

Russian Policy toward Ukraine during Elections

TARAS KUZIO

Abstract: The Orange Revolution¹ in Ukraine in November–December 2004 that propelled Viktor Yushchenko to power as Ukraine’s third president will lead to Ukraine and Russia undertaking divergent trajectories in domestic and foreign policies. In 1999, Leonid Kuchma was reelected to a second term. Under Kuchma, the oligarchs continued to accumulate power and influence and were set to establish an oligarchy if Viktor Yanukovich had won the 2004 elections. This is different from Russia, in which Putin was made acting prime minister by then president Boris Yeltsin, a position that propelled him to Russia’s presidency in 2000 and 2004. Under Putin, the oligarchs were removed from politics and those who refused to stay away from politics were subjected to repression. The first part of this article surveys Russian policies toward Ukraine under Kuchma. Since the rise of Putin in 1999–2000, Russia’s intervention in Ukrainian elections has grown, culminating in its blatant interference in the 2004 Ukrainian elections to support Yushchenko’s main opponent, Yanukovich. The second part of this article discusses Russian policies toward Ukraine after Yushchenko was elected president.

Key words: media policies, Orange Revolution, Russia, Ukraine elections, Viktor Yushchenko, Vladimir Putin, Yulia Tymoshenko, Yushchenko poisoning

Russian Policy toward Ukraine under Kuchma

Gleb Pavlovsky, a close adviser to Putin, began operating on the Ukrainian scene in the 1999 election and considerably expanded Russia’s subsequent activities in alliance with Russophile oligarchs. The main focus for Pavlovsky was pro-Western politicians, such as former Prime Minister Yushchenko, who led Our Ukraine, and other anti-Kuchma group leaders, such as Yulia Tymoshenko and Socialist leader Oleksandr Moroz.

In November 2000, fragments of tapes covertly recorded in President Kuchma’s office over the course of three years by presidential guard Mykola Melnychenko began to be released. One tape incriminated Kuchma in the murder of opposition journalist Heorhiy Gongadze. For five months, Kuchma’s position was tenuous. But he clung to power and removed the Yushchenko government

in April 2001. Yushchenko then went into opposition where he created his bloc, Our Ukraine.

Russian political technologists imported anti-American conspiracies into Ukraine, alleging that the United States was behind Melnychenko and “Kuchmagate.” One of these was the *Brzezinski plan*, which claimed Kuchmagate was a U.S.-backed provocation that aimed to topple Kuchma and replace him with Yushchenko. It was a convenient way to sidetrack the numerous allegations of executive misconduct found on the tapes. Yushchenko’s supporters and the anti-Kuchma opposition that sprung up during Kuchmagate were allegedly anti-Russian nationalists financed by the U.S. government through foundations, such as Freedom House, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute, all of which were allegedly involved in overthrowing Serbian President Slobodan Milosovich.

Radio Liberty’s Ukrainian-language service was also sharply attacked for rebroadcasting allegations found on the tapes.² Evidence of the “*Brzezinski plan*” promoted by the oligarch-controlled television station Inter and rebroadcast by Russian Public Television to back this conspiracy included Yushchenko having an American-Ukrainian wife and the United States granting of asylum to Melnychenko in April 2001. A documentary titled “PR” that developed this conspiracy theory was made for the March 2002 elections.

The main group with whom Pavlovsky is working in Ukraine is the oligarchic Social Democratic Party—United (SDPUo). The SDPUo also has their own think tank, the Centre for Political and Conflict Studies (TPKS), headed by Mikhail Pogrebynsky, who has been a close ally of Kuchma since he was first elected in 1994. Pogrebynsky’s think tank defended Kuchma from the allegations made on the Kuchmagate tapes, and backed up claims of a *Brzezinski plan*. Along with Pavlovsky’s Fund for Effective Politics, it has been influential in elaborating Ukraine’s new foreign policy ideology of “returning to Europe with Russia.” This new foreign policy line, which was influential among oligarch groups close to Kuchma, seeks to coordinate the foreign policies of Ukraine and Russia vis-à-vis the West, NATO, and the EU.

It has long been suspected that the SDPUo was behind Melnychenko. Former Security Service (SBU) head Yevhen Marchuk, with whom Melnychenko had close ties, was elected to parliament in 1998 from the SDPUo. The SDPUo’s close links to Russia meant that the operation was possibly conducted with Russian covert assistance, a factor that explains Pavlovsky’s interest in continuing to try

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to undermine Yushchenko and the pro-Western lobby in Ukraine. A detailed investigation under Yushchenko by Channel Five adds to this by claiming that the SDPUo were behind the reburying of Gongadze as a way of discrediting President Leonid Kuchma and then causing early elections. This means that the SDPUo knew about the tapes made in his office by Melnychenko.³

In the event of early elections after Kuchma was discredited, Kuchma's successor was to be either Medvedchuk or then secretary of the National Security and Defense Council Marchuk. Melnychenko confided to Boris Berezovskiy, whose Civil Liberties Foundation financially assisted him in exile, that he had worked for Marchuk.

Censorship

The SDPUo hired the Fund for Effective Politics for the 2002 elections and based ten of their associates in Kyiv. Its tactics included attempts at discrediting Yushchenko, such as a phoney Web site⁴ and telephone taps. They established a new pro-SDPUo Web site, www.ukraine.ru. They also opened a Russian Press Centre in Kyiv that played an important role in disinformation.

Russia, through the Ukrainian oligarchs and their Russian advisers, played an extensive role in censoring the Ukrainian media.⁵ Censorship operates through the use of secret instructions (*temnyky*) sent to television stations advising them what they should cover and what they should ignore. *Temnyky* routinely advise that the opposition should be either ignored or condemned. *Temnyky* only appeared after SDPUo leader Medvedchuk was appointed head of the presidential administration in May 2002. *Temnyky* were issued daily to state and private television stations. Journalists leaked many *temnyky* to opposition media outlets, and the practice was severely condemned both in Ukraine and abroad.⁶

Temnyky grew out of close links developed between the SDPUo and Pavlovsky's Fund for Effective Politics (FEP). Pavlovsky's coworkers in Ukraine include Russian political technologists Marat Gelman and Igor Shuvalov. The FEP assisted in establishing a Ukrainian branch, the Center for Effective Politics (TEP). The only publicly known work undertaken by TEP was its revamp of Kuchma's Web site in 2002 (www.president.gov.ua).

TEP is a private commercial company owned by well-known Kyiv political commentator Pogrebynsky. He also heads the noncommercial KTPK think tank. TEP undertakes "political consultancy," but refuses to disclose the identities of clients. Unlike other think tanks and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the KTPK has refused to disclose the source of its funding. Pogrebynsky supported denunciations by the Communists and the pro-Kuchma camp of western assistance to Ukrainian NGOs, a step indicating that the source of his funds is nonwestern.

Pogrebynsky denied any involvement in *temnyky* by either TEP or KTPK.⁷ Nevertheless, on many of the electronic versions of *temnyky*, files contain the "cep.ua" domain name accompanying different author names. Individuals whose e-mail addresses include "@cep.org.ua" also send the *temnyky*. The domain name "cep.ua" refers to Pogrebynsky's TEP, based at the same Kyiv address. Technical staff at TEP also service Kuchma's Web site.

A particular area of TEP's work is the section of the www.president.gov.ua site devoted to constitutional reform (www.reform.org.ua). In 2003–2004, during debates on constitutional reform, www.reform.org.ua included numerous bogus Soviet-style letters of support that could have been written by structures controlled by Pogrebynsky.⁸ Information from the presidential administration's press department is utilized in *temnyky*.⁹ Another place this information is rewritten is on the rabidly anti-Yushchenko Web site www.temnyk.com.ua, which shares the same IP address as Pogrebynsky's KTPK. This Web site was closed down after Yushchenko's election.

Evidence of the Russian link comes through political technologists Pavlovsky, Gelman, and Shuvalov, who have never denied their close cooperation with the SDPUo.¹⁰ Shuvalov works in Ukraine and is reputed to be one of the main authors of *temnyky*, a factor that could explain why they are mainly issued in Russian.¹¹ Russian media sources describe Shuvalov as a Russian expert employed in the Ukrainian presidential administration. Shuvalov has a "@cep.org.ua" e-mail address.

Shuvalov's ties to the pro-Kuchma camp date back to the 1999 elections when he assisted in Kuchma's successful reelection and in the unsuccessful election bid of SDPUo leading oligarch Hryhoriy Surkis for mayor of Kyiv. In the 2002 elections, Shuvalov assisted in launching the unsuccessful Winter Crop Generation (KOP) party, modeled on Russia's Union of Right Forces, which obtained a paltry 2.02 percent of the Ukrainian vote. Shuvalov's name is not found among those officially declared as employed by the presidential administration. This is not surprising as the SDPUo and the presidential administration overlap, and Shuvalov could be employed directly by the former while simultaneously working indirectly for the latter.

Pogrebynsky's think tank (KTPK) and commercial political consultancy (TEP) are both controlled by the SDPUo. The SDPUo press service often sends releases through the KTPK.¹² The TEP also sends out *temnyky* written by "Oleksandr," "Masha," and "Olena," whose email addresses include "@cep.org.ua." Some of these authors also write for the SDPUo-funded antiopposition www.temnyk.com.ua Web site. Some of the *temnyky* are addressed "Dear Serhiy Leonidovych," which refers to Serhiy Vasylev, head of the information policy department of the presidential administration. The presidential administration has delegated the production of *temnyky* to the TEP, which uses its own analysts and Russian citizens, such as Shuvalov. These *temnyky* are sent to television stations and are rewritten for use by antiopposition media outlets. Either the SDPUo or the presidential administration—or both—fund the TEP and KTPK.

President Kuchma always publicly denied that *temnyky* existed. Vasylev also denied that he was behind *temnyky* or that they even existed. These denials were not convincing, as evidence of their existence is overwhelming.¹³

The daily manufacture of *temnyky* revealed a high degree of legal nihilism and deception in Ukraine in three areas. First, as a Russian citizen, Shuvalov could not officially work for the Ukrainian presidential administration. Yet, Russian citizens with close ties to Putin's administration are at the center of censorship of

Ukraine's media through *temnyky*. Second, by allowing Russia to directly interfere in Ukraine's media through censorship instructions, President Kuchma was violating the constitution's 2003 law on national security and a host of other laws. Third, although censorship is illegal in the Ukrainian constitution and legal system, this was ignored, as *temnyky* are clear examples of censorship.

Russian Policy in the 2004 Elections

Leading opposition presidential candidate Yushchenko was the target of a range of dirty tricks intended to defeat his bid to succeed President Kuchma. As Russian political commentator Andrei Piontkovsky wrote, "The basic strategy of the outside political image makers is aimed mostly at the Russian population of Ukraine, to portray Yushchenko as a Russophobe and Ukrainian nationalist and to provoke an ethnic split in Ukrainian society."¹⁴

“Leading opposition presidential candidate Yushchenko was the target of a range of dirty tricks intended to defeat his bid to succeed President Kuchma.”

Russian political technologists, with close links to Russian President Putin, were very active in Ukraine's presidential campaign. Many of the dirty tricks originated with Pavlovsky, Gelman, and the FEP. Pavlovsky opened a public front in Kyiv for his secret EPF activities, the Russian Club. Both the Russian ambassador to Ukraine, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and Ukrainian Prime Minister Yanukovich attended the club's opening.

The EPF was hired to secure a Yanukovich victory by defeating his main rival, Yushchenko. Failing this, the election results could be annulled, with Yushchenko and Yanukovich barred from a repeat election. Kuchma could then stand for a third term, facing only weak left-wing opposition candidates. The Constitutional Court ruled in December 2003 that Kuchma could stand for a "second" term, by not counting his first term (1994–1999), as it began before the constitution was adopted in 1996.

The EPF's objectives fell into three main categories. First they sought to undermine Yushchenko's credibility by producing fake leaflets, critical books, and pamphlets and by launching inflammatory television attacks. Second, they used the tax police to investigate businessmen who supported his campaign, thus undermining his financial support. Third, the EPF paid extreme nationalists to claim they supported Yushchenko and used the same groups to carry out terrorist attacks that were then blamed on Yushchenko.

A November 2003 study prepared by Russian political advisors working for Medvedchuk was leaked to an opposition group.¹⁵ The study outlined how President Kuchma or his chosen successor could win the 2004 elections by discrediting his main opponent as a nationalist and an inciter of interethnic conflict. Strife blamed on the opposition would lead to a state of emergency that could, in

turn, lead to an indefinite postponement of the elections. Such a scenario would be a desperate measure to take because Yushchenko was leading in the polls and likely to win the elections.

Another leaked plan instructed how Yushchenko would be depicted as somebody who would cause instability if he were elected. Kuchma or Prime Minister Yanukovych would then be proposed as a source of stability. The strategy paper openly stated, "Our aim is to destabilize the situation in the regions (through political intrigues, not by harming the economy), to drag Yushchenko into these processes . . ."16 These leaked secret strategies outlined how conflict could be provoked between the Tatars and Russians in the Crimea.

Yushchenko asked the SBU to halt such "interethnic provocations" that were intended to discredit the opposition. Oleksandr Zinchenko, the head of Yushchenko's campaign, warned that the presidential administration and its Russian political consultants were planning more "provocations."¹⁷

To ensure that any of these leaked scenarios took place, the election campaign had to be (and was) conducted in a hostile and tension-laden environment. Three different, but interrelated, groups created such an atmosphere. These included the presidential administration and its Russian political technologists, a shadow campaign headquarters that was independent of the official campaign headquarters that organized the local state administration to work on behalf of Yanukovych's candidacy, and extremist nationalist groups that act as agent provocateurs.

As in many postcommunist states, Ukrainian authorities controlled "loyal nationalist" groups. Paradoxically, although presidential front-runner Yushchenko was regularly assailed as a nationalist, his Our Ukraine bloc has only one such party, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. In contrast, the presidential administration and the SDPUo controls four extreme nationalist groups: the Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine (OUNvU), Rukh for Unity (RukhZ), and Bratstvo (Brotherhood). Dmytro Korchynsky, head of Bratstvo, was a commentator on the 1+1 television channel, which was controlled by the SDPUo. His "Prote" television show has specialized in attacking Yushchenko.

Each of these four nationalist groups provided a presidential candidate who worked on behalf of Yanukovych: Korchynsky (Bratstvo), Roman Kozak (OUNvU), Andriy Chornovil (OUNvU), and Bohdan Boyko (RukhZ). These four "technical candidates," together with twelve others who also worked for Yanukovych, controlled 60 percent of the election officials. These candidates were able to use their allocated airtime on state television to attack Yushchenko.¹⁸

The first act of terrorism took place in August 2004. Two bombs exploded in Kyiv's Troyeshchyna market, killing one and wounding tens of others, leading to large protests by those put out of work.¹⁹ One week later, the Interior Ministry (MVS) announced that it had arrested five individuals. Two of those arrested were allegedly members of the Ukrainian People's Party (a member of Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc) and one was a producer at Channel Five TV, a station owned by Our Ukraine businessman Petro Poroshenko. The People's Party categorically rejected any connection to the terrorist attack.²⁰ Our Ukraine bloc deputy head Ihor

Hryniv described this attempt at linking Yushchenko to the bombing as a “planned provocation, a manipulation of [political] technology.” Hryniv was clearly referring to Russian spin-doctors working for the presidential administration.²¹

The attempt to link Yushchenko to the terrorist attack was also suspicious because of its timing. The attack occurred only two days before an August 22, 2004 statement by the MVS, SBU, and prosecutor’s office warning the opposition not to attempt to undertake “provocations.” The statement also warned that the security forces would repulse any attempt by the opposition to repeat the Georgian revolution and take power by force.

Blaming the terrorist attack on Yushchenko was deliberate disinformation, as those arrested were actually from pro-presidential nationalist groups hostile to Yushchenko. One of the actual perpetrators was a supporter of the pro-presidential nationalist Boyko, who was a presidential candidate of the Movement of Ukrainian Patriots, a coalition that includes Rukh for Unity, the party that he leads. A second was a member of the Tryzub (Trident) paramilitary group (also a member of Boyko’s election coalition). The third was from another pro-presidential nationalist group, the Ukrainian National Assembly, who had previously been a bodyguard to Korchynsky (now head of the pro-presidential Bratstvo nationalist group).

UNA held demonstrations in Kyiv in the elections with participants dressed in Nazi-like fatigues declaring their support for Yushchenko. Yushchenko always denied any links to UNA and called on the MVS and justice ministry to deregister the party. In September 2004, a UNA attempt to hold a rally “in support of Yushchenko” was thwarted when Our Ukraine supporters blocked it and convinced the students paid to attend that it was a charade. UNA vigils “in support of Yushchenko” were widely broadcast on television channels controlled by the SDPUo to portray Yushchenko as an extremist.

Terrorist attacks grew out of scenarios planted in Ukraine by Russian political technologists working for the presidential administration. They were not the first provocations during a Ukrainian election. In the 1999 Ukrainian presidential elections, there was a terrorist attack undertaken against Progressive Socialist leader and candidate Natalie Vitrenko. Individuals implicated in that attack blamed it on Socialist leader and candidate Moroz, the main threat to incumbent Kuchma’s chances of being reelected. According to the tapes made in Kuchma’s office by presidential guard Melnychenko, the attack was organized by the authorities to discredit Moroz and block his entry into a runoff. Kuchma duly defeated Communist leader Petro Symonenko in round two.

In the 2004 elections, the authorities used more sophisticated tactics prepared by Russian political technologists. The stakes in the 2004 elections were higher than in the 1999 elections because Yushchenko was a greater threat to Yanukovych than Moroz was to Kuchma five years earlier.

Explosives were also planted during searches of the offices of opposition youth NGOs, such as PORA!;²² a similar tactic was used in Serbia’s 2000 election against OTPOR. As in Serbia, the attempt to depict youth NGOs as terrorists failed. During the Orange Revolution, the SBU and interior ministry admitted that charges of terrorism against the UNP and youth groups were false.²³

According to a Channel Five investigation, the real terrorists in the 2004 elections were the authorities conspiring with the Russian security services (FSB). This also includes Russian involvement in the poisoning of Yushchenko in September 2004. An illicitly transcribed telephone conversation between a Ukrainian informant and an FSB officer, cited at length in the “Zakryta Zona” documentary, showed how the Russian authorities were fully aware of the dirty tricks being used by Russian political technologists working for Prime Minister Yanukovych.

Political technologists, such as Pavlovsky and Gelman, worked with Yanukovych’s shadow campaign headquarters, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Andriy Kluyev.²⁴ The taped conversation reveals that Gelman and Pavlovsky considered assassination to be a legitimate campaign strategy. The FSB officer on the tape specifically discusses the poisoning of Yushchenko.

A second attempt to remove Yushchenko, this time through bombing, may have been conceived after the poison failed to kill Yushchenko before election day. Plans for the bomb attack during the second round of elections (November 21, 2004) were discovered when a *spetsnaz* unit of the State Defence Service (DSO) was sent to investigate a burglar alarm. The alarm went off near one of the three offices used by the Yushchenko campaign. The DSO noticed a car with Russian license plates and asked the two occupants for their documents. After a check revealed that their Russian and Ukrainian passports were falsified, a search of the car’s trunk found three kilograms of plastic explosives—enough to destroy everything within a 500-meter radius.

Both passengers were arrested and a subsequent investigation unmasked them as Mikhail M. Shugay and Marat B. Moskvitin, Russian citizens from the Moscow region. Their only contact in Moscow had been a certain “Surguchov” who had hired them in September 2004 for the bombing operation against Yushchenko and his ally, Tymoshenko. The terrorists were to receive \$50,000 after the bomb plot was completed. After smuggling the explosives through the Russian-Ukrainian border, both FSB operatives set up a safe house in the village of Dudarkiv, fifteen kilometers from Kyiv. A search of these premises found pistols, radio equipment, and bomb-making instructions.

Additional taped telephone conversations were replayed in the “Zakryta Zona” documentary. The SBU made these conversations during the elections and handed over to Yushchenko after round two.²⁵ Kluyev is heard discussing with unknown individuals the whereabouts of Yushchenko’s office and where the leadership of the Yushchenko camp meets. The documentary’s producers believe that Kluyev sought this intelligence to pass on to the Russian assassination team, so that bombs could be placed to murder not only Yushchenko, but also other members of his team, such as Tymoshenko.

Evidence released since Yushchenko’s election also points to Russian involvement in his poisoning. In December 2004, Yushchenko’s doctors in Vienna concluded that he had, in fact, been poisoned by TCDD, the most toxic form of dioxin. His dioxin level was 6,000 times higher than normal and the second highest recorded in history. Alexander V. Litvinenko, who served in the

KGB and the FSB before defecting to the United Kingdom, revealed that the FSB has a secret laboratory in Moscow that specializes in poisons. A former dissident scientist now living in the United States, Vil S. Mirzayanov, reported that this institute studied dioxins while developing defoliants for the military. (TCDD was a component of Agent Orange.) SBU defector Valeriy Krawchenko also pointed to this FSB laboratory as the likely source of the dioxin that poisoned Yushchenko.²⁶

Yushchenko has alleged that the poisoning took place during a September 5, 2004, dinner at the home of then-deputy SBU chairman Volodymyr Satsyuk. Satsyuk is a high-ranking member of the SDPUo, which again reveals the involvement of this political party with Russian political technologists working for Yanukovych. In 2005, Satsyuk fled abroad after the prosecutor's office sought him on various charges.

Anti-Americanism

In October 2004, one hundred fifty tons of illegal election materials (consisting of three hundred million items) were found that were both anti-American and anti-Yushchenko. The authorities aimed to disseminate anti-Yushchenko/anti-American propaganda during the last week of the election campaign.²⁷ The U.S. embassy in Kyiv issued a strongly worded condemnation of the use of portraits of President George W. Bush and American national symbols: "The use of pictures of U.S. politicians and the U.S. flag on political posters in Ukraine is absolutely unacceptable."²⁸

The mass distribution of overtly hostile anti-American posters, reminiscent of the worst period of Soviet anti-Western propaganda, suggested that, "the authorities have come to realize that they will lose the elections," according to Yushchenko's election coalition. "This is the work of those who only yesterday called for the holding of a free presidential election campaign."²⁹

The warehouse where the anti-American posters were found was leased to a private company, Zahray. However, the real printing house was Novyi Druk. Some of the material was also prepared in Slovakia and Hungary and allowed to cross the border unhindered. At the Novyi Druk printing house in Kyiv, the opposition found another five million posters as well as leaflets promoting Yanukovych's campaign.

Ukrainian election law requires that the name of the printer and the total number of items printed should be clearly stated so that the Central Election Commission (CVK) can track each candidate's spending. But based on this material, and numerous Yanukovych billboards around Ukraine, Yanukovych's team had far exceeded the ten million hryvnia (\$2 million) spending limit. The materials discovered in Kyiv alone were valued at "hundreds of millions of dollars," and many more had already been distributed throughout Ukraine.³⁰

The poster scandal took a difficult turn when the parliamentary deputies identified the owner of Novyi Druk as Viacheslav Pustovoitenko, son of former Prime Minister Valeriy Pustovoitenko, the head of the pro-Kuchma People's Democratic Party (NDP). Pustovoitenko was the head of the coordinat-

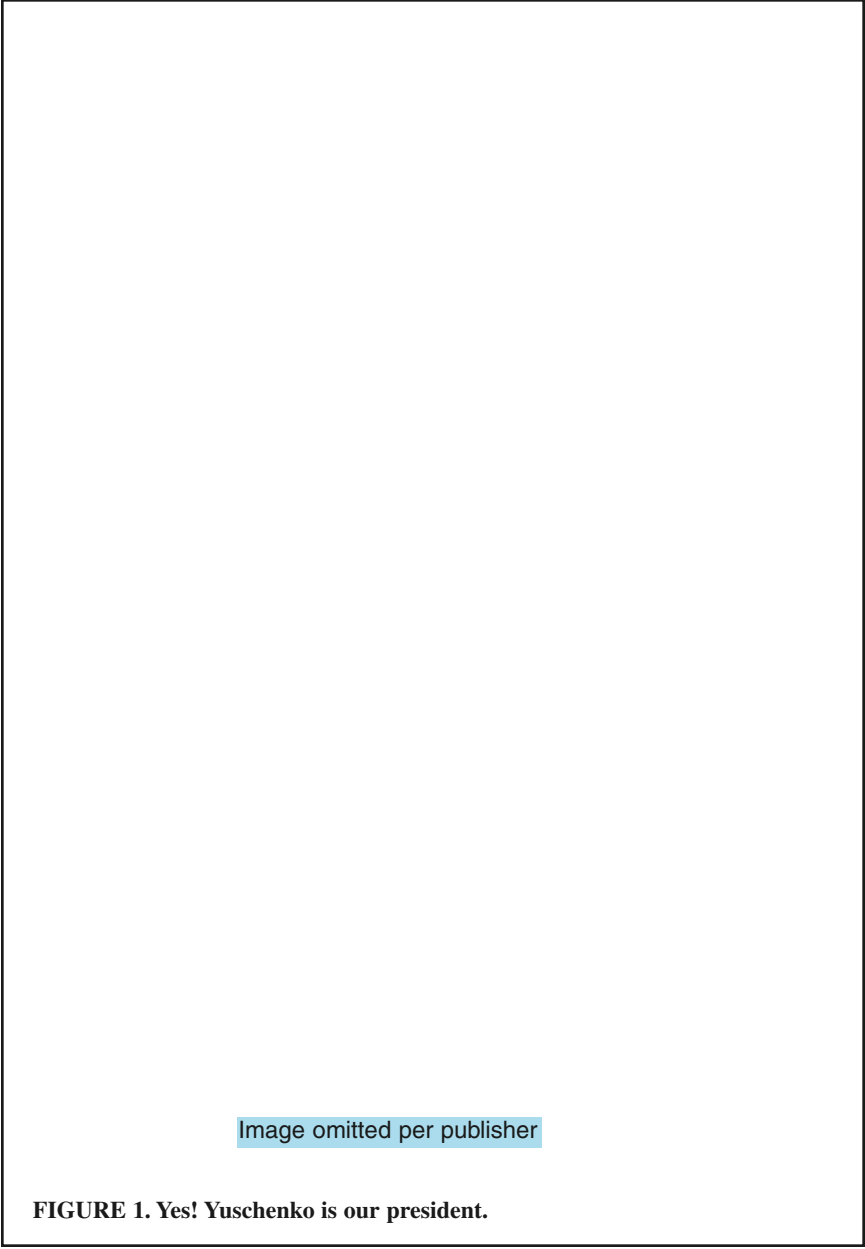


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FIGURE 1. Yes! Yuschenko is our president.

ing council of parties that supported Yanukovich. Our Ukraine deputy Pavlo Kachur told parliament that those behind the campaign would be brought to justice for campaign violations. He also condemned the hypocrisy of the authorities who declared their support for Ukraine's stability and sovereignty

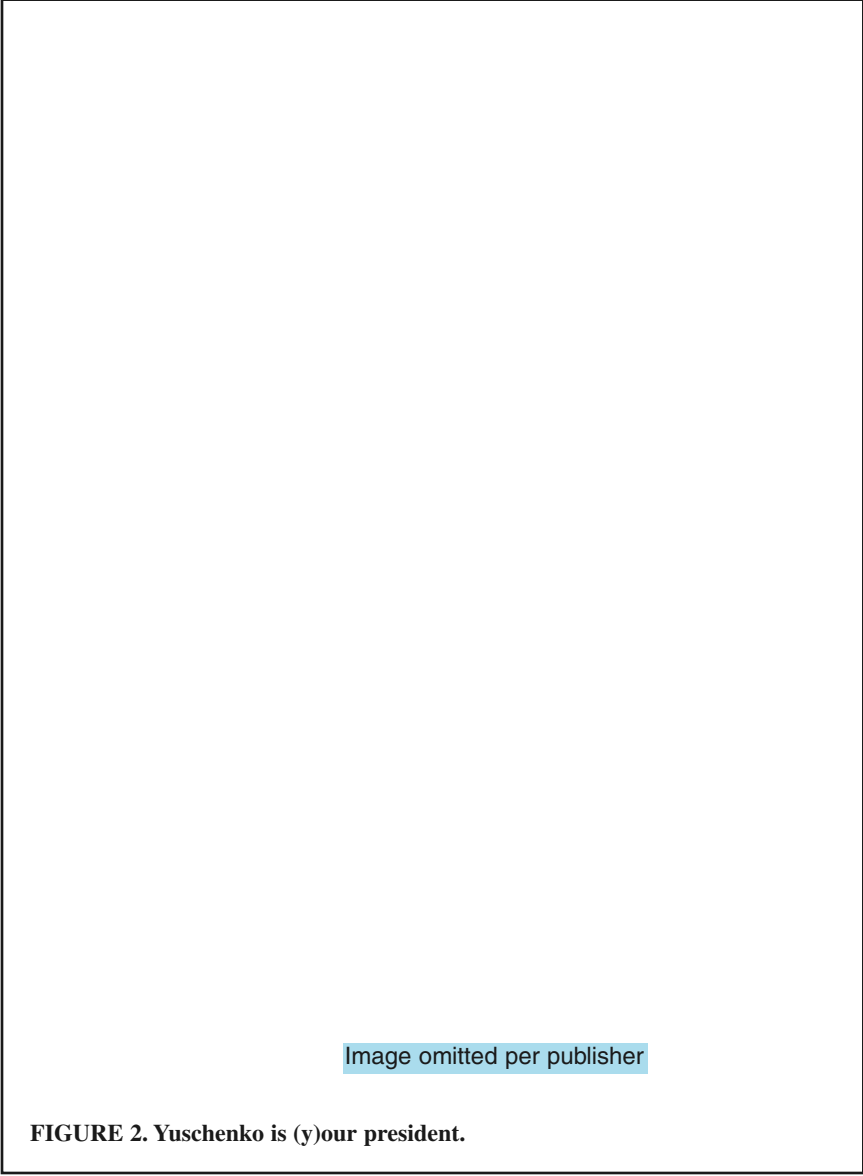


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FIGURE 2. Yuschenko is (y)our president.

while “in reality [they] are undertaking the political and social destabilization of Ukraine, dividing Ukraine, provoking inter-ethnic conflicts and propagating fascism.”³¹

The Yanukovych team attempted to deflect unwanted attention over the posters. On October 4, 2004, two of the presidential technical candidates allied with Yanukovych, Oleksandr Bazyliuk, head of the Slavic Party and Roman

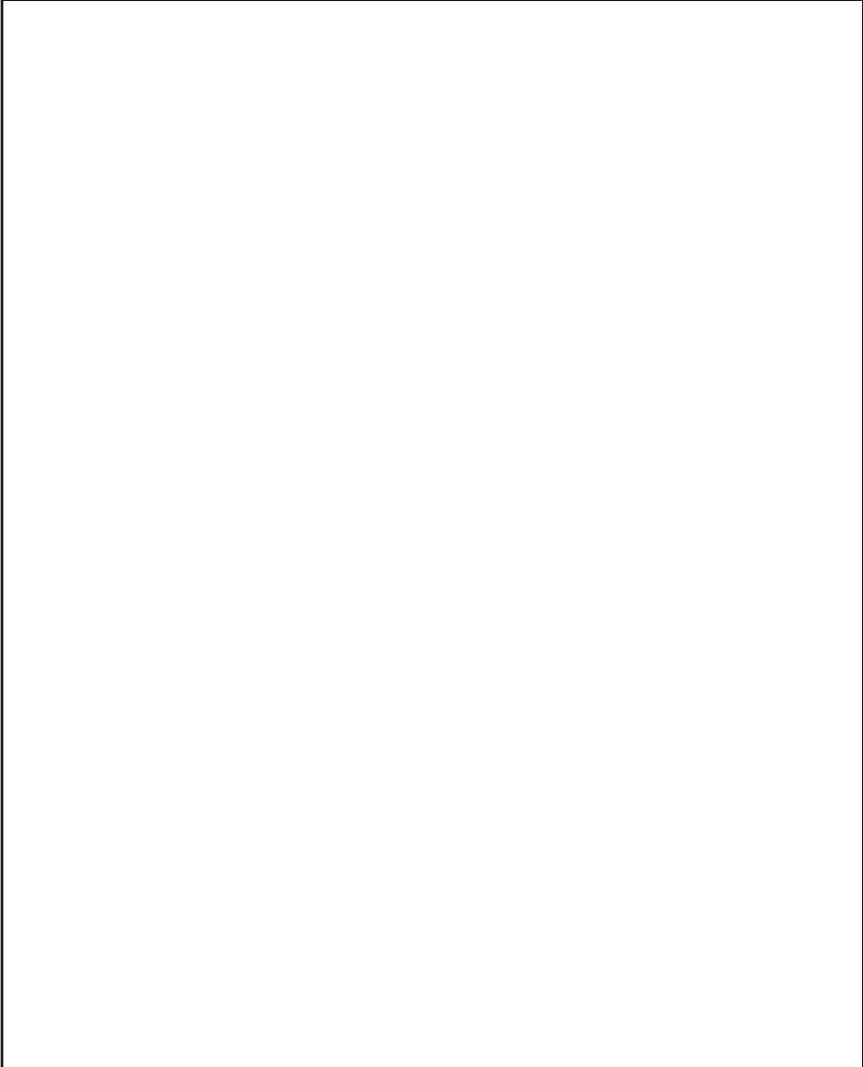


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FIGURE 3. Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Iraq. YOU ARE NEXT!

Kozak, head of OUN in Ukraine, were dispatched to the warehouse to claim that the literature was theirs. But the stunt backfired as neither candidate could describe the materials they sought. Next, high-ranking Yanukovich supporters began making the bizarre claim that Yushchenko himself was behind the posters. SDPUo Parliamentary Deputy Nestor Shufrych claimed that the entire volume of



literature was a “provocation,” as it had all been printed by “the Viktor Yushchenko team.”³² Stepan Havrysh, Yanukovych’s representative to the CVK, claimed, “This is political PR, a provocation, which has as its aim to now direct attention to the repressed leader who represents the interests of the ‘Strength of the People’ bloc [that is, Yushchenko].”³³



Image omitted per publisher

FIGURE 5. Yes! Bushchenko.

Russia Fails to Understand Ukraine

Russia's wide-scale interference in Ukraine's elections failed precisely because Ukraine is not Russia.³⁴ During the Orange Revolution, Russia and Western governments and international organizations disagreed about the nature of "interfer-

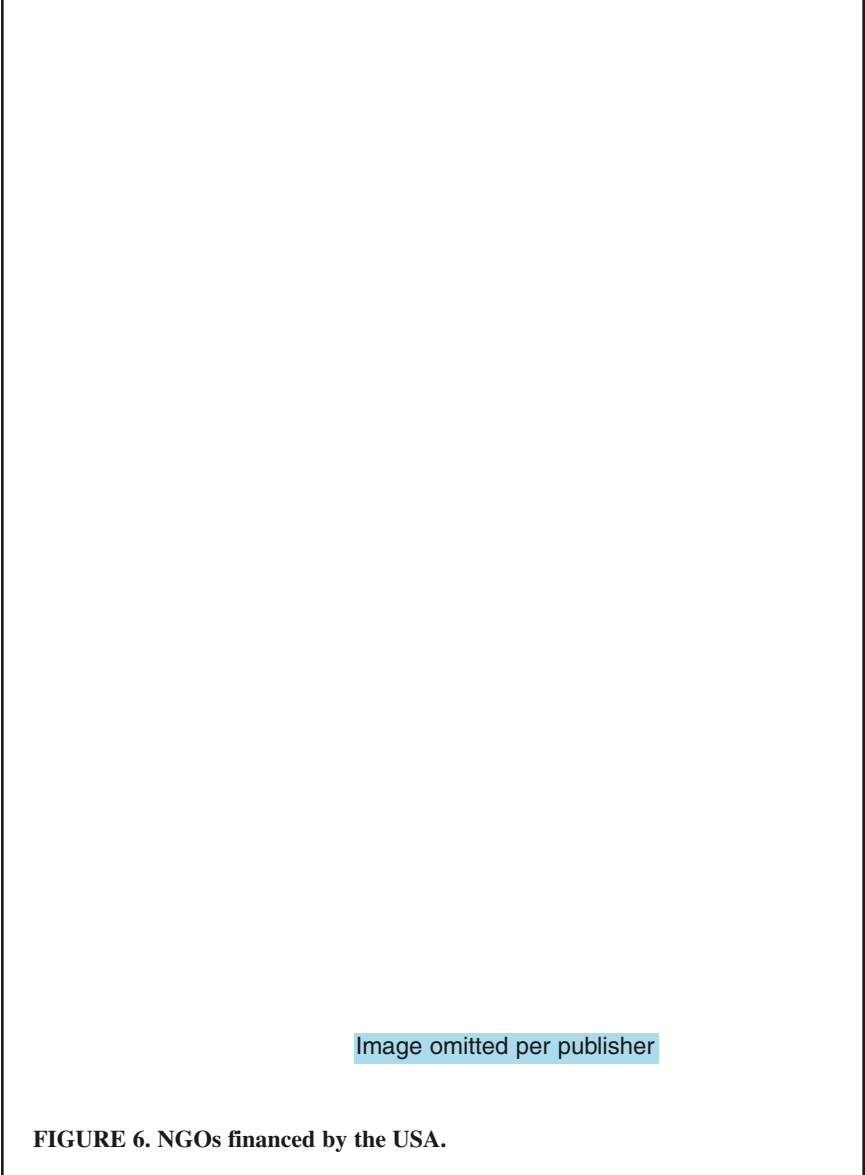


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FIGURE 6. NGOs financed by the USA.

ence” in the Ukrainian elections. Russia complained about Western interference while the West condemned Russia’s intervention.

Russia did intervene in Ukraine’s elections to a far greater extent than the West. Yet, Russians, and President Putin, did not see this as intervention as they do not see Ukraine as a foreign country. By its very definition, activities can only be condemned if they are intervention in foreign places. Russia’s

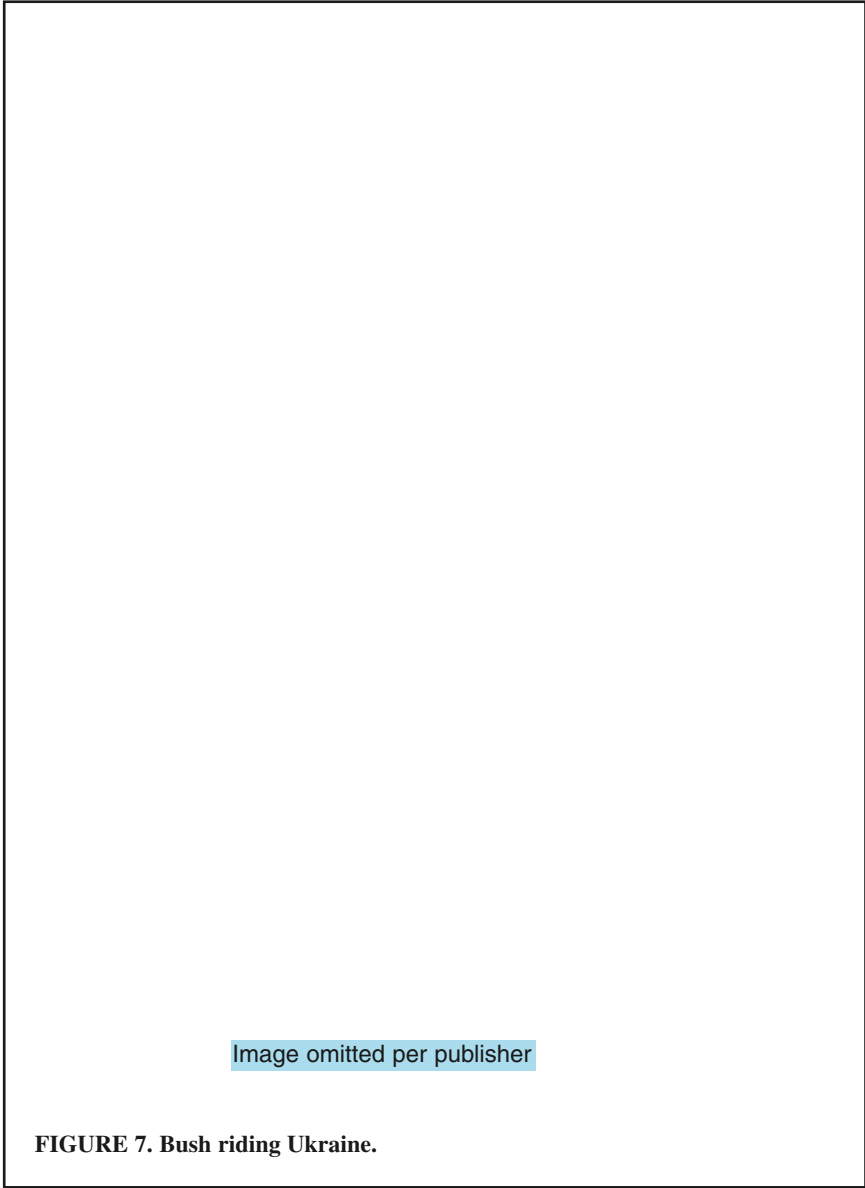


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FIGURE 7. Bush riding Ukraine.

intervention through dirty tricks and its political technologists failed to understand Ukraine in twelve key areas. One reason was the assumption that Ukraine had not changed since the 1994 elections when Kuchma came to power and, therefore, the same policies could be used in 2004 to elect Yanukovich. The twelve key areas that Russia's political technologists failed to understand Ukraine in are:



Image omitted per publisher

FIGURE 8. Are you ready for civil war?

1. *Pro-Russian Card*: Making Russian an “official language” and dual citizenship.
2. *East-West Split*: Fomenting an east-west split to show that Ukraine was two countries and that a Yushchenko victory was dangerous to national unity. State Duma speaker Boris Gryzlov said in December 2004 that Ukraine faced a simple choice: to split up or descend into civil war.

3. *Yushchenko Unelectable*: Yushchenko could never win because he was a candidate of the diaspora, a west Ukrainian nationalist only backed by rural Ukraine.

4. *Yanukovych Electable*: The candidate of the more populous and urbanized south, east and half of central Ukraine. The candidate of the majority of Orthodox believers.

5. *Pro-Russian Candidates*: “Pro-Russian” candidates inevitably win in Ukraine because the majority of Ukrainians speak Russian and they feel a close “brotherly” affinity with Russia.

6. *Authorities Never Lose Elections*: If the economy is growing, then the authorities will not lose.³⁵

“The leaders of Russia and Ukraine possess two clashing ideological views that underpin their respective statehoods.”

(Ukraine’s economy was the fastest growing in Europe in 2004.) If the authorities are proposing a successor president, they cannot lose because they have at their disposal access to state-administrative resources and the power of the incumbency.

7. *Yushchenko Has No Program*: Yushchenko’s program

was only negative as it was hostile to the authorities. There was no positive program.

8. *Loyal Security Forces*: The security forces would stay loyal to the authorities, which ruled out a Georgian-style revolution.

9. *Yanukovych Not Street Wise*: Yanukovych could counteract Yushchenko on the streets by mobilizing his supporters.

10. *Geopolitical Struggle*: The elections were dominated by a geopolitical struggle between Russia and the United States over Ukraine.

11. *Conspiracy*: Russia “lost” Ukraine, not because it misunderstood that Ukraine is not Russia, but because Yanukovych was a poor candidate and the United States successfully conspired to place Yushchenko in power. According to the Levada Center, between 49 and 59 percent of Russians believe that the United States undertook a “geo-political *spetsoperation*” to back Yushchenko.

12. *Anti-Constitutional Coup*: Yushchenko’s election was the result of a “constitutional coup,” not due to election rigging. According to Levada, only 12 percent believe that the Orange Revolution was brought on by election fraud.

Russia underestimated five key variables that worked in Yushchenko’s favor:

1. *Poor Candidate*: Yanukovych’s criminal background and regional origins (Donetsk) made him an odious candidate that would assist Yushchenko in mobilizing the Orange Revolution.

2. *Poor Geography*: Yushchenko dominated central Ukraine and the city of Kyiv. It is central Ukraine—not eastern Ukraine—that decides Ukraine’s elections.

3. *Uncooperative Left*: The Socialists backed Yushchenko in round two while the Communists stayed neutral. Yanukovych did not pick up substantial left-wing support in round two.

4. *Overplaying Abuses*: The decision to make these elections the dirtiest ever backfired. Ukrainians joined the Orange Revolution because of their disgust at the blatant fraud in round two.

5. *Poor Bribes*: Voters saw increased pensions and wages as bribes made to coincide with the elections.

Russian Policy toward the Yushchenko Presidency

The cancellation of Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's visit to Russia was overshadowed by two other visits to Moscow by Ukrainian Defense Minister Anatoliy Grytsenko and National Security and Defense Council (NRBO) secretary Petro Poroshenko. Tymoshenko continued to be *persona non grata* throughout her brief time as prime minister in 2005. Poroshenko used diplomatic language to play up positive results from both visits.³⁶ The reality is far different in seven areas where Ukraine under Yushchenko is attempting to renegotiate the parameters of Russian-Ukrainian relations.

First, what constitutes anti-Russian policies? Poroshenko was at pains in Moscow attempting to persuade his hosts that Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration and the GUAM (Georgia-Ukraine-Azerbaijan-Moldova) group are not anti-Russian. Poroshenko explained that "Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration can in no way carry an anti-Russian component."³⁷

Poroshenko is right in explaining that President Yushchenko and Tymoshenko have evolved away from Rukh's anti-Russian romantic nationalism in the early 1990s. The only high profile Rukh member in the government is Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk (who was removed under Russian pressure in October 2000 from the Yushchenko government). Russia is unlikely to believe such explanations, however, as it views Ukraine's movement into the EU and NATO as leading to a severe crisis in its national identity and a threat to its security. As an alleged "U.S. outpost in Europe," this means that "Russian national sacred places" and "its national roots" in Ukraine will be "torn away."³⁸

The leaders of Russia and Ukraine possess two clashing ideological views that underpin their respective statehoods. Russia, the only Soviet republic not to declare independence from the Soviet Union, regards the disintegration of that multinational state to be a "geopolitical catastrophe," Putin said in his 2005 state of the nation address. Meanwhile, Ukraine's statehood, as outlined in its 1996 constitution, is a major beneficiary of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Russia is also insensitive to how Ukraine sees Soviet history. In Russia, a new Jozef Stalin cult is being revived.³⁹ Ukraine sees Stalinism as having led to its own "holocaust," the 1933 artificial famine that led to millions of deaths. Russian ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin does not see this as an issue for Russia, even though his country is the successor state to the Soviet Union. Chernomyrdin recommends that Ukrainians instead blame Georgia where Stalin was born.⁴⁰

Second, Ukraine and Russia are increasingly at odds over U.S. and Western policy to Belarus and over OSCE election monitoring missions. In his April 19, 2005, state of the nation address, President Alyaksandr Lukashenka described the democratic revolutions as “sheer banditry disguised as democracy.” Visibly angry at this claim, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk praised his country’s nonviolent protests and added Ukraine’s concerns to those of the international community over human rights abuses in Belarus.⁴¹ During the Yushchenko–Bush White House press conference in April 2005, Belarus was mentioned as a potential country ripe for democratic revolution. U.S. National Security Council secretary Condoleeza Rice met seven Belarusian oppositionists at the NATO summit in Vilnius where she described Belarus as “the last dictatorship in Europe.” Ukraine therefore has similar views on Belarus as the United States and the EU. Russia, on the other hand, criticized Rice’s meeting and statements and backed Lukashenka’s regime.⁴²

Third, Ukraine is in a different camp than Russia in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It was not coincidental that on the same day as the NATO summit, Ukraine led the way in reinvigorating GUAM in Chisinau while Putin met Lukashenka in Moscow.

Fourth, nobody on the Yushchenko-Tymoshenko team is naïve enough to believe that Russia will accept the “loss” of Ukraine, as the Yushchenko victory in the 2004 elections is understood in Moscow. The editor of Russia’s *Profil* magazine pointed out, “For the Kremlin, the *hohol* (derogatory name for Ukrainians) state has become, if not the biggest nightmare out there, then definitely an obsessive one.”⁴³

Russia is currently on the defensive vis-à-vis Ukraine in the CIS and does not know how to respond to Kyiv’s desire to join NATO. “The possibility of Ukraine eventually joining NATO is of great concern to Russia. . . [because] that would spell the end of Russian dominance in the post-Soviet sphere,” Viktor Kremeniuk of the Institute USA-Canada said.⁴⁴ Ukraine intends to seek a Membership Action Plan (MAP) for NATO membership in May 2006.

Markov, one of the political technologists who worked on the Yanukovych campaign, admitted that Russia “understands we need a new policy” after its fiasco in the 2004 Ukraine elections. Two areas where Russia will operate include promoting anti-NATO sentiments inside Ukraine as Markov states, “this issue could bring Yushchenko down.⁴⁵ A second policy is to use KGB-style disinformation techniques, such as “black lists” of officials pending to be charged with crimes.⁴⁶

Fourth, Russia as a haven for Ukrainian officials charged with crimes is having a negative effect on Ukraine’s willingness to continue to play by Russia’s rules in the CIS. At the CIS summit of Interior Ministers, Ukrainian Interior Minister Yuriy Lutsenko and his delegation—all decked out in orange ties—refused to sign any documents. The reason was Russia’s official refusal to search for former head of the Directorate on State Affairs attached to the executive, Ihor Bakay, who is wanted in Ukraine on multiple criminal charges of abuse of office. Bakay was granted Russian citizenship after he fled to Russia.

Fifth, Ukraine is introducing the rule of law both in Ukraine and in its relations with Russia. Tarasiuk is demanding that corrupt activities by the Black Sea Fleet end, that it abide by previous agreements, and that it return property and

allow Ukrainian officials access to all regions of Sevastopol. When Ukraine now points to violations of agreements, Russia complains about “unfriendly acts” by Kyiv, Tarasiuk lamented. But, he warned, “agreements must be observed. This rule applies to the Russian side also.”⁴⁷

Sixth, what Russia portrayed as a Free Trade Zone in the CIS Single Economic Space (CIS SES) was, according to the Ukrainian side, actually a Customs Union. Ukraine is interested in a free trade zone but rules out joining any Customs Unions other than the EU. Both sides disagree, therefore, about the fundamental basis of even step one of the CIS SES.

Seventh, Russia is returning to its 1990s rhetoric in support of territorial claims on the Crimea port of Sevastopol. Again, the issue relates to whether Sevastopol was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR along with the Crimea in 1954. The State Duma has instructed its Committee on Constitutional Legislation and State Building to investigate the issue. Tarasiuk warned that Russia citizens agitating for separatism in Ukraine or acting as political technologists in the 2006 elections could be declared *persona non grata*. “Any official must keep within certain limits while visiting other countries,” Tarasiuk said. He went on to remind Moscow “about the limits of hospitality and the norms of international law.”⁴⁸

Russia has not reconciled itself to its humiliating defeat in last year’s Ukrainian presidential election when it threw all of its resources into supporting then Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych who was President Leonid Kuchma’s chosen successor. Russia’s strategy toward Yushchenko’s regime in Ukraine is fivefold.

1. Support for the new opposition

Yanukovych has become a frequent visitor to Moscow where he is given diplomatic and financial support. Russia is pinning its hopes on supporting two pro-Russian forces in Ukraine, Regions of Ukraine and the Communist Party, in the March 2006 parliamentary elections. Ukrainian opinion polls give Regions of Ukraine around 20 percent support, meaning it is likely to come second in next year’s parliamentary election.

The Russian State Duma voted overwhelmingly in May to request that its delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly raise the issue of political repression in Ukraine. The majority of those arrested on corruption and election fraud charges are from the Kuchma camp. This prompted a harsh rebuke from the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs who rejected claims by the former Kuchma camp that it was being politically persecuted. The rebuke reminded the Russian Duma that Russia supported election fraud and violations in the Ukrainian election, which were condemned by the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and the EU.

2. Refuge for Kuchma loyalists

Moscow has become a refuge for countless high-ranking Kuchma officials who fled Ukraine after the Orange Revolution and Yushchenko’s election, fearing their arrest on charges of corruption and election fraud. The most well-known figures include Ihor Bakay, head of a department that managed state property and a former CEO of Naftohaz Ukrainy, the state-owned gas company. Bakay has been accused by the Ukrainian Prosecutor’s office of misappropriating nearly one billion dollars. His name was placed on the Interpol wanted list.

Another important figure is former Interior Minister Mykola Bilokin. The interior minister was heavily involved in wide-ranging election fraud in the April 2004 mayoral election in Mukachevo and in the 2004 presidential election. The Interior Ministry was caught illegally placing Yushchenko under surveillance when two of its officers were arrested by Yushchenko's bodyguards in August. A major cleanup of the Interior Ministry has taken place in Trans-Carpathia, where the former regional police chief has been placed on a wanted list. The Ukrainian Prosecutors' Office and the new interior minister, Yuriy Lutsenko, have accused Bilokin of widespread abuse of state funds. This includes using state funds in the presidential election and building dacha's throughout Ukraine for the use of high ranking officers.

3. *Blocking the government*

Then deputy prime minister Tymoshenko was arrested in February 2001 when she was part of the Yushchenko reformist government. The trumped-up charges related to corruption from the 1990s when she was CEO of United Energy Systems. Tymoshenko was released after two months imprisonment, but court cases were launched against her during the following three years.

Russian President Vladimir Putin rushed to support Kuchma's attempts to imprison Tymoshenko to remove a key Yushchenko political ally. Putin instigated criminal charges against his own Ministry of Defense officials who incriminated Tymoshenko in allegedly bribing them. During the 2004 Ukrainian election, Russia increased this support by placing Tymoshenko on the Interpol wanted list. Although Tymoshenko became prime minister in February, Russia refused to take her off the Interpol wanted list, meaning she was unable to travel to Russia to undertake government duties.

4. *Dyzinformatsia*

Russian political technologists who worked for the Yanukovych election team in the 2004 election were not demoted after returning to Russia, despite their failed strategy. On the contrary, they were promoted by Putin's presidential administration. One aspect of their work that they have continued to undertake draws on KGB-style *dyzinformatsia*. In April 2005, hundreds of members of the Donetsk ruling elites received black lists by mail with their names on them. The names were ranked according to grades depending on their alleged potential threat to the Yushchenko authorities. The fake black lists were an attempt to sow fear and anger within the Donetsk elites about future arrests. Earlier that month, the head of the Donetsk regional council, Boris Kolesnykov, was arrested on extortion charges. Kolesnykov is also the Donetsk leader of the Party of Regions headed by Yanukovych.

A second *dyzinformatsia* occurred when Russian mass circulation newspapers reprinted information that came from a fake German source about Yushchenko's poisoning in September. The poison, which was confirmed in December 2004 as dioxin mixed with other poisons, was prepared in a former Soviet Moscow laboratory controlled by the FSB. The widely published fake information aimed to discredit what happened to Yushchenko as having anything to do with poisoning. Instead, it was alleged that it was an attempt to make his appearance younger that

went badly wrong by using discarded fetuses. Similar *dyzinformatsia* was released by the Kuchma camp after Yushchenko was poisoned. It then claimed that Yushchenko's disfigurement was the result of bad sushi and excessive moonshine after a dinner party in the Deputy of Security Service chairman's home.

5. Energy squeeze

Russian oil companies, who have a monopoly control over oil refineries and petrol stations in Ukraine, have a difficult relationship with the Tymoshenko government. Tymoshenko's attempts at trying to prevent Russian oil companies from raising oil prices led to a petrol shortage when they halted oil exports to Ukraine. The crisis was only overcome after Yushchenko intervened and brokered a deal with Russian oil companies.

Tymoshenko accused the Russian oil companies of attempting to sabotage her government.

Russia has also accused the Yushchenko authorities of resorting to practices prevalent in the 1990s of stealing Russian gas exported through Ukraine. Tymoshenko has countered by pointing to the

“Russia has initiated a CIS-wide condemnation of the alleged bias of OSCE election monitoring missions that regularly condemn election fraud in Russia and the CIS undertaken by authoritarian regimes.”

gas as having been stolen by the previous government and the replaced Naftohaz Ukrainy directors. After Ukraine replaced the CEO of Naftohaz Ukrainy, income from the company to the state budget quadrupled. Previously these funds were stolen and entered the shadow economy or went into offshore accounts. Naftohaz Ukrainy's cooperation with Russia's state gas monopoly, Gazprom, in Eural Trans Gas ended when Eural Trans Gas was closed down at the end of last year. No new Russian-Ukrainian joint gas venture has replaced it.

Russia has initiated a CIS-wide condemnation of the alleged bias of OSCE election monitoring missions that regularly condemn election fraud in Russia and the CIS undertaken by authoritarian regimes. These unfair election practices are never condemned by the CIS Election Observation Missions (CIS EOM) that Russia leads. Ukraine, like Georgia and Moldova, has pulled out of the CIS EOM because it was established to provide an alternative to the OSCE by whitewashing election fraud in the CIS. The CIS EOM did not see any election fraud in round two of Ukraine's 2004 election, a conclusion sharply at odds with the OSCE, Council of Europe, EU, and United States. At the same time, Russia has attempted to lobby the OSCE that Ukraine under Yushchenko is undertaking political repression against former pro-Kuchma centrists.

In May 2005, the State Duma, where Putin has a two-thirds majority, voted by an overwhelming 351 votes to instruct the Russian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) to raise the issue of the alleged infringement of democratic norms in Ukraine. The statement calls on PACE to condemn, “negative tendencies in the internal processes of Ukraine

which infringe OSCE principles.” The Russian State Duma is “deeply concerned at the numerous facts of repression of representatives of the political opposition in Ukraine by the new Ukrainian authorities.”⁴⁹

That one country should take such a deep interest in alleged political repression in a neighboring country is unusual in international affairs. This flows from Russia’s unwillingness to regard Ukraine as a truly foreign country. Russia’s interference in last year’s Ukrainian elections, which was condemned by the United States, has never been seen as interference by Moscow. To do so would acknowledge that Ukraine is part of the Far Abroad, which Ukraine’s new leaders are insisting is how their country should be now seen by Russia. Russia has difficulty even accepting that Ukraine (and Belarus) are part of the Near Abroad.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry (MZS) issued a strongly worded rebuttal that reflects the newly assertive Ukrainian foreign policy in place since Yushchenko was elected.⁵⁰ The MZS classified the State Duma statement as an unfriendly act that calls into question Russia’s sincerity in supporting democratization, institutionalizing the rule of law, and upholding human rights in Ukrainian society. The MZS turned the State Duma statement around by reminding it that many of them until recently ignored massive falsification in election fraud committed by the previous regime. Worse still, “they actively stood on the side of those in Ukraine who adopted anti-democratic practices as a norm in social life, but who today describe themselves as the ‘opposition.’ The State Duma statement twists the facts and demonstratively supports these same political forces.”⁵¹

The Russian State Duma statement also ironically condemned the alleged attempt at “establishing political and ideological control over the mass media information” and “pressure against journalists who criticise representatives of the authorities.” In this area, Russia’s double standards are even more obvious. Domestically, media freedom in Russia is far worse than in the Boris Yeltsin era, whereas in Ukraine it has greatly expanded since Yushchenko’s election. Another double standard concerns the issue of Russia’s complaints about alleged attempts to impose “ideological control over the mass media information” in Ukraine. Russian political technologist Markov has admitted that Russia was directly involved during the Kuchma era in the preparation of *temnyky* sent by the presidential administration to media outlets.

Russia placed a draft resolution condemning repression against the opposition in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan—all CIS states where “colored revolutions” have taken place—before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The head of the State Duma’s Committee on International Affairs, Kostiantyn Kosachev, explained, “We are concerned by the decisions of the Ukrainian authorities directed towards pressurizing the opposition which lost the elections and their attempts at taking revenge upon them.”⁵²

Russia’s support for the opposition in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan is no coincidence as all three have undergone revolutions that have removed pro-Russian centrists. In doing so, Russia is, like CIS EOM, supporting and intervening on behalf of fraudulent elections and authoritarian regimes. The very same elections are routinely denounced by the OSCE, Council of Europe, EU, and United States as not

having been conducted in a free and fair manner. Russia and the West therefore hold contradictory views over how to define free and fair elections.

Russian Security Council Secretary Igor Ivanov follows a similar logic to Yanukovych that does not recognize the defeat of pro-Russian centrists through democratic revolutions.⁵³ Nevertheless, he, like Yanukovych, is realistic in having to deal with the newly elected authorities. Ivanov describes all three revolutions from a legal viewpoint as having been undertaken in an “unconstitutional and non-democratic manner.”⁵⁴ Ivanov is “skeptical” that these three revolutions can be described as the “victory of democracy.” “Please explain how is it possible that democracy has triumphed if the basic principles of democracy have been infringed in the attainment of this victory?” Ivanov asks.

Yanukovych and Ivanov both adopt a position radically different to that understood in the West about the conduct of elections. Free elections, in their understanding and that of CIS EOM, are gauged by the criteria if pro-Russian centrists or neo-Soviet forces win them, regardless of the means used to attain these ends. According to them, protests against these fraudulent methods are illegitimate and should be dealt with by the use of force.

Yanukovych himself has similar views to that of Russia about his role as “head of the opposition” and the alleged U.S.-backed conspiracy that prevented him from taking power. Yanukovych admitted that he recognizes the newly elected authorities but does not accept his defeat in the 2004 elections. Yanukovych believes that in December 2004, when a repeat of round two elections was undertaken which Yushchenko won, the constitution and legislation was infringed. Despite massive evidence to the contrary, he denies that he was involved in any election fraud. Acceptance of being defeated is a prerequisite of democratic systems and the “rules of the game.”

Conclusion

Russia’s intervention in Ukraine’s elections in 1999, 2002, and 2004 increased at the same time as Putin rose to power in Russia. This coincided with a tougher Russian policy line toward the CIS. During this same period, Kuchma’s second term witnessed the entrenchment of oligarchs and authoritarianism. Russia supported these trends as it believed that Ukraine’s oligarchs, ruling elites, and Kuchma himself had reoriented toward Russia after Kuchmagate. Putin therefore hoped to solidify this reorientation through the election of Yanukovych as Kuchma’s successor.

Russia’s attempts at influencing Ukrainian elections were never understood as interference in Moscow. To have done so would have meant regarding Ukraine as a foreign country. Hence, Putin did not believe he was being contradictory when he condemned U.S. “interference” in Ukraine’s elections, as Russia understood this to be different from the policies that Russia undertook.

Ultimately, Russia’s policies failed to produce their desired outcome. In the 1999 elections, Kuchma only won because he engineered a second round where he faced Communist leader Symonenko. If he had faced Socialist leader Moroz, Kuchma’s election would have been less certain. Yushchenko’s Our Ukraine party won the 2002 elections, defeating the pro-Kuchma For a United Ukraine

party.⁵⁵ In the 2004 elections, Yushchenko won after backing from the Orange Revolution.

Russia's policy failures in Ukraine's elections showed the degree to which it was decidedly wrong in believing that Ukraine was not a foreign country. Not only did policies that worked in Russia not work inside Ukraine, but Ukraine under Kuchma had been diverging from Russia in many fundamental ways. Politics under Kuchma had become increasingly bitter because Ukraine's divergent path away from Russia had come into conflict with attempts by Ukraine's elites to move the country toward a Russian-style managed democracy that would provide a safe haven for its oligarchs in the post-Kuchma world. Of these two conflicting trends of divergence away from Russia and moves towards Russia, the election of Yushchenko will reinforce divergence rather than convergence.⁵⁶

NOTES

1. See T. Kuzio, "From Kuchma to Yushchenko. Ukraine's 2004 Presidential Elections and the Orange Revolution," *Problems of Post Communism* 52, no. 2 (March–April 2005): 29–44.

2. The head of the RFE/RL Ukrainian service, Roman Kupchinsky, had to resign and move to another RFE/RL position after the Ukrainian authorities threatened to close the Kyiv office of RFE/RL. Kupchinsky launched *RFE/RL's Organized Crime and Terrorism Watch* in December 2001.

3. *Ukrayina Moloda*, April 14, 2005.

4. A phony Web site was set up in the 1999 Russian elections for Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov and Yevgenny Primakov.

5. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 3 and 11, 2004.

6. The U.S.-based NGO Human Rights Watch issued a major study of *temnyky* in March 2003 (see <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/ukraine0303/>).

7. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 9, 2004.

8. See T. Kuzio, "Back to the USSR? Ukraine Holds Soviet-Style 'Discussion' of Political Reform," *RFE/RL Newslines*, April 28, 2003.

9. T. Kuzio, "Good News From Ukraine," *RFE/RL Poland, Belarus, Ukraine Report*, April 15, 2003, and *RFE/RL Media Matters*, April 18, 2003.

10. *Zerkalo Nedel/Tyzhnia* November 22–28, 2003.

11. See <http://www.telekritka.kiev.ua/>, March 23, 2004.

12. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 15, 2004.

13. The author is in possession of hundreds of *temnyky* provided by *Ukrayinska Pravda*.

14. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 10, 2004.

15. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 25, 2004.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 27 and June 26, 2004.

18. See the 2004 election reports at <http://www.cvu.org.ua/>.

19. *Vecherniye Vesti*, August 27–September 2, 2004.

20. See <http://www.unp-ua.org/>, August 29, 2004.

21. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, August 27, 2004.

22. See <http://www.pora.org.ua/> and <http://www.kuchmizm.info/>.

23. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, December 16, 2004, <http://www.razom.org.ua/>, December 23, 2004. A documentary on Channel Five, a Ukrainian television station sympathetic to Yushchenko, investigated who was behind these allegations. Details were aired in the weekly "Zakryta Zona" (Closed Zone) program, under the suitable title "Terrorists" (http://5tv.com.ua/pr_archiv/136/0/265/).

24. Yanukovych had two election headquarters. Serhiy Tyhipko, chairman of the

National Bank, headed the official headquarters. Deputy Prime Minister Kluyev headed the unofficial one.

25. See T. Kuzio, "Yanukovych-Gate Unfolds After Ukrainian Elections," *Jamestown Foundation, Eurasian Daily Monitor* 1, no. 1 (December 3, 2004): 39.

26. *New York Times*, December 15, 2004.

27. The posters can be viewed at <http://www2.pravda.com.ua/archive/2004/october/6/4.shtml> and <http://www.ham.com.ua/index.php?action=black>.

28. *Interfax-Ukraine*, October 7, 2004.

29. See <http://www.razom.org.ua/>, October 4, 2004.

30. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, October 6, 2004.

31. See <http://www.razom.org.ua/>, October 9, 2004.

32. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, October 5, 2004.

33. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, October 6, 2004.

34. Leonid Kuchma, *Ukrayina—Ne Rosiya* (Moscow: Vremya, 2003).

35. On Russia, see Henry E. Hale, Michael McFaul, and Timothy J. Colton, "Putin and the 'Delegative Democracy' Trap: Evidence from Russia's 2003–04 Elections," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20, no. 4 (2004): 293.

36. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 23, 2004.

37. AP, April 21, 2004.

38. *RIA Novosti*, April 19, 2004.

39. *The Guardian*, April 20, 2004.

40. *MosNews*, April 20, 2004.

41. *Interfax-Ukraine*, April 21, 2004.

42. *Washington Post*, April 21, 2004.

43. See <http://www.gazetu.ru/>, April 20, 2004.

44. *Christian Science Monitor*, April 21, 2004.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 22, 2005.

47. *Zerkalo Nedeli*, April 23–May 6, 2005.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 20, 2005.

50. See <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/information/?mfa/tit.html#2005052001/>.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 3, 2005.

53. *Strategiya Rosii*, May 2005.

54. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 4, 2005.

55. See T. Kuzio, "The 2002 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine: Democratization or Authoritarianism," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 19, no. 2 (June 2003): 24–54.

56. See T. Kuzio, "Ukraine is not Russia," *New Europe Review (Voice of America)* 2, no. 2 (2005) available at http://www.neweuropereview.com/English/Kuzio_English.cfm/.

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