

Introduction

Ukraine Revolution broke out twice in 2004 and 2014, so called "Orange revolution" and the "Maidan" revolution. First one occurred in 2004, just when the EU enlarged toward Central and Eastern Europe, and it caused western borders of Ukraine changed the EU borders. Second one occurred in 2014, because due to the neighborhood policy of the EU, economic support was given to the area outside borders of the EU. Therefore, Ukraine was always put under the tension of the EU borders. (1)

What was Ukraine's "Maidan Revolution"? How did the EU/NATO and Russia respond to the new Ukraine government?

The Ukrainian political change unexpectedly showed diverse aspects in each region, East and West, and it became clear that even EU/NATO and Russia did not solve the situation as expected. The new Ukraine Government condemns Russia collaborating with the EU/NATO and attacked East Ukraine by military and bomb. But East Ukraine demanded independence from the Ukrainian new Government in the West, demanding military collaboration and relationship with Russia.

On the other hand, Crimea in the central south, as a result of local elections, it was transferred to Russia promptly. Ukraine's three divisions in 2014 was just shown the difficulties of Ukraine's own national integration, and the diversity of politics, culture, religion society and history.

What happened to Ukraine? Why "revolution" broke out, and why the Eastern part was opposed to it? Why the Ukrainian Civil War was presenting a surrogate warfront among EU/NATO and Russia after the end of the Cold War?

What does EU, US, and Russia want? How are Ukrainian regimes, citizens, politicians of East Ukraine, anti-government organizations and local residents responding to it with diversity? The author wishes to investigate the division and integration of Ukraine, the logic of inclusion and exclusion.

In November 2013 Ukraine 's President Viktor Yanukovich refused the EU' s Association Agreement, triggering a movement to condemn the Yanukovich government in Western Ukraine.

In March 2014, in the middle of the Sochi Olympic Games, the move to overthrow the Yanukovich government in Kiev got excited, gunfire occurred in the midst of demonstrators, the president was impeached and the regime was overturned at once Then, Yanukovich escaped to Russia. Since then, a new revolutionary regime was born, but the Ukrainian political bureau was confused after that.

EU and the USA promptly launched to support a joint effort with Ukraine's new government, and the people and Russia opposed it by military occupation as a result of local elections in the Crimea and cooperation with eastern Ukraine. EU · America and Russia fought violently over the circumstances of the split Ukraine in the progress of situations where Ukrainian citizens could not understand.

Ukraine turned into just as a "new cold war" between the EU/US in the West, Russia (the former Soviet Union) in the East, like a form of surrogacy war. German and French Government and OSCE mediated such conflict situation and "Minsk agreement" was concluded. But mediation has not been successful enough until now.

First of all, the author wishes to analyses what is recognized the aim of the EU, NATO and Russia in the Ukraine political change in 2014.

1. Ukraine ---Speculation in the EU / NATO and Russia

1) EU

Since the Ukraine's independence in December 1991, as the same as the collapse of the Soviet Union, the EU has been closely watching the democratization of Ukraine as well as the Baltic countries of the former Soviet Union.

The EU-Ukraine bilateral marketization agreement has been concluded in 2003. It also welcomed the democratization in the Ukraine revolution that occurred at the same time as the expansion of the EU to the East in 2004. (2)

For the EU, Ukraine's "stability" in the Eastern boundary of the enlarged EU was indispensable. The Eastern

border of Ukraine is in contact with Russia, that is why it is extremely important.

However, at the stage when the Orange Revolution in 2004, the EU's first importance is incorporate the ten Central and Eastern European countries that expanded the same year into all politics, economics and security to the EU. Next stage of the enlargement is the EU accession of the former Yugoslavia, "Western Balkan" countries presented at the European Council of Thessaloniki in 2003 was lying in front of Ukraine as the next stage of Central and Eastern Europe's accession to the EU. That is why the EU was unable to establish sufficient economic and political strategy with Ukraine even after the "Orange Revolution".

What the EU asked Ukraine in 2013 was the economic interest and stability of Ukraine for Europe and it was an expansion of the European value to Ukraine.

Therefore, in November 2013, Yanukovich's refusal of the EU Association agreement and partnership with the Russian economy was regarded as a crisis situation for the EU. Then the EU actively supported the "Maidan Revolution" in March 2014 thereafter.

However, in the subsequent developments of the Ukraine, EU seems to be back again to Ukraine. 7 months after the "revolution", in September 2014 the author got the opportunity to visit Kiev in Ukraine and interview in the YES (Yalta European Strategy Conference). In doing so, the EU-Ukraine economic partnership agreement was eventually postponed from the EU side.

After that the EU's approach to Ukraine was rather recessed than in the revolutionary period. While the battle continues to sporadically still in the eastern front, the EU and Ukraine's trends are not even clear economically.

2) NATO

On the other hand, what did NATO and the US want for Ukraine?

After the end of the Cold War, NATO expanded to three countries in Central and Eastern Europe in 1999 at first, and in parallel, carried out the Kosovo bombing and requested participation to the bomb in the three countries.

At the same time in 2004, the NATO expanded to seven Central and Eastern European countries such as Romania, they decided to participate in the Iraq war.

That is, in expanding to the former Eastern Europe, NATO does not consider as a member of the Central and Eastern European countries that thinks "to be protected by the United States", but instead NATO accession is a practical accession to the collective security alliance, and in parallel with the expansion. It was obliged to actually go to the battlefield and participate in battle like an Iraq War.

Unlike the Cold War era, NATO's expansion strategy, especially since 1999, is not to expand the defense areas of the United States, but to respond to the reduction of the US military power, not only to their collective security member countries but also the Middle East and Russia boundaries as well.

The direction "to protect by new member countries" direction is remarkable. In the 1990s Gorbachev and Yeltsin were considering the promotion of liberalization and democratization of Russia, but since Russia switched to the Putin regime at the turn of the century, it became skeptical of Russian democratization, the former Soviet Union countries It is said that it is trying to establish Russia's long-term isolation with democratization and separation from Russia.

However, the trend of the Ukrainian revolution especially the Crimea's incorporation into Russia, the declaration of independence of the Eastern Ukraine declaration of independence and support to Russia, and the NATO accession, while the majority still holds opposition from the vote, it is practically difficult to enlarging NATO.

Especially in Ukraine's public opinion virtually divided, NATO & America is inevitably forced to be cautious.

3) Russia

How about Ukraine for Russia? For Russia, the geopolitical point of view of the Crimean Peninsula, which overlooks the Black Sea leading to Europe, Asia and Africa, was a region where Russian security should be protected.

Although it was transferred to Ukraine as a proof of friendship in the Khrushchev period, it was under the influence of Russia until the independence in 1991, and it was regarded as dominating victory for domestic participation in this time to Russia.

As a result, Russia was isolated internationally and was excluded from the G8. The Ukraine new government

has consistently requested "Territorial Integrity", but the possibility that Crimea will unlikely return to Ukraine.

For Russian side, the worse the relationship between Russia and neighboring countries, the Crimea Peninsula would absolutely avoid to become a base for NATO or at least not a pro-Russian force. If Crimea became a base of "anti-Russia", the status of a military power of Russia will be greatly compromised

In order for Russia to survive as a Big Power, it can be understood that the occupation of Crimea is regarded as an inevitable condition even if it violates against the international law.

Many Ukrainian leaders and military leadership are regretting that the transfer of nuclear functions to Russia at OSCE (Bureau of Security and Cooperation at Bulgaria) in Budapest, 1995.

In addition to the military aspect, the Ukraine's economy, including the Pro Russian worth in the history, society and culture of the local people, Ukraine is now divided into western, central and southern parts. Eastern part as a problem inside the state more than international thought.

No matter how strong the international society's criticism of the consolidation of the Crimean is, the possibility that Russia will let go of this area seems impossible unless there is considerable cure. The peaceful solution of the Ukraine question might be a very difficult phase.

2. Difficulty of state integration of Ukraine - Difference between East, West and Central South to divide

First, overview the geopolitical, cultural and social Ukrainian characteristics.

More than anything, the author investigates what is the characteristics of this region originally in Ukraine, which is on the verge of division, between EU · NATO and Russian dynamics.

<Difference of East-West, Central South part>

Ukraine consists of three areas, East, West, and Central South, as seen on the map.

Ms. Olena Mykal, discussing the Orange Revolution", wrote that the regional differences of Ukraine were not divisions, but only difference (3). However, author thinks, the external international relations make changed such differences developed into discontinuities. "Democratization" developed each regional, cultural and historical difference into divisions in various places. (4)

The important thing not to develop the differences into divisions is not to exclude it as 'diversity', but to include on).

Ukraine 600,000 km², the combined size of Germany and Poland, about twice as large), On the religion, the east is Ukrainian Orthodox church (76%), leading to the Carpathian Mountains in the West The area is the Catholic Oriental Liturgy (16%) (5)

The characteristic of Ukraine is; firstly, the culture and religious consciousness of the citizen are great diversity between West and East. Secondly, East entered under the influence of the Russian empire historically since the collapse of the Kiev principality of the 13th century. Thirdly, Central Crimea is a multi-ethnic coexistence area under the influence of Crimean Han and Ottoman Empire. It was placed under the influence of Russia after the Russian victory in the Russian war.

On the other hand, the West entered the former Habsburg@ Empire after the Kingdom of Poland. West Ukraine was annexed to the Soviet Union after the Second World War. (6) We need to recognize the diverse historical background of Ukraine.

In the International Situation, Ukraine is currently located at the eastern end of the EU, and to the east there is an extremely important geopolitical position that Russia and Central Asia are heading. Ukraine is a major country with twice the territory of Germany and has important industries such as coal mine, heavy industry, nuclear plant, grain store in Europe. The fact that many of them exist in Eastern Ukraine is also a troubling fact for EU.

Ethnically, the east is a Ukrainian 78%, the Russian 17%, the west is a multi-ethnic area called Eastern Galicia (Eastern Halychyna), where Ukrainians and ethnic groups of the former Habsburg empire live. (7) Although the language of Ukrainian is 67%, Russian speaker is also 30%. Importantly, Russian language still accounts for nearly 40% in domestic languages, and the ratio of Russian as an official language is still high. Russian is also an official language under the Soviet Union until 1991, and its affinity with Russia is extremely high.

Very important characteristics is that the eastern region near Russia has a large population and agriculture and industry area actively, while the western part with European consciousness is mountainous, resource-intensive and unsuitable for investment. (8)

The Ukrainian Revolutions occurred in western region including Kiev. On the other hand, in the eastern part bordering Russia, the strong influence of Russia still remains socially and culturally after the end of the Cold War, even in the 21st century. Ukraine has different cultures and history coexisting in the south east and west.

In fact, it is west which is disadvantageous and independent of geopolitics in the Carpathian Mountains. That is why the west says "territorial integrity", whereas the West is insisting on isolation independence whereas the east insists on separateness and cooperation with Russia.

<The role of Central South, Crimea>

Another important area is the role of the Central South, Crimea. Crimea has a very important role in geopolitically and militarily.

Historically the Russian powers have a vast territory but the unfreezable ports are limited, and basically it was a landlocked country except for the important military port. There are three important unfreezing ports for Russia historically. The Baltic Sea Coast, the Far East Northern Islands Region, and the Black Sea where is the exit to the Bosphorus Strait that connects Europe, Asia and Africa. The exit is held down by Turkey of NATO.

Although the significance of the unfreezable port is now skeptical, because of the continental rail way, airplane route, missiles and cyber, so in a global era, it is not such an important like last centuries. But the significance of securing sea lanes including peacetime is still extremely serious. These unfreezing ports are the most important areas in the border area, to protect security of Russia, along with the Kaliningrad in the north and the Vladivostok in the Far East, Crimea in the Black Sea, they are the most significantly important geopolitical area that should be protected.

Although in the Arctic sea, ice has been melting due to the global warming and the Arctic sea route has begun to play an important role in recent years, historically, three of the exit to the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea in the south, the exit to the North Baltic Sea, and the exit to the Pacific Ocean, which they are sustainably remaining as area for Russia to protect. The possibility of the Russian troops going out from Crimea and giving up the occupation of Crimea is fatally impossible to Russia.

The second characteristic of the Crimea is the tradition of multi-ethnic, multi-religious region. In Crimea, Tatars, Jews, Ukrainians, Russians live and religiously it is the mixed regions of Islam, Judea and Orthodox Church.

Third, despite being informal, Crimea's autonomous republic decided their attribution to Russia in election in 2014, and Russia formally received a request transfer to Russia.

These diversities of Ukrainian region are creating a different situation in Ukrainians especially in East and West, across the country. That is why not all of the Ukrainian support the government of the "Maidan Revolution" especially in East area. As a result, the current administration could not get a large number of vote in the general election, the battle does not stop in the Eastern region, the situation is also still unstable after the "Minsk agreement".

We need to examine more detail, why these situations started like civil war inside Ukraine and territory had divided below.

<Ukrainian nation building in the 20th century>

Thus, even in the period of the so-called nation-state building in the 20th century, the fact that the three regions continued to exist each different histories and characteristics forms a unified ethnic identity at the time of unification in the aftermath of Ukraine. That is why in Ukrainian nation building extremely difficult.

Religiously the eastern part was under the influence of Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church. But basically except for winning short-term independence at the end of the First World War from 1917 to 18 of the Russian Revolution; It incorporated with the Soviet Union. But during the war, it experienced great famine under the control system of Stalin during the interwar period. Even after 1945 until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 it was substantially under the control of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the western part of Ukraine was transferred to the Habsburg Empire and it was decided to accept Catholicism. Its form is called the Oriental Liturgy Catholic and had the character of going to accept Roman Catholic while adhering to the Oriental Church.

In 1945, Western Ukraine was finally incorporated into the Soviet Union under the "Yalta regime" in the postwar processing in Crimea-Yalta after World War II.

The "Yalta regime" after the war was exactly prepared in Yalta, the resort of the Crimean Peninsula, the three major European and American leaders Churchill (UK), Roosevelt (USA), Stalin (So) gathered and the postwar order and east-west division were decided there. The Soviet Union won to get the important region where the boundaries of West Ukraine, the Carpathian Mountains range, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania intersect, and it got military influence to the Eastern Europe after the war. Western Ukraine's multi-ethnicity, multi-religiosity continued to maintain Western European characteristics of Western Ukraine even after incorporation of the Soviet Union after World War II.

In April 1986, nuclear accident broke out at Chernobyl in Ukraine's northern border in Gorbachev's Perestroika. And in December 1991, in the forest of Belavezh, the three country's summit meetings in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia was held, all three countries by independently signing Belavezh Accords, the demolition of the Soviet Union has been decided. President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union lost its position due to the annihilation of the Soviet Union itself. It was a historical moment where the Soviet Union suddenly disintegrated (9).

Ukraine and Belarus were nationally recognized by the Independent State Community (CIS) formed in December 1991, Ukraine became independent after 700 years from the Middle Ages to the modern era. In that sense, Ukraine became a new state that has only been in the quarter century since independence. In particular, the fact that national integration did not take place during the formation of the modern nation state. The major issue is difficulty forming a unity of language, religion, culture and social lifestyle, forming a common nation-state identity.

Even today as a whole these are forming each background to leave a strong regionalism in the western, eastern, central and southern Crimean Peninsula.

2. Ukraine revolution - between Europe and Russia

(1)"Orange Revolution" – Way to War between Western Europe and Russia

The wave of major reforms in the internal affairs of Ukraine in the 21st century also reflected such international situation.

The "Orange Revolution" in 2004 was exactly inspired by the same year was the EU enlargement to 25 countries. Three of the four countries on the western border of Ukraine (Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary) joined to the EU, and Rumania and Bulgaria also joined to the NATO.

Therefore, the western border of Ukraine has become the boundary of EU & · NATO.

"Our Ukraine" instructed by Viktor Andriyovych Juščenko pursued the revolution by purging Yanukovych. They visited the EU headquarters in winter and they met at the meeting in the European Parliament just before the European Commission in Brussels at the scene of appealing "We are Europeans!"

However, the response of the EU headquarters at that time was cool. In 2004, the EU had the utmost to set up the organization of 10 countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, and in 2007 the member states increased more two countries of Romania and Bulgaria

Although the EU-Ukrainian Agreement was concluded in 2002 and the top talks in 2003 to join the EU, concrete strategies were not stuffed up.

In 2003 the European Council of Thessaloniki saw the accession of countries of the "Western Balkan" after 10 - 15 years, the question of Ukraine was driven further to the back than the question of "Kosovo" as priority to solve.

Eastern partnership "with EU-Ukraine and other neighboring countries began in 2009, although Sweden and Poland were putting their strengths, however the EU support Western Balkan at first than Ukraine, and it stays a partial one.

(2) Resurrection of Yanukovych and division of Ukrainian regions

Under these circumstances, when President Yanukovych, who was regarded as a pro Russian school in 2010, won the election, strengthened relations with Russia, such as the officialization of the Russian language and concluded the economic partnership with Russia, the relation with Russia strengthened again.

In 2011, Ukraine joined the "European Energy Community", and in terms of economy and energy, between

Europe and Russia, the Ukraine has been carrying out balancing policies for a while, but in January 2013 since Yanukovich refused the EU refusing the Association Agreement, the situation quickly changed.

Yanukovich rejected the EU's agreement, but it was not aimed at leaving the EU nor was it able to neglect the EU's economic, political and legal requirements.

On the other hand, as Russia has promised to cancel its oil and natural gas obligations and to promote to give \$ 15 billion in dollars, is only an economic reason. Ukraine, which was under the "failed state" situation, has made a major turnaround based on Russian economic support.(10)

However, during the Sochi Olympic Games, in March 2014, the "Maidan Revolution" broke out. In opposition to Russia, European Commission President Barroso expressed support for 11 billion euros in the same month. But the serious continuation of euro crisis, by EU inevitably had to rely on IMF loans in reality.

In this process, Japan also decided to visit Ukraine by Mogi Minister of MITI and gave support 10% of the \$ 1.5 billion. After that, Japan seriously shook the gap between the post-Putin strategy to make the return of the Northern Islands Territories and Ukraine support of the EU and the United States. But actually, Japan played important role and it provided substantial financial support to the Ukrainian government as the strategy of the West after the political change in Crimea.

President Yanukovich who was positioned as a pro Russian school, and Ukrainian citizen who voted for Yanukovich, did not simply be opposed to the EU, and participated in Russia. The situation was more complicated. Economically Ukraine has strengthened economic relations with the EU since the 2004 Orange Revolution. However, in terms of monetary assistance and energy support to Ukraine. Russia exceeded the EU, Ukraine, as a "failed state", had to rely on Russia to maintain the national economy.

The problem was the Western Ukraine, which insists on European regression, has less resources relied on Russia compared to the Eastern Ukraine, where the economic infrastructure, social infrastructure and military base are weaker than East, unlike normal stereotype recognition, and too much relied on Europe.

The Ukrainian new Western government consistently didn't admit to divide of East, whereas the eastern regional party insisted on separation and independence. In the eastern part of the separation or independence of territory. They could live by separation, but East part didn't. Raised in the East-West confrontation later, President Poloshenko started to bombing to the east from just after the presidential election, it was because there was a strict fact if eastern part become independent, the Western Ukraine could not live, although East Ukraine can live with rich resources.

Eastern Ukraine, which historically rich area, called "European breadcrumbs" with rich "black soil", has concentrated heavy industry and military industry in the border of Western Russia. The geopolitically important region if it including Crimean Peninsula, the commercial tourist resort of the Black Sea coast, was also concentrated in the central and south area.

3. Development of revolution

1) Development of "Revolution" in Western Ukraine

What is the important key of the Ukrainian revolution being that Western Ukrainian set a trial, in both 2004 and 2014?

And in both revolutions, the justification is required, because they didn't get majority in the election after they perform revolutions. So, it is real "democratic" or not, when they do not have a majority after the presidential election and the general election.

As in the case of the "Orange Revolution" in March 2014, "We are Europeans!" as well as the time of the "Orange Revolution", with the Ukraine joining the EU and NATO accession, EU chairman Barroso and the European Council permanent chairperson, Herman Van Rompuy in Ukraine and showed a unity with the EU, but in the process of revolution terrorism existed in both side. There is the fact that the extreme right organization called "right wing sector" was leading the militarization in the "Maidan Revolution".

Since the revolution occurred in the Spring 2014, it was not so simple. Western European media and Japanese media color-coded with the Ukrainian government "black Russian armed group" after the establishment of the new Ukrainian government.

There is also an armed terrorist group in both side in the "revolutionary" group. President Poroshenko promptly started to bomb to the eastern part of the country after victory of the election. The author felt a strong discomfort to this fact (11). Both sides had armed groups different from those of the local residents, but it seemed to be a matter of fact that the situation had developed too quickly as we made a bombardment of ourselves immediately after winning the Government.

Already during this time, it was told that many "domestic and foreign" right-wing sectors "and nationalism" Pandelaists "were lurking in the" Maidan Revolution ". (12) Conversely, many of the "pro-Russian armed groups" who stood in the eastern part of the country, in addition to informal Russian armed groups, the former eastern Ukrainian government party or local government - the former municipality of the Yanukovich faction or the "regional party" The possibility of police or military power was also high. The power itself was divided into two according to the regionalism of the east and west Ukraine, and the armed groups gathered from inside and outside from both sides, it was not a situation where it could be put in black and white.

Like the 2004 Orange Revolution, many politicians shifted from old power to new power after the revolution.

EU and the United States that had been expecting that in 2014 also did not predict the persistence of the eastern regionalism and the unexpected movements in the central south Crimea more than Russia 's intervention this time.

In the press, it was regarded as military pressure of Russia, certainly the Russian troops also intervened from the eastern border, but Yanukovich was elected in the 2010 democratic presidential election, the eastern battle as ten thousand of Ukrainian citizens evacuated to Russia across the eastern border as they became intensely, it cannot be said only by the schema that the Russian military group tried to crush Ukraine's "civil revolution" unconditionally It had a complex phenomenon.

As soon as the West Ukrainian revolution occurred, the Crimea peninsula was occupied by the Russian army. Followed by the regional elections of the peninsula in March 2014, resulting in independence from Ukraine and incorporation into Russia was resolved. After that, Russian special forces invaded, occupied the Crimea quickly and annexed to Russia.

This was later expelled from the G8 as a violation of long-lasting Russian "territorial infringement" and occupation of the Nazis, became the basis for being condemned by the international community and eliminated. But even it was formally, it was also true that the elections were held in the Crimea. (13)

After the Maidan Revolution and the replacement and escape of Yanukovich, the new administration of Western Ukraine began to openly oppose opposition factions to East Ukraine. It is "an airstrike to the east". Regarding the exercise of military force from the sky to this Eastern citizen, the problem of Ukraine regime is big. If the UN military intervened, it is still questionable as a democratic government to launch an air strike against the people of their country after the presidential election.

2) <Start of mediation of the EU>

In March 2014, collision between pro-Russian school and Western European party began in Donetsk, Halkiu, Odessa, etc. in East Ukraine. In May 2014, after the presidential election, the Western Ukrainian government started to bomb against the east.

On the other hand, the EU started to intermediate.

The EU actively supported the "Maidan Revolution" initially from the reflection in the "Orange Revolution" in 2004 and the United States from the expansion of NATO and America's influence sphere at the Russian southern border initially.

Ukraine's new government and its armed forces dominated from March to July 2014. After the occupation of Russian army to Crimea, there was a movement of exclusion of Russia that G7 has united, Russia and the eastern side are isolated, and the victory declaration of Poloshenko with little East participation in the presidential election in May and the bombing started the dominance of Western powers lasted until July.

Under these circumstances, the mediation of German Chancellor Merkel and French President Oland, began to intermediate between Ukrainian President Poloshenko, and Russian President Putin.

In July 2014, when the 70th anniversary ceremony of the Normandy landing campaign was held, in Paris,

Merkel at first tried to inquire and mediate between Ukraine's President Poloshenko and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Also at the same Normandy landing strategy, President of the French President of Oland also made intermediaries on US U.S. President Obama, the US President of the United States of America and Russian President Vladimir Putin on the Ukraine issue. Regarding the Ukraine issue, from the German side of France, internationally the discussion between President Putin and vs President Obama, a movement to buy adjustments with Russia / Putin and Ukraine · Poloshenko within the region began.

In this way, the EU decided to convert its strategy from Russian attack policy to the Russian appeasement policy, watching Russia's attitude in the context of the change, from the positive attitude of expansion to the border area Ukraine.

NATO also aligned with it. Behind this Western appeasement policy, not underestimating the Russian military policy rather than the reaction of East Ukraine people, the situation in Ukraine after the "democratic revolution" has been unexpectedly divided, the revolutionary government It seems that there was also reflection on that the majority of Ukrainian could not support easily to the revolutionary government.

3) <Shooting down Malaysian aircraft>

Under such circumstances, in July 2014, a new accident happened. The shooting down of the Malaysian aircraft occurred on the boundary between east and west Ukraine.

It seemed that the destruction of prestige of Russia which supported Eastern Ukraine, occurred following the Crimea issue.

But the Malaysian aircraft bombing ended up getting nervous without paying the desired effect. It is obvious that it was a Soviet-made Buk (developed by the Soviet Union, an in-vehicle mid-range anti-aircraft missile system equipped with Russian troops.), but which one was fired up to the end, it was ambiguous.

The Ukrainian government forces also said they had 64 Buks and that the East had only one aircraft, an expert who cannot usually operate with militias and volunteers was a necessary anti-aircraft missile, so the Russian army is systematically involved Whether Ukrainian army involved or not remains uncertain yet. Where he was fired from where he was still buried, he was buried away.

4) The rebounding of the eastern forces and "Minsk agreement"

The advantage of the Ukrainian government side by July 2014 will change dramatically in August 2014 after a certain stalemate.

On August 25, a massive counterattack from the eastern began, the government troops were greatly pushed back. Eastern Ukrainian volunteers dominated, western Ukrainian government forces greatly lost. Immediately after that, the Minsk Agreement was concluded on September 5, 2014 at Minsk, Belarus. Russia 's strategy winning aspect became extremely dark.

4. Status of 2014 - Organization

Thus, I would like to organize the situation in 2014 from 1) security, 2) economy, 3) politics and society.

1) Security

The biggest feature of Ukraine is the weakness of domestic integration, the magnitude of diversity in one country. From the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, since the independence in 1991, economically and introducing a democratic system, it is a fact that it has made a certain degree of democratization and Europeanization.

However, as we have seen, Ukraine is a multi-ethnic, multi religious great country in Europe and Russia, which was also the Achilles tendon for both sides.

That makes Ukrainian situation very difficult.

<West, Eastern, Central - from differences to divide>

Whether the media in the world reporting focusing only on the political situation during this time has

forgotten that the community and local citizens suddenly do not change living life even if a revolution occurs, ignore them It seems to be.

It is almost impossible to manipulate the integration of West Ukraine, Eastern Ukraine, and Crimea as well, for the EU, NATO or for Russia as a whole, "through the influence of neighboring great countries" the entire diverse Ukraine We exposed the fact that it was under the white day.

Even after the democratic revolution in the western part of Ukraine, the east does not politically follow it, notably religiously, linguistically, as social concern more than thought of the Western revolutionary regime.

Eastern region is closely related to Russian in linguistic terms, religiously influence Eastern Orthodox Church, and more economically it is closely tied to Russian energy in heavy industrial area, military Russian boundary. Such given fact that they cannot confront against Russian army, and could not merge the Eastern Ukraine to Western Ukraine government simply.(14)

People in the eastern region are sympathizing with Russia and Russians, at least they do not respond to the western behavior of anti-Russia, and they are not as responding to the revolution as citizens of western Ukraine.

However, I wanted to strengthen economic relations with the EU, and I did not expect them to be divided from Europe. I would like to maintain good relations with the EU, but also that Russia's economic, historical and cultural influence can not be ignored. Until 1991 it was a member of the Soviet Union, which means that unlike Baltic countries incorporated into the Soviet Union in the 20th century, it was an important component of Russia and the Soviet Union in historical and cultural terms. From the viewpoint of such "strategic culture", the West side, in particular the forces of NATO and the mass communication, need to be taken into account. (15)

"Maidan Revolution" and after in West Ukraine

The outbreak, the rapid support of the EU and NATO to it, the rapid consolidation of Russian Crimea and the support to eastern Ukraine, just like the "alternative warfare" situation of the new Cold War is the situation of various military conflicts in Ukraine It is said to have caused the civil war to the present and the death toll exceeding 9000 by UN coverage.

It seems that the involvement of a major country outside Ukraine is a big factor replacing regional differences with regional division.

As the EU, the "international norm - democracy, liberalism, rule of law and marketing" by the expansion of the EU to Central and Eastern Europe has been accepted as an attractive system symbolizing "European regression" . It could not be an unattended appeal in Ukraine.

As Mr. Uyama writes, according to a survey by the Kiev International Sociological Research Institute in 2012, the Ukrainians' greatest concern is that food prices (58%), public housing fees (54%), , Unemployment 834%), cooperation with the EU (3%), cooperation with NATO (1%).

In the interview with Ukrainian citizens who visited Kiev in September 2014 and then asked at the international conference of Rhodos Island, the biggest concern was that Russia and Ukraine were historically brothers in this situation It was a demand for peaceful and stable pain that Ukraine wanted to return to peace as soon as possible. (16)

Moreover, the EU and NATO took a revolution and took the attitude that "The bribes and corruption of the new administration are worse than Russia", and first of all, they took the attitude of defending the rule of law and democracy, and also to domestic military conflict Gaspang, irritating the people of Ukraine, whose economic rebuilding never fails.

Underestimating Ukraine's "strategic culture" of Russia's economic, historical, cultural and Ukrainian "route dependence" in a non-negligible way expands Ukraine's internal military conflict as a result You can say that.

<Prospect for Solving>

What is the outlook for the solution of the Ukraine problem which is in a state of sticking to the extremely difficult situation?

1) In military terms, counter-attacks of East Ukraine and Russian forces, execution of the Minsk Agreement signed between OSCE and Russia-Ukraine after the western defeat cannot be ignored.

Major contents of the "Minsk Protocol" contract of Ukraine, Russia, OSCE signed on 5th September 2014 are
1) suspension of war and monitoring of OSCE,
3) eastern part of Donetsk, Lugansk etc. 4) Observation of boundaries between Ukraine and Russia by OSCE,
5) Stopping hostilities, prohibiting provocation and continuing dialogue, 9) Guaranteeing local elections, stabilizing the situation of the Donbass, restoring the economy, etc.(17) Between September 2014 and July 2015, the battle is restarted in reality, but in reality battle is restarted, local confrontation continues, many dead people have appeared, and execution is not pitiful.

As a result, the new administration of Ukraine did not dominate both politically and militarily, it became impossible to integrate the eastern part into the new administration of Ukraine, to accept the autonomy right of the East.

It is to admit that the "intention of the East" exists separately, even under the pressure of Russia, eventually not to admit that the "democratic revolution" of the West is not the whole country of Ukraine It was that I could not get it.

2) EU, OSCE mediation again

Under these circumstances, since 2015, the EU and OSCE began to move towards mediation again. NATO is also taking a prudent attitude towards expansion. Despite the fact that the relationship with Russia was still tense, Russia's influence on the east Ukraine had to be admitted.

On the other hand, because Eastern Ukraine plays a vital role both economically and militarily, the independence that East Ukraine's anti-government organization requires is still not approved, and the Ukrainian government has agreed that Eastern autonomy and Ukraine The "territorial integrity" position of the country is continuing.

On the other hand, from the viewpoint of securing energy in winter, the EU had no choice but to do so at the end of October 2014 on the reuse of Russian energy, beyond the heads of the Ukrainian government in the West. The pipeline of natural gas stopped when Russia was eliminated from the G8 was to resume.

The transformation from Eastern expansion to mediation is one consideration to Russia and the second is reconfirmation of regional diversity of Ukraine, complex and diverse.

Democratization, as a result, highlights the internal features. The "Maidan Revolution" and the subsequent free election, strangely, that the big country between Ukraine EU and Russia is never monolithic, as in the past EU accession and the reversion of the nation as one goal for European return It made it obvious that it can not be urged.

Conclusion —How to solve the Ukrainian Question?

The Ukrainian Question is extremely difficult to be solved, because it is not solve their own sovereignty, but it is concerning to the several Great Power, EU/NATO and Russia. It is also concerning the problem of "democratic revolution", which is supported by the EU and the US. Furthermore, Ukraine has themselves weakness, Divided State, Divided Nation, National Integration is not finished. In a domestic policy also there are extreme diversity, regional and historical differences and multi-ethnic, multi-religious situation.

These diversity gathered, Ukrainian Revolution is looks like an Orchestra by several hundred cords are playing.

The biggest problem is domestic diversity and foreign diplomatic diversity-value also do not integrated. The EU is the economic cooperation and security are the shields, taking into consideration the historical cultural diversity and economic situation of the area, democratization, liberalization, expansion of European value to the east There is a problem of limitation of integrated policy that has been promoted.

Also as Russia, seeing the concession to be made to subjective integration that preserves the diversity of Ukraine itself, as an absolute security strategy for Russia, to defend the Crimea, protect military affairs for eastern Ukraine, and prevent NATO accession.

The confrontation between EU · NATO outside Ukraine and Russia is said to have the greatest crisis since the end of the Cold War even though repetitive mediation between Germany, France and OSCE exists.

Regarding the involvement of the United States, even though the Obama administration succeeded in approaching

neighboring Cuba, it took a quick pace to expand the influence of NATO heading from Europe to Russia, so that in the end the influence of Russia on the will of Ukraine It is a situation that can not be tolerated by East Ukraine's unexpected military hardness.

As seen in the result of the general election, the important thing is that the new administration could not occupy the majority of Ukraine domestic, the eastern part of the public's separation. It can be said that compromises and adjustments based on regional differences in Ukraine are necessary.

When considering what the Ukraine problem still conflicted by the conflict, it is necessary for both the EU and Russia to recognize "diversity of value" in various regions sandwiched by the boundary between EU and Russia It is impossible not to point out that there is something.

When looking at the fact that expansion of the influence zone of EU · NATO reaches the boundary of Russia, what is important is the importance of "strategic culture" and "path dependence".

Although politics can be converted to short term through revolution and elections, it is not possible to change the religion, customs, culture and daily values of residents overnight, much less long history customs cannot be altered at once .

The West was not able to think about the historical background of the Ukraine problem, the mixed population of various ethnic groups, the versatility of religions and its differences, which was the western side.

In 2004, Central and Eastern Europe, which joined the EU · NATO, were placed under the influence of the same Soviet Union for 40 years, but until the Second World War, the countries of the Central Europe such as the Habsburg Empire and the German Empire It was. After going through the Soviet rule of pain, it returned to Europe for the first time in over 40 years, and joined the EU · NATO.

However, on the other hand, the relationship between Eastern Ukraine and Russia has a long common history over nearly 700 years, and has similar language, culture and religion each other. Even considering the importance of Joseph Nay's "Soft Power", it was a great miscalculation that the EU considered Ukraine can easily flicker from Russia politically, economically and militarily, following the examples of Central and Eastern Europe. It lays the 700 years long history and "pass dependency" between Russia and Eastern Ukraine at least. Policy makers and Researchers must not neglect such fundamental characteristics.

<<Notes>>

(1) There are already a lot of literature on this, but as a basic thing, Ed. By David R. Marples and Frederick V. Mills, *Ukraine's Euromaidan, Analyzes of a Civil Revolution*, 2015.4. Kimitaka Matsuzato " Domestic politics and political change -29 - 2014 ", A · Ryabuchuk " *The right revolution? "Brightness of euro Maidan movement in Ukraine* Tomohiko Uyama" Anxiety that Russia transforming will spread to Eurasia "over" *Modern thought* "2014. Vol.42- October issue. Kumiko Haba, European *Expansion toward Eastseof Eastern Europe* Viewpoint of Ukraine View" "Komei Graph" 2014.6. Summer Issue. Kumiko Haba "Ukraine EUNATO and the Russian giant swaying great country" (draft) 2015. Stephen Velychenko (ed), *Ukraine, The EU and Russia-History, Culture and International Relations, Studies in Central and Eastern Europe*, Macmillan, 2015.3.

(2)Michael Mann, *The Dark side of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

(3) Mikar Aurena "Ukraine's Internal Affairs and Diplomacy After the Orange Revolution" Yamanouchi's *Frontier of Europe* 2008.

(4) Michael Mann, *The Dark side of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

04/http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/language/

(5) Religious distribution of Ukraine, public opinion survey When looking at the whole "No religion, 62.5%, Eastern Orthodox 25.8%, (Ukrainian Patriarchal Patriarchy, 14.9%, Patriarch of Moscow Agency, 10.9%), liturgical liturgy Catholic, 5.3% and so on. When seeing only among believers, the eastern orthodox church 68, 3% ranging from the east to the central part, the Toho liturgical Catholic, 14, 7% many in the west. (Ramakhoff poll, 2006)

Http://razumkov.org.ua/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=300

(6) Mori, Tatsuya, *"Slavic and Eastern European Russia"* Yamakawa Publishing Company, 1986. Kurokawa "History

of Ukraine" Central public opinion new company, 2002. Velychenko, Ukraine, op. Cit. Table 7 shows the source of the figure.

- (7) According to the 2001 Ukrainian census on languages. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080105092304/http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/language/>
- (8) Haba, Kumiko, *Eastern Enlargement of Europe*, Iwanami Publisher, 2006.
- (9) Takeshi Ishigooka, "Collapse of the Soviet Union", Takayuki Nakazawa, *Conspiracy of the Forest of Velovens - The Last Coup of the Twentieth Century in the Soviet Union* Tide publishing company, 1999
- (10) Japan 's support for Ukraine, \$ 1.5 billion (150 billion yen). Embassy of Ukraine in Japan. <http://japan.mfa.gov.ua/en/press-center/news/20603-japonija-vidility-ukrajini-15-mlrd-dol-ssha-jak-jekonomichnu-dopomogu>
- (11) Kumiko Haba *Eastern Enlargement of Europe*, 2014.6.
- (12) Akao, Mitsuharu "Surrogate War Under the Water" "Modern Thought" 2014.7.
- (13) Matsuzato Kimitaka, who was in Crimea just at that Crimea crisis, and wrote article. Matsuzato, Kimitaka "Domestic Policy and political change in Crimea", *Gendai Shiso*(Contemporary thought)2014, 7. Regarding the problem of Donbass, refer to the Donbass issue that heavily influences the Russian economy <http://jbpres.ismedia.jp/articles/-/43667>.
- (14) Hattori, Michitaka, *Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova Economic Illustration*, Eurasia Booklet, Toyo Bookstore, 2011. 17-27 p.
- (15) About strategic culture, Kumiko Haba *European danger zone*, strategic culture" of Central and Eastern Europe and Balkans - war, security, "democratization" and expansion of EU · NATO ", special feature" strategic culture " See "International Politics" 167, February 2012.
- (16) Interview to the Ukrainians in Ukraine · Kiev, Greece · Rhodes from September to October 2014.
- (17) Minsk Agreement, For 12 февраля 2015 года, refer to Mr. Yuu Koizumi's Japanese translation" Multiple Measures Concerning Fulfillment of Minsk Agreement "2015, February 12. <http://wsintell.org/top/2015/02/minsk-agreement/>

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