

Yanukovych–Tymoshenko: Comparative Analysis in the 2010 Ukrainian Presidential Elections

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BYuT and Party of Regions

Big Tent:

- ▶ National democrats;
- ▶ 2 oligarchs;
- ▶ Medium sized businessmen;
- ▶ Regional interests;
- ▶ Only national political force.

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Big Tent:

- ▶ Core support: Donetsk and Crimean regional interests;
- ▶ Oligarchs & big Business;
- ▶ Ex-communists and Pan Slavists;
- ▶ Allied to Russian nationalists (Crimea);
- ▶ Ex-Kuchma supporters;
- ▶ Former & current Organized Crime.

Party of Regions

Tymoshenko and Yanukovych

- ▶ United Energy Systems;
 - ▶ 1996–99: Rada Deputy:
 1. Independent;
 2. Hromada Party;
 3. Batkivschina Party.
 - ▶ Deputy PM (Energy);
 - ▶ Imprisoned;
 - ▶ 2001–04: Opposition leader;
 - ▶ Orange Revolution;
 - ▶ Twice Prime Minister: 2005, 2007–
- ▶ 2 jail terms;
 - ▶ Governor Donetsk oblast, 1997–2002;
 - ▶ Election fraud (Kuchma) 1999, 2002;
 - ▶ Twice Prime Minister, 2002–04, 2006–07;
 - ▶ 2006–: alliance with Russian nationalists in the Crimea;
 - ▶ 2006 & 2007 elections: Regions first place;
 - ▶ 2007: Rada crisis & pre-term elections;
 - ▶ 2008–09: opposition.

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Attitudes to 2004 Elections

- ▶ Orange Revolution key supporter & mobiliser;
 - ▶ Support for opposition candidate Yushchenko;
 - ▶ Support for criminal punishment for election fraud;
 - ▶ Argue aims of the Maidan were not implemented.
- ▶ Orange Revolution was “political technology” (i.e. US conspiracy);
 - ▶ Yanukovych was legally elected;
 - ▶ No election fraud (as proven by no prosecutions);
 - ▶ Supreme Court ruling was illegal;
 - ▶ Attempted prosecutions were political persecution;
 - ▶ 2010 election will be proof (revenge) for above views.

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Relationship to Oligarchs and Privatisation

- ▶ Independent of oligarchs;
 - ▶ Anti-oligarch rhetoric (especially in energy);
 - ▶ Re-nationalisation (2005);
 - ▶ Transparent privatisation in 2005: Kryvorizhstal;
 - ▶ Potential diversification economy beyond big business & raw material exports;
 - ▶ No separation of business & politics:
 1. No Bandits to prison;
 2. No amnesty.
- ▶ Not independent;
 - ▶ Oligarchs dominate Party of Regions;
 - ▶ Akhmetov wealthiest person in Eurasia & Europe;
 - ▶ Never anti-oligarch;
 - ▶ Continued lop-sided economy: domination by big business;
 - ▶ Non-transparent (insider) privatisation;
 - ▶ Corrupt Kyiv Mayor is ally of Yanukovych in 2010;

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Social Populism

Ukrainian Elections:

1. Populist programmes;
2. High claims of socio-economic successes;
3. Extravagant promises;

Tymoshenko:

- ▶ Interventionist & populist?
- ▶ Social market economy (New Labour);
- ▶ Anti-oligarch and anti-corruption rhetoric;

- ▶ Former Communists are Influential wing of Regions: populist policies;
- ▶ Rada and presidential election programmes populist: greatest number of promises on 2010 election billboards;
- ▶ 2009 law on increase in social payments: negative influence on IMF Stand-By Agreement.

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Nation-Building and History

- ▶ Continue moderate nation-building policies in 1991–04;
 - ▶ Nation-building & history less personalised;
 - ▶ 1933 Famine recognized as genocide;
 - ▶ Legislation on Soviet persecution and nationalist partisans;
 - ▶ Historical view of Russia unchanged.
- ▶ D.Tabachnyk: Sovietophile–Russophile view of history & nationalism;
 - ▶ Neo-Soviet, anti-nationalist rhetoric in 2002 & 2004 elections;
 - ▶ Not support law on famine;
 - ▶ Benign historical view of Russia;
 - ▶ Regional autonomy on nation-building, language & history.

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Language Policy

- ▶ Continue moderate policies in place from 1991;
- ▶ Ukraininisation of education;
- ▶ Ukrainian state language;
- ▶ Ukrainianisation in TV and films;
- ▶ Printed media continue be mainly in Russian.
- ▶ 2004, 2006, 2010 Elections: Russian as a second state language;
- ▶ Drop Ukrainianisation of TV and film;
- ▶ Donetsk and Crimea: continue closing Ukrainian schools;

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Separatism and the Crimea

- ▶ Anti-separatist;
- ▶ 2008 war: supported Georgian territorial integrity;
- ▶ Never aligned with Russian nationalists in the Crimea.
- ▶ 2006 elections: For Yanukovych bloc allied Regions & 2 Russian nationalist parties in Crimea;
- ▶ 2008: supported independence of South Ossetia & Abkhazia;
- ▶ Support for regional separatists in Trans-Carpathia.

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Relationship to Europe

- ▶ Batkivschina is the most active Ukrainian party in European parliament;
- ▶ European Peoples Party supports Tymoshenko in 2010 elections;
- ▶ Tymoshenko–Nemyria are active lobbyists in Brussels–Strasbourg;
- ▶ EU membership at centre of 2010 election programme;
- ▶ WTO membership: stepping stone to EU–Ukraine Free Trade Zone.
- ▶ Regions cooperation agreement with Unified Russia, not with European parliament;
- ▶ Few visits to Brussels–Strasbourg;
- ▶ EU rhetoric reminiscent of Kuchma era;
- ▶ Oligarchs interested in implementing Free Trade Zone policies?
- ▶ Will Yanukovych's election re-set relations with the EU?

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Energy and Gas

- ▶ No gas consortium with Russia;
 - ▶ Gas pipeline modernisation only with the EU;
 - ▶ No gas intermediaries (RosUkrEnergo);
 - ▶ Support for energy sovereignty;
 - ▶ Mobilised Rada for law blocking transfer of pipelines (February 2007);
 - ▶ Vanco and Black Sea shelf.
- ▶ Yes to gas consortium with Russia;
 - ▶ Gas pipeline modernisation with the EU and Russia;
 - ▶ Gas intermediaries: yes please!
 - ▶ Vanco: Regions were 2 of 4 Ukrainian joint owners;
 - ▶ Renegotiate 2010 gas contract to receive gas subsidies.

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NATO

Backburner:

1. Popularity not increased;
2. Political instability;
3. Ukraine fatigue;
4. German opposition;
5. Bush and Obama;

Tymoshenko:

- ▶ Pro-NATO wing;
- ▶ January 2008: joint letter to NATO;
- ▶ PfP cooperation return to high levels.

- ▶ No NATO membership;
- ▶ PfP cooperation lower than in Kuchma era;
- ▶ No pro-NATO wing of Regions;
- ▶ September 2006: Yanukovych told NATO no MAP.

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Relationship to Russia

- ▶ EU seeks good Ukraine–Russia relations and stable gas transit;
- ▶ Pragmatic economic–energy relationship. Does not impinge on Ukraine’s European integration;
- ▶ Russia is a potential threat;
- ▶ Criticised Medvedev letter to Yushchenko.
- ▶ Endorsed by Russian media in 2010 elections;
- ▶ Support for Single Economic Space Customs Union;
- ▶ Support for separatism in Georgia;
- ▶ Regions–Unified Russia cooperation (since 2005);
- ▶ Dismiss Russia as a threat;
- ▶ Support criticism in Medvedev letter;
- ▶ Support Russia on new European Security Treaty;
- ▶ For Ukraine’s neutrality, but back Sevastopol as long–term BSF base.

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Kuchma and Yanukovych

- ▶ Autocephalous Orthodox Church;
 - ▶ Ukrainophile nation-building & historiography;
 - ▶ NATO:
 1. 2002: NATO membership;
 2. Twice requested MAP (2002, 2004);
 3. Most active CIS country in PfP (1994–2004);
 - ▶ Black Sea Fleet: no extension beyond 2017;
 - ▶ Crimea: anti-separatist;
 - ▶ Russia is a potential threat (Tuzla, 2003);
 - ▶ GUAM and Georgia;
- ▶ Ally of Russian Orthodox Church;
 - ▶ Russophile nation-building & historiography;
 - ▶ NATO:
 1. No to MAP & membership;
 2. Lower cooperation within PfP;
 3. Support for Russian proposal of new European Security Treaty;
 - ▶ Black Sea Fleet can be extended beyond 2017;
 - ▶ Crimea: Regions aligned with Russian nationalists;
 - ▶ Russia not a threat;
 - ▶ Disinterest in GUAM and anti-Georgian;

Leonid Kuchma

Viktor Yanukovych