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THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE NEWSLETTER

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ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS IN UKRAINE

The Constitutional Commission created in early March 2015 by President Petro Poroshenko's Decree has hardly stopped its work, as new rumours of yet another Constitutional change have started spreading inside Ukrainian information space and political environment. Citizens cannot make up their mind about the necessity of amending the Basic Law, as they are not aware of their fundamental constitutional rights. Razumkov Centre's survey results in 2015 show that only 10% of Ukrainians are familiar with the text of the Constitution, while 40% – have never laid eyes on the Basic Law.

In late August 2015, the Verkhovna Rada has approved constitutional amendments on decentralisation in the first reading. According to the President and the Prime Minister (Volodymyr Groysman is concurrently also the Head of the Constitutional Commission), the draft significantly expands the rights of local authorities. Along

with this, it strengthens the presidential hierarchy line and gives the special status to Donbas. This draft's provisions have caused so much controversy in the society that on 31 August 2015, on the day of its approval, four National Guard soldiers died at the Verkhovna Rada building.

Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, Razumkov Centre Scientific Consultant on Legal Issues Viktor Musiyaka talks about the inner workings of the

Constitutional Commission, problems with the judicial reform, how Petro Poroshenko differs from other presidents and the perfect Ukrainian.

Full version: [Part 1](#),
[Part 2](#)

*Legal Research Fellow
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Viktor MUSIYAKA*



UKRAINIANS: RIGHT-LEFT

The Razumkov Centre has recently conducted a broad sociological study to identify the characteristics of self-identification of Ukrainian citizens and their values. We found out an interesting peculiarity: political rightism in Ukraine is correlated with positive ethnic stereotypes regarding Ukrainians, while political leftism – with negative ones.

This information is in accord with the vision of «leftists» as the pro-Russian force. And this is one of the main reasons which accounts for very few votes given to leftist projects in elections.

We can state that leftist ideas, at least in the form they are represented in Ukraine, entail certain distancing from the Ukrainian identity. Although, in the early 20th century, the situation was quite the opposite – back then the idea of Ukraine's independence was shaped and supported primarily by left-wing political parties and in the framework of leftist political discourse. Possibly, the problem now is that leftist

political ideas are perceived by the public (our citizens included) as such that are connected with the ideas of Soviet Union revival or unification with Russia.

Similarly, «leftism» is more characteristic of the people from older generations, than younger ones.

Values and identity differences of representatives of the older and younger generations demonstrate that the consciousness of the older generation was largely shaped under the influence of Soviet social reality and ideology, while the consciousness of the younger generation is more in sync with today's reality. Young people rarely identify themselves as former Soviet Union citizens (in the youngest age group – only 8%), while among those over 60 y.o., there are 46% of such respondents.

The identity of young people is characterised by a higher level of patriotism, on the one hand, and on the other – younger respondents express intolerance to emigrants, people of other religious denomination, languages less often. The importance of democracy for the younger and middle age groups' representatives is higher compared to the older groups. The younger the respondents, the more often they support the statement on the importance of competition.

Full [text](#)

*Deputy Director, Sociological Service
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NATO WILL NOT FIGHT AGAINST A NUCLEAR SUPERPOWER BECAUSE OF UKRAINE

In two years, Russia has been caught violating all the key provisions of Minsk Agreements. Now Russia has practically killed «Minsk» by introducing ruble in ORDLO, recognising local documents and especially by expropriating Ukrainian enterprises. This means that Russia's strategy has changed. The previous strategy was to use «Minsk» to have Berlin, Paris and Washington pressure Ukraine into re-integrating ORDLO on conditions that would obliterate Ukraine's sovereignty. This did not work. They also failed to provoke Ukrainian troops to reckless action. And now Ukrainian Armed Forces are stronger than before. This means that it is far more complicated for Russia to start an offensive now, than it was in January 2015.

Thus, I believe they changed the strategy. For different reasons, they did something similar in Abkhazia. The new strategy is based on dividing. They have created a situation, where Poroshenko had to order an official blockade. And the result will entail losses for Ukraine. One can argue whether the consequences

of this are exaggerated, but in any case, there will be economic damage, and Russians can increase this damage.

We have to understand that Ukraine has no opportunity to join either NATO or anything of the kind while the conflict with Russia continues. There is no scenario according to which 28 member states could agree to guarantee security to Ukraine, as they guaranteed to Latvia, if there emerges a conflict and Russia opposes this status. This is political reality, and Ukraine should take this. The focus should be on increased efficiency of support of Ukrainian Armed Forces by NATO and the allies.

Full [text](#)

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RUSSIA-BELARUS MILITARY DRILLS WEST-2017. GETTING READY FOR OFFENSIVE?

There is massive deployment of troops close to Ukraine's border and capacity build-up of the first and second Army Corps in Donbas territory. Oleksandr Turchynov stated that the joint Russia-Belarus military drills West-2017 might be a preparation for an offensive.

We have been talking about it starting from 2015, from the point the so-called Minsk Agreements have been struck. We have been talking about military aggression as one of the possible interim steps. And the Ministry of Defence has taken these expert assessments into account. Starting from 2015, they have been making preparations factoring in this risk. But I can hardly name these drills anything more than a risk. There is no telling, whether this will happen or not. Whether this risk will become reality, depends on a large number of factors: Russia's political readiness, the available resources, the possibility

of a preventive or reactive response from the West. All the cards need to be put on the table and then we shall see, what happens.

Drills are often used for power demonstration and intimidation: in order to scare Ukraine's political leaders into certain concessions. If political means are not successful, the direct use of armed forces is not out of the question.

Full [text](#)

*Director of Military Programmes of
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Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI*



THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR SCEPTICISM REGARDING GUAM PROSPECTS IN THE SECURITY SECTOR

October 2017 will mark 20 years from the day of GUAM foundation. In the time of organisation's existence, it is hard to remember at least one successfully implemented economic, political or security project. Without a success story, it is hard to envision development prospects.



*Co-director of Foreign Relations and
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There could be talk about joining efforts of the three countries – Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia – in international organisations, but there would be a problem with finding a common position due to Azerbaijan, which is in the international conflict with Armenia. Thus, there are grounds for scepticism regarding GUAM prospects in the security sector.

As for the steps made by the four governments in regard to creating a free-trade zone, there is a slight chance for optimism, as this is the area of cooperation with the least controversy. It requires the political will of all four countries, and one of them has to be ready to take on the leadership.

Full [text](#)

THE THREAT OF RUSSIA'S MILITARY DRILLS "WEST-2017" FOR UKRAINE

Russia's military drills «West-2017» taking place this autumn may be used for direct aggression as well as for subversive actions. Let us remember that there were similar concerns in 2016, at the time of «Caucasus 2016» army drills (held next to Ukraine's eastern border in the Southern Military District of Russian Armed Forces with headquarters in Rostov-on-Don).

This proves that Russia keeps creating situations where it can exert different kinds of pressure on us – informational, military, economic, etc. Deployment of such massive forces next to our border, taking into account the two footholds – Crimea and Donbas – greatly increases Ukraine's risks.

Is it possible that these forces will be used to launch a large-scale offensive against Ukraine? Everything is possible. But I would like to note that we should not treat this as a prognosis (that the situation will necessarily unfold exactly like this). We should view this as risks, for which we have to be prepared and to which Kyiv must respond. The enemy's understanding it is about to face a major force, brings the risks down to zero. In this regard, we can rejoice that our General Staff and the Ministry of Defence have assessed the aforementioned risks and taken appropriate measures to strengthen our contingent.

Our great disadvantage in this situation is that the role of society is being underestimated – the volunteer

movements. If our state was not afraid of its own people more than Russia, it could use these movements' actions to its advantage and thus increase not only the country's defence capacity, but also people's trust in the government.

[Full text](#)

*Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre
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IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BUILD ANY SECURITY SYSTEM WITH RUSSIA

Minsk-2 chances for success are very slim as the parties to the conflict have different approaches to resolving the issue. Russia is trying to re-integrate ORDLO into Ukraine on its own terms. Kremlin's main conditions are: virtual autonomy of the occupied territories and the right to influence Ukraine's foreign policy. Russia's goal is not to let Ukraine out of its zone of influence. Even if the imperial plans are not destined to become reality, it would at least want Ukraine as a buffer satellite state. The occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts act as an anchor, which is to prevent our country from integrating into the European community. Ukraine's goals are the exact opposite. It wants to be independent, sovereign and follow the European direction of development. In this sense, the parties' positions are irreconcilable.

In turn, the provisions in Minsk Agreements are written in such a way that they cannot be considered independently from one another. However, implementing these provisions in the order defined in the Agreements will lead to Ukraine losing its sovereignty before regaining its territorial integrity. So, Russia does not have to see the Minsk process through to the end. Because restoring the border is in the final provisions, preceded by amnesty for the militants and elections. It is highly probable that if this scenario is implemented, this will be the end of it. For example, after the elections in the occupied territories, their already legitimate government can ask Russia for help, followed by the Syrian scenario with direct deployment of troops (most likely, Russian «peacekeeping forces»). This will give Russia a free hand to do what it needs. For Russia, the fact that no one in the world will recognise

such «elections» is nothing to worry about. Same as it has no worries in regard to the non-recognition of South Ossetia, with which it made a military alliance.

There is a Charlie Chaplin film «The Kid» made back in 1921. The plot is simple. A glass man has lost his job. He finds a boy, who runs around the city breaking windows. The glass man follows the boy around and installs new windows. This is Russia's way of operating. It creates points of instability all around the world in order to say: we are the only ones who can solve your problems! Creating such points of instability is Russia's way of influencing local and regional policy. If such points are spread over several regions, this is the way of influencing global policy. By influencing policy, I mean not just military action and casualties in this region, but also migration waves that will hit remote regions (as it happened with the EU) and will exacerbate the issues of integration/disintegration, economic issues.

The EU and the US do not want to enter into a conflict with a nuclear weapons state. But when I hear statements that Russia is a country without which the global security system cannot be built, I disagree. Russia is a country with which it is impossible to build any security system. It is a shark on the beach. We do not make a shark an element of the beach security system, do we?

[Full text](#)

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HOW TO CONVINCE EUROPE TO STRENGTHEN SANCTIONS AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR

In order to convince Europe to strengthen sanctions against Russia, Ukraine must first demonstrate that it is a reliable partner – an entity that consistently pursues its goals, and is predictable. Any donor helping another partner has to have a clear vision of the results it achieves, see a certain benefit for itself. I am speaking in business concepts, which the western world can relate to. We have to understand, however, that the measure of benefit is not just financial. In any case, it has to be rather significant.

Western help does not come from nowhere. The money that the states lose as a result of sanctions against Russia and sums provided to use in the form of financial aid, comes from the taxes the citizens of these countries pay. And governments report to their citizens on this money. Consequently, they have to provide reasons for the appropriateness of such use of funds.

Which means that taxpayers have to see something that benefits them.

We can talk about Europeans ensuring a more peaceful, stable situation in the region next to EU's border through increasing their assistance to Ukraine. Besides, we can offer partnership benefits, for instance, in the humanitarian or food sector.

But in order for Europe to believe us, our state must show that it is indeed moving forward, developing, that reforms are being introduced, and the fight against corruption is on. Thus, western taxpayers' money is not being wasted or stolen, but is being used to achieve results that will benefit both sides.

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Economy

FOR LONDON COURT THE WAR IS NOT A REASON NOT TO REPAY DEBTS

The High Court in London has ruled that Ukraine must pay Russia the Eurobond nominal value of \$3 billion and the relevant amount of accrued interest. Although this decision is not final, as Ukraine can still appeal against it, the chances of a different ruling are slim. It is unlikely that the UK courts will want to create a precedent allowing anyone not to repay debts, even with an ongoing war. There are certain basic principles, to which they will adhere regardless of any political aspects.

However, the ruling to repay the debt does not mean that now Ukraine has to transfer \$3 billion to Russian government accounts at once.

Using a smart approach, we can fix the situation with time. Ukraine could seek this \$3 billion to become the guarantee of its counterclaims in regard to Russia's actions on the territory of Ukraine and damage inflicted through the support of forces that cause the destruction of infrastructure and cities in Donbas.

Part of the blame is also on Ukraine, as it was contemplating and considering far too long, while all damage compensation procedures should have been started earlier. We have wasted a lot of time. These procedures take several years as it is, so this situation is far from perfect for Ukraine. We need to understand that if a country is not repaying its debts, it affects its credit rating, which will make it harder to prove its solvency afterwards.

[Full text](#)

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GUAM ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

A country's modernity is defined by its integration in economic networks. So talks and intentions to broaden free-trade zones of GUAM countries are a positive development. However, GUAM needs to move even further, namely, become part of the so-called new Silk Road – a transportation route meant to connect China with the European Union. It would be appropriate and beneficial to consider the intentions to expand and strengthen relations within GUAM or with other countries of the former CIS in the context of joining major transcontinental infrastructure projects. One of the new

Silk Road routes will involve Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine – almost all GUAM countries. Moldova could also join this process.

[Full text](#)

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CHINESE LIKE UKRAINIAN: IN RECENT YEARS UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO CHINA INCREASED BY 12 TIMES

Chinese market is considered to be one of the most promising ones in the entire world. Ukraine has been especially successful in selling its agricultural products here. Since 2012, foreign trade volume with this country has been growing, after Ukraine has started losing Russian markets.

In 2015, by the volume of exports and imports China was third among our trading partners. In 2016, by export, we somewhat lost our positions and held the 6th place, while by import, – we were in the 2nd. In Ukraine's total exports, China makes up 5%. Last year, we sold \$1.83 billion worth of products to this country, and imported \$4.69 billion worth. I.e., now we import more Chinese products. However, the overall trade pattern between Ukraine and China is positive, as this country is one of our main partners.

Among the main product groups in 2016, ores, slag and ash were in the first place (34.7% of the total export to PRC). In the second place – grain crops (25.3%).

Interestingly, from 2014, exports of Ukrainian grain crops started growing and gradually forcing out machine engineering products. At the same time, the demand for Ukrainian food products in China has increased.

[Full text](#)

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Energy Sector

THE CURRENT MODEL OF SUBSIDIES CALCULATION IS INEFFICIENT AND DOES NOT INSPIRE TO SAVE ELECTRICITY, GAS OR WATER

Monetising of subsidies must be done quickly, and not over the period of three-four years, as planned by the Ministry of Social Policy. Maybe our officials are just more interested in having these tens of billions of hryvnias around, transferring them from the budget to commercial entities and back.

Monetising of subsidies can be done rather quickly: what we need is a will. The model should include the opening of accounts for the poor, but it is important to check who actually belongs to this category. There should be relevant services that oversee that every household has meters installed, and accounts open.

Right now, people who get subsidies could not care less about saving: the more they use, the bigger subsidies they get.

The current system of subsidies is an absolutely inefficient and burdensome model. Its main goal is not to

ensure the saving of resources, but to allow officials to manipulate the financial flow.

It is naive to expect any effective steps beneficial for the citizens from our officials. We need to wake up our civil society. They, possibly, changes will come.

Currently, the Ministry of Social Policy plans to reduce the number of subsidies recipients by a third till 2018.

[Full text](#)

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NEW GAS PIPELINE AS A WAY OF STRENGTHENING UKRAINE'S ENERGY SECURITY

The new gas pipeline will join together the gas transportation systems (GTS) of Poland and Ukraine. Its construction is to be completed by 2020. On the Ukrainian side, the project is implemented by Ukrainian State Transmission System Operator for Gas – «Ukrtransgaz», on the Polish – Gaz-System S.A. The interconnector will include a 1.5 km gas pipeline from the Polish village of Hermanowice to Polish-Ukrainian border, as well as the 110 km Ukrainian part of the

pipeline from the border to Bilche-Volytsia-Uhersko gas storage facility. The project will allow to pump up to 8 bln. cu. m of gas per year from Poland to Ukraine, and from Ukraine to Poland – up to 7 bln. cu. m/year. Currently, the maximum technical capacity of gas transmission from Poland to Ukraine is 1.5 bln. cu. m/year. Project goal is to join the Ukrainian and Polish GTS through the interconnector. And through the Polish GTS, connect the Ukrainian GTS with one more pipeline to the EU

gas transmission system. Thus, Ukraine receives new opportunities for energy independence from Russian gas. With this pipeline, Ukraine will be able to purchase gas from the newly built Polish LNG terminal in Swinoujście. This will expand Ukraine's opportunities for diversification of gas supplies.

Currently, we are connected to the EU gas transmission network through the networks of Hungary, Slovakia and Poland. The new pipeline will allow Ukraine to diversify its gas supplies and strengthen its energy

security, while Poland will be able to capitalise on gas transit. Ukraine has stopped buying gas from Russia since early 2016, purchasing it from Slovakia, Hungary and Poland instead. Interestingly, buying Russian gas from EU countries turned out to be cheaper and more reliable than directly from Russia.

[Full text](#)

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HOW DOES THE LAW ON ELECTRICITY MARKET HELP CONSUMERS?

The new law «On Electricity Market» recently approved by the Verkhovna Rada is a positive step towards developing a competitive market, however, it is not enough, – further steps in this direction are required.

The approved law is progressive, but it is just the framework. In order for it to start working, a large number of by-laws must be still approved.

The positive aspects of the adopted law are:

- strengthening of market relations in the energy market;
- strengthening of competition, attracting investment capital;
- citizens get a choice – consumers will be choosing their supplier on a competitive basis.

Clearly, the document requires further elaboration. For example, the subsidy mechanisms for «green» energy are not quite clear. There is cross-subsidisation here, foremost, at the expense of nuclear power. There are also questions regarding the cheapest nuclear generation. It is unclear how it will be able to compete in terms of prices in the virtually monopolistic market. At this point, it is also not clear, and no one talks about how Ukraine will demonopolise its market, without which it will be hard to reach the correct goals set by the approved law.

[Full text](#)

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IN RECENT YEARS UKRAINE'S CONSUMPTION OF GAS DROPPED BY HALF

The proven natural gas reserves in Ukraine are currently slightly over one trillion cu. m. Assuming that the annual gas recovery is 20 bn. cu. m/year, this reserve will last 50 years. And in half a century, it is quite possible that new deposits will be found and new extraction technologies will be developed to recover the previously inaccessible reserves.

Recently, the only Ukrainian geological exploration ship «Iskatel» has found new natural gas deposits in the two of eight sectors of the north-western Black Sea shelf, in Odesa oblast. As reported by the provisional Head of the State Service of Geology and Mineral Resources of Ukraine Mykola Boliarkin, there is at least 40 bn. cu. m of natural gas there.

In 2010 and 2011, we have consumed approximately 60 bn. cu. m/year, and in 2015, – just 32 bn. cu. m. Thus, we have reduced our consumption of natural gas almost by half. And in the years to come, we expect to consume approximately 30 – 35 bn. cu. m. We extract 20 bn. cu. m of our own gas, thus we need to purchase only the extra 10 – 15 bn.

Consequently, termination of Russian gas supplies to Ukraine is not a problem for us. Because Naftogaz of Ukraine has organised reverse gas supplies from Europe, we can easily do without Russian gas. Through purchasing gas from European suppliers since 2014, Ukraine was able to save \$400 million. Although, Ukraine did not exclude the possibility of buying a certain volume of Russian gas, but on its own conditions. Naftogaz is not satisfied with the «take-or-pay» scheme foreseen by the current contract. Besides, there is a demand not to transmit natural gas through Ukraine to the occupied territories without our consent.

[Full text](#)

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Foreign Policy

RUSSIA'S INFORMATION EXPANSION: UKRAINIAN FOOTHOLD

The three-year hybrid war between Russia and Ukraine that started in February 2014 with the annexation of Crimea and is still going on in Donbas is not a second-rate conflict on the periphery of Europe. This war poses a threat not only to Ukraine's statehood, but also to West, in particular, the unity of the EU, Europe's political structure. Europeans turned out to be critically vulnerable to both, internal problems, and Kremlin's «hybrid» power policy, the main component of which is powerful information expansion.

Today, it is already not about just «fending off Western influence» in the post-Soviet space – «zone of Kremlin's privileged interests», it is about a wide-scale hybrid expansion on the EU territory with the goal

of ultimate weakening/fragmenting (breaking apart) the European Union, and reformatting the established European political system according to Russia's plan. All of this is happening against the background of total depreciation of global and regional security structures.

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UKRAINE-RUSSIA: NEIGHBOURHOOD STRATEGY

It is not too hard to predict the main negative trends in Russia-Ukraine relations in the nearest future – the «postponed issue» of Crimea, the smouldering conflict in Donbas, conservation of «frozen» political and diplomatic relations, further reduction of the volume of trade, limited contacts in all areas, energy conflict, informational confrontation, war in cyberspace, bringing the conflict to international courts. In other words, Kyiv-Moscow relations have not reached the rock bottom yet.

In the years of war, numerous regulations have been adopted in one way or the other related to Russian aggression. However, the question of what Ukraine's strategy should be in regard to Russia remains open.

Codification, or, simply speaking, harmonisation of regulations, and based on them, development of a mid-term Concept of Relations with Russia, are imperative. This concept should define the current state and prognosis for the bilateral relations, goals, tasks, and

mid-term prospects of Ukrainian policy in regard to Russia, standards and rules for relations with the aggressor in all areas – political and diplomatic, financial and economic, energy, science and technology sector, humanitarian relations, etc., conditions and possible mechanisms for the settlement of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in general. The Razumkov Centre has presented a draft of such Concept back in 2015, and, obviously, the development of such document is the responsibility of NSDC of Ukraine.

But, first, we need a new law on foreign policy of Ukraine – the existing one is outdated and does not to conform to current events.

[Full text](#)

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ZERO HOUR FOR DONBAS

This year a number of significant events took place that were indicative of possible changes in Kremlin's tactics and strategy in Donbas.

First, on 18 February 2017, Russian President signed Decree No. 74 on recognising all «documents» issued by «DNR/LNR» «government» – from passports to vehicle license plates. This is an act of acknowledging the legitimacy of «DNR/LNR» government by Russia.

Second, obviously, approved and directed by the Kremlin, the militants have seized 40 large Ukrainian enterprises in ORDLO territory on 01 March 2017.

Third, on 17 March 2017, in Livadia Palace (Yalta) took place the first meeting of the integration committee «Russia-Donbas», which included DNR/LNR leaders. A clear line of ORDLO integration into Russia has been proclaimed, a special project for cooperation of Moscow and Luhansk and Donetsk in all sectors (socio-economic, cultural, humanitarian, etc.) has been proposed.

The «republics» have created their own (Russified) system of «patriotic» education that uses Russian methodology and celebrates «rebels'» acts of heroism. A «separate» history of the «republics» is being written. «DNR/LNR's» higher education system is completely tied to Russia. There is open and total Russification of occupied territories. Russian ruble has been introduced

as a mandatory currency, and is being used for payments.

However, now it is quite clear that the plan to «shove» DNR/LNR into Ukraine in its current form, legitimised by Russia and protected by the «special status», has fallen through. On the one hand, this would have relieved Russia from yet another depressed and destroyed area, and on the other, – this plan would have incorporated a powerful time bomb into Ukraine.

Currently, we can see three possible scenarios of future developments:

1. The minimum scenario – Trans-Dniester pattern – preserving the «smouldering»/»frozen» conflict with maximum non-official integration of the republics into Russia.

2. The real scenario – Ossetia-Abkhazia pattern of September 2008 – recognition of DNR/LNR independence by Russia and signing agreements on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.

3. The maximum scenario – Crimea pattern – recognition of DNR/LNR and their integration into Russia.

[Full text](#)

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FORWARD, BACK OR INTO THE UNKNOWN: WHICH COURSE WILL THE EU TAKE?

The call for reforms so often voiced by the EU in regard to Ukraine, seems to refer to the block itself this time. Faced with unprecedented challenges in its history, such as Brexit, migration crisis, euro area problem, the rise of right-wing populism, Russian hybrid aggression, changes of the new US administration in the approach to transatlantic partnership, and also feeling the lack of strong political will of EU leadership to perceive and respond appropriately to the new challenges, as well as the lack of effective countering mechanisms, Brussels has finally concluded that the era of carelessness and prosperous stability is over and it is time to make important decisions.

Today, most of EU's external problems signal a lack of attention to such important area as common foreign and security policy, which led to Brussels' inability to effectively respond to the early stages of migration problem, Russian propaganda, regional conflicts. As a result, these problems have aggravated and became critical. Now, the EU should actively work on its common foreign policy and migration policy. However, this is not an easy task, because it was in these areas that the member states most opposed the restriction of their sovereignty and mostly took into account their own foreign policy strategies. A great deal of effort must be put in to convince member states' leaders of the need to strengthen common foreign policy.

Thus, on its 60th year of operation, the EU has reached a crossroads. Where does it go from here: ahead – towards closer integration, back – returning to the common market and abandoning other achievements, or into the unknown, where there is no telling, whether it will become a forward or backward move.

Given the fact that the EU is now immersed in its own internal issues and figuring out its new role in the world, its concern for Ukraine will be gradually going down. This is also intensified by the slow pace of Kyiv's implementation of Association Agreement provisions, in particular, in fighting corruption. Therefore, Ukraine should not be wasting time; we must effectively implement reforms and modernise the country, making it competitive and improving our own international image.

[Full text](#)

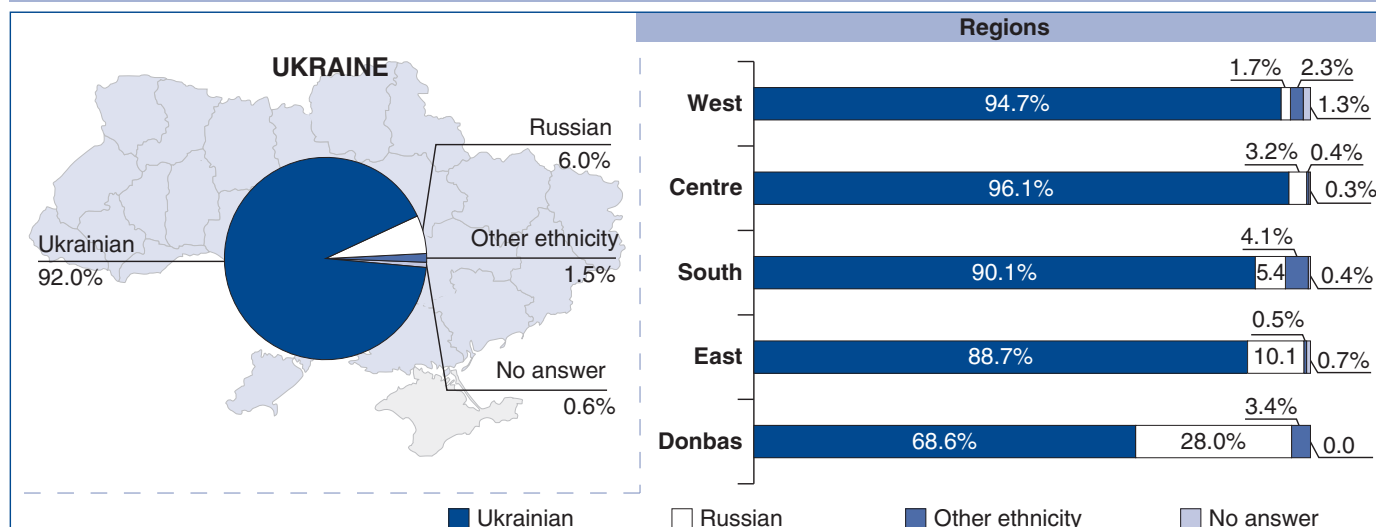
*Expert of Foreign Policy Programmes
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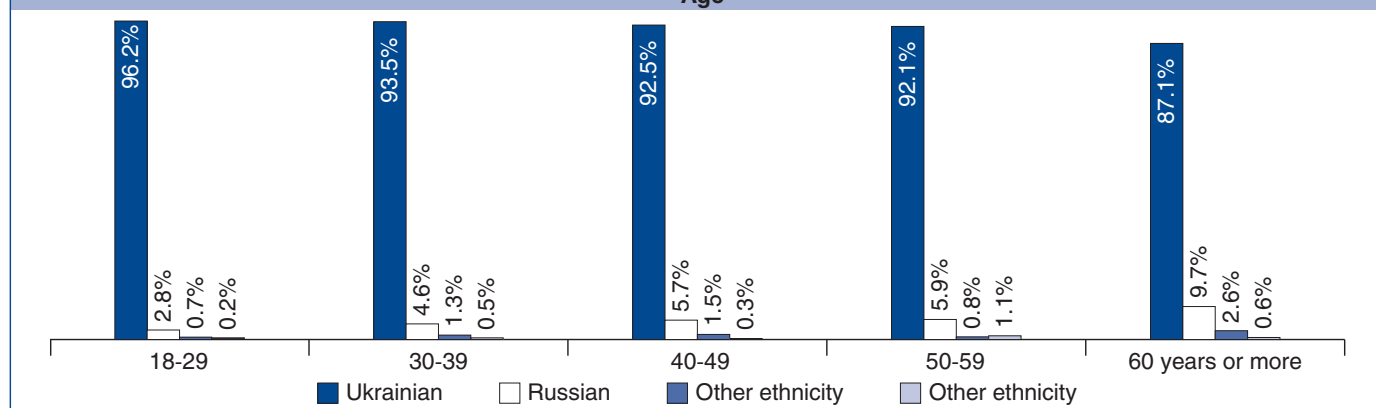
The study was conducted by the sociological service of the Razumkov Centre together with the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation from 3 to 9 March 2017 in all regions of Ukraine, except Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Number of respondents – 2018, age – from 18 y.o. Theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2.3%.

For more information on the results of sociological studies conducted by the Razumkov Centre, see our web-site <http://www.razumkov.org.ua>.

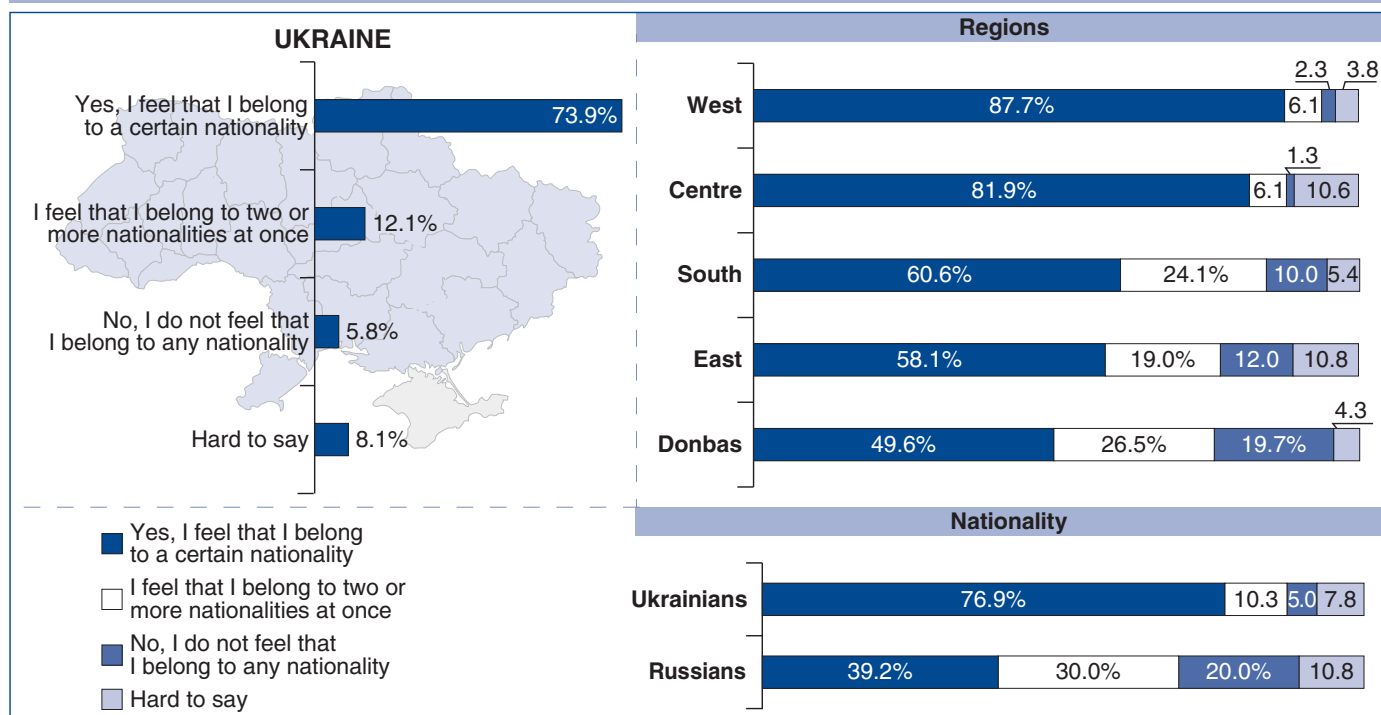
What is your nationality? % of respondents



Age



Do feel that you belong to a certain nationality? % of respondents



2016 ANNUAL REPORT

2016 was the most active year for the Razumkov Centre in its over 20 years of history. Studies of the most topical problems in economy, energy, foreign policy, security, politics, law, social sector were conducted in the framework of 21 projects, also the Razumkov Centre was just about the first one in Ukraine to start researching the impact of climate change on economic development. Our experts also participated in developing the New Energy Strategy of Ukraine Until 2035.

The recognised global ranking of think tanks 2016 GLOBAL GO TO THINK TANK issued on the annual basis by Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the Lauder Institute, University of Pennsylvania (USA), included Razumkov Centre in the top 5 think tanks in Central and Eastern Europe (Razumkov Centre was also ranked 55th out of 175 top think tanks worldwide). This is the highest ranking in Ukraine.

Much of suggestions and recommendations prepared for government bodies based on project results were taken into account in draft laws, presidential decrees and Government decisions. Centre experts actively advised the Government and individual ministries, committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, divisions of the Presidential Administration and the NSDC Secretariat, were part of public advisory bodies.

The Razumkov Centre frequently hosted ambassadors of foreign states (in particular, Korea, Austria, Sweden, Great Britain, Norway, Germany), representatives of foreign organisations, think tanks and leading international media.

The procedure was initiated for the Razumkov Centre to become a full member of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), the transeuropean research network, and we hope to complete this procedure in the near future.

The Razumkov Centre will continue on its path toward strengthening civil society, further promotion of democratic values and turning Ukraine into a modern European law-governed state.

*Anatolii RACHOK,
Director General of the Razumkov Centre*

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RAZUMKOV CENTRE HELD A CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. «UKRAINE 2016-2017: PROGRESS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND CHALLENGES»

On 5 April 2017, Razumkov Centre together with Atlantic Council held a joint conference in Washington, D.C. «Ukraine 2016-2017: Progress, Opportunities, and Challenges». The event was attended by Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States Valerii Chaly, former Minister of Finance of Ukraine Natalie Jaresko, Deputy Secretary of the National Security and Defence Council Oleksandr Lytvynenko, Deputy Director General for Analytics – Director of Political and Legal Programmes Yurii Yakymenko, Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl Yurchyshyn, Co-director of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes Oleksii Melnyk, Razumkov Centre Scientific Consultant on Legal Issues Viktor Musiiaka, Chairman of the Board of the Razumkov Centre Pavlo Pynzenyk, Senator Rob Portman.

Many experts, political analysts and politicians came together to answer the question «What is Ukraine's way out of the situation it found itself in, taking into account the ongoing Russian aggression, as well as the annexation of Crimea?»

On the eve of the conference, the Ukrainian delegation visited the International Republican Institute, where they met with the regional head of the organisation. He passed the message from the Republican Senator John McCain who said that Ukraine will remain the Institute's main priority and that the support of Ukraine will not be terminated and will go on into the future. However, Ukraine was also shown the areas, which it needs to pay considerable attention to, in particular, reforms.

[More about the event](#)

RAZUMKOV CENTRE PARTICIPATED IN WORLD SUMMIT OF THINK TANKS – 2017

On May 1-3 in Yokohama (Japan) Global Summit of think tank which was organised by Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), Programme for think tanks and civil society Lauder Institute of the University of Pennsylvania (TTCSP) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) had been conducted.

It was attended by more than 140 leading experts and thinkers from more than 90 top world think tanks over 40 countries. Ukraine was represented at the Summit by director of economic programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl Yurchyshyn.

Participants discussed a range of issues, including: the challenges of globalization, comprehensive economic growth, poverty and inequality, activity of think tanks and civil society in the era of populism. Vasyl Yurchyshyn took part in discussions on the issues and objectives of think tanks in the development of the modern worldview, economic growth and development, and strengthen of the think tanks cooperation, because only in terms of joint projects think tanks will enhance significance in the planning and implementation for sustainable development policies.

[Summit materials can be found here](#)

PARTICIPATION IN THE SEMINAR IN MADRID

On 21 April 2017, took place seminar «Ukraine and Its European Prospects in 2017» in Madrid (Spain), jointly organised by Elcano Royal Institute (Spain) and the Embassy of Ukraine in Spain.

Razumkov Centre representatives at the seminar included Co-director of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes Oleksii Melnyk, Director of Energy Programmes Volodymyr Omelchenko, Lead Expert of Political and Legal Programmes Viktor Zamiatin. Seminar participants discussed Ukraine's role in the European security, the current state of Ukrainian reforms, the potential of Ukraine's energy sector in the context of accelerating the process of European integration.

ROUND TABLE «BASIC PRINCIPLES AND WAYS OF BUILDING A COMMON IDENTITY OF UKRAINIAN CITIZENS»

On 12 April 2017, took place a round table on «Basic Principles and Ways of Building a Common Identity of Ukrainian Citizens», conducted by the Razumkov Centre in the frame of stage 3 of project «Building a Common Identity of Ukrainian Citizens in the New Environment: Special Aspects, Prospects, and Challenges». The project was implemented together with Konrad Adenauer Foundation Office in Ukraine and Matra European Partnership Programme of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Participants included representatives of legislative and executive authorities, scientists, government and independent researchers and experts, as well as representatives of foreign embassies and international organisations.

Razumkov Centre presented results of its national sociological (2,016 respondents) and expert (105 experts) surveys, which characterise the values dimension of Ukrainian citizens' identity, as well as their views on the basic principles and mechanisms of state policy implementation in this area.

Round table participants also discussed the mechanisms of building a common identity of Ukrainian citizens. Razumkov Centre also presented the key provisions of the Concept of Building a Common National Identity of Ukrainian Citizens.

[Download Information and analytical materials of the Round Table on 12 April 2017](#)

PRESENTATION OF THE BOOK «ANTHOLOGY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS IN MODERN UKRAINE»

On 20 April 2017, the Razumkov Centre presented the «Anthology of the Constitutional Process in Modern Ukraine». It covers the entire history of formation of the Constitution in its today's form and a lot of regulations, including unique ones, in chronological order – all draft amendments to the Constitution, decrees, laws, conclusions, etc. The book was compiled by Viktor Musiiaka, Razumkov Centre Scientific Consultant on Legal Issues. It was published with support of Konrad Adenauer Foundation Office in Ukraine. «This publication is for opinion leaders, academic environment, and, hopefully, our colleagues in the sector, who can relay the essence of these ideas and distribute them among citizens. This is the mission and the goal of this publication,» said Yurii Yakymenko, Razumkov Centre Deputy Director General for Analytics, Director of Political and Legal Programmes, during the presentation of the book at Ukrainian Crisis Media Centre.

The anthology will be available in hard copy, as well as in soft copy on the Razumkov Centre web-site under «Our Publications».

[More about the event](#)

[The book «Anthology of the constitutional process in modern Ukraine»](#)

ENERGY SECTOR OF UKRAINE: 2016 RESULTS

This publication contains a comprehensive analysis of Ukraine's energy sector operation in 2016. For example, it presents actual performance indicators by sectors – gas, oil and petroleum products, coal, electricity, – and their comparison with 2015 indicators. It summarises the results of each sector's operation and defines its achievements, errors and lost opportunities, as well as lists major legislative initiatives, both, adopted and those in development.

A separate section covers the issue of energy efficiency, as in the last two years, energy conservation and economical use of energy resources have become very topical in Ukraine. Given the importance of providing the population with high-quality affordable housing and utilities services, a separate section analyses the issues of tariff formation in the sector of housing and utilities.

This is the second time Razumkov Centre is publishing a comprehensive analysis of the state and problems of domestic energy industry development. It can be used for developing recommendations to improve efficiency of state policy in the energy sector.

Prepared by:

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MEETING OF RAZUMKOV CENTRE EXPERTS WITH AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA TO UKRAINE

On 25 April 2017, Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting of Centre's experts with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Latvia to Ukraine, Mr. Yuris Poikans. Director General of the Razumkov Centre Anatolii Rachok told Mr. Ambassador about the key areas of Centre's work as well as about the experience of cooperation with Latvian think tanks.

During the meeting, they exchanged views on topical issues relating to the internal political situation in Ukraine, current situation and prospects for settlement of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, international factors influencing the events in Ukraine.

Meeting participants reaffirmed their mutual interest in developing cooperation, discussed specific proposals to enhance cooperation between the Razumkov Centre and Latvia's governmental and non-governmental institutions.

MEETING WITH KOREA NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY REPRESENTATIVES

On 20 April 2017, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting with a delegation from the Republic of Korea represented by Korea National Diplomatic Academy officials: Kim Hyun-Wook (American Studies Department), Jo Yang-Hyeon (Research Department for Asia-Pacific Region) and Kwak Sur-Yeon (Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Ukraine).

In the meeting, the Razumkov Centre was represented by the Co-director of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes Mykhailo Pashkov, Director of Military Programmes Mykola Sunhurovskyi and Expert of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes Viacheslav Holub. They discussed the prospects for development of relations in the geopolitical triangle US-Ukraine-Russia, ways of resolving the conflict in Donbas and the situation in Crimea given the external impact, prospects of Ukraine-Russia relations, as well as the possibility of learning from the Korean experience of long-term co-existence with a hostile state.

Based on meeting results, participants agreed to start cooperation on implementing joint projects in different areas.

MEETING WITH STUDENTS FROM THE NETHERLANDS AND HUNGARY

On 27 April 2017, Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting with students of the University Rotterdam Institute of Social Studies (Netherlands) and Central European University (Hungary).

The Razumkov Centre was represented by the Lead Expert of Political and Legal Programmes Viktor Zamiatin, Expert of Political and Legal Programmes Arsen Stetskiv, Expert of Economic Programmes Kateryna Markevych and Expert of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes Viacheslav Holub.

Razumkov Centre representatives told their international guests about Centre's operation, its main projects in the frame of political and legal, economic, energy sector programmes, as well as foreign policy and international security programmes.

After the question and answer session, there was a lively discussion of Ukraine's future development paths, efficient implementation of internal reforms and support of Ukraine's European choice.

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