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# THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE NEWSLETTER

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### INTRODUCTION

Comments of the experts of the Razumkov Centre included into the second issue of our newsletter will help you to find answers not only to the question what is going on in our country but also what should be done, and what results we can expect.

The dynamics and drama of the situation that our country is experiencing, and the depth of problems that it is facing require appropriate rapid response. We offer materials that we believe best describe these needs and also contain specific suggestions.

Among them, there is our evaluation of the primary tasks of the new president, opinions on the military, security, energy issues. This issue of the newsletter provides information on electoral preferences regarding the top five candidates of the presidential election in Ukraine, based on the findings of the National Exit Poll. The section "Social issues" presents comment on increased public utilities rates and the article on the role of churches and religious organisations in the formation of the Ukrainian nation.

Signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and its implementation can finally create favourable conditions for Ukraine's transformation into a modern, highly developed European state. Thus, all the necessary tasks should be completed not just quickly and efficiently but in the circumstances of undeclared war, which enhances the responsibility of the entire expert community of Ukraine and our willingness to contribute to the process of transformation and modernisation of the country.

We would very much appreciate your feedback and advice to help us make the newsletter better.

## Domestic Policy



### THE PRIMARY TASK FOR THE PRESIDENT IS TO RESTORE PEACE AND SECURITY IN UKRAINE

The priority steps of the new President Petro Poroshenko should be those he described in his inauguration speech in the Verkhovna Rada. Key points were clearly highlighted – peace and security come first in the hierarchy of tasks. Therefore, stabilisation of the situation in eastern Ukraine will be "a number one issue for Poroshenko". Furthermore, the President has already proposed his roadmap to stabilise the situation. So the main effort will be concentrated on this task.

President Poroshenko should properly integrate into the system of higher political authority of the country and finish the process of establishing a legitimate government.

The social and economic bloc is now, in fact, in the hands of the Government. Apparently, in this area, the president and the Cabinet of Ministers will coordinate activities because so far, the approaches here are the same.

Poroshenko's international activities will focus primarily on solving the first problem – the cessation of hostilities in eastern Ukraine.

Furthermore, Poroshenko will face political objectives. First of all, it concerns the intention to

achieve snap election of the Verkhovna Rada (VR) and implement the initiative on amendments to the Constitution which concern process of decentralisation. So far, the situation is uncertain because, on one hand, amendments to the Constitution require direct involvement of the current VR but, on the other hand, the issue of holding a snap election and determining its timing questions is the competence of the current Parliament. Therefore, there is not much certainty here, and the situation is slightly problematic for the president.

Poroshenko clearly understands the constitutional reality in which he will work and exercise his powers. In fact, he stated it by saying that he will not seek more powers than those granted to him by the Constitution, and is willing to work in the system of government with separation of powers among institutions. Much will depend on the political aspect – the parliamentary majority and the Government – and Poroshenko's personal relationship with the Prime Minister and the leader of the largest parliamentary fraction.

So far, Poroshenko shows willingness to make the next period responsible and peaceful for there is bad experience of 2005 when the success of the Orange Revolution was ruined because of lack of unity.

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

*Full text in original language*



## RUSSIA WILL LOSE THE GAS WAR IF UKRAINE CONSISTENTLY DEFENDS ITS INTERESTS

Russia will be seriously affected in the gas war, and Ukraine should save and start developing its own mining, while also working on the alternative sources of gas.



Ukrainian gas pipeline system is linked to the Russian one. Transit and domestic transportation are united here; they can not be separated technologically. Therefore, it is likely that if gas supply to Ukraine is suspended, transit to European countries will be suspended too. Ukraine is under no obligation to Europe in transit, and thus, in this war, Russia will lose much more.

Russia will face severe financial and technological loss as it will be difficult to suspend mining in wells.

Ukraine should seriously start saving gas and put companies into an emergency mode. Until October 2014, the situation in power supply will remain stable due to domestic production as well as significant resources in the underground gas storage. This will give the country time to regroup its economy.

So far, only reverse flow gas and the development of domestic production can be the alternative sources of gas for Ukraine.

*Director of Energy Programmes  
of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO*  
*Full text in original language*

## RUSSIA IS USING GAS AS ENERGY WEAPONS IN THE ECONOMIC WAR AGAINST UKRAINE

Now it is essential to move to civilised relations in the “gas dispute”, despite the aggression of Russia.

Russia refused Ukrainian offer because gas is not a commodity for it. For Russia, gas is an element of war, it is energy weapons. That is why no agreement has been reached.

Ukrainian gas debts were accumulated since the previous government of Mykola Azarov and President Viktor Yanukovych had come into power.

The new government settled the debts but at the market price — \$268 per 1,000m<sup>3</sup> of gas. Also, it was ready to pay for all the current supplies and the debt

of the previous government. However, Russia is not interested in Ukraine paying off. It offered an artificially exorbitant price to make the country pay more and weaken its economy.

Such a negotiation can be defined as a war in the economic sector.

Kyiv officials have a good chance to defend their right in the dispute with Russia in the International Court of Arbitration. However, the Ukrainian government should hire a good, qualified international law firm.

Lawyers should be well-prepared – only then Ukraine will have a chance to defend its national interests.

*Director of Energy Programmes  
of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO*  
*Full text in original language*

## THE MARKET PRICE OF RUSSIAN GAS FOR UKRAINE IS \$270

The market price of Russian gas for Ukraine is \$270, and if Russia does not reduce the price, it will lose the Ukrainian market.

Gazprom supplies gas to Germany at \$350 under advanced contracts; if to deduct transportation costs, the price will be \$270. Such a price is considered normal for Ukraine, and our country has enough arguments to negotiate it.

Ukraine does not need discounts; it just wants to buy gas on the market without any political implications.

As to the leverage, if Gazprom insists on \$480 per 1,000m<sup>3</sup>, gas will be replaced by coal and other fuels. Ukraine will not buy over 5 billion m<sup>3</sup> of Russian gas annually at the price of \$480. If the price is more market, Ukraine can buy up to 20 billion m<sup>3</sup> annually. It is a win-win situation for everyone. If not, Russia will lose the Ukrainian market almost entirely in the coming years.

*Director of Energy Programmes  
of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO*  
*Full text in original language*





# National Security and Defence

## THE EASTERN BORDER OF UKRAINE NEEDS MILITARY RAPID RESPONSE TEAMS

Given the manner in which paramilitary groups get to Ukraine from Russia, barbed wire along the border will hardly stop them. First of all, border guards should be provided with modern static and mobile surveillance.

In the current situation, the border has turned into a kind of a front line so it should be protected with appropriate means. Air and ground rapid response teams should be in close proximity to the border. They could localise, block and destroy armed intruders. Such means are more efficient than the costly construction of the wall along the entire border.

Ukraine and Russia have not carried out demarcation of the border yet. Despite the fact that Ukraine ratified the relevant agreement in 2010, the first border sign in Chernihiv Oblast was installed only in 2012. Russia has always taken initiatives on implementing demarcation with hostility. Thus, there is no clear border between Ukraine and Russia.

Now, the Ukrainian-Russian border should be seen as a border between Russia, which is recognised by most countries as an aggressor which fails to comply with international agreements, and the rest of the civilised Western world. The eastern border of Ukraine has actually become the border of Europe. This means both shared responsibility and the need for joint investment into European security. In the current situation, Ukraine can approach both the EU and the U.S. for international assistance to strengthen the border.

*Co-director of Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Oleksiy MELNYK*  
*Full text in original language*

## CERTAIN BORDER AREAS SHOULD BE CLOSED TO DEPRIVE SEPARATISTS OF SUPPORT

It is impossible to close the border from certain people getting into Ukraine completely – to do that, the wall should be built. However, to stop the movement of numerous paramilitary groups across the border, it is enough to close particularly dangerous areas of the border, where there are roads so that the equipment can not pass there. It is entirely possible to do it.

Also, it is necessary to work with the entire border zone to prevent terrorist groups from getting into the country, who after crossing the border, form groups, get armed and equipped, and move inland.

The main problem for implementing all these measures is the lack of coordination between security and military forces.

A single coordination centre should be created. Moreover, the location of this centre should depend on the regime of this area. The currently chosen mode of conducting the CTO means this coordination centre should be within the Counter Terrorist Centre. All the necessary forces, including the Armed Forces, the National Guard, and border guards, should be transferred there.

Imposing the state of emergency will not improve the situation significantly.

If we consider Russia as a source of potential threat, detailed analysis is required – what is the object of this threat, what forces and means are used by it and, respectively, with what forces and means Ukraine can oppose. All these aspects must be brought together, and a balanced decision should be made. Considering each of the aspects separately, or the absence of one of the aspects causes holes in the border, which we have now.

*Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI*  
*Full text in original language*

## THE LACK OF COORDINATED MILITARY AND POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION SLOWS DOWN THE COUNTER TERRORIST OPERATION

Slow course of the counter terrorist operation (CTO) can be explained by failure of the management system.

One step forward, two steps backward – this is so far the impression of the counter terrorist operation. It seems that the problem lies in the CTO management – rather in its senior management. There is no coordination of all the agencies, no integrity.

Political manoeuvring as well as interference of Moscow can also complicate the operation.

It is hard to prove these assumptions but it seems that political games behind the scenes began again, which prevent efficient conduct of the CTO. Firstly, it is possible that Moscow is putting pressure on Kyiv officials through hidden channels and trying to negotiate with various Ukrainian politicians, which prevents the security forces to consolidate against the mercenaries in Donbas. Secondly, there is an ongoing negotiation within Ukrainian political parties that want to get into the new government and the new Verkhovna Rada.

It is important to legalise voluntary battalions participating in combat operations against terrorists which are acting on their own initiative. They have to seek by themselves any ways to get into legitimate security forces, based on the provisions on territorial defence and the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers on the creation of specialised civilian components. Note that it is not the state who does it (although this is the state that needs it above all) but the citizens themselves. Why is it important to legalise private battalions? So that the citizens who took up arms to defend Ukraine, will not be held criminally liable as bandits.

The Security Service of Ukraine and the National Guard are also ready for decisive actions. However, again, there is no impulse from the top, and no cooperation between the leaders of both political parties and security forces.

*Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI*  
*Full text in original language*

## IN DONBAS RUSSIA IS FIGHTING PROXY WAR AGAINST UKRAINE

The military conflict in eastern Ukraine should not be called a civil war.

Any war is hybrid. This is a very vague definition – we are dealing with special raiding forces that arrived from another country so this is a proxy war.

Russia did not bring regular troops to Ukraine, being content with sending volunteers and instructors. Russia would have been able to drive tanks through the entire south east of Ukraine to get to Transnistria if it had made a blitzkrieg attack immediately. But to invade a territory does not mean to keep it – Russia is not strong enough to control such territories with bayonets, they would have been trapped there.

Furthermore, in the Caucasus and Central Asia, dangerous events are boiling up – elites and generations changing, separatists and religious fundamentalists becoming more active, China aiming at increasing its influence in Asia. In such circumstances, Russia can not afford to stay in the war in the territory of Ukraine for a long time.

*Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI*  
*Full text in original language*

## **THE NEW HEAD OF THE NATIONAL BANK SHOULD BE READY FOR INCREASED CONTROL BY THE IMF AND THE EU**

Changing the head of the NBU was a timely proposal. Unfortunately, the vote of confidence, which the head of the central bank should have, is now exhausted. Stepan Kubiv took the heat of devaluation, which was inevitable because of the policy of the previous government in the last two years pushing hryvnia to a shocking collapse. The national currency would have collapsed regardless of the February revolution as it was artificially kept with various administrative and intervention measures when macroeconomic indicators pointed to significant depletion of the economy and export potential. Somebody had to take the heat, and it was Stepan Kubiv who became a kind of Kamikaze, the need for whom was discussed during the appointment of the new Government.

Under nowadays circumstances a new person was needed, with whom other areas of the banking and financial policy will be associated. The area of protection of savings of people and businesses requires very high confidence in the head of the central bank. Therefore, now, when signs of the shock in the foreign exchange, monetary, and banking markets are somewhat localised, such a step is timely. Again, due to the increasing control and monitoring by international institutions (IMF, EU etc.), a new head of the National Bank, with whom positive change can be associated, was also needed. Moreover, the new head of the central bank should be fully open, public, and be able to explain his actions clearly and consistently.

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

*Full text in original language*

## **THE EU ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT WILL PROMOTE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE UKRAINIAN ECONOMY**

Economic provisions of the EU Association Agreement were signed on June 27, 2014. They are beneficial for Ukraine in many ways but there will be a number of difficulties later. For example, the free trade zone will be considered in parliaments of some EU countries, which is a complex process as now Europe is not united.

Economic provisions of the EU Association should be considered in the short and in the long term. At first, most of the Ukrainian companies will have to implement structural changes, which is a painful process.

Later, we will face the need of major changes in the production structure and management approaches, and competitiveness of Ukrainian goods without any privileges.

If we achieve this, we will have much better prospects than staying in the CIS, being dependent on gas. After all, the lack of transparency of the CIS eastern markets is definitely not a good choice for Ukraine. Ukrainian metallurgy is extremely dependent on energy; and even without the EU Association, Ukraine will have to solve this problem. In agriculture, there are also a number of areas (poultry, milk processing) which, in case of competitiveness and quality improvement, can be successfully sold in the European markets.

Completely new horizons can open for Ukrainian products when they will be allowed to access to the European markets, and they will also become more appealing in many other markets around the world.

The issue of investment is a priority as saturation of the Ukrainian economy with it may become a key factor for its development.

However, there is a vision that implementation of the Agreement will not be that easy. The problem is not even that some EU leaders do not associate this Agreement with further full EU membership of Ukraine. The problem is a combination of factors – uncertainty of a number of EU countries on Ukraine, our own economic interests, and the active political lobbying role of Russia in discrediting the Agreement.

The Agreement was officially sealed on June, 27 but now, the fight for implementation of the free trade zone and some other economic provisions of the Agreement, and a difficult dialogue with some European countries await us. These will be the issues for Ukrainian diplomacy. It is crucial that now Ukraine has legitimately positive relations with the EU, which is important for addressing all further issues.

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

*Full text in original language*

## **THE GOVERNMENT TOOK THE FIRST MINIMAL STEPS, WITHOUT WHICH FURTHER REFORMS WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE**

Assessment of the first hundred days of the new Government, headed by the Prime Minister A. Yatseniuk, is mostly positive, taking in consideration that in early March the situation seemed truly disastrous, and there were serious concerns that the country could just collapse. Fortunately, the Government managed to significantly stabilise the situation. However, one should not exaggerate achievements of the Government, but the first minimal but essential steps have been taken, without which further reforms are impossible.

Though the foreign exchange policy raises more questions than gives answers, the system of public finance has been rescued from collapse, infrastructure has been saved, financial and banking systems have been maintained. The macroeconomic situation has been also stabilised.

As to fighting corruption, this is an extremely difficult task, and its implementation mostly depends on the Government. Some steps in the financial sector have been taken in the right direction, and the legislation adopted on tender procedures, which have been "pending" for years, are part of the fight against corruption. Fighting corruption, unfortunately, is a problem that takes decades to solve.

Deregulation of business may be able to occur in the next couple of months. The Government just has not come down to that, or has not completely decided on the personnel policy for this area, or on the areas where the Ukrainian business community needs support.

The Government neither avoids raising complex issues nor runs away from them. The willingness of the Government to implement changes, and at the same time respond to public reaction to these changes is a very positive aspect, which will finally allow to hold consistent reforms.

One should not forget that apart from stabilisation tasks, which any government would face when a country is recovering from a crisis (in late 2013, Ukraine came very close to a crisis), the Government has to prevent aggression related to Crimea and the situation in Donbass. Moreover, it must simultaneously address complex competitive tasks, as the closure of Russian markets for our producers in a completely different way raises the issue of entering foreign markets for domestic producers, because these markets are highly competitive and have completely different conditions for business.

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

*Full text in original language*



## INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS CLOSELY MONITOR THE USE OF THEIR FUNDS

The IMF funds usually go to the central bank, are of stabilisation nature, and aimed at the balance of payment (solvency under obligations, paying for critical imports, supporting the national currency). This is defined automatically although the IMF sometimes makes exceptions. Indeed, there should be a very clear division between funds aimed at stabilisation of the macroeconomic environment and at other tasks. The aim of the funds of the World Bank and the EU is normally defined as well. The approach “here are two billion, do whatever you want with them” is not used.

If in December 2013, Russia allocated three billion to Ukraine without bothering where they would go, funds of the international financial institutions are usually linked to projects: of the World Bank – to financial stabilisation, reforming the public sector; of the European Bank – to the development of different types of business, supporting companies, especially those cooperating with international companies.

The window of opportunity has now opened primarily with the U.S. guarantees (the loans Ukraine can get). They are usually aimed at covering budget deficit or

infrastructure development. Now, on one hand, there is a big problem is the social sector (which requires supporting the population, including the disadvantaged), and, on the other hand, funds attracted from foreign and domestic markets still need to be effective. Therefore, the focus will be on two areas. The first one is reforming social benefits – to make them targeted and aimed at those who are really in need. The other one is infrastructure projects but not global and meaningless, as, for example, Winter Olympics 2050 or something like that, but the infrastructure investment that can be productive. It may be the issue of road construction but with better administration than it has been before, or a highway from Kyiv to Boryspil. They should be clear, specific investment projects that are quickly implemented and generate profit in a short term, and can promote development of the economy and the private sector. One should not think that there will be much money and they need to be used somehow. On the contrary, the money should be aimed clearly and strictly controlled.

In general, the situation is not as critical as it was in 2009.

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

*Full text in original language*

## Social Issues

### INCREASING PUBLIC UTILITY RATES WILL BECOME A BURDEN FOR PEOPLE DUE TO DEVALUATION OF LABOUR

The situation in Ukraine is critical, not to say worse, as there is no money in the treasury as well as in the wallets of most of the people.

Therefore, increasing public utility rates is a forced step – these rates should have been increased long time ago to align them with energy prices for industrial enterprises. The rates should be adjusted so that in Ukraine there would be no double or triple prices, because such a situation is a “feeder” for corruption.

To increase the rates is a requirement of the International Monetary Fund, which grants loans on rather favourable conditions. However, there are terms we do not like. Of course, neither the IMF nor Ukrainians are to blame because our government is the only one to blame. We used to have labour devalued, so now we have scanty salaries and pensions. The first thing we are lacking now is the market price of labour. In this case, all the difficulties of the period that we are experiencing now usually shift to the society, and it has to bear this burden.

The current government is also partly to blame as in over three months, it could have done much more for the country. At least the people, while experiencing these difficulties – especially the price increase – could see that tomorrow it will be better with something else, for instance, with the wages.

Unfortunately, neither such actions of the government nor such prospects can be seen so far. Of course, people will keep accumulating debt but government spending will increase too. As soon as public utilities rates go up, the number of families who will receive reimbursement increases. So people who struggled will keep doing so; they will receive subsidies. However, people who do not fall into this category will pay much more for the same low-quality public utilities.

*Director of Social Programmes  
of the Razumkov Centre Liudmyla SHANHINA*

*Full text in original language*

### RELIGIOUS CULTURES AND DESECURALISATION IN UKRAINE

In early 2010's the newly elected President V. Yanukovich attempted to radically revise the system of the church-state relations, which had been developing in Ukraine for nearly 20 years of independence. Its “benchmarks” were the recognition of religious pluralism, equality of religious organisations before the law, and inability and danger of attempts to undermine the balance of power that had been formed on the religious map of the country. However, from his first day in the office, the President declared a new religious policy. Its core principles were special relations with Moscow Patriarchate and Patriarch Kirill, discrimination of Kyiv Patriarchate, dislike of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics, and desire to control the church life and strongly influence political behaviour of the hierarchy and religious leaders. Changes in the church policy were accompanied – and enhanced – by changes in educational, cultural and language areas, and the politics of memory and identity.

After the winter of 2013-2014, it has become even more clear that the key factor that will determine the role of the Churches and religious organisations at this stage of formation of the Ukrainian nation will be not their activities on consolidation of the nation on the basis of shared beliefs, customs, and symbols but their ability to go in the vanguard of profound social and moral transformations. In this case, religion will almost certainly remain extremely important for the future of Ukraine.

*Visiting Expert on Religious Issues  
of the Razumkov Centre Viktor YELENSKYI*

*Full text in original language*



# Sociology

On May 25, 2014, the day of the presidential election in Ukraine, the National Exit Poll-2014 Consortium, which is made up of the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF), the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) and the Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies named after Olexander Razumkov (Razumkov Centre), conducted the National Exit Poll-2014.

15.734 respondents were polled at 351 polling stations. The methodology of "secret ballot" was used, when the respondent marked by himself the choice in

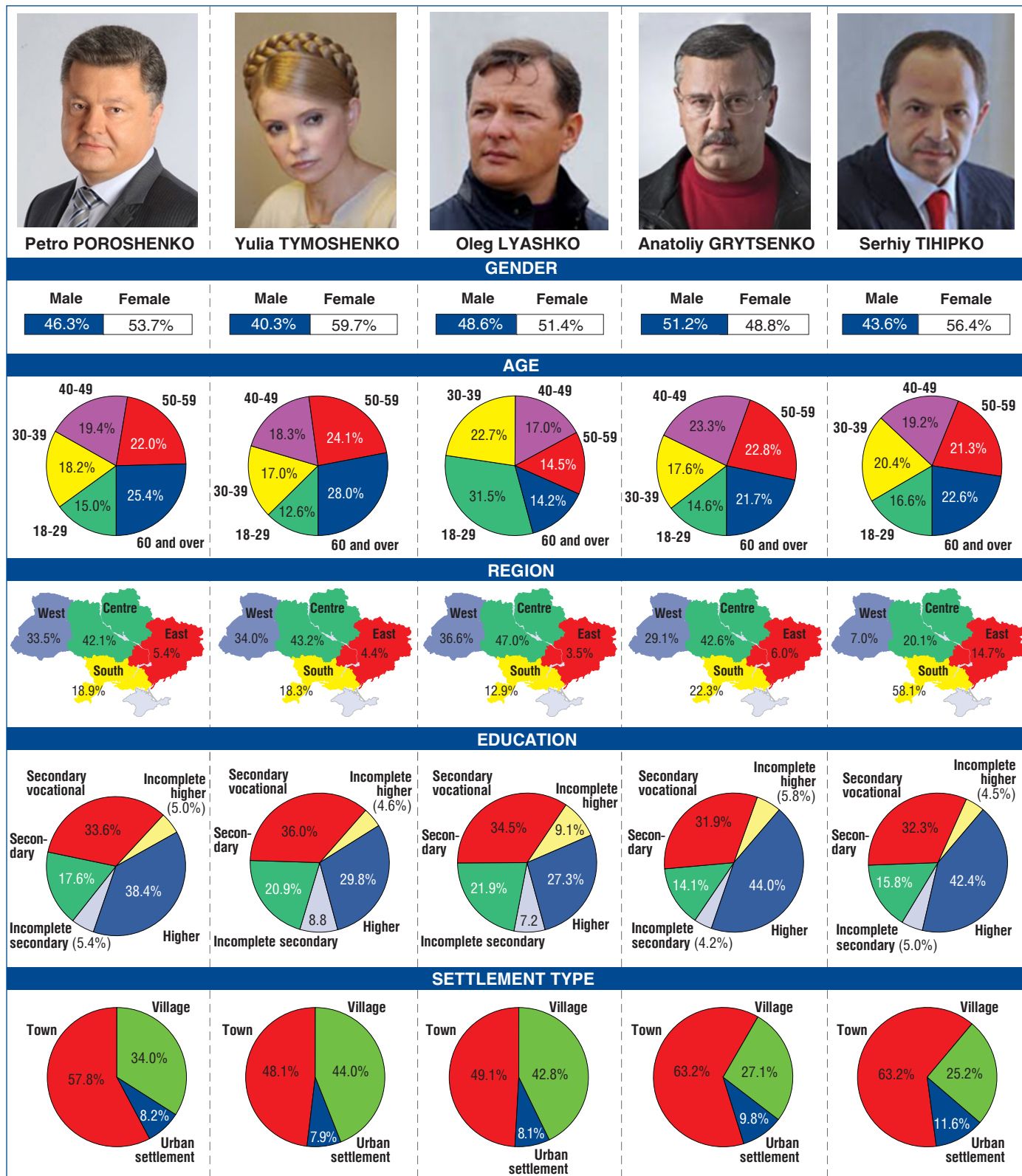
questionnaire and after that put it into the ballot box. Access level – 77%.

The National exit poll was conducted with financial support of international donors: International Renaissance Foundation, Matra program of the Kingdom of the Netherlands Embassy in Ukraine, the National Endowment for Democracy (USA), UNITER (Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms) project "PACT", and the European Union.

In detail: <http://www.dif.org.ua/ua/publications/press-relizy/mvlfmvmklm.htm>.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ELECTORATE

% of those polled





## Participation in the Wroclaw Global Forum

On the invitation of Vice President of the Atlantic Council (U.S.) F. Burwell, Director of Energy Programmes of the Razumkov Centre V. Omelchenko participated in the Wroclaw Global Forum, held on June, 5-7 under celebration of 25th anniversary of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. This outstanding Forum brought together over 300 world leading politicians, experts, civil society representatives, and media. Among the well-known figures, there were former U.S. presidential advisor Z. Brzezinski, U.S. Senators D. McCain, K. Murphy and T. Murphy, President of Estonia T. Ilves, Deputy Prime Minister of Poland E. Benkowska, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland R. Sikorski etc. The Forum was organised by the Atlantic Council and the Polish Institute of International Affairs.



The key topics of the Forum were the problems of global security, economic development and international energy. The Russian-Ukrainian crisis was in the limelight of the participants but most of them expressed pessimism regarding its solution. Russian annexation of Crimea and raiding of the pro-Russian groups in Donbas contribute to the loss of illusions among European countries regarding democratic values of the current Russian leadership. In particular, Z. Brzezinski noted that Russia is trying to form around itself a bloc of totalitarian states in order to counter the principles of civilization. For the West, it means one of the greatest challenges of nowadays to which it should respond by joint efforts.

## Participating in the Congress "Poland. Major Project"

Leading Expert of Political and Legal Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Viktor Zamiatin attended the Congress "Poland. Major Project", which took place in Warsaw on June 6-7, 2014 and was held by the Sobieski Institute — a partner organisation of the Razumkov Centre in Poland. V. Zamiatin spoke about the current situation in Ukraine and the prospects of its development in the context of Central and Eastern Europe. The congress "Poland. Major Project" brought together representatives of the intellectual elite, NGOs, professors and students of the Polish universities, politicians.



## Expert Discussion "The Problem of Identification Criteria of the Middle Class"

On June 19, 2014 an expert discussion "The Problem of Identification Criteria of the Middle Class" was held at the Razumkov Centre. The following issues were discussed:

1. Middle class – real or "imaginary" community?
2. The concept of social functions and characteristics of the middle class as a social community, and their influence on shaping the identification criteria.
3. Objective and subjective identification criteria.
4. The experience of applying identification criteria of the middle class.

The discussion was attended by leading Ukrainian scholars and experts.

## Analytical Report for the Estonian Centre for Eastern Partnership

Visiting Research Fellow of the Razumkov Centre Oleksiy Sekariev has prepared an analytical report "Third Republic: Ukraine Fighting Its Way to Europe for the Estonian Centre for Eastern Partnership".

*Full text (in English)*



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