

REMAPPING UKRAINE

15th Century BCE to 21st Century CE

Osher Lifelong Learning Institute

Vanderbilt University

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Mary Pat Silveira

MEET THE PLAYERS

Before the Orange Revolution

- **Leonid Kravchuk**
 - President, 1991 to 1994
- **Leonid Kuchma**
 - President, 1994 to 2005
- **Viktor Yanukovich**
 - Prime Minister, 2002-2004
 - Presidential candidate, 2004
- **Victor Yushchenko**
 - Prime Minister, 1999-2001
 - Presidential candidate, 2004
 - President, 2005-2010
- **Yulia Tymoshenko**
 - Deputy Prime Minister for Fuel & Energy, 1999-2001
 - Prime Minister, 2005 and 2007-2010

THE KRAVCHUK YEARS

- Elected from 1991-1995
- Early elections
 - GDP falling more every year; by 22.9% in 1994
 - Severe inflation
- Loses to Leonid Kuchma

RISE OF THE OLIGARCHS

- Kuchma launches first real economic reform program; successful at first
- Rise of the oligarchs and the “Blackmail State”
 - Kuchma’s cronies acquire control over large-scale industrial sector in south-central & east
 - By 2008, no fewer than 23 billionaires, 10 of whom were multi-billionaires
 - Among them, Kuchma’s son, at 2.3 billion

ELECTION OF 1999

- Kuchma's 5-year term complete
 - `runs "cut-out" candidates
 - Warns officials that he had better win: conversations are taped
- Kuchma wins second term

KUCHMA'S SECOND TERM

- Economy in in danger of defaulting
- Kuchma (under Western pressure) brings in **Yuschenko** as Prime Minister
 - Yuschenko brings in **Tymoshenko** as Deputy PM in charge of energy sector

YUSCHENKO

- Very successful:
 - Slims down government and bureaucracy
 - Begins tax and agricultural reform
 - Brings shadow economy into legal sphere
 - Reform program raises \$4 billion in 2000 alone – 13% GDP
 - Growth now 5.9% in 2000 and 9.2% in 2001

MEANWHILE, THOSE OLIGARCHS

- The oligarchs, hurt by the reform, are furious.
- Kuchma promises to destroy Yushenko and Tymoshenko
- **Viktor Yanukovich** becomes new Prime Minister in 2002

RUSSIA: BEST FRIENDS FOREVER

- Kuchma begins reorienting Ukraine's relationship toward Russia
- Agrees that Ukraine should become limited part of Russia's proposed "Common Economic Space"

OPPOSITION

- Kuchma's tapes become public
- Public protests in Dec 2000 and again in Feb 2001
- Both Yushchenko and Tymoshenko building opposition parties – do well in 2002 parliamentary elections

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 2004

- Kuchma unable to run for a third term – “chooses” **Victor Yanukovych** to be his successor
- Yushchenko decides to run; he & Tymoshenko agree not to oppose each other: declaration of unity

YANUKOVYCH'S STRATEGY

- Kuchma (and oligarchs) determined that Yanukovich will win; adopt a strategy:
 - Strengthens Yanukovich's popularity
 - Brings in Russian "political technologists"
 - Assassination

THE POISONING

- Early warnings that Administration would try to kill **Yuschenko**
- Sept, he is poisoned at dinner, although does not recognize severity at first
- Aides whisk him off to Austria and just able to save his life; half his face paralyzed.

YUSCHENKO: BEFORE & AFTER



THE ELECTION AND THE FRAUD

- “Absentee” votes in east and south as much as 33% of voters
- “Electoral tourism”
- The “count”: counting suspended twice; an alleged 50,000 to 150,000 votes from west “lost”

FIRST & SECOND ROUNDS

- First Round: Yuschenko ahead by 39.9 to 39.3% -- requires a second round of voting
- Second Round: Yanukovych declared winner by 49.5 to 46.6%
 - Votes in eastern Ukraine had increased by one million over First Round
 - Clear that the election had been “fixed”

ORANGE REVOLUTION

- Yushchenko calls for protestors to assemble in Independence Square when polls closed 21 Nov
- Number of protestors increase; thousands come in by bus from around country
- EU Intervention
 - Agree to a Third Round
 - Rada approves

KYIV: INDEPENDENCE SQUARE



ORANGE REVOLUTION

- Third Round of voting:
 - 26 Dec: Yuschenko wins with 52% to 44.2%;
 - Tymoshenko confirmed as prime minister with record-breaking 373 votes out of 450.

GOVERNING AFTER REVOLUTION

- Expectations high
- Prepares new “Orange” Constitution
- Signs three-year Action Plan with EU in Feb 2005
- Begins “Intensified Dialogue” on NATO membership
- Expectations fall: friction between **Yuschenko** and **Tymoshenko**

ORANGE GOVERNMENT

- Government collapses first year; new parliamentary elections – **Tymoshenko PM** again
- Government collapses again – new elections – **Yanukovich** emerges as **PM**
- **Yanukovich** precipitates a constitutional crisis summer of 2007

ORANGE GOVERNMENT

- New parliamentary elections needed again in 2007; **Tymoshenko** returns as PM
- 2009: Economy is suffering as result of global recession
- Popular anger and frustration set in; Orange Government is blamed.

2010 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

- **Yanukovych** works to redeem himself; promises he has learned from his mistakes.
- He wins in second round with narrow margin: 49% vs 45% for Tymoshenko

YANUKOVYCH GOVERNMENT

- Contrary to promises, Yanukovich:
 - Changes Constitution to favor president
 - Changes Rada's rules to favor his party
 - Stacks cabinet with 29 inexperienced "friends"
 - Acts against Ukrainian language
 - Raises corruption to a new level: "The Family"
 - Shelves plans for NATO membership

CRIMEA AND THE BLACK SEA FLEET

- April 2010 Russian-Ukrainian Pact: new agreement re lease for Black Sea Fleet
 - Pushes through Rada without discussion
 - Bundles issues to disadvantage of Ukraine
 - Gives Russia control for 33 years – until 2047
- Deal leads to a riot in Rada, complete with egg throwing and smoke bombs!

CORRUPTION

- Corruption out-of-control. Even other oligarchs are fearful of “Family’s” power
 - After Maidan Revolution, discovered he and his Family had taken **\$100 billion in under 4 years**
 - Only \$430 million left in government accounts

EAST OR WEST?

- Eurasian Economic Union
 - Established 2000 with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan
 - Treaty on Common Economic Space signed May 2014 by Belarus, Kazakhstan & Russia
 - Participation of Ukraine very important to Russia-- pressures Ukraine to join

EAST OR WEST?

- European Union
 - Partnership & Cooperation Agreement with EU signed 1998
 - Negotiations on Association Agreement launched 2007
 - Dec 2011, reach common understanding on text of Association Agreement reached
- Yanukovych arrests and jails Tymoshenko

NEGOTIATIONS REOPEN

- EU freezes negotiations; adds conditions re “electoral, judiciary & constitutional reforms”
- Negotiations reopen; signature expected at Vilnius Summit Nov 2013
- Russia closes its borders to exports from Ukraine; loss of around \$500 million expected

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

- Nov 21, 2013, Yanukovych pulls out of deal; demonstrations begin
- Yanukovych goes to Vilnius; tells EU Russia is putting too much pressure on him
- He does not sign; returns home Nov 28 to larger demonstrations

AT THE MAIDAN

- By end Nov, demonstrators as large as 200,000, but intermittent
- Wax and wane over next two months; might have ended except for major errors by govt:
 - Repression of lawful demonstrations
 - Increasing use of violence
 - Deal with Russia (Common Economic Space?)
 - Attempt to bribe EU

EUROMAIDAN REVOLUTION

Feb. 2014



GENYA SAVILOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

EU INTERVENES

- Thursday, Feb 20:
 - Worst day of violence; at least 88 people killed by snipers firing at protesters
 - Polish, German & French Foreign Ministers arrive for emergency negotiations
- Putin sends Russian human rights ombudsman
- Agreement signed Friday, Feb 21, at 6:45

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

- Yanukovych and Rada would:
 - restore the Orange Constitution & build a national unity government
 - remain president -- early elections in December
 - Write new election laws and set up new Central Election Commission to oversee vote
 - Investigate the violence that had taken place
 - Not call a state of emergency -- ensure no more violence

YANUKOVYCH FLEES

- All security police leave within minutes of agreement having been signed
- Yanukovich's "allies" desert him: "To betray on time is not to betray, but to foresee"
- Fri, Feb 21: Yanukovich flees Kyiv and, next day, the country; insists he is still president

SATURDAY, 22 FEB

- The Rada removes Yanukovych from office
- Tymoshenko is finally released from prison
- Several ministers and others close to Yanukovych leave Ukraine

THE “MARTYRS”

- The violence in Kyiv comes to an end.
- Over 100 protestors killed, called the “Heavenly Hundred”

NEXT STEPS

- The Rada:
 - returns to the 2004 Constitution
 - Chooses Oleksandr Turchynov as acting president
 - Elects Arseniy Yatsenyuk as Prime Minister
 - Sets the presidential election for 25 May

AND THEN...

- 27-28 Feb 2014, pro-Russian gunmen seize key buildings in Crimean capital
- 1 March: President Putin orders the invasion of the Crimean Peninsula to “protect ethnic Russians living there.”
- 16 March 2014, Crimea holds an illegal referendum on integration into Russia.

CRIMEA



TIMELINE

- 7 April: Protesters occupy government buildings in Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkiv
- 17 April: Russia, Ukraine, US & EU agree on ceasefire; it falls apart less than one week later (22 April)
- 11 May: Pro-Russian separatists in Donetsk and Luhansk declare independence

TOWNS TARGETED BY SEPARATISTS

APRIL 2014



ELECTIONS OF NEW PRESIDENT

- 25 May: **Petro Poroshenko** elected president with 54.7% of vote
- So-called “Nazi” parties (right-wing parties) **together** received 1.9% of vote:
 - The Freedom Party: 1.2%
 - The Right Sector: 0.7%
- Voter turnout only around 50%; many in eastern Ukraine either not able or not willing to vote

POROSHENKO

- Mid-June: Begins process of amending constitution:
 - to decentralize administration
 - To create post of presidential representatives to supervise enforcement of constitutions and laws and observation of human rights and freedoms in cities and towns

POROSHENKO, EU AND NATO

- Ukraine and EU
 - sign the Association Agreement on 27 June 2014
 - “Ukraine’s most historic day since independence”
- NATO:
 - 27 Nov: tells the Rada “We have decided to return to the course of NATO integration because the nonalignment status of Ukraine...could not guarantee our security and territorial integrity.”
 - 23 Dec: The Rada votes 303 to 8 to repeat Ukraine’s non-alignment status

TIMELINE

- 17 July: Malaysia Airlines MH17 from is shot down in rebel-held territory
- August: Rebels advance and threaten to attack Mariupol
- 5 Sept: Ukraine & pro-Russian rebels sign a truce in Minsk; again, it does not hold

NEW FRONT 27 AUGUST



TIMELINE

- Jan 2015: Donetsk airport falls to separatists
- Feb 2015: Fiercest fighting near Debaltseve, where rebels trying to surround Ukrainian troops
- 11 Feb 2015: **Fresh round of peace talks**

AGREEMENT IN BELARUS, 12 FEB 2015

- Ceasefire beginning midnight 14 February
- Heavy weapons pulled from conflict zones, beginning 17 Feb; completed by 2 weeks.
- All prisoners to be released; amnesty for those involved in fighting
- W/d all foreign armed formations, weapons & mercenaries from Ukrainian territory

BELARUS AGREEMENT

- Disarmament of all illegal groups
- Resumption normal life in rebel areas
- Local elections and constitutional reform to enable decentralization for Donetsk & Luhansk by end of 2015
- Ukraine to control border with Russia if conditions met by end 2015

IMF PACKAGE : 12 FEB 2015

- Agreement to provide Ukraine with \$17.5 billion
 - Replaces \$17 billion emergency bailout extended last year after Maidan Revolution
 - Four year arrangement
- EU agreed to provide \$2 billion in loans last month
- US also pledged \$2 billion in loan guarantees
- Loans are being provided on condition govt remains committed to an ambitious overhaul program

DEBALTSEVE: CRUCIAL RAIL LINK



SITUATION OVERVIEW: 6 Feb 2015

- Deaths.....54, 860
- Wounded.....12,972
- IDPs.....978,482
 - Of whom 119,832 children
- Refugees.....600,000
 - Of whom approx 400,000 in Russia

- Pop. in combat areas: 5.2 million

(Source: UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs)