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## UKRAINE – THE EUROPEAN UNION



### KEY THEME ANALYSIS

#### **EUROPE DE FACTO STANDS ALOOF OF THE UKRAINIAN CRISIS**

The European Union has actually taken the position of observer in Ukrainian events and guesses whether the Kyiv authorities are able to cope with the internal crisis and with the Russian aggression which is deepening this crisis. The EU doesn't use existing mechanisms in the field of the Common Security and Defence Policy and doesn't impose effective economic sanctions. The EU has not yet provided financial aid to Ukraine, as well as sufficient help at expert level. It seems that only the press services of the EU institutions and bodies really work, regularly publishing statements about the "strong support" of the democratic development of Ukraine. But the statements are clearly not the leverage which can curb Russian aggression.

**The EU Foreign Ministers meeting on April 14, 2014 did not bring any tangible results.** Despite the talks about possible tougher sanctions against Russia, it was decided to implement only sanctions against four more Ukrainians; and this decision surely can't prevent the escalation of the Kremlin's aggression. European officials enthusiastically agree to any pretext for delaying decision-making, including the notoriously hopeless negotiations with Moscow (another meeting might be held on April 17 in Geneva). **Russia is interested in buying time because it uses it to build up military aggression in Ukraine, while the EU is probably hoping to postpone the solution of the Ukrainian issue until after the elections of the European Parliament and of the President of Ukraine.**

The actual level of performance of even those limited sanctions, which have been adopted by the West against Russian citizens implicated in the aggression, was witnessed by the statements of the Russian businessman Alexey Chaly (whose 'election' as a 'people's mayor' of Sevastopol started the Russian capture of Crimea). In an interview with *The Wall Street Journal* he said that, despite the inclusion of his name in the EU, the U.S. and Canada sanction-lists, his company 'Tavrida Electric' continued to operate freely in these countries, and **only Estonia actually imposed sanctions** against his company<sup>1</sup>.

*The Wall Street Journal* called the position of the EU and U.S. towards Ukraine a 'betrayal', and pointed to the reasons for the unwillingness of the European leaders to impose efficient sanctions against Russia: "An economically feeble European Union gorges on Russian energy and dirty money while lecturing Ukraine on Western values but refusing to defend it."<sup>2</sup> Ironically, the European officials call corruption a major problem of Ukraine, while they turn a blind eye to the money laundering of billions of

<sup>1</sup> Санкции не мешают Алексею Чалому вести бизнес на Западе. -

<http://www.vedomosti.ru/finance/news/25012941/sankcii-ne-meshayut-io-gubernatora-sevastopolya-vesti-biznes>.

<sup>2</sup> The West Leaves Ukraine to Putin. -

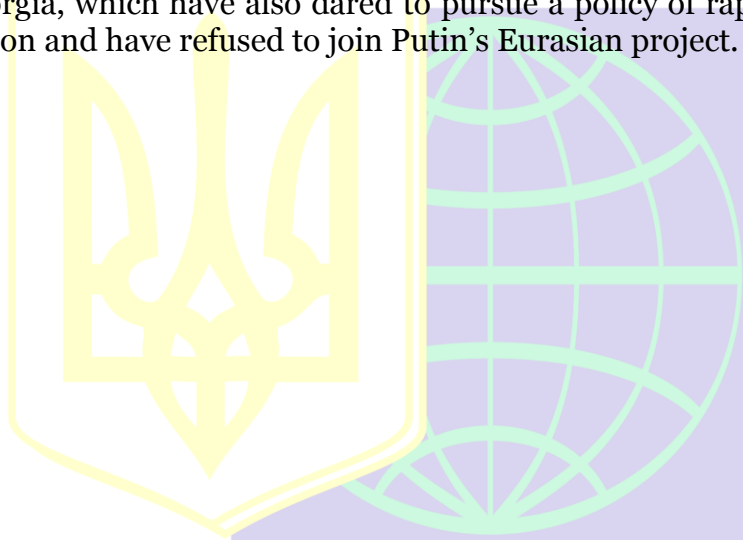
<http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304117904579499762012132306>.

euros by Russian officials and oligarchs in European banks, as well as on Russia's 'buying' the positions of some European political parties, experts and the media.

Only the Central and Eastern European countries, whose politicians still remember the Russian occupation, understand the reality of the threat to Ukraine and the whole of Europe. **Aleksander Kwasniewski rightly hinted to European officials that they should not try to hide out until the presidential election in Ukraine, hoping that the crisis would settle down of its own accord.** The ex-President of Poland is confident that Putin's aim is "to seize the whole of Ukraine and to incorporate it into the Eurasian community ... It is not an issue which will settle down in a few weeks or after May 25, when the presidential elections in Ukraine will be held, it will go on."<sup>3</sup>

Well-known expert Anders Aslund noted that the West had lost its credibility in Putin's opinion after the sluggish response to Russia's aggression against Georgia. That's why the current soft sanctions will not stop the Kremlin. There is a need for decisive action from the West: **"The earlier and more effectively that is accomplished, the lower the cost will be.** The obvious parallel is the West's failure to stop Nazi Germany in time in 1938."<sup>4</sup>

It is obvious, that if the EU continues urging Moscow to help stabilizing the situation in Ukraine (as Angela Merkel has urged Moscow repeatedly), then within a short period of time Russia will 'stabilize' the situation not only in Ukraine, but in Moldova and Georgia, which have also dared to pursue a policy of rapprochement with the European Union and have refused to join Putin's Eurasian project.



<sup>3</sup> Путін планує захопити всю Україну – Кваснєвський. - <http://www.unian.ua/politics/906292-putin-planue-zahopiti-vsyu-ukrajinu-kvasnevskiy.html>.

<sup>4</sup> Putin Needs Victory. - <http://blogs.piie.com/realtime/?p=4275>.

## UKRAINE – NATO



## KEY THEME ANALYSIS

**NATO CAN'T HELP THE COUNTRY WHICH DOES NOT PROTECT ITSELF**

**In April 2014 the drawing of the Russian military threat closer to the NATO member states' borders became even more apparent.** From 40 to 80 thousand Russian troops are located on the borders of Ukraine, ready to invade simultaneously from the North, the East, the South (from Crimea) and from the South-West (from Transnistria). Experts have reported about the increasing number of Russian special forces in Transnistria. This indicates both the intention of a Russian invasion into Odessa region, as well as about the preparation to detach ultimately Transnistria from Moldova and to make it a part of Russia. With the conquest of Odessa Russia might take de facto control over the Black Sea.

The entire NATO response to the escalation of Russia's aggression (apart from the statements of 'strong support') consisted in the introduction of the USS destroyer 'Donald Cook' and French frigate 'Dupleix' to the Black Sea. Such measures did not alarm the Kremlin at all – this was proved by **the blatant provocation on April 12, when over the course of about 90 minutes (!), a Russian SU-24 fighter jet made 12 (!) close-range, low-altitude passes near the 'Donald Cook'.** Significantly, the only reaction of the U.S. Navy was ... the Pentagon statement, in which the actions of the Russian aircraft were called "provocative and unprofessional".<sup>5</sup> It remains unclear whether the USS destroyer had entered the Black Sea just in order to be dishonoured by the Russians.

The effectiveness of the **work of the NATO Advisory Support Team on Critical Infrastructure and Civil Population Protection in Ukraine on April 5-8**, as well as the effectiveness of **the visit of the CIA Director John O. Brennan to Kyiv on April 12-13** are questionable also. We don't know what advice had been given to the Ukrainian counterparts by the NATO advisers and by the CIA Director, but we know that after their visits Russian special forces and separatists have seized a number of towns in the Donetsk region and a number of objects of 'critical infrastructure' such as the airport near the town of Slovyansk (so Russia has got a place to land its troops).

The helplessness of NATO to protect its 'special partner' is even more surprising, given the SIPRI information that the Allies spend two-thirds of all global military spending!<sup>6</sup> And nevertheless, NATO efficiency is more and more similar to the OSCE one, which has eventually become just an institution to produce political statements.

**NATO has failed to send any substantial signal to Russia**, neither in the form of an unscheduled joint military exercise in Ukraine, nor in military assistance, or

<sup>5</sup> Pentagon: Russian fighter flies provocatively close to USS Donald Cook. -

<http://www.stripes.com/news/us/pentagon-russian-fighter-flies-provocatively-close-to-uss-donald-cook-1.277941>.

<sup>6</sup> Дослідження: лише країни Заходу скоротили витрати на військові потреби. -

<http://www.dw.de/дослідження-лише-країни-заходу-скоротили-витрати-на-військові-потреби/a-17562010>.

at least in the form of the threat to use force in case of further escalation of Russia's aggression. On the contrary, the State Department representatives continue stressing that the United States does not consider the issue of military assistance to Ukraine.<sup>7</sup>

**Therefore Russia has achieved the political victory, undermining the confidence of the Allies in the NATO security guarantees.** Excuses that Ukraine is not a NATO member can't mislead anyone, because:

*Firstly*, it is not only about Ukraine, but about the direct threat to the NATO members also, namely, to the Baltic states, Romania, and Poland; that's why these states and the Czech Republic bring up the issue of providing armed assistance to Ukraine;<sup>8</sup>

*Secondly*, the NATO foundation documents do not prohibit its member states providing military assistance at the request of a sovereign third country; and NATO members regularly use this option (e.g. the previous year France carried out a peacekeeping operation in Mali); let's also recall the NATO operations in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, and Afghanistan;

*Thirdly*, such NATO members as the United States and the United Kingdom are obliged to provide assistance to Ukraine in accordance with the Budapest memorandum.

The Ukrainian crisis has shown that the Alliance leaders prefer to interpret the NATO Charter in a manner to avoid any confrontation with Russia. Therefore there is no guarantee that in case of Russia's aggression against the Baltic States, the U.S., France and Germany wouldn't decide that Article 5 envisages only the imposing of economic sanctions against Russia. Ukraine and Georgia, as well as the new NATO members, didn't hesitate to help the U.S. in their 'peacekeeping' operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and other 'hot spots'. **But when NATO has faced for the first time in its history the real need to use its resources for the purpose it was created for, namely, to protect the Euro-Atlantic community from Russian aggression, the Alliance leaders turned out to be unprepared for decisive actions.**

It should be noted that not everyone in the Alliance headquarters is satisfied with Obama's course of handing over Ukraine to Russia. *The Daily Beast* has reported that during the classified briefings for the members of the House Armed Services Committee on March 26-27, **the Supreme Allied Commander Europe Gen. Philip Breedlove warned that the United States was not taking the steps it could to help Ukraine better defend itself.** Gen. Breedlove insisted on the need to provide Ukraine with more secure communications equipment and other assets to assist its command and control capabilities in the field. However, to date, the only military aid the United States has approved for Ukraine is 300,000 ready-to-eat meals. Judging by the Gen. Breedlove's words, one can conclude that the Obama administration has underestimated twice the number of Russian military forces on the borders of Ukraine: Gen. Breedlove spoke about around 80,000, while the U.S. State Department had named the number at around 40,000.<sup>9</sup>

The leak of the information about the existence of the Alliance chiefs who would like to provide real assistance to Ukraine means that Kyiv has a chance to compete for more effective NATO support. **However, it is unlikely the Alliance will extend the assistance, given that the Head of the Ukraine's Mission to NATO Ihor Dolhov says that NATO is already doing for Ukraine everything it can:** "Ukraine has been granted 100% of what the regulatory framework of the Alliance

<sup>7</sup> США і далі не думають про військову допомогу Україні. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/04/15/7022446>.

<sup>8</sup> Президент Чехії: У разі вторгнення Росії на український схід НАТО має ввести війська в Україну. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/04/7/7021598>.

<sup>9</sup> Exclusive: Key General Splits With Obama Over Ukraine. - <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/04/11/exclusive-key-general-splits-with-obama-over-ukraine.html>.



allows it to do for its partners."<sup>10</sup> During the hearings in the U.S. Helsinki Commission, the Ambassador of Ukraine to the United States Oleksandr Motysyk has also expressed satisfaction with the U.S. support to Ukraine.<sup>11</sup> If the representatives of Ukraine are satisfied with just statements of support and ration packs, then why should other countries be more concerned about our security?

**Ukrainian authorities should understand that neither NATO nor anyone else will be able to help a country which does not resist to the aggression itself. On April 14, at the meeting of the UN Security Council, the U.S. Representative Samantha Power actually said that after Russia inspired the seizure of towns in the Donetsk region and after deaths of Ukrainian law enforcement personnel, Kyiv has every right to move on to tough actions.** She said that Ukraine had withstood more than any other UN member state could do without the use of force.<sup>12</sup> Influential American analyst Zbigniew Brzezinski has said to 'CNN' that if Ukraine begins military resistance against the Russian invaders, the public pressure will force the West to provide Ukraine with effective assistance.<sup>13</sup>



<sup>10</sup> Ігор Долгов: Все те, що нормативно-правова база Альянсу дозволяє зробити для партнерів, надається Україні на сто відсотків. - «День», №63, 08.04.2014. - <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/den-planeti/shist-paryamkiv-spivpraci-z-nato>.

<sup>11</sup> Нуланд: За захопленнями будівель на Сході України стоять російські спецсили. - <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/25327967.html>.

<sup>12</sup> США про Україну: Київ зробив усе, що міг зробити без застосування сили. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/04/14/7022307>.

<sup>13</sup> Захід повинен надати збройну підтримку українцям в боротьбі з РФ – Бжезінський. - <http://www.unian.ua/politics/907510-zahid-povinen-nadati-zbroynu-pidtrimku-ukrajintsyam-v-borotbi-z-rf-bjezinskiy.html>.

## FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE



### KEY THEME ANALYSIS

#### **RUSSIA WILL TAKE AS MUCH UKRAINIAN TERRITORY AS UKRAINE, EUROPE AND THE U.S. WILL GIVE UP WITHOUT RESISTANCE**

A month of inactivity of Kyiv, Brussels and Washington after the Russian occupation of Crimea has convinced Moscow that it is safe to continue the aggression. The 'toothless' response has actually provoked the Kremlin to expand the geography of its aggression with impunity.

Kyiv continued to complain about the penetration of Russian subversive groups into the eastern and southern regions, but did not take the appropriate measures to avoid the surge of separatism. The borders with Russia were not closed and checkpoints on the main roads in the eastern and southern regions were not established promptly. The authorities did not fulfil the promise to shift the police units from the central regions to the eastern regions, while the local police failed to resist the separatists and moreover – some police units defected to the separatists' side. The buildings of the local administration and law enforcement agencies, and the infrastructure facilities in the eastern and southern regions were not protected properly, and separatists, lead by Russian special forces, captured them without resistance. Under the pretext of devotion to a peaceful settlement, the police were not allowed to use force against the armed separatists, but at the same time the policemen brutally beat activists who support the unity of Ukraine.<sup>14</sup>

**In fact, neither Ukrainian authorities (especially the law-enforcement bodies), nor experts express an understanding of the real state of affairs.** Even when the separatists had already started to capture the buildings of the local administration, and of the police and security service in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Interior Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Avakov continued to assert that situation was under control. It was surprising that even such well-known experts as director of the Center for Political and Military Studies Dmytro Tymchuk believed these assurances. On April 10 Mr. Tymchuk said to the online edition of *Bakupost* that "Ukrainian law enforcement officers are getting the situation under control."<sup>15</sup> Just a few days later the separatists seized half of the towns in the Donetsk region, and their trucks freely transported armed militants from Crimea to Slovyansk.<sup>16</sup>

**The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine has not demonstrated much**

<sup>14</sup> На дорозі до Харкова силовики побили у суботу щонайменше 100 людей. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/04/14/7022428>.

<sup>15</sup> Дмитрий Тымчук: «Майдан не дал нашей стране новых лиц в политике». - <http://bakupost.az/munasibet/20140410031141022.html>.

<sup>16</sup> К боевикам в Славянске прибыло подкрепление. - [http://lb.ua/news/2014/04/14/263058\\_boevikam\\_slavyanske\\_pribilo.html](http://lb.ua/news/2014/04/14/263058_boevikam_slavyanske_pribilo.html).

**success either.** The lack of arrangements on real support with the United States, European countries and with the CIS states was replaced with daily angry statements, addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Instead of using diplomatic talent to offer Russia and the 'separatists' some negotiation mechanisms which might at least postpone the aggression and provide the Ukrainian authorities with the opportunities to focus efforts, the Ukrainian MFA competed in eloquence with their Russian colleagues.

Rather than launching the campaign to suspend Russia's membership of the Security Council (as the expert of the European Policy Centre Amanda Paul and the ex-Director of the Political Department of the Ukrainian MFA Vasyl Filipchuk suggested<sup>17</sup>), or at least to recognize Russia as a party to the conflict, Ukrainian diplomacy put its efforts into more or less ineffective steps which required less effort. In particular, the Ukrainian side succeeded in the adoption of the resolution of the Executive Board of UNESCO concerning the threat posed by the strengthening of the Russian military presence in Crimea to the educational process, to freedom of speech, and to the cultural heritage of Crimea.<sup>18</sup> Another 'great achievement' happened on April 10, when the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe condemned Russia's actions against Ukraine, and the Russian delegation was deprived of the right to vote until the end of 2014. It is obvious that these decisions will not cause any real problem for Moscow, because unfortunately the influence of UNESCO and of the Council of Europe on world policy is close to zero.

**The initiative to suspend Russia's membership in the UN Security Council might have a much stronger influence on the Kremlin's behavior.** It is worth recalling that Russia 'inherited' its present place in the UN Security Council from the USSR by self-appointing itself the only 'successor' to the Soviet Union. Ukraine, as a former Soviet republic and a co-founder of the UN, might protest against Russia's usurping the place of the USSR in the UN Security Council. This protest might become an opportunity to raise the question of at least suspension of Russia's membership in the UN Security Council. Incidentally, it might deprive Mr. Putin of the possibility to block the resolving of a number of international conflicts.

The other meeting of the UN Security Council on the Ukrainian issue on April 13 resulted in new rigid but inefficient statements of the representatives of Ukraine, the European countries and the U.S. concerning Russian aggression, this time into the eastern regions of Ukraine. The next day, acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov in a telephone conversation suggested the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon conduct a joint anti-terrorist operation in the East of Ukraine with the participation of the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations – "to ensure the legitimacy and legality" of Ukraine's actions. The problem is that such an operation demands the mandate of the UN Security Council, where Russia has a right to veto.

It is likely that the minimum program of the Kremlin is to destabilize Ukraine, to disrupt the presidential election, and to persuade Kyiv and the West to adopt the Russian plan of federalization, which would soon destroy the country. The maximum program is to annex the East and South of Ukraine even before the election, and to return the Yanukovich puppet government to Kyiv. The intermediate option is to create self-proclaimed autonomy in the Ukrainian territories occupied by the separatists, and to demand to recognize them as a party to negotiations. The Kremlin's ability to realize its scenarios depends on how soon Kyiv, Washington and the European capitals will stop helping Moscow to buy time, moving instead to real actions to protect Ukraine against blatant military aggression.

<sup>17</sup> Як врятувати Україну? - <http://tyzhden.ua/Politics/105290>.

<sup>18</sup> ЮНЕСКО: агресія Росії становить загрозу культурній спадщині у Криму. - [http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/news\\_in\\_brief/2014/04/140410\\_ok\\_mzs\\_crimea.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/news_in_brief/2014/04/140410_ok_mzs_crimea.shtml).