



№27 (19 NOVEMBER 2015)

THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE NEWSLETTER

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THE THREAT OF REAL PUNISHMENT WILL MAKE DEPUTIES MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE IN THE VERKHOVNA RADA

Regular absence at important meetings of the parliamentary committees and sessions of the Verkhovna Rada, and frays between deputies, putting it mildly, do not promote the growth of confidence of ordinary Ukrainians in the main legislative body of the country. The issue of discipline of people's deputies may be solved by the appearance of sergeants-at-arms in the session hall.

This issue was raised back in 1994. Back then, microphones were in the aisles of the session hall, and deputies from different political parties hit each other's feet while waiting for their turn so it was proposed to establish the institution of sergeants-at-arms to enable them to make order in the parliament.

However, the idea did not take hold. Back then, members of the parliament only laughed saying that this was the Parliament, and it would simply be indecent

if a deputy was escorted out of the hall for bad behaviour. So it is decent to fight, and to escort bullies out is not.

Of course, the Rules of Procedure of the Verkhovna Rada should be revised — there are things that need to be improved there. However, for example, the procedure on a bill passing committees,



consideration of a document at the first and second reading, the procedure for amendments — all this is provided in the Rules of Procedure in detail. So the main thing here is to start complying with the existing standards.

In this regard, in order to enhance the effect of implementation of the existing legislative acts, we should only prescribe real responsibility of a deputy for the violation of laws and the Constitution. For example, to prescribe that absence at three sessions without good reason or facts of non-personal voting is the basis for applying certain measures to deputies. Up to stating this in the Constitution so that it could be the reason for deprivation of a deputy seat.

Full [text](#)

*Legal Research Consultant of
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Viktor MUSIYAKA*



THE STATE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WILL BE PROTECTED FROM BEING USED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

For decades, in Ukraine, there has been the discussion about the need to create a new body that would perform investigative functions. This was also due to the fact that some of these functions should be taken away from prosecution, which should not have such powers. Finally, a respective law has been adopted, and such a body should be created.

Based on the specified functions and powers of the State Bureau of Investigation, it will focus its work on the investigation of the most serious crimes, organised crime as well as crimes committed by top officials and security forces.

Distinguishing these forces provides an opportunity to make this body really useful and functional. On the other hand, of course, there will always be the temptation to use the bureau for some political or corporate goals. However, the law provides for rather effective mechanisms to avoid this. Among them,

there is creating Supervisory Community Board, and especially the procedure of forming governing bodies, and appointing the head of this body. So there is certain protection that gives grounds to expect that this body will operate for the intended purpose rather than be used for any illegal purposes.

Based on the law, the government will have more influence on the formation of governing bodies of the State Bureau of Investigation, not the president. Furthermore, competitive selection is provided, which basically should provide greater opportunities for the autonomy of this structure.

Full [text](#)

*Deputy Director, Director of Political
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the Razumkov Centre
Yuriy YAKYMENKO*



KORBAN'S CASE SHOULD NOT BECOME A TRIAL OF THE ERA OF YANUKOVYCH'S REGIME

After Korban's arrest, it is very difficult to predict who will be next. We should admit that it has been a while since we heard anything about criminal cases involving the shootings at the Maidan and anything connected with it.

Furthermore, to predict anything in the situation when there are similar precedents without any external reason for this is extremely difficult.

As to Korban's case, there is a component associated with his business as well as a political component because he is the leader of a political party.

It is too early to say where the one ends and the other begins. Especially until there is no coherent information what Korban is accused of and what evidence there is. There is no sufficient basis yet to discuss this in detail.

I think that this matter is related to general political processes and especially what the current government

declared as deoligarchisation, i.e. the fight against oligarchs. This is due in no small part to this point.

Korban's trial will hardly become anything like what was happening under Yanukovich's regime since the situation in the country has significantly changed although we can still see some signs of the old days.

I think that the defence will have more opportunities to influence this case, and there is also a significant public component as well as the factor of the political party headed by Korban. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that this process will really have a legal perspective rather than political. What the decision of the court will be the future will show.

Full [text](#)

Deputy Director, Director of Political and Legal Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Yuriy YAKYMENKO

National Security and Defence

THE WORLD WILL REVISE ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS TERRORISM

It does not matter who will take responsibility for the terrorist attacks in Paris. Clearly, we are talking about the Islamic extremists. Participation of suicide bombers in this prove that.

Whenever there is such a large-scale terrorist attack, there are always a lot of those willing to take responsibility for it to show their significance.

Indeed, there was information that the terrorist attack in Paris was linked to the events in Syria. A terrorist attack is never for the sake of an attack itself. This will have serious consequences. Within days, the world should develop some more long-term measures to address the threat. The threat of terrorism for France and Ukraine.

It is important to once again think what the consequences of the terrorist attacks in Paris will be for Ukraine. The nature of terrorism that we have in Eastern Ukraine does not correspond to the nature of terrorism as such.



Co-director of Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Oleksiy MELNYK

However, there is one important problem for us — in France, there is the question of how the terrorists got weapons. We are dealing with the phenomenon of corruption. This is key to Ukrainian security — fighting corruption.

It is unlikely that the leaders of the countries will agree on anything in the Vienna format on global security, which has been already suggested for discussion. There is Russia, there is the U.S., and they are also trying to involve Iran. There are a lot of contradictions.

However, the world is still revising its attitude towards terrorism and security. For example, Prime Minister of Canada, who previously spoke of a refusal to participate in air operations in Syria, now declares possible involvement in the operation.

There are many reasons why some people join terrorists. Here, parallels can be drawn with Donbas. It is difficult to trace when exactly people start fanatically believing in some idea. However, we can say that the problems of these people lead to it, ranging from unemployment to their own ambitions.

Full [text](#)

ESCALATION IN DONBAS MAY BE CAUSED BY TERMINATION OF THE MINSK AGREEMENTS

One can hardly find only one reason for the escalation in Donbas. We can rather mention several versions of what is happening. Firstly, this may be due to the fact that the Minsk Agreements will be terminated [by the end of 2015]. Despite the fact that there are already some initiatives on their extension for next year from different parties, we cannot rule out the fact that the decision on termination of the agreements or their revision can be made.

Secondly, in the rhetoric on the other side of the front, disappointment in Russia's actions among the separatists is quite evident. They are trying to attract attention in every possible way because against the backdrop of the recent events, both the war in Syria and the tourist plane crash, the topic of the DPR-LPR becomes third or fourth. So, with the renewal of hostilities, they are trying to return the topic of Donbas to the information space, and, therefore, draw attention of the Russian leadership to it.

Thirdly, from the military point of view, this may be a way to identify weaknesses in the Ukrainian defence for possible large-scale escalation, if there are such plans.

As to the reports of reinforcement, it keeps coming from different sources, and it is difficult to say whether

they are true. However, I would like emphasise once again that this escalation is obviously related to the Minsk Agreements, and the ongoing negotiation in the Normandy format. Thus, this is the classic way of upping the ante in the negotiation.

Given that both Minsk-1 and Minsk-2 are completely hopeless, therefore, the prospects for this negotiation are very questionable. It should also be noted that the conditional ceasefire, which started in early September, is no way associated with the Minsk Agreements. This was just Putin's command to cease fire, which was executed almost in full, at least for several weeks.

Furthermore, the fulfilment of the Minsk Agreements in the order they were written is more harmful to Ukraine than the potential failure of these agreements. This refers to holding the election and the de facto legalisation of the anti-Ukrainian regime in these areas without regaining control over the border, without the withdrawal of Russian troops, and without the disarmament of mercenaries and illegal groups. Therefore, since the mistake has been made before by the very fact of signing these agreements, now the main effort of our diplomacy should be aimed at avoiding accusations by our Western partners that it

is Ukraine's fault that the Minsk Agreements were not fulfilled. This is the most of what can be achieved in this situation.

Watching the course of this negotiation, there is the impression that each next round of the negotiation and its result are forcing Ukraine to make further concessions. This pressure on Ukraine from Western

partners will continue. Whether Ukraine will be able to resist it, and defend its own national interests reasonably enough depends on our top officials.

[Full text](#)

Co-director of Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Oleksiy MELNYK

PUTIN HAS NOT GIVEN UP HIS GOAL IN DONBAS

There is no large-scale escalation so far. However, there is high probability that it will happen. Putin has not given up his goal, and is not going to. Furthermore, rumours that the Novorosiya project is closed, in my opinion, are not true. The project is not closed.

I would not like to see this option unfolding but with misunderstandings among the Ukrainian parties, which are used to destabilise the situation; it is possible that Ukraine's hands will be twisted, and we will be forced to hold the election in certain raions of Luhansk and Donetsk Oblasts. Then Putin will consider these formations legalised and ready to ask for his help. Regions where former "regionals" won a majority can join them. I would not like that. However, now, unfortunately, we are playing into the hands of the aggressor.

Currently, it is situational response. As to large-scale escalation, Putin will wait whether the decision on holding the election is made or not.

Our behaviour from the military point of view is right. We have agreed to meet all the requirements of the Minks

Agreements. However, these agreements should better refer not only to the withdrawal of weapons but also the withdrawal of troops. Then, there will be at least some hope that provocative acts will stop. Unless the troops are withdrawn, the current situation will remain unchanged.

As to our behaviour from a non-military point of view, when we are calling a war a war, martial law should be declared, which will require consolidation of all forces. Holding the election is a disengagement of forces of the state by party. We are trying to achieve the opposite. We must decide — yes or no. We should be guided by political will and interests of the country rather than one political group.

[Full text](#)

Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI



THE CRASH OF THE RUSSIAN PLANE IS THE RESPONSE OF ISLAMISM TO RUSSIA'S ACTIONS IN SYRIA

There are still no final results of the investigation of the causes for the Russian plane crash — flight A321 from Egypt to St. Petersburg. This creates favourable conditions for spreading rumours and different versions concerning the causes of the crash.

This situation is a good time for various campaigns based on the versions spread. One can put pressure on competitors, one can put pressure on countries that are competitors in the tourism business. In general, this is a full scope for imagination, and it is often used.

However, a country imposes a ban on flights to Egypt (and not only Russia but also a number of other European states), this is due to its sense of the safety

of flights to a particular country and concerns that the flight A321 crashed because of a placed bomb indeed.

If the bomb version is confirmed, then, firstly, it will become evident that Egypt does not control access to its airspace, and cannot ensure proper flight safety.

Secondly, it will clearly indicate that the crash of the Russian plane is the response of Islamism to Russia's actions in Syria. As we can see, terrorists are trying to make their actions public, to draw attention to them — a usual tactics in such cases.

[Full text](#)

Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI

IN SUMMER 2014, UKRAINE LOST THE OPPORTUNITY TO REDUCE THE INFLUENCE OF RUSSIA IN THE UN

It is worth noting a decrease in the role of the UN in international relations, which indicates the fall of efficiency of the global security system.

Out of 76 conflict that occurred in the world during 2003–2012, the UN resolutions were adopted only on 25 of them. Thus, 51 conflicts in the world were not considered. Out of 18 wars, the UN considered only 7.

Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter provide for various types of response to conflicts, ranging from "paying attention" or "recommending the countries actions to prevent the conflict" to "forcing peace". "The Security Council used the latter only three times. All other

attempts were vetoed mostly by the U.S. (on the Palestinian–Israeli conflict), China, and Russia.

Last year, Ukraine should have tried to put the issue of recognising Russia an aggressor state or a party to the conflict in Ukraine to vote through the UN Security Council, despite the predictable veto of Russia. If this recognition was adopted at the General Assembly, Russia would have lost the right of veto on this conflict (under Article 27 of the UN Charter). This way, Russia could have been isolated in the UN.

[Full text](#)

Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI

THE BALANCE OF POWER ON THE CONTACT LINE WILL ALLOW TO KEEP CEASEFIRE IN DONBAS

Restoring parity of the military balance of power on the contact line is the key to keeping ceasefire in Donbas — this factor should be at the heart of the current negotiation on peaceful settlement of the military conflict.

When analysing the course of the international negotiation on the settlement of the military conflict in Eastern Ukraine and the parties fulfilling the peaceful agreements, it should be noted that if we come to some kind of peace talks, there are certain conditions of this

process. If they are violated, force, in particular, should be used to influence the parties violating them. Peace talks do not deny the use of force — This is one of the measures of settlement which is used as part of the overall scheme. The mediator should not necessarily be neutral. Peace talks are not about forgetting who is the offender and who is the victim. It is about restoring justice and not repeating violence.

When we are talking about the attempts to pass some defensive weapons to Ukraine, it is about the

need to restore parity in the military balance of power on the contact line. For this parity allows none of the parties to destabilise the situation, and is the guarantor of ceasefire. The balance of power is always very difficult,

there are no easy answers or simple solutions here.

[Full text](#)

*Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre
Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI*

Economy

INEFFICIENT JUDICIARY STILL HINDERS BUSINESS PRACTICES IN UKRAINE

In the 2015 Doing Business ranking by the World Bank, Ukraine has improved its ranking by 13 points — we have moved from the 96th last year to the 83th in 2015. The experts of the World Bank noted that the key reform that contributed to the increase in Ukraine's ranking was the simplification of business registration.

Currently, to register a business in Ukraine, you need only 7 days and 4 steps. Only 29 countries in the world can boast that it is easier to register a business there than here.

Moving up in the rankings does not allow to say that the country has a favourable position. We still have very inefficient judiciary, especially in terms of protecting the rights of businessmen in court. It is very difficult and extremely expensive to do it. The importance of the judicial reform proves the fact that in Singapore, which ranks first, has showcase judiciary that effectively solves business conflicts. In terms of tax payment due

dates, we lag behind the average in Europe by half. The procedure for contract execution and customs control is three times longer than in the EU. Not all the reforms adopted legislatively have been implemented. The results of their implementation are likely to be seen later. Also, the ranking does not take into account the existence of corruption or shadow turnover, including tax payments. So, Ukraine has a lot of work to do to improve business conditions.

[Full text](#)

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UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC GROWTH DEPENDS ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT IN DONBAS

One of the conditions for economic recovery in Ukraine next year is to prevent the expansion of Russian aggression in Donbas. If the conflict escalates again, the matter of development and economic growth will again turn into an uncertain prospect.

Now we can see that the situation is coming down, and economic agents are slowly rebuilding their business relationships, not focusing on eastern regions as they used to.

If the economy remains stable, the exchange rate can fluctuate a small range, with a slight tendency to devalue. Thus, the rate of 24 UAH per USD stated by the Ministry of Finance, which they are going to include into the 2016 budget, is quite realistic. If this year we have, let us say, 22 UAH per USD, 24 UAH per USD next year indicate a light devaluation.

Thus, in the conditions of relative stability, the draft budget with the rate of 24 UAH per USD does not seem utopian. However, it remains quite optimistic.

Firstly, Ukraine is only starting with the international trade balance. For the economy is still not very

competitive, export is narrowly focused, and flows to the reserves and opportunities to balance international trade do not seem unconditional.

Secondly, despite the fact that we have agreed on restructuring of the external debt, interest payments remain. Foreign exchange reserves of the country are still low, and they are insufficient for macroeconomic stability.

In general, the two main conditions for macroeconomic and foreign exchange stability is to prevent the growth of military aggression and political settlement in Ukraine.

[Full text](#)

*Director of Economic Programmes
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Vasyl YURCHYSHYN*



DECENTRALISATION WILL ALLOW COMMUNITIES TO CONTROL LOCAL BUDGETS EFFECTIVELY

If the reform aimed at decentralisation starts working, we can hope that the triangle "obligations — powers — resources" will not be broken. For the regions, the need and the opportunity to reach a new level of planning and programming is emerging.

Regions should be involved in public infrastructure projects — not local but systemic. As an example, we can take Odesa Oblast which will become key in the project of the Great Silk Road. Opportunities for cross-border cooperation with the European Union are now opening for the western regions of Ukraine. The free

trade zone opens new opportunities for investment into these regions, and then for exporting our goods to European countries.

Decentralisation will bear fruit. At the regional level, it is much easier to ensure the transparency of budgets; communities can be more legally capable.

[Full text](#)

*Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre
Vasyl YURCHYSHYN*

Energy

RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF CRIMEA CAUSED SIGNIFICANT LOSSES TO THE UKRAINE'S MINING INDUSTRY

National joint-stock company Naftohas Ukrayiny is going to submit a claim to the international arbitration on the company's losses due to the Russian occupation of Crimea. According to the company, the amount of lost assets together with the infamous "Boiko's towers" was almost 20 billion UAH in the end of 2013.

The total losses of the national joint-stock company Naftohas Ukrayiny due to the occupation of Crimea are quite difficult to assess. In this case, billions of dollars that were spent on the development of fields should be taken

into account. Furthermore, the shelf of the Black Sea has huge reserves of hydrocarbons.

[Full text](#)

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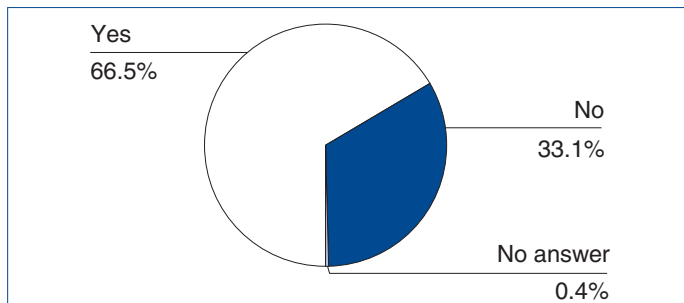
Sociology

The study was conducted by the Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre from 21 to 26 November 2014 and from 22 to 27 May 2015. More than 2,000 respondents aged over 18 in all the regions of Ukraine, except Crimea and the occupied areas of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, were interviewed. Sampling error (without

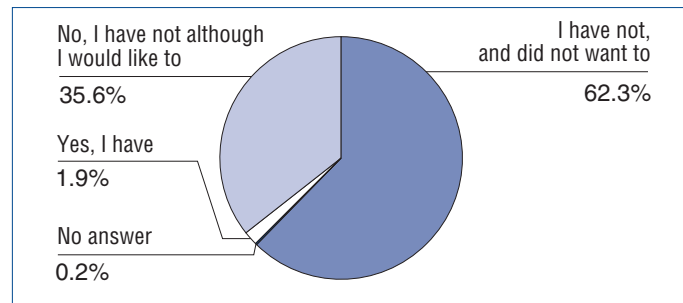
design effect) is less than 2.3% with a probability of 0.95.

More information on findings of the public opinion polls conducted by the Razumkov Centre is available on the Razumkov Centre website <http://www.razumkov.org.ua>.

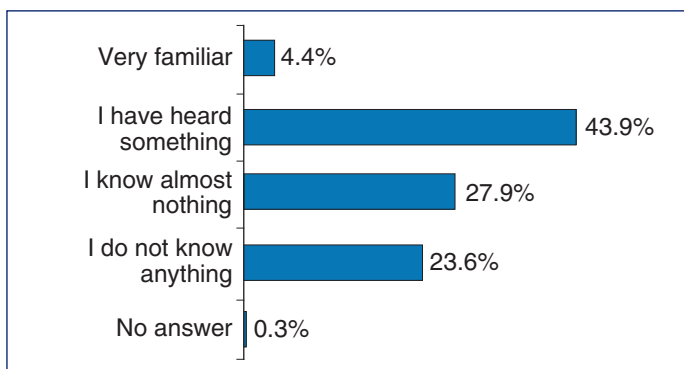
On 31 August 2015, the Verkhovna Rada introduced amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine. Have you heard of it?
% of respondents



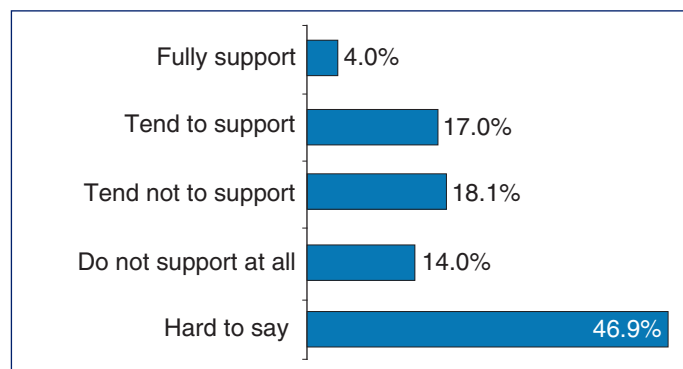
Have you in any way participated in discussing these amendments?
% of respondents



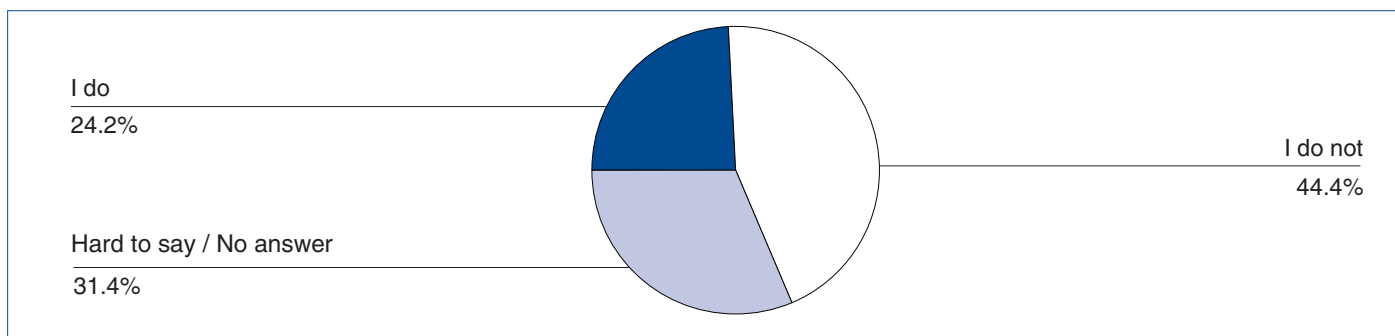
How familiar are you with the content of the amendments?
% of respondents



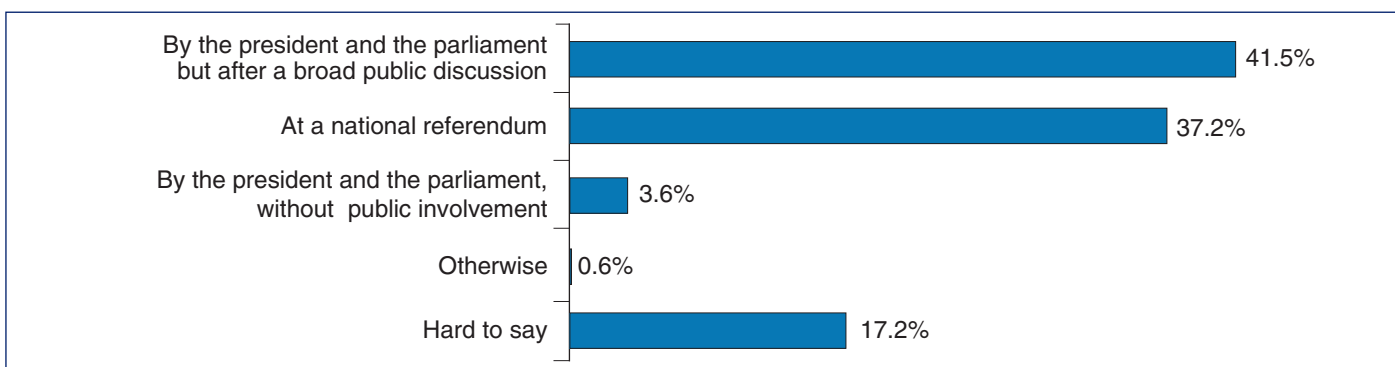
In general, do you support or not support the proposed amendments to the Constitution?
% of respondents



Do support introducing the following provision to the Constitution, "The features of local government in some raions of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts shall be determined by a separate law"?
% of respondents



How should amendments to the Constitution be adopted?
% of respondents



The Razumkov Centre News

MEETING THE COORDINATOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

On 9 November 2015, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting between representatives of the Centre and Coordinator of the Institute for East European Studies (Poland) on the matters of Ukraine, former Ambassador Poland to Ukraine Jacek Kluczkowski. At the meeting, the Razumkov Centre was represented by Director General A. Rachok; Deputy Director of Analytics, Director of Political and Legal Programmes Y. Yakymenko; and Leading Expert of Political and Legal Programmes V. Zamiatin.



During the meeting, the opportunities for cooperation between the Razumkov Centre and the Institute for East European Studies in preparing and holding the next Europe-Ukraine Forum, which is going to be held in Lodz (Poland) in January 2016.

PRESENTATION OF THE 2014 SIPRI ALMANAC: ARMAMENT, DISARMAMENT, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

On 9 November 2015, the Ukrainian edition of the 15th SIPRI Almanac Armament, Disarmament, and International Security was presented.



The chronological period covered by the publication ends with early 2014 — the start of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which has dramatically changed the security situation in Europe and globally. The materials of the pre-war 2014 SIPRI Almanac are of particular interest today. The findings of the SIPRI researchers on the security situation trends, the possible consequences of increasing military spending by some countries and reducing them by others seem even more relevant now.

The almanac has been prepared by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) since 1969, and is currently recognised as one of the most respectable sources of information in the area of international security; it is translated into Chinese, Arabic, Russian, Japanese, and Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian edition of the SIPRI Almanac has been published since 2000 by the Razumkov Centre with the financial support of the Government of Switzerland, and is provided to the central government, leading universities, and public libraries free of charge.

[Browse the 2014 SIPRI Almanac](#)

PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAMME EUROPE IN A SUITCASE: GEORGIA/SOUTHERN CAUCASUS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION, EASTERN PARTNERSHIP COUNTRIES, AND THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION

Expert of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Kateryna Markevych participated in the programme *Europe in a Suitcase: Georgia/Southern Caucasus*

between the European Union, Eastern Partnership countries, and the Eurasian Economic Union, held from 2 to 5 November in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Akhaltsikhe, Gori, and Marneuli (Georgia). The conference was held by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

The programme was attended by representatives of the government, political, and academic circles of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, and Ukraine.

The main topic of the discussion was the analysis of potential benefits and costs of the integration of Georgia into the European Union / the Eurasian Economic Union for international trade, capital flows, and free movement of persons. Despite current high attention of the top leadership of Georgia to joining the European Union, the findings of the public opinion polls prove that the share of the respondents (31% of the respondents) wishing to see their country in the Eurasian Economic Union has recently increased. Instead, during the discussions on the prospects of Georgia's further integration into the European space, the representative of Bulgaria, whose country is an EU member, emphasised on European values that the country can get — observance of human rights, welfare, shaping market economy and the development of a strong entrepreneurial class, peace and security, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, accountability and social justice, and developed civil society.



Recognising a strong link between a number of countries (in particular, Armenia and Belarus) and Russia in the economic, energy, and military areas, most participants of the discussion emphasised that the latter is having a destabilising effect in the relations with the European Union, and does not allow to use the benefits that each country can get in cooperation with Western partners fully.

DEAR COLLEAGUES!

We would like to inform you that the next issue of the journal *National Security and Defence* No.6-7, 2015 has been published, based on the findings of the project *Ukraine's Party System Before and After the Maidan: Challenges, Problems, and Public Expectations*, carried out by the Razumkov Centre jointly with the representative office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ukraine.

The journal contains an analytical report by the Razumkov Centre, positions of the leaders of political parties, expert opinions, the results of expert and national surveys, speeches of the participants of the international round table *The Party System of Ukraine at the Present Stage: Challenges, Problems, and Public Expectations* (Kyiv, 16 September 2015) as well as articles of foreign experts.

We hope that this study will be helpful to anyone interested in the issues of development of the party system of Ukraine.

The journal is available online in PDF at <http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/journal.php?y=2015&cat=217>

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