

# Gorshenin Veekly

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President will establish a constitutional assembly to amend the constitution

President Viktor Yanukovych has created a group of scholars and experts who will set up a Constitutional Assembly to amend the Ukrainian constitution. Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was appointed as the head of the group. The presidential administration said that the Constitutional Assembly would draw up a new draft of the nation's fundamental law. "This draft will be widely debated by the public and then sent to parliament as a presidential bill," the president's press service explained.

Kravchuk said that the current constitution did not correspond to the interests of the Ukrainian people and did not carry a lot of weight with them. This can be attributed to the fact that the fundamental law was substantially amended on several occasions. "We adopted a presidential-parliamentary constitution in 1996. Then it was changed to parliamentary-presidential in 2004. And in 2010, we switched it back," he explained. According to the former president, the Assembly should bring together 100-150 lawyers, political scientists, political philosophers and public activists. "It was suggested that no more than 20-25 percent of the Assembly is politicians in order to avoid any confrontation," Kravchuk added.

The leader of the Fatherland party, Yuliya Tymoshenko, called the president's initiative to set up the Constitutional Assembly a fraud. In her opinion, it was proposed so Yanukovych can concentrate all the power in his hands. The parliamentary faction "Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense" also voiced its criticism of the Assembly established without the involvement of parliament. "Please tell me, in what country of the world a constitutional assembly is set up without the participation of parliament?" wondered the leader of the "Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense" parliamentary faction, Mykola Martynenko.

According to a Party of Regions Member of Parliament (MP) and the permanent representative of the president in parliament, Yuriy Miroshnychenko, the Constitutional Assembly is an adequate mechanism for debating the proposals for constitutional amendments. The leader of the parliamentary faction Party of Regions, Oleksandr Yefremov, noted that the Constitutional Assembly should not be attributed so much weight since it was not the body endowed with the authority to take final decisions.

The EU imposes financial sanctions against Ukraine The European Union (EU) has frozen aid to Ukraine's state bodies, the head of the EU's Delegation to Ukraine, Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira, said. The EU explained this decision by the changes in the procedure for state purchasing, which were approved by the Ukrainian parliament.

In particular, the Ukrainian parliament authorized the state-funded procurement of energy for electricity and heating, natural gas, heating oil, as well as their delivery and distribution without tenders for purchase. Parliament adopted the corresponding law, which introduced changes to the purchasing procedure, on 11 January 2011. President Yanukovych signed it on 27 January 2011.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Kostyantyn Hryshchenko said that he was aware of the EU decision to freeze the aid and that the information about the motives of Brussels was inaccurate. "This is not related (to the changes in the law on state purchasing). There is a range of issues which we are currently discussing. We are negotiating this," he explained.

However, Pinto Teixeira challenged his statement: "Our decision has to do only with



the procedure for state purchasing and the recently adopted law amendments. No other reasons exist."

According to mass media, in 2011, Ukraine will loose over 100 mil. euros as a result of the EU sanctions. Besides, if Kiev and Brussels do not reach a consensus, more sanctions might be imposed. In particular, the state purchasing issue might complicate the negotiations to grant Ukraine 610mil. euros of the EU's microfinance assistance.

Yet, a member of the Parliamentary Committee on Economic Policy, Oleksiy Plotnikov, does not view the EU's freeze of aid for Ukraine as a disaster. "This is financial aid for the state bodies. It has nothing to do with macroeconomics, economics, etc. This is merely a formality," he opined.

Deputy Prime Minister and Social Policy Minister, Serhiy Tyhypko, said that the disagreement about the transparency of tender procedures that arose between Ukraine and the EU would be resolved in the near future.

**Experts Assess of** Yanukovych's First Year as President Ukrainian experts generally negatively assess Yanukovych's First Year as President giving him 2.9 out of 10. The experts' opinion poll was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic

Initiatives Foundation.

The experts point out the domination of negative trends in changes during the first year of Yanukovych's presidency. Politically motivated persecution of opposition figures and authorities' pressure on members of civic society, including the participants in the anti-tax code protests, were the most heavily criticized by the experts. Another large area of criticism is the rollback of democratic rights and freedoms, namely freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

The experts point out another important trend – the concentration of powers in the president's hands and setting up tough executive branch. The experts also gave very negative opinions on the return to 1996 Constitution by the ruling of the Constitutional Court as the court approved the verdict under strong political pressure and it was made contrary to the requirements of the existing law.

The polled experts did not notice any real fight of corruption during Yanukovych's first year of presidency despite his declarations. According to the experts' assessments, the level of corruption has even raised. The judicial reform also received negative assessments as it raised the dependence of the judicial power on the executive branch, - they said in the Foundation.

Speaking about foreign politics, the experts noticed the change in Ukraine's orientation towards Russia. This change was assessed mainly negatively as it resulted in some sort of submission of Ukraine to Russia's national interests.

Out of a small number of positive changes in Yanukovych's first year of presidency the experts pointed out advanced progress in the preparation to Euro-2012, the government's declaration of the need for reforms, approval of the law on access to public information and enhancement of self-organization of public.

The experts assessed mainly negatively the state of key indicators of Ukraine's development as of the first year anniversary of Yanukovych's inauguration. Among



the topics assessed by a ten grade scale, the government's humanitarian policy received the lowest point (1.7) followed by very high level of corruption (8.9). Also, low points received: the observance of lawfulness (2.4), the government's social policy (2.6), support of Ukraine's interests at the international arena (2.6), freedom of entrepreneurship (3), economic situation (3.1), democracy level (3.2) and the state of freedom of speech (3.8).

**Bureaucrats and** corrupt parliamentarians obstruct the adoption of anti-corruption laws Ukrainian President Yanukovych has pledged that an anti-corruption law will be adopted and come into force within the first six months of 2011. "It will be definitely adopted within the first six months of 2011 and implemented by the end of this parliamentary session. I guarantee this. This is my law, I signed it and sent it to parliament. It will be debated as a high-priority law," he said.

At the same time, the President noted that he could not exert any influence over parliament. "Parliament has its own life and it is very difficult for the president to influence its decisions or put pressure on it. Sometimes, it is difficult; sometimes, it is impossible. How do I influence it? I ask and address it. I cannot give orders," he said. Yanukovych added that there were groups in parliament that attempted to persuade lawmakers to block certain bills in parliament and propose amendments which the president would not approve.

It is worth noting that representatives of the current coalition stated on several occasions that stability in Ukraine has been attained thanks to the coordinated work of the president, cabinet and parliament.

**Another former** official from the Tymoshenko cabinet might be granted political asylum

The former head of the Ukrainian Committee for State Material Reserves, Mykhaylo Pozhyvanov, has applied for political asylum in Austria. "I talked to my lawyers and submitted a special request for political asylum to the corresponding Austrian agencies. My lawyer said that we have gone through all the

procedures for receiving asylum and now the decision is up to the corresponding agency. The consideration of the case might last up to a year," Pozhyvanov explained.

Previously, the Security Service of Ukraine (SSU)announced that a criminal case has been launched against Pozhyvanov over the embezzlement of 35 mil. hryvnyas of state funds and that he was wanted. Pozhyvanov has been residing in Austria since Fall 2010 where he received a work permit.

To remind you, the Czech Republic granted political asylum to former Economics Minister Bohdan Danylyshyn in January 2011.

It is noteworthy that criminal cases were opened against a number of former officials and leaders of opposition parties. On several occasions, the international community expressed concern that the Ukrainian government applied selective justice to the opposition.

At the same time, Yanukovych believes that there is no pressure on the opposition in Ukraine. "God forbid, it was an international audit that exposed corruption of the so-called opposition members who are in reality venal," he said.

**Mykola Azarov** proposes a compromise on a free trade area with the EU

Prime Minister Mykola Azarov believes that Ukraine and the EU should reach a compromise during the talks on establishing a free trade area. In particular, he proposed to raise quotas for the Ukrainian export of agricultural produce to the EU states every year up to their complete removal.



**Human Rights Union** 

As a reminder, quotas for the Ukrainian agricultural produce are what Ukraine and the EU cannot agree upon in their negotiations.

At the same time, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hryshchenko said that there were plans to sign an agreement on creating a free trade area with the Commonwealth of Independent States CIS by the end of 2011. He added that a plan for long-term trade cooperation between Ukraine and Russia would be drawn up in the near future.

Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma believes that the EU has not yet decided on the status of its relations with Ukraine but is toughening its requirements. "Currently, the EU is toughening its requirements for Ukraine. Hence, we are in the situation when, on the one hand, the EU cannot determine either the format of its relations with Ukraine or the date of its integration. On the other hand, it fears that the Ukrainian leaders will look for other options for integrating," he said. According to Kuchma, Ukraine is given a role of a buffer zone between Europe and Russia.

At the same time, the former president noted that Ukraine had no future maintaining its current partnership with Russia.

Ukraine's inflation Based on the results of 2010, Ukraine's inflation is the highest in the CIS. rate is the highest in According to the Ukrainian State Statistics Service, prices in Ukraine rose by 9.1% in the CIS 2010. Ukraine is followed by Armenia (8.2%), Kyrgyzstan (8%), Belarus (7.8%) and Moldova (7.4%). Last year, prices grew by 6.9% in Russia. On average, this figure was 7.4% in the CIS. The Ukrainian justice The Ukrainian Justice Minister Oleksandr Lavrynovych met with the new Minister urges the Chair of the Freedom House, David Kramer. **Freedom House** During a meeting he called on the Freedom House experts to make judgments about experts to be more the situation in Ukraine using facts and professional analysis rather than emotions unbiased Lavrynovych noted that the Ukrainian government was concerned about the recent statement of the organization, which lowered the nation's freedom ranking, and was ready for cooperation with the international community. He explained that the authorities were forced to take unpopular steps to implement reforms, which unquestionably affected the state's rankings. Previously, Lavrynovych opined that conclusions of the Venice Commission have become increasingly politically motivated. Human rights activists say that the situation with the protection of rights and It becomes harder to liberties further deteriorated in Ukraine in 2010. protect rights and The information presented in the joint report of over 40 human rights liberties in Ukraine -Ukrainian Helsinki

organizations, entitled "Human Rights in Ukraine – 2009-2010," which was publicized by the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union, only attests to this.

"Actions of the government in 2010 do not attest to its intentions to improve the situation. Rather, they demonstrate the end of those positive processes that used to exist and witness to the emergence of new tendencies to violate or disrespect human rights," human rights activists said. They added that the officials and the bodies of local self-governance practically disregarded the requests from the public, protests against illegal actions and statements of human rights violations: "They simply ignore them."



**Naftohaz and Gazprom** 

Merger

Human rights activists consider the criminal cases launched against those who took part in the demonstrations against the new Tax Code in Kiev's Independence Square, members of the Trident organization and the All-Ukrainian Freedom Union, as well as former high-profile officials such as Yuriy Lutsenko (the leader of the opposition party People's Self-Defense) and Yevhen Korniychuk (the leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party which is part of the Yuliya Tymoshenko Bloc) political persecution. Furthermore, human rights activists recognized instances of "persecution and violence against journalists, trade union activists, public activists and human rights activists," as well as selective justice. They concluded that the number of violations of the freedom of peaceful assembly has been substantially larger in 2010 than its total in 2005-2009. Besides, they stated that the Ukrainian Interior Ministry has violated human rights more frequently in 2010 than in 2009 and added that the number of complaints about the law-enforcers who applied torture and other forms of illegal coercion has grown. **The Party of Regions** The Ukrainian government has received a clear signal from the PACE president that the organization might stop monitoring our country, a Party of counts on the PACE to Regions MP and the PACE vice president, Ivan Popesku, said. stop monitoring of He added that the key requirements, which Ukraine needs to satisfy in order to have Ukraine the PACE monitoring procedure stopped, were the adoption of a new Criminal Code, a law on prosecutors and lawyers, a transfer of the penitentiary system under the regulation of a state body and the creation of public television. "All these tasks were reflected in the president's resolution on the measures that Ukraine must take to meet the requirements of the Council of Europe. The PACE president did provide such a signal," Popesku emphasized. However, former PACE Monitoring Committee's Rapporteur Hanna Severinsen believes that the PACE should not stop monitoring Ukraine. She added that the situation with voting in the Ukrainian parliament during the adoption of amendments to the constitution should be included in the next PACE report. Previously, PACE President Mevlüt Cavusoglu stated that the organization would like to stop monitoring Ukraine as soon as possible. On behalf of the Council of Europe and the PACE, he expressed support for the reforms which were implemented in Ukraine. Ukraine will have serious economic support to its development if it approves **Russia Promises** the decision to merger its national oil and gas company Naftohaz Ukrayiny Lower Gas Price and with the Russian gas company Gazprom, Gazprom Board Chairman Aleksei **Transit Increase for** 

> Miller said on 21 February 2011. In particular, Miller said that Russia will sell gas to Ukraine at domestic price after signing a document on Gazprom and Naftohaz merger. Miller said there no other options to cut the price of gas for Ukraine.

Miller also said that in case of the merger between the two companies Gazprom will use the Ukrainian gas transport system to the maximum extent possible increasing supply of gas to the countries in Western Europe. Miller said however that the joint venture will not interfere with the implementation of the South Stream project



adding that greater gas supply through the Ukrainian transport system will be achieved due to increased demand in Russian gas in Europe.

Miller also said that Gazprom is ready to provide a number of gas fields in Russia as statutory capital to the new joint venture expecting Ukraine to contribute its gas transport system instead.

We recall that the existing contracts between Ukraine and Russia establish average price of gas in 2011 at 280 dollars per 1,000 m.cu.

Naftohaz Ukrayiny's Shares to be Placed at Stock Exchange -**Energy and Coal** Minister

### Ukrainian Minister of Energy and Coal Mining Industry Yuriy Boyko has announced the government's plans to sell part of Naftohaz Ukrayiny's Shares at stock exchange

Boyko said that part of the shares will be put at one of the trade floors as part of the company's reforming. Boyko also said that the Cabinet will initiate respective changes to the law on pipeline transport.

Earlier the state-owned Oshchadbank bank started talks with investors on selling Naftohaz Ukrayiny's debts. National Bank of Ukraine First Deputy Board Chairman Yuriy Kolobov said foreign investors now demonstrate interest in Naftohaz Ukrayiny's debts. Kolobov also said that replacement of Naftohaz Ukrayiny's credits with bonds is one of the options to reduce the company's share in credit portfolio of state-owned banks.

#### **Enerhoatom will** receive a 1bn-dollar loan from Sberbank

### Enerhoatom intends to receive a 1bn-dollar loan from Russian Sberbank by mid May 2011, Enerhoatom's vice-president of project management, Aydyn Avsvn. said.

The company has already reached an agreement with Russian Sberbank that the loan will be given for 5 years. Enerhoatom needs the money to complete the construction of the third and fourth energy generating units of the Khmelnytskyy nuclear power plant.

According to previous reports, Enerhoatom and Russia's Atomstroyeksport signed a contract on supplying equipment for the third and fourth energy generating units of the Khmelnytskyy nuclear power plant on 9 February 2011. The agreement between Ukraine and Russia on cooperation in the construction of the third and fourth energy generating units of the Khmelnytskyy nuclear power plant came into force on 2 February 2011. The implementation of the agreement envisages that a Russian loan to Ukraine will help complete the construction and launch into use the third and fourth energy generating units of the Khmelnytskyy nuclear power plant and cover the expenses for the services and products imported from Russia.

Enerhoatom's President Yuriy Nedashkovskyy estimates the cost of the two energy generating units at 4-5bn dollars.

**Director-general of** ArcelorMittal Kryvyy **Rikh: constant checks,** tax pressure and state VAT refunds debts are the company's key problems

#### Director-General of Arcelor Mittal Kryvyi Rih Rinat Starkov said that his company experienced more pressure from the state agencies.

According to him, on average two checks take place at his company on a daily basis. In comparison with 2009, the number of checks has increased by 40%. "We cannot consider such a situation normal as it fundamentally undermines Ukraine's attempts to create a reputation of the country with an attractive investment climate," he said.



Furthermore, the Ukrainian tax inspectorates claimed 57m dollars from the company in December 2010 for violating the VAT provisions of the Tax Code. Currently, the company is challenging the tax inspectorates in court.

At the same time, Starkov said that the state owed his company 2.3bn hryvnyas of a VAT refund at the end of 2011 and that not a single hryvnya has been returned to the company as of December-January. "The issue of the VAT refund that the state did not pay in full posed a grave problem for us in 2010. Unfortunately, we see neither serious progress in this area nor, at the very least, the government's desire to do something about this situation," he added.

Starkov also said that disagreements with the tax inspectorate that arose in regards to the VAT return forced the company to switch to 100% import of raw materials. "Because the VAT that we pay for the import of raw materials at the customs cannot be challenged even theoretically. Such a development will be more beneficial to us. But will it be good for Ukraine's economy? Hardly," he stated.



On 14-28 February 2011, Gorshenin Institute conducted an all-Ukrainian telephone survey on the topic «Viktor Yanukovych: the first year in office.» As many as 2,000 randomly sampled adults, aged 18 years and older, living in Ukraine's regional centers, cities, towns and villages, including Kiev and Sevastopol, were interviewed. Gender, age, and the type of a respondent's residence were used as quotas. The maximum margin of sampling error is +/-2.2 percentage points.

Based on the results of **the all-Ukrainian survey**, the Gorshenin Institute experts drew the following conclusions:

**Ukrainians believe that the nation's economic situation is critical. 1. The majority of the Ukrainian population (78.1%) thinks that the nation's economic conditions have worsened over the past year.** As many as 59.3% of the respondents believe that the economy in Ukraine has «definitely become worse» and 18.8% find that it is «somewhat worse.» According to 11.8% of the survey participants, the economic situation has improved: 8.5% of them believe that the Ukrainian economy has become «somewhat better» and 3.3% of the respondents evaluate its condition as «definitely better.» One in ten Ukrainians (10.1%) had no opinion on the issue.

2. Nearly half of the Ukrainian citizens (50.8%) disapprove of the way Viktor Yanukovych has been handling his job as president during his first year in office. As many as 32.7% of the respondents «strongly disapprove» of his performance and 18.1% of them «somewhat dissaprove» of it. Overall, approximately a third of the Ukrainian population (35.5%) has a favorable opinion of the president's performance over the past year. As many as 22.6% of the survey participants «somewhat approve» of the way Yanukovych has been handling the job as president and 12.9% of those interviewed «strongly approve» of it. Nearly 13.7% of the respondents did not choose an answer to this question.

**3. Almost half of the Ukrainian population (46.1%) says that its attitude toward Viktor Yanukovych has become worse during his first year in office.** As many as 28.8% of those polled believe that it has «definitely changed for worse» and 17.3% admit that it has changed «somewhat for worse». Over a quarter of the respondents claim that their attitude toward Viktor Yanukovych has improved over the past year: 16.1% of them say that their opinion of him has changed «somewhat for better» and 10.0% think it has «definitely changed for better.» At the same time, over a quarter of Ukrainians (27.8%) had a difficulty answering this question.

**4. The majority of Ukrainians (59.3%) maintains a negative outlook on the performance of the Ukrainian government headed by Mykola Azarov.** As many as 42.9% of the respondents «strongly disapprove» of how the government has been performing and 16.4% of them «somewhat disapprove» of it. Over a quarter of the Ukrainian population (26.9%) has a favorable opinion of the cabinet performance. Among them, 16.1% «somewhat approve» of it and 10.8% of the participants «strongly approve» of it. As many as 13.8% of the respondents did not specify their answer to this question.

The multivector foreign policy is supported by the majority of the Ukrainian citizens.

**5.** Half of the Ukrainian population (50.6%) has a positive attitude toward the conduct of foreign policy by President Viktor Yanukovych. As many as 25.5% of



the respondents «strongly approve» of how the presidents has been handling foreign policy and approximately the same number of the survey participants (25.1%) «somewhat approve» of it. A third (30.5%) of those interviewed hold a negative opinion about Yanukovych's conduct of foreign policy: 19.2% of them «strongly disapprove» of it and 11.3% «somewhat disapprove» of it. Nearly 18.9% of the respondents remained undecided.

**6.** The majority of Ukrainians (64.0%) believes that the Ukrainian-Russian relations have improved over the past year. According to 34.1% of the respondents, the relations between the two states have «somewhat improved,» while 29.9% of those interviewed think that they have «definitely improved.» As many as 16.1% of the survey participants think that the relations between Ukraine and Russia have become worse. For 11.6% of the respondents, they have «somewhat deteriorated» and for 4.5%, they have «definitely deteriorated.» Every fifth person surveyed (19,9%) could not provide an answer to this question.

**7. Nearly a third of the Ukrainian population (32.7%) believes that the relations between Ukraine and the European Union have improved over the past year.** For 23.0% of the respondents, the relations have «somewhat improved» and 9.7% of them said that they have «definitely improved». According to over a quarter of the survey participants (28.1%), the Ukrainian-EU relations have become worse over the past year. As many as 18.0% of them find that the relations have «somewhat deteriorated» and 10.1% claim that they have «definitely deteriorated». At the same time, 39.2% of the respondents had a difficulty answering this question.

#### Yuliya Tymoshenko remains the key opposition figure.

**8.** According to 41.0% of the respondents, Yuliya Tymoshenko represents the opposition forces in Ukraine. She leads in the poll, leaving far behind Arseniy Yatsenyuk (16.0%), Anatoliy Hrytsenko (6.2%) and Oleh Tyahnybok (4.3%). Less than 3% of the survey participants think that Serhiy Tyhypko (2.7%), Mykola Katerynchuk (2.7%), Yuriy Lutsenko (2.0%), Viktor Yushchenko (1.4%), Volodymyr Lytvyn (1.0%) or Valentyn Nalyvaychenko (0.5%) are opposition members. Nearly 0.7% of the respondents believe that the opposition is represented by «other» politician, while 14.4% of the population claims that opposition does not exist in Ukraine. Over a quarter (26.6%) of those interviewed could not name representatives of the Ukrainian opposition.

**9. Over a third of Ukrainians (39.6%) believe that the opposition arrests and questioning are instances of political repression.** As many as 30.9% of the respondents view arrests and questioning as methods of combating corruption, while 9.3% of those polled think that these actions mean something else. A fifth of the survey participants (20.2%) had no opinion on the issue.

#### Viktor Yanukovych's presidential approval rating is falling.

**10. If a presidential election were held next Sunday, a quarter of the Ukrainian population (25.8%) would vote for Viktor Yanukovych.** Yulia Tymoshenko would garner 14.8% of the vote and Arseniy Yatsenuyk would become third with 12.2% of the respondents favoring him. Serhiy Tyhypko would gain 7.8% of the vote, while the rest of the candidates (Petro Symonenko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Viktor Yushchenko and Volodymyr Lytvyn) would not even cross a 3-percent barrier. As many as 7.6% of the respondents would vote against all the candidates and 5.6% of them would not vote at all. Nearly 16.7% of the Ukrainian population remains undecided.



The table below provides comparative approval ratings in February 2011 and May 2010:

	May 2010	February 2011
Viktor Yanukovych	46.9%	25.8%
Yuliya Tymosh enko	9.7%	14.8%
ArseniyYatsenyuk	5.2%	12.2%
Serhiy Tyhypko	14.1%	7.8%
Petro Symonenko	1.2%	2.9%
Oleh Tyahnubok	2.3%	2.4%
Anatoliy Hrytsenko	1.8%	2.1%
Viktor Yushchenko	0.3%	0.6%
Volodymyr Lytvyn	0.7%	0.5%
Other candidate	1.2%	1.1 %
Against all the candidates	4.4%	7.6%
Would not vote	5.4%	5.6%
No answer	6.8%	16.7%

**12.** If a parliamentary election were held next Sunday, almost a quarter of **Ukrainians (24.3%) would give their vote to the Party of Regions (M. Azarov).** As many as 14.2% of the respondents would support the Fatherland party (Y.

Tymoshenko) and 9.7% would vote for the Front for Change party (A. Yatsenyuk). Nearly 5.7% of the voters would choose the Communist Party of Ukraine (P. Symonenko), 4.7% would cast their ballots for the Strong Ukraine party (S. Tyhypko) and the All-Ukrainian Freedom Union would garner 3.6% of the vote. The Our Ukraine party (V. Yushchenko) would receive 1.3% of the vote, the Civil Position party (A. Hrytsenko) would claim 0.6% and the People's Party (V. Lytvyn) 0.4% of the vote. Other party would be favored by 1.5% of the respondents, 9.8% of them would vote against all the candidates and 6.4% of those surveyed would not vote at all. Nearly 17.8% of the population remains undecided on the issue.

# A large number of Ukrainians still does not have enough money for basic necessities.

12. When asked about their financial situation, nearly a third of Ukrainians (32.0%) believe that they hardly make ends meet and sometimes do not have enough money for food. Almost the same number of the respondents (31.7%) said that they had enough money for food but not enough for buying clothes and shoes. Over a quarter of the population (26.4%) responded that they had enough money for living but not for large purchases such as furniture or a refrigerator. Only 6.0% of the survey participants said that they experienced no financial difficulties, except when making especially large purchases (e.g., property or a car), while 1.7% of those polled have enough money for everything. Nearly 2.2% of the respondents declined to answer this question.

## APPENDIX

- 1. Would you say that the state of the nation's economy got better or worse over the past year?
- 2. Definitely better 3.3%

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- 3. Somewhat better 8.5%
- 4. Somewhat worse 18.8%
- 5. Definitely worse 59.3%
- 6. No opinion 10.1%
- 2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Viktor Yanukovych has been handling his job as president during his first year in office?
- 1. Strongly approve 12.9%
- 2. Somewhat approve 22.6%
- 3. Somewhat disapprove 18.1%
- 4. Strongly disapprove 32.7%
- 5. No opinion 13.7%
- 3. How has your attitude toward Viktor Yanukovych changed during his first year in office?
- 1. Definitely for better 10.0%
- 2. Somewhat for better 16.1%
- 3. Somewhat for worse 17.3%
- 4. Definitely for worse 28.8%
- 5. No opinion 27.8%
- 4. Thinking about the Ukrainian government headed by Mykola Azarov, do you approve or disapprove of its performance over the past year?
- 1. Strongly approve 10.8%
- 2. Somewhat approve 16.1%
- 3. Somewhat disapprove 16.4%
- 4. Strongly disapprove 42.9%
- 5. No opinion 13.8%
- 5. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Viktor Yanukovych has been handling foreign relations?
- 1. Strongly approve 25.5%
- 2. Somewhat approve 25.1%
- 3. Somewhat disapprove 11.3%
- 4. Strongly disapprove 19.2%
- 5. No opinion 18.9%
- 6. How have the relations between Ukraine and Russia changed over the past year?
- 1. Definitely improved 29.9%
- 2. Somewhat improved 34.1%
- 3. Somewhat deteriorated 11.6%
- 4. Definitely deteriorated 4.5%
- 5. No opinion 19.9%

## 7. How have the relations between Ukraine and the European Union changed over the past year?

- 1. Definitely improved 9.7%
- 2. Somewhat improved 23.0%
- 3. Somewhat deteriorated 18.0%
- 4. Definitely deteriorated 10.1%
- 5. No opinion 39.2%



## VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH:

A SUMMARY OF THE FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE -SURVEY

- 8. In your opinion, who represents opposition forces in Ukraine at present? (several options can be chosen)
- 1. Yuliya Tymoshenko 41.0%
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk 16.0%
- 3. Anatoliy Hrytsenko 6.2%
- 4. Oleh Tyahnybok 4.3%
- 5. Serhiy Tyhypko 2.7%
- 6. Mykola Katerynchuk 2.7%
- 7. Yuriy Lutsenko 2.0%
- 8. Viktor Yushchenko 1.4%
- 9. Volodymyr Lytvyn 1.0%
- 10. Valentyn Nalyvaychenko 0.5%
- 11. Other candidate 0.7%
- 12. No opposition exists in Ukraine 14.4%
- 13. No opinion 26.6%

## 9. In your opinion, what do the arrests and questioning of the Ukrainian opposition signify?

- 1. Political repression 39.6%
- 2. Fight against corruption 30.9%
- 3. Other 9.3%
- 4. No opinion 20.2%
- 10. If a presidential election were held next Sunday, who would you vote for?
- 1. Viktor Yanukovych 25.8%
- 2. Yuliya Tymoshenko 14.8%
- 3. Arseniy Yatsenyuk 12.2%
- 4. Serhiy Tyhypko 7.8%
- 5. Petro Symonenko 2.9%
- 6. Oleh Tyahnybok 2.4%
- 7. Anatoliy Hrytsenko 2.1%
- 8. Viktor Yushchenko 0.6%
- 9. Volodymyr Lytvyn 0.5%
- 10. Other candidate 1.1%
- 11. Vote against all 7.6%
- 12. Would not vote 5.6%
- 13. No opinion 16.6%

## **11.** If a parliamentary election were held next Sunday, what party would you vote for?

- 1. The Party of Regions (M. Azarov) 24.3%
- 2. The Fatherland party (Y. Tymoshenko) 14.2%
- 3. The Front for Change party (A. Yatsenyuk) 9.7%
- 4. The Communist Party of Ukraine (P. Symonenko) 5.7%
- 5. The Strong Ukraine party (S.Tyhypko) 4.7%
- 6. The All-Ukrainian Freedom Union (O. Tyahnubok) 3.6%
- 7. The Our Ukraine party (V, Yushchenko) 1.3%
- 8. The Civil Position party (A. Hrytsenko) 0.6%
- 9. The People's Party (V. Lytvyn) 0.4%
- 10. Other party 1.5%
- 11. Would vote against all 9.8%
- 12. Would not vote -6.4%
- 13. No opinion 17.8%



1.

## VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH:

## A SUMMARY OF THE FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE - SURVEY

## 12. How would you describe the financial situation of your family?

- Barely making ends meet, sometimes not having enough money for food 32.0%
- Having enough money for food although not enough for clothes or shoes 31.7%
- 3. Overall, having enough money but not enough for large purchases (e.g., furniture, refrigerator, etc.) 26.4%
- 4. No financial difficulties, except for when making especially large purchases (property, expensive cars, etc.) 6.0%
- 5. Having enough money for everything 1.7%
- 6. Refused to answer 2.2%

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