

# INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY

**№09**

**17.05.2014 – 05.06.2014**



Foreign  
Policy  
Research  
Institute

Friedrich Naumann  
STIFTUNG  
FÜR DIE FREIHEIT



## UKRAINE – THE EUROPEAN UNION



### KEY THEME ANALYSIS

#### **EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTION 2014 SHOWS THE GRADUAL STRENGTHENING OF RUSSIA'S 'FIFTH COLUMN'**

Despite the 'sensational' headlines in the European media, there was nothing really unexpected in the results of the European Parliament election of May 22-25, 2014. Most experts predicted the rise in popularity of the far-rights and far-left against a background of a fall in the ratings of the ruling parties. But common sense suggests that **the loss of a fifth of votes is not too bad a result for the parties which have governed in the European Union during the toughest economic crisis in EU history.** Moreover, the representatives of the pro-European parties, namely, the European People's Party and the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats won the top positions again (221 and 189 seats respectively out of 751 MEPs). Besides this, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe won 59 seats; The Greens/European Free Alliance got 52 seats; and the European Conservatives and Reformists got 46 seats. Thus, the far-left and far-right (European United Left/Nordic Green Left; Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group), together with the non-attached and newly elected MEPs got only about a quarter of seats (184 of 751),<sup>1</sup> which prevents them from determining the agenda or blocking Euro-integration initiatives.

One should remember that **economic crises always lead to a rise in the ratings of extremist or populist parties.** Therefore, one should not be surprised with the increase of the number of right and left radicals and populists in the European Parliament., especially since the radicals saw the highest growth in countries with traditional strong sympathies towards far-right and far-left populists, including France and Italy, as well as in eurosceptic Britain. No one was really surprised by the strong showing of anti-European radicals in Greece, whose population continues to blame the EU for its economic problems, despite hundreds of billions of aid (although this number of people does not allow Greece to influence significantly on the overall composition of the European Parliament). At the same time, the voters of the 'EU locomotive' (Germany) supported the ruling CDU-CSU led by Angela Merkel. The ruling parties also won in such highly populated EU countries as Spain and Poland.

So the election results should not cause anxiety for the future of the EU, but the European capitals should draw some conclusions. In particular, they should pay attention to **the influence of Russian 'investments' in the European radicals.** Besides the indirect sponsorship of the far-right and far-left movements, the Kremlin has spent a lot of petrodollars to shape the 'correct' point of view of a number of influential European 'experts' and mass media which influenced the voters with manipulative statements and articles. Such 'investments' are beneficial to the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Election results. - <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/election-results-2014.html>

authorities because, **if the rise of the European radicals forces the EU leaders to refrain from further integration steps, including the shaping of common economic, foreign and security policy, as well as to refrain from a strong Eastern policy, it will be much easier for Moscow to promote its own interests in the respective issues.**

In this context, **the European Parliament election results pose a certain threat to Ukraine**, which held its own election on the same day as the European Union. But unlike the EU, the Ukrainian voters showed the most significant support for the European integration course in the country's history: over 87% voted for candidates who declared a pro-European course, while less than 10% voted for pro-Russian candidates. Candidates who had declared their support for Ukraine's accession to the EU took the top four positions: Petro Poroshenko with 54.7% of the votes, Yulia Tymoshenko with 12.81%, Oleh Lyashko with 8.32%, and Anatoliy Hrytsenko with 5.48%. At the same time, pro-Russian Serhiy Tihipko (5.23%) and Mykhailo Dobkin (3.03%) got only fifth and sixth positions respectively.<sup>2</sup>

**Representatives of the political parties which control the majority of seats in the European Parliament are favorable to Ukraine.** Thus, the Vice-President of the EPP Jacek Saryusz-Wolski was the MEP who proposed to including in the EP Resolution of February 27 2014 a point about the prospects of Ukraine's membership in the EU. The representatives of the European Conservatives and Reformists (Paweł Kowal, Charles Ayerton Tannock and others) actively supported the European integration prospects of Ukraine. The Chairman of the Greens Rebecca Harms is also known for her sympathies to Ukraine, and she has repeatedly visited EuroMaidan. The MPs of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats and of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe also supported the deepening of EU relations with Ukraine. All these parties have condemned the Russian aggression against Ukraine and supported sanctions against Moscow.

**The European radical populists have quite a different attitude to Ukraine, but they are in the absolute minority in the new European Parliament, despite the fact that they have increased the number of their seats by a quarter.** The leaders of the European United Left, the French National Front, the UK Independence Party, the Austrian Freedom Party, and the Hungarian Jobbik, all are known for their sympathies for Vladimir Putin and his revanchist course. They don't have enough seats in the EP to block the European integration of Ukraine, but **the question is whether the leaders of European countries decide to slow down the rapprochement with Ukraine, fearing the growth of their radical opponents' ratings?**

**It is indicative that the European parties who are opponents of the European integration of Ukraine are the same which supports simultaneously the destruction of the EU itself (e.g., Marine Le Pen).** Incidentally, both these positions correspond with Moscow's interests, because the disintegration of the EU might grant Russia the opportunity to renew its influence over the former socialist camp. Besides, if the EU collapses, Russia will become the most powerful geopolitical player in the region, while now it doesn't have enough strength to compete with a united Europe. So it is not surprising **that Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk and Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski consider the Eurosceptics a 'fifth column' of the Kremlin,<sup>3</sup> and the Lithuanian MEP Leonidas Donskis called them "a new International Fascism, with its**

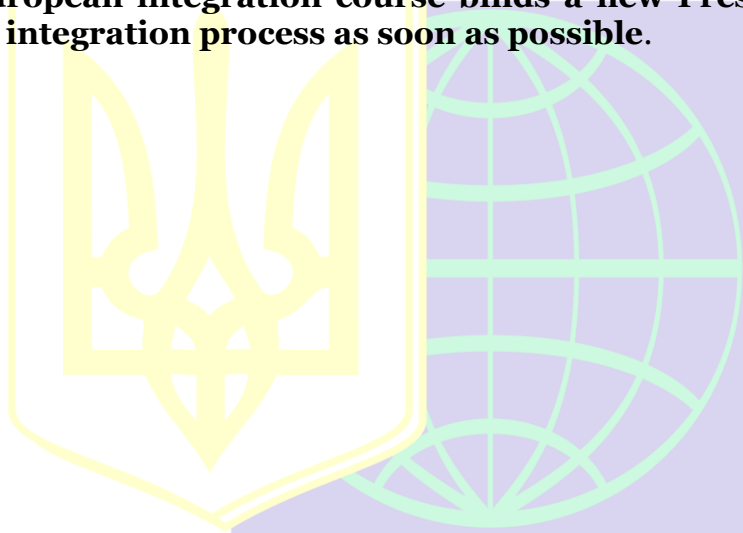
<sup>2</sup> Протокол Центральної виборчої комісії про результати виборів Президента України. - [http://www.cvk.gov.ua/info/protokol\\_cvk\\_25052014.pdf](http://www.cvk.gov.ua/info/protokol_cvk_25052014.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Sikorski rozmawia z „Rz”: W sprawie Ukrainy Europa popełniła błąd. - <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/107684,1111692-Sikorski-rozmawia-z--Rz---W-sprawie-Ukrainy-Europa-popełniła-bledy.html?p=5>

**headquarters in Moscow."**<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to the ideas of the Eurosceptics, we believe that **the recent European Parliament election indicated that the EU needs even more close integration and more effective decision-making procedures** (including the replacement of the consensus decision-making principle with the majority vote procedure), as well as better implementation mechanisms. The fate of decisions in the Union of half a billion should not depend on the whims of certain countries whose ruling elites are corrupted by Russian money. And they should not have the right to block the accession of other countries to the EU, while taking 'bribes' from the Kremlin for such blocking. **European Commissioner Štefan Füle has rightly called for changes within the EU in order to make it able to include new members.**<sup>5</sup>

The current EU institutional weakness, the loss of integration dynamics, the lack of a common foreign policy – all these make the EU unattractive for its residents and hinder the feeling of shaping the common European home. And this leads to the increase of anti-European sentiments, to the rise of the radical, populist and neo-fascist movements, generously sponsored by the Kremlin, which considers the EU its geopolitical enemy. **The two-thirds of votes in favor of pro-Europeans, despite the economic problems, provides European officials with a mandate to strengthen the integration processes. And the 9/10 of the Ukrainian votes in favor of the European integration course binds a new President to find a way to join this integration process as soon as possible.**



<sup>4</sup> Депутат Європарламенту: На Європу наступає привид фашизму. - <http://tyzhden.ua/News/110632>.

<sup>5</sup> Ukraine, Moldau und Georgien sollen in die Europäische Union. -

[http://www.welt.de/print/welt\\_kompakt/article128542322/Ukraine-Moldau-und-Georgien-sollen-in-die-Europaeische-Union.html](http://www.welt.de/print/welt_kompakt/article128542322/Ukraine-Moldau-und-Georgien-sollen-in-die-Europaeische-Union.html)

## UKRAINE – NATO



### KEY THEME ANALYSIS

#### NEW PROSPECTS FOR UKRAINE – NATO COOPERATION

The Russian annexation of Crimea, without any resistance, as well as the failures of the first months of the anti-terrorist operations in the Donbas region – have demonstrated a deep crisis of the Ukrainian Armed Forces after 23 years of cuts in spending, total corruption and sales of so-called ‘excess’ military equipment. It turned out that the so called ‘creation of a professional army’, declared by Viktor Yanukovych at the time of his presidency, meant just the theft of the weapons’ rests and appointing Russian FSB agents to senior positions in the defense and law enforcement agencies.

**The real efficiency and effectiveness of Ukraine – NATO cooperation during the period of Yanukovych’s rule is also questionable, despite the corresponding high appreciations of the Alliance chiefs.** Scenarios of fighting against terrorist groups had been repeatedly worked out at joint exercises, and Ukrainian military personnel always received high marks from NATO officials. On September 17 2013 NATO Deputy Secretary General Alexander Vershbow in his video address to the International Conference "The Role of International Organizations in the National Security of Ukraine" said that despite Ukraine’s decision of 2010 to no longer seek to join NATO, "over the past three years, our cooperation has become arguably more intensive and productive than ever before."<sup>6</sup> And in just six months, in April 2014, it became clear that Ukraine did not have proper material and human resources to cope effectively with just a few hundred poorly armed (at that time) militants. And the ‘partner’ Alliance turned out to be unable to help Ukraine more than providing ready-to-eat meals.

In fact, in April-May 2014 Ukrainian combat-ready troops had been creating from zero, including the partial mobilization, training of volunteers, repairs and purchases of military equipment, setting up a command structure. Till mid-May, weak and feeble progress had been reached in this field, however the number of Russian mercenaries and their equipment increased by an order of magnitude during this period.

Why did NATO officials fail to see the real condition of the Ukrainian army during that "more intensive and productive than ever before" cooperation? Why did NATO fail to promptly provide Ukraine with at least elementary advice to assist in the protection of the Donbas region, until the real fighting started? What is the actual level of the armed forces of the other NATO partner countries (as well as of the NATO members themselves), taking into account the inadequately high marks given to the Ukrainian Armed Forces by NATO generals? Such questions undermine the confidence in the competence of the Alliance’s management and in the efficient of use of its resources on

<sup>6</sup> Video address by NATO Deputy Secretary General Alexander Vershbow to the Conference on International Organisations and the National Security of Ukraine (Kyiv, Ukraine). - [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-F5BA63D5-2E85B2B0/natolive/opinions\\_103193.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-F5BA63D5-2E85B2B0/natolive/opinions_103193.htm)



military exercises and training.

Against such a background it is difficult to assess the real condition of the present Ukraine – NATO cooperation. On the one hand, we hear again the statements about support and assistance. E.g. **on May 30 2014 in Vilnius, at the annual spring session, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly adopted the "Declaration on Supporting Ukraine"**, in which it condemned Russian "clear and undeniable aggression" and called for tougher sanctions against Russia. Besides this, they adopted a decision to withdraw Russian representatives from the associate membership in the NATO PA.<sup>7</sup> **On June 3, in Brussels, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen** promised to complete the development of "a long-term comprehensive package of measures for more effective implementation of reforms in Ukraine and strengthening of its armed forces".<sup>8</sup> **On June 4, after meeting with Petro Poroshenko in Warsaw, Barack Obama promised** to provide Ukraine with armor vests and night vision devices for \$5 million.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, the amount of aid promised by Mr. Obama, is clearly insufficient to equip the Ukrainian soldiers at least at the level provided by Russia to its mercenaries in Ukraine. And it is clearly less than Petro Poroshenko's expectations, expressed in his interview to *The Washington Post*, in which he asked for direct U.S. military aid, similar to the 'Lend-Lease' programs of the Second World War.<sup>10</sup>

**Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute Grygoriy Perepelytsia in his comment to 'Radio Svoboda' suggested that "in addition to the diplomatic statements, NATO does not take any real steps to protect Ukraine"** and "is not going to provide the military assistance to Ukraine and to deploy troops there", because Ukraine is not a member of the Alliance, so there is no legal basis to protect it.<sup>11</sup>

**It is obvious that after the demonstration of the real situation in the Ukrainian army, NATO will not have a desire to take Ukraine into its ranks in the near future**, because the Alliance's 'old' members already have to shift their military units to defend its 'new' frontiers in Poland and in the Baltic States, which are not adequately protected. Germany and France were always against Ukraine's joining NATO, but under the present circumstances, even *Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski, who can hardly be suspected of anti-Ukrainian positions, said that Kyiv should "restrain itself in the pursuit of NATO"*.<sup>12</sup>

The irony is that the present crisis has exposed the vulnerability of Ukraine to Russia and, on the one hand, has reduced the attractiveness of Ukraine to NATO as a potential member, and on the other hand, has convinced a significant proportion of Ukrainians of the need to integrate into the Alliance. According to the polls, in April 2014, 39.5% of Ukrainians supported membership of NATO,<sup>13</sup> while just recently, the figure was about half of that.

**The newly elected President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko realizes the inability of immediate entry into NATO.** He said that the current level of public

<sup>7</sup> Парламентська асамблея НАТО закликала до більш жорстких санкцій щодо Росії у зв'язку з подіями в Україні. - <http://nato.mfa.gov.ua/ua/press-center/news/23760-parlamentsyuka-asambleja-nato-uhvalila-deklaraciju-na-pidtrimku-ukrajini>

<sup>8</sup> Rasmussen: NATO to offer comprehensive measures to reinforce Ukraine's defence capacity. - [http://www.ukrinform.ua/eng/news/rasmussen\\_nato\\_to\\_offer\\_comprehensive\\_measures\\_to\\_reinforce\\_ukraines\\_defence\\_capacity\\_322393](http://www.ukrinform.ua/eng/news/rasmussen_nato_to_offer_comprehensive_measures_to_reinforce_ukraines_defence_capacity_322393)

<sup>9</sup> Obama says Ukraine can thrive with the world's backing. - [http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/04/obama-ukraine-can-thrive-petro-poroshenko?CMP=tw\\_t\\_gu](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/04/obama-ukraine-can-thrive-petro-poroshenko?CMP=tw_t_gu)

<sup>10</sup> Ukraine's Poroshenko says he wants direct U.S. military aid. - [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jackson-diehl-ukrainian-president-elect-wants-direct-us-military-aid/2014/05/27/20c0be88-e567-11e3-afc6-a1dd9407abcf\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jackson-diehl-ukrainian-president-elect-wants-direct-us-military-aid/2014/05/27/20c0be88-e567-11e3-afc6-a1dd9407abcf_story.html)

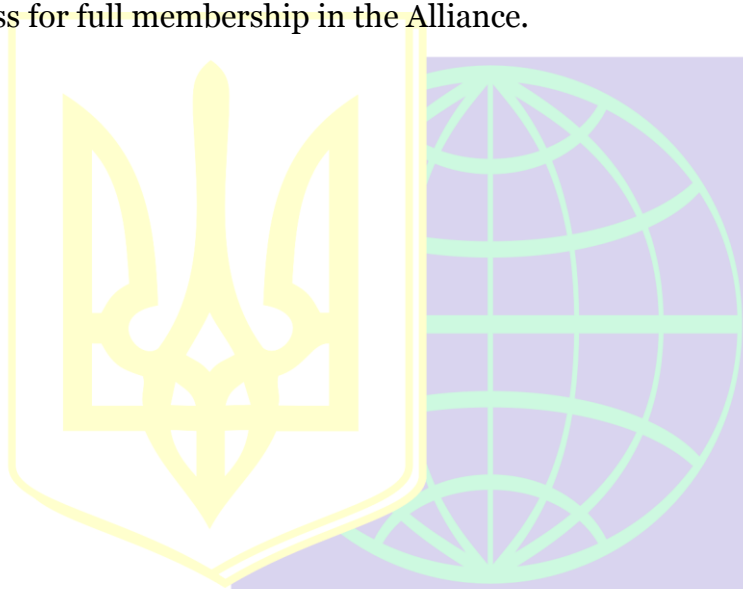
<sup>11</sup> США і НАТО хочуть покарати Росію – політолог. - <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/25409212.html>

<sup>12</sup> Sikorski rozmawia z „Rz”: W sprawie Ukrainy Europa popełniła błędy. - <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/107684,1111692-Sikorski-rozmawia-z-Rz---W-sprawie-Ukrainy-Europa-popeelni-la-bledy.html?p=1>

<sup>13</sup> Ідеологічні маркери: настрої щодо можливих референдумів. - <http://www.ratinggroup.com.ua/products/politic/data/entry/14089>

support for NATO membership is not enough, and NATO is also not yet ready to accept Ukraine – because of our unresolved problems, including the territorial one.<sup>14</sup> To the contrary, the second most popular politician Yulia Tymoshenko had made a call to appoint on May 25 2014 (the election day) a referendum on Ukraine's membership in NATO.<sup>15</sup> The idea was hardly appropriate, because in case of a negative result, the opponents of Ukraine – NATO cooperation could be granted with a significant argument. MP Vyacheslav Kirilenko said that Ukraine could accomplish an "accelerated NATO membership plan in 2-5 years"<sup>16</sup>, but this idea also looks too optimistic.

In any case, voting on May 25 2014 of the absolute majority of Ukrainians for the presidential candidates, who declared their intentions to expand cooperation with NATO, identified that **Russian aggression made inevitable the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, and now it's only a matter of time**. Kyiv has finally realized the need to have a real, not a sham army. NATO had the opportunity to make sure that its eastern borders are not adequately protected, that Russian aggression is quite possible, and that attempts to appease the Kremlin with concessions on the issue of expansion only increase their aggressive appetites. **Ukraine and NATO have the convincing motivation and every opportunity to start a real, not declarative cooperation**. And both parties are interested in Ukraine's soon achieving the level of complete readiness for full membership in the Alliance.



<sup>14</sup> Порошенко вважає, що українці недостатньо хочуть в НАТО. -

[http://espreso.tv/news/2014/05/10/poroshenko\\_vvazhay\\_scho\\_ukrayinci\\_nedostatno\\_khochut\\_v\\_nato](http://espreso.tv/news/2014/05/10/poroshenko_vvazhay_scho_ukrayinci_nedostatno_khochut_v_nato)

<sup>15</sup> Тимошенко пропонує 25 травня провести референдум щодо членства в ЄС та НАТО. - [http://espreso.tv/news/2014/05/15/tymoshenko\\_proponuye\\_25\\_travnja\\_provesty\\_referendum\\_schodo\\_chlenstva\\_v\\_yes\\_ta\\_nato](http://espreso.tv/news/2014/05/15/tymoshenko_proponuye_25_travnja_provesty_referendum_schodo_chlenstva_v_yes_ta_nato)

<sup>16</sup> Україна може бути членом НАТО вже за 2 роки – Кириленко. - <http://ukrainian.voanews.com/content/ukraine-nato/1928302.html>

## FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE



### KEY THEME ANALYSIS

#### ***AFTER THE FAILURE TO DISRUPT THE ELECTION IN UKRAINE, RUSSIA HAS CHOSEN TO BUILD UP A CAMOUFLAGED MILITARY AGGRESSION***

On May 25 2014 it became apparent that Russia has failed to implement the ultimate goal in its war against Ukraine: the presidential election was held in most regions of Ukraine, while the 'independent' Novorossiia (New Russia) was created just in the imagination of Mr. Putin and Mr. Tsarev. Moscow has been forced to abandon (at least for some time) its plans for a full-scale military invasion because of the gradual build-up of the Ukrainian National Guard, the threat of third stage sanctions, and most importantly – the lack of support for the separatists among the population of most of the Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine.

However, the change of the Kremlin's tactics does not mean the rejection of its plans to occupy the entire Southern and Eastern Ukraine. **Dmitry Medvedev** in his interview to "Bloomberg" openly stated that Russia is not going to guarantee the territorial integrity of Ukraine: *"We don't have to guarantee anything to anyone because we never undertook any obligations on this matter."*<sup>17</sup> The Kremlin's plans have been indicated by the Russian party **LDPR statement** about its intention to submit to the State Duma a draft law on the need to "free" from the Kyiv government the "illegally occupied newly established state entity of Novorossiia", consisting of the Odessa, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Donetsk and Kharkiv regions.<sup>18</sup>

In late May, 2014 Russia started the partial withdrawal of its regular troops from the Ukrainian borders and simultaneously increased dramatically its 'export' to Luhansk and Donetsk regions of experienced and well-armed mercenaries, including those from Chechnya. The Ukrainian State Border Service informed that in late May, up to 40 'Kamaz' trucks with armed mercenaries were concentrated on the Russian side of the state border.<sup>19</sup> To clear the way for the delivery of the new groups of mercenaries, on June 3-4 2014 hundreds of Russian militants attacked the Ukrainian state border guards and forces them to leave

<sup>17</sup> New Cold War May Emerge in Ukraine Crisis, Medvedev Says. - <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-05-20/second-cold-war-may-emerge-in-ukraine-medvedev-says.html>

<sup>18</sup> Юго-восток Украины - оккупированная территория. - [http://ldpr.ru/events/the\\_southeast\\_of\\_ukraine\\_the\\_occupied\\_territory](http://ldpr.ru/events/the_southeast_of_ukraine_the_occupied_territory)

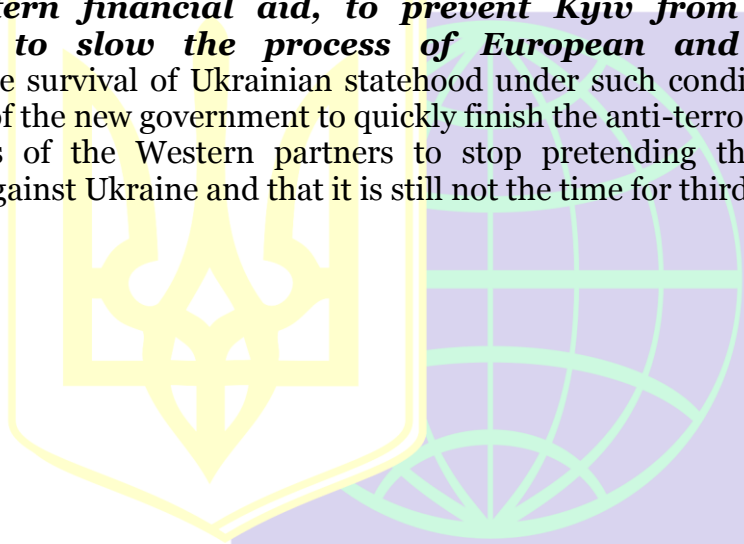
<sup>19</sup> Держприкордонслужба: вночі в Україну прорвалися озброєні бойовики. - <http://tyzhden.ua/News/110847>



the border outposts in the Sverdlovsk district of Lugansk region and in Dmytrivka in Donetsk region. Thus, more than 100 km of border with Russia became unattended.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, Russian media propaganda has already 'prepared' public opinion: 61% of Russians support the participation of Russian 'volunteers' in the fighting in Donbas, and 58% of Russians support the provision of separatists with military-technical assistance from Russia.<sup>21</sup>

**Russia is trying to conduct a war against Ukraine with the help of the army, consisting of thousands of mercenaries,** armed with mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, anti-aircraft guns, and armoured transport vehicles. **Among the short-term Russian goals is to make the Donbas region an uncontrolled territory of disaster such as Somalia.** To this end, the saboteurs, who have been trained in Russia, in Crimea and in Donbas, are fighting in the way which should provoke civilian casualties – they base their fighting positions in the kindergartens, schools, hospitals, residential and administrative buildings; and they use ambulance vehicles for their moves. The mercenaries kidnap and torture people, rob the banks and shops, and thus spread panic among the local population.

***Having lost the opportunity to capture quickly the East and South of Ukraine, Russia relies on the delaying and escalating of the conflict, perhaps hoping to destroy thus the Ukrainian economy, to neutralize the effect of Western financial aid, to prevent Kyiv from implementing reforms, and to slow the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration.*** The survival of Ukrainian statehood under such conditions depends on the resoluteness of the new government to quickly finish the anti-terrorist operation and on the readiness of the Western partners to stop pretending that Russia is not conducting war against Ukraine and that it is still not the time for third stage sanctions.



<sup>20</sup> На Донбасі "оголили" понад 100 км кордону з Росією. - <http://tyzhden.ua/News/111518>

<sup>21</sup> Ситуация на Юго-Востоке Украины. - <http://www.levada.ru/02-06-2014/situatsiya-na-yugo-vostoke-ukrainy>.