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IMPOTENCE AND CRISIS OF THE EUROZONE: NO SOLIDARITY WITHIN EUROPE

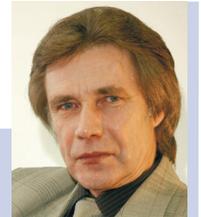


It is of course important that we find ways to settle the tension between the East and the West, but the visions of different possible parties to this process should be considered. There has long been a process to review the current system and guidelines of the states forming the alliance. Also, in this case we have the difficulties at the Russia–EU–Ukraine level in respect of the sanctions.

The EU position regarding the extension of sanctions against Russia will depend on many factors, including the electoral processes to be held in Europe: Germany, France, and Austria. It is unclear who will be elected. This

once again confirms that there is no political solidarity within Europe. As it turns out, all the countries have different relations, values and interests, with varying developmental directions and a lack of a common position on threats. Each country sees danger from the perspective of its own values. All this is facilitating the erosion of institutions that exist in Europe.

Full [text](#)



*Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI,
Director, Military Programmes*

IT HARDLY MAKES SENSE TO INCLUDE TRUMP AS ONE OF THE ALLIES AND PERSONAL FRIENDS OF PUTIN

It hardly makes sense to include Donald Trump, President-elect of the United States as one of Putin's friends and allies based only on his pre-election statements. We should wait for his specific actions once he takes office. But Russia will try to use the time of the formation of the new US administration in order to strengthen its own position in the world.

The relations between Washington and Kyiv are likely to go through a problematic stage with time needed to establish contacts with the new US president. This is quite natural.

Most likely, the new US president will make some adjustments to the foreign policy of the United States, and in this respect, it is important to consider the new president's entourage and persons holding key positions in the new administration.

There is no doubt that Russia has certain geopolitical expectations regarding the changes to US high-level officials. But what is more important for Russia is not the

personality of the President, but the situation in the US itself. This situation of instability is of greater significance to Russia because it could affect the geopolitical position of the USA in the world. For Russia, it is crucial that sanctions are lifted, including in the European Union and the United States. Hopes for the US are associated with the current election campaign; hopes for the EU are also election-related, but will be a little later (the presidential elections in France and, somewhat later, the parliamentary elections in Germany). In this case, Russia is hoping for the geopolitical situation to change in its favour, and these expectations are justified.

Full [text](#)



*Mykhailo PASHKOV, Co-Director,
Foreign Relations and International
Security Programmes*

Economy

UKRAINE DOES NOT HAVE A COHERENT DEVELOPMENT POLICY

This year, the wealth of Ukrainians decreased by 19 %. Only Argentines are doing worse. This is stated in the Global Wealth Report prepared by Credit Suisse.

The three countries in which the wealth of its citizens reduced most dramatically are Ukraine, Argentina and Russia. Argentines became 27 % poorer, with Russians 15 % poorer. The main reason for this, according to the report authors, were the unfavourable currency fluctuations.

Compared to other countries, Ukraine is increasingly becoming a stagnant country. The reason for this is the lack of a coherent development policy. Restructuring is progressing slowly, due to the uncertainty of the

business climate, incomplete institutional reforms and the persistent high level of corruption.

Because of the unfavourable business climate, new industry sectors are developing slowly, which means that few highly paid jobs are being created. So we are faced with this negative trend in the income of Ukrainians.

Full [text](#)



*Volodymyr SIDENKO,
Senior Research Fellow,
Economic Issues*

THE TWO SIDES OF THE NATIONALISATION OF PRIVATBANK

I would like to turn your attention to the following facts concerning the nationalisation of PrivatBank. First: the problems have been discussed for a long time and we cannot say that everything was done 'in the dark'. It was a fairly transparent process. Second: it is not about something being taken away in order to redistribute. Perhaps this will happen, but later. Now the issue is that the government is injecting billions of hryvnias to secure the bank's solvency and liabilities.

The next point is that the additional resources are really able to support the bank at the time of difficulties that may arise in connection with the bank's ability to meet its liabilities at the end of the year. This happening at the end of the year has both upsides and downsides. The upside is that it will be possible to secure the solvency and financial liabilities of both PrivatBank and its partners. The downside is that such payments at the end of the year are usually very frequent.

These problems are mostly short-term in nature, and I think that we, as ordinary depositors, will barely experience any problems. Perhaps some ATMs will not function properly, although this will be temporary. But I am wary of the medium and long-term prospects, because the state is usually a very bad owner and a bad manager. So chances are that a successful private bank will turn into an unattractive state-owned bank. If the new managers are able to maintain solvency and the reputation of the bank, then I think it is unlikely we will be able to say that something extraordinary has happened.

[Full text](#)

Vasyl YURCHYSHYN,
Director, Economic Programmes



UKRAINE IS PREPARING TO LIVE WITHOUT IMF MONEY

The main problem is that the IMF loan delay means a delay of reforms. Ukraine has been pursuing the gradual recovery of the economy, and the fundamentals of economic growth that we hear today from the government – economic growth of 2–3 % – are extremely weak benchmarks. It is necessary to introduce tools that would enable Ukraine to grow in the next 3 or 4 years at rates of 5–7 %. Then we could say that Ukraine has stepped onto the path of stable development and can independently produce the resources needed for its development and growth.

For the time being, the IMF is ambiguous in evaluating our performance; they express serious doubts about the implementation of our internal economic policy, the subsidies system, in which a large percentage of people receive benefits, while salaries remain low and the economy suffers. This raises doubts about the balance of our economy and our ability to fuel economic growth.

[Full text](#)

Vasyl YURCHYSHYN,
Director, Economic Programmes

CAN COUNTRIES DEBT LEAD TO A GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS?

When talking about US debt, we should not forget other important points. First, it is not just the United States that is in debt to other countries, but also other countries to the US. Second, the debt of the US is long-term, maturing in 30 to 50 years. Finally, the United States, as well as the UK and Japan, can afford to print money, because their currencies are reserve currencies and enjoy a steady demand throughout the world.

If the new US president succeeds in implementing his programme, the country is in for economic recovery. Tax cuts will be a powerful stimulus for the growth of domestic markets. This, in turn, will redistribute capital flows, and the American economy will attract even more investment.

In this case, companies will not have to send jobs to other countries to obtain high profits; they will manage to make these profits at home. The dollar will strengthen its position considerably against the euro and perhaps the yen.

The other major economies also do not seem to have any critical problems. Germany remains quite strong, as a 'cementing' country for Europe. After Brexit, the UK was expected to have serious problems, but that also did not happen. So, today I would refrain from talking about a global financial crisis.

[Full text](#)

Vasyl YURCHYSHYN,
Director, Economic Programmes

THE FINANCIAL STABILITY OF REGIONS LIES IN DECENTRALISATION

Due to the decline in industrial production, the outflow of investment capital, unstable export dynamics, the drop in construction projects, the deterioration in the labour market and general fall in incomes in 2014–2015, tax revenues have significantly reduced in the regions. However, currently the situation is gradually stabilising: between January and October 2016, UAH 407.5 billion of taxes and fees were paid to the budgets of all levels. This is 35 % higher than in the same period of last year.

Overall, during the stated period, tax revenues grew in all the regions. The largest contribution was made by the Central Office, i.e. large companies (nearly

UAH 177.5 billion, or 43.5 % of all taxes and fees), since the economic system is held in place by the revenues of the headquarters of large taxpayers.

The system of paying to local budgets, which existed until 2014, failed to secure the solvency of local authorities, as local taxes and fees were insufficient to meet the needs of local budgets because of their low tax potential. At the end of 2014, the decentralisation process was kicked off at the local level: due to the adoption of several laws and amendments to the Budget and Tax Codes, local budgets have expanded their financial base. Today, we already have some results. Between January and October of this year, local budgets of all levels received nearly UAH 116.5 billion, which is 46 % more than in the same period of 2015. And most importantly, all the regions recorded higher tax revenues. Due to the decentralisation process, in the medium term local budget revenues will grow faster, and that will facilitate the ability of regions to maintain a stable economy.

[Full text](#)



Expert for Economic Programmes,
Kateryna MARKEVYCH

TOP 100 TAXPAYERS: MONOPOLIES TOP THE LIST

Despite January-October 2016 being a difficult period for the Ukrainian economy, its Top 100 taxpayers have increased the budget by almost UAH 177.5 billion, that is 32.5% more compared to the corresponding period of 2015.

The hundred largest taxpayers include companies in the energy sector, food and chemical industry, transport industry, metallurgical and mountain-concentrating industry,

construction, real estate, telecommunications and the financial sector. Monopoly state-owned monopolies such as Naftogaz of Ukraine, Ukrainian Railway Company and «Energoatom» occupy leading positions among them.

[Full text](#)

*Expert for Economic Programmes,
Kateryna Markevych*

SECTORS THAT FORM UKRAINE'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

To get an idea on the efficiency and profitability of different sectors of the economy one should analyse data on tax payments by economic activity in regions. Today, the leading sectors are agriculture, wholesale and retail, mining, processing industry. These areas, as well as transport, construction, real estate and public sectors generate profits, and form the largest share of GDP: the largest industry-taxpayers in the second quarter of 2016 formed almost 63% of GDP.

Ukraine is one of few countries in the world that has a significant export potential of agriculture and one of the

three world leaders (after the US and the EU) in export of certain types of grain, industrial crops and sunflower oil. Agriculture for Ukraine represents a «tipping point» and driving force behind the competitiveness of its national economy. The national economy however is overly dependent on volatile prices in foreign markets for agricultural raw materials export, state of economies of importing countries, prices for imported energy, agricultural technology, chemical pesticides, and others.

[Full text](#)

Expert for Economic Programmes, Kateryna Markevych

National Security and Defence

UKRAINE'S MISSILE TRAINING – A SIGNAL TO RUSSIA THAT IT WONT GET AWAY WITH USING AVIATION

Missile exercises in southern Ukraine – a move to show Russia that Ukrainian Armed Forces are ready to repel in case of an air attack. Tasks assigned to units that participated in exercises were completed. That is to confirm that the missile with extended terms of service are operable and can be used. This is a signal to our

neighbour that it wont get away if decides to continue military expansion by using the aviation.

[Full text](#)

*Director for Military Programmes,
Mykola SUNHUROSKYI*

MOST STRINGENT SANCTIONS SHOULD HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AGAINST RUSSIA FROM THE VERY START

From the very start sanctions against Russia resembled half-measures and they could not stop Putin. Strict measures should have been applied against the aggressor-state from the outset. Only then, based on response of the aggressor, these sanctions can be reviewed, mitigated or partially lifted. Not vice versa.

However, when it comes to sanctions against Russia, first half-measures were introduced, and then, as they said, sanctions did not work, so all the restrictions should be removed. It cannot be done this way.

[Full text](#)

*Director for Military Programmes,
Mykola SUNHUROSKYI*

DEPRIVING RUSSIA OF ITS VETO POWER AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE MAIN TASK

The preliminary decision of The Hague Court, the UN Parliamentary Assembly, and PACE on recognition of Russian aggression – all these pieces of the puzzle should come together for the General Assembly voting on depriving Russia of its veto power as a party to the conflict.

There are 27 article of the UN Charter, in which seven out of 15 votes of the Security Council members (permanent or temporary) are enough to appeal to the UN Parliamentary Assembly for it to adopt a resolution (in accordance with the 1950 “Uniting for Peace” resolution) that allows to override the veto of a party to the conflict and exclude it from the voting procedure. If the Assembly

supports this decision, Russia will be deprived of the right to vote on the Ukrainian issue until it is resolved.

And during the 70 years of the UN, such precedents did take place. Even the American veto was once overridden when adopting the resolution on Palestine. But a similar resolution on Russia should get support from two-thirds of the UN member states. That is approximately 136-138 members. This is difficult, but not impossible.

[Full text](#)

*Director for Military Programmes,
Mykola SUNHUROSKYI*

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION REVIVED THE UKRAINIAN ARMY

This year the Ukrainian Armed Forces celebrate their 25th anniversary. However, only after the start of the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine combat-ready units were created, logistics improved, and transition towards manning on a contract basis has been accelerated.

In 2014, Ukraine faced a choice: either surrender or ensure security on its own. Volunteer battalions, that is the Ukrainian civil society, were the main force behind this task. Most volunteer battalions at the end of 2014 joined either the armed forces or the National Guard of the Interior

Ministry. On this basis and on the basis of mobilisation and conscription waves, the army was practically re-created. And even though its operational capacity leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to provide for national defence in current circumstances.

[Full text](#)

*Director for Military Programmes,
Mykola SUNHUROSKYY*

ON NEGOTIATIONS ON THE EXCHANGE OF CAPTIVES IN CTO

Since the beginning of CTO, 3083 captives were freed. This year – only 15 people, Yuri Tandyt said. One reason for ending the exchange – no will on the part of Russia. When Russian paratroopers who «got lost during training» or its GRU staff who performed (in the words of Mr Putin)

«individual military tasks» or other Russian servicemen get captured, indeed Russia loses interest in the exchange.

Also the absence of formalisation of the fighting in eastern Ukraine, officially called the counterterrorist operation (CTO), also impedes the exchange. Thus, according to Minsk agreements, Ukraine is the only party to the conflict, while Russia and the OSCE act as intermediaries. If the conflict was recognized as war, detainees would be considered as prisoners of war. Also another party to the conflict – Russia, would emerge, which should be responsible for proper treatment of these people.

[Full text](#)



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

NATO STANDARDS ARE ALSO A CULTURE OF RELATIONS IN THE ARMY

In recent years the Ukrainian armed forces have undergone major changes. Many of them were dictated by external conditions: the need to conduct

military operations and warfare training. Many soldiers and officers had to learn in actual field conditions. International cooperation was intensified, especially in terms of equipment and training of military personnel.

However, except for some positive transformations, no radical changes were made that affected the entire Ukrainian army. When talking about «NATO standards» one should be discussing not only technical or military rearmament, but also the culture of military relations. Probably, treating a human being as a central element of the system is what we should adopt first. And we have problems with that. NATO standards is an «international seal of quality», international standards shared by most armies in the world.

[Full text](#)

*Co-Director for Foreign Policy and International Security
Programmes, Oleksiy MELNYK*



RUSSIA'S ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE IS A PROVEN FACT

Inaptitude of the chosen format of countering armed aggression (its legal and organisational form) is one major problem that complicates the «hybridity» of the current situation.

The decision to launch counter-terrorist operation (CTO) in April 2014 was made after a part of Ukrainian territory was occupied. Armed aggression by Russia against Ukraine is a proven fact according to, at least, five grounds provided by international and national documents.

It is difficult to say how the decision to use the CTO format and not defence (war) would have brought us closer to victory. But it has created a number of additional problems. First of all, it concerns the inability to effectively apply international law on prisoners of war, the status of

the occupied territories, prosecution of the aggressor state and collaborators.

For example, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the rules that apply in times of armed conflict do not give answers or prescriptions for all situations, but in relation to prisoners and occupied territories, it allows to «mobilize» both the Red Cross and the UN. If Ukraine had taken the right decision back then, all the humanitarian issues concerning the provision of the occupied territories today would have been the responsibility of the country-occupier, not the victim.

[Full text](#)

*Co-Director for Foreign Policy
and International Security Programmes,
Oleksiy MELNYK*

THE PROSPECTS OF THE 'SAAKASHVILI MOVEMENT'

After Saakashvili's resignation as the Governor of the Odesa region, we can say that all of the current authorities, starting with the President, are his political opponents. Now he is presenting himself in opposition to the current government, primarily by accusing it of corruption. Moreover, he is in competition with other Ukrainian politicians, who also seek this niche and use the protest sentiment in society. While Saakashvili held a government post, he could not engage in the work of the political forces presented in summer by Viktor Chumak, Vitaly Kaskiv and David Sakvarelidze. Saakashvili and his party will count on parliamentary elections to the Verkhovna Rada, and it was no coincidence that he chose to announce his resignation at the time of indignation at the declarations of top officials. The prospects of Mr. Saakashvili and his political project can only be determined when he faces up to his political rivals.

However, early elections are unfavourable for the coalition, that is why the leaders of the two forces: the Petro Poroshenko Bloc and People's Front will find compromises in order to survive together. So elections are not going to be held any time soon. By law, the next parliamentary election is to be held in 2019.

[Full text](#)

*Yuriy YAKYMENKO,
Deputy Director General; Director,
Political and Legal Programmes,
Razumkov Centre*



DUE TO THE QUESTIONING, VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH RECEIVED A DIRECT CHANNEL TO INFLUENCE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

It seems to me that the real purpose of questioning Viktor Yanukovich for its initiators was not to change the attitude of Ukrainian society to the Maidan events or to Yanukovich himself. It was about bringing to the media the messages that will help implement the scenario in Ukraine which was probably developed in Moscow.

The main outcome of the questioning of Viktor Yanukovich is that the former president unexpectedly received a direct channel to influence Ukrainian society.

[Full text](#)

The key points of Yanukovich's speech concerned the messages on instability in Ukraine, the failure of the current government, the deterioration of the economic situation of the people, increased utility rates — i.e. all the slogans that are used in protest rallies in central Kyiv.

*Viktor ZAMIATIN, Leading Expert,
Political and Legal Programmes*



ON THE STATUS OF DONBAS: PUBLIC OPINION

According to a recent poll by the Razumkov Centre, 42 % of Ukrainians believe that the status of Donbas should be put to a referendum. About half the population would definitely take part in the referendum. In case of two options for the future development of relations between Ukraine and the Donbas: either complete isolation of the territories until Ukraine gains full control over it, or granting it special status, 53 % of respondents would vote for the isolation of the uncontrolled territories of Donbas.

want separation. The south has statistically insignificant differences between the number of those who want to isolate Donbas and those ready to grant it special status. In the east, those who favour special status have a slim margin. In this survey, the east means Kharkiv, Zaporizhia and Dnipropetrovsk regions.

[Full text](#)

The position of the part of Donbas controlled by Ukraine is very close to the position of the western and central regions, with a prevailing number of those who

*Andriy BYCHENKO,
Director, Sociological Service*



UKRAINE SEES A GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF ORTHODOX WHO AFFILIATE THEMSELVES TO THE KYIV PATRIARCHATE

According to a recent survey by the Razumkov Centre on religion, 64.7 % of Ukrainians consider themselves Orthodox. The majority of them (39.5 %) stated that they were parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), and only 23.3 % of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP).

not religious. According to the results of one of our studies, believers under all church canons constitute about 4–5 % of Ukrainians.

Over the past 17 years, the number of parishioners varied, particularly between the Kyiv and Moscow Patriarchates, depending on the political twists and turns; 2014 brought ideological and conscious changes, and the difference became much more apparent.

[Full text](#)

Since 2014, the number of Ukrainians who adhere to the UOC-KP has increased. A large part in this was obviously played by the attitude of the UOC-MP and the UOC-KP to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. The attitude of most Ukrainians to the church is ideological and political,

*Andriy BYCHENKO, Director,
Sociological Service*

THE LEVEL OF TRUST IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS INCREASES

Most of all Ukrainians trust volunteers (65 %), followed by the church (59 %). The Armed Forces rank third among the trusted top three (58 %) – these are the results of a social study conducted by the Razumkov Centre.

At the same time, distrust of the president, government and parliament is at 67–79 %, and 77 % of Ukrainians distrust the political parties.

A few years ago we did not even include the choice ‘volunteers’ in the polls. They had existed before the anti-terrorist operation, but were not as significant. The phenomenon of volunteer battalions also did not exist. Now they enjoy the trust of 57 % of Ukrainians.

The level of trust in NGOs also increased. This is obviously due to the activation of civil society in recent years. Now people pin their expectations not on the authorities but on citizen organisations.

[Full text](#)



*Mykhailo MISCHENKO, Deputy Director,
Sociological Service*

Energy sector

UKRAINE HAS ENOUGH COAL AND GAS RESERVES TO SURVIVE THE WINTER

Ukraine currently has a reserve of about 14.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 1.9 million tons of coal. Out of this, 900,000 tons are anthracite coal. Moreover, the coal is continuously supplied to Ukraine, mainly by DTEK.

On the other hand, according to the plan, we were supposed to create a reserve of 2.8 million tons of coal, while we actually created a reserve of only 1.9 million. As for gas, there was a resolution according to which we had to pump about 17.5 billion cubic meters instead of the present 14.5 billion.

But I think this will suffice, considering the fact that energy consumption in Ukraine has decreased by

20 % over the last two years. However, 14.5 billion cubic meters will suffice on the condition that there are no freezing temperatures below 10 degrees for a week or longer. If such freezing weather persists, then it will be physically difficult for the energy system to cope.

[Full text](#)



*Volodymyr OMELCHENKO, Director,
Energy Programmes*

EUROPE ALLOWED RUSSIA TO INCREASE GAS SUPPLIES, BYPASSING UKRAINE

Russia and the EU are taking pragmatic measures to facilitate the resolution of business problems, particularly on the energy front. This is what led to the European Commission decision on 28 October 2016, which opens the door to Gazprom to increase the supply of gas to Europe, bypassing Ukraine. Russia remains the main supplier of natural gas to many EU member countries. Austria, the Netherlands, France and some other countries are also interested in this project. The business interests in the current EU dominate over the common security interests of all the countries. In order to get its own way, the Commission has even violated European legislation.

According to Naftogaz, if Gazprom gains access to an additional 30 % of the OPAL capacity, then transit via the Ukrainian pipeline would drop by 10 or 11 billion cubic meters per year, and the transit revenue obtained by Ukraine would decrease by USD 290–320 million. And if the Russian dominant company gains access to an additional 40 % of the OPAL capacity, transit losses in Ukraine would amount to 13.5–14.5 billion cubic meters per year, and transit revenues would decrease by USD 395–425 million. Of course, such losses are very considerable for Ukraine.

[Full text](#)

*Volodymyr OMELCHENKO, Director,
Energy Programmes*

Social policy

IN UKRAINE, THERE IS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BOTH WOMEN AND MEN

The Razumkov Centre conducted a study related to the issue of discrimination. We are aware that today the issues of gender equality are among the highest priorities in the European Union.

Our research has shown that it is more difficult for a woman to get a better paid job. It is more difficult to pursue a career and occupy a proper position. But these responses cannot be evaluated categorically. We must understand that the gender aspect is incorporated naturally into the whole picture. The problem of low wages applies to both men and women. These responses overlay the respondents' perception of the general economic situation in the country. In our research, we obtained a very interesting result: when asked who is more subject to discrimination, men or women, over 50 % of the respondents said that there is no discrimination in Ukraine. Whereas 17% said that

there is discrimination against women and only 2% replied that there is discrimination against men.

If we consider existing legislation, Ukrainian women are much more protected de jure. But the fact is that today there are practically no global organisations that raise the issue of discrimination against men. If you look at the situation of men in Ukraine, they are more discriminated against. For example, the Constitution states that everyone has the right to life. However, military service is compulsory for men only.

So we are talking only about discrimination against women. But women are more inclined to accept low-paid work, to accept part-time jobs, because they can realise their potential at work, but devote most of the time to housework. Next let us consider the right to paternity or child custody. The list is long.

That is why the discrimination issue is not that simple. And if there is discrimination against one gender, there is discrimination against the other as well. We must remember that gender equality is not only about women. This means equality of social roles in society. We must remember that we all have equal rights and equal opportunities.

Full [text](#)



Olga PYSHCHULINA, Leading Expert,
Social and Gender Programmes,
Razumkov Centre

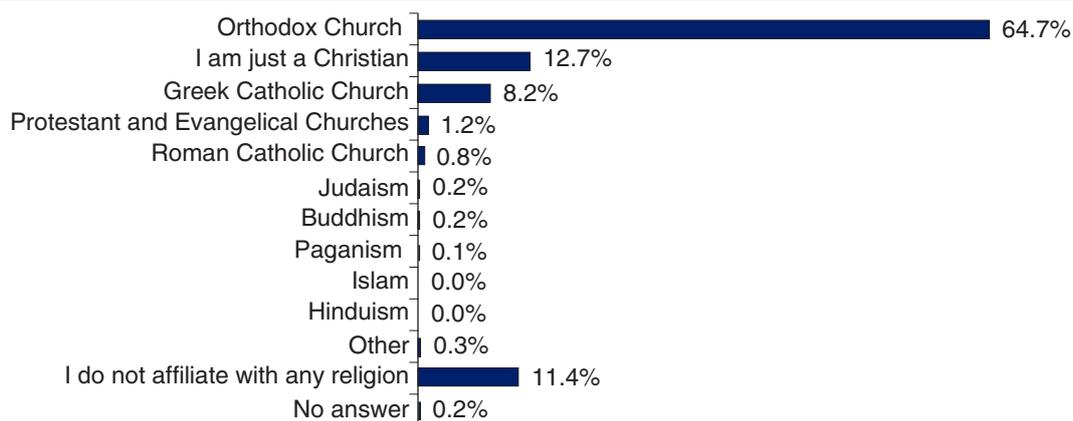
Sociology

The survey was conducted by the Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre from 4 to 9 November 2016. 2018 respondents aged 18 and older were interviewed in all the regions of Ukraine, except Crimea and the occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The margin of error does not exceed 2.3 %.

For more details on the results of opinion polls conducted by the Razumkov Centre, go to our website at <http://www.razumkov.org.ua>.

Please state which religion you affiliate yourself with?

% of respondents



Which Orthodox Church do you affiliate yourself with?

% of respondents

	% of respondents	% of Orthodox
Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate	25.6	39.5
I am just Orthodox	16.5	25.4
Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate	14.9	23.1
Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church	3.1	4.8
Russian Orthodox Church	0.9	1.3
Do not know	3.1	4.8
No answer	35.8	1.0

Do you think it is necessary to establish in Ukraine a United Local Orthodox Church independent from other religious centres outside of Ukraine?

% of respondents

	% of respondents	% of Orthodox
Yes	37.7	44.3
No	25.6	25.0
Difficult to answer	36.7	30.7

In your opinion, if a United Ukrainian Local Orthodox Church is established, who should lead it?

% of respondents

	% of respondents	% of Orthodox
Filaret, Patriarch of Kyiv and All Rus-Ukraine, Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Kyiv Patriarchate	18.7	21.6
The person determined by Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew	14.8	15.6
Onufriy, Metropolitan, Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP)	5.0	6.6
Makariy, Metropolitan, Primate of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC)	2.1	2.9
Other	1.4	0.5
Difficult to answer	58.0	52.8

THE PANEL DISCUSSION 'THE CONSOLIDATION OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY: PATHWAYS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS' WAS HELD

On 16 December 2016, The Razumkov Centre in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ukraine and the MATRA European Partnership Programme of the Dutch Foreign Ministry held a panel discussion entitled 'The consolidation of Ukrainian society: pathways, challenges and prospects'.

Representatives of the legislative and executive authorities, scientists, government experts and independent experts of Ukraine, as well as representatives of foreign embassies and international organisations took part in the discussion.

During the discussion, the findings of the survey by the Razumkov Centre and the focus group study were presented, describing how citizens perceive certain aspects of their identity, the vision for the consolidation and dividing lines of Ukrainian society, and the assessment of the possible approaches to government policy in the social and cultural area.

The following issues were discussed:

- What are the most important challenges facing Ukrainian society today in terms of national unity?
- What can and should be the centre of consolidation of Ukrainian society?
- Which areas should be prioritised for the implementation of government policy on the consolidation of Ukrainian society? What should be the key principles of this policy and high priority measures?

[Information and analytics for the panel discussion](#)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE 'GOVERNANCE IN THE SECURITY SECTOR: THE ROLE OF OMBUDSMAN INSTITUTIONS' WAS HELD

On 29–30 November 2016, the international conference 'Governance in the security sector: the role of ombudsman institutions' was held.

The conference hosts were the Razumkov Centre and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), in collaboration with the Secretariat of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukraine on Human Rights.

The event was attended by representatives of the legislative and executive authorities, representatives of law enforcement agencies, scientists, international and domestic experts, representatives of foreign embassies and international organisations.

The following issues were discussed:

- The ombudsman institutions and security governance: best international practices.
- The role of the ombudsman and independent supervisory institutions in Ukraine.
- Informal workshops: discussion on the problematic aspects and best international practices of the work of the ombudsman and independent supervisory institutions, the drafting of practical recommendations.

THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE TOOK PART IN THE CONFERENCE OF THE TRANS-EUROPEAN POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION (TEPSA)



On 9–11 November 2016, La Valletta (Malta) hosted the conference of the Trans-European Political Studies Association, a research network consisting of leading institutes in the field of European affairs throughout Europe.

The conference entitled 'Restoring faith in the European Union: strengthening solidarity, unity and determination', which was held in cooperation with the University of Malta, was devoted to the future Maltese EU Council Presidency. The conference covered most pressing issues for the immediate future of the European Union – the neighbourhood policy, the immigration problem, common economic, environmental and security challenges, other pressing issues (the results of the US election, Brexit, the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, etc.).

At the invitation of TEPSA, the Razumkov Centre was represented at the conference by Yuriy Yakymenko, Deputy Director General and Director of Political and Legal Programmes. The Association currently comprises 36 research institutions (universities and think tanks) from 33 EU member states and candidate countries.

THE PANEL DISCUSSION 'UKRAINE AND THE POLICY TO COMBAT CLIMATE CHANGE: THE ECONOMIC ASPECT' WAS HELD

On 24 November 2016, the Razumkov Centre in cooperation with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Ukraine and with the support of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine held the panel discussion 'Ukraine and the policy to combat climate change: the economic aspect'.

Representatives of legislative and executive authorities, scientists, government experts and independent experts of Ukraine, as well as representatives of foreign embassies and international organizations were invited to participate in the discussion.

Results of the research were presented and the following issues were discussed:

- the implications of climate change for economic activity in the regions and countries of the world and in Ukraine;

- global and European trends in the formation of the policy to prevent and adapt to climate change;
- structural and technological aspects of the policy of low carbon economic development in Ukraine;
- organizational and economic instruments of the Ukrainian policy to combat and adapt to climate change.

[Analytical report](#)

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDTABLE “RUSSIA’S HYBRID WAR: A CHALLENGE AND A THREAT TO EUROPE” WAS HELD

On 14 December 2016, the Razumkov Centre in cooperation with the Committee on Culture and Spirituality of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the European Lawyers’ Association and the All-Ukrainian Democratic Forum held the international roundtable entitled ‘Russia’s hybrid war: a challenge and a threat to Europe’.

Representatives of the legislative and executive authorities, scientists, government experts and independent experts from Ukraine, as well as representatives of foreign embassies and international organisations participated in the discussion.

The following issues were discussed:

- specific aspects and directions of the Russian ‘hybrid war’ in Europe;
- the military, media and propaganda, economic, energy and socio-cultural aspects of the ‘hybrid war’;
- confronting the Russian ‘hybrid war’: strategy and tactics for Europe and Ukraine.

[brochure](#)

MEETING OF RAZUMKOV CENTRE EXPERTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CENTRE FOR CIVILIANS IN CONFLICT

On 8 December 2016, a meeting was held between Razumkov Centre experts, Olexiy Melnyk and Mykola Sunhurovskiy, and representatives of the Centre for Civilians in Conflict (CIVIC), Federico Borelli and Joseph Morse.

During the meeting, the CIVIC representatives presented the results of a field study conducted in Ukraine in June–October 2016 on the anti-terrorist operation. The report entitled ‘We are afraid of silence’ was drawn up based on the finding of the study, and contains information on the effects of the armed conflict on civilians, and recommendations on how to ensure the protection of civilians in the combat zone in the east of Ukraine.

The parties exchanged views on the urgency of the problem of protecting civilians, the need to take this into account during the planning and conduct of hostilities, and to ensure monitoring in the area of the anti-terrorist operation, the need to consider the said issues in

combat training programmes, and to ensure the appropriate mechanisms for the monitoring and protection of civilians’ rights in the conflict zone.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE NEEDS TO DIVERSIFY ITS GAS SUPPLY SOURCES, AND NOT ONLY THE ROUTES

Diversifying the gas supplies to Central and Eastern Europe in terms of both routes and sources will allow the creation of a new gas market, with free competition between suppliers and freedom of choice for consumers. In the light of this, the decision of the European Commission to allow Gazprom increased access to the capacity of the OPAL pipeline, and the ongoing Nord Stream 2 project are contrary to the Energy Union principles and detrimental to the region. These were the key messages discussed during the first Central European Day of Energy in Brussels.

[Press release](#)

[Policy brief](#)

[Memorandum](#)

MEETING BETWEEN RAZUMKOV CENTRE TOP MANAGERS AND EXPERTS AND THE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF NORWAY TO UKRAINE

On 6 December 2016, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting between its top managers and experts and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Norway to Ukraine Mr. Ole T. Horpestad. The purpose of the meeting held at the initiative of the Embassy of Norway was to learn about the Centre’s work and discuss possible formats and areas of cooperation between the Razumkov Centre and the embassy, and also facilitate cooperation between Ukrainian and Norwegian analytical institutions.

In addition, the parties exchanged views on important domestic issues, the state and prospects for reforms in Ukraine, and energy and military security.

INFORMATIONAL MEETING BETWEEN RAZUMKOV CENTRE EXPERTS AND THE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO UKRAINE

On 22 November 2016, the Razumkov Centre hosted an informational meeting between its experts and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Ukraine H.E. Mr. Lee Yang-goo. During the meeting, the ambassador obtained comprehensive information about the Razumkov Centre, its work and international cooperation. Anatoliiy Rachok, Director General of the Centre, informed the ambassador of the Republic of Korea about the main achievements of the Centre, particularly emphasising the increased institutional capacity of the Centre and the enhanced international cooperation. The ambassador was informed about the findings of the recent study conducted by the Razumkov Centre and was presented with publishing materials.

The ambassador also stressed the importance of the partnership between the Embassy of Korea and the Razumkov Centre. The ambassador took the opportunity to invite the Razumkov Centre experts to participate in the international forum 'Ukraine-Korea in the conflict ridden world'.

The meeting-goers discussed the prospects and areas of further cooperation between the Razumkov Centre, the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Ukraine and Korean think tanks.

PARTICIPATION IN THE MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE TO COORDINATE THE DRAFTING OF THE UPDATED ENERGY STRATEGY OF UKRAINE THROUGH 2035

On 15 November 2016, the Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine Volodymyr Kiston held a meeting of the Steering Committee on the coordination of the drafting of the updated Energy Strategy of Ukraine through 2035.

Drafts of the strategy prepared by the National Institute for Strategic Studies and the Razumkov Centre were presented at the meeting. The committee members discussed the possibility of combining the ideas of the said institutions to produce the final draft of the strategy.

Volodymyr Kiston said, 'For the sustainable development of the Ukrainian energy sector, it is necessary to draw up this document. We must be aware of our goal in the medium term and understand ways to achieve it.'

According to Mr. Kiston, the main document – the draft strategy – will be supplemented by annexes that will become roadmaps for individual stages set out in the strategy.

As a result of the committee meeting, it was preliminarily agreed that McKinsey & Company will draw up the annex for the first stage.

MEETING BETWEEN RAZUMKOV CENTRE TOP MANAGERS AND EXPERTS AND THE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

On 9 December 2016, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting between its top managers and experts and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany Mr. Ernst Reichel.



During his visit, Mr. Reichel received comprehensive information about the work and intensive cooperation of the centre with German political foundations and other research institutions.

The ambassador and representatives of the Razumkov Centre discussed important issues related to the political situation in the country, the state of the implementation of the reforms, the problems and prospects for the settlement of the armed conflict in the Donbas, and the implementation of the Minsk agreements.

PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

On 10 November 2016, the Razumkov Centre participated in the International Scientific Conference entitled 'Transformation of the strategic stability and nuclear security issues in the early 21st century', held in the premises of the Institute of World History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The conference was attended by domestic and foreign scientists, experts and practitioners on a wide range of security and development issues. Mykola Sunhurovskiy, Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre, made a report on 'The dynamics of the current 'hybrid' processes and challenges for Ukraine'. The speaker answered a large number of questions, helping to clarify many problems and ways to solve them.

MEETING WITH STUDENTS FROM DARTMOUTH COLLEGE (HANOVER, USA)



On 8 December 2016, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting between experts Kateryna Markevych, Arsen Stetskiv and Inna Vashchenko and students from Dartmouth College (Hanover, United States).

During the meeting, the experts spoke about the history and working principles of the Centre, the development of democratic institutions, and also about the changes that have taken place in Ukraine of late and how these changes helped to develop a civil society.

Also, attention was paid to the economic situation in the country and reforms in the energy and banking sectors.

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