Will Europe see establishment of dictatorship in its heart?

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Roundtable Discussion
“EuroMaidan: Views from the Ground and Future Perspectives”

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If democratic mechanisms do not work, revolution will take the stage.
Ukraine after presidential election-2010 at the crossroads: democracy or authoritarianism, the East or the West

Choice-1
Parliamentary majority formation by pressing and bribing;
Repressions against opposition and civic leaders;
Limitation of human rights and freedoms;
Selective justice, disregarding the rule of law;
Construction of the Russian model of managed democracy;
Transformation of corruption as a bottom-up model;
Break-off the relations with the West and entering Custom Union with Russia

Choice-2
Fair re-elections in the problematic districts, punishments of all involved in the electoral violations;
Redressing cases of selective justice and reforming of the judiciary;
Stopping the limitation of human rights and freedoms, especially freedom of media;
Real fighting corruption;
Signing the Association Agreement at Vilnius Summit

2015: Who will win at the fair presidential elections?

2015: Victor Yanukovych will be a winner of the unfair elections
Establishment of authoritarianism, curtailment of political rights and civil liberties (2010 - ???)

- Political repressions
- Establishment of authoritarian hierarchy of power: degradation of parliament, total subordination of judiciary to executive
- Endemic and systematic nature of corruption
- Limitation of electoral competition
- Restriction of freedom of speech
- Curtailment of basic rights and freedoms

**BUT**

- Activation of civil society
- Loss of illusions
- Consolidation of opposition
Economy was subordinated to Yanukovych and his close relatives and affiliates

- Endemic corruption
- Monopolies
- For my friends, anything; for my enemies, the law
- Bribes on public procurements
- Expropriation of properties through courts

Viktor Yanukovych’s son, Oleksandr, has during the last 6 months multiplied his wealth three times – from 187 to 510 million of USD.
**Problem-2015: How to win the elections?**

Second round of presidential elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yatseniuk</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Yanukovych</td>
<td>30.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yatseniuk</td>
<td>36.8</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Yanukovych</td>
<td>30.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Klychko</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Poroshenko</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Yanukovych</td>
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</table>
Between the West and the East: where to get the money?

“Price” of Ukraine: USD 15 billion - credit and discount on gas price
21 November – beginning of the first European Maidan

“Yanukovych, sign!”
“Ukraine is Europe!”
“Youth of the nation for the Eurointegration!”
“Putin, if you love – let go!”
Unjustified use of force led to escalation of conflict

On night of 30 November, peaceful student demonstration of around 400 protesters was brutally dispersed by the “Berkut” riot police.

On 1 December, more than one million of Ukrainian took part in mass protest action.
## From Maidan-meeting to Maidan-Sich

### Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Maidan-meeting</th>
<th>Maidan-camp</th>
<th>Maidan-Sich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boycott (refusal to fulfill decisions of administrations, authorities)</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>40.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unauthorized meetings and demonstrations</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation in the strike</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>46.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protest hunger-strike</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>14.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Picketing of state institutions, blocking their work</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>56.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seizure of buildings</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of armed units independent of authorities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not ready to participate in any actions of mass protest</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16 January 2014 – first attempt to establish dictatorship in Ukraine

Laws adopted by Verkhovna Rada on 16 January created legal conditions for establishment of dictatorship in Ukraine.

Protesters reacted with escalation of conflict and beginning of fighting on streets which led to first losses of human lives.

Eventually, parliament was forced to repel these laws.
18 February – transformation of conflict into armed confrontation

Opposition demanded to include the act on restitution of 2004 Constitution which limited president’s prerogatives to the parliaments’ agenda.

But Volodymyr Rybak, the head of the parliament, refused even to register the opposition bill on return to 2004 Constitution, which caused rapid violent escalation of the situation on the street.
Assault on the Maidan

Tents are burning.
Grenades are exploding.
Water-jets are throwing water.
People on the Maidan are singing the Ukrainian hymn.

More than 30 people were killed; more than 1000 were injured and taken to hospitals. However, the exact number of injured are unknown, since many of them are afraid to go to hospitals.
What’s next?

• Negotiation?

• Armed dispersal of the Maidan?

• Ignoring?
Negotiations

Main demands of the Maidan:

• Release of all detained, closure of all criminal cases

• Return to 2004 Constitution with limited presidential powers

• Pre-term presidential elections
Armed dispersal of the Maidan

Results:
- Escalation of conflict
- “Guerilla war”
- Isolation from the West
- Division of Ukraine
- Integration of Eastern and Southern Ukraine to the Eurasian Union
Ignoring the Maidan

- Radicalization of protesters, threat of violent scenario
- Loss of authority by the opposition leaders
- Absence of financial credits, economic recession
- Default!!!
What the West should do?

Europe must react now by personal financial sanctions to stop the violence in Ukraine. Start the urgent international investigation of the unprecedented human rights violations occurring now in Ukraine. Urgently delegate human rights monitoring missions to Ukraine.

Europe and the West in general need to understand that right now a full-blown dictatorship is being built in the heart of Europe, which may lead to unforeseeable and potentially explosive repercussions for the stability in Europe.