OUTLINE

1. The situation in Ukraine is **most critical** now.
   - My goal: Give an objective picture
OUTLINE

1. The situation in Ukraine is most critical now.
   • My goal: Give an objective picture

2. How can Ukraine, a peaceful country, be in this disaster?
   • My goal: Give a brief history of Ukraine, put this in a perspective
OUTLINE

1. The situation in Ukraine is **most critical** now.
   - My goal: Give an objective picture

2. How can Ukraine, a peaceful country, be in this disaster?
   - My goal: Give a brief history of Ukraine, put this in a perspective

3. Possible scenarios
1. The situation in Ukraine is **most critical** now.
   - My goal: Give an objective picture

2. How can Ukraine, a peaceful country, be in this disaster?
   - My goal: Give a brief history of Ukraine, put this in a perspective

3. Possible scenarios

4. What can be done to resolve the crisis?
Ukraine: Pre-History

- A handful of years as an independent country in the last 500 years.
UKRAINE: PRE-HISTORY

- A handful of years as an independent country in the last 500 years.
- Ukraine is an independent country since 1991.
- Young country with young institutions.
UKRAINE: PRE-HISTORY

- A handful of years as an independent country in the last 500 years.
- Ukraine is an independent country since 1991.
- Young country with young institutions.
- In comparison to other countries in the former USSR, Ukraine was surprisingly democratic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Freedom ratings</th>
<th>Civil liberties</th>
<th>Political rights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = best, 7 = worst
UKRAINE: PRE-HISTORY

- A handful of years as an independent country in the last 500 years.
- Ukraine is an independent country since 1991.
- Young country with young institutions.
- In comparison to other countries in the former USSR, Ukraine was surprisingly democratic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year = 2007</th>
<th>Freedom ratings</th>
<th>Civil liberties</th>
<th>Political rights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = best, 7 = worst

- A record of emergent civic society
1989: Chain of Unity

1991: PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE
1994: Democratic transition of power to a new president
1996: PRESIDENT – PARLIAMENT STANDOFF & NEW CONSTITUTION
2000: UKRAINE WITHOUT KUCHMA
2004: Orange Revolution
2010: Yanukovich wins free Presidential election
WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

- Born on 9 July 1950 in Enakievo, a city in the east of Ukraine
WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

• Born on 9 July 1950 in Enakievo, a city in the east of Ukraine

• Yanukovich: "My childhood was difficult and hungry. I grew up without my mother who died when I was two. I went around bare-footed on the streets. I had to fight for myself every day." [source]
WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

- Born on 9 July 1950 in Enakievo, a city in the east of Ukraine

- Yanukovich: "My childhood was difficult and hungry. I grew up without my mother who died when I was two. I went around bare-footed on the streets. I had to fight for myself every day." [source]

- Convictions [source]
  - On 15 December 1967, at the age of 17, Yanukovych was sentenced to three years incarceration for participating in a robbery and assault.
  - On 8 June 1970, he was convicted for a second time on charges of assault and was sentenced to two years of imprisonment.
WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

• Born on 9 July 1950 in Enakievo, a city in the east of Ukraine

• Yanukovich: "My childhood was difficult and hungry. I grew up without my mother who died when I was two. I went around bare-footed on the streets. I had to fight for myself every day." [source]

• Convictions [source]
  ❖ On 15 December 1967, at the age of 17, Yanukovych was sentenced to three years incarceration for participating in a robbery and assault.
  ❖ On 8 June 1970, he was convicted for a second time on charges of assault and was sentenced to two years of imprisonment.

• 1997-2002: Governor of Donetsk Oblast (east of Ukraine).

• 2002-2004: Prime Minister of Ukraine

• 2004: an unsuccessful candidate in the 2004 presidential election.
40 GRAMMAR MISTAKES IN YANUKOVICH’S APPLICATION
WHO IS MR. YANUKOVICH?

• Born on 9 July 1950 in Enakievo, a city in the east of Ukraine

• Yanukovich: "My childhood was difficult and hungry. I grew up without my mother who died when I was two. I went around bare-footed on the streets. I had to fight for myself every day." [source]

• Convictions [source]
  ❖ On 15 December 1967, at the age of 17, Yanukovych was sentenced to three years incarceration for participating in a robbery and assault.
  ❖ On 8 June 1970, he was convicted for a second time on charges of assault and was sentenced to two years of imprisonment.

• 1997-2002: Governor of Donetsk Oblast (east of Ukraine).

• 2002-2004: Prime Minister of Ukraine

• 2004: an unsuccessful candidate in the 2004 presidential election.

• 2006-2007: Prime Minister for a second time under President Yuschenko.

• 2010-present: president of Ukraine.
Share of votes for V. Yanukovych in presidential elections 2004

- **Skeptic**: 2.7% - 10%
- **Light Green**: 10.1% - 25%
- **Yellow**: 25.1% - 50%
- **Orange**: 50.1% - 75%
- **Red**: 75.1% - 93.5%
Share of votes for V. Yanukovych in presidential elections
2010
“Landmarks” of Mr. Yanukovich’s Presidency

- Scrap constitutional amendments of 2004: Ukraine moved back from parliamentary to presidential republic.
“Landmarks” of Mr. Yanukovich’s Presidency

- Scrap constitutional amendments of 2004: Ukraine moved back from parliamentary to presidential republic.
- Mezhygirya (private residence of Mr. Yanukovich). [source]
“Landmarks” of Mr. Yanukovich’s Presidency

- Scrap constitutional amendments of 2004: Ukraine moved back from parliamentary to presidential republic.
- Mezhygirya (private residence of Mr. Yanukovich). [source]
- Forbes estimates that the wealth of one of his sons (dentist) increased by 500 million dollars (from about $7M) since 2010. [sources 1, 2]
“LANDMARKS” OF MR. YANUKOVICH’S PRESIDENCY

- Scrap constitutional amendments of 2004: Ukraine moved back from parliamentary to presidential republic.
- Mezhygirya (private residence of Mr. Yanukovich). [source]
- Forbes estimates that the wealth of one of his sons (dentist) increased by 500 million dollars (from about $7M) since 2010. [sources 1, 2]
- 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.
“Landmarks” of Mr. Yanukovich’s Presidency II

- Yulia Tymoshenko (the other key candidate in presidential elections in 2010) is jailed for 7 years [source]
- Freedom House: move from “Free” to “Partly Free”
“Landmarks” of Mr. Yanukovich’s Presidency II

- Yulia Tymoshenko (the other key candidate in presidential elections in 2010) is jailed for 7 years [source]
- Freedom House: move from “Free” to “Partly Free”
- 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.
MR. YANUKOVICH AND EU

• Historic rhetoric: Course to Russia (e.g., Yanukovich said in 2004, “Russian language must be another state language in Ukraine.” read more)
MR. YANUKOVICH AND EU

- Historic rhetoric: Course to Russia (e.g., Yanukovich said in 2004, “Russian language must be another state language in Ukraine.” read more)

- Change of course: plans to sign association with the EU (summit in Vilnius) in November 2013.

- Yanukovich extinguished dissent in his party in his characteristic way:
  - at least one dissenting MP was stripped of immunity and now in jail for crimes (probably real) that that MP committed many years ago
MR. YANUKOVICH AND EU

- Historic rhetoric: Course to Russia (e.g., Yanukovich said in 2004, “Russian language must be another state language in Ukraine.” read more)

- Change of course: plans to sign association with the EU (summit in Vilnius) in November 2013.

- Yanukovich extinguished dissent in his party in his characteristic way:
  - at least one dissenting MP was stripped of immunity and now in jail for crimes (probably real) that that MP committed many years ago

- Many people believed this is the only way to get out of corruption, poverty and the grips of Russia.
MR. YANUKOVICH AND EU

- Historic rhetoric: Course to Russia (e.g., Yanukovich said in 2004, “Russian language must be another state language in Ukraine.” read more)

- Change of course: plans to sign association with the EU (summit in Vilnius) in November 2013.

- Yanukovich extinguished dissent in his party in his characteristic way:
  - at least one dissenting MP was stripped of immunity and now in jail for crimes (probably real) that that MP committed many years ago

- Many people believed this is the only way to get out of corruption, poverty and the grips of Russia.

- 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
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 the interior
  - Leaders of opposition (three parties) take the lead

- Yanukovich leaves for China to get support (he got none)
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 the interior
  • Leaders of opposition (three parties) take the lead

• 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

Yanukovich promises to C. Ashton (EU) and V. Nuland (USA) that he’s not going to use force. A few hours later…
Dec 11, 2013

Yanukovich promises to C. Ashton (EU) and V. Nuland (USA) that he’s not going to use force. A few hours later…
Eight weeks of peaceful protests, up to a million people gather on Sundays for People’s Councile ("Viche") in Kiev

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

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

• Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.

• Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally.

video
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally.

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

• Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.

• Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally.

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

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
Yanukovich escalates conflict

• Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.

• Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.

• Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  • Public torture
NAZI IN KIEV, 1941. BABI YAR
This is Kiev too: January 23, 2014. Temperature -10°C. Video
POLICE USED WATER CANNONS AT FREEZING TEMPERATURES

source
RIOT POLICE TAKES A PHOTO AFTER AN ATTACK ON PROTESTERS
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
- **Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)**
  - Public torture
    - **Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev**
HIRED THUGS (AKA “TITUSHKI”)
CAPTURED AND DISARMED THUGS (AKA “TITUSHKI”)
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

• Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
• Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
• Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  • Public torture
  • Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev
  • Kidnap, torture and kill activists (death squadrons?)
JOURNALIST TETYANA CHORNHOVL: BEFORE AND AFTER

more
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.
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
- Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  - Public torture
  - Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev
  - Kidnap, torture and kill activists (death squadrons?)
- “Dear subscriber, you are registered as a participant in a mass disturbance.”
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

• Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.

• Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.

• Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  • Public torture
  • Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev
  • Kidnap, torture and kill activists (death squadrons?)
  • “Dear subscriber, you are registered as a participant in a mass disturbance.”
  • Courts convict protesters en masse at night sessions (Stalin style)

This 72 year old person was convicted for beating a riot police officer
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
- Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  - Public torture
  - Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev
  - Kidnap, torture and kill activists (death squadrons?)
  - “Dear subscriber, you are registered as a participant in a mass disturbance.”
  - Courts convict protesters en masse at night sessions (Stalin style)
- 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)
YANUKOVICH ESCALATES CONFLICT

- Refuses to meet opposition. Yanukovich laughed at the protests for 2 months.
- Riot police attacks protesters indiscriminately and brutally. Protesters respond.
- Government-sponsored terror (at least 5 people died + thousands badly injured)
  - Public torture
  - Literally bus thugs into Kiev, give them drugs/weapons, let them roam Kiev
  - Kidnap, torture and kill activists (death squadrons?)
  - “Dear subscriber, you are registered as a participant in a mass disturbance.”
  - Courts convict protesters en masse at night sessions (Stalin style)
- 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)

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

New People’s Council is legitimized
Occupied by people
Attempt of seizure by people
Mass protests
-controlled by the government’s party
YANUKOVICH-CONTROLLED LOCAL STATE ADMINISTRATIONS ARE BEING FORTIFIED

Odesa (January 28, 2013) [source]
CURRENT SITUATION

• Yanukovich and opposition leaders have had multiple rounds of negotiations
  ➢ January 25, 2013: Yanukovich offers opposition to head the government
  • Key demands of the opposition are not met => offer rejected.
CURRENT SITUATION

• Yanukovich and opposition leaders have had multiple rounds of negotiations
  ➢ January 25, 2013: Yanukovich offers opposition to head the government
    • Key demands of the opposition are not met => offer rejected.
  ➢ January 28, 2013
    • The Prime Minister resigned “voluntarily”

The parliament repealed the dictatorial
**CURRENT SITUATION**

- Yanukovich and opposition leaders have had multiple rounds of negotiations
  - January 25, 2013: Yanukovich offers opposition to head the government
    - Key demands of the opposition are not met => offer rejected.
  - January 28, 2013
    - The Prime Minister resigned “voluntarily” but his cabinet continues to “take care” of country for another 60 days
    - The parliament repealed the dictatorial laws but these have to be signed by Yanukovich
    - Meanwhile government-sponsored violence and kidnapping of people continues. Political prisoners are not released (Yanukovich uses them as a bargaining chip)
POLICE AND CRIMINALS COORDINATE THEIR ACTIONS TO STIFLE ANY DISSENT
BEAT A PEACEFUL PROTESTER
Police and criminals coordinate their actions to stifle any dissent. Criminals “help” police to disperse a demonstration.
CURRENT SITUATION

• Yanukovich and opposition leaders have had multiple rounds of negotiations
  ➢ January 25, 2013: Yanukovich offers opposition to head the government
    • Key demands of the opposition are not met => offer rejected.
  ➢ January 28, 2013
    • The Prime Minister resigned “voluntarily” (but his cabinet continues to “take care” of country for another 60 days)
    • The parliament repealed the dictatorial laws (but these have to be signed by Yanukovich)
    • Meanwhile government-sponsored violence and kidnapping of people continues. Political prisoners are not released (Yanukovich uses them as a bargaining chip)

• Opposition is losing control over protests as people get increasingly radical.
CURRENT SITUATION

- Yanukovich and opposition leaders have had multiple rounds of negotiations
  - January 25, 2013: Yanukovich offers opposition to head the government
    - Key demands of the opposition are not met => offer rejected.
  - January 28, 2013
    - The Prime Minister resigned “voluntarily” (but his cabinet continues to “take care” of country for another 60 days)
    - The parliament repealed the dictatorial laws (but these have to be signed by Yanukovich)
    - Meanwhile government-sponsored violence and kidnapping of people continues. Political prisoners are not released (Yanukovich uses them as a bargaining chip)

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

- Constitutional reform
  - The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  - To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)
SOLUTION

• Constitutional reform
  ➢ The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  ➢ To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  ➢ Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  ➢ Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  ➢ Stop using criminals to intimidate the people
SOLUTION

• Constitutional reform
  ➢ The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  ➢ To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  ➢ Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  ➢ Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  ➢ Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

• Re-load the government
  ➢ The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  ➢ Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  ➢ Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)
**SOLUTION**

- **Constitutional reform**
  - The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  - To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

- **Stop government-sponsored terror campaign**
  - Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  - Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  - Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

- **Re-load the government**
  - The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  - Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  - Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

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

- **Constitutional reform**
  - The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  - To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

- **Stop government-sponsored terror campaign**
  - Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  - Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  - Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

- **Re-load the government**
  - The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  - Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  - Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

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

Is this going to happen by itself in Ukraine?
SOLUTION

• Constitutional reform
  ➢ The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  ➢ To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  ➢ Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  ➢ Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  ➢ Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

• Re-load the government
  ➢ The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  ➢ Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  ➢ Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

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

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

- Yanukovich continues escalation, suppresses protests, concentrates all power.
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #1

- Yanukovich continues escalation, suppresses protests, concentrates all power.
- International isolation and sanctions.
- Economic collapse (Ukraine is an export dependent country) and/or total dependence on Russia.
- Cleansing of political opponents and, as a result, terrorists and “avengers”
- Unstable and de-facto divided country
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #1

- Yanukovich continues escalation, suppresses protests, concentrates all power.
- International isolation and sanctions.
- Economic collapse (Ukraine is an export dependent country) and/or total dependence on Russia.
- Cleansing of political opponents and, as a result, terrorists and “avengers”
- 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).
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).

• Retribution to anybody (including “sponsors”) associated with the government with a broad spectrum of legality going from Gaddafi’s death in a gutter to Ceausescu’s speedy trial to Hussein/Nuremberg trials.

• Economic depression.

• Potentially fragile governments, unstable and de-facto divided country.
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).
- Retribution to anybody (including “sponsors”) associated with the government with a broad spectrum of legality going from Gadaffi’s death in a gutter to Ceausescu’s speedy trial to Hussein/Nuremberg trials.
- Economic depression.
- Potentially fragile governments, unstable and de-facto divided country.
- 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

- Neither side makes concessions
- Civil war, divided country, and anarchy/chaos
- Economic collapse
- An ocean of refugees
- Potential proliferation of weapons, drugs, nuclear materials, etc.
  - Nuclear power plants generate 47% of electricity in Ukraine.
- Undermine energy supplies in Europe
  - Thousands of kilometers of gas/oil pipelines going from Russia to EU.
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #3

- Neither side makes concessions
- Civil war, divided country, and anarchy/chaos
- Economic collapse
- An ocean of refugees
- Potential proliferation of weapons, drugs, nuclear materials, etc.
  - Nuclear power plants generate 47% of electricity in Ukraine.
- Undermine energy supplies in Europe
  - Thousands of kilometers of gas/oil pipelines going from Russia to EU.
- A hybrid of Syria/Yugoslavia but on a larger scale?
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #4

• Constitutional reform
  o The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  o To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  o Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  o Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  o Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

• Re-load the government
  o The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  o Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  o Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

• Punish responsible for violence and gross abuse of power (NONE was punished)
  o Set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (as in South Africa)
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #4

• Constitutional reform
  o The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  o To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  o Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  o Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  o Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

• Re-load the government
  o The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  o Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  o Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

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

**FORECAST: A NEW WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE CIS**
A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE? SCENARIO #4

• Constitutional reform
  o The president in Ukraine proves to have too much power
  o To have a long-term solution, need to limit this power (go back to a parliamentary republic?)

• Stop government-sponsored terror campaign
  o Remove riot police from the city (keep national guard)
  o Repeal dictatorial laws and release nonviolent protesters
  o Stop using criminals to intimidate the people

• Re-load the government
  o The current government must resign (discredited in the eyes of millions)
  o Re-load election commissions (now under total control of Yanukovich)
  o Early presidential and parliamentary elections (get legitimacy and credibility)

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

**FORECAST: A NEW WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE CIS**
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Yanukovich side
  o Mr. Yanukovich (so far he has shown little appetite for genuine talks)
    ▪ Carrots:
      • A credible exit strategy with some sort of immunity
      • Buy out Ukraine ($15 billion is really cheap relative to what one can get in other scenarios)
    ▪ Stick: sanctions, isolation, frozen assets abroad.
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Yanukovich side
  o Mr. Yanukovich (so far he has shown little appetite for genuine talks)
    ▪ Carrots:
      • A credible exit strategy with some sort of immunity
      • Buy out Ukraine ($15 billion is really cheap relative to what one can get in other scenarios)
    ▪ Stick: sanctions, isolation, frozen assets abroad.
  o Oligarchs (more flexible/vulnerable)
    ▪ Carrots: open markets in the West
    ▪ Sticks: economy in ruins + revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions
$221 MILLION PENTHOUSE IN LONDON?

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

more photos + story
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Yanukovich side
  o Mr. Yanukovich (so far he has shown little appetite for genuine talks)
    ▪ Carrots:
      • A credible exit strategy with some sort of immunity
      • Buy out Ukraine ($15 billion is really cheap relative to what one can get in other scenarios)
    ▪ Stick: sanctions, isolation, frozen assets abroad.
  o Oligarchs (more flexible/vulnerable)
    ▪ Carrots: open markets in the West
    ▪ Sticks: economy in ruins + revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions
  o Voters supporting Yanukovich
    ▪ About 20% of “unconditional” supporters
    ▪ Information campaigns (New Radio Freedom?)
    ▪ Use of social media for publicizing government abuses?
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Yanukovich side
  o Mr. Yanukovich (so far he has shown little appetite for genuine talks)
    ▪ Carrots:
      • A credible exit strategy with some sort of immunity
      • Buy out Ukraine ($15 billion is really cheap relative to what one can get in other scenarios)
    ▪ Stick: sanctions, isolation, frozen assets abroad.
  o Oligarchs (more flexible/vulnerable)
    ▪ Carrots: open markets in the West
    ▪ Sticks: economy in ruins + revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions
  o Voters supporting Yanukovich
    ▪ About 20% of “unconditional” supporters
    ▪ Information campaigns (New Radio Freedom?)
    ▪ Use of social media for publicizing government abuses?
  o Russia
    ▪ “Neutralized” during the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi.
    ▪ Offer financial aid to Ukraine to get it off the Russian loan’s hook.
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Opposition
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)
UKRAINE’S PM AZAROV WAS OSTRACIZED AT WEF IN DAVOS
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Opposition
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)

• International Community
  o Political pressure
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)
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.
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Opposition
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich

• International Community
  o Political pressure
    o Offer mediation and support, serve as guarantors for any agreements.
      ▪ Example: Ukraine’s Orange revolution in 2004
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• **Opposition**
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich

• **International Community**
  o Political pressure
  o Offer mediation and support, serve as guarantors for any agreements.
  o Personalized sanctions (revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions).
    ▪ US already imposed some (visas were revoked for low-rank supporters of Yanukovich in the parliament).
    ▪ Canada imposed visa restrictions on key government officials responsible for violence and oppression.
    ▪ EU has not imposed anything. Only threats.
LET'S THROW IN A COMMUNIQUE!
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Opposition
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich

• International Community
  o Political pressure
  o Offer mediation and support, serve as guarantors for any agreements.
  o Personalized sanctions (revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions).
    ▪ US already imposed some (visas were revoked for low-rank supporters of Yanukovich in the parliament).
    ▪ Canada imposed visa restrictions on key government officials responsible for violence and oppression.
    ▪ EU has not imposed anything. Only threats.
  o Humanitarian aid (Red Cross)
HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE?

• Opposition
  o Take peaceful protests to more regions and avoid provocations
  o Stay united (avoid post Orange revolution internal fights)
  o Appeal to international community (use Ukrainian diaspora)
  o Offer credible exit for Yanukovich

• International Community
  o Political pressure
  o Offer mediation and support, serve as guarantors for any agreements.
  o Personalized sanctions (revoke visas, freeze assets, block transactions).
    ▪ US already imposed some (visas were revoked for low-rank supporters of Yanukovich in the parliament).
    ▪ Canada imposed visa restrictions on key government officials responsible for violence and oppression.
    ▪ EU has not imposed anything. Only threats.
  o 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 3rd term; resignation of local authorities

Ukraine (Orange revolution 2004): opposition won; no violence
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 and empire.”
UKRAINE: A BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE?

It can be a fall of the Berlin wall.