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THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE NEWSLETTER

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THE NEW PALIAMENT WILL BE BETTER THAN THE PREVIOUS ONE BUT STILL FAR FROM PERFECT

As to the election consolidation act of Petro Poroshenko Bloc (PPB) and UDAR. Apart from unknown facts, in general, I think this union is a good thing as in Ukrainian politics it is a rather rare case. Regardless of the election, it is important and right for the president and the major of the capital to have close political relations.

Speaking of Batkivshchyna party, without the key players of the current government, it is becoming a less important party but it will get into the Parliament anyway. Batkivshchyna has tried-and-true voters who rely on Y. Tymoshenko's former activities.

A. Yatseniuk has had for a long time his own voters who followed him when he moved to the new party. Involving civic activists and combats in a party is the right move which allows to bring "new blood" into Ukrainian politics. However, on the other hand, it is a kind of advance for young politicians – despite positive public attitude towards them, they are not the people on whom people rely in the Rada election. The presence of people whose activities can be evaluated is a major advantage for Narodniy Front party.



Of all the parties that can be described as representatives of the previous government, the only viable project that is able to make it to the Rada independently is S. Tihipko's "Sylna Ukraine". The split in the Party of Regions has adversely affected them. Moreover, the Communist Party of Ukraine is very likely to get into the future Verkhovna Rada since it has extremely stable, dutiful, and disciplined voters.

O. Liashko's political party will probably make it into the Parliament since Liashko has a very high personal rating. However, it is unknown who is in the Radical Party apart from its leader. Of course, new blood can be expected although it is possible that we will have something similar to Chernovetskyi Bloc but at the national level.

As to the consolidation of "DemAlliance" party and A. Hrytsenko's "Hromadyanska Positcia", this is the right move. In the party of Hrytsenko, who transmitted his own rating to the party, almost no other worthy candidates except the leader himself can be detected, and some candidates on the list are almost random personalities. He did not win from this union electorally but it will strengthen the human potential of his political party. Without the "Hromadyanska Positcia", "DemAlliance" will not make it to the Verkhovna Rada.

Generally, I do not agree with the idea that parliamentary election is the best lustration because above

all, executive and judiciary zbranches need purge.

Full text

Director of Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre Andriy BYCHENKO



V. Musiyaka's comment on the Law "On the Special Order of Local Government in Some Raions of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts"

I will not cover the political aspect of this issue (why and what for it was done) but I think that nowadays it is unacceptable to take such steps without talking to the people or explaining them the opinion. For many questions arise on the verge of hysteria, and not only from experts but also from ordinary people who are shocked by this law. Even if this law was necessary, and if the president who submitted this bill to the Verhovna Rada was forced to go that way, there are questions about the text of the document.

This new law is not consistent with the provisions of the Constitution and current legislation. I will dwell upon several such differences. Before announcing a special election, the powers of current councils and mayors should be terminated. This has not been done. Moreover, these powers can be terminated only on clearly defined grounds. So after the VR would have issued a decision with the list of administrative units (which, I repeat, has not been done), the following decision should have been taken – to terminate the powers of local councils and mayors. The ground for this should be a court decision or conclusions of the commission of a relevant VR committee. Moreover, what is this – bringing the law into effect when militants, terrorists, and Russian troops are there? Who will deal

with the election there? Furthermore, who will vote there? People are running away massively, there are no voters there. They say the law was adopted to reinforce Minsk agreements. But what are these agreement, and, most importantly, with whom? Even considering them, it is stated that special election will be held after the cessation of hostilities, disarmament of the militants, withdrawal of the Russian troops, and establishing the border – the border of this "area with special order". The algorithm of all these actions should have been set first, starting from the withdrawal of armed forces, and up to the return of people to their homes, and only then calling a special election. For whom is the election held, if not for the people who live there?



Furthermore, according to Paragraph 2, page 5, "The powers of deputies of local councils and officials elected in the special election, and appointed by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine hereby, shall not be terminated." What if these councils or officials act anticonstitutionally or violate laws? Their powers still cannot be terminated?

People are also outraged by the fact that these "special areas" will continue to burden the state budget of Ukraine. Y. Lutsenko commented on this that we should not have read headlines but the law itself, where it was stated that there would be no funding from the state budget. However, here is the quote from Article 7, "The Law on the State Budget of Ukraine provides for annual spending allocated to the state support of social and economic development of some raions of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts. Ukraine guarantees the definition of such spending from the general fund of the

state budget of Ukraine through approved spending whose amount cannot change in case of the reduction of approved budget allocations."

According to the law, the units of people's police are to be formed in these areas. But which law of Ukraine defines the powers of this police? How will its work be coordinated with the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs? The law says, "The units of people's police protecting public order shall implement the powers provided for them by the laws of Ukraine." I have read the current Law On Police - there is not a word about any people's police. If there is such a need, a separate law on "people's" police must be written and adopted. The provision on prosecution and courts also makes no sense at all: "In some raions of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, the laws of Ukraine introduce a special procedure for the appointment of heads of prosecution and courts, which provides for participation of the local government in addressing these issues."

There is a general procedure for the appointment of heads of these institutions provided by the Constitution. If it was necessary, another way – more civilised – could have been chosen. For example, to adopt a law on conducting an experiment of decentralisation in some areas and include regulations which, to some extent, go beyond the constitutional provisions and current legislation. Instead of the way it was done, it would be better to say that in some areas of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblast, the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine are terminated – at least it would have been honest.

I think this law is unacceptable and unable to function. First of all, because there is no subject to which it should be applied – it does not exist.

No matter what happens and what laws are adopted, it is clear that it will not stop the massacre. It is obvious, and it is very sad.

Full text

Legal Research Fellow of the Razumkov Centre Viktor MUSIYAKA

PRESENCE OF COMBATS ON PARTY LISTS INDICATES THAT PUBLIC PRIORITIES HAVE CHANGED

- One political scientist referred to journalists on the lists as "the icing on the cake". What would you call soldiers and battalion commanders in the upper part of the lists?
- I think in general, it would be wrong to say that journalists and military commanders are only the icing on the cake. I think the main approach here is different, and it has several aspects and dimensions. First of all, new faces are really needed, and these faces should be well-known people. This refers to the fact that these new people have not been involved in the political process yet they get a chance to become creators of the new history. The other aspect is that, apparently, the parties that have offered journalists, civic activists, and battalion commanders to run for the election compete with each other not for how many iconic people they can involve in their lists but whose programme these iconic people will find the best.
- Still, speaking of the heroes of combat operations, or, for example, Colonel Y. Mamchur, the hero of the March events in Crimea, who is on the list of Petro Poroshenko Bloc; or S. Semenchenko,

- Commander of Donbas Battalion, is on the list of A. Sadovyi's "Samopomich" party...
 - First of all, we should mention Nadiya Savchenko!
- Of course, N. Savchenko on the list of Batkivshchyna is probably the most discussed topic in the media today. We know that the Ukrainian pilot has not been released on bail in Voronezh. Do you think Savchenko's name on the list will help the process of her release?
- I think it may become one of the things that will contribute to her release, and because she will be able to use her opportunities, abilities, and willingness for Ukraine. I would like to emphasise, it may! Or may not become such a help immediately.

Full text

Leading Expert of Political and Legal Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Viktor ZAMIATIN

National Security and Defence

UKRAINE IS DEFENDING THE EASTERN BORDER OF THE EURO-ATLANTIC AREA

- The plans of Russia to create "a system of global blitzkrieg attack" and the successful launch of "Bulava" indicate that not only Ukraine but the whole world has to deal with the Russian military threat?
- This is an absolutely fair remark because now Russia is trying to demonstrate its power in every way, and this message goes at least in two directions – outside and inside the country. I am not sure that its focus is on external enemies – it is rather to show Russian people how powerful they are, and that, metaphorically speaking, they got up off their knees.



The recent launch of "Bulava" was preceded by a dozen of unsuccessful tests. Since this launch was successful, it oddly coincided with another Putin's appointment of himself – Head of the Commission of the Military-

Industrial Complex. There is certain symbolism here, and, most importantly, a powerful message to Russian society.

- Putin has stated before that NATO was using the conflict in Ukraine to "revive the Alliance". Do these words have a grain of truth, given numerous statements that the functions of NATO have become demonstrative over the last years?
- One of the objectives set in the Russian foreign and security policy doctrine is hindering the movement of NATO to the east. By his actions, in particular by creating a crisis in Ukraine, Putin has kick-started the revision of turnabout of NATO members and revision of the positions on their own defence. Now Putin is trying to accuse NATO of using the crisis. In fact, he should be given credit for pushing the Alliance to revise the actual mission and realise the need to maintain the defence capability of NATO.

– When Ukraine is neither a member nor an ally of NATO, how can the Alliance help?

We talk too much about assistance from the Alliance. I think it is not an entirely correct definition of the issue. Ukraine is a NATO partner, our relations are formalised. So, first of all, we should speak as a partner, especially when it comes to certain kinds of assistance. Ukraine has helped certain members of the Alliance a lot. However, this is not the most important thing – the most important is the fact that the country is defending the eastern border of Europe and the entire Euro-Atlantic area at its eastern border. The position for talking to partners in NATO is: "This is our joint fight, if you recognise it, you should think not about helping Ukraine first but about helping the entire Euro-Atlantic area and the West to counter the threat coming from the East".

- After years of destruction of the army, which of the current military units can be distinguished as effective, and to which ones particular attention should be paid?
- I would say that there are at least five priorities that are quite obvious — the latest small arms, reconnaissance assets, special operations forces, aviation, and medical care. The complete answer to the question should be given by experts in the Comprehensive Review of the Security and Defence Sector. This is a complex long process, and it was not Ukraine that came up with it.

It is extremely harmful to try looking for quick answers at the level of top leadership and immediately allocate funds to certain areas because in one, two, or three years, it may prove unnecessary and require additional funds to support the forces and priorities defined by mistake.

Full <u>text</u>

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



HOW THE WALL AT THE BORDER WITH RUSSIA WILL LOOK LIKE

- How will the wall at the border in Donbas look like?
- It is extremely difficult to say what will be presented under the guise of this project in the end. Here it would be more appropriate to talk about, on one hand, a range of engineering structures for demarcation which will simply mark the border, and on the other hand, for defence. Buildings ensuring control over the border will be additionally equipped. Basically, these are the same posts, ditches, and concrete or sand revetments. At the parts of the border with water barriers, the buildings will differ. Water areas are barriers themselves. It is enough to place there some artillery, or equip positions for final protective fire. This will be enough.

– Is this enough for full defence of the border?

– This is the 20th project like that in the world, and all of them are not usually intended to defend but to protect the country from smuggling and illegal immigrants. Only in some cases it is defence.

What is important is that I do not know at what extent it is necessary to implement this project now. Now much more important is to address the issue of closing or at least gaining control over the Ukrainian-Russian border, over its uncontrolled area. At least, by expanding the OSCE monitoring group. I am not sure that management of the controlled area is more important now. At least because in the direction of

Chernihiv, only certain areas need to be equipped as swamp occupies a large area where equipment can not work.

- What period of time are we talking about?
- Before talking about time, we should ask ourselves when we will regain uncontrolled border areas.

A controlled area can be equipped in 6–8 months. If to engage in it seriously, and if there are means.

- What countries have similar walls at the border?
- There are plenty of similar projects in the world
 from walls to fortifications. We will not come up with some new project. Each country solves its own tasks.

For example, in Israel, the wall with Palestine is of both commercial and defensive nature. Commercial as to the prevention of smuggling. The defensive nature of this wall is rather limited. According to Israeli experts, it provides protection from sniper fire on open positions and nothing more.

Full text

Director of Military Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI

Economy

MILITARY CONFLICT IN DONBAS WILL REDUCE INVESTMENT ATTRACTIVENESS OF UKRAINE

After a drop by 11 points last year, Ukraine regained eight points in the Global Competitiveness Index by World Economic Forum. In 2013–2014, the country ranked 76th among 144 countries. Next year, another loss of 6–10 points in the WEF rankings awaits Ukraine. The key role in this fall will play the deterioration of general economic factors as well as the reduction of investment attractiveness due to military confrontation in Donbas. Infrastructure destruction, a decline in production, and difficulties in organising the single tax system and economic management system will adversely effect future ranking. Furthermore, the willingness of investors to invest in Ukraine will lower soon.

The government should focus on four key areas to increase competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy – deregulation; protecting investors and owners; improving access to international financial markets; and reducing the fiscal burden for businesses. Most experts recommend to start reducing the tax burden with lowering the payroll tax. The recently introduced defence contribution, on the contrary, increased these costs.

Full <u>text</u>

Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl YURCHYSHYN

DUE TO SANCTIONS RUSSIA WILL HAVE TO REDUCE SOCIAL SPENDING

The EU sanctions will strike the oil business in Russia, which will also lead to serious economic and social problems. However, Putin has long ignored public opinion, and is ready to do anything for the "higher purpose".

The energy sector has a very strong influence on Russia, especially on the oil sector, as oil revenues play a prominent role in the Russian budget. The entire oil deficit reached approximately 10% of the GDP – this is a remarkably high number. Furthermore, sanctions will limit Russia's abilities in transportation and development of new fields located in remote regions. All this may stir a wave of social unrest since oil profits allow to fund high social spending.

Also, Russian ruble has suffered because of price fluctuation in the oil market. At the same time, depreciation of oil is now happening in the market, which always means that the Russian currency will lose value because the Russian ruble rate depends on oil prices.

However, despite negative consequences, Russia continues to compete with the international community, and is trying to create the illusion of a strong state.

Full text

Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl YURCHYSHYN

FOR MANY UKRAINIAN PRODUCERS IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO COMPETE IN THE EU MARKET

We should proceed from the fact that the export model targeted at the production of goods with low value added is actually not possible. Ukraine is trying to enter civilised markets. The goods produced should be competitive not only in some narrow niche (for example, metallurgy) that are highly dependent on external conditions.



For a lot of our companies with traditional energy intensive production and low value added goods, it will be extremely difficult to quickly modernise and sustain competition in the European market. Companies that have such experience, or that are now ready to cooperate, can continue working with Europe.

Companies that mainly worked with Russia should seek less demanding markets. There are huge markets where our products can actually be in demand, including former Soviet republics — for example, Kazakhstan, which is ahead of Ukraine in many reforms and structural economic transformations. However, contacts and cooperation can be quite fruitful.

The markets of China and India are very promising for Ukrainian exporters. Moreover, these countries may be also interested in investing in our companies. For them, this is also an opportunity to expand their presence in the European markets through Ukraine, which will gradually integrate into the European Union.

Full text

Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl YURCHYSHYN

PRESERVATION OF THE ONE-SIDED ACCESS TO THE EU MARKET IS PROFITABLE FOR UKRAINE

There is no reason to panic because of the postponement of implementation of the free trade zone with the EU for the Ukrainian economy. This is not about some kind of delay of the Association, or changing the vector of development of Ukraine. This comes to the fact that implementation of some provisions is postponed for some time — a year. It is the part related to the free trade zone that is postponed. Preferences and benefits of entering the European area remain for Ukraine, and the Ukrainian economy will remain as protected as it is today. Thus, the most favourable conditions for Ukraine are preserved.

Here I fully agree with Head of the European Commission Mr Barroso who said that Europe gave Ukraine an additional preferential year. During this year, Ukrainians will have completely free access to European markets, which will help to adjust. Security of the Ukrainian market will allow to intensify efforts and find better methods to improve competitiveness. For Ukraine, this situation is more profitable than if the free trade zone was fully established and implemented within two to three moths.



As to Russia, I think these issues are made up by Russia. Even if the free trade zone of Ukraine and Russia existed, there is a proven global framework of defining the origin of goods. The framework is smooth–running so there would be no problem for European goods to enter Russia through Ukraine in transit easily. Therefore, Russia's fears related to the fact that there will be a flow of low-quality goods from Ukraine to Russia are rather far-fetched. Another thing is that the competitiveness of Russian economy remains low, and it needs more protection.

For Ukraine, I stress again, the current situation and postponement of immediate implementation of the free trade zone is a more profitable option.

Furthermore, it is very important for Ukraine that investment starts coming in. Now the situation complicated because of military operations and concerns of the investors. However, there is hope that the situation will improve a bit, or at least will be preserved. We can therefore expect that investors will be more confident and enter Ukraine because it has free access to markets of the European Union. This is an extra attraction for investors, which is now very important for Ukraine. If we had more foreign investment from Europe, Europeans would defend Ukraine from external aggression more actively. For economic benefits would be clearer to Europeans. Now the Europeans are careful because they see and feel the economic consequences of the deterioration of relations with Russia (at least connected with gas supply) when the economic benefits of Ukraine's integration for them are still rather conditional. If there were more European investors in Ukraine, the situation with Russian aggression would evolve differently.

Full text

Director of Economic Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Vasyl YURCHYSHYN

Society

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO RAISE WAGES FOR STATE WORKERS

The problem of the depreciation of labour, especially in public sector, continues to grow. Teachers and doctors are the categories of professionals who are most affected by this situation as, in order to provide for their families properly, they have to occupy several jobs – instead of continuous self-improvement.

The price of labour is formed primarily by the state by setting the so-called minimum wage. In Ukraine, it has recently been at the level of the living wage, which has not been calculated since 2000, and does not meet even current basic human needs. Now, it is not objectively possible to raise wages in the public sector, due to the difficult situation in Ukraine. In particular, for teachers and doctors. Furthermore, the salary and

various bonuses for certain categories of teachers and health workers are paid out of local budgets, which are now in an even worse condition than the state budget. Therefore, it is possible to raise wages of teachers and/or doctors only when reducing wages of other categories of employees. This is unacceptable.

Director of Social Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Liudmyla SHANHINA



Energy

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE UKRAINIAN GPS REQUIRES STABILISATION OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMY

It is hard to say why so much time passed between the adoption of the law "On bringing amendments to some laws of Ukraine with respect to reforming the system of management of the Unified Gas Transportation System (the "GTS") of Ukraine" by the Parliament (second reading and adoption of the law occurred on 14 August) and its signing by the President. The Law follows the Government's plans to change the ownership structure of the GTS by offering European and American investors up to a 49% share in the company.



As to potential investors after the law coming into force, one should not expect that these investors will queue up to invest in the Ukrainian gas pipeline system. This was rather a strategic move that provides potential after the situation improves in the Ukrainian economy and, in particular, gas sector – then, one can expect some investors to come in. Now it is too early to talk about it.

The law states that the majority stake remains with Ukraine in any case since the GPS cannot go under general control of Germany, the U.S., or other companies.

I think attracting a serious investor is likely to happen only in 2–3 years. However, appropriate reforms are required – not only for the gas sector but to stabilise the entire Ukrainian economy.

Full text

Director of Energy Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO

OIL PRICE REDUCTION DOES NOT MEET THE ECONOMIC INTEREST OF OPEC MEMBERS

- Why the major global exporter of oil, Saudi Arabia, does not want to reduce the oil price?
- Saudi Arabia and other members of OPEC will not benefit from oil price reduction because they have their own economic interests. OPEC thinks that the oil price below \$100 will create fiscal problems for countries in the cartel. They have their own social programmes, and they do not want the escalation of social issues, which are now emerging in the Arab countries. This is, so to speak, another civilisation that does not want to sacrifice its interests or welfare for someone else.
- The U.S. promised to help Saudi Arabia in the fight against the organisation Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.
- OPEC includes 13 countries, and there has never been unity. Of course, the key player is Saudi Arabia, and if it decides to take this step, it will have to consider the position of other oil exporting countries. However, most OPEC countries are still interested in high prices.

- Can the U.S. independently, without any help of Saudi Arabia, reduce the oil price?
- The main factor affecting the market price of oil is, first of all, the discount rate of the Federal Reserve System of the United States. Thus, the U.S. can bring the oil price down very quickly. However, the U.S. consider it not only as a geopolitical task but also how it will affect domestic economy. Increasing the discount rate of the Federal Reserve System will make access to capital more difficult for American companies. So the U.S. want to lower oil prices not at the expense of their welfare but of someone else's. This is a normal selfish position, and it is not surprising at all.

Full text

Director of Energy Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO

THE EU IS INTERESTED IN REVERSE GAS SUPPLY TO UKRAINE

In the EU, gas storages are full now. All the parties in Europe are interested in Ukrainian storages having as much gas as possible because this ensures reliable fuel supply for European countries in winter. They think about themselves first, and, therefore, they are filling up the storage. European companies will try to save this reverse, and we will see how their abilities will meet the balance. Moreover, Slovakia is not a country that sells gas to Ukraine but a transit country.

Slovakia as a transit country has signed a contract with Ukraine on gas transit – not supply – since the reverse gas that Ukraine receives comes under the contracts with other European companies, not Slovak. These contracts can guarantee reverse gas to Ukraine, and we should not count on negotiation with Russia.

Russia wants to continue to use gas supply for political influence on Ukraine, and Ukraine insists that gas should be a commercial product only. It makes no sense to talk to the country that makes political terms for commercial trade – this is a useless conversation. Now it is possible to negotiate with Russia only if surrendering. Ukraine will not benefit from such negotiation on gas because Russia makes only political terms here.

Full text

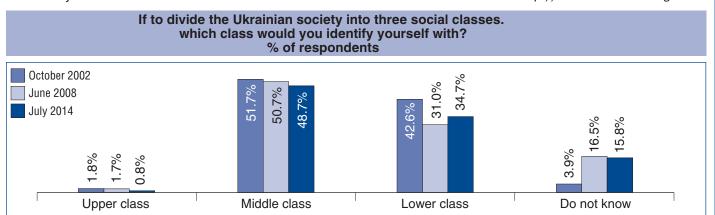
Director of Energy Programmes of the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr OMELCHENKO

Sociology

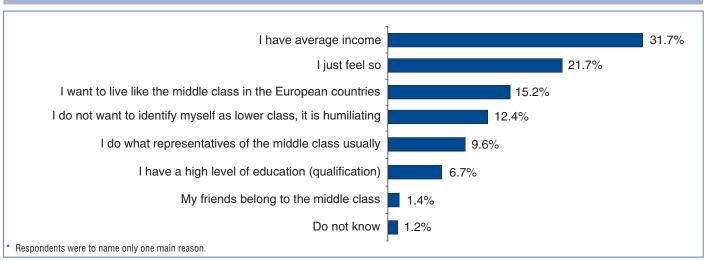
This issue of the newsletter presents some findings of the pilot study conducted by the Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre within the project "Middle class in Ukraine: life values, readiness to the association, and promoting democratic standards" on 19-24 July 2014.

The results of this study will be available in more detail in the publication Middle Class in Ukraine: Identification Criteria, which will be published soon.

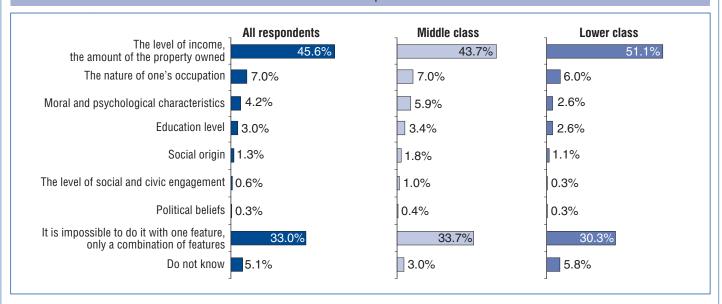
More information on findings of the public opinion polls conducted by the Razumkov Centre is available on the Razumkov Centre website http://www.razumkov.org.ua.



Why do you identify yourself as middle class?* % of those who identified themselves as middle class



What are the main features to identify a person as middle class? % of respondents



News of the Razumkov Centre

EXPERT DISCUSSION "THE PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT"

On 17 September 2014, the expert discussion "The prospects for settlement of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and definition of the format of international relations in the long term" was held. The discussion was attended by representatives of the leading think tanks of Ukraine, including Visiting International Security Research Consultant of the Razumkov Centre James Sherr

THE MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (IFRI)

On 17 September 2014, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting with the representative of the French Institute of International Relations, Head of Russia–Newly Independent States Centre Ms Tatiana Kastoueva–Jean.



The French Institute of International Relations (IFRI, http://www.ifri.org) is a leading French think tank which specialises in the issues of international policy and security.

At the meeting, the Razumkov Centre was represented by Deputy Director, Director of Political and Legal Programmes Y. Yakymenko, and Co-director of Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes M. Pashkov.

At the meeting, they discussed the prospects of peaceful settlement in eastern Ukraine in the conditions of Russian aggression, the issues of practical implementation of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, and possible impact of the early parliamentary election on it, response of the international community to new challenges arising from the aggression of Russia against Ukraine, and the Russian threat for former post-Soviet countries, including the EU members.

The meeting resulted into the agreement to cooperate in the implementation of the project of the Razumkov Centre on the prospects of the Ukrainian–Russian relations under the new circumstances.

THE VISIT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE JAPANESE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

On 17 September 2014, the Razumkov Centre hosted a meeting with representatives of the Institute for International Policy Studies (one of the leading think tanks in Japan) — Senior Research Fellow Futoshi Matsumoto and Research Fellow Junichi Fukuda. The meeting was attended by Co-director of Foreign Relations and International Security Programmes O. Melnyk and Leading Expert of Political and Legal Programmes V. Zamiatin. They discussed the issues of the occupied raions of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, the situation with the Minsk Protocol and the ceasefire,



and the issues of the international standing of Ukraine and international security.

EXPERTS OF THE RAZUMKOV CENTRE ATTENDED THE RIGA CONFERENCE 2014

On 12-13 September 2014, the ninth annual highlevel meeting of local and global security policymakers and experts was held, organised by the Latvian Transatlantic Organisation (LATO) in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence of Latvia.

At the conference, the Razumkov Centre was represented by Valeriya Klymenko, Expert of the Razumkov Centre, and James Sherr, Visiting International Security Research Consultant of the Razumkov Centre.

The two-day event, convened during the 10th anniversary of Latvia's accession to NATO and the EU, and on the eve of Latvia's first EU Council Presidency, gathered more than 420 participants, including heads of state, ministers, diplomats, experts, academics and journalists.

The Riga Conference 2014 was filled with lively discussions about challenges and opportunities of the global economy, security threats and relations with Russia. One of the sessions was dedicated to the situation in Ukraine, where the participants analysed possible development scenarios of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict as well as its impact on the global security. Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute Andrey Illarionov criticised the U.S. and the EU's lack of decisive action against Russia, since, in his opinion, it is not possible to end the Russian-Ukrainian war through peaceful negotiation. Director of the Kennan Institute Matthew Rojansky refuted this criticism as unproductive, pointing that the U.S. military involvement



in Ukraine could only escalate the ongoing situation. Overall, the participants expressed their support for Ukraine and its European aspirations, and stressed that the West must continue pushing Russia beyond the pain threshold, however conducting a dialogue is also necessary.

UKRAINIAN CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDIES

NAMED AFTER OLEKSANDR RAZUMKOV

Address: 01015, Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine
Telephone (044) 201 11 98, fax (044) 201 11 99
Feedback: newsletter@razumkov.org.ua