

# UKRAINE: A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE?

Yuriy Gorodnichenko

UC Berkeley



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- My goal: Give an objective picture



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4. What can be done to resolve the crisis?

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Year = 2007	Freedom ratings	Civil liberties	Political rights
Ukraine	2.5	2	3
Russia	5.5	5	6
Belarus	6.5	6	7
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- A record of emergent civic society

# 1989: CHAIN OF UNITY



source: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/artefacts/2013/01/23/109614/>

## 1991: PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE



## 1994: DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION OF POWER TO A NEW PRESIDENT



## 1996: PRESIDENT – PARLIAMENT STANDOFF & NEW CONSTITUTION



Фото Українфору



## 2000: UKRAINE WITHOUT KUCHMA



## 2004: ORANGE REVOLUTION



## 2010: YANUKOVICH WINS FREE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION





# WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

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- 2002-2004: Prime Minister of Ukraine
- 2004: an unsuccessful candidate in the 2004 presidential election.

# 40 GRAMMAR MISTAKES IN YANUKOVICH'S APPLICATION

PROFFESOR

ВИБОРИ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА УКРАЇНИ  
31 жовтня 2004 року  
АНКЕТА  
кандидата на пост Президента України

висунутого Партиєю регіонів  
(назва політичної партії, виборчого блоку політичних партій, самовисування)

1. Янукович Віктор Федорович  
(прізвище, ім'я, по батькові)

2. Число, місяць, рік народження 9 липня 1950 року

3. Місце народження м. Євпаторія Донецької обл. Україна  
(місто, село, місто, область, держава)

4. Громадянство України з 1991 року 5. Проживав в Україні з 1950 року

6. Освіта Винз. Донецький політехнічний інститут ім. Діка 1978  
(середня, вища, зазначається найвищий рівень початкового закладу,  
Українська академія державного управління ім. Київського університету)  
ного місця народження, рік закінчення)

7. Спеціальність автомобілі та автомобільне господарство, міжнародне

8. Кваліфікація інженер механік, магістр міжнародного права

9. Науковий ступінь доктор економічних наук

10. Вчене звання професор

11. Посада (заняття), місце роботи Прем'єр-міністр України Кабінетом  
Міністрів України м. Київ вул. Труханівського 12/а  
(з зазначенням установи та її місця знаходження)

12. Володіння державною мовою володіє вірно

13. Володіння іншими мовами російською - вірно, англійською -  
іє слабенько

14. Нагороди, почесні звання орден за заслуги 2-го ступеня  
Заслужений працівник міжнародного права

15. Громадська робота член президії Національної медико-наук. України  
Голова Національного олімпійського комітету України

16. Партійність член Парії регіонів  
(зазначити належність до партії)

17. Сімейний стан, склад сім'ї супружеский, дружина - Янукович Людмила  
Александрівна; сини: Олександр 1973 р.н., Віктор 1981 р.н.  
(перелічити членів сім'ї)

18. Адреса місця проживання 01010 м. Київ вул. Січового повстанця  
буль. 10, кв. 15  
(адреса постійного, тимчасового місця проживання, адреса тимчасового пункту, вулиця, номер будинку та квартира)

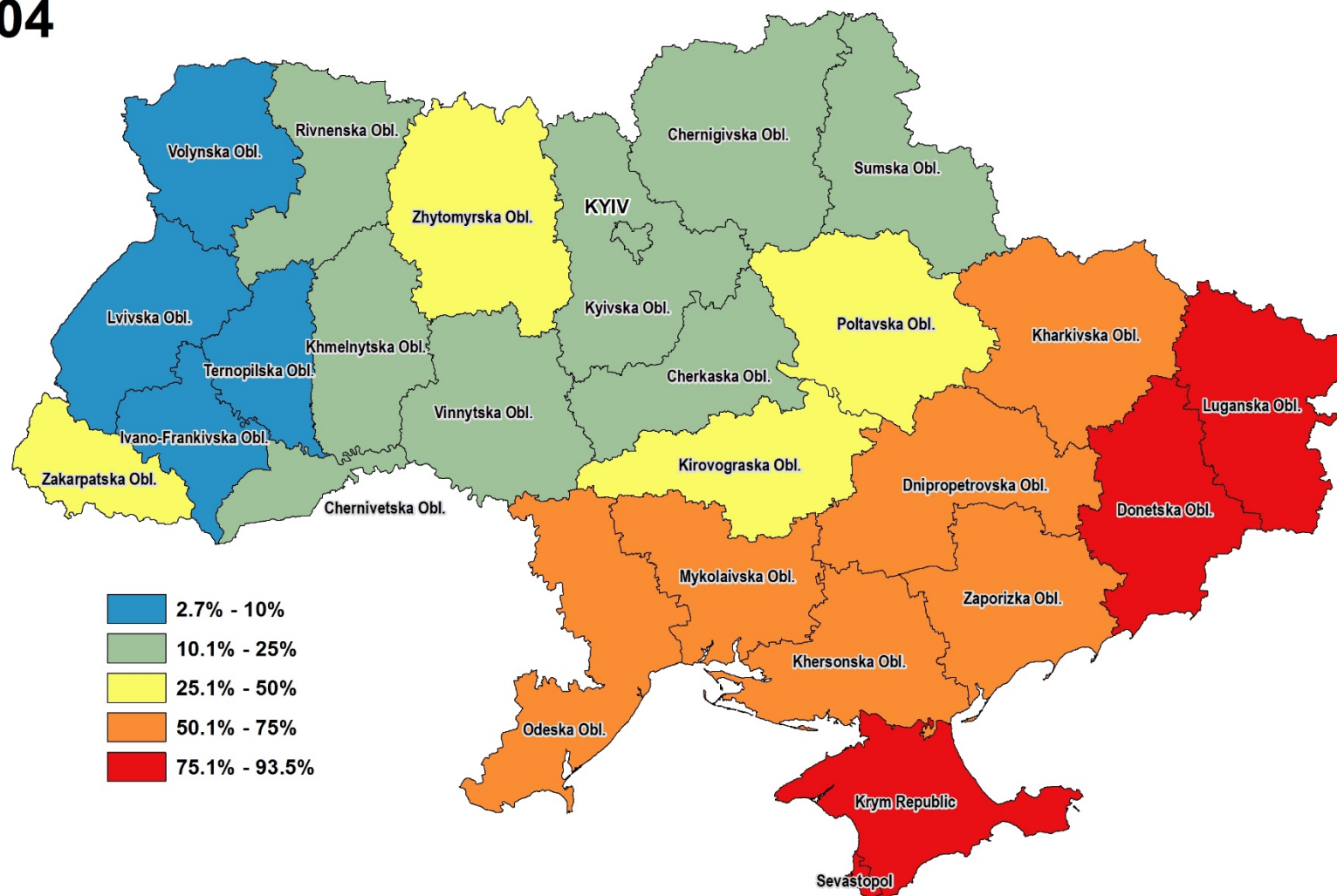
19. Телефон: службовий 226 2675, домашній 234 3996

5. жовтня | Янукович  
особистий підпис кандидата на пост

# WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

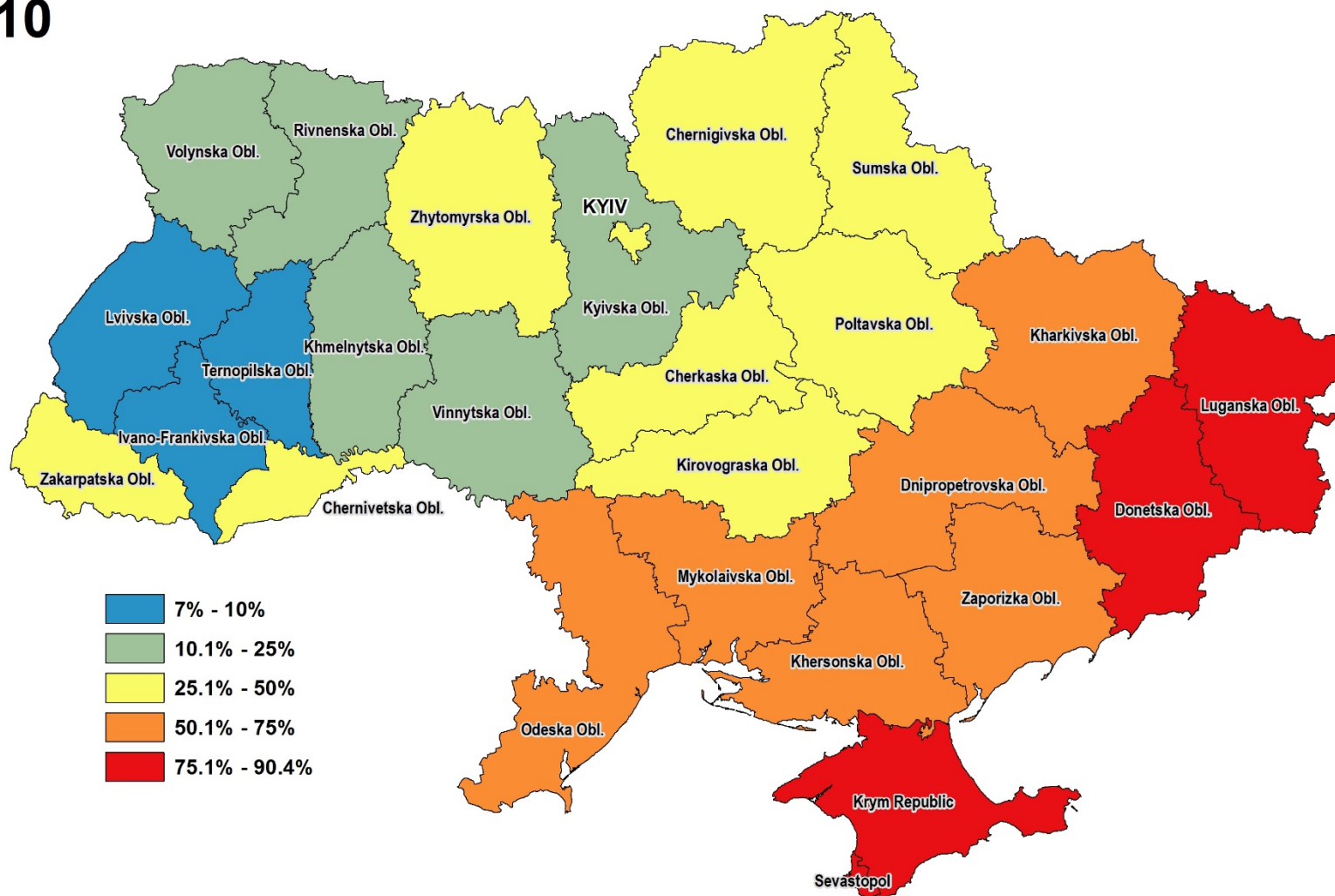
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- 2006-2007: Prime Minister for a second time under President Yushchenko.
- 2010-present: president of Ukraine.

## Share of votes for V. Yanukovych in presidential elections 2004





## Share of votes for V. Yanukovych in presidential elections 2010



## **“LANDMARKS” OF MR. YANUKOVICH’S PRESIDENCY**

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- Concentration of power
  - ❖ About 75% of government posts are held by people from his oblast in Ukraine [source]
  - ❖ About 40 (!) posts (attorney general, ministers, MPs, etc.) held by his close relatives [source]:
  - ❖ Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court is the person who “cleared” Yanukovich of crimes he did in his youth (Yanukovich’s files got “lost”). [source]
  - ❖ Nearly total control of traditional media [source]



## “LANDMARKS” OF MR. YANUKOVICH’S PRESIDENCY II

- Yulia Tymoshenko (the other key candidate in presidential elections in 2010) is jailed for 7 years [source]

Judge: Rodion Kireev (aka “Harry Potter” of Ukraine), at the time of the trial 31 years old and experience of 2 years in a deeply provincial court.



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- State of the economy
  - ❖ Prolonged recession.
  - ❖ Deep fiscal deficit (IMF: 7.75% in 2014).
  - ❖ Fitch (Nov 2013): Ukraine’s credit grade was cut to the same level as Greece and Cyprus.
  - ❖ Stock market fell by 70% in the last three years.
  - ❖ Eminent devaluation of the Ukrainian currency.

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- Yanukovich makes a sudden reversal just before the summit
  - ❖ Why? Russia gave a higher price in the “auction” (lower price for gas + \$15 billion in loans) and maybe something else

## THE START: NOV 21, 2013

Spontaneous gathering of people at Maydan (reads “my dun”; Independence Square; the central square in Kiev): a few thousand people, mostly students. Mostly likely, this protest would have died within a few days.



# THE START: 4 AM ON NOV 30, 2013

Berkut (riot police) violently attacks protesters





## THE START: DEC 1, 2013

Hundreds of thousands were in the streets of Kiev in *peaceful* protest  
Various estimates: 400,000-800,000 people





## DEVELOPMENT

- Protesters take over Maydan (in some ways similar to occupy movement in the US) and topple the statue of Lenin. Demands:
  - Punish police for abuse of power
  - Fire the minister of interior affairs (police)
  - Leaders of opposition take the lead





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- Yanukovich leaves for China to get support (he got none)
- On his way back from China Yanukovich stops in Russia to meet Putin
  - What was the deal is not clear
  - Reinvigorated protesters as many people believed that Yanukovich was trying to “sell” Ukraine to Putin

**DEC 11, 2013**

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Eight weeks of peaceful protests, up to a million people gather on Sundays for People's Council (‘‘Viche’’) in Kiev



Extra-ordinary popular support: thousands of volunteers, people donate food, cloth, etc.



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video

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Snipers shot protesters and journalists. Dozens of people lost eyes. [source; more]

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Red Cross medical station brutally destroyed by riot police (video)



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  - Public torture

## NAZI IN KIEV, 1941. BABI YAR



**THIS IS KIEV TOO: JANUARY 23, 2014. TEMPERATURE -10C. VIDEO**



# POLICE USED WATER CANNONS AT FREEZING TEMPERATURES



source

# RIOT POLICE TAKES A PHOTO AFTER AN ATTACK ON PROTESTERS





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## HIRED THUGS (AKA “TITUSHKI”)





## CAPTURED AND DISARMED THUGS (AKA “TITUSHKI”)



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# JOURNALIST TETYANA CHORNOVOL: BEFORE AND AFTER



more

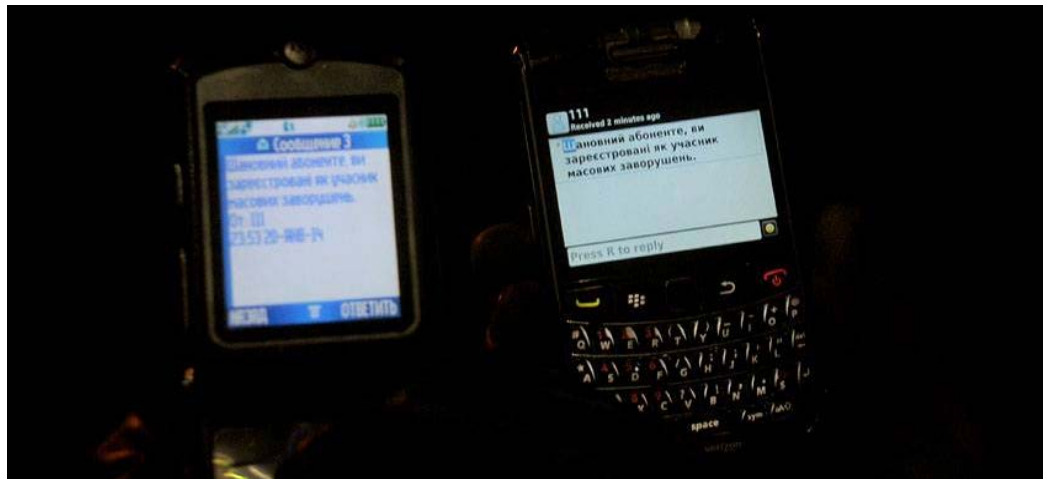
## **JOURNALIST AND ACTIVIST IGOR LUTSENKO (MY FORMER CLASSMATE)**



Kidnapped from hospital with his friend (seismologist, Ph.D.), tortured, and left in a forest outside Kiev. Igor survived. His friend's tortured body was found in the forest a few days later. He froze to death.

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**This 72 year old person was convicted for beating a riot police officer**



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- Dictatorial laws (January 16, 2014) forced through the parliament
  - Courts can sentence people “in absentia” (**back to Stalin**)
  - Can’t drive more than five cars & can’t wear a mask, helmet, etc. (**new!**)
  - 2 years of prison for slander
  - Limit access to internet, no anonymous cell phones, etc.
  - 15 years of prison for mass demonstrations (**max sentence in Ukraine**)

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**THIS IS REALLY NOW PROTEST ABOUT BASIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (NOT EU)**

# UPRISING WIDENS

## The Control of Local State Administrations

Jan 26 2014

21:00 EET



# **YANUKOVICH-CONTROLLED LOCAL STATE ADMINISTRATIONS ARE BEING FORTIFIED**



Odesa (January 28, 2013) [source]



## **CURRENT SITUATION**

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    - Meanwhile government-sponsored violence and kidnapping of people continues. Political prisoners are not released (Yanukovich uses them as a bargaining chip)

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BEAT A PEACEFUL PROTESTER**





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CRIMINALS “HELP” POLICE TO DISPERSE A DEMONSTRATION**



VIDEO

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- Opposition is losing control over protests as people get increasingly radical.
- No trust between Yanukovich and opposition. Stalemate...

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- Punish responsible for violence and gross abuse of power (**NONE** was punished)
  - Set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (as in South Africa)

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Is this going to happen by itself in Ukraine?



# SOLUTION

- Constitutional reform
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Is this going to happen by itself in Ukraine? No. Yanukovich does not want to give up power. Opposition does not have legal levers to get him to genuine negotiations.

# **A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #1**

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- Unstable and de-facto divided country
- Ukraine becomes a Russian satellite/vassal
  - Iron curtain?
  - A hybrid of Moldova/Armenia (frozen conflict) and Belarus/Russia (political oppression, isolation, terrorists)?





## **A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #2**

- Yanukovich continues escalation and orchestrates a bloodbath to intimidate protesters.
- But opposition wins in the end (e.g., the military and other armed forces side with opposition).

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- Similar to Romania after Ceausescu was executed or Georgia after the Rose Revolution?



# **A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #3**

- Neither side makes concessions



## A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #3

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**FORECAST: A NEW WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE CIS**

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# HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

- Yanukovich side
  - Mr. Yanukovich (so far he has shown little appetite for genuine talks)
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      - Buy out Ukraine (\$15 billion is really cheap relative to what one can get in other scenarios)
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## **\$221 MILLION PENTHOUSE IN LONDON?**



Belongs to Rinat Akhmetov, the richest man in Ukraine and a member of Yanukovich's party

[more photos + story](#)

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  - Russia
    - “Neutralized” during the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi.
    - Offer financial aid to Ukraine to get it off the Russian loan’s hook.



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- **Opposition**

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# UKRAINE'S PM AZAROV WAS OSTRACIZED AT WEF IN DAVOS



source

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## JOHN MCCAIN IN KIEV (DEC 15, 2013)



## RUSSIA – EU TALKS (JANUARY 28, 2014)



### *Sign of a Chill: E.U. Doesn't Set Table for Putin*

On a visit to the Brussels headquarters of the 28-nation bloc on Tuesday, Mr. Putin did not even get dinner. That customary courtesy was pulled from a sharply curtailed program — a small sign of the way escalating tensions over Ukraine have scrambled even basic rituals of diplomacy, chilled relations between Moscow and Brussels and taken some of the shine off Mr. Putin's image as a leader who can turn any crisis, even the mayhem in Syria, to his advantage. *NY Times* (January 28, 2014)



## STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS (JANUARY 28, 2014)



In Ukraine, we stand for the principle that all people have the right to express themselves freely and peacefully, and have a say in their country's future.

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  - Political pressure
  - Offer mediation and support, serve as guarantors for any agreements.
    - Example: Ukraine's Orange revolution in 2004

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  - Humanitarian aid (Red Cross)
  - What individuals can do?
    - Financial aid and moral support + Pressure on politicians

## **RECENT PROTESTS**

Tunisia (2010): Ben Ali fled the country

Libya (2011): Gadaffi was found shot in a gutter

Algeria (2010): Lifting of the 19-year-old state of emergency

Egypt (2011): Hosni Mubarak in prison

Yemen (2011): Overthrow of Ali Abdullah Saleh (granted immunity from prosecution)

Jordan (2011): multiple government resignations

Kuwait (2011): government resigns; dissolution of parliament

Morocco (2011): major concessions

Syria (2011): civil war

Russia (2011-2013): crackdown

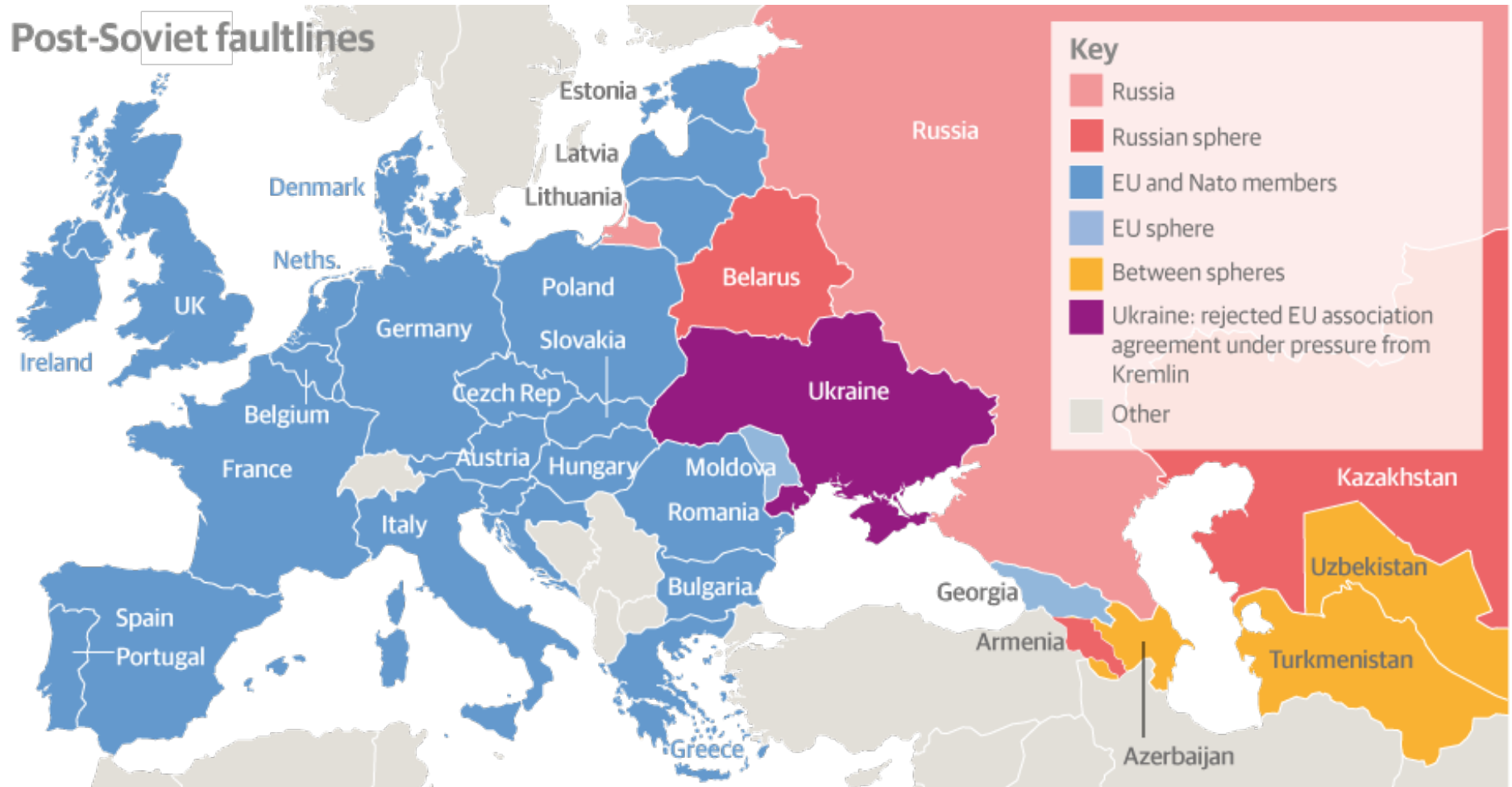
Turkey (2013): no major change; most challenging events for Erdoğan's ten-year term

Armenia (2011): major concessions

Iraq (2012): ongoing; PM will not run for a 3<sup>rd</sup> term; resignation of local authorities

Ukraine (Orange revolution 2004): opposition won; no violence

# A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE?



Zbigniew Brzezinski: “It cannot be stressed strongly enough that without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be an empire, but with Ukraine suborned and the subordinated, Russia automatically becomes an empire.”

# UKRAINE: A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE?



**IT CAN BE A FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL**