Vol. 255



Winfried Schneider-Deters

UKRAINE'S FATEFUL YEARS 2013–2019

Vol. II: The Annexation of Crimea and the War in Donbas

ibidem

Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society (SPPS) ISSN 1614-3515

General Editor: Andreas Umland,

Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies, andreas.umland@ui.se

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE*

DOMESTIC & COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Prof. Ellen Bos, Andrássy University of Budapest

Dr. Gergana Dimova, University of Winchester

Dr. Andrey Kazantsev, MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow

Prof. Heiko Pleines, University of Bremen

Prof. Richard Sakwa, University of Kent at Canterbury

Dr. Sarah Whitmore, Oxford Brookes University

Dr. Harald Wydra, University of Cambridge

SOCIETY, CLASS & ETHNICITY

Col. David Glantz, "Journal of Slavic Military Studies"

Dr. Marlène Laruelle, George Washington University

Dr. Stephen Shulman, Southern Illinois University

Prof. Stefan Troebst, University of Leipzig

POLITICAL ECONOMY & PUBLIC POLICY

Dr. Andreas Goldthau, Central European University

Dr. Robert Kravchuk, University of North Carolina

Dr. David Lane, University of Cambridge

Dr. Carol Leonard, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Dr. Maria Popova, McGill University, Montreal

ADVISORY BOARD*

Prof. Dominique Arel, University of Ottawa

Prof. Jörg Baberowski, Humboldt University of Berlin

Prof. Margarita Balmaceda, Seton Hall University

Dr. John Barber, University of Cambridge

Prof. Timm Beichelt, European University Viadrina

Dr. Katrin Boeckh, University of Munich

Prof. em. Archie Brown, University of Oxford

Dr. Vyacheslav Bryukhovetsky, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Prof. Timothy Colton, Harvard University, Cambridge

Prof. Paul D'Anieri, University of Florida

Dr. Heike Dörrenbächer, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Dr. John Dunlop, Hoover Institution, Stanford, California

Dr. Sabine Fischer, SWP, Berlin

Dr. Geir Flikke, NUPI, Oslo

Prof. David Galbreath, University of Aberdeen

Prof. Alexander Galkin, Russian Academy of Sciences

Prof. Frank Golczewski, University of Hamburg

Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev, Naval War College, Newport, RI

Prof. Mark von Hagen, Arizona State University

Dr. Guido Hausmann, University of Munich

Prof. Dale Herspring, Kansas State University

Dr. Stefani Hoffman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Mikhail Ilyin, MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow

Prof. Vladimir Kantor, Higher School of Economics

Dr. Ivan Katchanovski, University of Ottawa

Prof. em. Andrzej Korbonski, University of California

Dr. Iris Kempe, "Caucasus Analytical Digest"

Prof. Herbert Küpper, Institut für Ostrecht Regensburg

Dr. Rainer Lindner, CEEER, Berlin

Dr. Vladimir Malakhov, Russian Academy of Sciences

Commissioning Editor: Max Jakob Horstmann,

London, mjh@ibidem.eu

FOREIGN POLICY & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Dr. Peter Duncan, University College London

Prof. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, University of Bonn

Prof. Gerhard Mangott, University of Innsbruck

Dr. Diana Schmidt-Pfister, University of Konstanz

Dr. Lisbeth Tarlow, Harvard University, Cambridge

 $\label{eq:christian Wipperfurth} \ Dr. \ Christian \ Wipperfurth, \textit{N-Ost Network, Berlin}$

Dr. William Zimmerman, University of Michigan

HISTORY, CULTURE & THOUGHT

Dr. Catherine Andreyev, University of Oxford

Prof. Mark Bassin, Södertörn University

Prof. Karsten Brüggemann, Tallinn University

Dr. Alexander Etkind, University of Cambridge

Dr. Gasan Gusejnov, Moscow State University

Prof. Leonid Luks, Catholic University of Eichstaett

Dr. Olga Malinova, Russian Academy of Sciences

Dr. Richard Mole, University College London

Prof. Andrei Rogatchevski, University of Tromsø

Dr. Mark Tauger, West Virginia University

Dr. Luke March, University of Edinburgh

Prof. Michael McFaul, Stanford University, Palo Alto

Prof. Birgit Menzel, University of Mainz-Germersheim

Prof. Valery Mikhailenko, The Urals State University

Prof. Emil Pain, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Dr. Oleg Podvintsev, Russian Academy of Sciences

Prof. **Olga Popova**, St. Petersburg State University

Dr. Alex Pravda, University of Oxford

Dr. Erik van Ree, University of Amsterdam

Dr. Joachim Rogall, Robert Bosch Foundation Stuttgart

Prof. Peter Rutland, Wesleyan University, Middletown

Prof. Marat Salikov, The Urals State Law Academy

Dr. Gwendolyn Sasse, University of Oxford

Prof. Jutta Scherrer, EHESS, Paris

Prof. Robert Service, University of Oxford

Mr. James Sherr, RIIA Chatham House London

Dr. Oxana Shevel, Tufts University, Medford

Prof. Eberhard Schneider, University of Siegen

Prof. Olexander Shnyrkov, Shevchenko University, Kyiv

Prof. Hans-Henning Schröder, SWP, Berlin

Prof. Yuri Shapoval, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

Prof. Viktor Shnirelman, Russian Academy of Sciences

Dr. Lisa Sundstrom, University of British Columbia

Dr. Philip Walters, "Religion, State and Society", Oxford

Prof. Zenon Wasyliw, Ithaca College, New York State

Dr. Lucan Way, University of Toronto

Dr. Markus Wehner, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung"

Dr. Andrew Wilson, University College London

Prof. Jan Zielonka, University of Oxford

Prof. Andrei Zorin, University of Oxford

^{*} While the Editorial Committee and Advisory Board support the General Editor in the choice and improvement of manuscripts for publication, responsibility for remaining errors and misinterpretations in the series' volumes lies with the books' authors.

Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society (SPPS) ISSN 1614-3515

Founded in 2004 and refereed since 2007, SPPS makes available affordable English-, German-, and Russian-language studies on the history of the countries of the former Soviet bloc from the late Tsarist period to today. It publishes between 5 and 20 volumes per year and focuses on issues in transitions to and from democracy such as economic crisis, identity formation, civil society development, and constitutional reform in CEE and the NIS. SPPS also aims to highlight so far understudied themes in East European studies such as right-wing radicalism, religious life, higher education, or human rights protection. The authors and titles of all previously published volumes are listed at the end of this book. For a full description of the series and reviews of its books, see www.ibidem-verlag.de/red/spps.

Editorial correspondence & manuscripts should be sent to: Dr. Andreas Umland, Department of Political Science, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, vul. Voloska 8/5, UA-04070 Kyiv, UKRAINE; andreas.umland@cantab.net

Business correspondence & review copy requests should be sent to: *ibidem* Press, Leuschnerstr. 40, 30457 Hannover, Germany; tel.: +49 511 2622200; fax: +49 511 2622201; spps@ibidem.eu.

Authors, reviewers, referees, and editors for (as well as all other persons sympathetic to) SPPS are invited to join its networks at www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=52638198614 www.linkedin.com/groups?about=&gid=103012 www.xing.com/net/spps-ibidem-verlag/

Recent Volumes

- Jan Claas Behrends, Thomas Lindenberger,
 Pavel Kolar (Eds.)
 Violence after Stalin
 Institutions, Practices, and Everyday Life in the Soviet
 Bloc 1953–1989
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1637-9
- 247 Leonid Luks Macht und Ohnmacht der Utopien Essays zur Geschichte Russlands im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert ISBN 978-3-8382-1677-5
- 248 Iuliia Barshadska
 Brüssel zwischen Kyjiw und Moskau
 Das auswärtige Handeln der Europäischen Union im
 ukrainisch-russischen Konflikt 2014-2019
 Mit einem Vorwort von Olaf Leiße
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1667-6
- 249 Valentyna Romanova
 Decentralisation and Multilevel Elections in Ukraine
 Reform Dynamics and Party Politics in 2010–2021
 With a foreword by Kimitaka Matsuzato
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1700-0
- 250 Alexander Motyl
 National Questions
 Theoretical Reflections on Nations and Nationalism in Eastern Europe
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1675-1
- 251 Marc Dietrich A Cosmopolitan Model for Peacebuilding The Ukrainian Cases of Crimea and the Donbas ISBN 978-3-8382-1687-4
- 252 Eduard Baidaus
 An Unsettled Nation
 State-Building, Identity, and Separatism in Post-Soviet Moldova
 With forewords by John-Paul Himka and David R.
 Marples
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1582-2
- 253 Igor Okunev, Petr Oskolkov (Eds.) Transforming the Administrative Matryoshka The Reform of Autonomous Okrugs in the Russian Federation, 2003–2008 With a foreword by Vladimir Zorin ISBN 978-3-8382-1721-5
- Winfried Schneider-Deters

 Ukraine's Fateful Years 2013–2019
 Vol. I: The Popular Uprising in Winter 2013/2014
 ISBN 978-3-8382-1725-3

Winfried Schneider-Deters

UKRAINE'S FATEFUL YEARS 2013-2019

Volume II

The Annexation of Crimea and the War in Donbas



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

Cover-picture: ID 143391254 © Oleksandr Tkachenko | Dreamstime.com

ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-7726-4 © *ibidem*-Verlag, Stuttgart 2022 Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und elektronische Speicherformen sowie die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronical, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Content

IV	The	"Russi	an Spring" in "New Russia"	
	IV.1	Headw IV.1.1	ind from "South-East" The "Anti-Maidan" in the "Province": Protest against the Change of Power in Kyiv	
		IV.1.2	The Kharkiv Congress of the "Party of Regions"	22
	IV.2	IV.2.1	ist Sheet Lightning in the "South-East"	27
	IV.3	IV.2.2 Russia: IV.3.1 IV.3.2	The Deeper Roots of Separatism in Donbas The Protecting Power of the "Russian World" The "Putin-Doctrine" The "Big Lie": The Russian Propaganda-Campaign against Ukraine	31 31
	IV.4	Bilingu IV.4.1	alism of Ukraine: Gateway for Russian Propaganda Russian: Not a "Minority Language" in Ukraine	
	IV.5	Excursi	ıs: The "Separatist International"	44
	IV.6	Ukraini IV.6.1 IV.6.2 IV.6.3	an Nationalism	46 46
	IV.7	Putin's IV.7.1 IV.7.2	Secessionist Project "New Russia" Operation "Russian Spring" "Federalization" of Ukraine: Disguised Separatism	53
	IV.8	Separat IV.8.1 IV.8.2	ist Agitation: Russian Fire Accelerant Russia: Party to the Conflict Russian Support for Militant Separatists	59
	IV.9		ea-Scenario for Ukraine's South-East Deployment of Troops to the Ukrainian Border	65
	IV.10	IV.10.1 IV.10.2	Anti-Maidan" to Secession in Donbas	67 68
		IV 10 4	Failure of the Project of "New Russia"	73

	17.11	The beg	ginning of the Anti-Terrorist Operation	//
	IV.12		in Odesa: The Tragic Culmination of the "Russian	
			,	79
		IV.12.1	The "Tragedy of Odesa": "Kulikovtsy" versus	
			"Maidanovtsy"	79
			The Prelude of the Tragedy on Odessa's Greek Square .	
		IV.12.3	The Fire in the House of Trade Unions	83
		IV.12.4	The Development of the Fire and Causes of Death	90
		IV.12.5	Delayed Deployment of the Fire Brigade	91
		IV.12.6	Inaction of the Police	93
		IV.12.7	The Parliamentary Committee of Investigation: Low	
			Informative Value of the Findings	95
		IV.12.8	The Report of the International Advisory Panel of the	0.6
			Council of Europe: A Scathing Verdict	
			Judicial Reappraisal of "May 2": A Farce	
		IV.12.10	O"May 2": A Through Ball for Russian Propaganda	104
	IV.13	The "Ru	ussian Occupied Zone" of Donbas	108
		IV.13.1	The Population: Main Victim of the War	108
		IV.13.2	Russia: "Protector" or "Occupier"?	109
		IV.13.3	Moscow's Puppet Regimes in Its "Occupation Zone"	111
	IV.14	The Eu	ropean Parliament: "Full Support" for Kyiv	113
			Ukraine's Right to Self-Defense	
	IV.15	Germar	n "Understanding" for Putin's Aggressive Ukraine Polic	v.119
			Détente and Appeasement	•
			Excursus: Germany's Special Responsibility for Ukraine	
v	The	Annex	ation of Crimea	
	V.1	After th	ne Russian-Georgian War in 2008: Crimea Next?	123
	V.2	Ruccia'	s Dubious Historical Claim	125
	v .∠	V.2.1	Crimea: " Forever Russian"	
		V.2.2	Khrushchev's "Birthday Present"	126
		V.2.3	The International Borders of the "Commonwealth of	
			(Newly) Independent States"	128
		V.2.4	From the "Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of	
			Crimea" to the "Autonomous Republic of Crimea"	129
	V.3	Crimea	: A Russian Myth	131
	V.4	The Irre	edentism of the Crimea-Russians: "Return to Russia"	134

V.5	The Ar	nnexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014	137
	V.5.1	"Crimea is Ours": The Propagandistic Preparation of th	
		Annexation	137
	V.5.2	The Landing of the "Little Green Men": The Military	
		Preparation of the Annexation	138
	V.5.3	The Occupation of the Parliament and Government	
		Buildings of the A.R. Crimea	
	V.5.4	The 'Referendum' of March 16, 2014	142
	V.5.5	The "Anschluss" of Crimea	145
	V.5.6	The State Duma Elections of September 18, 2016, on	
		Crimea	
	V.5.7	"Bringing Crimea Home": Putin's Triumph	150
V.6	The Po	owerlessness of the New Power in Kyiv	153
	V.6.1	The Russian Occupation of Crimea: Without Ukrainian	
		Resistance	153
	V.6.2	The Ukrainian Army: Scrapped	156
	V.6.3	The Ukrainian Navy: Desertion from the Command	
		Bridge	157
	V.6.4	Failed Attempts of Ukrainian Resistance	160
	V.6.5	Crimea: A "Pawn Sacrifice" in Face of the Russian	
		Threat from the North	165
	V.6.6	The Annexation of Crimea: Using a Convenient	
		Opportunity or Prepared Well in Advance?	168
V.7	The Re	eaction of the "International Community"	171
	V.7.1	The United Nations: Non-Recognition Policy	171
	V.7.2	The Council of Europe: Suspension of Russia's Voting	
		Rights	174
	V.7.3	The European Union: Sanctions	174
	V.7.4	Germany's Appellative Policy	184
	V.7.5	America's "Blacklist"	188
V.8	The Ca	ase of Crimea in International Law	189
	V.8.1	Relevant Principles of International Law	
	V.8.2	The Russian About-Face in International Law	201
	V.8.3	Russian "Just"-ification of the Annexation	206
	V.8.4	Misuse of Principles of International Law	210
	V.8.5	The "Referendum": Expression of the "General Will"	
		according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau	222
	V.8.6	Political Justification of the Annexation	

	V.8.7	The Case of Crimea: The Judgement under International	
	***	Law. Aggression and Annexation	
	V.8.8	Juridical Support from the West	
	V.8.9	The Law of the Strongest	239
V.9	Kosovo	: An "Unfortunate Precedent"	241
V.10	Breach	of Contract	245
	V.10.1	The Budapest Memorandum: Not A Treaty	245
	V.10.2	The "Great Treaty" on "Friendship, Cooperation and	
		Partnership"	250
	V.10.3	The "Naval Treaty"	251
	V.10.4	The Helsinki Final Act	254
V.11	Alleged	l "Terrorist Threat" to Crimea by Ukraine	255
	V.11.1	The "Ukrainian Threat"	255
	V.11.2	EU and USA: Call for Restraint	262
V.12	The Mil	litarization of Crimea: Russia's "Anchored Aircraft	
	Carrier'	" in the Black Sea	264
V.13	Ukraine	e's Economic Losses	268
V.14	The Cri	mean Tatars: A "National Minority" in Their Own	
	Country	y	269
	V.14.1	The Crimean Tatars: Victims of Repression Again	269
	V.14.2	Juridical Instrumennts of Repression	272
	V.14.3	Crimea-Tatar Resistance	280
	V.14.4	Crimea-Tatarian "Collaboration" with the Russian	
		Occupation Power	285
	V.14.5	Minority Protection for the Crimean Tatars	288
V.15	The Cri	mean Tatars and Ukraine	297
	V.15.1	"National Autonomy" for the Crimean Tatars?	297
	V.15.2	Recognition of the Crimean Tatars as "Indigenous	
		People" of the Crimean Peninsula	301
	V.15.3	The "Crimea Tatarian Issue": For an Indefinite Period	
		on Ice	302
V.16	Turkey	: Protective Power of the Crimean Tatars?	304
	V.16.1	Turkey's Traditional Ties with the Crimean Tatars	304
	V.16.2	J 1	
		with Russia	309
V 17	Crimea	· A New "Frozen Conflict"?	316

		V.17.1	A New Referendum in Crimea?: The Trial Balloon of the Presidential Candidate Sobchak	316
		V.17.2	Trade-Off: Peace in Donbas for Acceptance of the	.510
		V.17.2	Annexation of Crimea	.317
		V.17.3	The "Return of Crimea": A Magic Evocation	
		V.17.4	Russia: The "Crimean Issue" Closed	
	V.18	Crimea	: Putin's Final Goal?	
VI	Russ	sia's Hy	ybrid Aggression against Ukraine	
	VI.1	Hvbrid	War as "Continuation of Politics by Other Means"	.325
		VI.1.1	Theory of the "Perfection of the Art of Warfare"	
		VI.1.2	The "Script" of the Russian Chief of General Staff	
			Gerasimov for the Hybrid War against Ukraine	.329
		VI.1.3	Application of Gerasimov's Theory: "On Hybrid War"	
			to Ukraine	.332
	VI.2	The Wa	ar in Donbas	.337
		VI.2.1	Ukrainian "Civil War": Moscow's Official Narrative	
		VI.2.2	The Separatist Insurrection in Donbas: A "Special	
			Operation" of Russian "Special Services"	.338
		VI.2.3	From the Maidan in Kyiv to the Battlefield in Donbas:	
			War Volunteers and Civilian Helpers	.341
		VI.2.4	The "Volunteer Battalions": Yesterday's Insurgents	
			against Today's Secessionists	.342
		VI.2.5	Radical Nationalism in the Ranks of the Volunteer	
			Battalions: "Militant Patriotism" (Andreas Umland)	
		VI.2.6	The "Right Sector"	.346
		VI.2.7	The Battalion "Azov": A Hotbed of Neo-Nazism?	.348
		VI.2.8	War Volunteers and War Profiteers	.353
	VI.3	"ATO"	: The "Antiterrorist Operation"	.356
			"Fight against Terrorism": Not War	
		VI.3.2	The Ukrainian Army: In a Desolate State	.357
		VI.3.3	Ukraine's "Military Miracle" (Peter Dickinson)	.359
		VI.3.4	The Secessionist Troops on the Defensive: Relief by	
			Regular Russian Troops	.362
		VI.3.5	American Weapons: "Lethal" and "Non-Lethal"	.362
	VI.4	Russia'	s Undeclared War on Ukraine	.365
	, 1, 1	VI.4.1	War Party Russia: Covert Incursions of Regular Russian	
			Troops	365

	VI.4.2	Russians in Leading Positions of the "Armed Forces" of the Seceded "People's Republics"	368
	VI.4.3	Russian Arms Supplies to the Secessionist Fighters in Donbas	
	VI.4.4	The Presence of Regular Russian Soldiers in Donbas "Implausible Deniability"	
	VI.4.5	Russian Mercenaries in Donbas: The "Vagner Group"	377
	VI.4.6	The "Humanitarian Invasion": "Trojan Convoys"	381
VI.5		rmed Forces" of the "People's Republics": Moscow's ary Troops"	388
VI.6	Flight N	MH17: Shot Down over Donbas	391
	VI.6.1	In Search of the Truth	
	VI.6.2	Denial Despite the Overwhelming Evidence	395
	VI.6.3	Bellingcat: Tracking the Truth	398
	VI.6.4	The Downing of Boeing MH 17: An Error?	405
	VI.6.5	Russia's Responsibility	406
VI.7	The Mil	litary Catastrophy of Ilovaisk: A National Trauma The "Cauldron of Ilovaisk"	
	VI.7.2	The Volunteer Batallions: Marooned in Ilovaisk?	
	VI.7.3	The "Tragedy of Ilovaisk": The Loss of Human Lives	
	VI.7.4	"Ilovaisk": The Question of Guilt	
VI.8	The Det	fense of Donetsk Airport: A Contemporary Heroic Epos The "Kyborgers" in the "Winter Battle": A Patriotic Myth	428
	VI.8.2	The Civilian Victims of Artillery Shelling	
	VI.8.3	The Port City of Mariupol: Under "Steel Hail"	
VI.9	"Debalt VI.9.1	rseve": The Third Defeat of the Government Troops The Ceasefire Agreement of Minsk (II): Russia's Flagrant Breach	
	VI.9.2	The "Cauldron of Debaltseve": "Orderly Escape" of the Ukrainian Army	:
	VI.9.3	After "Minsk II": A Fragile Cease-Fire	
VI.10		d of "ATO": The Beginning of "OOS" The "Operation United Forces": Late Adaptation to Reality	441
	VI.10.2	The Law on the "Deoccupation of Donbas"	
VI 11		tims of War in Donbas	
,	441C 71C	VALLE OF 1 MI III - OILONOMONIMONIMONIMONIMONIMONIMONIMONIMONIM	エエン

	VI.11.1	Number of Deaths after Five Years of War	.448
	VI.11.2	Russian Soldiers and Mercenaries: The Concealed Casualties	.451
	VI.11.3	Losses without Enemy Contact: No Subject for the Public	.454
	VI.11.4	Prisoners of War and Soldiers Missing in Action	.455
		Internal Refugees: The "IDPs" from Donbas	
VI.12	The "M	insk Process" : Attempt at an International Conflict	
		ion	.459
	VI.12.1	A New Task for the OSCE: The "Special Monitoring Mission" (SMM) to Ukraine	.459
	VI.12.2	The "Geneva Declaration" of April 2014 on the Situation	
		in Ukraine	.460
	VI.12.3	The Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the G7 and the European Union on Ukraine of April 26, 2014: A "Gain for Reality"	.461
	VI.12.4	The Memorandum of the Ukrainian Parliament about "Mutual Understanding and Peace" of May 2014	.464
	VI.12.5	President Poroshenko's "Peace Plan" of June 20, 2014	.465
	VI.12.6	The Meeting with Representatives of the Secessionist "Donetsk People's Republic" in Donetsk	.468
	VI.12.7	The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict before the UN Security Council	
	VI.12.8	TCG: The Trilateral Contact Group	.469
		JCCC: The "Joint Center for Control and Coordination".	
VI.13	"Minsk	I"	.474
		The Shift in the Fortunes of War: Incursion of Russian Troops	
	VI.13.2	The "Minsk Protocol" of September 5, 2014	
VI.14	"Minsk	II": Diplomatic Grasping at Straws	.480
	VI.14.1	Emergency Diplomacy: Merkel's and Hollande's Peace Trip to Moscow	.480
	VI.14.2	The 51st Munich Security Conference of February 6 to 8, 2015: Ukraine at the Center	.482
	VI.14.3	The Quadrilateral Summit of February 11 and 12, 2015 in Minsk	.485
	VI.14.4	"Minsk II": The Agreement	.486
VI 15	The Ref	form of the Constitution: The Illerainian Advance	101

	V1.15.1	In Political Part of the Minsk Agreement: The Insidious Item 11 of the Package of Measures and Its
		Annexed Note
	VI.15.2	"Decentralization" instead of Federalization492
	VI.15.3	The Dispute over the Constitutional Status of the
		"Special Regime" for the "Separate Districts" of Donbas .495
	VI.15.4	The Constitutional Amendment Act500
	VI.15.5	Russia's Negative Reaction to Ukraine's Legislative Initiatives
VI.16	Local E	lections in the "Separate Raions" of Donbas520
		The Elections of November 2, 2014
	VI.16.2	Local Elections: Point 4 of the Minsk "Package of Measures"
	VI.16.3	Postponement of Local Elections in the "Separate Raions": Thanks to Putin?524
VI.17	"Minsk	Diplomacy" at the Dead End529
		The Full Implementation of the "Minsk Agreements": A Mantric Antiphony
	VI.17.2	The Continued Existence of the "People's Republics": Not in Question
	VI 17 3	Russian Obligations under the Minsk Agreement531
		Kyiv's "Direct Dialogue" with Moscow's Puppet
	V 1.17 . 1	Regimes: Putin's Diplomatic Constant533
	VI.17.5	The Minsk Agreements: "Without Alternative"534
		"Minsk II": A "Munich II"? Appeasement 2015537
VI.18	US Inte	rference in the Minsk Process539
, 1,10		Washington and Moscow: Marginalization of European Diplomacy?539
	VI.18.2	The "Nuland-Karasin" Channel: A Bilateral Russian-American Negotiation Format540
VI.19	The Eu	ropean "Minsk Diplomacy" in "Normandy Format":
		nd Revival542
	VI.19.1	The "Normandy Format": Called into Question542
	VI.19.2	The "Normandy-Quartet": Unwavering Commitment to "Minsk"
	VI.19.3	The Summit Meeting in "Normandy Format" of October 2, 2015 in Paris: "Final Solution of the Ukraine Conflict"
		or First Step on the Way to "Minsk III"551

	VI.19.4	The Summit Meeting in "Normandy Format" on October 19, 2016 in Berlin: "No Miracles" (Merkel)556
	VI.19.5	Reactivation of the "Normandy Format": Foreign Ministers' Meeting on June 11, 2018 in Berlin558
	VI.19.6	The Summit Meeting in "Normandy Format" on December 9, 2019: No Breakthrough562
	VI.19.7	The Ominous "Steinmeier-Formula": A Diplomatic Fetish
	VI.19.8	The "Minsk Advisory Council": Kyiv's Creeping Capitulation
	VI.19.9	The Perfidious Initiative: "Inter-Parliamentary Dialogue for Peace. Ukraine-Russia-Germany-France"585
	VI.19.10	The 56th Munich Security Conference 2020: President Zelensky's Inaugural Address on the International Diplomatic Stage
	VI.19.11	"Twelve Steps" toward Greater Security in Ukraine: The "Munich Complot"
VI.20		iation of the "Occupied Territories": The Tabooed Solution
	VI.20.1	The Total Russification of the Occupied Parts of Donbas.600
	VI.20.2	Ukrainian Acceptance of Secession: A Taboo601
	VI.20.3	The "Donbas Beyond": The Opinion of the Population in the Secessionist Part of Donbas
VI.21	The "Le	egal War" before the International Court of Justice:
		e against the Russian Federation612
		The Ukrainian Complaint: Russia's Violation of Two UN Conventions
	VI.21.2	Russian Refutations: A "Collection of False Statements" .613
	VI.21.3	The Juridical Exchange of Blows between the Lawyers616
	VI.21.4	Request of Ukraine for Emergency Measures of the ICJ: Rejected
	VI.21.5	The Complaint of Ukraine: Six Tons of Evidence620
		Ukraine's Lawsuits before the European Court of Human Rights
VI.22	"Blue H	Ielmets" in Donbas?624
		ture of the "Southeast Donbas": A "Frozen Conflict"?627
, 1,20		The Real Significance of the Minsk Agreement627
		Freezing the Conflict: Putin's Exit Strategy?628
		The Position of Ukraine in Putin's Goal Hierarchy629

	VI.23.4	Conjectures about the Foreseeable Future635
	VI.23.5	"Enforcement of Fraternal Relations" (Vladislav Surkov) 636
'II Pax s	Sinica '	The Pacification of Eurasia by China
VII.1	The "N	ew East-West Conflict": A Dangerous Anachronism in
	the Day	vning "Chinese Age"639
	VII.1.1	"West" and "East": The Future Periphery of the "Middle
		Kingdom"
	VII.1.2	The Change of Geopolitical "Polarities"639
	VII.1.3	The Three Geopolitical "Relegation" Candidates641
VII.2	The Rea	awakened Dragon648
		The Resurrection of China from 200 Years of Impotence648
	VII.2.2	World Power China: A Vision in Planned Stages650
	VII.2.3	The Peaceful Conquest of the World651
VII.3	The "Sh	nanghai Cooperation Organization": Beijing's Eurasian
	Lever o	f Influence656
	VII.3.1	The "Three Evils": Terrorism, Extremism, Separatism656
	VII.3.2	Expansion to South Asia657
	VII.3.3	
	VII.3.4	"Greater Eurasia": Moscow's "Counter-Project" to the SCO
	VI.3.5	Washington's Attempt at Counteraction
VII 4		s "Belt and Road Initiative": To the World's Top on the
V 11. T		Silk Road"662
		China's Investment Campaign662
		The "New Silk Road": The Transcontinental Economic
		Belt
	VII.4.3	The "Maritime Silk Road"
	VII.4.4	Chinese: Africa's New Colonial Masters664
	VII.4.5	The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: China's "World Bank"666
	VII.4.6	
	VII.4.7	Debt Traps: The Mined Silk Road
		Criticism at the Second Silk Road Summit 2019 in
		Beijing: "Neocolonialism"670
	VII.4.9	India: China's Rival in South Asia670

	VII.4.10	UnionUnion	671
VII.5	VII.5.1 VII.5.2	igital Silk Road": China's Route for Ideology Transfer Control of the Global Communications Infrastructure "Cyber-Sovereignty": China's Normative Challenge China's Expansion in the Media: "China Marketing"	673 673
VII.6	China's	Interests in UkraineUkraine: "Partner" of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative	678
	VII.6.2	The "Complex Action Plan" of the European Union for Ukraine	681
	VII.6.3	The Annexation of Crimea: China's Diplomatic Restraint	682
VII.7		no-Centrism: The "Middle Kingdom" at the Center of the World Order	
		Xi Jinping: China's New "Great Helmsman"	
	VII.7.2		
	VII.7.3	China's Benevolent World Domination	
		"Putinism": An Equivalent Russian Export Good ?	
	VII.7.5	The Defense of the Liberal-Democratic Order: The Mission of the European Union	
VII.8	The "Ye	ellow Peril": The West's New Fear of China	699
	VII.8.1		
	VII.8.2	China's Europe Policy	702
	VII.8.3	The 21st European Union-China Summit 2019	705
	VII.8.4	The European Union and China: The "Strategic Outlook"	708
	VII.8.5	German "Investment Protectionism"?: A "Lex China"	710
VII.9	The Ne	w "East-West-Conflict": The Question of Guilt	713
	VII.9.1	Détente after the Cold War	
	VII.9.2	The Arrogance of the "Victor" in the Cold War	715
	VII.9.3	"Military Encirclement": Russia's Self-Victimization	
	VII.9.4	Trump and Putin in Helsinki: The "Useful Idiot" and the Shrewed "KGBist"	
	VII.9.5	Crimea: Trump's Bargaining Chip in a "Deal" with	720

VII.IU	Moscow's Dismissed "Pan-European" Initiatives:	
	Europe's Share of Guilt by Omission	.722
	VII.10.1 A Free Trade Area "from Lisbon to Vladivostok": The "Putin Initiative"	.722
	VII.10.2 A Pan-European Security and Defense Architecture "from the Atlantic to the Pacific": The "Medvedev	
	Initiative"	.723
VII.11	Russia's Turning Away from Europe: Emotional Reaction or	
	Calculated Course Correction	.729
	VII.11.1 Russia: "Non-Europe", the "Other Europe" or the	
	"Genuine Europe"?	.729
VII.12	The "Strategic Partnership" with China: Russian Illusions	.733
	VII.12.1 Russia's "Turn to the East"	
	VII.12.2 Sergeii Karaganov's "Greater Eurasia": A "Russian Dream"?	735
	VII.12.3 The "Russian-Chinese Tandem"	
	VII.12.4 The Chinese Colonization of Siberia: A Threat on	.750
	Russia's Own Territory	740
	VII.12.5 The Principles of China's "Peaceful" Foreign Policy	
		./41
VII.13	An "Anti-Chinese Wall": A Common Line of Defense of West	7 40
	and East?	.743
	VII.13.1 The United States and the European Union: Return to the "Status Quo Ante Trump"?	7/12
	-	
	VII.13.2 The USA and Russia: Future "Convergence of Interests" (Henry Kissinger)?	
	VII.13.3 Russia and Europe: Overcoming the New "European	
	Divide"	.745
VII 14	"Greater Europe" instead of "Greater Eurasia": Rapprochement	
, 11.1.	through Economization of Relations	.748
	VII.14.1 Russian Charm Offensive	
	VII.14.2 German-Russian Special Relations: Double Dealing?	.750
	VII.14.3 "Everything but Institutions" (J. M. Barroso): Contractua	
	Relations Rather than Institutional Constructs	
	VII.14.4 Free Trade between the European Union and the	
	Eurasian Economic Union	.754
	VII.14.5 The French President Macron and the Redesign of	
	Relations between the European Union and Russia	.758

VII.15 The "Ukraine-Conflict": An Insurmountable Obstacle for a
"Normalization" of Relations between Russia and the
European Union?764
VII.15.1 Russia's Claim to Integration of Ukraine into Its "Sphere
of Influence"
VII.15.2 Russia's War of Attrition in Donbas: No End in Sight765
VII.15.3 The "Ukraine Conflict": Moscow's Interest in its
"Prolongation"768
VII.15.4 After the Elections of the Year 2019: "Nothing New in
the East"
VII.16 "Strategic Patience" (Michael McFaul): An Option without
Alternative?773
VII.16.1 Alternative Concepts of a "Solution" to the Ukraine
Conflict
VII.16.2 A New Start "after Putin"?: Considerations without
Conclusions
VII.16.3 The "Chinese Factor": Regulation of the "East-West
Conflict" through Loss of Importance or Chinese "Peace
Enforcement" in the Middle Kingdom's Periphery784

Part IV

The "Russian Spring" in "New Russia"

IV.1 Headwind from "South-East"

IV.1.1 The "Anti-Maidan" in the "Province": Protest against the Change of Power in Kyiv

The insurgent "people of the Maidan" (Ukr.: "narod Maidanu") did not represent the entire population of Ukraine. A large part of the people in the east and south of the country did not consider the government, that had come to power in Kyiv as a result of the victory of the "Maidan" to be legitimate; even less did they share the Ukrainian national feeling that had awakened—or strengthened—by the Maidan". In the center, west and north of Ukraine, the "new power" had the support of the people, while in the large cities of the "Yugo-Vostok" ("South-East") of the country, where it had remained quiet during the "Maidan", people began to protest against the change of power in Kyiv. These demonstrations looked spontaneous at first, but soon it became clear that they were orchestrated by Russian agents who took control of the protest.

The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology³ conducted on behalf of the weekly newspaper Dzerkalo tyzhnya/ Zerkalo nedeli an opinion poll⁴ from April 10 to 15, 2014 in eight southern and eastern oblasts, namely in the southern oblasts of Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, and in the eastern oblasts of Kharkov;

The Russian designation of the south and east of Ukraine as "Yugo-vostok" (Ukr.: "Pivdenno Skhidna Ukraina") is not only a geographical designation, but also implies a politically "different" Ukraine due to the high proportion of the population that is more "pro-Russian" than "Ukrainian-patriotic" and mostly Russian-speaking. The "Yugo-Vostok" is a macroregion comprising the oblasts of Kharkiv, Dnipro (until 2016 Dnipropetrovsk), Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhya, Mykolayiv, Kherson, Odesa (Russian: Odessa) the Autonomous Republic of Crimea annexed by Russia and the city of Sevastopol.

² The so-called "Anti-Maidan" organized by the "Party of Regions" in Kyiv next to the Verkhovna Rada building was "artificial": the paid participants were brought to the capital from oblasts of the East.

³ Ukr. Kyivskii Mizhnarodnyi Instytut Sotsiologii; Russ.: Kievskii mezhdunarodnyi institut sotsiologii.

^{4 1476} telephone interviews, 1756 personal interviews, in 160 localities in 8 oblasts of the South and East.

Dnipro(petrovsk⁵), Zaporizhzhya, Donetsk, and Luhansk.⁶ Only 42 % of the respondents considered the Parliament legitimate, although it was the same as the one elected in 2012, and although its composition had not changed in the wake of the change of power.

The interim President Oleksandr Turchynov and the Prime Minister (equally ad interim) Arseniy Yatsenyuk were illegitimate in the eyes of half of the residents of the eight oblasts surveyed.⁷ In the two oblasts of the Donbas region, Donetsk and Luhansk, the stronghold of the "removed" President Yanukovych, 70% considered both illegitimate. The negative portrayal of the events in Kyiv broadcast by Russian television stations, which were the dominant medium in the east and south of Ukraine, strengthened the already dominant "Anti-Maidan" sentiment in these parts of the country.

The resentment of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians in Ukraine's eastern and southern oblasts towards the capital Kyiv did not mean, that the majority of them wanted to "join" Russia. According to polls, only a third of the population in the Donbas harbored separatist feelings. This explains why Putin's secession project "Novorossiya" ("New Russia") ultimately failed.

With the exception of the Donbas, the east and south of the Ukraine did not get involved in Putin's separatist adventure. And in Donbas, too, the separatists were only able to hold on to a third of the two oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk militarily, because their losses of weapons and fighters were compensated for by ongoing supplies from Russia. The Russian President Putin had miscalculated his Ukrainian ventire: "New Russia" did not fall into his lap like Crimea. He had not foreseen, that with his military support of separatism in Donbas, he was igniting a fortified defensive Ukrainian patriotism.

Notwithstanding the above statement the "Maidan" was not a manifestation of a conflict between parts of Ukraine ("regions"), but of the resistance of a large part—the larger part?—of the people against the kleptocratic regime of President Yanukovych, who comes from Donbas. Politicians of his Party of the Regions had fuelled the (old) anti-Kyiv resentments, as well as the contempt nourished during the Soviet era against the population of western Ukraine, which was annexed to the Soviet Union under the Hitler-Stalin Pact—and which overwhelmingly supported the uprising against President Yanukovych's regime.

On December 7, 2013, the governor of the Kherson oblast, the mayor of the Kherson oblast capital, and deputies of the oblast council and municipal councils took part in an "anti-Maidan" event in the southern Ukrainian city of Kherson. In the port city of Odessa on the Black Sea, citizens demonstrated with a "march for the federalization of Ukraine" and for "Ukraine's accession to the (tripartite) Customs Union" (Tamozhennyi Soyuz / TS of the three states of the Russian

⁵ In 2016 renamed "Dnipro".

⁶ https://golos.ua/i/219987.

⁷ Ibid.

Federation, Kazakhstan and Belarus.⁸ On December 13, 2013, demonstrations were also held in the port city of Sevastopol on the Crimea in support of Ukraine's accession to the TS. In the eastern Ukrainian oblast capital Donetsk (in Donbas) there were solidarity rallies for the "Maidan" in Kyiv, but the "Anti-Maidan" clearly prevailed there.

On February 17, 2014, the magazine Tyzhden (published weekly in Ukrainian language) published the result of journalistic research, according to which part of the "anti-Maidan organizations" was fictitious, that is, did not exist in reality.9 On February 1, a fictitious "Red Sector" (Russ.: "Krasnyi sektor") acknowledged to have set fire to the vehicle of a "Maidan" activist. 10 Another virtual "Organization against fascists" propagated on a Facebook page the slogan "Against violence-only violence!" (Russ.: "protiv sily-tolko sila"), but then disappeared from the network. (The founder was a certain Nikolai Omelchenko.) On February 16, 2013, another phantom organization claimed responsibility on YouTube under the name "Ghosts of Sevastopol" (Russ.: "Prizraki Sevastopolya") for the murder of an activist of the "Auto-Maidan" on February 13, 2014, in the South Ukrainian city of Zaporizhzhya.¹¹ Another virtual "civic platform" ("Hromadska platforma", Russ.: "Grazhdanskaya platforma")12 with the name "HroMaidan" (Russ.: "GroMaidan") was founded in Odessa, as its coordinator Serhii Dubenko announced at a press conference on January 15, 2014.13

Under a similar name—"Civic Platform Maidan" ("Grazhdanskaya platforma Maidan"—a pseudo or clone "Maidan" was created in January 2014, which was conspicuous for its massive media presence. According to the Institute for Mass Media (Institut Masovoi Informatsii / "IMI"), 11% of the cost of covert political advertising was accounted for by this platform, which posed as the "real" Maidan, broadcast false messages purporting to be from the "Maidan", and prided itself as a platform for ideas to solve the crisis. The origin of the funds for this strong "media presence" was unknown. It was suspected to be the leader of the pro-Russian pseudo-movement "Ukrainian Choice" ("Ukrainskii vybor"), Viktor Medvedchuk. The "GP Maidan" appeared at the time when

⁸ Customs Union of the Eurasian Economic Union (Tamozhennyi soyuz Evrazyiskogo ekonomicheskogo soyuza).

⁹ http://tyzhden.ua/News/102073; Ukrainskaya Pravda (Russ edition),17.02.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/02/17/7014106/.

¹⁰ Ukrainskaya Pravda (Russian edition), 01.02.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/02/1/7012329/.

¹¹ Ukrainskaya Pravda (Russian edition), 16.02.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/02/16/7014042/.

¹² HroMaidan" / "Hromadskyi Maidan; Russ.: "GroMaidan" / "Grazhdanskii Maidan".

¹³ News Agency "Unian": https://www.unian.net/politics/872726-v-odesse-sozdana-obsch estvennaya-platforma-gromaydan.html. https://www.unian.ua/politics/872727-u-odesi-stvorena-gromadska-platforma gromaydan.html.

¹⁴ Yelena Holub, Roman Kabachyi: GroMaidan" protiv Maidana, in: Uk:rainskaja Pravda (Russian edition), February 17, 2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/articles/2014/02/17/7014100/view_print/.

Andrii Klyuyev became the head of the President's administration. The suspicion was that it was a project of the presidential administration to discredit the "Maidan". This pseudo-"Maidan" propagated a "Maidan without politicians" (meaning: without opposition politicians); the mission was obvious: To split the "Maidan".

IV.1.2 The Kharkiv Congress of the "Party of Regions"

Coup Attempt in Kharkiv?

On February 22, 2014, on the day when President Yanukovych escaped from Kyiv, a congress of deputies of his "Party of Regions" from oblasts and municipal councils of the Eastern and Southern oblasts¹⁵ as well as of PoR's deputies of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and of the city council of the port city of Sevastopol (which, like Kyiv, has a special status) took place in the Sports Palace of Kharkiv, the second largest city of Ukraine, under the chairmanship of the head of the Kharkiv oblast state administration Mikhail Dobkin and under the protection of the riot police, "Berkut". The speaker of the congress, along with Dobkin, was Vadym Kolesnichenko, a deputy of the Verkhovna Rada and deputy chairman of the faction of the Party of Regions.¹⁶ According to the organizers, the meeting was attended by more than 3000 people. Participating was a Russian delegation, which included Aleksei Pushkov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Gosudarstvennaya Duma (the Parliament of the Russian Federation); Vasilii Golubev, Governor of the Belgorod Oblast; Aleksandr Gordeev, Governor of the Voronezh oblast; Nikolai Denin, Governor of the Bryansk oblast; Mikhail Margelov, Senator of the Pskov oblast and Sergei Semenov, Consul General of the Russian Federation in Kharkiv.

The fugitive President Yanukovych had announced that he was flying to Kharkiv with the aim of participating in this congress; however, for unknown reasons he did not appear at the congress after landing in Kharkiv, but flew on to his 'stronghold' Donetsk. The resolution adopted by this congress stated:

We, the organs of local self-government at all levels [...] the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the municipal council of the city of Sevastopol, have decided to assume responsibility for ensuring normal conditions for the work of the people's deputies (of the Verkhovna Rada)—without extortion and threats against them and their families—observance of the law and respect for human rights throughout the territory of Ukraine, in order to restore the constitutional order in Kiev.¹⁷

¹⁵ With the exception of the two oblasts of Odessa and Mykolaiv.

¹⁶ Kolesnichenko was known for his ostentatious contempt of the Ukrainian language. He fled after the change of power to Russia, where he took Russian citizenship.

¹⁷ Ukrainskaya pravda (Russ. edition), 22.02.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/02/22/7015713/.

The resolution was open to all organs of self-government (oblast and municipal councils), including of other oblasts that wished to join it, and also open to "amendments and additions according to the political situation." The Russian media outlet RBK (RosBiznesKonsalting) reported the decision of the Congress, that "Until the restoration of the constitutional order in Ukraine and until the legitimization of the central bodies of power the bodies of local self-administration" would take over "all power." 18

When the deputy of the Party of Regions in the Verkhovna Rada, Vadim Kolesnichenko, shouted the slogan: "For friendship with Russia!" the participants chanted: "Russia! Russia!" ("Rossiya! Rossiya!"). But the delegates refrained from open separatism: this decision was "to secure the constitutional order in Kyiv", it was explicitly stated. The territorial integrity of Ukraine was threatened, declared participants in the meeting, whose separatist tendencies were well known. Although the delegates did not declare their regions independent of Kyiv, they refused to recognize the new power in Kyiv. Earlier, the organizers had declared that, in view of the anarchy in Kyiv, the city of Kharkiv was ready to become the capital of Ukraine, a status that Kharkiv had temporarily held in the Soviet Union (1918-1934).¹⁹

According to the authors of the resolution, "the events of the last few days in Kyiv led to the paralysis of the central organs of power and destabilization of the situation in the state". On the contrary, the new rulers in Kyiv surprisingly quickly overcame the "interregnum" that had arisen after the victory of the "Maidan" and the flight of President Yanukovych. Speakers of the Party of Regions declared that the (previous) opposition had not fulfilled the conditions of the agreement on the settlement of the crisis of February 21, 2014 (which was true). Furthermore, "unlawfully armed formations" had not laid down their arms (what arms?); they continued to occupy buildings of the central state administration (which was true), killed peaceful people and members of the security forces (which was a lie). The authors of the resolution affirmed that "the Verkhovna Rada is working in conditions of terror, under the threat of armed force and death threats" (which too was a lie). The decisions of the Ukrainian Parliament, taken under these conditions, raise doubts about their voluntariness, legitimacy and legality.

Oleh Charov, deputy chairman of the faction of the Party of Regions in the Verkhovna Rada, declared at the congress, that an "armed seizure of power" was underway in Ukraine—with the participation of foreign states (which was nonsense). There were 20,000 men under arms in Kyiv, he claimed, and those

¹⁸ RBK, 22.02.2013; https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/do-vosstanovleniya-poryadka-v-ukraine-vsyu-vlast-berutorgany-22022014134500.

Because of the anti-Soviet sentiment in Kyiv, the Bolsheviks made Kharkiv the capital of the "USRR", the "Ukrainska Sotsialistychna Radyanska Respublika", from 1937 URSR: "Ukrayinska Radyanska Sotsialistychna Respublika".

who had seized power wanted to use these people "beyond Kyiv".²⁰ The mayor of the city of Kharkiv, Hennadii Kernes, called for a purge of defectors from the ranks of the Party of Regions.²¹ (He meant the deputies of the PdR, who had—together with the previous opposition factions—voted for the laws with which the parliament had legalized the transfer of power.

The separatists in disguise turned to the signatory states of the "Budapest Memorandum", which had "not fulfilled their obligation to guarantee the territorial integrity and security of Ukraine": the territorial integrity and security of Ukraine were in danger: the country's nuclear power plants were threatened by the extremists, they claimed—or rather, they lied. At the same time, two demonstrations took place in front of the Sports Palace, one supporting the Congress, the "Young Regions" ("Molodye regiony"), the youth organization of the "Party of Regions", and an opposing demonstration of "Maidan" supporters. Units of militia (police) separated the two camps. Evgenyi Zhylyn, the leader of the "Oplot" martial arts club, called on the delegates of the congress to arm the "anti-Maidan" activists.²² In the evening, "Maidan" activists stormed the building of the Kharkiv oblast administration without capturing it.

The Russian state propaganda channel, Rossiya 24, broadcast the "Kharkov Congress" live and showed footage of the street fights in Kyiv on February 18 and 20, showing only one side of the picture, namely how militant activists of the "Maidan" beat the shields of the regime's security forces with clubs. Immediately after the end of the "counterrevolutionary" congress, the tandem "Dopa i Gepa" — Mikhail Dobkin, the governor of the Kharkiv oblast, and and Hennadii Kernes, mayor of the oblast capital, Kharkiv — went to Russia by land, as the acting minister of internal affairs, Arsen Avakov reported on Facebook and as was confirmed by the border service.

Already ten years earlier, during the "Orange Revolution" in 2004, parts of the Party of Regions had tried at the so-called "Severodonets Congress" to secede eastern Ukraine, because their "regionalist" candidate Viktor Yanukovych had allegedly had the presidency "stolen" from him by the "orange revolutionaries".

²⁰ https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/v-ukraine-proizoshel-vooruzhennyy-zahvat-vlasti-nardep-2 2022014131700. Charov, who fled to Russia, is accused of treason (Ukr: "derzhavna zrada", Russ.: "gosudarstvennaya izmena") by the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office and has been put on trial.

²¹ https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/kernes-prizval-k-ochishcheniyu-ryadov-pr-ot-perebezhchi kov-22022014125700.

²² https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/lider-oplota-poprosil-deputatov-harkovskogo-sezda-voor uzhit-22022014133200.

The "Ukrainian Front"

On February 21, 2014, on the eve of the regional congress of the Party of Regions in Kharkiv,²³ the "Ukrainian Front" (Russ.: "Ukrainskii Front") of civic associations was founded—an "All-Ukrainian Social Union" of political parties and individual citizens²⁴—with a historical allusion to the "1st Ukrainian Front" of the Red Army, which took part in the reconquest of eastern Ukraine ("Battle of the Dnepr") with the declared aim of "cleaning Ukraine of occupiers".²⁵

The founding decision was passed unanimously, as the chairman of the board of the "Federation of veterans of Afghanistan" ("Soyuz veteranov Afganistana"), Volodymyr Ryzhkov informed. One of the initiators of this founding assembly and the formation of the Ukrainian Front was the Chairman of the Kharkiv Oblast State Administration (2010-2014), Mykhailo Dobkin. ²⁶ The event was also attended by representatives of pseudo civil society organizations and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate ("Ukrainskaya pravoslavnaya tserkov Moskovskogo patriarkhata"), which had been committing its faithful to Yanukovych for years. The Party of Regions simulated a movement of citizens to counteract the odium, that the supporters of Yanukovych's regime were only paid demonstrators and hired thugs ("Titushky").

As Mikhail Dobkin, the chairman of the Kharkiv State Oblast Administration (and spiritus rector of the founding assembly), explained, the name "Ukrainian Front" is particularly symbolic—as is the Front's insignia, the "Georgievskaya lenta," which has a pro-Russian, separatist connotation in Ukraine. "Our Front is beginning to cleanse the Ukrainian soil of those who have come here to occupy (our country)"—namely, the "seditious nationalists who have descended from Mount Hoverla"²⁷ and who consider themselves "the only Ukrainian 'demos' and who proclaim their "national idea" in the name of the entire Ukrainian people. Dobkin called what what going on in the country a "bad theater play", that "was not written in Ukraine". "Our patience is not infinite. When we realize that peaceful methods of restoring order in our country are exhausted, we will do it in another way," Dobkin threatened.

In Kharkiv, the martial arts club "Oplot" (bulwark, fortress) joined the Ukrainian Front as a "civic organization". On January 17, 2014, members of the Kharkiv "Oplot" had blocked the "Avto-Maidan" on European Square in Kyiv

²³ According to the organizers, about 6,000 people attended the meeting, delegates from 20 oblast organizations of the Party of Regions, Representatives of the Communist Party and of about 50 civic associations.

²⁴ http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/02/1/7012328/.

²⁵ The "Maidan" denounced the regime of President Yanukovych as an internal "occupation". In classic Soviet fashion, the "anti-Maidan" adopted the terminology of the "Maidan" and filled it with the opposite content.

²⁶ He ran for president in the early elections on May 25, 2014.

²⁷ Located in the Carpathian Mountains, "Hoverla" is the highest mountain in Ukraine at 2061 meters. On Independence Day (on August 24) the "Hoverla" becomes a national pilgrimage destination for patriotic politicians.

with their vehicles embroidered with the "Ribbon of Saint George". 28 After this 'action', the leader Yevhenii Zhylyn, together with the representative of an alleged civic organization "For Order" ("Za poryadok"), Viktor Andryeyev, gave a press conference. The two groups later united to form the "Anti-Automaidan" ("Anti-Avto-Maidan"). Igor Chernoivanov, the Ataman of the Don Cossack "Grand Army", promised the "Ukrainian Front" the support of his (allegedly) 10,000 men. The "Night Wolves" ("Nochnye Volki"), a Russian nationalist motorcycle ("biker") club, with which Russian President Putin likes to pose in a leather jacket, also joined the Ukrainian Front.

²⁸ Ukrainskaya pravda (Russian edition), 17.01.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/ 2014/01/17I/7009851/.

IV.2 Separatist Sheet Lightning in the "South-East"

IV.2.1 The Specter of Separatism

After the victory of the "Maidan", latent separatism became virulent in the east and south of Ukraine; the "specter of separatism was haunting" the "Yugo-Vostok" ("South-East") of Ukraine. Even before the flight of President Yanukovych, on February 21, 2014, the Ukrainian domestic intelligence service, the SBU, felt compelled to warn against separatist manifestations in a public statement: individual politicians, representatives of organs of local self-government, chairmen of civic associations, "radical-minded persons" would stir up the conflict in the country and "spread autonomist and separatist sentiments among the population". This could lead to the "termination of the existence of our state as a unitary state and to the loss of state sovereignty," the SBU warned.²⁹

At this time, the SBU is said to have become aware of "negotiations" on the division of Ukraine: Individual deputies of the councils of various administrative levels" (oblasts and municipalities (whether also of the Verkhovna Rada was not clear) had begun to "conduct separate negotiations with foreign states" (meaning Russia). "Consultations" were already being "held openly about a possible division of the country into several parts", the SBU declared, and warned that strict measures would be taken to stop attacks on territorial integrity; those involved in such activities would be held criminally responsible.

Already at the beginning (!) of February 2014 leading politicians of the parliament of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea had initiated the introduction of changes in the constitution of the Autonomous Republic and commissioned the examination of the question, whether Crimea could turn to Russia with the request "for protection". On February 22 2014, after the flight of President Yanukovych, the Ukrainian national parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, adopted a resolution on the prevention of all manifestations of separatism with 319 votes, i.e. with a large "constitutional" majority.³⁰ The draft of this resolution was introduced by the leaders of the three (still) opposition factions Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitali Klitschko and Oleh Tyahnybok.

Opinion polls from February to April 2014 showed that nowhere in Ukraine—not even in Donbas and in Crimea—was there a majority in favor of seceding from Ukraine and joining Russia.³¹ The survey conducted by the Foundation for Democratic Initiatives (Fond "Demokratychni initsiatyvy" im. Ilka Kucheriva) and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (Kyivskyi

²⁹ Ukrainskaya Pravda, (Russian edition), 21.02.2014; http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/ 2014/02/21/7015545/.

³⁰ By a 'constitutional majority', that is to say, by a majority of two-thirds (300 of the total number of votes of 450) of votes amendments to the constitution can be introduced.

³¹ Coynash, Halya, April 15, 2019; http://khpg.org/index.php?id=l555201258.

mizhnarodnyi instytut sotsiologii / KMIS) from February 8 to 18,³² showed that only 12% of the population as a whole wanted to form one state with Russia — in Crimea, however, the figure was 41%, in Donetsk oblast 33% and in Luhansk oblast 24%. In the survey conducted by the Rating Sociological Group (Sotsiolohichna grupa "Reiting") from March 1 to 7, 2014, 61% were in favor of preserving the unitary state, 24% for its "federalization"; in the Donbas, 59% of the respondents were in favor of federalization, but 87% were against the secession of the Donbas and only 8% in favor. In the survey conducted by the Ukrainian Sociology Service for the "Democratic Initiatives" Foundation from March 16 to 30, 2014, 89% of the population (including the Donbas) considered Ukraine as their motherland ("rodina"), while 8% did not. In the Donbas, 18% of the population did not consider Ukraine as their motherland. So there can be no question of a separatist wave sweeping Ukraine.

IV.2.2 The Deeper Roots of Separatism in Donbas³³

As early as 1991, when Ukraine gained its independence, there was speculation in Western media about a possible split of the country. And not only in 2014, but ten years earlier, during the "Orange Revolution" in 2004, Ukraine was threatened by separatism. The industrial and financial magnates who, after the independence of Ukraine had appropriated the heavy industry in Donbas, continued to maintain the Soviet myth that the Donbas was feeding the rest of the Soviet Union, only now the rest of Ukraine.³⁴ In doing so, they distracted the impoverished "aristocracy of the proletariat" from the current plight of the previously heroized miners.³⁵ The functionaries of the Party of Regions too strengthened this belief in the "guard of the working class", ³⁶ from which the party derived its claim to a leading position within Ukraine.

Separatism in the Donbas³⁷ was already stirring in the late 1980s—before the collapse of the Soviet Union. The reasons were economic and social, not na-

³² https://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=uk:r&cat=reports&id=236&page=l&y=2014&m=3.

³³ http://ukraine-nachrichten.com/ursprünge-donezker-separatismus_4235?print.

³⁴ https://www.nzz.ch/das-verletzte-staehlerne-herz-der-ukraine-ld.648153?reduced=true.

In the mid-1990s, the author had the opportunity to get to know the situation on the ground in the framework of a cooperation project of the German mining union "IG Berbau und Energie" and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung with the new "Independent Miners' Trade Union of Ukraine" (Ukr.: Nezalezhna profspilka hirnykiv Ukrainy / NPHU; Russ.: Nezavisimyi profsoyuz gornyakov Ukrainy / NPGU), whose chairman at the time was Mykhailo Volynects (since 2002 deputy of the Verkhovna Rada).

In the "Irmino mine" (Russ.: "Irminskii rudnik") in the present-day Luhansk oblast, worked the legendary Soviet model coal miner Alexei Stakhanov, whose use of innovative working methods greatly increased his personal productivity, which became the basis for the "Stakhanovite movement" in the Soviet Union. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Aleksey-Grigoriyevich-Stakhanov.

³⁷ The "Donetsk-Krivoi Rog Soviet Republic" ("Donetsko-Krivorozhskaya Sovetskaya Respublika"), constituted by the Bolsheviks in 1918, existed for only two months—in February, March 2018. The "DKSR" included, in addition to the present-day oblasts of Sumy, Kharkiv,

tional or ethnic. The loss of importance of the Donbas began in Soviet times. After the development of hydrocarbon resources in Siberia, the conversion from coal to oil and gas began. The mines in the Donbas fell into disrepair. At the end of the 1980s, during the period of total "deficit" of goods, the coal industry of the Soviet Union fell into a serious crisis. Hundreds of thousands of miners went on strike not only for higher wages, but simply for a better supply of food and goods for daily needs.

The Ukrainian independence movement founded in 1989, the "Ruch", the "People's Movement of Ukraine" (Narodnyi Ruch Ukrayiny), which was initially a movement to support the reforms ("glaznost" and "perestroika") of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, directed the protest of the miners in Donbas to their mills ("while we slave away here, Moscow lives like a maggot in bacon"). In the referendum on Ukraine's independence on December 1, 1991, almost 84% of the participants in the Donetsk oblast voted for Ukraine's independence — not out of "patriotism", but in the idea that the fruits of their labor would now no longer flow to Moscow but remain in the country. The "Deutsche Bank" attributed to independent Ukraine "the greatest potential of all the successor states of the former Soviet Union". 38

But as early as 1993 the mood changed. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought not an economic upswing, but a further decline, not only in Russia, but also in the now independent Ukraine: the striking miners demanded more independence for Donbas—this time from Kyiv. Now, for them, the parasites they supposedly kept out were not sitting in Moscow, but in the capital of independent Ukraine—and in the west of the country.

On June 7, 1993, an indefinite strike of the miners began in Donbas. In view of the possible serious consequences, the Verkhovna Rada met their demands for a 'consultative referendum' of confidence / no confidence in the President and in the Parliament, that was to take place on September 26, 1993. But on September 24, two days before the referendum, the Verkhovna Rada decided to hold early parliamentary elections on March 27, 1994 (the first since independence) and early presidential elections on June 26, 1994 (also the first since independenc). The strongest challenger to incumbent President Leonid Kravchuk was former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who was elected President in a runoff election on July 10, 1994. Kuchma advocated close relations with Russia, but also claimed to be a "pro-Western" politician.

Dnipro (until 2016 Dnipropetrovsk, in zaric times Ekaterinoslav) Donetsk, Kherson in the east and south of Ukraine respectively, also the territory of the Don Cossacks in the Rostov-on-Don oblast in the present day Russian Federation.

³⁸ Karl Walter, advisor and board member of the Bavarian House Odessa (BHO), president of the German-Ukrainian Business Club at the end of May 2013 in Odessa; in: DVZ / Deutsche Verkehrs-Zeitung, 06.06.2013; https://www.dvz.de/rubriken/markt-unternehmen/single-view/nachrichten/logistikmarkt-ukraine-lockt.html.

³⁹ The dates for the regular parliamentary elections and regular presidential elections were March 1995 and late 1996 respectively.