



# Gorshenin *Weekly*

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### 2. Survey: "Ukraine's prospects for European integration" ...page 13-15.

**EU intends to initial association agreement with Ukraine although persecution of opposition hinders Ukraine's European integration**

**Europe is ready to continue dialog with Ukraine.**

The Ukrainian news and analysis website Lb.ua quoted the press service of High Representative of the EU for Foreign Relations and Security Policy **Catherine Ashton** as saying that the EU intended to initial an association agreement with Ukraine although it will continue to urge the country to implement international standards of justice.

"We are going to move further towards the initialization," the EU representative stressed. At the same time, Ashton found it necessary to point to an intimate connection between politics and economy, to the importance of the Ukrainian developments to the EU and, in particular, to former Prime Minister **Yuliya Tymoshenko's** trial.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry expects that the document might be initialed by the end of March 2012.

At the same time, on 4 March 2012, the foreign ministers of Sweden, Great Britain, Poland, the Czech Republic and German publicized a jointly written letter in which they expressed the opinion that the process of signing and ratifying the EU-Ukrainian association agreement had been blocked by what they believed was a poor state of democracy in Ukraine. The Ukrainian-EU relations had reached a dead end, they added.

In response to the letter, the deputy head of the pro-government Party of Regions parliamentary faction, **Vadym Kolesnichenko**, stated that the representatives of the EU states were trying to impose on Ukraine their vision of our domestic politics. "These statements by the individual diplomats, in general, violate international law. They are trying to humiliate us and are attempting to impose on us what we have done wrong," he said.

In his turn, Ukrainian Foreign Minister **Kostyantyn Hryshchenko** said that Kiev was preparing a response to the letter written by the foreign ministers of the five EU states. Later, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry clarified that it had finished drafting the response which would be published as an article. The Ukrainian newspaper Kommersant Ukraina quoted its own sources as saying that the Foreign Ministry intended to comply with the rulings of the European Court of Human Rights in the cases of the opposition leaders.

On 10 March 2012, the Saturday issue of the Ukrainian analytical weekly Dzerkalo Tyzhnya published Hryshchenko's article entitled "A Strategic balance as Ukraine's chance in the multipolar world". In general, the piece is devoted to an analysis of global world processes and Ukraine's place in the new coordinate system. It also contains a number of propositions focused on the Ukrainian-EU relations.

In Hryshchenko's opinion, an ideological impulse of the European Union, which for a rather long time has been a defining feature of the development on the continent, is loosing its momentum. "After the Balkan countries join the EU, one can expect an extended or even a very extended pause in the process of the EU enlargement to the east". At the same time, Hryshchenko believes that at present, the EU really has no desire (and, objectively, no resources) to see Ukraine as a candidate country. The foreign minister also stressed that Ukraine's policy towards the EU should become more grounded and pragmatic. "Ukraine's modernization and Europe's openness (under the framework of the already agreed free trade area and the action plan for liberalizing a visa regime) are important to us," Hryshchenko stated.

We shall remind you that on 9 March 2012, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) declared that it was concerned over the lack of progress with Ukraine's implementation of its most recent resolution. The PACE reminded the Ukrainian government that if the situation deteriorates and if its demands are not satisfied, the committee might suggest imposing sanctions against Kiev.

A day before, on 8 March 2012, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) stated that if politically motivated persecution continues in Ukraine, Kiev will have a difficulty chairing this organization in 2013. As reported earlier, on 5 March 2012, the OSCE representatives were denied permission to visit former Prime Minister Yuliya **Tymoshenko** in Kharkiv's Kachanivska prison where she is held.

In the opinion of German political expert **Alexander Rar**, the EU is losing interest in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia and believes that these countries are undemocratic and even that they belong to a different civilization.

The experts who participated in a poll jointly conducted by Gorshenin Institute, Ukrayinskyy Zhurnal (the Czech Republic) and the Polish publication Nowa Europa Wschodnia believe that corruption and the absence of citizens' control over political decision-making are among the main threats to democracy in Ukraine. You can find details on page 13.

**Fatherland party says presidential administration, Party of Regions preparing amendments to election law**

**The opposition suspects the government of manipulating the law on parliamentary election.**

On 6 February 2012, the first deputy head of the opposition Fatherland party, **Oleksandr Turchynov**, said that the presidential administration and the Party of Regions had prepared amendments to the law "On parliamentary election" with the intention to launch a large-scale campaign of rigging the upcoming vote.

"There are plans to register the new draft law in the nearest future," he said. To this end, they are looking for a lawmaker who does not represent the Party of Regions faction so he could submit to parliament the document drawn out by the presidential administration.

According to Turchynov, the prepared amendments will help the authorities to "solidify the link between electoral districts and regions regardless of the number of residents who live there". "One additional district is added to the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, one district to Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk and Odessa regions and three districts to Donetsk [Region]. Furthermore, they took away four districts from Kiev, one from Chernihiv, Khmelnytsky and Ivano-Frankivsk regions," he explained. "Their draft law proposes to link electoral districts abroad to Donetsk Region since the biggest number of voters is in this region," Turchynov stressed. Additionally, he said that the draft law proposed to change the dates of publicizing by the Central Electoral Commission the information on the borders of single-member constituencies.

Turchynov expressed hope that the international community would support the Ukrainian opposition in its fight against the amendments to the election legislation.

Representatives of the Party of Regions are certain that by accusing the government of manipulating the electoral law, "the opposition is trying to justify its electoral defeat ahead of time". "All the accusations of intentions to redistribute electoral

districts voiced against the presidential administration lack any common sense,” MP of the Party of Regions faction **Volodymyr Oliynyk** said yesterday. “This is a typical political strategy, which is intended to justify their own defeat during the future elections,” he added.

In the opinion of parliamentary speaker **Volodymyr Lytvyn**, it is necessary to amend the electoral legislation and to grant parliament the right to approve the territory of electoral districts.

The law “On parliamentary election” was adopted on 17 November 2011. The international community gave the document a positive assessment. Later, a number of its provisions were challenged at the Constitutional Court of Ukraine. Lawmakers questioned the ability of a candidate for a parliamentary seat to simultaneously put his name on a party list and to run as a candidate in single-member districts. The Constitutional Court also considered the provision which attached electoral constituencies abroad to Kiev’s districts.

We would like to note that 39.6 percent of the MPs interviewed by Gorshenin Institute on 20-24 February 2012 planned to run in single-member constituencies.

## **Former interior minister files sentence appeal**

**On 7 March 2012, the lawyers of former Ukrainian Interior Minister Yuriy Lutsenko filed an appeal to the verdict handed down by the Kiev Pecherskyy district court.**

Lutsenko said that he would not ask the court to release him on parole and that he hoped to be freed from jail by the end of 2012.

Additionally, he said that he was not conducting negotiations about a suspended sentence.

At the same time, Lutsenko’s lawyers believe that the European Court of Human Rights will hand down its verdict in the former prime minister’s case as soon as in April 2012. Tymoshenko’s defence expects to hear the court’s verdict this month.

Presidential advisor **Maryna Stavniychuk** assumes that the European Court of Human Rights has grounds for deciding in favor of **Tymoshenko** and Lutsenko. According to her, such reasons point to systemic problems with the exercise of justice in Ukraine which the current government is trying to address.

## **Ukrainian president’s democracy commission slams Criminal Code draft**

**The presidential commission for strengthening democracy and asserting the supremacy of the rule of law has recommended amendments to a draft of the Criminal Procedure Code (CPC).**

“The CPC draft has the flaws which may override its positive features,” the commission’s resolution published on 6 March 2012 said.

In particular, the new CPC endows an investigator with the powers of a prosecutor, while the preservation of investigative subunits in the state security agencies is a sign of a police state, which contradicts the PACE recommendations, the commission said. Additionally, the commission noted that it was necessary to amend the CPC’s provision, which set a 72-hour period of detention without charges. The commission members believe that twenty-four hours is sufficient for this purpose. In their opinion, the CPC contains provisions which violate the right to freedom and physical integrity. Furthermore, the commission insisted on the

unacceptability of the evidence received illegally.

Presenting a draft of the resolution, a member of the commission, **Mykola Khavronyuk**, Ph.D., noted that Ukraine had the biggest Criminal Code among European countries and that its provisions were replete with value judgments. At the same time, Ukraine has one of the highest corruption levels in the world. "Including in law-enforcement agencies and courts. Hence, Ukrainian citizens are among the least protected in the legal area," he stressed.

The commission forwarded its conclusions and recommendations to the president and parliament. The commission's decisions are non-binding and have no formal impact on the consideration of the CPC by parliament.

Presidential advisor **Stavniychuk** has been acting as the commission head since 1 March 2012.

The news portal Lb.ua reported that the presidential draft of the CPC had been adopted by parliament in the first reading on 9 February 2012. Over 3,000 amendments were made to the new CPC draft. It was expected that parliament would pass the code in the second reading on 13 March 2012.

**Party of Regions,  
Strong Ukraine to  
merge in near future.  
Electoral HQ's head to  
be named after  
merger.**

**On 17 March 2012, the Party of Regions and the Strong Ukraine party will hold a congress on the merger.**

After the congress, it would be possible to speak about the head of the Party of Regions' electoral headquarters for the upcoming elections, Party of Regions MP **Olena Bondarenko** said on 5 March 2012.

Additionally, according to her, the Party of Regions is currently holding negotiations on the merger with one more political force.

Earlier, Ukrainian President **Viktor Yanukovych** said in an extended interview on the results of his two years in office that upon the merger of the two parties, the Strong Ukraine party head, the deputy prime minister and the social policy minister, **Serhiy Tyhyhko**, would become "at the mere least" the deputy head of the party. The president added that the secretary of the National Security and Defence Council, **Andriy Klyuyev**, who had been in charge of the Party of Regions' electoral campaigns for years, would not head the electoral headquarters during the upcoming elections.

Klyuyev himself confirmed this information to the Lb.ua website, refusing, however, to clarify who and exactly how had made this decision.

According to the information circulated by the mass media, the United Center party, which is headed by Emergencies Minister **Viktor Baloha**, may also merge with the Party of Regions. On 3 March 2012, **Yanukovych** and Baloha had a meeting during which, according to the mass media, it was decided to merge the two political forces.

**Petro Poroshenko**, who has been recently offered to head the Ukrainian Economics Ministry, may also join the Party of Regions. "If Poroshenko becomes the economics minister, then he will be in the top five on the Party of Regions list," the mass media quoted a source from the pro-presidential party. However, Poroshenko's press secretary denied this information.



On 9 March 2012, Yanukovych expressed his desire to see Poroshenko as the economics minister: "I will not hide my decision: I had a detailed conversation with Poroshenko and I am quite satisfied with his mood and the proposals which I heard from him. That is why I would like him to work [as the economics minister]."

## **President comes forward with new social initiatives**

### **On 7 March 2012, the government held an extended meeting under the chairmanship of President Viktor Yanukovych.**

On the whole, the officials met to discuss social issues. Particularly, Yanukovych said that it was necessary to increase pensions, compensations for depreciated deposits in the Soviet Savings Bank, and to revise social insurance payments. The government should develop a plan for an incremental increase of financial aid to families with children and most vulnerable citizens. Also, the president underlined the need for reducing prices of housing and renewing preferential mortgages at 2%-3%.

For his part, Prime Minister **Mykola Azarov** said that the government would prepare amendments to the 2012 budget that would reflect the new social initiatives set forth by the president.

Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration **Iryna Akimova** believes that the implementation of the president's social initiatives would cost about 1bn dollars.

However, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Social Policy **Serhiy Tyhypko** argues that these estimates are incorrect, and that the cabinet would need around 2bn dollars (excluding funds for mortgages) to carry out the most of Yanukovych's social proposals this year. "These things have been fully estimated by the Finance Ministry. The ministry has enough resources for that," he noted.

At the same time, Tyhypko said that the biggest part of the required funds – 1.63bn dollars – will be obtained through additional revenues to the budget. The remaining amount will be attracted through the introduction of a luxury tax and new regulations on offshore areas, including Cyprus.

Also, Tyhypko spoke of the need for increased reporting of real salaries. According to his estimates, today the volume of unofficial salaries, which are impossible to tax reaches about 18.15bn dollars. Legalization of this amount would bring additional 3.5bn dollars to the national budget, he said.

Members of the Party of Regions believe that all the presidential initiatives will be implemented. "Since he's said that, it means he believes that it's possible to carry out this plan, based on our budget and economy," deputy head of the Party of Regions parliamentary faction **Vadym Kolesnichenko** said.

The opposition Fatherland party noted that over the past two years the current government has been cutting social benefits in every way, particularly using rulings by the constitutional court and cabinet's resolutions "in order to accumulate budget money ahead of the election and pay the money away to the public as a handout before the vote, and to make them look as though they cared about people".

However, most experts agree that Ukraine does not have enough resources to carry out the president's new social initiatives. Experts do not rule out that the government will implement a number of simple and least expensive initiatives. However, implementation of major systemic changes will be postponed for an indefinite period.

**Quarter of all social benefits go to richest Ukrainian citizens**

**Social benefits in Ukraine are distributed disproportionately to financial standings of citizens.**

Almost 25% of all benefits in Ukraine go to 10% of the country's richest people, Director of the Demography and Social Studies Institute **Ella Libanova** reported at an extended government meeting on 7 March 2012. At the same time, 10% of the poorest Ukrainians receive only 2.8% of the government social aid.

"In Ukraine, the richer a family is, the larger benefits it enjoys, the bigger social aid it gets," Libanova said.

She also compared statistics in the United States and Ukraine. According to her, 50% of the poorest people in America pay 2.3% of taxes, while half of Ukraine's poorest citizens pay 6% of taxes.

**Number of different taxes in Ukraine reaches 135**

**Ukraine ranks first in the world by the number of taxes in 2011.**

"The World Bank has calculated that Ukrainian businesses pay 135 different taxes in one form or another. This is the absolute world record. The second place in this ranking is taken by Romania. The number of taxes in that country is 113. The third place is occupied by Jamaica with only 72 taxes," president of the Ukrainian Analytical Center **Oleksandr Okhrymenko** said on 6 March 2012.

He also noted that last year Ukrainian businessmen gave 57.1% of their profits to the state as taxes.

**New gas contract may be signed only after valuation of Ukraine's gas transportation system – Russian ambassador to Ukraine**

**The gas talks between Ukraine and Russia are dragged out.**

According to the Ukrainian news and analysis website Lb.ua, on 4 March 2012, Russia's ambassador to Ukraine **Mikhail Zurabov** said that the signing of a new gas agreement between Ukraine and Russia will depend on how soon the cost of the Ukrainian gas transport system (GTS) is determined. According to him, if the Ukrainian GTS is evaluated before 1 August 2012, the sides will be able to make some arrangements only in the second half of the year.

On 6 March 2012, Ukrainian President **Viktor Yanukovich** said that Ukraine will be reducing the volume of gas purchases from Russia due to its high price.

The price of gas in the first quarter of 2012 is 416 dollars per 1,000 cu.m. Naftohaz Ukrayiny, a state-run energy company, paid 1.3bn dollars to Gazprom for the gas imported in February 2012.

According to Dzerkalo Tyzhnya weekly, the Ukrainian government is considering using the country's GTS in the reverse direction, which would allow importing gas to Ukraine not only from Russia but also from the EU. For example, it would be possible to pump gas through the pipeline system of Slovakia. "And if Ukraine succeeds in its attempts, it would be quite logical to continue the story, and even to sign contracts with European consumers for storing gas in Ukrainian underground storage facilities," the paper says. Moreover, Dzerkalo Tyzhnya reports that in the near future Ukraine and German company RWE may sign "a short-term contract for supply of natural gas purchased at spot prices from one of the European hubs through Slovakia's pipelines to Ukraine". According to the article, Naftohaz Ukrayiny and Gazprom may be currently considering this scheme as an instrument to reduce the gas price for Ukraine while keeping the existing contract intact.



**Viktor Yanukovich:  
Ukraine will not raise  
gas price for  
households**

**President Yanukovich rules out increase in the gas price for households, which is a key demand of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).**

"The demand of the International Monetary Fund to raise by 50% the price of gas for the population is unacceptable, and we haven't agreed and will never agree to such terms," the president said on 6 March 2012.

Yanukovich also said that Ukraine was not going to borrow abroad, which would allow the country to reduce its foreign debt.

This year, as in 2011, Ukraine will have to pay about 8.8-9.4bn dollars on its foreign liabilities, the president said.

According to the State Treasury Service, as of 5 March 2012, Ukraine's expenses on servicing its debts totaled 463m dollars.

As reported earlier, the IMF demanded that Ukraine raise the gas tariffs for households, naming it a key condition for resuming its program.

On 5 March 2012, **Chris Jarvis** was appointed the IMF mission chief for Ukraine, replacing **Thanos Arvanitis**. Before that, Jarvis has been mission chief for Belarus.

**Cabinet changes terms  
of Naftohaz Ukrayiny's  
bonds to better reflect  
market conditions**

**The government has changed the terms of the domestic loan bonds issued to increase the authorized capital of Naftohaz Ukrayiny.**

In particular, the cabinet increased the bonds yield from 9.5% to 9.95% per annum and reduced the maturity term from 10 to 3 years.

Market participants believe that the change in the terms of the government bonds issue will bring the terms closer to the current market conditions. However, experts say that the new yield of the bonds is not high enough to drastically increase demand from investors.

On 22 February 2012, the government decided to increase the authorized capital of Naftohaz Ukrayiny by 751m dollars through issuing government bonds. The 2012 budget earmarks 1.5bn dollars for increasing the gas monopoly's capital. The proceeds from the bonds placement will be used for paying Russian natural gas bills.

**Ukraine's  
international reserves  
continue to shrink**

**The foreign currency reserves of Ukraine in February 2012 decreased by 1% or 315.7m dollars to 31.049bn dollars, according to the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU).**

"As of 1 March 2012, the international reserves totaled 31.049bn dollars (in equivalent), which is enough for covering future imports of goods and services for 3.5 months," the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) said in a statement.

In January-February 2012, the international reserves decreased by 2.4% to 31.795bn dollars.

**Central bank has no plans to make Russian ruble reserve currency yet**

**The National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) is still weighing the decision to make the Russian ruble a reserve currency.**

"We are not planning to make the Russian ruble a reserve currency so far," NBU Governor **Serhiy Arbuzov** said on 7 March 2012. When asked whether this means that the NBU has refused from such a step, Arbuzov replied: "No, we haven't refused from it, neither did we plan it. We're just thinking about it. The decision is pending. We are working on this issue."

Earlier, the NBU planned to make the Russian ruble a first-category currency and use it in its foreign exchange reserves.

**Ukrainian businessman Rinat Akhmetov named among top hundred world's richest men**

**Ukrainian tycoon Rinat Akhmetov has ranked 39<sup>th</sup> in Forbes magazine's 2012 list of billionaires.**

According to the magazine, Akhmetov's net worth is estimated at 16bn dollars.

The list also includes seven more Ukrainian businessmen, but they fall outside the top 100 ranking. In particular, Ukraine's second wealthiest man Viktor Pinchuk takes the 255<sup>th</sup> place in the Forbes ranking with 4.2bn dollars.

It should be noted that Akhmetov's fortune increased significantly after 2010. Particularly, in 2010 Forbes estimated his net worth at 5.2bn dollars, while in 2011 it was 16bn.

At the same time, Pinchuk's fortune in 2010, according to Forbes, totaled 3.1bn dollars and 3.3bn dollars in 2011.

**Ukraine ranks 64 in 2012 Gender Equality Index**

**The Social Watch NGO published its annual Gender Equality Index on 8 March 2012.**

Ukraine has been listed 64 in the 2012 Gender Equality Index while last year experts put Ukraine on the 76 place.

The Gender Equality Index includes 154 countries. Norway tops the list while the counties with the worst global situation are the Niger, Chad, Yemen and Afghanistan. Russia is ranked 31st, while the USA is 50th. Ukraine follows Peru (63) followed by Belize (65).

**Ukraine remains non-aligned country, deepens military cooperation with Russia**

**A Ukrainian delegation led by Defence Minister Dmytro Salamatin pays an official visit to Russia on 7 March 2012.**

This is Salamatin's first foreign visit as the minister.

Visiting Moscow, Salamatin said that Ukraine would adhere to its status of a militarily non-aligned country.

Russian Defence Minister **Anatoliy Serdyukov** after the meeting with his Ukrainian counterpart told that a number of agreements have been reached.

Serdyukov said, for instance, that now the Russian Defence Ministry considers a possibility of servicing its Black Sea Fleet ships at Ukrainian maintenance facilities. There are also other areas for cooperation between Russia and Ukraine. In particular, there is a possibility to train Ukrainian cadets in the Russian Defence Ministry's education institutions. "We are ready to educate

them free of charge," the Russian defence minister said.

Serdyukov also said that the Russian Defence Ministry has already prepared and soon will submit to the Ukrainian side a draft agreement on leasing the NITKA aircraft training ground located near the town of Saki in Ukraine's Crimea.

The Russian Black Sea fleet ships jointly with the Ukrainian navy will take part in the Fairway of Peace-2012 military exercise in May 2012. Also, in September 2012 a Russian motorized rifle company will take part in the Slavic Commonwealth-1212 military drill in Ukraine. "I told Salamatin that Ukrainian servicemen should take part in a Russian brigade or battalion tactic exercise," Serdyukov said.

**Ukroboronprom  
defence industry  
concern paid offshore  
firm about 1m dollars**

**Ukrainian Defence Minister Dmytro Salamatin refused to comment on financial operations of the state defence industry concern Ukroboronprom.**

The Ukrayinska Pravda website reported that journalists of the Znak Oklyku TV programme (hosted by the TVi channel) have discovered that the Progress company (subsidiary of Ukroboronprom) paid almost 1m dollars to the Belize-based company Primavera Financial in 2011. The money was paid as remuneration for consulting services regarding selling weapons to different countries.

Razumkov Centre Expert **Oleksiy Melnyk** doubts if there could be "a talented company to offer consultations regarding weapons sales to different countries". According to Melnyk, companies like that are usually specialized in one specific country. Primavera Financial consulted on arms sales to Poland and Malaysia.

The TV programme's journalists asked Salamatin if he was aware of the company called Primavera Financial, but he refused to answer.

Ukrainian media say Belize, until recently known as British Honduras, is one of the off-shore countries actively used by Ukrainian companies that want to hide their income.

Before his appointment as defence minister on 8 February 2012, Salamatin chaired the state concern Ukroboronprom.

**Ukrainian cabinet to  
probe use of docks by  
Russian Black Sea  
Fleet**

**The Sevastopol municipal administration informed the Ukrainian cabinet that the foreign fleet uses 30 docks illegally.**

The deputy head of the Sevastopol municipal administration, **Volodymyr Arabadzhy**, said on 7 March that "30 docks have not been included into the agreement regarding the Russian Black Sea Fleet's deployment in Ukraine" and that this is "a proved fact".

"Legally these docks shall not be used by Russia but in fact Russia does use them. When we received and checked this information (first we were told that there were 38 docks, but then it turned out that there are 30 of them), we forwarded all details on these docks to the government, so that it raised this issue at the commission on the Russian Black Sea Fleet!" Arabadzhy said.

**Proceedings launched  
against students  
distributing anti-  
presidential leaflets**

**Law enforcers start prosecuting for anti-presidential propaganda.**

The head of the Interior Ministry's directorate in Kherson Region, **Valeriy Lytvyn**, has said that a criminal case was launched against two students who were posting leaflets ridiculing President Viktor **Yanukovych**. Media reports say that students have been charged with Article 296 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (group hooliganism) that envisages punishment of up to four years in prison.

The students were detained on 29 February 2012. On the next day, representatives of the Security Service of Ukraine searched rooms in the dormitory, where the detainees reside. The students were released after giving a written pledge not to abscond.

On 24 February 2012, the police detained four activists in Kiev for handing out condoms in blue-and-white boxes with an image of President Viktor Yanukovych. The activists were sentenced to fifteen days of arrest. According to the police, they were arrested for holding an unauthorized rally.

On 15-25 December 2011, Gorshenin Institute (Kiev, Ukraine), Ukrayinskyy Zhurnal (Prague, the Czech Republic) and the Nowa Europa Wschodnia publication (Krakow, Poland) jointly conducted an expert opinion poll on the state of democracy in Ukraine and the process of its integration into the European Union.

The expert group consisted of leading Ukrainian scientists, experts in the economic and cultural sectors, and representatives of NGOs.

**1. Please choose the most significant threats to democracy in Ukraine:**

(the respondents were able to choose several options)

- A high level of corruption - 75%
- The absence of citizens' control over political decision-making - 75%
- Administrative pressure on the judiciary - 70%
- A low effectiveness of the legal system - 70%
- An institutional weakness of the opposition - 54%
- The centralization of power - 45%
- Open persecution of the opposition - 41%
- A low level of interaction among members of the society - 41%
- Censorship and control over the mass media - 20%
- The limited access to information sources - 16%
- The lack of free elections - 6%
- Infringements on the citizens' right to self-expression - 4%
- I do not support the proposition that Ukraine's democracy is threatened by anything - 0%
- Other - 20%

**2. In your opinion, will Ukraine be able to shift from its multivector policy to a single official direction (either pro-Western or pro-Russian) in its foreign policy in the next two or three years?**

- Definitely yes - 13%
- Probably yes - 4%
- Probably no - 75%
- Definitely no - 8%

**3. In your opinion, which socially important developments will be able to enhance the EU image among Ukrainian citizens?**

(the respondents were able to choose up to three options)

- Introducing visa-free travel to the EU - 67%
- Signing a Ukraine-EU association agreement - 54%
- Setting up a free trade area with the EU - 50%
- Successes of the countries which have recently joined the EU - 29%
- Hosting the Euro 2012 football championship - 17%
- Financial assistance from the EU - 17%
- Implementing the Eastern Partnership programme - 17%
- Poland's presidency in the EU - 4%
- Other - 17%

**4. In your opinion, which differences among Ukrainian citizens have the most impact on their readiness for the European integration?**

(the respondents were able to choose up to three options)

- Regional (the territory on which they reside) - 66%
- Mentality - 58%
- Cultural - 50%
- Age - 37%
- Historical - 33%
- Social - 33%
- National - 8%
- Religious - 4%
- Professional - 4%
- Other - 8%

**5. In your opinion, who in Ukraine is mostly interested in the Eastern Partnership programme?**

(the respondents were able to choose up to three options)

- Representatives of political and social organizations - 54%
- A narrow circle of experts - 46%
- Representatives of local self-governments - 25%
- The government - 17%
- The opposition - 8%
- The general public - 4%
- Other - 29%

**6. Which aspects of the «Eastern Partnership» programme are the most important for Ukraine?**

(the respondents were able to choose up to three options)

- Adjusting the Ukrainian legislation to the EU laws - 58%
- Simplifying the visa regime - 46%
- Enhancing Ukraine's energy security - 42%
- Cooperating in the fight against corruption - 38%
- Working on the Ukrainian-EU association agreement - 29%
- Strengthening the civil society - 29%
- Scientific cooperation (grants, scholarship programs) - 29%
- Financing the programmes intended to improve the administrative structure of the government - 21%
- Promotional programmes on the local level (cultural, social, economic) - 13%
- Other - 4%



**7. Could you please rate the assistance with EU integration which specific EU states provide to Ukraine? Please use a five-point scale where «5» stands for «assist the most» and «0» denotes «no assistance».**

Country	Average score
Great Britain	2.7
France	1.74
Italy	1.22
Spain	1.22
Germany	2.39
Poland	4.78
The Czech Republic	3.26
Sweden	3.74
Hungary	2.17

**8. The support of which countries do you consider the most important in the process of Ukraine's integration into the EU?**

*(the respondents were able to choose up to three options)*

- Germany - 83%
- Poland - 58%
- France - 54%
- Great Britain - 50%
- Sweden - 25%
- The Czech Republic - 13%
- Italy - 4%
- other - 8%

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