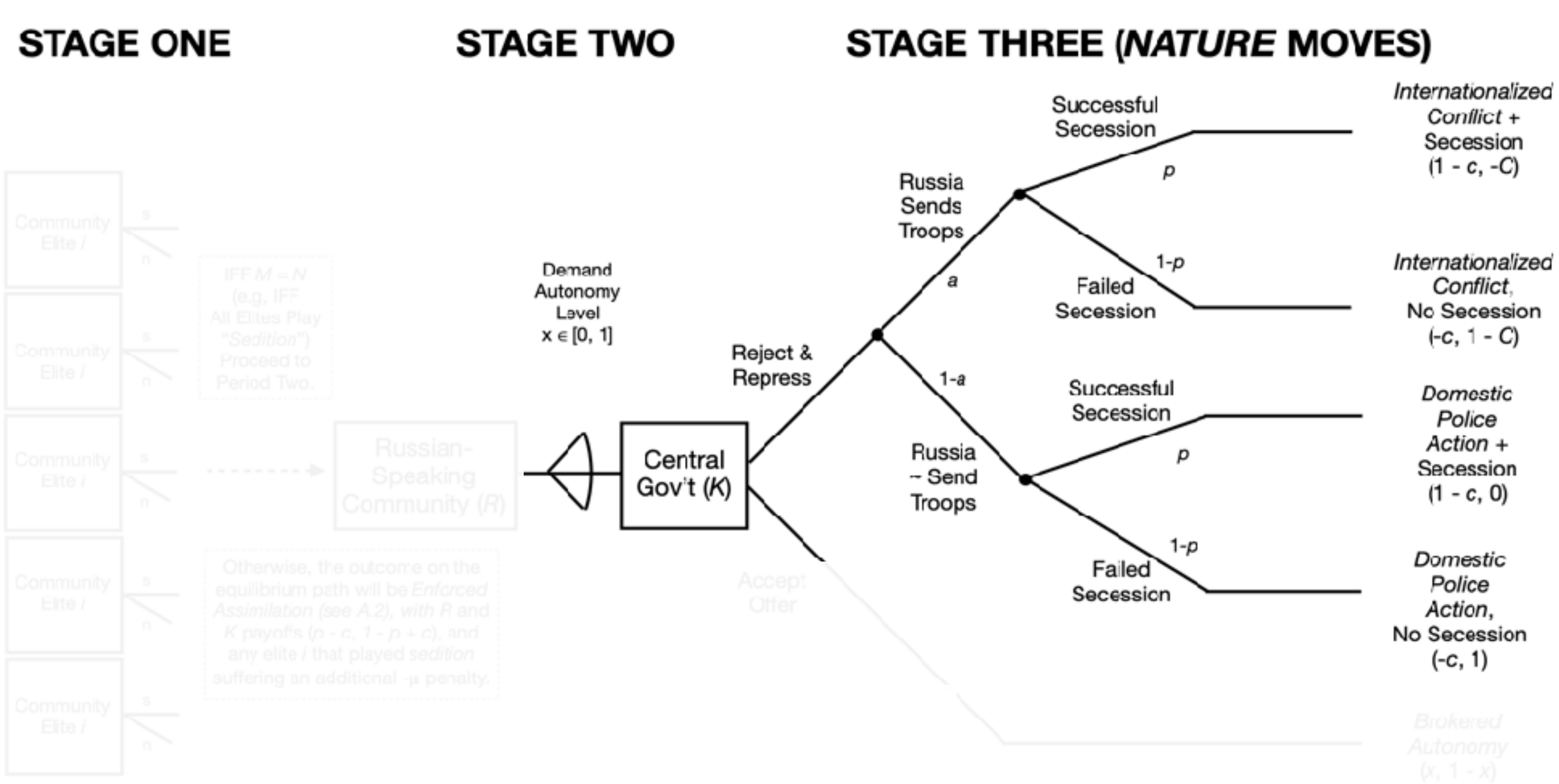


Coordinated sedition fails (or occurs only after very messy/contingent stuff) everywhere else…

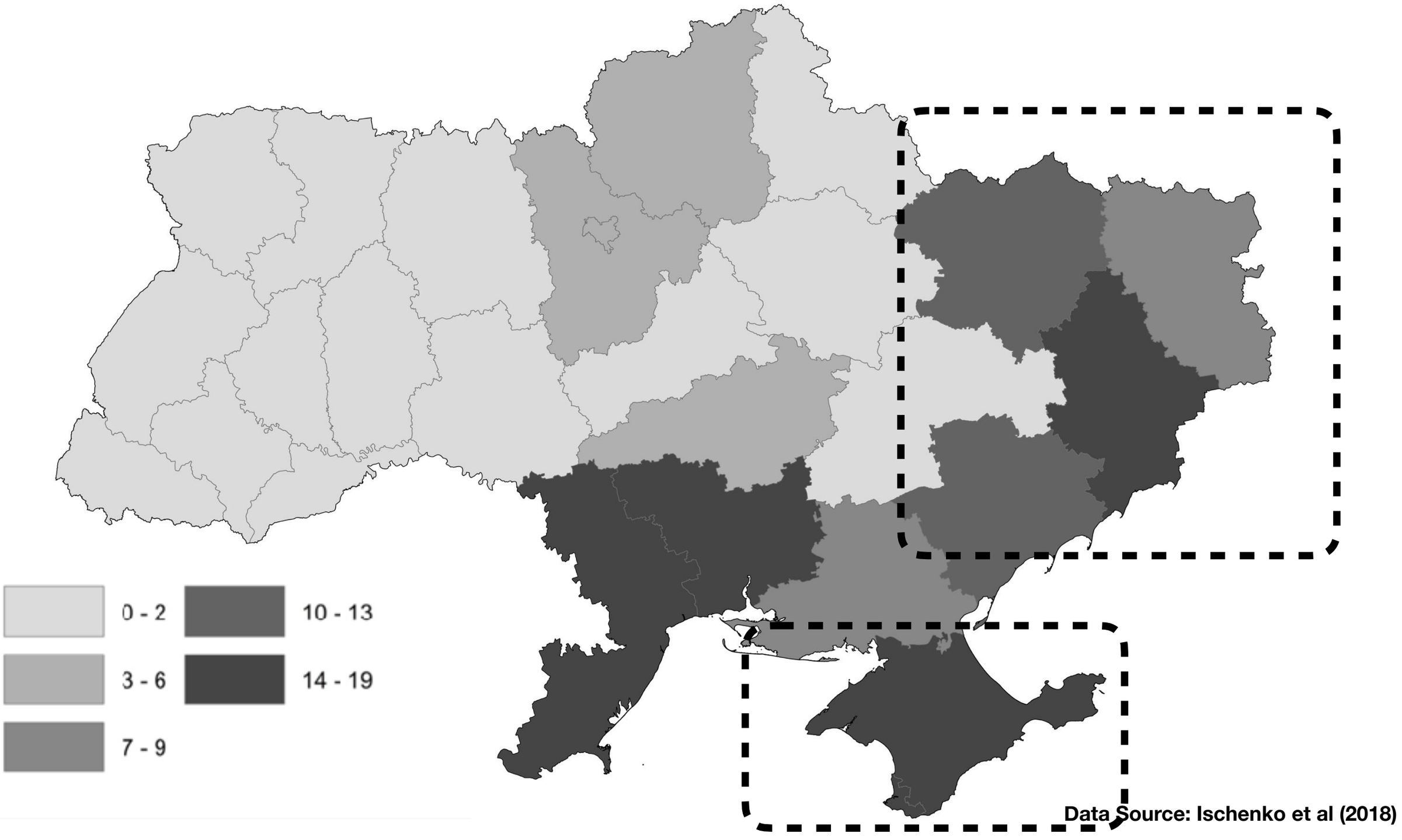


Data Source: Ischenko et al (2018)

...all of the other outcomes actually occur...



… then Russia *really* shows up at Ilovaisk and Debeltseve & the conflict freezes early 2015…



Data Source: Ischenko et al (2018)

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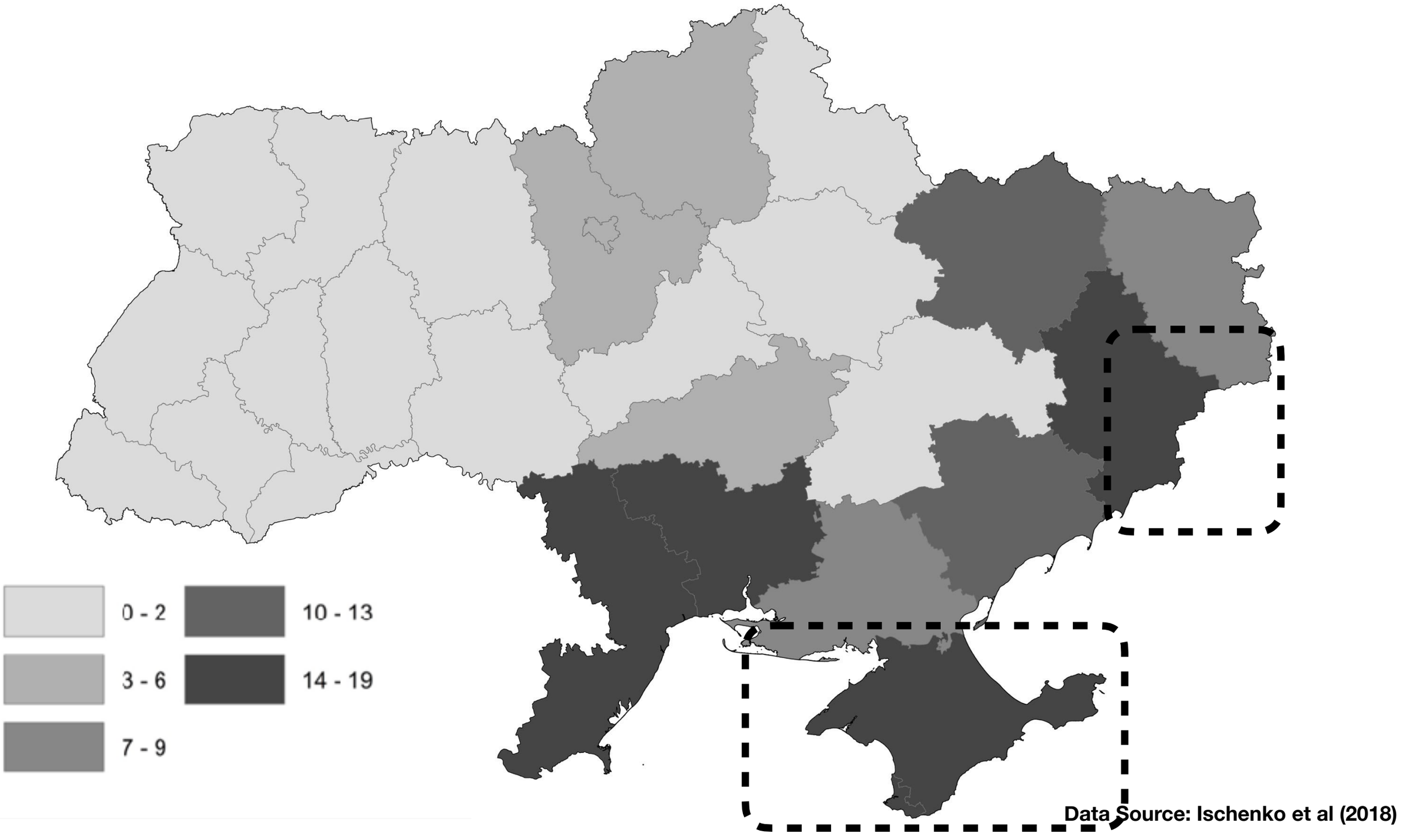
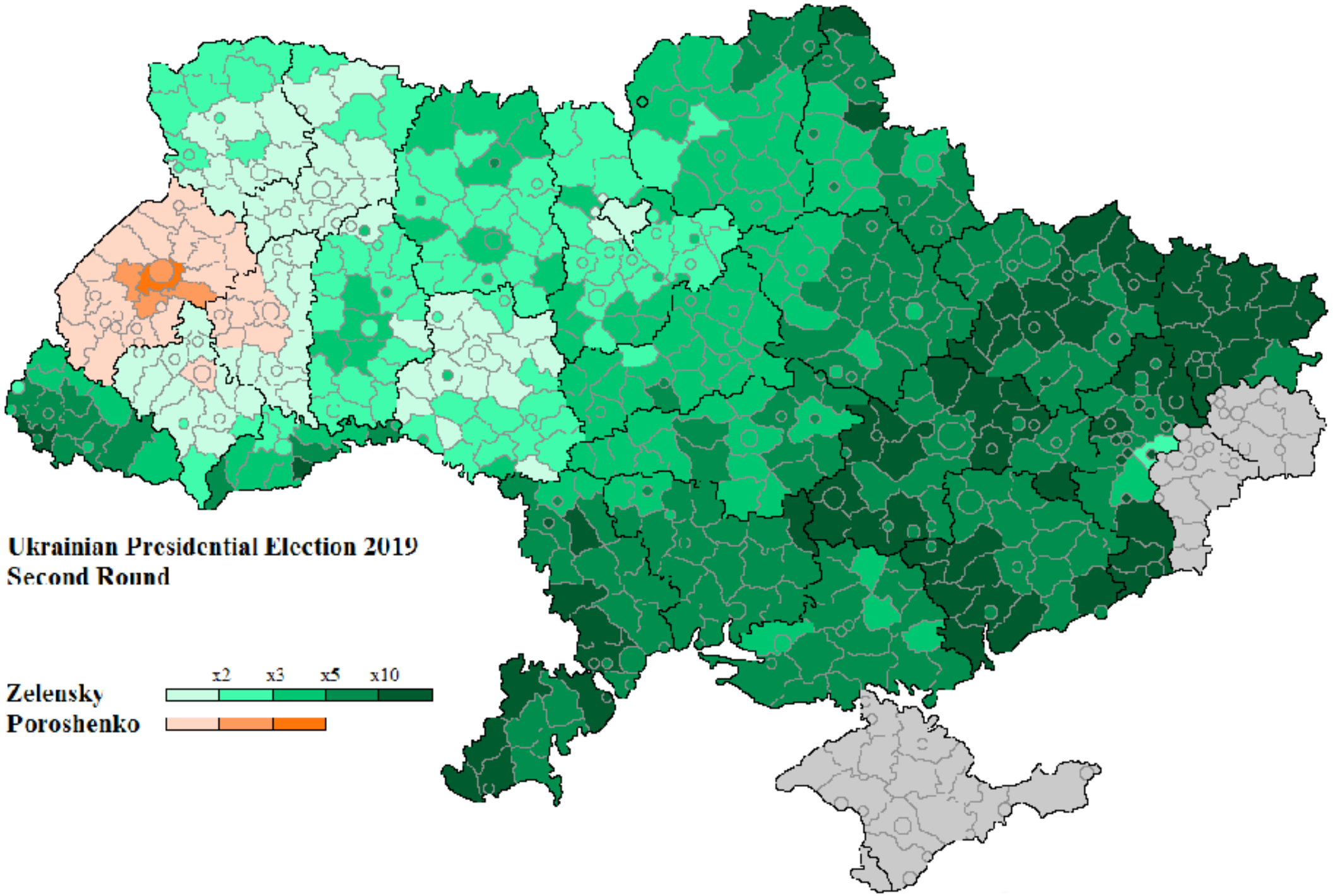
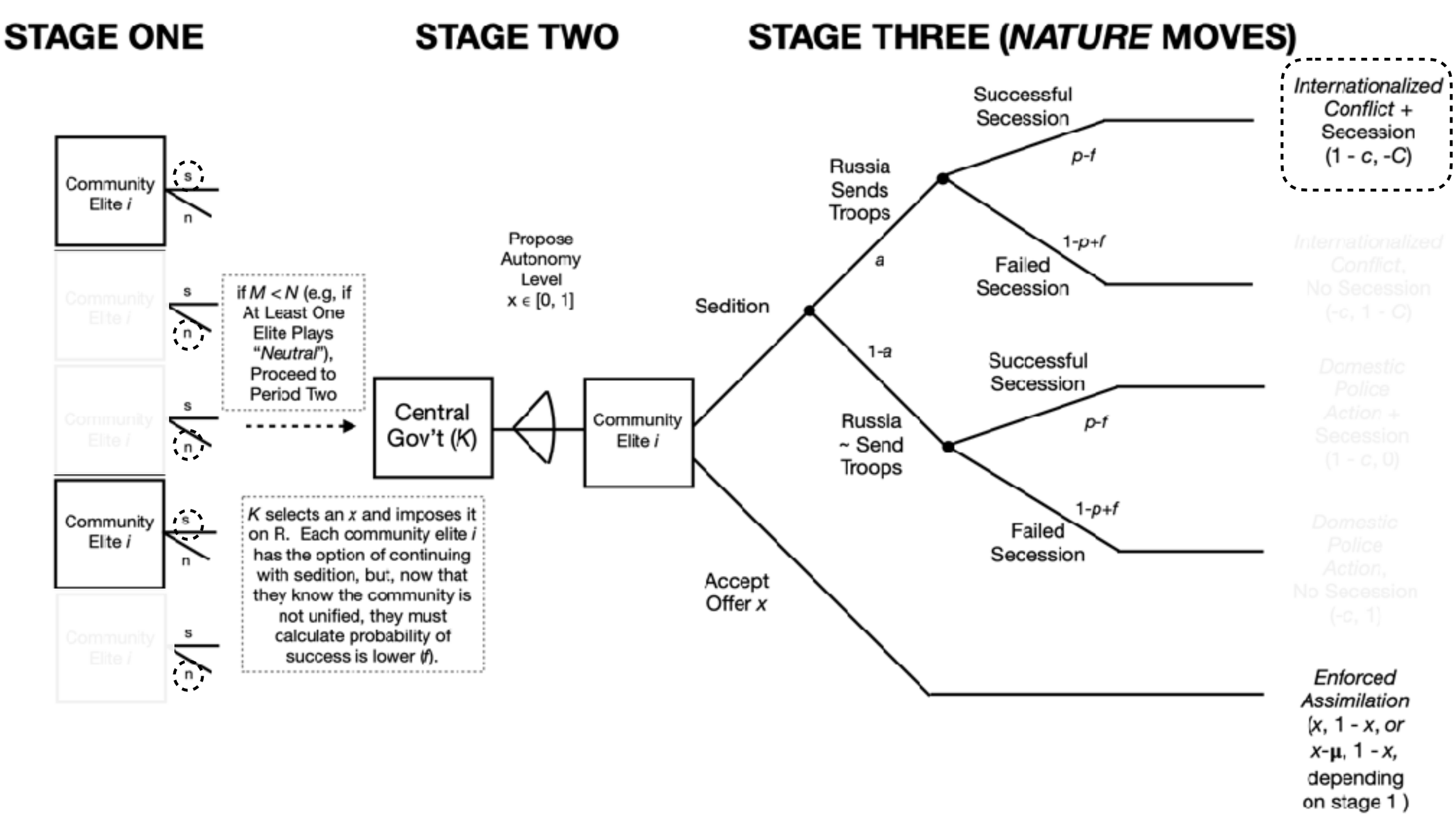


Data Source: Ischenko et al (2018)

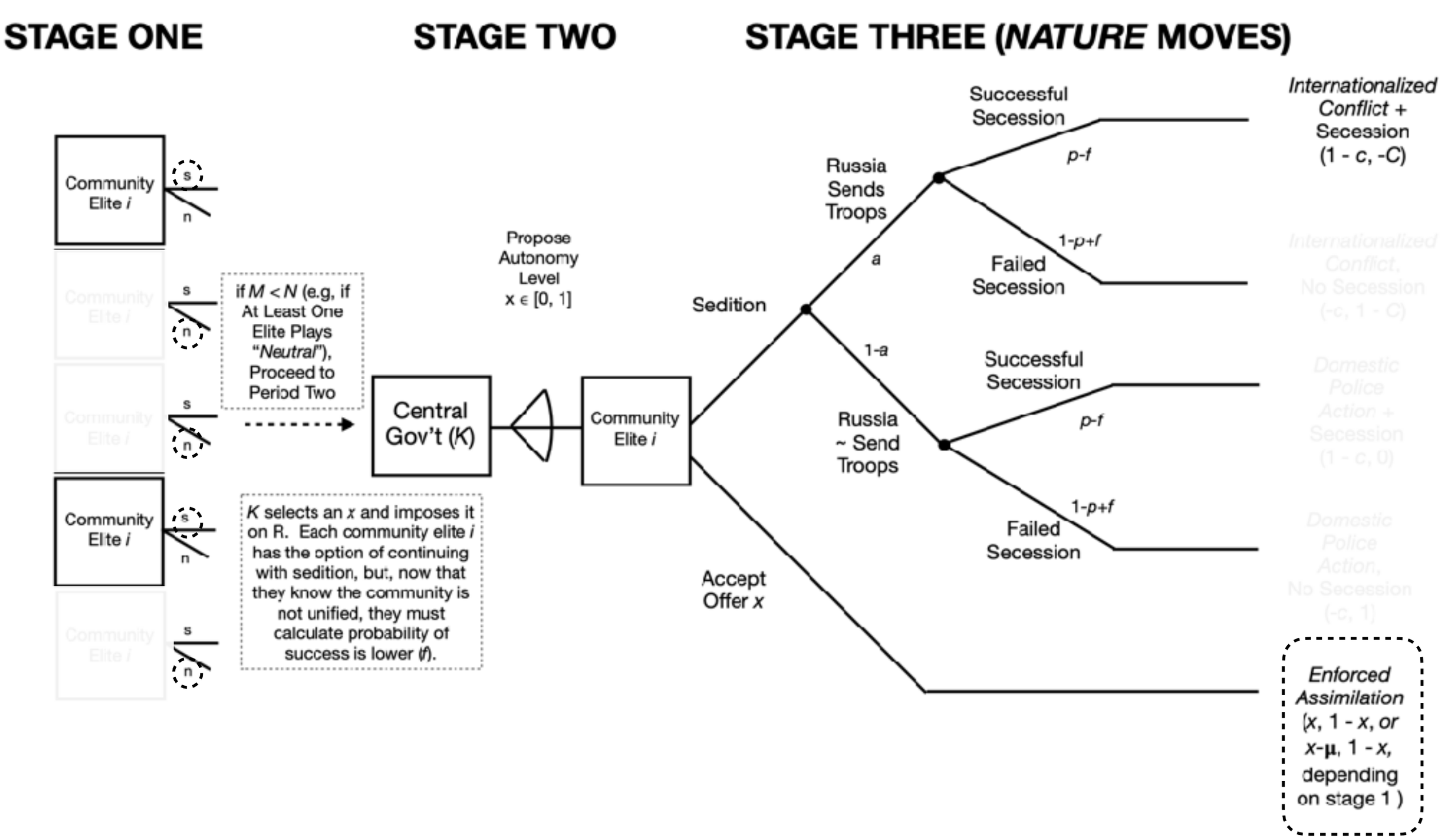
…and, 5 years later, they still aren’t voting.



The Intra-Ukrainian Commitment Problem

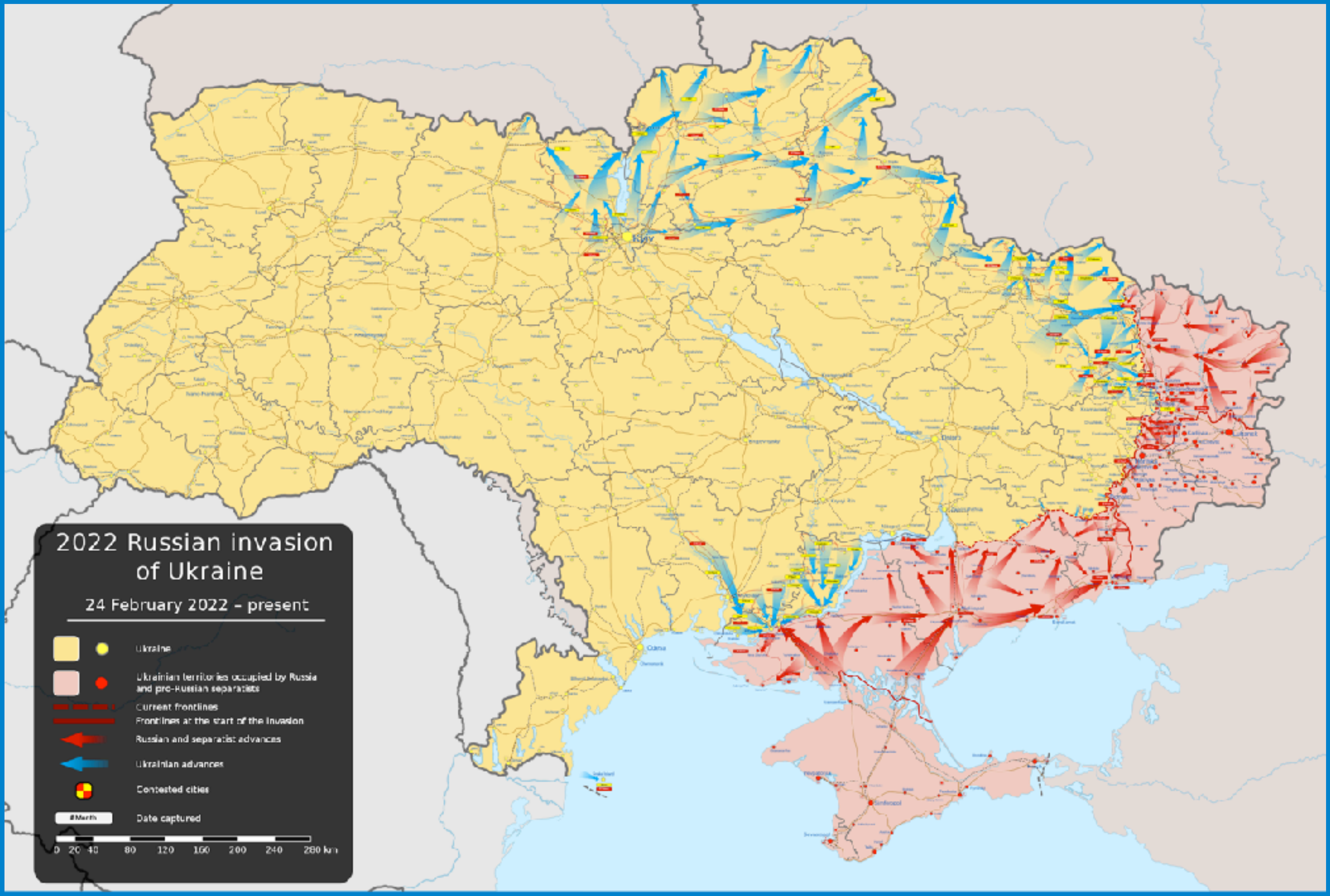


The Intra-Ukrainian Commitment Problem



The Intra-Ukrainian Commitment Problem

- 2014: Canceling Old Language Law Is First Order Of Business After Maidan
- 2015: “Decommunization Laws”: street signs re-named; various clauses prohibiting “falsification of history”, centralization of national narrative
- 2015: Attempt by Poroshenko government to introduce language of “decentralization” in the constitution leads to violence and end of session
- 2017: New Education Law (No Russian In High Schools)
- 2018: Autocephalous Ukrainian Church recognized
- 2019: Constitution amended to clarify NATO aspiration could never be modified by laws of subsequent governments
- 2021: “Democracy Through All-Ukraine Referendum” put any territorial changes, constitutional changes, or revocation of laws to a popular vote.


2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine
24 February 2022 – present
Ukraine
Ukrainian territories occupied by Russia and pro-Russian separatists
Current frontlines
Frontlines at the start of the invasion
Russian and separatist advances
Ukrainian advances
Contested cities
#Month
Date captured
0 20 40 80 120 160 200 240 280 km
Kiev
Odesa
Sevastopol

~~The Minsk Game~~

- ~~Nationalism~~
- ~~The Break-Up Of The USSR & The "Beached Diaspora"~~
- ~~Order Of Play~~
- ~~Evidence: How Does The Model Fit The Case?~~
- What Does This Suggest About Ways Forward?

Epilogue: If Ukraine Gets 100% of Its Territory Back, It Re-Starts The Minsk Game.

Strategy	**Paradigmatic Cases**
Population Transfers // Overt Ethnic Cleansing	Greece-Turkey 1922, Tatars from Crimea 1944, Croatia-Krajina 1995, Azerbaijan-Karabakh 2023
Leave Population Intact BUT Deny Premise of Self-Determination, Ruthlessly Repress Efforts to Organize Resistance. Encourage Exit. (Petersen 2011, "Social Dominance")	Israel 1967, Kosovo Serbs 2001, PRC Takeover Of Hong Kong 2020
Leave Population Intact, Positive Incentives to Encourage Emigration/ Assimilation, Tolerate Parallel Institution-Building. (Fearon and Laitin 1996, "In-Group Policing").	Alsace-Lorraine 1871-2023
Leave Population Intact, but With Constitutional/Federal Protections that Acknowledge/Legitimize Ethnic Difference. (Roeder "Segment States")	Crimea 1992-2014. (Ethiopia, India, Canada…)
Shared Sovereignty Arrangements	Special Territories (Danzig, Jerusalem)


МИ ГОЛОСУЄМО ЗА МИР,
ЗА ДРУЖБУ МІЖ НАРОДАМИ!

Thank You!