

## NOTICE

There is simply no way to keep current on events in Ukraine – things are happening so fast that both what is happening and the consequences of what is happening are not having time to catch up with each other. What do I mean? The Rada is acting as one – political party is irrelevant, over one-third of the members of the Party of Regions deputies are present and they are voting with everyone else – they are passing things –dismissal of the procurator, etc. (the things the Maidan was made about not having happened yesterday) and no one on the Maidan (but a few blocks away) knows it is happening because they are focused on the funerals of the murdered patriots. (The Maidan needs to know!)

There is no way I can include everything or stay up-to-date, but I have tried to provide here quick notes on things in the *News Shorts* section (in no chronological or other order I am afraid) and include news articles and other items of which I think you should be aware – perhaps especially several *Opinion* items. And, as always, don't forget the *Russia* section – need to try to keep abreast what is going on there – eventually maybe even our government will recognize Putin is not a partner, ally, or needed whatever but one who, at best, thwarts American interests at every turn.



### **Before and After – the Maidan in Kyiv**

**But the publication’s suggestion we have reached an “After” is not going to be confirmed by events, not yet.**

## **NEWS SHORTS**

### **NEWS**

***Kyiv Post*** - Protesters threaten violence if Yanukovych doesn't resign now

***CNN*** - 'Sadness,' uncertainty in Ukraine even after landmark deal

***The Wall Street Journal*** - Cathedral Turns Into Hospital as Ukraine Protests Worsen

***The Hill*** - Menendez pushes for Ukraine sanctions

***The New York Times*** - Embattled Ukraine President Signs Compromise Deal as Parliament Votes to Free His Imprisoned Rival

***Kyiv Post*** - Amid Kiev Violence, 2 Men Design a Kids' Book About Forgiveness

***Business of the Kluyev brothers***

### **JUST ASKING**

### **FREEDOM HOUSE**

***Freedom House*** - EU, US Must Reinforce Agreement in Ukraine through Sanctions

If the people actually accept the agreement the EU and US will probably will need to start by reminding Yanukovich over and over as to what he agreed to in the agreement.

## STATEMENTS

**Statement of the White House**

**Statements of Illinois Senators Richard Durbin and Mark Kirk**

**Statement of Congressman Chris Smith, Co-Chair of the Helsinki Commission**

**Statement of Congressman Sander Levin and the other Co-Chairs of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus**

## CANADIAN SANCTIONS - Ukraine: economic sanctions and expanded travel ban

## OPINION

*Brzezinski Interview*

[RealTime Economic Issues Watch – Anders Ausland – Yanukovich is nearing his end](#)

*Ukrainska Pravda* - Yanukovich , Akhmetov and Firtash must pay real price -- not pittance to Maidan

*Myroslav Marynovych* - What Can Ukraine Expect From the West?

## SAJEWYCH

## CARTOONS

## RUSSIA

*Reuters* - Eight anti-Putin protesters convicted in Russian 'show trial'

By God – Colonel Putin isn't going to allow anything like a EuroMaidan in his country!

*Window on Eurasia*: Russians Must Stop Believing Three 'Stupid' Myths about Ukraine, Krasheninnikov Says

*Window on Eurasia*: More Russians See Crimea as Russian than Think of Chechnya or Daghestan That Way, Poll Finds

*Window on Eurasia*: Moscow's Approach to Ukraine Seen Exacerbating Ethnic Conflicts inside Russia

## NEWS SHORTS

- Death toll - total death toll from Kyiv clashes has reached 77 by 6 p.m. on Feb. 21, the Ukrainian Health Ministry said on Friday.

And, if you have had access, the pictures of the open caskets funerals on the Maidan are gripping. Parents, fellow protestors, and total strangers remembering the lives, the energy and hopes of those who gave their lives.

- And from what seems like a parallel universe comes a Saturday statement from Ukraine's Interior Ministry – which is blamed for the killing of the protestors -- “In this difficult moment in modern Ukrainian history, the personnel of the interior ministry declare that they serve exclusively the Ukrainian people and completely supports the aspirations of citizens for swift change.”
  - In a move that elicited cheers outside on Independence Square and inside the Ukrainian Parliament, lawmakers on Friday voted to allow the release of imprisoned former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, an opposition leader and arch-rival of embattled President Viktor Yanukovich.
    - o Who knows what might happen next – and when – but the whole Tymoshenko epic, perhaps the dumbest most self-indulgent and self-destructive move by the vengeful Yanukovich will be remembered as unnecessary and symbolic.
  - The Ukrainian State Border Service has eased border crossing regulations for those injured during the disturbances in the capital city and who require medical treatment abroad.
    - o Surely to be seen as good news one still has to remember the disgrace that the injured are afraid to be taken to Ukrainian hospitals.
  - **Moscow has reaffirmed its commitment to assist in searching for compromises restoring law and order in Ukraine.**
    - o **Now, doesn't this just reassure you that things will go well? KGB Colonel Putin is the single biggest barrier to freedom and liberty for the people of Ukraine.**
  - In this context it will be important to read everything below – the *Statements* section includes well-meaning expressions, along with the one from the White House which seems a bit out of touch to me, while several very recent items in the *Opinion* section – especially today's from *Ukrainska Pravda* – provide a clear sense that nothing is over and “the deal” may have thankfully stopped the bloodshed but not the confrontation.
  - A bill on the impeachment of the president of Ukraine has been registered in parliament. The bill was registered under No. 4171 on Feb. 21, 2014.
  - Rada has elected a new Speaker - Oleksandr Turchynov of Tymoshenko's party.
  - The Mezhyhirya – Yanukovich's opulent manor house has been opened to the public and tours are underway!!!!
  - A call has gone out from the Rada to find out where the current (so far) President is at this time. Growing reports indicate he has left the country.
  - The Party of Regions is holding a big rally in Kharkiv planning for a comeback – most speakers attacking those on the Maidan as terrorists and the United States for being the United States (what are they complaining about – we haven't done much?). Regions say they were elected to protect their culture (Russian) and their language (Russian). Yanukovich was expected by some to be in Kharkiv but he isn't.
  - Reports from our sources in the heart of the supposed Regions/Russia east indicate that what is happening has to do with rallies of government employees mostly, that the general citizenry is basically confused and disoriented, but sick of Yanukovich and the thieves who have been stealing everything.
- 
- 
-

## NEWS

*Kyiv Post*

# Protesters threaten violence if Yanukovich doesn't resign now

Feb. 21, 2014, 11:42 p.m. | Politics — by [Kyiv Post](#)



Opposition protesters gather around a catapult near the barricade on Grushevskogo street in Kiev on February 21, 2014. Ukraine's embattled leader signed a deal on February 21 with the opposition in a bid to end the ex-Soviet country's worst crisis since independence after three days of carnage left nearly 100 protesters dead. But President Viktor Yanukovich's dramatic decision to hold early elections and form a new unity government while granting amnesty for those involved in the violence was met with scepticism or even hostility by nearly 40,000 protesters who gathered on central Kiev's main square -- many of them frustrated the leader was not stepping down. AFP PHOTO / SANDRO MADDALENA

President Viktor Yanukovich received an ultimatum from militant protesters on EuroMaidan:

Resign now or else.

Hostility to a deal reached between Yanukovich and opposition flared on Independence Square the night of Feb. 21. Anti-government protesters say the deal does not go far enough because it allows Yanukovich to stay in power until an early election in December, rather than resign immediately.

When opposition leaders spoke to protesters from the main stage about the deal, a member of one of the "people's self-defense" units interrupted and took to the stage with this threat:

"77 people died, and they are still negotiating. I ask you to support us in this. I speak from my unit - if you (opposition leaders) don't make a statement demanding Yanukovich's resignation by 10 a.m. tomorrow, we will go with the weapons, I swear it." The man, who goes by the nickname Bandera (after legendary Ukrainian nationalist Stepan Bandera who lived from 1909 to 1959), could not be immediately reached.

*A protester threatens to take up arms if President Viktor Yanukovich doesn't resign immediately.*

Vitali Klitschko, leader of the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform, attempted to calm the crowd down. He said the demands need to be realistic. But the crowd, still incensed by the slayings of 77 people this week, booed Klitschko.

Oleh Yavorsky, a member of Maidan's self-defense, and private entrepreneur, supported the fellow protester's call.

"We were waiting for Yanukovich to resign for three months and after he killed 77 people no delays can be accepted," Yavorsky said. "I support the idea to storm him with weapons, we are not afraid of anything now, we are ready to die."



People carry the coffin of an anti-government protester killed during clashes with the riot police in central Kiev on February 21, 2014. Ukraine's leader and opposition on Friday signed a deal to end the splintered country's worst crisis since independence after three days of carnage left nearly 100 protesters dead. President Viktor Yanukovich's dramatic decision to hold early elections and form a new unity government was met with caution by the tens of thousands gathered on central Kiev's main square for a protest that began exactly three months earlier. AFP PHOTO / BULENT KILIC

There was no immediate response from the Yanukovich administration to this threat.

In a deal midwived on Feb. 20-21 by the foreign ministers of France, Germany and Poland, Yanukovich agreed for early elections “no later than December,” adoption of a 2004 constitution that weakens presidential powers and a new coalition government to be appointed in the next 10 days.

But the deal does not have support from many groups leading the three-month-old protesters. The sentiment among critics is that the political opposition squandered a position of strength. International outrage against Yanukovich quickly mounted after the deaths, prompting the European Union and United States to apply financial and visa sanctions against top Ukrainian officials. Moreover, Yanukovich is losing support with the defections of lawmakers from his own party as well as police officers.

"We have to state the obvious fact that the criminal regime has not yet realized either the gravity of its evil doings, not wrath of the people," according to a statement by the militant Right Sector, which has been on the front lines of clashes with police.

Dmytro Yarosh, the Right Sector leader, also demands the arrest of Interior Minister Vitaliy Zakharchenko, rather than merely his resignation. He also wants commanders of Berkut riot-control police arrested as well as removal of the head of the Security Service of Ukraine, the general prosecutor and defense minister. Yarosh also demanded investigations into the violence against protesters.

“We are inclined to see this statement of Yanukovych as another attempt at window dressing. The people's revolution continue and it will end with full removal from power ... and the people's occupation of it,” Yarosh said.



The head of the Udar (Punch) party Vitali Klitschko speaks to a man as anti-government protesters gather on Independence Square in Kiev on February 21, 2014. Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych and three main opposition leaders signed a deal on February 21 to end a three-month crisis over the ex-Soviet country's political future that has led to nearly 100 deaths. The pact paving the way for early elections and a shift in political power toward parliament was signed in the Blue Hall of the presidential palace in the presence of three EU envoys, an AFP correspondent said. AFP PHOTO / BULENT KILIC

Parliament, which voted on Feb. 21 to return to the 2004 Constitution that curbs presidential powers and strengthens parliamentary ones, also voted to free opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko from prison and remove Zakharchenko from office.

At least member of the 450-seat parliament also doesn't think the deal goes far enough to punish Yanukovych and has introduced legislation to impeach him.

The Right Sector also said that the murdered protesters should be awarded Hero of Ukraine status, and their families should get pensions for life from the state.



## 'Sadness,' uncertainty in Ukraine even after landmark deal



Will the Ukraine truce last?

The agreement -- hashed out overnight and into the afternoon among Ukrainian leaders, opposition figures and European Union representatives -- drew some cheers when it was announced to the Maidan crowd.

One of the main opposition leaders, Vitali Klitschko, took the stage a short time later. He got a notably frostier reception, contending that the government was trying to divide the protesters, before walking off to a handful of jeers.

Later, a protester -- not a leader, not part of any political group, just an ordinary Ukrainian he insisted -- expressed disappointment with the deal and proposed that action should be taken if President Viktor Yanukovich doesn't resign by 10 a.m. Saturday.

Another protester, Viola Danis, said simply the deal is "not enough."

"This agreement does not pay for the life of my friend and the lives of the Ukrainian people," she said.

As the crisis brewed in Kiev, Yanukovich is believed to have gone to eastern Ukraine, said a senior U.S. State Department official who talked to reporters on condition of not being identified. The same official characterized such travel by the President as "not unusual."

While the government revolves around Yanukovich, there is not a single face of the opposition. Its demonstrators have strong and varying opinions about what they'd accept -- and what they'd be willing to do if these standards aren't met.

Thus, while there is an apparent truce, there's not peace in the Ukraine. Uncertainty, anger and anxiety still predominating, helping to paralyze parts of this Eastern European nation.

"It's not possible to work in this environment, not to study, (not) to do nothing," said another protester by the name of Alexei. "Basically everything has stopped and we're waiting for this situation to resolve. And it's really exhausting."

Deal calls for cutting powers, end to occupation Friday was a day of action -- but unlike on Tuesday and Thursday, thankfully, the action happened in meeting rooms and Parliament, rather than in pitched battles on the streets.

The first, biggest announcement on this front was the landmark agreement calling for cutting the president's power and rolling back the Constitution to what it had been in 2004. According to a draft posted on the German Foreign Office's website, further constitutional reforms must be completed by September.

"Good compromise for Ukraine. Gives peace a chance. Opens the way to reform and to Europe," Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski said via Twitter.

The deal also requires presidential elections "as soon as the new Constitution is adopted but no later than December 2014."

And there will be an investigation -- conducted by government authorities, opposition figures and European Council representatives -- into the violence.

By then, security forces should've long ago stepped back from a "confrontational posture" with permission to use force only to protect public buildings, per the agreement. And within 48 hours, protesters should have turned in their illegal weapons and withdrawn from streets and public buildings.

But will they?

In a conversation urging a protest leader to accept the deal that was overheard by ITN/ITV, Sikorski pleaded, "If you don't support this, you'll have martial law, you'll have the army. You will all be dead."

The U.S. State Department official acknowledged the agreement is "a very tough sell" for many seething opposition activists, and called the deal "very, very fragile."

### **Parliament acts to free opposition leader**

Hours after that deal was signed, Ukraine's Parliament, the Rada, moved quickly to pass a series of measures seemingly in line with protesters' demands.

The first order of business was to fulfill the first requirement of the agreement -- passing a law to roll back the country's constitution to an earlier version that limits the President's powers.

Other bills called for the dismissal of the nation's interior minister and release of Yulia Tymoshenko, a former prime minister who earlier was a hero of the country's 2004 revolution, and who is a powerful symbol to the opposition.



Photos: Unrest in Ukraine

A year after Tymoshenko lost the 2010 presidential election to Yanukovich and became his fiercest opponent, Ukrainian prosecutors charged her with signing overpriced gas deals with Russian state-owned energy provider Gazprom.

She was convicted and sentenced to seven years in prison at a trial she repeatedly called a farce overseen by a judge she called Yanukovich's "stooge." International observers criticized her trial as being a politically motivated sham.

Even with parliament's action, Tymoshenko's freedom was not expected to be immediate: A court must now act to free her, and other charges pending against her remain in place.

### **Violence erupts**

This wave of unrest began in November, amid anger about Yanukovich's decision to scrap a European Union-oriented trade deal and turn toward Russia.

Russia, which has offered to lend money to cash-strapped Ukraine in a deal worth billions of dollars and to lower its gas prices, has put pressure on Yanukovich to crack down on demonstrators.

Western leaders, who have offered Ukraine a more long-term aid package requiring economic modernization, urged the President to show restraint, open up the government to the opposition and let the democratic process work out.

Yet, fairly soon, it became clear that the discord wasn't just about Ukraine's ties to Europe or Russia, but about larger issues such as corruption and control. The opposition called Yanukovich heavy-handed, with [Kliutschko and others](#) saying protesters wouldn't leave Maidan until the president resigns.

This tension boiled over Tuesday, when security forces waded into a Kiev crowd with water cannons, stun grenades, nightsticks and armored personnel carriers. At least 26 people -- protesters and police alike -- were killed.

Late Wednesday, the government announced it and opposition leaders agreed to a truce and to start talks aimed at a longer-term solution.

But it didn't last, collapsing in unprecedented gore in Kiev and unrest elsewhere in the Ukraine.

Some protesters in the capital appeared to be armed, while men wearing what looked like government uniforms fired what appeared to be automatic weapons and, in at least one case, a sniper rifle. The government later confirmed its police fired at protesters, explaining they did so to protect unarmed officers.

The death toll was far more uneven than on Tuesday: While authorities said three more police died, protesters said more than 100 of their own had been killed.

The fresh blood sparked outrage among Western governments, several of which pushed sanctions against those responsible.

Even after Friday's deal was announced, demonstrators went to graphic lengths to remember the dead -- bringing coffins onto their stage in Independence Square.

Pavel, a demonstrator who identified himself only by his first name, said he'd helped carry away some of those shot Thursday, and he insisted he won't forget, nor will he give up.

"As long as (Yanukovich) is president," he said, "the movement will continue."

[Explainer: What and who are behind Ukraine's political crisis?](#)

[iReport: Protester describes bloodied people being rushed to medics](#)

[U.S. talks tough, but options limited in Ukraine](#)

## ***The Wall Street Journal***

[EUROPE NEWS](#)

# Cathedral Turns Into Hospital as Ukraine Protests Worsen

Volunteer Doctors Do Triage; Priests Direct Traffic

JAMES MARSON

Feb. 20, 2014 12:08 p.m. ET



The hall of the Hotel Ukraine is functioning as a temporary hospital in Kiev. *EPA*

KIEV, Ukraine—In St. Michael's Cathedral, Orthodox priests chanting prayers have been replaced by doctors calling for medicine.

The golden-domed church has been transformed into a field hospital of sorts for protesters injured or worse in days of deadly clashes with police.

Deadly violence grips Kiev as protesters advancing on Parliament are shot at by police with Kalashnikovs and sniper rifles. Via The Foreign Bureau, WSJ's global news update.

"We've had four or five corpses here already today," says Taras Semushchak, a 47-year-old surgeon from Lviv in western Ukraine. "Most had gunshot wounds from snipers and Kalashnikovs."

As [violence erupted again Thursday morning](#), makeshift first-aid treatment points also sprang up in a hotel and in cafes around Kiev's main square, the hub of three months of antigovernment protests.

Stretcher-bearers ran from the front lines carrying casualties, as ambulances raced in and out of the square.

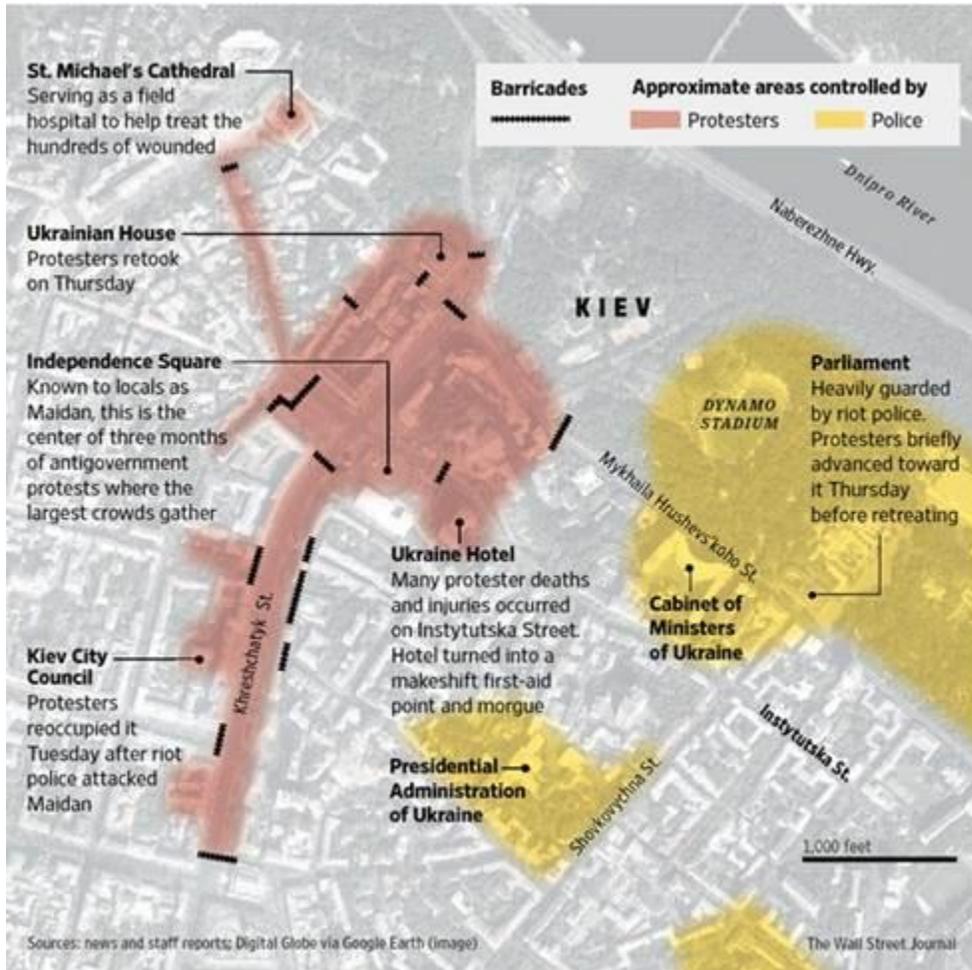
One man was sprawled motionless on his stomach, blood oozing from his forehead. Another, barely conscious, was moaning, his leg covered with blood.

At the Ukraine hotel, just off the square, a half-dozen bodies lay under white sheets in the lobby.

The blue-walled cathedral is a few hundred yards from the front lines.

It is staffed by around two dozen doctors from across the country, and kept supplied with water, medicines and food by a stream of cars, from shiny new SUVs to Soviet-era Ladas.

Dozens of volunteers sorted through boxes and distributed the medicine, prepared meals and sandwiches, and lay out clothes, boots and blankets.



A woman in a fur coat and leopard-print hat rolled in a pink suitcase full of medicine. A half-dozen female students sat in a tent taking names and phone numbers from locals offering accommodation for those in need of a rest. Priests directed cars through the cathedral's gatehouse.



CLEANUP: Antigovernment protesters cleared burned rubble and debris in Independence Square in Kiev on Thursday after recapturing the landmark site in clashes with police. *Getty Images*

"People bring what they can, and we do what we can," said Roman Sutko, a 35-year-old doctor taking a cigarette break outside the building where the most seriously injured are treated.

Mr. Sutko said it was his 14th visit to the capital since protests started late last year, after President Viktor Yanukovich shelved an integration pact with the European Union in favor of closer ties with Russia.

Mr. Sutko said he came to Kiev from Lviv after seeing the violence on Tuesday, when more than two dozen people were killed, after three weeks of relative calm.



Protesters slept on the floor inside the Mikhailovsky Monastery, which has been converted into a makeshift hospital. *Getty Images*

That night, doctors and volunteers grabbed what they could from the main medical center near Kiev's central square as police advanced.

By hand or in cars, they carried medical supplies and equipment up the road to the cathedral, where priests allowed them to set up.



A man hurt in clashes is treated in St. Michael's Cathedral this week. *Reuters*

The most seriously injured were sent to a building adjacent to the cathedral, where doctors did what they could to treat them.

### ***Photos: Clashes in Kiev***

[View Slideshow](#)



Antigovernment protesters carry a man on a stretcher in Independence Square in Kiev on Thursday. *Reuters/Vasily Fedosenko*

Once stabilized, the injured are transferred to the main cathedral building, which was rebuilt on the site of the centuries-old original after Ukraine declared independence from the Soviet Union. The original was destroyed under Stalin.

Lacking high-tech equipment, doctors often have to send the wounded to hospitals. Protesters have for several weeks preferred not to take the injured there, however, as police sometimes come to the hospitals to round up protesters and detain them.

Mr. Sutko, the doctor, said it was the first time he had treated seriously injured people in his 15 years of medical experience.

At home in Lviv, he is a children's doctor. Here, he has also treated young people, 15 and 16 years old, among the injured, he said.

Serhiy Pasevyn, a 41-year-old priest helping direct cars, said the priests were working "for people and for God." He added: "I am praying for a peaceful resolution."

**Write to** James Marson at [james.marson@wsj.com](mailto:james.marson@wsj.com)

## *The Hill*



# Menendez pushes for Ukraine sanctions

By Julian Pecquet



Greg Nash

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations panel laid out his plan Thursday to slap targeted sanctions on Ukrainian government officials, after clashes with protesters left dozens dead.

Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.) vowed to take “legislative action” when Congress returns from recess next week. Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) have been working on sanctions legislation in recent days, as has the top Republican on the committee, Sen. Bob Corker (R-Tenn.).

“We will not stand idly by while the Ukrainian people are targeted and killed on their own streets,” Menendez said in a statement announcing the sanctions push. “I regret that it has come to this, but I have consulted with my colleagues on the committee and in the days ahead we will take legislative action.”

He said the legislation would support the Obama administration’s push to freeze the assets of Ukrainian officials determined to have allowed or carried out state-sanctioned violence against peaceful protesters, while denying the officials visas to the U.S. The bill would also increase support for “democracy, civil society actors, and independent journalists” while temporarily discontinuing assistance to “any organizations possibly involved in repression and violence until necessary reviews is completed.”

Please send tips and comments to Julian Pecquet: [jpecquet@thehill.com](mailto:jpecquet@thehill.com)

---

---

---

## ***The New York Times***

### **EUROPE**

# ***Embattled Ukraine President Signs Compromise Deal as Parliament Votes to Free His Imprisoned Rival***

By **ANDREW E. KRAMER** and **ANDREW HIGGINS** FEB. 21, 2014



Arguments broke out in the Ukrainian Parliament on Friday. Maks Levin/Reuters

KIEV, Ukraine — The embattled president of Ukraine, whose shift toward closer relations with Russia provoked the deadliest political crisis in his country's post-Soviet history, signed a compromise deal on Friday that will diminish his power and watched helplessly as an emboldened Parliament voted overwhelmingly to free his imprisoned rival.

The agreement signed by President Viktor F. Yanukovich and leaders of the opposition commits him to early elections and reduces some presidential authority. Although Russia declined to endorse the deal, and many protesters — suspicious of the president's motives — said they wanted Mr. Yanukovich to resign, opposition leaders said they hoped to persuade the skeptics and end the confrontation.

In a further sign of the president's diminished influence, Parliament voted to allow the release of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who has been imprisoned for more than two years. In a 310-to-54 vote that is veto-proof, lawmakers decriminalized the actions for which she was incarcerated.



Sergey Ponomarev for The New York Times  
***Kiev: Triage in Crisis***

In the Ukrainian capital, triage centers have sprung up around Independence Square, where dozens of people have died in the fighting.

It was not immediately clear when Ms. Tymoshenko might be released from a penitentiary in the eastern city of Kharkiv where she has been serving her sentence since August 2011. But she is still considered one of Mr. Yanukovich's most potent adversaries. Many of her supporters blame Mr. Yanukovich for ordering her imprisonment.

The English-language website of The [Kyiv Post](#) quoted a lawyer for Ms. Tymoshenko, Serhiy Vlasenko, as saying prosecutors must now file a petition to the court to release her, and the entire process could take up to two weeks. Ms. Tymoshenko also would be able to run for office, since she would have no criminal record.

Parliament also approved a pivotal point in the political settlement by taking the first step toward reverting to a previous version of Ukraine's Constitution, which significantly weakens the power of the president. With support from the pro-government party, the Party of Regions, that was required to vote with a constitutional majority, lawmakers annulled amendments to the Constitution adopted after 2008, before Mr. Yanukovich became president. The change was adopted with 386 votes, well above the 300 needed.

Lawmakers also passed an unconditional and blanket amnesty for all participants in the antigovernment protests absolving those in custody or under investigation now and prohibiting future prosecutions of protesters.

They also voted to dismiss the minister of the interior, a reviled figure among protesters.

The votes came hours after word of the political deal reached between Mr. Yanukovych and the main opposition leaders.

Radoslaw Sikorski, the Polish foreign minister and part of a European team that has been pushing for a settlement, said a council representing some protesters in Independence Square in Kiev, the focal point of months of protests, had endorsed the hard-fought deal in a vote, with 34 voting in favor and only two against.

Arseniy Yatsenyuk, one of three opposition members of Parliament who signed the accord with Mr. Yanukovych, acknowledged that it might not go down well with protesters who want Mr. Yanukovych gone, but said they could be persuaded.

## Independence Square in Kiev



009 Photo - Agence France-Presse; 2014 Photo - Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images

“We need to explain, and we need to not only explain, we need to act,” he said after marathon negotiations at the presidential administration building mediated by European and Russian diplomats. “People will never trust any kind of signature. People will trust real action.”

A bigger problem could be a refusal by Russia’s representative to join the Europeans in signing the accord, which suggested Moscow might work to undo the deal through economic or other pressure. “I am upset that the Russians are not signatories,” Mr. Yatsenyuk said. “I am really upset.”

Previous settlements and truces have broken down several times, engulfed by wild bursts of violence on the streets of Kiev, the capital, and in other parts of the country, particularly western regions where antigovernment sentiment has always been strong.

But these previous deals were not reached with the high-level involvement of European Union and Russian mediators, as was the case in the overnight talks Friday, which continued until the middle of the afternoon. A statement from Mr. Yanukovich’s office, issued before the signing, said the talks had been “very difficult.”

The pressure for a political settlement has been intense, coming not only from foreign governments but also from a widespread fear among the population that this former Soviet republic of 46 million people was hurtling toward a possible civil war, particularly after frenzied violence on Thursday that the opposition says killed more than 70 protesters.

Thursday was the most lethal day of political mayhem in Ukraine since independence from the Soviet Union more than 22 years ago. The violence escalated the urgency of the crisis, which began with protests in late November after a decision by Mr. Yanukovich to spurn a trade and political deal with the European Union and tilt his nation toward Russia instead.

As word of a deal spread on Friday, many protesters responded angrily to the proposition that any settlement was possible until Mr. Yanukovich left office. Many demanded that he be put on trial, along with officials whom protesters hold responsible for volleys of gunfire and attacks by snipers.



Protesters worked to reinforce barricades in Kiev on Friday. *Sergey Ponomarev for The New York Times*

The deal reached Friday instead leaves Mr. Yanukovich in power until at least the end of the year. It calls for early presidential elections in December, a swift return to a constitution of 2004 that sharply limited the president's powers, and the establishment within 10 days of a "government of national trust."

"We don't want to wait until December," said Roman Kvasuk, an antigovernment protester standing at a newly reinforced barricade on Hrushevsky Street, a scene of frequent and bloody clashes with riot police officers. Mr. Kvasuk was speaking as he and a group of fellow activists planned to walk up the street toward Parliament, a move that risked drawing gunfire from jittery government forces responsible for protecting official buildings.

Yuriy Korshenko, a lawyer and former judge who joined thousands of others on Thursday at Mikhailovsky Cathedral near Independence Square to show support for the protesters, said Mr. Yanukovich must leave office immediately "or he will end up like Ceausescu and Qaddafi."

The Romanian and Libyan dictators, Nicolae Ceausescu and Muammar el-Qaddafi, were both killed in bloody uprisings against their rule. Mr. Korshenko added, "If Yanukovich were a man of honor, he would have already shot himself."

By late Thursday evening, the choices for Mr. Yanukovich had narrowed to a stark dilemma between a massacre of protesters or negotiation: exhausted and outnumbered riot police officers had withdrawn from their positions in front of the cabinet building and the Parliament, leaving 500 yards of eerily empty pavement between the last protest barricade near the Dynamo soccer stadium and the seats of power.

But the windows of the cabinet building were fortified with sandbags to create firing positions onto the street below, the only option left to defend the building as talks continued through the night elsewhere in the capital with the opposition and the European and Russian envoys.

European officials greeted the news of an agreement with caution, with some indicating it was premature to say an accord had really been reached.



Antigovernment protesters man a barricade in Kiev on Friday. *Baz Ratner/Reuters*

Laurent Fabius, the French foreign minister, who helped mediate the talks, said much remained unresolved. “As long as things are not effectively completed, we must remain very prudent,” he said, according to The Associated Press. “The opposition wants to consult a certain number of its supporters, which is understandable,” Mr. Fabius said, according to The A.P. “We discussed all subjects during these negotiations. It was done in an extremely difficult atmosphere, because there were dozens of dead and the country is on the verge of civil war.”

The mass shootings on Thursday followed a quickly shattered truce, with enraged protesters parading dozens of captured police officers through Kiev’s central square.

Mr. Yanukovych lost at least a dozen political allies, including the mayor of the capital, who resigned from his governing Party of Regions to protest the bloodshed.

Images of bullet-riddled bodies slumped amid smoldering debris, some of them shot in the head, and screaming medics carrying the dead and wounded to emergency clinics, including one in a hotel lobby, shocked the country and many people around the world. The widespread use of firearms in the center of the city was a new and ominous element for the protest movement.

Late Thursday, the State Department issued a new travel warning in light of the violence, urging against “all nonessential travel to Ukraine due to the ongoing political unrest and violent clashes between police and protesters.”

Earlier, there had been rumors that Mr. Yanukovych, his police ranks stretched thin, might declare a state of emergency, a move that could herald the deployment of the military to help quell the crisis.

But his authority to do so was unclear. Opposition leaders convened a session of Parliament late Thursday, and together with defectors from the pro-government party they passed a resolution obliging Interior Ministry troops to return to their barracks and the police to their usual posts, and prohibiting the use of firearms against protesters. It also asserted that only lawmakers, rather than the president, could declare a state of emergency. Perhaps more than these assertions, the vote was significant for signaling that Mr. Yanukovych had lost control of a majority in Parliament.

Both the United States and the European Union, which made good on pledges to slap punitive sanctions on Ukrainian officials deemed to be responsible for the deadly escalation, warned Mr. Yanukovych to avoid declaring a state of emergency.

Reporting was contributed by Oksana Lyachynska from Kiev; Steven Erlanger from Vienna; Michael R. Gordon and Dan Bilefsky from Paris; Steven Lee Myers from Moscow; David M. Herszenhorn from Sochi, Russia; Stephen Castle from Brussels; Alison Smale from Lviv, Ukraine; and Rick Gladstone from New York.

***Kyiv Post***

# Amid Kiev Violence, 2 Men Design a Kids' Book About Forgiveness



Mikhail Stepanski and Ruslan Kosarevych hold screenshots of their story, 'Son of the Sun,' outside of Independence Square (or Maidan) in Kiev, Ukraine.



[By Eric Larson](#) 3 hours ago

Sunbeam is on the greatest journey of his lifetime. His father, the Sun, sent him to Earth to learn more about the universe and its many creatures. Now, millions of miles away from home, he's lost somewhere in the frigid North Pole.

[\*Son of the Sun and Wizard Lizard\*](#) is an interactive children's storybook that released on iTunes in early February. It tells of Sunbeam's travels and how he ultimately learns forgiveness — that "bad guys," big or small, can be fought with compassion and understanding over hatred and violence.

It's a lesson the story's creators are struggling to follow at the moment. Mikhail Stepanskiy, 33, and Ruslan Kosarevych, 24, just spent the morning delivering food and supplies to protestors camping outside in [Kiev, Ukraine](#). It's the third month of anti-government protests in the city. More than [90 people](#) have reportedly been killed within one week, as of Feb. 21, the same day the Ukraine government and opposition leaders struck a deal to end the violence.

By the time the initial unrest broke out in November 2013, Stepanskiy and Kosarevych had already launched their company, [Kidappers](#), about a year ago. They were well into the development of *Son of the Sun*.

They're hoping their work can inspire an end to the violence. If anything, that it will serve as proof of their — and their entire country's — creative potential:

"Our so-called government thinks we're cattle that must be drained. But we're free, talented people. This app, and the ones to come, are proof."

"Our so-called government thinks we're cattle that must be drained. But we're free, talented people. This app, and the ones to come, are proof."

In between working on lighthearted, joyous children's book, they're witnessing horrific violence every day.

"The irony of us designing a story about forgiveness during such a violent time is not lost on us," Stepanskiy says. "This is war. People *need* to understand that. It's difficult to sit in this office and understand that outside there are snipers — police snipers — killing people."



Police stand guard near a manmade barricade outside Maidan in Kiev

The Kidappers office is about one kilometer from Independence Square, the epicenter of the protests.

We're talking via Skype. Both guys, bearded and lounging in front of a bare white wall, look exhausted. Pissed off, mostly. On Wednesday night, Feb. 19, Ukraine president Viktor Yanukovich [offered a truce](#), but by early Thursday morning, videos of police [firing AK-47s and sniper rifles](#) at protestors had surfaced online. The proposed truce was never signed.

Stepanskiy and Kosarevych have been assisting protestors at the barricades since Dec. 1, 2013, after reports surfaced that riot police had [beaten student protestors](#) in late November.

Both have brought food, medicine and money to those camped out near the square. Stepanskiy helped build barricades; Kosarevych stood in lines to hold back police.

Despite the climbing death toll, Stepanskiy says the overall morale is relatively high among the activists he's seen on an almost daily basis

Despite the climbing death toll, Stepanskiy says the overall morale is relatively high among the activists he's seen on an almost daily basis.

"There's a spirit of discipline; the highest level of self-organization," he says.

It's been a strange paradox to wake up each morning and bring supplies to the barricades, then walk to an office, 15 minutes away, where they try to concentrate on cartoons about forgiveness and understanding. One of Stepanskiy's computer's tabs shows Sunbeam and story ideas for future lessons; the other tab, just one click away, is a live update of that day's death tolls.

Most difficult of all is fighting the atmosphere of hatred that permeates the city right now.

"It's hard to know what's going on and not want to go to Maidan to fight," he says.

"[Kosarevych], for example, is in good physical shape. He's a tennis player, and he can throw Molotoff cocktails very far. But we — anyone out there — need to stop letting hate get into our hearts."



Anti-government protestors hold flags in Kiev.

As we speak, Stepanskiy's eyes dart back and forth toward the bottom of his screen, refreshing news pages. The sun's beginning to set in Kiev, but in the grand scheme of things, it doesn't mean much. Not yet.

"This book has extremely urgent context — now more than ever," he says. "We want to prove to the entire world that we are worth a better life. We just want this revolution to end. And when it does, for people to have clear hearts and be able to move on."

### **Business of the Kluyev brothers in Austria is blocked: international media campaign and protests yielded results.**

By Yuri Butusov

According to reliable sources, the brilliant journalistic investigations, the protests of Ukrainians living in Austria, and the international media campaign have brought a real result. At this time, the Kluyev brothers' business in Austria is essentially blocked.

All corresponding banks halted their transactions, and procedures of checking the origin of incoming funds are being performed. Nothing personal – but the European business is unwilling to maintain risky financial relations with the executioner who may be subject to international sanctions any minute. Nobody wants to tarnish one's business with blood-stained money – because one may lose a lot more.

Sergei Kluyev has been in Austria for a whole week vainly trying to resolve the problem of non-payments and inspections by compliance officers. All his corrupt high-place connections in Austria that took years to build up began to fail when newspapers in Austria reported that Kluyev's money is branded with a mark of Cain. Ukrainians of Europe – thank you. Your action is very important for our victory.

## **JUST ASKING**

### ***Has President Yanukovich been seeking a new place in history?***

***A bit of history*** - It was Nikita Sergeivich Khrushchev, who was born in Ukraine and who long before becoming First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became - in 1938 -

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In that post he was such an obedient Stalinist, marching to party orders that his devotion earned him the nickname "The Butcher of Ukraine."



By his actions against the Maidan has Yanukovich been seeking to displace the old – and dead – Nikita?



Just asking.



**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

## **EU, US Must Reinforce Agreement in Ukraine through Sanctions**

**Washington – February 21, 2014** - Targeted American and European Union visa and asset sanctions are still needed to guarantee that the agreement signed February 21 by opposition leaders and Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich genuinely protects Ukrainians' fundamental human rights, Freedom House said.

"While we cautiously welcome the agreement since it immediately curtails the power of President Viktor Yanukovich and opens the way to early presidential elections, we call on the United States and the EU to impose sanctions now to hold to account those who authorized the use of violence against demonstrators seeking a more open government," said David J. Kramer, president of Freedom House.

"Now is not the time to ease pressure on Yanukovich or to keep sanctions in reserve; it is, in fact, long past time to deploy them," Kramer said.

"We are cautious about the outcome for Ukrainians because Yanukovich remains in office and elections remain eight months away, more than enough time for promises to be broken and things to go awry," Kramer said. "Yanukovich has broken numerous promises in the past and thus cannot be trusted."

"We urge the EU and the United States to do their utmost to convince the government, and to reassure the opposition, that peaceful change is in everyone's best interests," Kramer said. "Tragically, such moves come too late for those protesters who were killed and injured by authorities through use of force."

Freedom House also welcomes the Ukrainian parliament's vote February 21 to allow the release of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who has been imprisoned for more than two years.

Ukraine is rated Partly Free in *Freedom of the World 2014*, Partly Free in *Freedom of the Press 2013*, and Free in *Freedom on the Net 2013*.

To learn more about Ukraine, visit:

[Freedom Alert: Freedom House Condemns Deadly Violence in Ukraine](#)  
[Special Report: One Step Forward, One Step Back: An Assessment of Freedom of Expression in Ukraine during its OSCE Chairmanship](#)  
[Nations in Transit 2013: Ukraine](#)  
[Freedom in the World 2014: Ukraine](#)  
[Freedom of the Press 2013: Ukraine](#)  
[Freedom on the Net 2013: Ukraine](#)  
[Sounding the Alarm Round 2: Protecting Democracy in Ukraine](#)  
[Blog: Freedom at Issue](#)

Freedom House is an independent watchdog organization that supports democratic change, monitors the status of freedom around the world, and advocates for democracy in human rights.

Join us on [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#) (freedomhousedc) and stay up to date with Freedom House's latest [news and events](#) by signing up for our [RSS feeds](#), [newsletter](#) and our [blog](#).

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT: [Robert Ruby](#) at +1-202-747-7035

## STATEMENTS

### THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

February 21, 2014

#### **Statement by the Press Secretary on Ukraine**

The United States welcomes the agreement signed today between Ukrainian President Yanukovich and Opposition leaders. The agreement, facilitated by Foreign Ministers Fabius, Sikorski, and Steinmeier and witnessed by Russia, is consistent with what we have advocated in calling for a de-escalation of the violence, constitutional change, a coalition government, and early elections. We support the efforts of all those who negotiated this agreement, commend the courageous opposition leaders who recognized the need for compromise, and offer the support of the United States in its implementation. Now, the focus must be on concrete action to implement this agreement, which we will be monitoring closely.

In this regard, we call for immediate implementation of the initial steps -- an end to the violence, amnesty and security normalization, and passage of the constitutional package in the Rada -- to provide space for the negotiations to begin on formation of a technocratic coalition government. Respect for the right of peaceful protest -- including on the Maidan -- is essential. As we have said, there must be accountability for those responsible for the violence and the casualties that have resulted since the crisis began, and we remain prepared to impose additional sanctions as necessary. The United States stands with the Ukrainian people as they

work to restore peace, security, and human dignity across the country and determine the future course of their nation.

## STATEMENT OF SENATOR MARK KIRK

# Kirk Statement on Violence in Ukraine

Friday, Feb 21, 2014

**CHICAGO** – U.S. Senator Mark Kirk (R-Ill.) today released the following statement regarding the situation in Ukraine:

"I strongly condemn the Ukrainian authorities for instigating the horrific violence the world witnessed in Kyiv this week. While I am encouraged by the reported compromise reached today between the government and the opposition, I support the legislative framework outlined by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) yesterday that would impose sanctions on those responsible for the violence and support democracy in Ukraine. Our office will continue to work to ensure that Illinois families impacted by the violence are brought home safely."

---

---

---

---

## STATEMENT OF SENATOR RICHARD DURBIN – ASSISTANT MAJORITY LEADER, UNITED STATES SENATE

"Ukrainian government officials involved in violence—and the Russian oligarchs who are backing them—should face a freeze on their assets and a visa ban from the United States if they continue this bloodbath. The Ukrainian people deserve an accommodation that respects historical ties to Russia but also reflects the aspirations of so many Ukrainians to strengthen ties with the West. Tragically, what is happening today is instead a cynical attempt to hold power by Ukraine's leadership and thinly veiled manipulation of the situation by Russian President Vladimir Putin."

Last month, the Senate unanimously approved a resolution co-sponsored by Durbin that urged the government of Ukraine and members of the opposition to find a peaceful and democratic resolution to the country's current political crisis. The resolution was offered after Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich abruptly decided not to sign a historic trade and political agreement with the European Union—partly due to pressure from Russia—after years of

negotiations. The decision prompted hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians to protest and those protests have been met with violence from state police.

Last November, the Senate unanimously approved a resolution Durbin introduced calling for the release of Ukraine's former Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, who has been held on selective charges of abusing her power in a state-sponsored contract since 2011. Numerous human rights groups and governments around the world, as well as the European Court of Human Rights, have called the charges politically motivated and called for Ms. Tymoshenko's release.



### **New Jersey's Fourth Congressional District**

*Chairman of the House Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights and Int'l Organizations Subcommittee, Co-Chair of Helsinki Commission, Senior Member of Foreign Affairs Committee*

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Contact: Jeff Sagnip (202) 225-3765

Feb. 21, 2014

<http://chrissmith.house.gov>

### **Cong. Smith Welcomes Agreement to Settle Crisis in Ukraine**

**WASHINGTON, D.C.** – Responding to reports of an agreement between Ukrainian President Yanukovich and opposition leaders, U.S. Rep. Chris Smith (NJ-04), Chairman of the House panel that legislates on international human rights, released the following statement:

**“The agreement deserves our full support. Its main elements – return to the 2004 constitution, national unity government, and early presidential elections – are all just. They provide a framework in which the deep conflicts in Ukrainian government and society can be worked out through the democratic process by the Ukrainian people. If honored by both sides, this agreement can defuse the bloodshed, prevent further tragedy, and take Ukraine toward a more effective and transparent democracy.**

**“I call on our government to do everything possible to support the agreement, which was worked out by the elected representatives of the Ukrainian people.”**

Rep. Smith is a leader in human rights legislation and the Co-Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, an agency that monitors and advocates on human rights in the 57 states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), including Ukraine. [Click here to read Rep. Smith's Feb. 10 statement in support of the recent House resolution supporting Ukrainian democracy](#), and here to [read a Feb. 19 statement on the tragic violence in Kyiv](#).

###

## ***Statement of Congressman Sander Levin and the other Co-Chairs of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, Jim Gerlach and March Kaptur***

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Feb. 21, 2014    Contact: Josh Drobnyk/Tim Foster (202) 225-4961**

### **Levin, Ukrainian Caucus Statement on Ukraine Agreement**

**WASHINGTON** – The Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, co-chaired by U.S. Reps. Sander Levin (D-MI), Jim Gerlach (R-PA) and Marcy Kaptur (D-OH), today released the following statement regarding the agreement between Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and opposition leaders to resolve the crisis in Ukraine:

“We welcome today’s agreement with cautious optimism. In light of the horrific violence of the last two days, the most immediate need is the prevention of further bloodshed and the complete cessation of government aggression against peaceful demonstrators. It is our sincere hope that this settlement will achieve those goals, as well as begin a just process for holding accountable those responsible for violence.

“The way in which this agreement is implemented is critical. Consequently, we call on the Government of Ukraine to fulfill its obligations under the agreement in good faith and without delay. The passage of legislation to restore Ukraine’s Constitution to its 2004 version represents a positive development, and President Yanukovich should sign it immediately. This must also be accompanied by the creation of a coalition government that includes opposition parties and possess a real and effective check on presidential powers.

“Regarding the issue of early presidential elections, we are concerned that the agreement does not provide for them soon enough. Accordingly, we encourage the parties to the agreement to work toward holding the elections as soon as practicably possible. The voice of the Ukrainian people must be heard. Finally, in the run-up to presidential elections, electoral reforms must be made in accordance with international standards to ensure a free and fair process.

“The Congressional Ukrainian Caucus stands ready to assist with the

implementation of the agreement and the eventual resolution of the political and economic crisis in Ukraine. We are also ready, should violence continue, to reaffirm our call for targeted sanctions on those found responsible for such deplorable acts.”

###

## ***Canadian Sanctions***

### **Ukraine: economic sanctions and expanded travel ban**

February 20, 2014  
Ottawa, Ontario

The Government of Canada is committed to supporting democracy in Ukraine. In consultation with like-minded countries, Canada is imposing targeted sanctions against those members of the Yanukovich regime and other individuals directly responsible for recent violent repression against Ukrainian citizens who are exercising their democratic right to peaceful protest.

The sanctions against Ukraine will be implemented using the Special Economic Measures Act (SEMA).

### **Rationale for Sanctions**

For months, the Government of Canada has delivered a strong message to the Ukrainian Government that its citizens must be allowed to exercise their democratic right to peaceful protest without being subjected to deadly force and brutality. Such violence is unacceptable and will not be tolerated.

The Government of Canada has led the world in condemning the violence and oppression in Ukraine. On January 28, 2014, Canada introduced a travel ban on the regime’s senior leaders. On February 18, 2014, Canada announced medical aid to assist the protestors in their time of need. On February 20, 2014, the Government of Canada announced additional sanctions to put pressure on the regime to end the violence.

## Objectives of Canadian Sanctions

These sanctions aim to send a strong message to the Yanukovich regime that governments cannot act with impunity. The targeted sanctions are designed to limit the impact on the Ukrainian public, which is suffering as a result of the ongoing crisis. It is our hope that these serious steps will convince the Ukrainian Government to seek a peaceful resolution to the current impasse.

## Description of Canadian Sanctions

Canada today announced a travel ban and economic sanctions against senior Ukrainian Government officials and supporters who bear political responsibility for the violence.

The travel ban would prevent these individuals from entering Canada.

The aim of the economic sanctions would be to freeze any assets in Canada belonging to senior Ukrainian Government officials, and would prohibit any person in Canada and any Canadian outside Canada from:

- a) dealing in any property, wherever situated, held by or on behalf of a designated person;
- b) entering into or facilitating, directly or indirectly, any transaction related to a dealing referred to in (a);
- c) providing any financial or other related service in respect of a dealing referred to in (a);
- d) making goods, wherever situated, available to a designated person; and,
- e) providing any financial or financial-related service to or for the benefit of a designated person.

---

The Prime Minister's Office - Communications  
[\[Manage my subscriptions\]](#) | [\[Unsubscribe\]](#)

---

---

---

---

**OPINION**

## BRZEZINSKI INTERVIEW

February 20, 2014

*DW: The situation in Ukraine is very volatile and has gotten increasingly violent over the last few days. Do you fear an outright civil war in the country?*

Zbigniew Brzezinski: I think that is in fact threatening Ukraine. But I still am of the view that this issue can be resolved by compromise provided that there is a firm stance by the West, provided that Yanukovich is willing to negotiate in good faith and provided that Putin realizes that it's in Russia's long-term interest to have this issue resolved by compromise. I am not sure that all three of these three conditions can be met and it increasingly appears that Yanukovich is altogether unreliable.

*What do you make of Yanukovich's role in this crisis so far? Do you think he can remain in office?*

I think it's increasingly doubtful. In the beginning one might have considered some arrangement that would involve him staying in as president for at least a while until the situation settles down and genuinely democratic elections for a president with fewer powers can be held. He appears to be either cowardly or indecisive or deceitful.

*Couldn't he simply alleviate the situation by stepping down now?*

That would certainly be helpful. But I imagine that he is not only concerned about his position as president, but also about the personal wealth that he has acquired while in office and his son has also acquired since Yanukovich became president.

*The West, that is the US and the EU, has been divided over how to deal with the situation in Ukraine. What is your sense of the West's actions so far?*

So far it has not been very impressive. It was slow to react to the sudden change in Yanukovich's stance several months ago. It then didn't step forward with any specific and immediate proposals to deal with the deepening socio-economic crisis in the country. Only in the last week or so has it generated a more visible engagement. And I think the West is now increasingly conscious of the fact that it has to have a meaningful financial package as well as a clearly defined set of political objectives that give Ukraine the opportunity to remain a good neighbor to Russia, but at the same time expand its relationship with Europe; and that America itself can reassure Russia that a Ukraine that has freedom of movement towards Europe does not mean a Ukraine that becomes part of coalition that threatens Russia's interests; and last but not least, that if Russia is not prepared to accept this it will find itself confronted in all probability by an increasingly hostile, bitter and perhaps altogether explosive Ukraine.

*There has been a lot of talk about sanctions against Ukraine and the EU has just now agreed on sanctions against those responsible for the escalation of violence. Are you for or against sanctions against Ukraine?*

I am neither for nor against sanctions by which I mean I would not make sanctions the principle tool of our policy which I have outlined in answering your last question. But I would not avoid applying sanctions against particular individuals who have financially benefitted from access to the West, but who are playing a negative role both in Ukraine and in Russia.

*Let's talk about the West a bit more. Has the Obama administration done enough in this crisis in your opinion?*

It has been very slow, but it is doing much more now. It is becoming very seriously engaged. The United States has to be engaged indirectly in the negotiations between the EU and the Ukraine and much more directly on a bilateral basis in discussing the issue with the Russians, although the EU may wish to be engaged in these discussions as well. But to the Russians in the long run a stable relationship with America which doesn't slide into an increasing cold war negativism is of direct interest, as it should be to us as well. Putin should be mindful of the fact that his support for Yanukovich - whom the Russian press increasingly describes as a totally unreliable crook - is not in Russia's long-term interest because he is going to create in Ukraine a widespread anti-Russian sentiment, maybe not among all, but certainly among the majority of Ukrainians. And that is not in Russia's interest.

*Do you hope that Russia and Mr. Putin press Yanukovich to step down?*

I think that would be a very healthy contribution and that would enable Putin, indirectly of course, to influence who would replace him. Not all of the oppositionists - probably at this stage most of the responsible oppositionists are not anti-Russian. But these events, clearly occurring under Russia's protection, are likely to turn the Ukrainians into very intensely anti-Russian nationalists.

*What then do you see as the role of the EU, whose lack of engagement has been criticized very vocally recently by the US?*

I am glad that the EU is actively involved and that prominent foreign ministers of some leading EU countries are in fact right now in Kyiv. But the bottom line is - and this is particularly pertinent to Germany - if the EU is to be serious it has to put up some money. It's very easy to talk about democracy and long-term cooperation, but the fact is that money is also needed right now to stabilize Ukraine. But let me emphasize my key point. If we want a solution that's constructive it has to be based on compromise. And I can envisage Ukraine evolving in the context of a constructive compromise into a country whose domestic and foreign policies will be somewhat similar to that of Finland.

*You mentioned Germany's role in the Ukraine crisis. What do you make of Berlin's stance so far?*

I think it's good that Germany is involved, but I think that Germans have to take the lead in an area which they resent having to do so - which is putting up some money. You cannot have a compromise for the present problem that is acceptable and constructive and which is good for the West as well as for Russia without some serious financial involvement by the EU. And the fact is that Germany is the most prosperous and economically most successful member of the EU.

## RealTime Economic Issues Watch

# Yanukovych Is Approaching His End

by Anders Aslund | February 21st, 2014 | 03:12 pm

After three months of public protests, turmoil, and violence, the opposition to President Viktor Yanukovych in Ukraine finally achieved a major breakthrough on Friday, February 20. This turn of events is a tribute to smart maneuvering by the opposition and smart diplomacy by the European Union.

First and foremost, thanks to mass defections from Yanukovych's Regions Party, the opposition won the majority in parliament that had previously eluded it: On Thursday night, 236 out of 450 deputies voted for a resolution calling on all armed forces to stop shooting on protesters and to return to their barracks. Before the protests started, the three democratic opposition parties had only 168 votes, but now they have gained 68 more votes from independents and defectors from Yanukovych. This shift of power in parliament has made all the other changes possible.

The defectors are largely big businessmen and their representatives in parliament. Many of Yanukovych's more odious loyalist lawmakers fled the country, and the protesters blocked the Kiev airport Thursday evening to make sure that they could no longer flee. Yanukovych's power base is finally disintegrating.

The immediate cause of these mass defections was the great tragedy of the previous three days. The special Interior Ministry police, known as the Berkut, killed dozens of protesters on Maidan, the main public square in Kiev. The violence was so counterproductive that one wonders whether President Yanukovych had lost his mind, control, or both. Whatever the case, he has lost the trust necessary to stay in power. A few days earlier former President Leonid Kuchma stated that in his worst nightmares he could not have anticipated such bloodshed in Ukraine, and it was unacceptable for it to continue. He was criticizing Yanukovych in all but name.

Also on Thursday, the EU Council of Foreign Ministers decided to impose visa and financial sanctions on Ukrainian officials responsible for the violence. The list of officials has not yet been established, but the decision has sent a message that those Ukrainian culprits who have stolen from the state and private businessmen may be brought to justice. Presumably, much of this stolen wealth is held in Europe.

While the bottom was dropping out from under the Ukrainian president, three EU foreign ministers—from Germany, France, and Poland—spent hours negotiating with him to make to major concessions. In the view of most Ukrainians, Yanukovych has forfeited his presidency through multiple criminal acts and without legitimacy he can make no relevant compromises. The only relevant discussion with him can be about the end of his regime and his personal exit. The EU ministers did not go quite that far, but almost.

On Friday, February 21, Yanukovych finally made substantial concessions in negotiations with the three opposition party leaders mediated by the EU ministers. The agreement consisted of six points.

First, the agreement called for parliament to adopt a special law to restore the constitution of 2004. Parliament did so later in the day with 386 votes, far more than the required two-thirds majority of 300 votes. Yanukovich's defeat was so complete that he ordered his own deputies to vote in favor of this move, which reversed his own illegal act of October 1, 2010, ordering the Constitutional Court, which he controls, to abolish the 2004 charter and revert to the constitution of 1996 granting him sweeping powers. As in the preceding evening, the parliamentarians stood up and sang the national anthem after their vote. The signatories also declared their intention to create a coalition and form a national unity government within 10 days.

Important as these moves are, the 2004 constitution requires substantial technical improvements. Therefore, the second point of the agreement mediated by the European Union is that the constitution will be improved and a new constitution is to be adopted in September 2014, which is a realistic time frame.

The third agreement was that presidential elections would be held after the new constitution has been adopted but no later than December 2014. Naturally, a new constitution needs to be in place before new presidential elections. Also new electoral laws will be passed and a new Central Election Commission is to be formed on the basis of proportionality.

The fourth point calls for the recent acts of violence to be investigated jointly by the authorities, the opposition, and the Council of Europe, Europe's human rights organization.

The fifth point was a guarantee by the authorities not to impose a state of emergency, and both sides committed themselves to abstaining from acts of violence. The parliament will adopt a third law of amnesty, which will presumably cover all protesters. Already on Friday, the parliament has adopted a law against any prosecution of arrested protesters. This law was passed with a majority of 372 votes.

At the time of this writing, it is unclear whether the protesters' leading body, the Maidan Council, will approve this agreement. It goes far to please opponents of Yanukovich, but they might also see it as a salvation or respite for him. The leader of the radical Pravy Sektor (the Right Sector), Dmitry Yarosh, noted that the declaration does not contain anything about the resignation of Yanukovich, the dissolution of the parliament, or the arrest of the Minister of Interior Vitaly Zakharchenko and the police chief.

But the opposition has a majority in parliament now, and they can decide for themselves. Their majority will quickly increase as the Regions deputies defect in droves. Also on Friday, the parliament voted to oust the much-hated Zakharchenko. It voted with 310 votes to adopt a law freeing former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, which sends the signal that the parliament can overrule a presidential veto. A coalition government with Yanukovich loyalists could be poison for opposition politicians, but now a national unity government would probably only contain opposition and defectors from Yanukovich's camp.

The opposition majority in parliament reached a tipping point Thursday night. Yanukovich and his loyalists are on the run. Now, the parliament is poised to adopt one important law after another. Hopefully, violence will end and large armed forces have already withdrawn from Kiev. A more sensible constitution is already in place. Yet, the big negotiation about the exit of Yanukovich remains at the top of the agenda.

As during the Orange Revolution of 2004–05, the European Union has provided the critical mediation services, while both Russia and the United States have been little more than bit players. President Vladimir Putin's aggressive gamble to draw Ukraine into Russia's sphere of influence and into the Eurasian Union, widely hailed as a brilliant move, has suffered a serious setback, hopefully to the benefit of European values.

## ***Ukrainska Pravda***

### **Yanukovych , Akhmetov and Firtash must pay real price -- not pittance to Maidan**

**By Serhii Leshchenko, Ukrainska Pravda deputy chief editor**

The parliament has voted to weaken the power of Yanukovych by returning to the Constitution of 2004; Yanukovych agreed to early elections in December. But that was the protesters' agenda a month ago. Before the first casualties.

Yanukovych is late in getting the situation. Same as the opposition leaders.

Listen to the people on Maidan. By and large, they talk hunting for the head of Yanukovych. The one who brings that head to the square will be declared a national hero. Dozens of thousands of people will throw in some money to give that person a reward. Even more, perhaps, streets will be named after that person.

In this situation, making an agreement that Yanukovych stays in power for another year is nonsense. He had to go today - and the only guarantee from the opposition should have been the promise to let his airplane freely leave the airspace of Ukraine within 24 hours. An interim president should have been appointed to replace him and guarantee a peaceful transition of power. That interim figure should have been chosen from among nationally respected personalities – similarly to Rosa Otunbayeva in Kyrgyzstan.

The fate of Yanukovych hangs in the balance. He killed over a hundred people. Those citizens of Ukraine have friends and relatives, with weapons in their hands. So if Yanukovych remains in Ukraine, one can imagine that he will live in constant fear of being shot at close range with a handgun, or inside his vehicle with a rocket-propelled grenade, or of being burned alive with Molotov cocktails in his Mezhyhirya manor.

The only alternative for Yanukovych with a chance to avoid that fate is to flee the country. But the question is who would agree to shelter him. I am not sure that Putin would want to associate with the loser who failed him twice in a decade by ruining his efforts to conquer the post-Soviet space, and in addition made the Russian ruler look foolish in world's eyes.

By the same token, I doubt that Lukashenko would like to shelter Yanukovich -- remember his derogatory comments about the Ukrainian counterpart. Yanukovich might flee to Africa, where he is little known, to Venezuela, or to Syria. To his mates in Somalia. The choice is not very big.

What advice can I give to the relatives of the victims? File your claims against Ukraine to the European Court of Human Rights and demand financial compensation. The process will take a long time. But the reward can be measured in tens of thousands of euros. This will further legitimize, in the public view, a confiscation of the property amassed by the Yanukovich gang.

One more thing. The oligarchs of Yanukovich had a chance to save their future a month ago, before the bloodshed. Now it is too late. Yanukovich the father and his sons, Kurchenko, Akhmetov, Novynsky, Ivanyushchenko, Khmelniysky, Firtash, Lyovochkyn, Klyuev, Pshonka should all be deprived of the assets that had been transferred to them from state or quasi-state ownership since February 2010, during the time of the Yanukovich rule.

The Mezhyhirya manor, numerous residences, hunting reserves, power distribution companies, regional gas companies, power generating companies Zakhidenergo, Dniroenergo, Donbasenergo, Ukrtelecom, Iron and Steel Works of Mariupol, mineral dressing mines, titanium assets, solar power plants -- all of this was "privatized" in fake contests with straw participants or even as a result of raider schemes. And it all should be returned to state ownership in same fashion as "Krivoriizhstal" was re-privatized, with oligarchs repaying due amounts after the re-sale of those assets at public auctions. Akhmetov has to realize that Maidan did authorize Yatsenyuk to give him any guarantees.

Oligarchs should lose any influence on politics. Instead of their bodyguards, drivers, mistresses, and private lawyers, parliament seats should be taken by the people who fought against the bloody dictatorship in fierce frosts and under fire. And the new politicians must understand: if they repeat the mistakes of the predecessors, they will get a more strict punishment. Because that would be a betrayal of the people who died in the name of better Ukraine.

All current security officials and judges should be stripped of their positions forever. Likewise, all those who belong to the Communist Party and to the Party of Regions should leave politics -- even if they think that they deserve praise for abandoning the burning ship. All of them -- Khomutynnik, Rudkovsky, Buriak and the like -- should understand that now they have two choices: either a tribunal or a life outside politics. The country has changed, and in this country they do not have a third choice -- to pursue a political career. You cannot correct those who nourished from the state's cash flow for decades.

Likewise, Yulia Tymoshenko must understand: her release should not mean that she returns to power. Over the years, a new generation of leaders has grown. And if she wants to fix her mark in history -- she should prohibit herself to hold any post in the government.

And yet one more thing. Do not believe the tales that re-privatization would result in irreparable loss to the country. They will only lose a part of their assets -- the part that was acquired owing to connections with the criminal regime of Yanukovich. Perhaps Akhmetov will sell his apartment in London that was purchased for \$200 million, to buy something less pretentious. Maybe he will sell one of his two private jets and a few soccer players. But those people who are identified with the three months of the Yanukovich genocide have to pay a true price.

And these are not my words; former U.S. ambassador to Kiev John Herbst -- who represents the country where private property is inviolable -- remarked, "The most influential people in Ukraine are still driven by their narrow personal interest. The Ukrainian society is too weak to seek punishment for those 'influential people' who go too far." It is time to prove that the Ukrainian society has accumulated enough strength to hold those people accountable.

URL: <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/5307a32ec0bf6/>

## **What Can Ukraine Expect From the West?**

Posted: 02/21/2014 12:40 pm EST Updated: 02/21/2014 12:59 pm EST

I'm writing to you as a former prisoner of conscience of the Brezhnev era. All other titles are rapidly becoming irrelevant against the backdrop of bloody Maidan. My entire life, I admired Western civilization as the realm of what is most valuable. Today I am close to paraphrasing Shakespeare: "Treachery, thy name is Europe!" The depth of our bitterness is commensurate with the strength of our love for Europe.

If there is still anyone interested among the community of decision makers, I can answer the question posed in the headline.

First of all, stop "expressing deep concern." All the protesters on Maidan have developed an allergy to that expression, which, under our circumstances, has lost all meaning, while the gangsters in the Ukrainian government are laughing at the helplessness of the EU. Apply sanctions. Do not waste time looking for their Achilles heel-it is their wealth that is invested in your banks. Apply your own laws and put a stop to the money laundering. The Europe that we want to belong to would have never allowed for the absolute value of human life to diminish in favor of the absolute value of money.

Abolish visas for all the government thugs and their families. It is scandalous that ordinary Ukrainians leading ordinary lives have to submit practically their entire family trees while criminals who are responsible for murder, for "disappearances," for fraud committed in the eyes of the entire world can enjoy practically free entry into Europe.

Don't listen to the propaganda sirens of Yanukovich and Putin. Simply plug your ears with cotton. Be capable of decoding their lies, or they will decode your ability to defend yourselves.

Instead, listen to Ukrainian media, which is sacrificing the lives of its journalists to obtain the truth. Do not rely excessively on the information from your correspondents in other countries who visit Ukraine for a day or two. Hire the Ukrainians in your countries to translate for you the Ukrainian cry of pain. Send money for this immediately, without waiting for funds to be allocated in next year's budget.

Visit a Ukrainian hospital and talk with the so-called "extremists" who want to "overthrow a legitimately elected government;" with those who "severely beat" the police officers and who "willfully" detonate explosives to cause injuries to themselves. Yes, the face of war is brutal. But, in going to Maidan, these people have repeated almost verbatim the words of British King George VI in his speech to the nation on 3 September 1939: "We have been forced into a conflict, for which we are called ... to meet the challenge of a principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any civilized order in the world."

Come out of your comfort zone! Just remember the enervated ancient Romans who failed to do so in time. Pleasing Putin will not bring you security. Delivering Ukraine into his hands means making world peace even more vulnerable. A Ukraine divided by force will not bring peace to the world any more than forcefully divided Poland and Germany did.

Finally, let us repeat in solidarity with King George VI and the Ukrainian people: "The task will be hard. There may be dark days ahead, and war can no longer be confined to the battlefield; but we can only do the right as we see the right, and reverently commit our cause to God. If one and all we keep resolutely faithful to it, ready for whatever service or sacrifice it may demand, then with God's help, we shall prevail."

***Myroslav Marynovych** is vice-rector for university mission of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine, and a president of the Institute of Religion and Society of the same University. Marynovych is a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a prisoner of conscience (1977-1987). He headed the Amnesty International structures in Ukraine (1991-1996) and was president of the Ukrainian Center of the PEN International.*

---

---

---

---

## **SAJEWYCH**

Reported earlier that our friend George Sajewych had been beaten by the Berkut and was in the hospital. He has posted his status on Facebook:

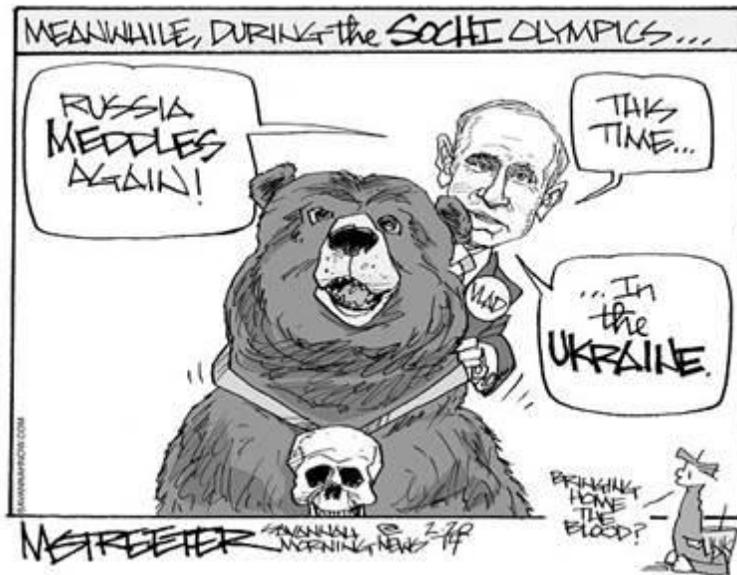
[George Sajewych](#)

Thank you, everybody, for your well wishes. I'm out of the hospital and with good friends for another 5 days of getting well, then back to my Company No. 27 of the Self Defense. Wish to share some insights on what has transpired these days. The Maidan is absolutely right in rejecting the political solution arrived in the Verkhovna Rada, to great fanfare and even Volodymyr Oliynyk singing 'Shche ne vmerla" with hand over his heart. How many times can the political opposition leadership sit down for negotiations, in good faith, to reach fair compromises and concessions with a gang and their leader who in their lives never showed a sliver of evidence that they understand, subscribe to and are able to adhere to these concepts? It's an impossibility. It will never happen. I have never heard Yanukovych or his spokespeople from his Party of REgions say one word of truth on press conferences, in the VRon any of the many talk shows I watched They are lying again in the matter of today's 'groundbreaking" votes in the VR. The regime lied before the massacre of Feb. 18, assuring opposition politicians that the people would be able to voice their grievances before the Parliament. Self DEfense Companies were

sent to various key points around the barricades. Mine was one of several sent to the MARIINSKY PARK, where the civilians were gathered. We were faced by a line of the Interior Troops, cadets really, 17-18 year-old boys, whose main purpose there was to be injured, so that the regime could say, 'See, those Maidan terrorists are killing our children.' Being in the front row, right across from their metal barriers and shields, I tried to use that opportunity to try to get some to cross to our side. It didn't happen, as some hotheads on our side broke through and the Interior Troops line quickly rolled up. They quickly retreated, with little damage done on either side. Further back, 'Berkut' troops deployed, about 5 rows deep. We were vastly outnumbered, as were, we later found out, were the companies at every other point, another example of how the regime has used 'ceasefires' to reinforce their positions and keep on killing activists. The defenders tried to hold Berkut at bay by showering them with rocks (older men and women helping break up and bring up paving stones) and Molotov cocktails. Very few exploded; as my 17-year-old hospital room mate told me, 'Nobody showed us how to do it right.' Berkut also tossed rocks, but, more damagingly, gas canisters and concussion grenades. Our side had built a wall, using the metal barriers the Interior Troops left and the home-made shields many of our boys had. Then Berkut suddenly and massively attacked, big, aggressive, body armor head to toe. They quickly broke through and pushed on running, leaving no chance for resistance, only to cover our bodies from the blows raining upon us and fleeing. We ran into a fence, then a wall and a narrow gate with no place to go. Obviously, they had a plan; we did not. Five and six Berkuts would pound one surrounded defendant. There was no mercy for those on the ground; not one Berkut passed a fallen opponent without adding his blow or a kick to the head. For BERKUT, this, clearly, was a labor of love (no exaggeration, as their rules forbid striking an opponent that is prostrate on the ground). As their waves passed, searched over the ground for the motorcycle helmet that had perhaps saved my life. Small bits and pieces of it lay around, evidence of the power of the blows delivered. We were rounded up with the worse injured of us attended to by medical personnel and waiting for ambulances. Two of the Berkuts standing to the side, sawing me bleeding profusely from a deep gash in the back of the head, could not resist. "So you wanted your Ukraine, eh?" said one, so proud of himself "So, you going to the Maidan again?" said the other, equally cynical.. have never met such gratuitous brutality and undisguised hatred. These could not have been Ukrainian law-and-order personnel, no matter how depraved by service to a criminal regime. The Russians are not coming. They are already here.

## CARTOONS





"Ukraine" – not "The Ukraine" !!!!!



Copyright by Signe Wilkinson





Copyright Lisa Benson



**RUSSIA**



**RU**

**SSIA**



*Reuters*

# Eight anti-Putin protesters convicted in Russian 'show trial'

BY GABRIELA BACZYNSKA

MOSCOW Fri Feb 21, 2014 8:59am EST

(Reuters) - A Russian judge on Friday convicted eight defendants of assaulting police during a protest against Vladimir Putin, in what activists called a "show trial" designed to make clear the president would tolerate no dissent.

Outside the courthouse, police pushed into a crowd that had gathered to support the defendants, grabbing people and hauling them away as others shouted: "Shame!" Police said they detained about 200 people for attempting to violate public order.

The convictions, which were widely expected, coincided with political turmoil in neighboring Ukraine, where dozens have died.

Sentencing was postponed until Monday, meaning it will be revealed after Sunday's close of the Sochi Winter Olympics, a prestige project for Putin, who has faced criticism from the West for his treatment of dissenters but says he does not use the courts as a political tool.

The eight were convicted of rioting and assaulting police during an opposition protest on May 6, 2012, the eve of Putin's inauguration to a third term as president.

Two women from protest band Pussy Riot were in the crowd outside, as was Alexei Navalny, an opposition leader who is serving a five-year suspended sentence after a trial last year he said was Kremlin revenge.

Prosecutors asked for prison sentences of five to six years for the defendants, who pleaded not guilty and blame police for clashes that erupted at the rally - part of a series of protests that were the biggest of Putin's long rule but failed to prevent his return to the Kremlin after four years as prime minister.

Former oil tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who was widely seen as a political prisoner during more than 10 years in jail, said the defendants were victims of a "show trial".

"Almost no one doubts that the verdict will be vindictive and cruel," Khodorkovsky, who was flown out of Russia on the day of his release in December, said in a statement on Thursday.

Activists and relatives said they feared the deadly violence this week in Ukraine, which Russia has blamed on anti-government militants it says have been encouraged by the West, decreased the chances the defendants would be sentenced to time served and walk free.

(Additional reporting by Ian Bateson and Alexei Anishchuk; Writing by Steve Gutterman; Editing by [Gareth Jones](#) and John Stonestreet)

---

---

---

## ***Window on Eurasia***

### **Window on Eurasia: Russians Must Stop Believing Three ‘Stupid’ Myths about Ukraine, Krasheninnikov Says**

Paul Goble

Staunton, February 22 – Russians must stop putting their faith in three “stupid” myths about Ukraine – that Ukraine is not Europe and never will be, that Ukraine will suffer if it joins Europe, and that Ukraine must stay with Russia because there are so many ethnic Russians in it – if they are to resolve the current situation and their own problems, a Yekaterinburg analyst says.

In a post on [Kasparov.ru](http://Kasparov.ru) yesterday, Fedor Krasheninnikov, examines and debunks each of these notions in turn, a task that he suggests is especially important because a belief in them, be it in the Russian Federation or the West, blocks progress both at home and abroad ([kasparov.ru/material.php?id=530716DBDEF90&section\\_id=50A6C962A3D7C](http://kasparov.ru/material.php?id=530716DBDEF90&section_id=50A6C962A3D7C)).

The first such myth, that “Ukraine is not Europe and will never be Europe,” is the most obviously wrong, the Russian analyst suggests. “Contemporary Europe” for those who haven’t been paying attention includes Romania, Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary and even Greece.”

How can all these countries be “Europe” but Ukraine can’t be? “What is the difference?” The Reality is that “Europe is not some sort of unbelievable land of miracles but a conglomerate of various countries and territories with very varied conditions of life. In some people life well; in others not so much. “But all this is Europe.”

It is true that being poor in Europe is better than being somewhat well off elsewhere, Krasheninnikov continues. That is why it represents aspirations in “a majority of countries of the contemporary world,” be they individual migrants or the entire country. And those countries that have sought to join Europe have done better than those that haven’t.

“If one considers the countries of Central Europe and the Baltics at the beginning of their paths to the EU at the end of the 1980s, can one say that they were in a better position than contemporary Ukraine is?” In fact, many of them were in “a much worse” place. Of course, they are not at the top of the EU, but they are far, far better than they were.

Why should anyone assume that Ukraine cannot do the same? he asks. At the very least, this possibility should not be the occasion for “hysteria” in particular among the citizens of Russia.

The second myth which must be dispelled is that no one needs Ukraine in Europe, that it has nothing to offer Europe, that all its industry will die, and that, impoverished and starving, the Ukrainians after a brief experience with Europe will ask to return to a Russian-led region. This is nonsense, but it is not surprising people are saying it.

Exactly the same thing was being said about the Baltic countries at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, Krasheninnikov continues “Literally the same: they don’t have anything except sprats, they don’t have an agricultural structure, and in Europe people can easily get along without them.

Twenty years have passed since “the Baltics forever separated from Russia,” and as some might have noted, “no one is asking to be allowed to return” to what they had. It turned out that “it is possible to live a fully European life without Soviet industry. Yes, the Baltics are not Benelux but [they] are undoubtedly Europe.”

As for Ukraine, it needs to be asked “why do you think that little and resource-poor Estonia could find its place in Europe, but large and resource-rich Ukraine will not be able to?” Resources are not just oil and gas as many Russians think; they include “people, land, climate and much else besides.” All one needs is time and desire to make them work.

And the third “stupid” myth is that “there are many [ethnic] Russians in Ukraine, that Crimea and Eastern Ukraine are Russian land from times immemorial, and that therefore Ukraine will fall apart and its units will be linked to Russia.”

This too is an “old song,” and it isn’t true. “There are many [ethnic] Russians in Estonia and Latvia. In Riga now there is even an [ethnic] Russian mayor, and what of it?” That hasn’t prevented those countries from joining NATO or the EU or doing anything else they want to do.

In contrast, almost all ethnic Russians have left “fraternal and allied” Tajikistan, while “almost no one has left Estonia.” Even those without citizen passports aren’t running back to the “stable and flourishing Russia of V.V. Putin,” the commentator points out.

Even “in countries with a significant [ethnic] Russian diaspora, Russia does not have any influential allies, he writes. Pro-Russian politicians there are either openly marginal or they are pro-Russian more in words than in actions and only by local measures” rather than those Moscow would like them to be. And even they don’t push for union with Russia.

The same is true in Ukraine. “Hardly any of the leaders of Ukrainian regions really wants to suddenly find himself in the status of an average Russian governor who at any moment can be replaced by an outsider sent from Moscow.” And there is no indication that such feelings are going to change.

The current Kremlin has proved itself incapable of playing “the delicate games with local elites” that it would need to manage things well at home. The capricious and authoritarian methods it is accustomed to use there simply don’t work on the territories of other countries, Krasheninnikov argues.

But the main thing here, he suggests, is that “changing border in Europe is not the same as changing borders in the Caucasus. Efforts like those Moscow tried in 1994-95 collapsed in Crimea despite the presence of pro-Russian politicians there. They would collapse again if the views of the local population are taken into account.

Krasheninnikov concludes: “Let’s not deceive ourselves and learn to see the world more or less adequately: Russia already for a long time is not an empire. Ukraine is a separate state. And the more quickly we come to terms with this situation, the more rapidly we will find the solution of our own internal problems.”



## ***Window on Eurasia***

# **Window on Eurasia: More Russians See Crimea as Russian than Think of Chechnya or Daghestan That Way, Poll Finds**

Paul Goble

Staunton, February 22 – More than most peoples around the world, Russians have problems accepting the borders of their country as legitimate and permanent, for as a new poll shows, a majority of Russians think that a portion of Ukraine is Russian while sizeable minorities do not think that Chechnya or Daghestan is.

According to a VTsIOM poll reported in “Izvestiya” yesterday, 56 percent of Russians view Crimea as a Russian territory, even though it is part of Ukraine, while only 41 percent of them consider Daghestan Russian and only 39 percent consider Chechnya in that way even though they are within the borders of the Russian Federation ([izvestia.ru/news/566276](http://izvestia.ru/news/566276)).

And this lack of acceptance of borders is paralleled by a lack of acceptance of members of other ethnic groups even if they have lived in the Russian Federation for many years. Some 44 percent of Russians are prepared to “recognize as Russians” Ukrainians and Belarusians; 30 percent, Tatars, Bashkirs and Kalmyks; 16 percent, Sakha, Khants, and Chukchis’ 10 percent, Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaijanis; 8 percent, Uzbeks, Tajiks and Kyrgyz; and 7 percent, Chechens, Daghestanis, and Ingushes.

Reflecting and powering such attitudes, the VTsIOM poll found, is that 45 percent of Russians back the slogan “Russia for the Russians!” and 51 percent agree with one saying that it is time to “stop feeding the Caucasus!”

Over the course of the last 20 years, the Moscow paper says, “a [non-ethnic] Russian civil nation has to a large extent taken shape. But the main danger for the unity of the country consists of speculations on ethnic self-consciousness which are especially clearly manifested in the conflicts between the North Caucasus and ‘the rest of Russia.’”

According to “Izvestiya,” the VTsIOM poll found that 57 percent of Russians identify as citizens of Russia, of whom 63 percent are proud of their citizenship. Only 35 percent identify with a city or locality. And in third place, smaller percentages identify themselves in terms of generation or nationality, 16 percent in the case of the latter.

Thus, the paper says, “by their political identification, the residents of [Russia] are above all [non-ethnic] Russians.”

Leonty Byzov, a researcher at VTsIOM, told the paper that “contemporary nations are built on all-civic foundations and not by ethnic sources.” Russia is among them, he said. As far as nationality is concerned, 35 percent of Russians view as Russians “those who were born in Russia and raised in the traditions of Russian culture. Sixteen percent say blood defines Russianness, and 14 percent say the Russian language does.

“Distrust and fear of citizens of Russia from the North Caucasus republics on the part of residents of the esident of Russia and their lack of willingness to consider as [non-ethnic] Russians Chechens, Ingush and Daghestanis is the main mine under the integrity of the Russian Federation,” VTsIOM director Valery Fedorov added.

“Our politicians who speculate on slogans like ‘Stop feeding the Caucasus!’ are only helping the destruction of civic [non-ethnic] Russian identity and a return to ethnic self-consciousness. Today Daghestan and Chechnya are considered non-Russian; tomorrow Sakha and Tatarstan could be.”

Neither the VTsIOM experts nor the Moscow paper offered any discussion of the impact on the future of Russia as a country or as a member of the international community of the large

share of Russian citizens who view parts of foreign countries as properly theirs. But the experience of other countries where that has been the case suggests it will not be positive.

---

---

---

## ***Window on Eurasia***

### **Window on Eurasia: Moscow's Approach to Ukraine Seen Exacerbating Ethnic Conflicts inside Russia**

Paul Goble

Staunton, February 22 –Moscow’s involvement in Ukrainian events not only guarantees that Ukrainians will become more anti-Russian and that Russia will be increasingly isolated internationally. Moscow’s role there is exacerbating ethnic tensions in the Russian Federation by leading to the rise of extremist Russian nationalist attitudes, policies and organizations.

In a lead article in this week’s “Zvezda Povolzhya,” Rashit Akhmetov, the editor of that independent Kazan paper, says that past history suggests that Russians within Russia will want to blame someone close by for the defeat they feel they have suffered abroad, all the more so because of the worsening economic situation in their own country.

That is all the more likely given the promotion of nationalist thematics by the Moscow regime and could, the editor suggests, lead to the emergence of contemporary analogues to the notorious late-tsarist-era anti-Semitic Union of the Russian People and Union of the Arkhangel Michael.

As Marx pointed out, Akhmetov continues, history often repeats itself, the first time as tragedy and the second as farce. But the re-emergence of such attitudes and groups, especially if they believe that they enjoy the backing of the Russian government, could lead to some increasingly serious clashes.

In the past in Russia, those unhappy about their fate for whatever reason tended to blame the Jews for all their problems, he writes. But today such people are beginning to blame “all Muslims and Tatarstan” for them and to believe that “liquidating” the non-Russian republics will be “a panacea” for all of Russia’s difficulties.

Not only does such a campaign ignore the Russian constitution and the desires of peoples like the Tatars who make a major contribution to the Russian economy, Akhmetov

says, but it has taken on such absurd forms that it is difficult not to view what Moscow is doing as anything more than grasping at straws.

He gives numerous examples of what Russian officials have been doing in Tatarstan in recent days but suggests that perhaps the most absurd are the suggestions of some of these people that a Tatar who likes the Beatles is a Wahhabi and that Kazan which has an Orthodox church next to a mosque is fundamentally intolerant.

Akhmetov rests his analysis on the experience of the Soviet Union. Whenever the USSR interfered in the affairs of neighboring countries, "each time this led to serious negative consequences for the country." After Hungary in 1956, Khrushchev's thaw was cut back. After Czechoslovakia in 1968, the USSR stagnated. And events in Eastern Europe in the 1980s played back into the Soviet Union as well.

Has not the fate of the USSR taught anyone anything? the Kazan editor asks. And has no one reflected that "the restoration of the USSR [would bring with it] the restoration of all the complex problems of the USSR?" Apparently not, at least in the Kremlin, he suggests. And then he adds one more damning indictment of what Moscow is doing.

"In the 21<sup>st</sup> century," he writes, "a feudal strategy based on the fist does not have good prospects and will lead sooner or later only to defeat," both abroad and within the borders of the country whose government uses this out-of-date method.

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---