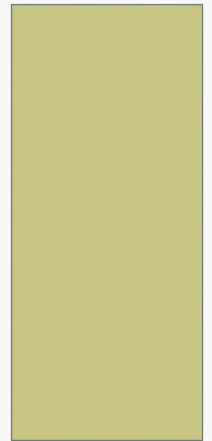


DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL THREATS TO THE
EUROMAIDAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN UKRAINE,
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES

DR. TARAS KUZIO, OCTOBER 8, 2015



DOMESTIC THREATS

UNFIXED DOMESTIC FACTORS

- Same rotating elites.
- Disgruntled masses, prone to anti-elite populist rhetoric.
- Lack of political parties.
- Active civil society.
- Judicial system where crime pays.
- Oligarchs.
- Lower economic growth than potential.
- Small middle class.
- Large shadow economy.
- Trade still more tied to the east than to west.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR REFORMS

- **‘Reforms’ has many meanings:**
 1. Economic.
 2. Financial.
 3. Energy.
 4. Oligarchs.
 5. Corruption.
- 4 and 5 have public support but support for 1-3 is more limited.



CORRUPTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Prosecutor-General's office:
 1. Incompetent in defending the rule of law.
 2. Competent in protecting elites.
 3. Neo-Soviet institution.
 4. Over-manned.
 5. Highly corrupt.
- Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).
- Ministry of Interior.
- Judicial system.



OLIGARCHS AND THE WEST

- Western position on 'taming' oligarchs contradictory and no clear message:
 1. Re-nationalization of assets?
 2. Remove their control over large television channels?
 3. Prosecute and Imprison them?
- Oligarch can steal only because they have a place to deposit ill gotten gains:
 1. Cyprus, London, Austria, France, Switzerland, Lichtenstein, Monaco.
 2. Virgin Islands, Panama, Belize.

POROSHENKO, KLITSCHKO AND THE GAS LOBBY



- Lyovochkin resigns (Jan.14).
- Gas lobby leaders negotiate their names off Ukraine Interpol wanted list (February-March 2014).
- Lyovochkin brokers deal in Vienna with Firtash, Poroshenko and Klitschko (March 2014).
- Firtash buys and is protected by Viennese elites (March-April 2014).
- Poroshenko and Klitschko elected (May 2014).
- Boyko-Lyovochkin elected as leaders of Opposition Bloc (Oct.14).

EXTERNAL THREATS

PUTIN AND RUSSIA

UKRAINE'S GEOPOLITICAL NO MANS LAND

- Since 2014, large scale change in attitudes to Russia have made Ukrainians more pro-EU and NATO.
- But, Western Europeans remain opposed to NATO and EU enlargement for Ukraine (and Georgia). Ukraine remains in a geopolitical no man's land:
 1. Cannot go to Russia because of public opinion and because Russia offers only semi-colonial status and a country run by a Ukrainian "Kadyrov".
 2. Cannot integrate into EU and NATO because of low support in Western Europe and weak political will on implementing 'reforms'.

EU GIVES UKRAINE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK

1. Inherited worse legacy from USSR than Central-Eastern Europe.
2. Received far smaller funding from EU for reforms.
3. EU and influential EU members do not support enlargement to Ukraine.
4. Eastern Partnership's EU is enlargement-lite or enlargement substitute.
5. Ukraine expected to introduce huge proportion of Copenhagen Criteria with worse legacy, smaller funding, and no membership carrot.

PUTIN'S OBJECTIVES IN UKRAINE

- Since 2007-2008, turn to extreme nationalism and anti-Western xenophobia.
- Reliance on White émigré nationalist and fascists (Ivan Ilyin) and domestic formerly marginal nationalists (Aleksandr Dugin).
- Putin: Ukrainians and Russians are one people.
- Ukraine should live within the Russian World.
- Ukrainians who seek to join EU or NATO are 'fascists'.
- Regime change to install a Ukrainian 'Kadyrov.'
- Ukraine to resemble a weak federalized Bosnia.

DUGIN: UKRAINIANS ARE VERMIN AND SHOULD BE KILLED, KILLED, KILLED



PUTIN FACES REALITY IN UKRAINE

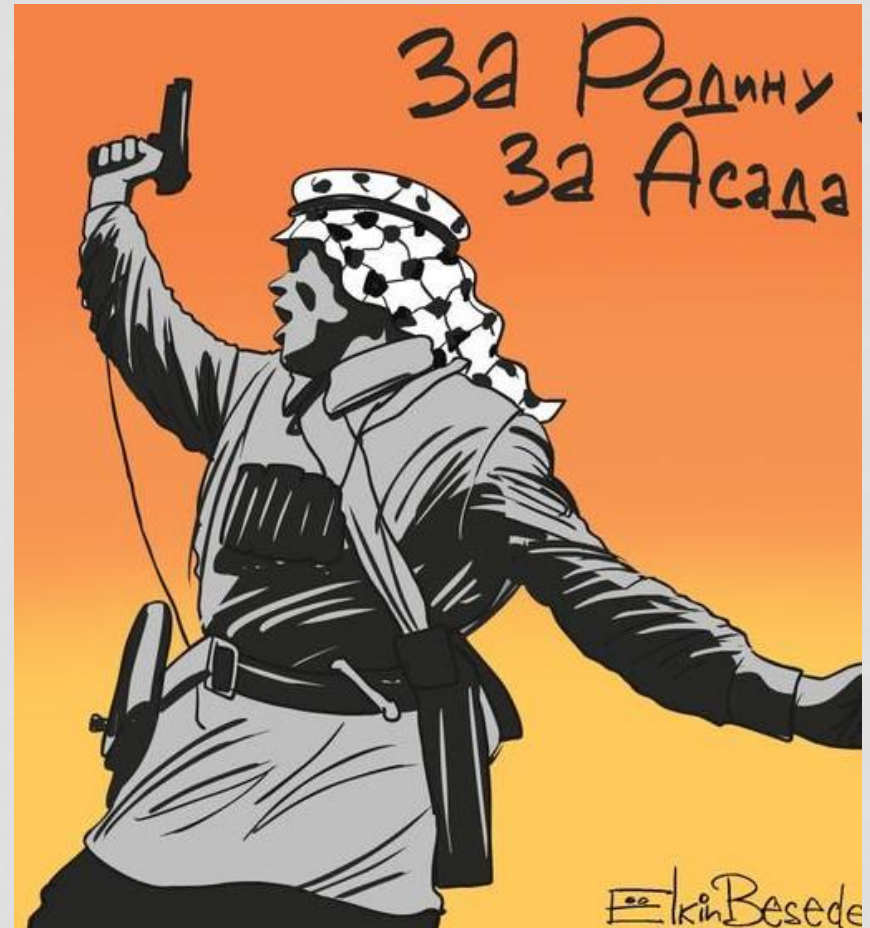
- New Russia project failed because:
 1. Ukraine's Russian speakers are not 'Russians' and especially not pro-Putin.
 2. 'New Russia's 8 regions are very different and separatism had support only in the Crimea and Donbas.
 3. Kharkiv and Odesa were swing regions.
 4. Pro-Putin Russian speakers have a Soviet/eastern Slavic identity, view Russia as a higher civilization to Europe & see Ukraine as part of the Russkii Mir.
 5. Large numbers of Russian speakers joined Ukrainian volunteer battalions or were conscripted and work in civil society support groups.

PUTIN'S 'ACHIEVEMENTS'

- Annexed the Crimea creating a frozen conflict.
- Donbas failed, requiring Russian invasion (August 2014) and greater military support.
- 40,000 separatist forces larger than many NATO members.
- Putin is the most negatively viewed foreign leader.
- Support for CIS integration at record low.
- Support for NATO membership over 50%.
- Support for EU membership over 60%.
- Pro-Russian political camp disintegrated.
- Russia expected to be let off hook as in Georgia in 2008 but Western sanctions tougher than anticipated.

DONBAS

- Not a civil war: far more Russian speakers back Kyiv than separatists.
- **Not a frozen conflict:**
 1. Central governments in Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan defeated by Russian-backed separatists.
 2. Ukraine government not defeated so unresolved conflict.
 3. Stalemate with neither side achieving goals.
- Will the Donbas be reintegrated on Russian terms?
- Is Syria a temporary distraction?



WEAK WESTERN LEADERS

- EU sanctions only tougher after MH17 shot down.
- France-Germany at Minsk 1, 2 and Normandy talks seek to 'resolve' the 'Ukrainian problem' as quickly as possible, giving in to Putin's demands.
- West hopes to muddle through, appealing to worst instincts of Ukrainian elites and assists Putin's agenda.
- President Obama: unwilling to send military equipment and providing meager economic assistance.
- Obama passes buck to Western Europeans.
- PM Harper and Canadian parliament: all rhetoric, no substance. Western governments unwilling take responsibility and delegate to international financial institutions .
- Military training by UK, Poland, Israel, Georgia, Canada, US, Turkey.
- But, how different to NATO PfP training since 1994?

IS RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE?

- Ukraine problem will remain as long as Putin and his allies are in power.
- Putin is not intending to give up power.
- Therefore Ukrainian question will remain on table as long as Putin is Russian president.
- Putin will continue to seek to undermine the EU (e.g. supporting anti-EU nationalists, populists & fascists).
- Russian speakers in Latvia and Estonia: hybrid war opportunity to undermine NATO article 5.
- How can West withdraw sanctions without sending signal annexation of territory is not punishable?
- Situation will remain unstable because Putin's strategic agenda incomplete, meaning future crises likely.

