

Forcing Change



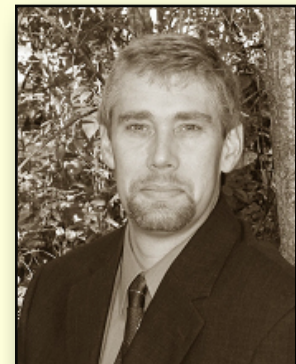
Flashpoint Ukraine

This edition of *Forcing Change* is devoted to examining the Ukraine situation, for this part of the world and the adjacent region is a crucial, geopolitical pivot point. It is here, in that spread of land between the Black Sea and the northern conflux of the Dnieper River tributaries, that the East and West have engaged in a game of push-and-pull. Why?

The complexity of the global order since the fall of the Soviet Union has only increased. Rather than a Western framework singularly dominating the international landscape, as some hoped after the Fall of the Berlin Wall, we have witnessed the growth of competing visions. The broader Atlantic Community, NATO and the European Union, are and remain a powerful bloc. But other regional players exist and overlap into the global arena. Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, and China and the Shanghai

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Carl Teichrib, Editor

Cooperation Organization, are two examples. Add to this an interlock of world trade, energy flows, debt obligations, agreements and treaties, and the picture becomes increasingly messy. Moreover, these *cooperating* and *competing* entities interact at the United Nations and within other international bodies - each with a vision, each with a history. And at times a key country becomes the pivot point for competing influences. Enter, Ukraine.



Consider a few facts.

- Ukraine is the gateway between the expanding Atlantic Community, Russian markets and interests, and the Caucasus and Central Asia.
- Russia's formidable Black Sea Fleet is housed in Crimea, and has remained a legal and economic tension point between Kiev and Moscow for over two decades. Added to this is the fact that Crimea has separatist movements, with one pointing to Moscow and the other Tatar-based. Ukraine thus becomes a lightning rod as competing interests work to leverage political influence from within and outside Ukraine's recognized sovereign territory.
- Ukraine is a main pipeline transit point for Russian petroleum flows to Europe, and Moscow's revival as a regional powerhouse has been fueled by the sale of energy products. As Robert D. Kaplan wrote in the Winter 2014 issue of *Diplomat & International Canada* right before the Russian-Ukraine military tensions began, "Armies are not marching; rather, hydrocarbons are flowing. For that is the modern face of Russian influence in Europe."
- The European Union and the former Soviet-controlled, Eastern European nations, are heavily invested in Ukraine moving toward the West. Trade has increased in anticipation of EU mem-

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bership, and its official joining would bring new levels of financial interaction and open significant funding opportunities.

- The European Union is working to enact legislation that would effectively force a restructuring of Russia's energy export industry, as it targets government monopolies (Moscow controls Gazprom, Russia's most important petroleum company).
- Russia is expanding its energy network and investing in new petroleum transport options, the South Stream and White Stream projects, along with constructing liquid-natural-gas facilities in the Arctic and increasing tanker traffic in the Northern Sea Way. The Black Sea shipping route, nevertheless, remains crucial; 35-40% of the country's total oil exports by sea pass through waters controlled by its Black Sea Fleet based in the Crimea.
- Russia envisions a new Eurasian Union slated to start in 2015. Analysts recognize that this bloc, if successful - and especially if Ukraine joined - would become a *de facto* competitor to the European Union. As Ukraine is not a member of either organization but has the potential to tip balances if it chooses one-or-the-other, it finds itself in an immense geopolitical tug-of-war.
- Finally, the history of Ukraine, Russia and Eastern Europe, the Black Sea region, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and the Greater Middle East are bound in a tangled web of empire, struggle, ethnic cleansing, animosity, partnerships and alliances, and epic shifts of power. The historical element alone, bearing influence on today, demands our attention.

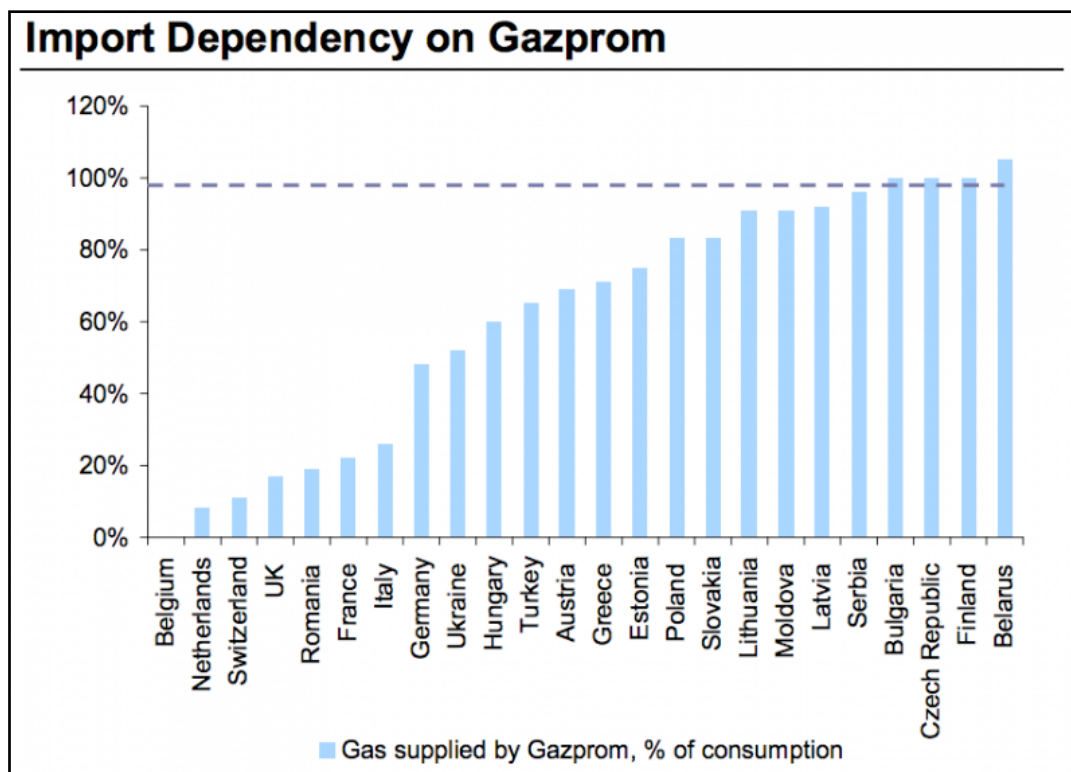
With the above in mind, the remainder of this edition of *Forcing Change* will look at modern history and the developments that have led to the show-down in Ukraine. Please note that this will not be about what has transpired in the last few months, or the rightness or wrongness of certain outside political influences. Much has been written by others in those areas, and often with large doses of speculation and disinformation.

Rather, I am presenting articles meant to help you flesh out the emotions and complexity that exists, with other tidbits of information that will assist you in seeing the picture. This means looking backwards more than forwards. For without some historical knowledge it is difficult to read between-the-lines and filter through the noise.

Finally, even if 2014 witnesses an easing of tensions in the region and a new normalcy, this edition of *Forcing Change* will still remain relevant. Simply put, the problems are not going to disappear anytime soon. **FC**

Energy Charts: Russia and Europe

The following image and chart helps bring perspective to the importance of Ukraine as it relates to Europe and Russia, and the vitality of Russia's petroleum industry - primarily through Gazprom - to European and world markets.



Ukraine in the Historical Crosshairs

By Carl Teichrib

As this is being penned, Russia and Ukraine are at odds and the threat of war is real. The situation is messy, with historical tensions and present day complexities. Add to this an integrity-deficit as demonstrated in many Western political circles, not just over the Ukraine situation, but as seen in other matters of foreign affairs, and it becomes painfully obvious that destabilization and tension will remain in Eurasia.

To help understand the Ukraine situation, a short survey of the historical backdrop is given below. This survey focusses on the Russian Revolution and World War II.

But you may be asking, “why look backward?” After all, the era of ideological conflict and World Wars are considered *passe* by many in our enlightened digital age. Describing the position of Putin and the Russian government, Secretary of State John Kerry said; “It’s a 19th century act in the 21st century.” In Kiev’s US Embassy he reiterated by saying; “This is the 21st century and we should not see nations step backwards in a 19th or 20th century fashion.” Others have made similar comments.

Statements such as the above fall short. For while 19th and 20th century events merely represent footnotes for most of us in North America, in other parts of the world this historical backdrop speaks into the present day.

Consider the fact that during the past couple of months over 150 statues of Lenin have been pulled down across Ukraine! Or that a host of historical flags have been flown as banners during demonstrations; the black and red flag of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a nationalist movement that fought the Nazis and Communists during World War II; the St. George’s flag with orange and black ribbons, modeled after the valor medals given to Red Army soldiers; or the red-blue-black flag of the Donetsk Republic, which was a Ukrainian breakaway state founded in 1918 that lasted only a few weeks. Or the burning of Soviet-era communist flags in Kiev last October. And then there was the March 4th stand-off outside of Sevastopol with Ukrainian soldiers bearing their national banner *and* a World War II flag from the Soviet Union. Of course, news stories and political commentary have been rife with 19th and 20th century references to Communism, the Soviet Union, Nazism and Fascism, Soviet-styled Russian expansionism, and historic Ukrainian nationalism.

It’s like the “old world” has slammed into the new.



This can be hard for us in North America to grasp. After all, in the last one hundred years we have never experienced the depth of struggle that has marked Eastern Europe. Our cities haven't been leveled. We never witnessed the terror of planned Nazi or Communist liquidations. Our industrial systems weren't obliterated by invading forces, nor was our soil fertilized by the blood of own families. We've never experienced the execution of whole populations through man-made famines. We've never engaged in retaliatory executions.

Does the above sound overly dramatic? Not at all. It's the modern history of Europe.

As you read this short survey of the Ukraine's 20th century struggle, keep in mind that the information doesn't explain why the present crisis is happening. Nor does it speak to the fact that in our day many positive interactions between formerly antagonistic nationalities take place, which is a very good thing.

To be fair to John Kerry and the others who talk about the past as if it's bygone, yes, in many respects the world has changed. But the history that shaped Eastern Europe is never far away.

History of Occupation and Terror

- In the aftermath of World War I and during the Russian Revolution, the Ukraine experienced the rise and fall of various short lived states as a political power vacuum emerged. It was a time of civil conflict, hostile factions, independence movements, foreign interventions, land seizures, and open warfare (ie., the Polish-Ukrainian War). Battles were fought internally as political lines were drawn and opposing camps wrestled for control, and as outside powers looked to secure parts of Ukraine. Famine and disease swept the region, greatly adding to the grief. By 1922, the Soviets had consolidated their hold and Ukraine became a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The death toll for the Ukraine and the surrounding Eurasian region during this time period has been estimated as 1-in-10.
- During the Soviet reign of Stalin in the 1930s, the Ukrainian people were targeted for elimination through an engineered starvation campaign. Although death numbers have been debated due to poor record keeping, it has been estimated that the "terror-famine" or Holodomor took the lives of 4 to 8 million people. Whole towns and villages were wiped out. Soviet controlled collective farms in the Ukraine exported grain while "about twenty thousand children awaited death in the barracks of Kharkiv at any given time."¹ Corpses "littered" the countryside, and cannibalism was a reality. Malcolm Muggeridge, one of the few Western journalists who traveled through the famine zone, wrote that it was "one of the most monstrous crimes in history, so terrible that people in the future will scarcely be able to believe that it happened."
- The Ukraine was decimated during World War II as Nazi Germany invaded, occupied, and attempted to push into deeper Soviet territory. Many in the Ukraine initially viewed the Nazis as liberators from the oppression of Stalin. However, Hitler's view of Ukraini-

ans – and all people of Slavic origin – was sub-human, even though some were integrated into the Nazi military machine, especially the Cossacks in their quest to fight against Soviet Communism (it must be noted that not all German front-line officers held to Hitler's view, and thus accepted Slavs willing to join).

The acceptance of Slav fighters notwithstanding, Ukrainian civilians faced the wrath of the Nazi regime. Historian Alexander Werth informs us as to the Nazi's initial plans,

“Goering [Reichsminister and President of the Reichstag] is quoted as having said: 'The best thing would be to kill all men in the Ukraine... and then to send in the SS stallions.' He also cheerfully envisaged the possibility in 1941 of twenty or thirty million people dying of hunger in Russia during the following year... The Ukraine was, to the Germans, first and foremost a source of food; secondly, of coal, iron and other minerals; and thirdly, of slave labour.”²

On the eve of Germany's invasion of Russia, Himmler, head of the Nazi SS, reiterated the goal; “The purpose of the Russian campaign [is] to decimate the Slavic population by 30 million.”³ The Ukraine, as Soviet-held territory with fertile soil and other natural resources, was firmly in the Reich's sights. Kiev, the capital, was listed along with Moscow and Leningrad as a city destined for mass death.⁴ Later it was to become a major collision point between Nazi and Soviet field armies, and a place noted for the massacre of Ukrainian Jews and other citizens.

Large numbers of Ukrainians were also conscripted into Stalin's Red Army, and by war's end some 1.4 million had been killed in battle. Added to this was the fact that thousands of Ukrainians were held in Nazi prison camps where they died of exposure, starvation, and slave labor.

It was during this period when a determined but ill fated Ukrainian liberation movement was active, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA), which fought against the Nazis, Soviets and Poles – and engaged in acts of ethnic cleansing against Polish citizens. The UIA continued to operate as a guerrilla force after World War II.

It has been estimated that 8-10 million Ukrainians, citizens and soldiers, were killed during World War II.

- Regarding the Crimean Peninsula: In 1944, Stalin forcibly resettled the entire Crimean Tatar population, one act in a massive resettlement program that took place throughout the many “politically questionable” regions within the USSR. During World War II, like so many other ethnic groups under Moscow's umbrella, Tatars served in the Red Army *and* fought with the Germans against the Soviets. Moreover, Tatars wishing to eliminate the Russian civilians living in the Crimea “organized a mass slaughter of their own, killing between 70,000 and 120,000 Russians.”⁵ The Crimean Tatars, a Turkic-based ethnicity native to the region, was rapidly shoved out of their homeland. In three days, May 18-20, over 180,000 were deported to Central Asia, with most going to Uzbekistan.

- Near war's end, Ukrainians once again were in Stalin's hand. More famine, involuntary population transfers, and the purging of nationalists took place. Furthermore, because of Allied dealings with Stalin, Ukrainians and other Soviet citizens who found themselves on the Western European side of the Allied-Soviet divide were rounded up by British, Canadian and American military units, and subsequently shipped back to the Soviet Union. This included former soldiers and prisoners of war, and whole families who had earlier become refugees. Men, women and children were placed in special camps, loaded in trucks and rail cars, and sent east.

The Soviet officer in charge of receiving war returnees, Colonel General Golikov, stated that 5.2 million had been returned as of October 1, 1945.⁶ Of that number, an estimated 3 million were sent to concentration camps in Siberia where scores died, and many others were simply shot when they reached Soviet soil. The ethnicities of those returned were a cross-section of Eastern Europeans and Russians, and included Ukrainians and Cossacks.

Historian Timothy Snyder calls that vast swath of territory from the Crimea north to Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and across to Posen and back down to Odessa the "bloodlands." It was a region that witnessed in the space of a few decades the systematic murder of 14 million civilians, conservatively speaking. And this number does not include the soldiers who perished under the banner of the Nazi swastika (4.5 to 5.5 million) or the Soviet sickle (8.5 to 13.9 million).

Snyder puts all of this into context, "During the years that Stalin and Hitler were in power, more people were killed in Ukraine than anywhere else in the bloodlands, or in Europe, or in the world."⁷

Today the world is watching Ukraine and Russia as they stand in each other's crosshairs, and we wonder if the recent tensions are going to fade or flame-up. Meanwhile, news stories spin and politicians talk. Yet in the background a dark and bitter history lurks, one that has not been relegated to a footnote.

Pray for the people of Ukraine, Russia, and the surrounding nations. **FC**

Endnotes:

¹ Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2010), p.22.

² Alexander Werth, *Russia at War: 1941-1945* (E.P. Dutton, 1964), p.601.

³ Quoted in *Architects of Annihilation: Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, by Gotz Aly and Susanne Heim (Princeton University Press, 2002), p.237.

⁴ *Architects of Annihilation*, p.244.

⁵ Andrew Bell-Fialkoff, "A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993. This article can be read at www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/48961/andrew-bell-fialkoff/a-brief-history-of-ethnic-cleansing.

⁶ See, Peter J. Huxley-Blythe, *The East Came West* (Caxton, 1964), p.169.

⁷ *Bloodlands*, p.20.

Timeline of Hope and Disappointment: *Ukraine, Russia, and the World*

By Carl Teichrib

The following timeline demonstrates important milestones in the Ukraine-Russian dynamic.

Note: this timeline is not exhaustive in scope or focussed on the developments of the past few months. Rather, the listings are heavily concentrated on the decade of the 1990s, as this was the period of immediate post-Cold War instability - and a time of hope and disappointment that energized the region.

What this timeline represents is a basic starting point for those who are interested in exploring the intricacies and complexities of the Ukraine crisis.

1989

9 November: Berlin Wall Opened.

An enormous backstory to this monumental event exists, nevertheless, the “fall of the wall” had worldwide implications and was formative to the modern history of Eastern Europe. After the Fall and during the next two years the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) – in which Ukraine was a part – started to unravel. It is thus the starting point for this timeline.



1990

January 21: Ukrainian Human Chain.

Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians formed a human chain as a call for independence from the Soviet system. It was an event that recalled the 1919 unification between the short-lived West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic, and by invoking this historic memory, a public desire for independence was made.

July 5-6: London Declaration.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) met in London, England, to discuss the changes sweeping Europe and its response. The outcome document was unprecedented in NATO's history. Titled the *London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance*, it committed NATO to a broader security road by recognizing that “in the new Europe, the security of every state is inseparably linked to the security of its neighbours.” The *London Declaration* noted that, “NATO must become an institution where Europeans, Canadians and Americans work together not only for the common defense, but to build new partnerships with all nations of Europe. The Atlantic Community must reach out to the countries of the East which were our adversaries in the Cold War, and extend to them the hand of friendship.”

July 16: Ukraine Sovereignty.

State sovereignty is declared by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Republic, although the nation still remained in the orbit of Moscow.

November 19: Territorial Agreement.

The Treaty on the Basic Principles of Relations between Russian and the Ukraine was signed, whereby territorial integrity was acknowledged between the Soviet governments of Moscow and Kiev. A final treaty would be concluded seven years later.

November 21: Charter of Paris for a New Europe.

Heads of state met under the umbrella of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and signed an historical document titled the *Charter of Paris for a New Europe*. “The era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended,” the text stated. Building on the *Helsinki Final Act*, the *Charter of Paris* set the tone for international relations in a post-Cold War era. Signers, including the Soviet Union, agreed to “a more united continent,” to “build new partnerships,” and “extend to each other the hand of friendship.” A new Europe was envisioned with democracy, security, and unity of purpose. National self-determination and the integrity of sovereignty was recognized.

1991**January-October: Crimean Politics.**

On January 20, the Crimean population voted to re-establish the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. However, this action was rife with political maneuvering as the Crimea – with a notable Russian citizenship – and Ukraine, both remained under a certain level of Soviet influence.

Refat Chubarov, the first Deputy Chairman of Mejlis, the executive body of the Crimean Tatars with a mandate to address historical grievances and promote national self-determination, wrote the following regarding the 1991 Crimean Referendum.

“Moscow and the direct implementations of its policy in Crimea, in fact, didn’t hide their true goals – to oppose any possibility of restoration of the autonomy of Crimea on the national-territorial basis in connection with the start of the massive return of Crimean Tatars to their historical native land and to create additional leverage, allowing Moscow to keep on controlling Ukraine.

Consequently, it was the Referendum of January 20, 1991 that laid a false ground for the restoration of Crimean autonomy. Instead of proceeding from the inalienable right of the Crimean Tatar people for the self-determination that should serve the basis of the restoration of the autonomy of Crimea and uniting of the multiethnic population of the peninsular the politicians of that time went another way, taking into consideration only the will of [the] Russian majority of Crimea, the overwhelming majority of which settled in Crimea after the deportation of Crimean Tatars.”¹

On February 12, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Republic granted the Crimean Oblast the status of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the territorial borders of Ukraine.

Toward the end of June, the first Congress of Crimean Tatars gathered in Simferopol, making a claim for self-determination within a Tatar-Crimean homeland. A little over two months later, the Crimean parliament made a declaration of sovereignty “as a constituent part of the Ukraine.”

In October, the Ukraine Supreme Soviet allowed the Tatar diaspora to return home.

August 24: Ukrainian Act of Declaration of Independence.

In the immediate shadow of the attempted coup against Gorbachev, which some considered a “show coup,” Ukraine's Supreme Soviet issued a *Declaration of Independence* and thus moved to officially distance itself from the USSR. The Ukrainian Parliament voted 346 to 1 for independence.

August 26: Communist Suspension.

Ukraine's Parliamentary Presidium formerly suspended the country's Communist Party.

December 1: Ukrainian Referendum.

Ukrainians voted on a referendum which asked, “do you support the *Act of Declaration of Independence* of Ukraine?” Over 92% approval was received. The next day, Canada and Poland recognized the newly independent Ukraine, with the United States doing so a few weeks later. This pro-independence referendum has been viewed by some as the “final nail in the coffin” of the USSR.

December 5: First President.

Leonid Kravchuk, who was the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament) and had officially resigned from the Communist Party in August, was elected as Ukraine's first President.

December 8-30: Commonwealth of Independent States.

As the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was rapidly unraveling, a new regional organization was birthed between the Russian Federation, Belarus (which presented a declaration of independence the day after Ukraine's announcement), and Ukraine: the Commonwealth of Independent States. On December 21, eight other newly-independent Soviet states joined CIS, and later the organization was joined by Georgia. Under the CIS umbrella, all participating nations would retain independence yet work toward an organized economic/trade and military/security platform. However, as of December 30, Ukraine refused to ratify the CIS Charter it helped create.

December 25: USSR Gone.

Gorbachev announced the official dissolution of the Soviet Union. The *Warsaw Pact*, the Soviet security apparatus that parallels NATO, is disbanded.

Symbol of the CIS and member flags.



1992**January:** Ukraine Currency-Coupon.

Ukraine instituted a temporary currency-coupon, the *karbovantsy*, to be used as a domestic replacement for the Soviet-Russian Rouble (Ruble). However, Roubles could still be used for non-paper/cashless transactions by enterprises. This was to be a stepping stone to a future national monetary unit called the *hryvnia*. To that end, new *hryvnia* notes were contract printed in Canada yet remained out of circulation.

January 3: Who Owns What.

As a former satellite of the USSR, Ukraine announced ownership of Soviet troops and equipment now on its soil. Troops are thus required to swear allegiance to Ukraine and within three days 80% comply. During this same period, Russia announced a claim to all Soviet-era foreign assets.

January 11: Black Sea Fleet.

A communique between Ukraine and Russia recommended placing the Soviet's Black Sea Fleet under joint control.

January 23: Regrets Over Crimea.

In 1954, the Soviet Union transferred the Crimea Oblast to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and thereby placed Crimea within the territorial jurisdiction of Kiev. On January 23, 1992, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Russian Parliament condemned the 1954 action.

January 30: CSCE.

Ukraine joins the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a security process and diplomatic channel for East-West state relationships and cooperation.

April 3-4: Russia Calls for Crimea Secession.

On a visit to Crimea, Russia's Vice-President called for Crimea to secede from Ukraine. Crimea politicians consider the option.

May 5-19: Crimean Confusion.

On May 5, the Crimean Parliament declared independence from Ukraine and passed its new constitution, and announced a referendum for later in the summer. The next day, the Crimean Parliament inserted a line into its freshly written constitution that affirmed itself as part of Ukraine. Ten days after Crimea declared independence, Ukraine's parliament quashed the action and by the 19th Crimea formerly scrapped its bid for sovereignty while retaining some elements of autonomy. During this time, the Russian-inspired Republican Movement of Crimea was active in fermenting Crimean independence.

May 21: Russia's Reversal.

Later in May, Russia's parliament passed a resolution to reverse the 1954 transfer of Crimea to Ukraine. This is viewed by Kiev as Moscow meddling with Ukraine's internal matters.

September 25: Crimean Revisions.

A revised Crimean constitution was adopted which granted the Crimean Oblast certain powers over its own foreign economic affairs and social policies, while recognizing that the peninsula would remain as

part of the Ukraine and that “territory can not be transferred to another state without the consent of both the Ukrainian and Crimean parliaments.”²

October 24: National Salvation Front.

The National Salvation Front (FNS) was formally organized in opposition to Russia's reforms and subsequent loss of regional influence, and the political role of Boris Yeltsin. Operating as a unified group of pro-communists and nationalists, the FNS was vocal in its anger towards Ukraine's independence. Earlier in the year, Sergei Baburin of the FNS told the Ukrainian Ambassador, “either Ukraine reunites with Russia or there will be war.”

November 13: Roubles Replaced.

Ukraine officially ceased using the Russian Rouble in all areas of economic life, replacing Russia's currency with its own monetary unit in domestic and foreign transactions.

December: Talbott on Tensions.

US Ambassador Strobe Talbott, highlighting tensions within Russia over Ukraine independence, wrote the following; “The brutal fact is that many Russians – notably including Russians that we would consider to be good guys, liberals, reformers – in their government, do not accept the independence of Ukraine. And Ukrainians know that. That is one reason why Ukrainians know there is no state on the face of the earth that has more need for security guarantees against Russia than Ukraine.”³

1993

June 17: Divide the Fleet.

Russia and Ukraine heads-of-state agreed to split the Black Sea Fleet in-two. The timeline for this was to start in September 1993 and conclude in 1995. Later in the month, 120 naval officers announced that the fleet would remain intact, representing a refusal to abide by the Ukraine-Russian agreement.

July 9: Sevastopol Fleet.

The Crimean city of Sevastopol, home of the jointly controlled Black Sea Fleet, is contested by Russia's parliament which claims the city as its own. Russia's parliament also announced that the Black Sea Fleet is a single entity under Moscow's domain. Kiev objected and stated that this was a breach of international law. A few weeks later the United Nations Security Council declared Russia's act incompatible with previous agreements and the UN Charter.

August: Fretting over a Dual Fleet.

Joint command of the Black Sea Fleet was agreed upon by Russia and Ukraine as a transition to the official dividing of the naval force. However, as most fleet officers and a large percentage of the crew were ethnic Russians, the idea of division did not sit well. Most of the officer class remained committed to an indivisible, Russian-controlled, Black Sea Fleet.

September: CIS Associate Membership.

The Commonwealth of Independent States, a loose replacement for the now defunct Soviet system, had not yet become a truly operative body, and Ukraine's dissociation was viewed as a hinderance to CIS functionalism. In September, the CIS worked to negotiate an Economic Union and required a larger par-

ticipation from Ukraine. However, as before, Kiev was reluctant to entangle itself with broader CIS affairs and instead asked for an “associate membership.” Commenting on this divisive issue, Paul J. D'Anieri wrote, “While Ukraine sought to participate in the economic union, it still refused to delegate authority such that Ukraine might be legally committed to something it opposed. The effect of Ukraine's reluctance is to seriously undermine the ability of the economic union to deal with any but the most trivial issues.”⁴

September 3: Fleet-for-Debt.

Ukraine owed Russia for energy imports. In turn, the Russian government stated that Kiev had moved to sell its Black Sea Fleet to Moscow as payment for the debt, and lease the city of Sevastopol to Russia. Ukrainian officials explain that this was a suggestion only and not a hard offer.

November 16: Non-Proliferation.

Ukraine signs the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*, beginning the legal framework for dismantling all of Ukraine's nuclear weapons and moving the country into a new security context.

1994

January 10-11: NATO Partnership For Peace.

At the NATO Summit in Brussels a new bi-lateral cooperation programme is launched, the Partnership For Peace (PFP). Unlike traditional NATO membership with its blanket security arrangement, PFP is tailored toward individual nations wishing to partner with NATO on country-specific security strengthening measures; military-to-military exchanges and exercises, defense planning, emergency and disaster responsiveness, and education and training opportunities. Countries joining PFP are not official members of NATO, but inclusion in the programme is recognized as a significant step toward embracing the Euro-Atlantic community. Each joining nation must contribute resources to the programme, develop NATO-military interoperability, work to implement PFP political outcomes, and ensure its military is under democratic control.



January 14: Trilateral Statement.

Russia, the United States and Ukraine sign the *Trilateral Statement*. In agreeing to dispose of all nuclear weapons, Kiev was given assurances that its territory would be secure from foreign military advancements. In turn, Russia received all nuclear warheads and missile systems and the US provided funding through Nunn-Lugar to aid in the dismantling of nuclear weapon infrastructure in Ukraine, including ICBM silos.

January 16-30: Crimea Voting.

Two rounds of voting took place in Crimea as the Republic of Crimea looked to elect a President. Pro-Russian and pro-separatist candidate, Yury Meshkov, wins 73% of the vote. He holds the presidential post until 1995.

February 8: NATO and Ukraine.

Ukraine joins NATO's Partnership For Peace. It's the first post-Soviet state to do so.

February 10: Meshkov, Independence, and Russia.

Crimea's president, Yury Meshkov, stated the following to reporters; "The main aspect of my policy is Crimea's independence. Independence alone will allow us to solve our economic problems. The results of the presidential elections confirmed the population's orientation to economic, cultural and other links with Russia, and to reunion with Russia... The Black Sea Fleet must be indivisible, belong to Russia and be based in Sevastopol which is an inalienable part of the Republic of Crimea."⁵

May 13: Crimea-Russian Trade.

Crimea and Russia signed a bilateral agreement to enhance economic trade and cooperation. Kiev responded that the framework cannot be an "international agreement" as Crimea is not independent of Ukraine.

May 20: Crimea Constitution.

Crimea's parliament worked to reinstitute the original 1992 Crimean Constitution, which would remove the peninsula from Ukraine's influence. Kiev responded by demanding compliance with Ukraine's laws and re-affirmed Crimea as part of Ukrainian territory. Russia officially remained distant from the Crimea-Ukraine tension for a number of reasons, including jeopardizing its NATO's Partnership For Peace negotiations, the fear of inciting regional break-aways within Russian territory, and concerns over its own domestic instability.

March 10: Public Poll.

Crimea's president Meshkov authorized a "public poll" on Crimea's independence. Recognized for what it was, a referendum on Crimean separation and the incorporation of the peninsula into Russian hands, Kiev immediately blocks the action and proclaims it as counter to the *Trilateral Statement*.

June 14: EU Partnership.

Ukraine and the European Union signed a co-operation agreement to expand economic interests. It is hoped that this step will help move Ukraine towards membership in the World Trade Organization. About one month later the Council of Europe and Kiev begin political dialogues.

June 22: NATO and Russia.

Russia joins NATO's Partnership For Peace.

July 19: Kuchma Elected.

A new Ukraine President is elected, Leonid Kuchma, who promised greater economic linkages to Russia. Crimean politicians view this as a step toward CIS membership.

September to March 1995: War of Laws.

In what has been called the "war of laws," tensions between the Ukraine and the Crimean Peninsula focus on the creation and abolition of legal agreements, laws, and regulations. This included Crimea passing a law to suspend Ukraine's rules over state property, and Ukraine's refusal to provide funding to

Crimea institutions that undermined Kiev's legitimacy. Political uncertainty and instability in Crimea add to the stress.

October: Credit Extended.

The International Monetary Fund extends credit to Ukraine in the amount of \$700 million, and the World Bank puts forward a \$500 million loan.

December 5: Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances.

At the time of the *Budapest Memorandum*, Ukraine had possession of the third largest arsenal of nuclear weapons on the planet, a hold-over from the Soviet Union. The *Memorandum*, connected to Ukraine's acceptance of the *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons* and the *Trilateral Statement*, was signed by Russia, the United States and the United Kingdom. In effect it allowed Ukraine to decommission nuclear stockpiles in exchange for guarantees of territorial integrity, including safeguards against the exertion of economic pressure to influence Ukraine's domestic political life.

1995

January: Ukrainian Inflation.

1995 opens with Ukraine's inflation rate at over 21%. The IMF provided three stability loans and inflation levels fluctuated from 4.6% in May to 14% in September.

January 1: CSCE to OSCE.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe officially changed its name to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Since the 1990 *Paris Charter*, the CSCE diplomatic process had shifted into a more formal setting – including the declaration of being a regional security arrangement under Chapter 8 of the UN Charter. With the birth of the OSCE, now a fully operational international organization, a permanent high-level channel existed through which European security and cooperation could be built beyond the context of the European Union, NATO, and the CIS.

February: Declaration on the Division.

After negotiations a *Declaration on the Division of the Black Fleet Sea* was adopted. This agreement allowed for the leasing of the Sevastopol naval base to Russia, but not the city itself.

February 8: Friendship?

Moscow and Kiev negotiate a *Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation*. However, due to Black Sea Fleet issues and other concerns the *Treaty* remained without signatures.

March 17: Presidency Disbanded.

The post of Crimean President was dissolved by the Ukrainian parliament.

June 8-9: Base Division.

Officials from Russia and Ukraine met at Sochi to resolve the Black Sea Fleet debacle. Sevastopol, according to the agreement, would remain as a Russian naval port with 82% of the fleet given over to Moscow. However the treaty was left unsigned and re-emerged in 1997.

September 26: Ukraine-Europe Connection.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe extends Ukraine membership into the Council and recommends allocating “twelve seats to Ukraine in the Parliamentary Assembly.” On October 18 the Council of Europe formally accepts Ukraine into its assembly.

September-October: New Divide.

Suggestions emerged from pro-CIS officials to have Ukraine act as a buffer between the CIS and NATO. Moreover, Belarus recommended a three-way customs union that would place Ukraine closer to Moscow's center of gravity, creating a “Slavic-triangle.” If followed through, the East-West divide in Europe would be enlarged. Kiev refused both suggestions.

1996**January 25: Russian and the Council.**

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recommends that Russia be given a place in the Council with 18 seats given to it in the Assembly. In 1996, Russia officially becomes a member. Some European leaders look to this as a hopeful sign of Russia taking its proper place in the European family of nations. Eventually others would see the Council membership as a failure.

June: SS-19.

Ukraine announced that all nuclear-warhead equipped SS-19 intercontinental ballistic missiles had been dismantled or shipped back to Russia. This, however, wasn't without problems. As the SS-19 contained toxic substances, the United States provided storage tanks for the 2.2 metric tons of accumulated waste. Russia absorbed and re-used 19 of the SS-19 rockets.

June 28: Ukraine Constitution.

A new constitution was ratified, replacing the former constitution of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Republic. The 1996 constitution “allowed for an exception for temporary presence of foreign bases on Ukrainian territory. Yet Crimea, Sevastopol, and the Black Sea Fleet are still rallying cries for Russian nationalists. In practice, Russia has paid its lease to Ukraine by netting out Ukrainian gas arrears.”⁶

August 24: New Currency.

With inflation at close to zero, Ukraine used this opportunity to replace its post-Soviet currency-coupon with a new monetary unit, the *hryvnia*.

1997**May 16: US-Ukraine Binational Commission.**

Ukraine's head-of-state traveled to Washington DC for an official bilateral meeting, the first of its kind between the former Soviet nation and the US. The docket included Ukraine's natural gas development, security concerns, and trade issues.

May 21: Poland and Ukraine Declaration.

Recognizing the historical tension and animosity that exists between Poland and Ukraine, the heads-of-state from both nations signed the *Declaration on Concord and Unity*. In doing so both nations ac-

knowledge the ethnic displacements and killings that took place during World War II, and agree to forge a future based on friendship.

May 28: Black Sea Fleet Treaty Signed.

After years of wrangling over the fate of the Black Sea Fleet, Russia and Ukraine sign the *Agreement Between the Russian Federation and Ukraine on the Status and Condition of the Russian Federation Black Sea Fleet's Stay on Ukrainian Territory (Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation)*. Approximately 82% of the naval vessels go to the Russian side of the table, and Moscow retained the right of basing the fleet at Sevastopol for 20 years. Russia, in return, must fund all port upkeep and facility provisions.

July 9: NATO-Ukraine Partnership.

NATO and Ukraine create a “distinctive partnership,” a special forum known as the NATO-Ukraine Commission, with the purpose of cooperating on security issues and developing a tighter Ukraine-Atlantic connection. Granted this special partnership re-emphasized the security agreement between Ukraine, the United States, and Russia.

June 20: G8.

Russia joined the G7 to create the G8 as representative heads-of-state met in Denver, Colorado. Eastern European economic reform and trade issues were discussed, including the role of Ukraine.

August 23-31: Sea Breeze.

Under the NATO Partnership For Peace programme, United States, Turkey, Georgia and Ukrainian military forces conduct a joint naval landing exercise along the Black Sea coast. The initial fictional scenario was to be a NATO landing on Crimea meant to quell a separatist uprising. This scenario, however, was changed to a humanitarian relief action in a fictional country called the Orange Republic. Moscow voiced its concern and dismay, and pro-Russian protestors gathered on the Black Sea shore with anti-NATO placards and banners.

September 16: United Nations General Assembly.

Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs is elected President of the 52nd Session of the UN General Assembly. It is an appointment that elevated Ukraine's status in the global community.

Autumn: Internal EU Agency.

The Ukrainian government creates a European and Transatlantic Integration Administration within its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, this agency has its own European Union Department.

1998

March 1: EU Agreement.

The European Union-Ukraine Partnership and Co-operation Agreement comes into force. This agreement intensifies the move toward EU-Ukrainian integration.

March 28: Ukraine Votes.

Ukraine's parliamentary elections are held and the Communist Party gains the most seats.

June: EU Integration Strategy.

Ukraine's president approved "Ukraine's Strategy of Integration into the European Union." This read in part; "national interests of Ukraine require the identification of Ukraine as an influential European country, full-fledged EU member."

August 17: Russian Financial Crisis.

From 1992 onward, Russia's financial system experienced tremendous setbacks with severe social and political repercussions. As the post-Soviet society wrestled with internal power struggles over who controlled "state assets," feudalizing Russia's industrial base, the general economy went into a tailspin. Long term wage freezes and rising inflation meant that the standard of living for many Russians plummeted. Exasperating and feeding the rapidly burning-out economic furnace was the fact that Western financial institutions flocked to Russia in order to direct reform, without understanding the social-economic situation. From 1992 to 1998, thanks in part to American-based "shock therapy" restructuring, Russia witnessed a demographic winter and the political empowerment of new strongmen. Adding to the economic stress was the 1997 Asian financial crisis. By August, 1998, the Russian government devalued the Rouble and defaulted on its debts.

September 10: Ukraine Defaults.

In a surprising order that didn't come to light until the following day, the Ukraine government defaults on domestic debts.

1999**July 23:** EU Summit.

A press release from the Mission of Ukraine to the European Parliament regarding the EU-Ukraine Summit of 1999, states the following; "We have discussed recent developments in Ukraine and in the EU, and have exchanged information on Ukraine's strategy of integration with the EU, as well as on the development of the EU's Common Strategy on Ukraine..." By 1999, the EU had become Ukraine's largest outside donor.

2001**June 6-7:** GUAM.

The charter of the GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development is signed and the four-nation group is officially operational. GUAM, an acronym for the post-Soviet countries of Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, is an organization working as a common front to promote stability and economic development. It is seen by some as a counter to the Russian-influenced Commonwealth of Independent States.

2004**March 19:** Towards a Wider Europe.

Under the auspicious of the OSCE and on the eve of the historic expansions of NATO and the European Union, nine Eastern European countries sign a Joint Statement titled, *Towards a Wider Europe: A New Agenda*. The text reads in part: "We are committed to developing a closer relationship with Ukraine, re-

flecting its European vocation and encourage Ukraine to pursue significant political reforms. We stand ready to welcome a democratic Ukraine into the Euro-Atlantic community.” The nine signatory nations were Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovakia.

March 29: NATO Enlargement.

Seven eastern-bloc nations – Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia – formally joined NATO. This was unprecedented from two points: 1) it was the largest round of enlargement in NATO's history, 2) all nations who joined were formerly in the orbit of the Soviet Union.

May 1: European Union Enlargement.

The largest expansion of the EU occurred on the heel of NATO's expansion. This enlargement consisted of seven former Eastern-bloc countries, one from the former Yugoslavia, and two Mediterranean states.

November 2004-January 2005: Orange Revolution.

Reports of election fraud and the narrow results of the presidential race unleashes social unrest, and the Orange Revolution erupts. At first the pro-Russian candidate, Viktor Yanukovych, appeared to win. When the election results are publicly contested, riots and demonstrations ensue. Because no candidate passed the 50% threshold required, and due to election fraud accusations, a second vote is held and the pro-Western candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, is declared the victor. Yulia Tymoshenko, a leading voice of the Orange Revolution – which is energized through a politically diverse coalition – is hailed as a hero by pro-Western supporters.

During the months of demonstrations and political flux, Western voices and Russia's President Putin levy charges of interference against each other in Ukraine's domestic affairs.

2005

January-February: Yushchenko and Tymoshenko.

On January 23, Viktor Yushchenko takes the office of President, and Tymoshenko is appointed Prime Minister of Ukraine the next day. However, the political reality is one of coalition splitting, internal strife, and public accusations.

2006

September 25: GUAM Peacekeeping.

Government ministers from the four GUAM countries met at the United Nations and discussed an ongoing proposal, the creation of a GUAM-based security force to act as a regional peacekeeping entity. By creating their own joint military units it was hoped the GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development could replace Russian peacekeepers in Georgia, and to participate in other regional conflict zones. In establishing a GUAM security force two political steps could be achieved; A further removal from Moscow's regional influence, and a closer step toward European integration through OSCE collaboration.

October: Putin's Protection.

Russian leader, Vladimir Putin, assured Ukraine of security guarantees if the Black Sea Fleet could be permanently based in Crimea. Putin also explained that “the Crimea forms part of the Ukrainian side and

we cannot interfere in another country's internal affairs.” He then threw in an open-ended caveat that pointed to Russia's potential for necessary involvement; “At the same time, however, Russia cannot be indifferent to what happens in the Ukraine and Crimea.”

2008

February 1: Advancing Association.

The EU and Ukraine began negotiating for the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area, a precursor to completing an EU *Association Agreement*. This *Association Agreement* will bring Kiev much closer to full European Union membership.

May 26: EU Looks East.

An EU Eastern Partnership programme is proposed by Poland with the backing of Sweden, Germany and France. This Partnership, if implemented, would work to create a free-trade zone with Ukraine and other post-Soviet states. Poland and Sweden acknowledge that this programme would help distance Ukraine from Moscow and deepen Kiev's relationship with the European community.

Summer: Poll Results.

Russian polling results demonstrated a markable change in the public's view of the United States. In 2000, 69% of those asked had a “very good” or “mainly good” opinion of the US. By July 2008 this had changed significantly with only 43% responding in a positive light. Similarly, 46% held a negative view of the US in 2008, up from 23% eight years prior. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Russian-Georgian conflict, which took place in the first week of August 2008, the Levanda Center asked Russians what they perceived as the main reason for the short-lived war. Forty-eight responded with, “The U.S. leadership wants to extend its influence on Russia's neighbouring states.” In September, another poll revealed that 52% of Russians agreed that the “cold war” was in continuation.⁷

2009

February 19: NATO-Russia War.

In an article for the Atlantic Council, Andreas Umland suggested that tensions between NATO and Russia could result in catastrophe. “What is, in this case, in store for the world is not only a new 'cold' war, but also the possibility of a 'hot' and, perhaps even, nuclear war. This assessment sounds not only apocalyptic, but also 'unmodern,' if not anachronistic.”

As Umland, an expert in Russian-Ukrainian political history, explained in his piece.

“Such a scenario has become feasible again as Russian public opinion and elite discourse have – until August 2008, largely ignored in the West – made a fundamental shift, during the last years. The 1990s began with Russia's enthusiastic embrace of the Western value system and partnership; they ended with Russian skepticism and bitterness towards the West. This was less the result of NATO's expansion or bombing of Yugoslavia per se than an outcome of Moscow's peculiar interpretation of these actions.”⁸

Umland added that Russian distrust was deeply embedded in the nation's social fabric, being visible in television talk shows and academic events. Part of this, he explained, emerged from a largely accepted

conspiratorial view that American intelligence agencies – especially the CIA – have had a hand in everything from Ukraine's Orange Revolution to the terror attacks of 9/11. Another reason, he said, was the result of observable inconsistencies in Western foreign policy and the West's disregard for Russian ethnic concerns in Eastern Europe.

2011

October-November: Eurasian Union.

Russia's Putin proposed a customs union that would incorporate and integrate the post-Soviet region, and that it would be built on the "best values" of the Soviet system. Political endorsement comes from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan. This Russian-regional union has its roots in the 1995 customs bloc that developed between Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan joined in 1996 and 1997 respectively).

2012

August 1: Chatham House Review.

England's Chatham House examined the rising development of the Russian-based Eurasian Union, temporarily dubbed the Eurasian Customs Union. It was noted in a Chatham briefing paper, published in August, that with the forming of this new body the European Union would no longer be the "only game in town." Chatham House also recognized that the new union would increase Russia's governance influence, and present a "normative rivalry" to the European bloc.

Note: Ukraine is offered membership into the Russian union as an alternative to the European Union.

2013

August: Ukraine and Eurasian Union.

Ukraine formerly applied to be an observer within the Eurasian Union.

Note: Internal pressure mounts within Ukraine's political community between the push-and-pull of whether to move into the European Union or take the Russian route. This tension spills into society.

September: Russia's Warning and Europe's Push.

Moscow warns Kiev that if Ukraine follows through with its European Union association, it will face catastrophic economic conditions that may threaten the very existence of the nation. The September 22 edition of *The Guardian* noted the following push from Europe; "At a discussion forum in the Black Sea resort of Yalta over the weekend, European politicians gathered to pepper Ukraine's president and political elite with encouragement to cement the country's turn away from Moscow and toward Brussels."

November-December: Demonstrations.

Mass demonstrations take place in Ukraine over the government's decision not to sign the European Union Association Agreement, which would have tightened the relationship between Kiev and Brussels. Russian pressure against the agreement is cited, and the EU decries Moscow's influence in the decision. Unrest mounts in Kiev and the Crimea.

2014

Tension mounts and protests break forth in Ukraine. Russia asserts itself in Crimea and edges troops along Ukraine's border. The West threatens with economic responses... and the world waits and wonders what the outcome will be.

¹ Refat Chubarov, "Its a Common Knowledge that Every House Must Have a Firm Foundation," Mejlis official website, <http://qtmn.org/en/news/1003-its-a-common-knowledge-that-every-house-must-have-a-firm-foundation>, January 20, 2012.

² Victor Zaborsky, *Crimea and Black Sea Fleet in Russian-Ukrainian Relations*, Center for Science and International Affairs, September 1995.

³ Quoted by Victor Zaborsky, *Crimea and Black Sea Fleet in Russian-Ukrainian Relations*.

⁴ Paul J. D'Anieri, *Economic Interdependence in Ukrainian-Russian Relations* (State University of New York, 1999), p.142.

⁵ See Zaborsky, *Crimea and Black Sea Fleet in Russian-Ukraine Relations*.

⁶ Anders Aslund, *Ukraine: How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy* (Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2009), p.101.

⁷ See Andreas Umland's February 19, 2009 article, "NATO-Russian War: A Scenario," at www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/natorussia-war-a-scenario.

⁸ Ibid.

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