



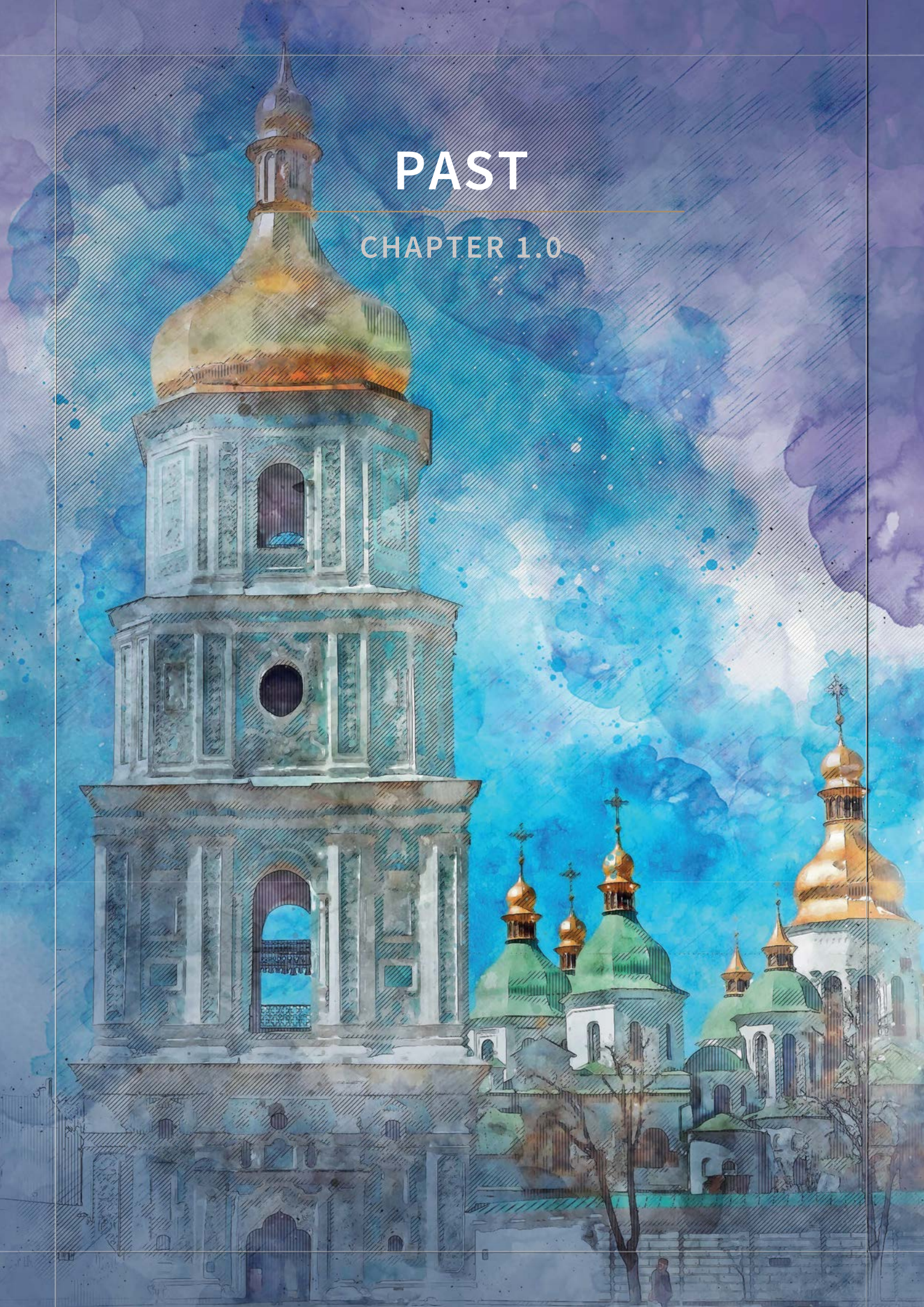
KYIV RYSING

PAST | PRESENT | FUTURE

kyiv.consulting

PAST

CHAPTER 1.0



PAST: INTRODUCTION



We strongly believe that understanding the past leads to a better future. With this being said, KYIV RYSING publication is divided into three chapters:

I. Past

II. Present

III. Future

reflecting on the triality of time.

The first chapter dives deep into the history of Ukraine and takes you on a fascinating journey through time. It traces back to the IXth century when Kyivan Rus emerged and Kyiv became the centre of Eastern Slavs, numerous ancient Slavic tribes that are regarded as the ancestors of the modern Ukrainians.

“We are not makers of history. We are made by history”, as Martin Luther King Jr. fairly said.

Given the momentum, **history, memory, and identity are of extreme importance for the Ukrainian people**, as today these concepts are intertwined more than ever, shaping Ukraine’s domestic and foreign policies.

It is hard to overestimate the **significance and function of the past in contemporary Ukraine**. Courage and bravery, independence and freedom - qualities that are now being directly associated with Ukraine and its people have not appeared at random. They were shaped and upbrought through centuries of resistance, fight and self-identification of the Ukrainian nation. So does Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, it was not an on-spot decision. The specifics of the Ukraine-Russia bilateral relationship rests upon a long and tangled history between the two countries.

KYIV RYSING will tell you a true story, based on facts and figures, about why the war happened and what is the background of it.

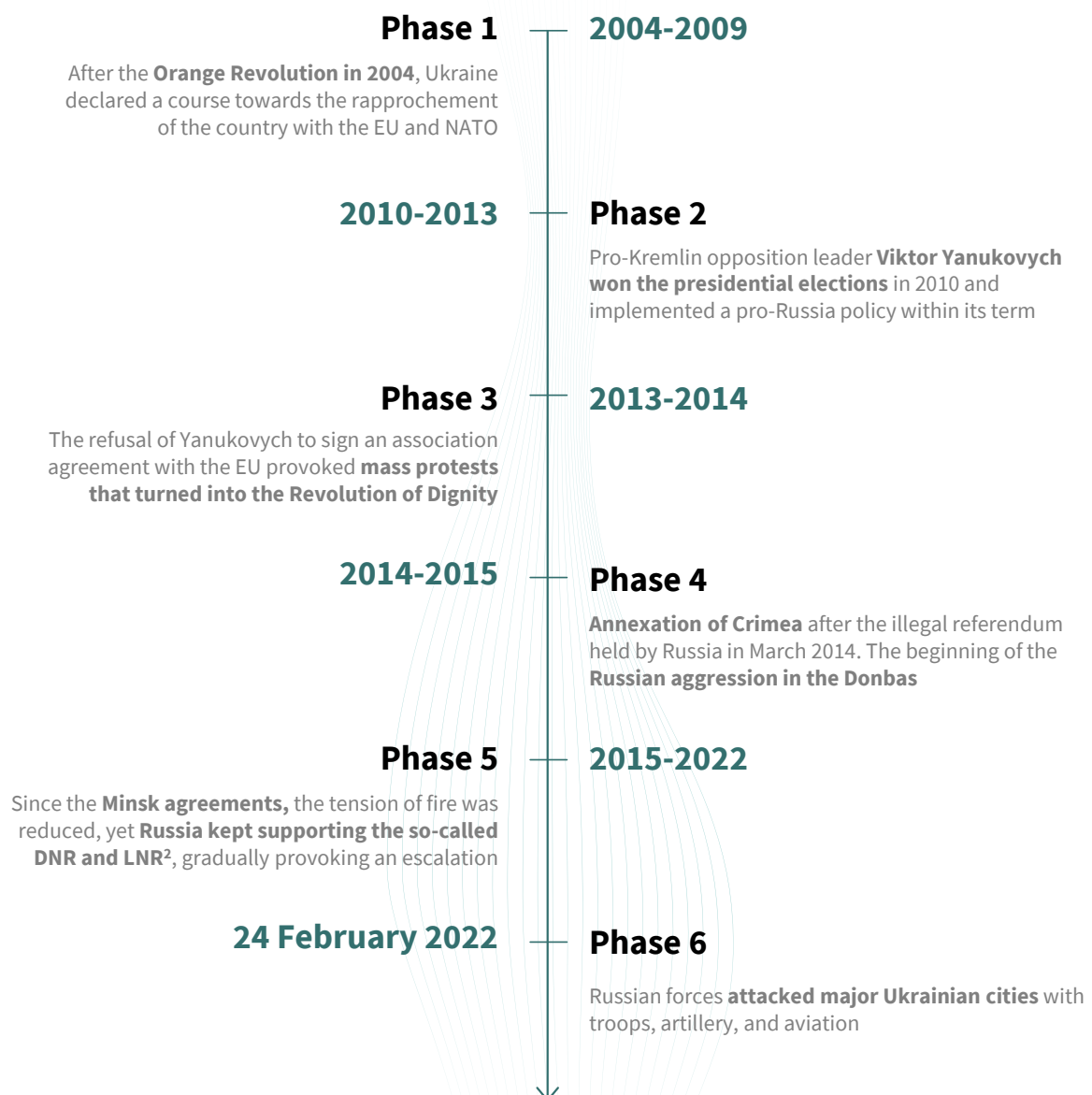
Make a thousand-years leap to discover Ukraine and Ukrainians. **KYIV RYSING** will ensure you don't get lost in the mazes and labyrinths of Ukraine’s history.

RUSSIA ALWAYS TRIED TO APPROPRIATE FOR ITSELF A DEEP CENTURIES-OLD HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Ukrainian history dates back to the times of **Kyivan Rus'**, which was one of the largest states in Europe back in the IX-XIII centuries. The capital of this state was **Kyiv**, while Moscow did not even exist then. After the collapse of Kyivan Rus', Ukraine did not have its own state for a long time, while the Grand Duchy of Moscow developed independently and wanted to revive Rus' under its patronage. Starting from **Cossack times**, especially from 1654¹, when the liberation Cossack movement of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi took place, **Russia tried to transform Ukraine into an 'imperial suburb' and destroy Ukrainian identity**. Despite the long-term **oppression of the national spirit of Ukrainians, it did not disappear** while waiting for the chance to rise.

In 1991, Ukrainians established their **independent and sovereign state** that did not suit Russia. **The turning point in relations between the countries took place in 2004**, when Ukrainians, for the first time, openly demonstrated their intention to be a part of the democratic world and resented the victory of a pro-Russian candidate.

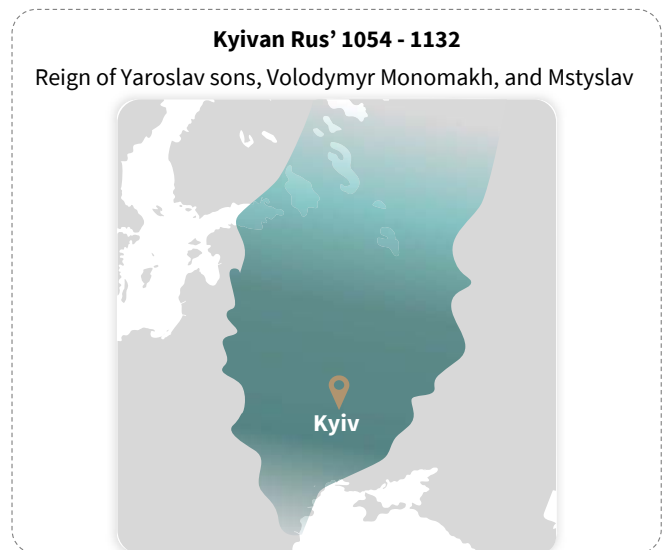
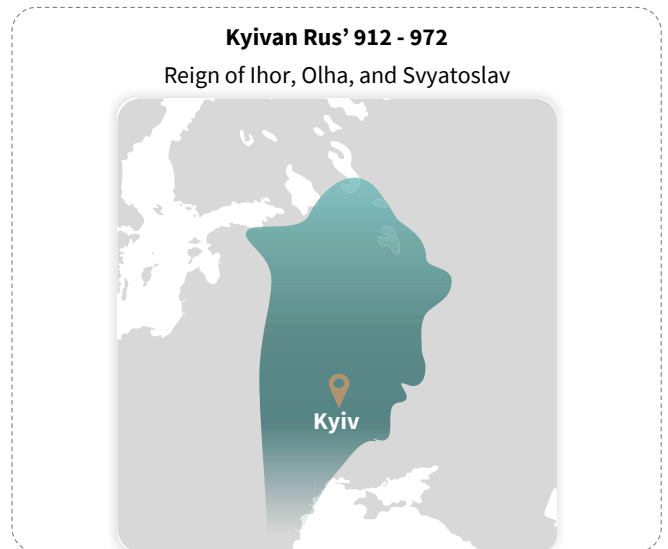
The prerequisites of the modern Ukraine-Russia relationship




BETWEEN IXTH AND XITH CENTURIES, THE KYIVAN RUS' SUBSTANTIALLY EXPANDED ITS TERRITORIES

Kyivan Rus', the first state to arise among the Eastern Slavs in the IXth century, took its name from **the city of Kyiv**, which was **founded in the year 482**. Since 882, the Rus' was ruled by the **Riurykide dynasty**, a lineage named after the Varangian Prince

Riuryk. During the reign of Oleh the Seer, a regent of Riuryk's juvenile son, **Kyiv became the capital of the newly established and rapidly rising state**.



 Kyivan Rus' territories

Territorial expansion of Kyivan Rus' from IXth to early XIIIth centuries

The first known rulers of Kyiv were the **Norse people, Askold and Dir**, that began to rule **in the year 860**. They were sanctioned to raid **Constantinople in 860**, which was known to be the **first raid of Rus' people to the Byzantine empire**. In the years **860 - 912**, the Kyivan Rus' spread across **Eastern Europe** from **Kyiv** as the capital in the South to the **Novgorod and Ladoga cities in the North**. During the reign of **Ihor, Olha, and Svyatoslav** in 912 - 972, the Rus' increased its **territorial expansion** to the **South**, reaching the **Black sea**, and to the East, establishing the cities of **Murom and Ryazan**. The **apogee of power and territorial expansion** the Kyivan Rus' reached during the reign of **Volodymyr**

the Great and his son **Yaroslav the Wise** in the years **980 - 1054**. In the South, the Rus' increased its presence across the **Black sea steppes** reaching the **Danube river**. In the West, the Rus' expanded up to the **Carpathian mountains** and the **river San** while the Northern and Eastern lands remained approximately within the same borders. Between the death of **Yaroslav the Wise in 1054**, and the **Mongolian invasion in 1223 - 1240**, the Kyivan Rus' remained **mostly within the same borders**. The decline of the Rus' power largely started in the **late XIIth - early XIIIth** centuries and ended with the **Mongolian invasion from the East**.

DURING RIURYKIDS REIGN THE KYIVAN RUS' BECAME THE MAJOR POWER IN EASTERN & CENTRAL EUROPE

The **Riuryk dynasty** reign across the Kyivan Rus' lasted more than **four centuries from IXth till XIIIth**. **Ihor**, Riuryk's son, **took over the reign of Kyivan Rus' after the death of Oleh the Seer** in 912¹. The new ruler continued the policy of his predecessor.

However, the setting of high tributes **caused the people to rebel and deprive Ihor of his life**. That was the start of the **reign of Princess Olha**, his wife, who strengthened the power of Kyiv and **marked a decisive turn in the state's history**.

Riuryk dynasty



Important achievements

Founder of the dynasty with Norse roots, bequeathed his realm to Oleh the Seer, due to young age of his son Ihor

The **first ruler** of Kyivan Rus' to **adopt Christianity**

Developed a new **restructured tribute system** that allowed to **increase incomings** to the state budget

Has made the first attempt to establish **relations with Western Europe** via diplomatic visits

Made **substantial territorial gains** via successful military operations in the Pontic-Caspian steppe and Balkans

Fully adopted Christianity across the Kyivan Rus' from the Byzantine empire, thus **tightened connection** with other **European countries**

Conducted important **administrative reforms** that **united** the Kyivan Rus'

Introduced the dynastic marriages with other European countries, hence **increasing the importance** of the Kyivan Rus'

Introduced the **first law and regulation document across Kyivan Rus'** 'Ruska Pravda'

Actively **invested** in the infrastructure, architecture, education

Reunited the Kyivan Rus' again into the centralised country

Rise and fall of the Riuryk dynasty

The grandson of Olha, **Volodymyr the Great**, succeeded in **spreading Christianity in 988** and was the first ruler to **give Kyivan Rus' political unity**. The diplomatic relations with the Byzantine, Holy Roman Empire, Poland, and Sweden were developed during Volodymyr's reign. His son, **Yaroslav the Wise**, **continued the policy of building foreign relations through diplomatic efforts**. The power of the Riuryk dynasty attracted other European dynasties to strengthen ties via marriages. Thus, **Yaroslav established the Kyivan Rus' relations with the European kingdoms** via the marriages of his daughters: Elisiv, Queen of Norway; Anastasia, Queen of Hungary; and Anne, Queen of France.

Due to its geographical location, Kyiv attracted princes, merchants, and craftsmen, who turned the city into a major trade and craft centre of Eastern Europe. The medieval trade way was named the **'Route from Varangians to Greeks'**, which connected the Baltic and the Black Sea markets and joined

Scandinavia, Kyivan Rus', and the Eastern Roman Empire. **Being a political, economic, and cultural centre of the Slavic state, Kyiv was titled the 'Mother of Rus' cities'**.

The political traditions introduced by Volodymyr were based on the **principles of territorial indivisibility and dynastic sovereignty**, which were effective until the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh but did not survive Kyiv's decline, starting in the XIIth century. Due to being fragmented and weakened by internal political strifes, Kyivan Rus' **became easy prey for invaders**. In **1237, Mongols**, led by Batu Khan, **invaded the Kyivan Rus'** from the East, and **dozens of cities were destroyed or looted**. In 1240, **Kyiv was captured by the Mongols**. By that date, the **Kyivan Rus' stopped its existence**, and the former Rus' municipalities became part of the **Golden Horde for centuries**, marking the new age — The age of Mongol Rule under which Moscow principality gained its power.

DESPITE ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY UKRAINIAN IDENTITY BY ENEMIES, COSSACKS PRESERVED IT

Rising within three centuries from the period of disintegration of Kyivan Rus', the Ukrainian nation has been standing in opposition to subjugation to Moscow for hundreds of years.

In 1556, **Dmytro Vyshnevetsky** became the **first Cossack Hetman**. He established the **Khortytsya Host** and fortified a castle on the island of the Dnipro river to go for raids on the **Ottoman empire**. However, the **first Cossack country** with all the attributes was the **Cossack Hetmanate**¹ (officially Viys'ko Zaporoz'ke), which was established by **Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi** in 1648. In 1654², **Russia tried to transform Ukraine into an 'imperial suburb'** and destroy the whole essence of the Ukrainian identity. Bohdan Khmelnytskyi **strengthened the Zaporozhian Host in Central Ukraine**, inhabited by Cossacks, with supreme power in the new Ukrainian state. For over a century, the **Zaporozhian Host with Cossacks was a solid political and military force** that challenged the authority of Poland-Lithuania, the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate, and the Tsardom of Russia. After Khmelnytsky's death, **a rift between the leaders and Cossacks began** due to the different visions of the Ukrainian lands' future. **In 1687, Ivan Mazepa was elected as a new leader**, who tried to unite Ukraine; however, after the win of Russia in the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and **Cossack Hetmanate became an autonomous state of the Tsardom of Russia**.



Further attempts to destroy Ukrainian identity by Moscow



Despite the long-term oppression of the national spirit of Ukrainians, it was not eliminated and waited for the chance to rise.

DID YOU KNOW THAT UKRAINE IS THE LARGEST COUNTRY IN EUROPE?



★ 603,318 km²



Ukraine covers a territory with an area of **603,628 km²**, being the largest country, **located entirely on mainland Europe¹**.



Source: KATAPULT — 100 Karten über die Ukraine — [June 2022]
Notes: (1) Not even Germany, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and Austria together are that large

UKRAINE-RUSSIA RELATIONS HAVE A LONG HISTORY AND ARE BASED ON KEY VALUES CONTRADICTIONS

In 1991, Ukrainians established their independent and sovereign state, aiming to rebuild democracy and freedom as the main priorities.

Since the first years of Ukrainian independence, **Ukraine-Russia relations have been gradually deteriorating.** From 1991 to 2004, close relationships between the two countries were based on the historic background of Ukraine, which was formed under Russian influence. **Everything changed in 2004 when Ukrainians, for the first time, openly demonstrated their intention to be a part of a democratic world** and resented the victory of a pro-Russian candidate in the rigged presidential election.









The shift of Ukraine toward **European course of development** became the **stumbling point in Ukraine-Russia relations** and the core reason for the current war. **Russia reacted immediately and aggressively to each step of the Ukrainian European Integration**, and each year the relations became more strained.

On 24 February 2022, the disagreements in Ukraine-Russia relations reached their peak, resulting in the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The main reasons of this invasion were the Kremlin's reaction to **Ukraine's desire to pursue an independent foreign policy**, get rid of the Russian ideological and political ascendancy, and **finally become a Europe-oriented democratic sovereign state.**

Russia could not accept the Ukrainian sovereignty and evolution towards European values, as this might mean the collapse of the traditional Russian political order and change the views of its population to more liberalistic.

UKRAINE'S STEPS TOWARD EU INTEGRATION PROVOKED RUSSIA TO AGGRESSION

Key phases of Ukraine-Russia relations

<p>Phase 1</p> <p>2004 - 2009</p>	<p>TURN TO THE WEST¹</p> <p>After the Orange Revolution in 2004, the elected president, Viktor Yushchenko, declared a course towards the rapprochement of Ukraine with the EU and NATO.</p>	
<p>Phase 2</p> <p>2010 - 2013</p>	<p>PUPPET IN POWER</p> <p>Pro-Kremlin opposition leader Viktor Yanukovych won the presidential elections in 2010 and implemented a pro-Russia policy within his term.</p>	
<p>Phase 3</p> <p>2013 - 2014</p>	<p>REVOLUTION OF DIGNITY</p> <p>The refusal of Yanukovych to sign an association agreement with the EU provoked mass protests that turned into the Revolution of Dignity.</p>	
<p>Phase 4</p> <p>2014 - 2015</p>	<p>MASKS OFF</p> <p>Crimea was annexed after the illegal referendum held by Russia in March 2014. Russian troops entered the territory of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and supported the separation of the so-called DNR and LNR.</p>	
<p>Phase 5</p> <p>2015 - 2022</p>	<p>FROZEN CONFLICT</p> <p>The tension of fire reduced, yet a complete ceasefire was not achieved. Russia kept supporting the so-called DNR and LNR with militants and weapons, gradually provoking escalation.</p>	
<p>Phase 6</p> <p>Since 24 February 2022</p>	<p>FULL-SCALE INVASION</p> <p>On 24 February 2022, Putin declared a so-called 'Special military operation' of Russia in Ukraine. Russian troops attacked major Ukrainian cities with troops, artillery, and aviation: Kyiv, Kharkiv, Mariupol, Chernihiv, and others.</p>	

Source: The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine website; Media overview

Notes: (1) Term 'the West' refers to various regions, nations, and states, depending on the context, most often consisting of the majority of Europe, North America, and Oceania

PHASE 1: TURN TO THE WEST 2004 - 2009

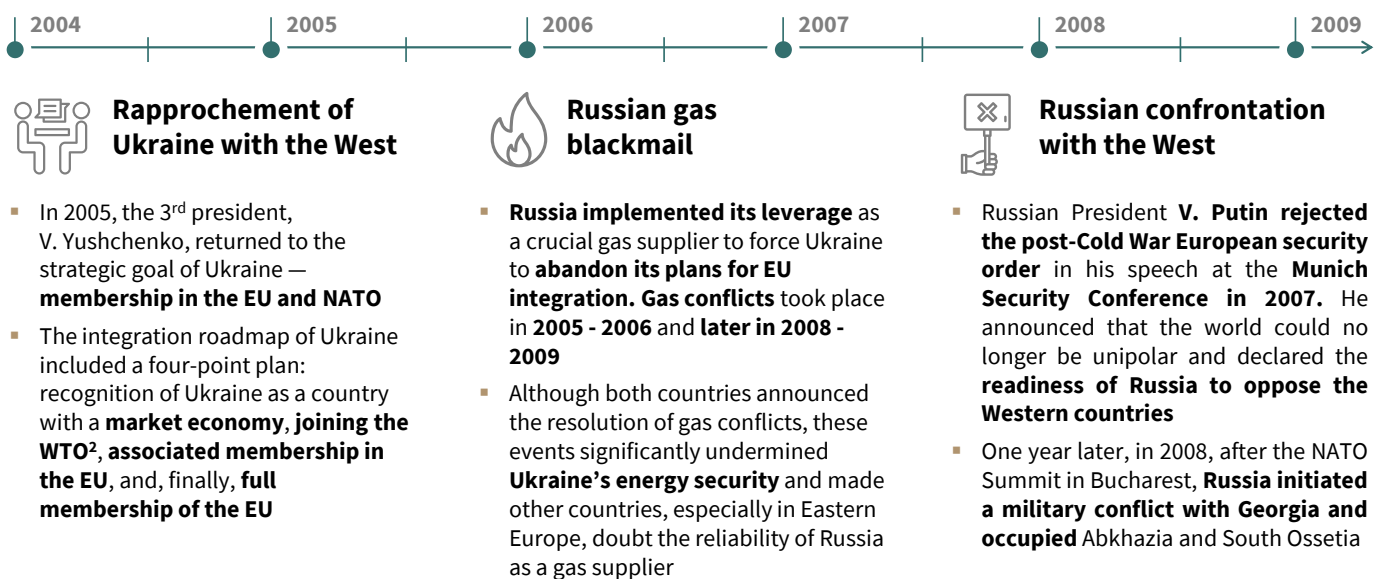
The **fifth presidential election in 2004** forced Ukrainians to choose between two **candidates with opposite political programmes**: V. Yanukovich had a pro-Russian position, while V. Yushchenko declared intentions to move the country towards the EU and NATO membership.

According to the announced results, the 2nd round of the 2004 presidential elections was won by the pro-Russian candidate Victor Yanukovich. However, the **numerous facts of deliberate falsifications** led to mass peaceful protests with appeals to cancel the fabricated results of the election. Since the colour of

Yushchenko's election campaign was orange, these events were called **the Orange Revolution**. The protests ended with the re-voting and the victory of Victor Yushchenko, who became the legally elected President of Ukraine.

The cadence of President Yushchenko was a **period of advancement toward EU Integration and fast economic development** until the global crisis in 2008. At the same time, **each step of Ukraine's movement toward the EU and NATO deteriorated relations with Russia** and caused a response in the form of economic and political pressure.

Key steps along the phase



Key economic indicators of Ukraine in 2008¹ compared to 2004

Changes within four years



GDP real, Bn USD
120 ^ +23%



Unemployment rate
6% v (-2 p. p.)



Exports, Bn USD
88 ^ +121%



Net FDI inflows, Bn USD
11 ^ +522%

OPINION CORNER

Veronika Ostrovskaya

Talks about Politics, History, Values, and National Identity



President elections of 2004 and the **Orange Revolution** were major determining factors of the **pro-European choice of all Ukrainians**. It was the first sign of **neglecting the Soviet / Russian empire's** past and movement toward the Western world with its values and respect for all nations and cultures. Ukrainian identity was on the rise, together with the **Ukrainian language, culture, and freedom of speech**.

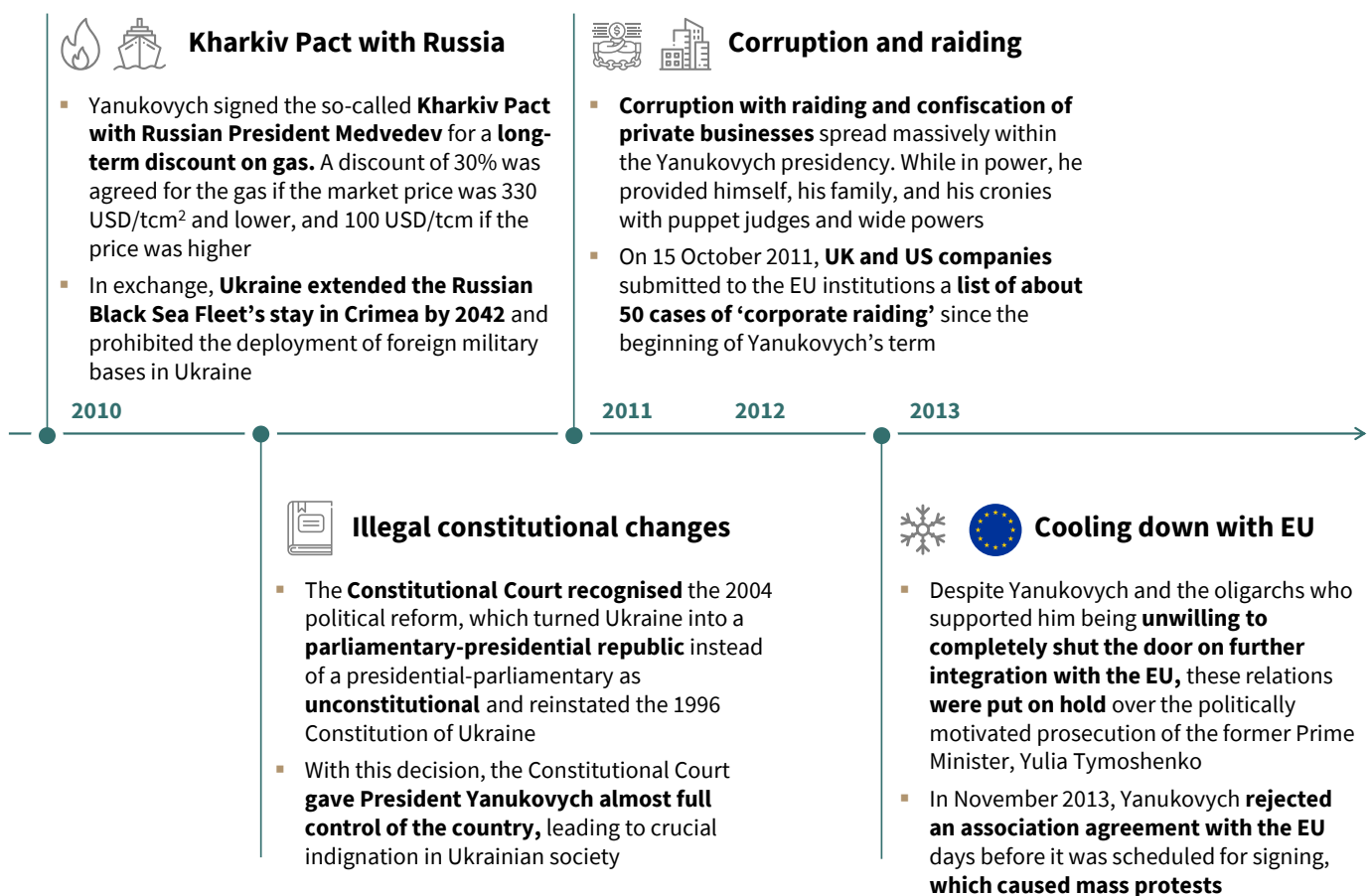
Source: World Bank website; Museum 'Making the Ukrainian Nation' website; Media overview
Notes: (1) The years of V. Yushchenko's cadence were analysed. 2008 was taken as the final year since, in 2009, most economic indicators of Ukraine collapsed significantly due to the global economic crisis; (2) World Trade Organisation

PHASE 2: PUPPET IN POWER 2010 - 2013

In February 2010, the pro-Russian candidate **Victor Yanukovich won the presidential election** in the second round despite the concerns about **objectivity** of these elections and **possible manipulations**. Three months after taking office, **Yanukovich signed an agreement that allowed the Russian Black Sea Fleet to keep its base in Crimea until at least 2042**, which, along with the renouncing of the previous ambition of Ukraine to join NATO, was the **geopolitical success of Russia**. Besides, in August 2012, the Ukrainian parliament passed a law granting so-called regional languages, **particularly Russian, official status** on a part of the

territories of Ukraine, **a symbolic move that Moscow had long been urging for¹**. At the same time, despite the power consolidation, **Yanukovich appeared unable to deliver on the Kremlin's key demand: to join a Moscow-led Eurasian Customs Union** aimed to unite Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Moscow pushed the project as the foundation of what would be an alternative European Union for former Soviet states. Eventually, the excessive power consolidation, as well as the explicit pro-Russian policy of Yanukovich led to the beginning of **the Revolution of Dignity**.

Key steps along the phase



For his corruption and pro-Russian policy, Viktor Yanukovich was ousted from the presidency after giant street protests.

Key economic indicators and ratings of Ukraine in 2013 compared to 2010

Changes within three years



GDP real, Bn USD

112 ^ +6%



Unemployment rate

7% v (-1p.p.)



Exports, Bn USD

89 ^ +27%



Net FDI inflows, Bn USD

5 v (-30%)

Source: World Bank website; BBC website; Media overview

Notes: (1) The Constitutional Court of Ukraine recognised the 2012 language law as unconstitutional, as it was adopted with violations. The law has lost its validity, the court's decision cannot be appealed.; (2) Thousand cubic metres

PHASE 3: REVOLUTION OF DIGNITY

21 NOVEMBER 2013 - 23 FEBRUARY 2014

In November 2013, V. Yanukovych decided to **suspend the signing Association Agreement** with the EU. Such a decision was part of the abrupt policy shift from **Pro-European to Pro-Russian** vector of development and forced the **thousands of demonstrators**, predominantly young students, to go out on the streets. **On 30 November 2013**, the protests were severely suppressed by the police. However, the protest did not stop, leading to hundreds of

thousands of new protestors at Independence Square in Kyiv, and the chain of events known as Euromaidan or the **Revolution of Dignity started**. The rapid and dramatic expansion of the civil resistance was based on the people's extremely critical attitude about the policies being implemented by the **Yanukovych regime**, as well as the authoritarian use of power by this regime.

Major Goals of Revolution of Dignity



Signing of Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement with the EU



Impeachment of President V. Yanukovych



Re-adoption of the 2004 amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine

Revolution of Dignity at a glance

November 2013 - December 2013



Peaceful Revolution of Dignity and ignition of fire

- Following the suspension of the signing of the **Association Agreement with the European Union**, around **1,500 protesters** gathered on Independence Square on 21 November 2013, reaching **4,000 protesters** the next day. At the same time, dozens of people came to the main squares of their cities in **Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, and others**
- On **30 November**, authorities sent **2,000 security forces**, who dispersed the protesters in a cruel manner, most of whom were students. The **abuses of the police and violent suppression against youth** provoked the transformation of the student movement into a nationwide protest against the regime

January 2014



Massive clashes on Independence Square

- As protests became more severe, the government of Ukraine adopted the Dictatorial Law, which contained the prohibition of outdoor demonstrations and demonstrations. Along with that, **snipers** started to cover the **police**, and on **22 January 2014**, **several Euromaidan participants were killed on Bloody Reunion Day**. However, the authorities' goal to intimidate protesters did not succeed
- Further clashes were followed by great numbers of casualties from both sides. **From 18 to 21 February, the bloodiest events occurred when the police used weapons against the peaceful protesters were used**

~800,000

protesters in Kyiv

108

Heavenly Hundred

~2,500

people injured

234

arrested

February 2014



The downturn of Yanukovych regime

- Under the pressure of protesters, V. Yanukovych signed an agreement to **transfer powers to the Parliament and hold early elections**. But within hours, he **fled the capital, and his administration crumbled**

Key economic indicators in 2014 compared to 2013



GDP real, Bn USD

101 ∨ (-10%)



Unemployment rate

9% ∧ +2 p.p.



Exports, Bn USD

71 ∨ (-21%)



Net FDI inflows, Bn USD

1 ∨ (-81%)

PHASE 4: MASKS OFF

MARCH 2014 - FEBRUARY 2015

After the escape of V. Yanukovich from the country, the Ukrainian Parliament deemed his act unconstitutional for abandoning his duties as the President. **An early Presidential election in Ukraine was scheduled for 25 May 2014.**

In the end of February and the beginning of March 2014, taking advantage of the political turbulence in Ukraine, the Russian troops without identification signs on the uniform were transferred to Crimea with the purpose to **occupy the peninsula.** Along with it, there were a number of actions in the eastern, southern, and central regions of Ukraine in March-April 2014 organised by the Russian special forces aimed at separating these

regions from Ukraine and joining Russia. In response to it, the pro-Ukrainian governmental and non-governmental forces carried out actions **to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine**, which were largely supported by the majority of Ukrainians in most regions of the country. However, in April 2014, the Russian military forces along with the terrorist forces backed by Russia started seizing the governmental buildings across different cities and towns of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, **aiming to declare the separation of so-called DNR and LNR from Ukraine.** In response to it, the Ukrainian government was forced to launch a military counter-offensive.

Key steps along the phase



Annexation of Crimea

- As Russian troops controlled the streets and main administrative buildings, **members of the Crimean Parliament held a 'referendum'** on the willingness of the peninsula's residents to join Russia
- Despite **the Council of the European Commission for Democracy through Law concluding the non-compliance** of the 'referendum' with international law, **Russia ratified the treaty, bringing Crimea into the country**

March 2014



Beginning of the Russian hybrid war

- Russia claimed its ambitions to **establish the so-called 'Novorossiya,'** on the territory of Ukraine, incorporating its eastern and southern regions into Russia. In order to implement this plan, the Russian special forces organised a number of military and hybrid actions across different cities and towns of the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine
- With the lack of support from the local population and the **reconquest of the occupied territories by Ukrainian military forces**, separatist groups supported by Russia self-proclaimed separation only from a part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and called them DNR and LNR

April-May 2014

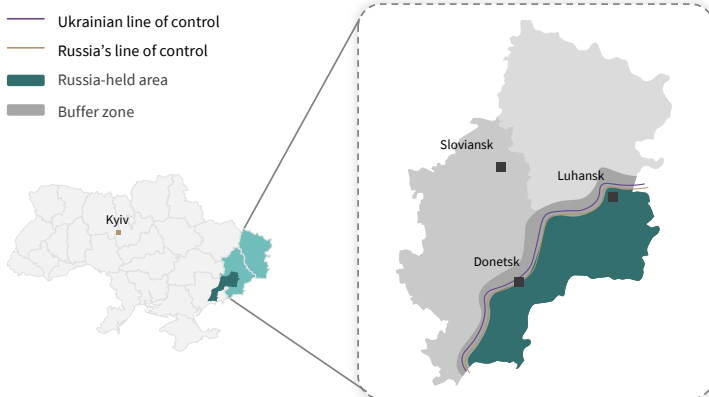
February 2015



Minsk Agreements

- From April 2014 to March 2015, more than **6,000 people (Ukrainian military and civilians) in Donbas were killed** due to the Russian aggression. The European leaders tried to find a diplomatic solution, and **Minsk Agreement I was the first step in this way.** An immediate ceasefire was the primary point in the protocol
- Due to the violation of the ceasefire by the pro-Russian terrorist forces in January 2015, the European leaders initiated the review of the first agreement in Minsk. As a result, **the Minsk Agreement II was signed in February 2015** by the representatives of Ukraine, Russia, OSCE¹, and the so-called DNR and LNR. Among the key measures were a ceasefire, withdrawal of heavy weapons, monitoring of the OSCE, as well as a dialogue on modalities of conducting local elections. Despite Minsk Agreement II was never fully implemented, there has been less fighting and fewer casualties ever since

Borders of control according to the Minsk Agreement II



Key economic indicators of Ukraine in 2015 compared to 2014



GDP real, Bn USD

91 ∨ (-10%)



Unemployment rate

9% ∨ (-0 p. p.)



Exports, Bn USD

54 ∨ (-24%)



Net FDI inflows, Mn USD

-0.2 ∨ (-123%)

PHASE 5: FROZEN CONFLICT 2015 - 2019

After 2015, **Russia and pro-Russian forces in Donbas were regularly infringing Minsk Agreement II terms**, continuing to capture small increments of Ukrainian territory, using prohibited heavy weapons, violating the ceasefire, and launching cyberattacks. Therefore, **the conflict resolution was suspended**. The reasons for the frozen conflict were the **denial**

of the involvement of official Russian forces into the aggression, and their unwillingness to renegotiate key Minsk Agreement II terms. Despite the existing Russian aggression during 2015-2019, **Ukraine continued its economic development and the way toward the integration with the European Union**.

2015 - 2017



The launch of military reforms

- Before 2014, **the Ukrainian army was underdeveloped** and was constantly dwindling in numbers. The Russian aggression forced Ukraine's leadership to reconsider the national defence concept, and to reform the military sector, in order to withstand the aggression in the future. In June 2016, Ukraine **presented to NATO four areas** of its further army transformation
- After 2014, the size of the Ukrainian army increased to more **than 250,000 military personnel in 2019**. Almost 20 combat brigades, new regiments and battalions, and units of operational, combat, logistics, and technical support were established

Focused areas of Ukrainian army reformation:

Defence planning

Special forces creation

Capacity building

Logistics and medical support

2017 - 2018



Ukraine's path to the EU

- After **entrenching Ukraine's EU course** and implementing the necessary reforms, the European Parliament adopted the possibility of **visa-free travelling for the citizens of Ukraine to the EU** in 2017
- In June 2017, the **European Council adopted a decision** to conclude the association agreement with Ukraine and **entered it into force in September 2017**
- In 2018, Ukraine continued its pathway toward EU compliance, **and the government established the High Anti-Corruption Court** as a measure to comply with the **European anti-bribery standards**

EU-Ukraine association agreement pledges:

Decentralisation and anti-corruption policy

Harmonisation of law with EU standards

Reform of the judiciary

2018 - 2019



Maritime conflict

- Russia wanted **to establish greater control over maritime regions** adjacent to Crimea, including the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. **It built the bridge over the Kerch Strait in 2018**, enabling Russia to prevent the passage of Ukrainian vessels
- In 2018, **Russian forces forcibly prevented Ukrainian naval vessels** from passing through the Kerch Strait and **illegally captured 24 crew members**. In November 2018, in response to that case, **martial law was introduced** in 10 regions of Ukraine for 30 days. In 2019, **the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea issued an order requiring Russia** to release the sailors and ships

Key changes to the military in 2019 vs 2015:

250 thousand personnel \wedge +36%

5,420 Mn USD military expenses \wedge +83%

26 Mn USD arms import \wedge +13%

2.3% army expense, % of GDP \wedge +1.3 p.p.

Key economic indicators and ratings of Ukraine in 2019 compared to 2015

Changes within four years



GDP real, Bn USD
102 \wedge +12%



Unemployment rate
8% \vee (-1 p. p.)



Exports, Bn USD
77 \wedge +43%



Net FDI inflows, Bn USD
6 \wedge +29.3 times

PHASE 5: FROZEN CONFLICT 2019 - 2022

During 2019-2022, Russia continued to insist on providing autonomous status to the so-called DNR and LNR, which would allow them to **block the external policy decisions of Ukraine**. At the same time, Russia demanded that Ukraine should refuse from its course toward NATO and limit the deployment of weapons in Donbas. In 2021-2022, the Russian military capacity increased massively along the border with Ukraine, yet Russia

was claiming to the international governments that these forces are concentrated only for the purpose of military exercises. However, in the beginning of 2022, the Russia's representatives significantly **intensified the conflict escalation**, continuing to increase the number of their troops on the borders with Ukraine and organising various provocations trying to find a falsified casus belli for the full-scale invasion.

October 2019



Steinmeier Formula adoption

- On 1 October 2019, the representatives of Ukrainian delegation signed a document on the **implementation of the Steinmeier Formula**. This formula, worked out by the former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, **proposed a series of steps to fulfil the Minsk Agreement II conditions**
- However, the **document's signing provoked mass protests in Ukrainian cities**, the largest of which was the 'No to Surrender!' on 14 October. As a result, **the implementation of the Steinmeier Formula was delayed**

2020 - 2021



Requests for NATO protection

- In June 2020, **Ukraine was named a NATO Enhanced Opportunities Partner**. In September 2020, V. Zelenskyy approved Ukraine's **National Security Strategy**, which ensures the development of a **distinctive partnership with NATO**
- In 2021, **V. Zelenskyy insisted on NATO membership** at the meeting with the US President, J. Biden, as **Russia started to mass its troops** close to Ukraine. Despite the threat of full-scale invasion, **the US President expressed unwillingness** to NATO membership of Ukraine. At the same time, Russia sought to prevent Ukraine's NATO ambitions and **demanding an assurance that Ukraine never joins the alliance**

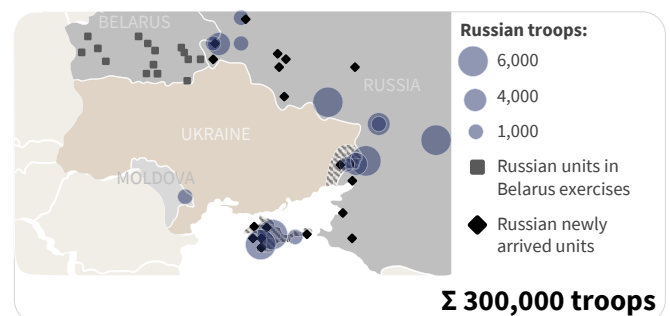
January - February 2022



Rising tensions

- Russia **continued concentrating troops** and equipment on the border with Ukraine and **announced the largest joint military exercises with Belarus** in January 2022. Nonetheless, Russian officials issued statements **denying any plans to invade Ukraine**
- On 22 February 2022, V. Putin **recognised the occupied territories** of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions as **independent states**. The next day, Russia **evacuated its diplomatic staff from Kyiv and closed the airspace** on the eastern border of Ukraine

Russian troops on the Ukraine's border as of 17 February 2022



Key economic indicators of Ukraine and ratings in 2021 compared to 2019

Changes within two years



GDP real, Bn USD

102 ∨ (-0%)



Unemployment rate, %

9 ^ +1 p.p



Export, Bn USD

96 ^ +25%



Net FDI inflows, Bn USD

7 ^ +9 times



Ukraine is de facto already a country of NATO's eastern flank



Was it possible to avoid Russia's military invasion of Crimea and Donbas in 2014?

The answer is yes. If the West had taken a much tougher position from the very beginning. And set red lines for Russia and Putin. However, since the West wanted to reach compromises, the war could not be avoided. Therefore, in terms of the geopolitical situation, the position of the West is decisive.

PAVLO KLIMKIN

Ukrainian diplomat; Former Foreign Minister of Ukraine (2014-2019)

Involvement during Russia's war against Ukraine: Pavlo Klimkin is taking an active social position and shares his thoughts about the war in Ukraine. He raises such important issues as the impact of the war on the West, the ways it changes the global political system, what steps Ukraine should take on its way to EU membership and many others.

In your opinion, how beneficial were the Minsk II Agreements for Ukraine?

From the very beginning, it was impossible to implement them. But, at the same time, they allowed Ukraine to preserve and develop our forces and abilities, as well as provided an opportunity to win some time. This set of documents was primarily about Russia's desire to control Ukraine. Therefore, Minsk cannot be considered separately from the Russia's plans to impose control on us and destroy us as a country, as a nation.

How will Russia-Ukraine relationship change after the war? Can you describe possible scenarios?

Everything will depend on what kind of regime will be in Russia. I do not see any sane relations in the future. The reason for this is primarily the negative emotion that our society feels towards the Russian enemy. Moreover, I do not even see an effective peace agreement in the future. The current Russian regime is not ready for real negotiations. We, in turn, will not be ready for any compromises.

Was it possible to avoid a full-scale invasion and resolve the tension through diplomacy?

If the West had taken a much tougher position from the very beginning. Now Ukraine is de facto already a country of NATO's eastern flank. The Kremlin is focused on the destruction of Ukraine and the Ukrainians. They see us as some sick and wrong Russians. This vision is part of Russian ideology. That is why a more decisive and consistent position of the West could have changed the situation. The West was not ready for this.

What would you name the biggest diplomatic victories of Ukraine?

There were many victories. Starting with visa-free travel, breaking the agreement with Russia on the so-called friendship, as well as that on participation in the CIS, and ending, at least for the moment, with the granting of candidate status in the EU. Many things make Ukraine cooler. There are a lot of achievements in recent years. But this is only the beginning. We have an ambitious program ahead, which must be implemented.



The annexation of Crimea was the first predictor of the full-scale war in 2022



Hostilities and violence may not last forever; however, they may last quite long. Atrocities never go unnoticed, but shape the future. Protracted conflicts are much more difficult to resolve when the history of hatred plays on the side of violence. In that sense, Russia's decision to go to war gets another dimension of responsibility. I do not think Russia and Ukraine will remain hostile forever; but I do believe that overcoming mistrust, hatred, and fear in bilateral relations will be close to impossible in the next decade.

DR NICKOLAY KAPITONENKO

International Relations Expert at the Tactics Institute for Security and Counter-Terrorism

Involvement during Russia's war against Ukraine: Dr Nickolay Kapitonenko holds an active social position by raising awareness of Russia's war against Ukraine through local and foreign media, talking about the impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and its implication for Europe.

Which event(s), in your opinion, became the 'point of no return' in the relations between independent Ukraine and Russia?

The two countries are destined for war. Wars always result from political choices. With that said, I do not think that there is a moment in history, which made Russia's invasion of Ukraine inevitable. However, some points in bilateral relations have certainly made a bigger impact on further developments. Among such points, I would pick the annexation of Crimea in 2014 by Russia. That was a moment of truth for a variety of reasons. By opting for annexation, Russia has violated the fundamentals of international order. That moment has also been a test for Russian society, tempted by the propaganda of greatness; a test that it failed. I still believe that the only right thing for the Russian citizens was to reject the annexation. By accepting it they launched a chain of events making war much more difficult to escape.

What are your expectations on the evolution of Ukraine-Russia and the EU-Russia post-war relations?

Relations between Ukraine, the EU, and Russia in the future will heavily depend on the outcome of the ongoing war. If the war is turned into a protracted frozen conflict, then hostility and deterrence would be keywords for framing relations between Ukraine and Russia. The EU will continue its support for Ukraine with the view to not letting it lose.


I do not think that Russia is likely to undergo fundamental transformations after or during the war against Ukraine. It would hardly resemble the post-Soviet model, but rather look like an Iranian one. Sanctions will make Russia's economy poorer and more primitive, but as long as it will be able to sell energy resources, the regime will sustain itself. An authoritarian, aggressive, and dangerous Russia would require measures of containment from the Europeans.



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