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2019

Ukraine



Image courtesy of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Introduction

The fifth anniversary of Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea was marked in March 2019. "Five years after the illegal annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol by Russia the EU remains resolute in its commitment to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity", declared the High Representative on behalf of the EU. "The EU reiterates that it does not recognise and continues to condemn this violation of international law which remains a direct challenge to international security.", stated the EU leaders in the EU Council conclusions of 21 March 2019.

On 21 April 2019 the Ukrainian people are casting their ballots in the second round of the presidential elections as no candidate won an absolute majority in the first round held on 31 March 2019. The presidential race is continuing between the top two candidates: political newcomer Volodymyr Zelensky and incumbent president Petro Poroshenko.

The political situation in Ukraine is not an easy subject. The Council library has compiled a bibliography to help readers understand better the political developments in the country over the past 5 years. The list includes books, articles and papers from our [Think Tank Review](#).

Resources selected by the Council Libraries

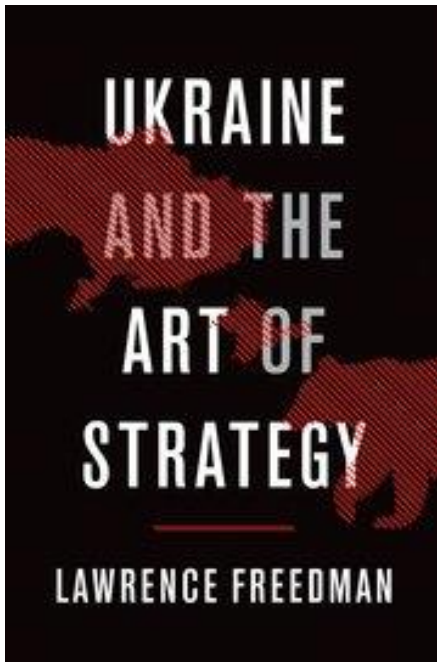
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Books



Ukraine and the art of strategy

Lawrence Freedman

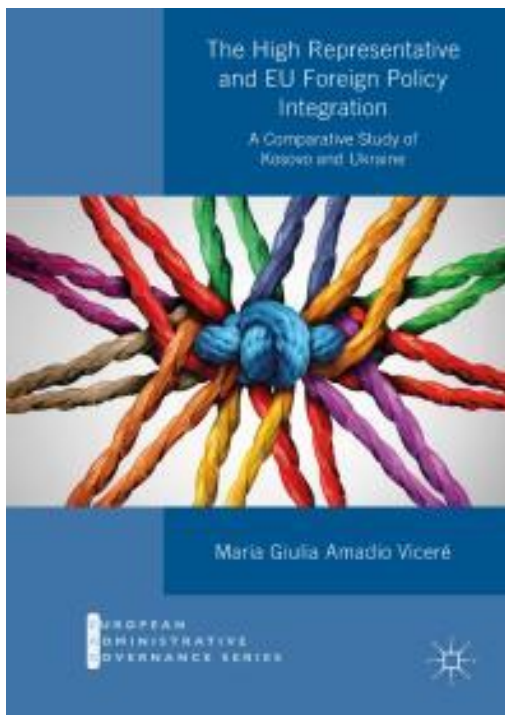
Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2019

Access via [Eureka](#)

One of the most serious crises since the end of the Cold War began with Russia's seizure and annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and subsequent 'secret' war in Eastern Ukraine. As more territory was taken from Eastern Ukraine, Western countries countered with economic sanctions directed against Russia. While the conflict did not escalate to the levels originally feared,

over time, it became apparent that President Putin had failed to affect the regime change intended in Ukraine, and Russia's economy had been damaged.

Sir Lawrence Freedman provides an account of the origins and course of the Russia-Ukraine conflict through the lens of the theory and practice of strategy. That is, he explores Putin's near, medium, and long-term strategies when he decided to initiate the conflict. How successful has he been? In contrast to many who see Putin as a master operator who has resuscitated a supine Russia against all odds, Freedman is less impressed with his strategic acumen in terms of the long-term fallout. By exploring concepts such as coercive diplomacy, limited war, escalation and information operations, Freedman brings the story up to the present, where a low-level conflict between Ukrainian and breakaway rebel forces in the east grinds on, and illuminates the external challenges faced by the governments' involved.



The High Representative and EU foreign policy integration : a comparative study of Kosovo and Ukraine

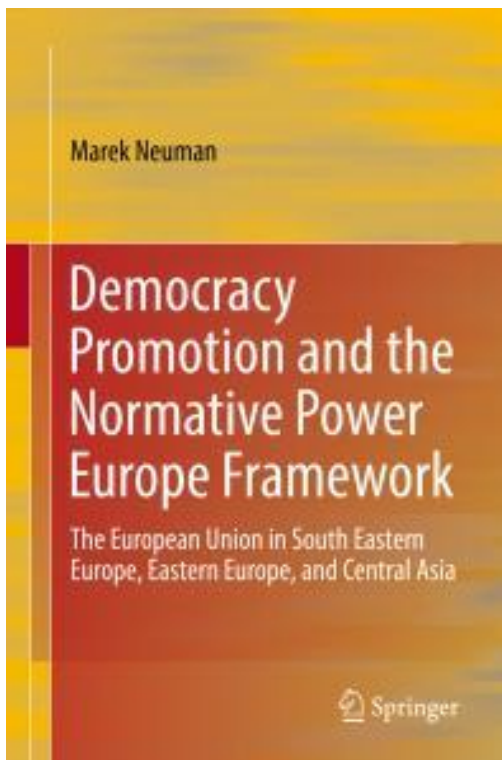
Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré

Cham : Palgrave Macmillan , 2018

Access via [Eureka](#)

Adopting a broad conceptualization of foreign and security policy, the book examines the role of the High Representative as chair of the Foreign Affairs Council and in her/his capacity as Vice President of the European Commission to assess different patterns of integrated efforts in EU foreign and

security policies. In this way, it presents a new perspective from which institutional practices in this specific area can be examined. This contribution is particularly valuable for scholars and students of EU foreign and security policy; of external relations of the EU; of international relations more in general; and of EU integration and politics. At the same time, the book contributes to the empirical understanding of two EU policies that have recently been at the centre of the debate among scholars, policy analysts and practitioners, namely the EU enlargement towards the Western Balkans and the EU Neighborhood Policy and Eastern Partnership. Chapter 6: *Who's Afraid of the Big Bear?* examines the Role of the High Representative in Ukraine.



A normative power : yes or no? The European Union, Ukraine, and the transfer of democracy

In:

Democracy promotion and the normative Power Europe framework : the European Union in South Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia

Marek Neuman

Cham : Springer , 2018

Access via [Eureka](#)

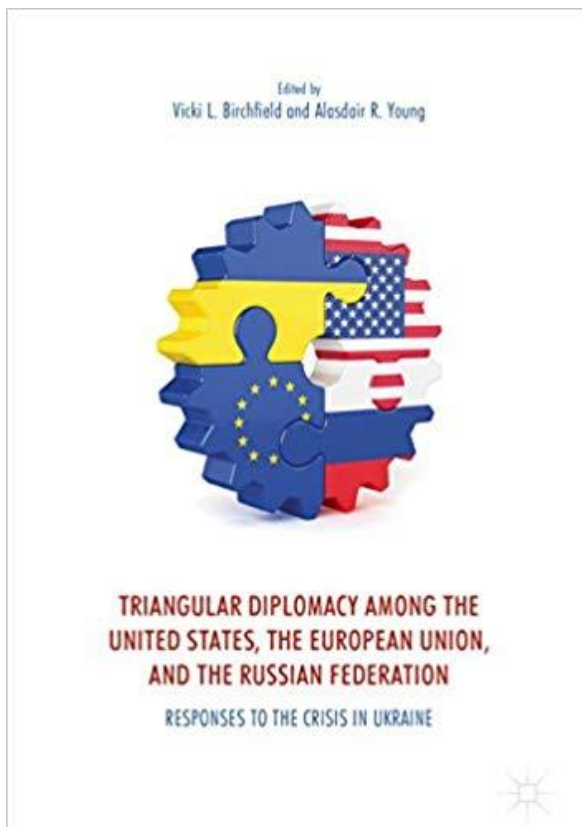
This chapter analyzes the positivist dimension of the EU as a normative power with regard to Ukraine.

Ukraine is a country that in its still relatively short

existence as an independent actor on the international stage has seen two episodes of revolutionary upheaval; both of which were fuelled by their participants' desire to establish close ties with the EU and to give a fresh impetus to the stalled process of political transformation. When judged by the goals of the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan protest movement, Ukraine appears more than willing to join the EU's proverbial 'ring of friends' and to absorb the values of democracy, respect for the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. For its part, the EU seems only too happy to engage in close cooperation with its eastern neighbour and to act as a changer of norms.

In the first section of this chapter, the European side of the story is addressed by focusing on the various agreements, policy frameworks, and supporting instruments that have been designed to guide the relations between the EU and Ukraine.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the Ukrainian side of the story and explains that a combination of elites with oligarchic tendencies and wavering foreign and security policies has stood in the way of a concerted effort to pursue a European path and to adopt the values of democracy, respect for the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms.



Triangular diplomacy among the United States, the European Union, and the Russian Federation : responses to the crisis in Ukraine

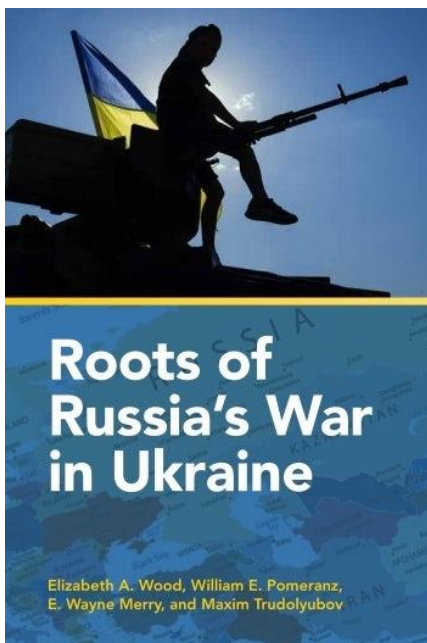
Vicki L Birchfield ; Alasdair R Young

Cham : Palgrave Macmillan US , 2017

Access via [Eureka](#)

This book examines the crisis in Ukraine through the lens of “triangular diplomacy,” which focuses on the multiple interactions among the European Union, the United States and Russia. It is explicitly comparative, considering how the US and EU responded to ostensibly the same crisis. It also adopts a

“360-degree” perspective, focusing on how the US and EU interacted in their dealings with Russia, and how Russia and Ukraine have responded. Chapters focus on each of the four protagonists – the EU, the US, Russia and Ukraine – and on key, cross-cutting aspects of the crisis – sanctions, international law and energy. The book thus contrasts a conventional, if exceptional, great power – the US – with a very non-traditional foreign policy actor – the EU.



Roots of Russia's war in Ukraine

Elizabeth A Wood; William E Pomeranz; E. Wayne Merry;
Maxim Trudolyubov

Washington, D.C. : Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2016

Available at Council Library Main Collection (103515)

Access via [Eureka](#)

In February 2014, Russia initiated a war in Ukraine, its reasons for aggression unclear. Each of this volume's authors offers a distinct interpretation of Russia's motivations, untangling the social, historical, and political factors that created this war and continually reignite its

tensions. What prompted President Vladimir Putin to send troops into Crimea? Why did the conflict spread to eastern Ukraine with Russian support? What does the war say about Russia's political, economic, and social priorities, and how does the crisis expose differences between the EU and Russia regarding international jurisdiction? Did Putin's obsession with his macho image start this war, and is it preventing its resolution? The exploration of these and other questions gives historians, political watchers, and theorists a solid grasp of the events that have destabilized the region.



"Frozen conflicts" in Europe

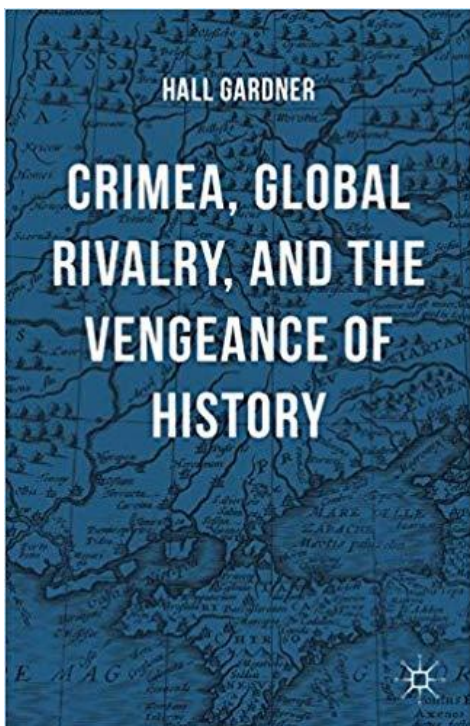
Anton Bebler

Opladen : Barbara Budrich, 2015

Available at Council Library Main Collection (103018)

Access via [Eureka](#)

Oft forgotten but simmering "frozen conflicts" continuously mark the political map of Europe. The analytical chapters and comments in this volume present different viewpoints on the cases of Northern Cyprus, Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorny Karabakh, Kosovo, and Crimea.



Crimea, global rivalry and the vengeance of history

Hall Gardner

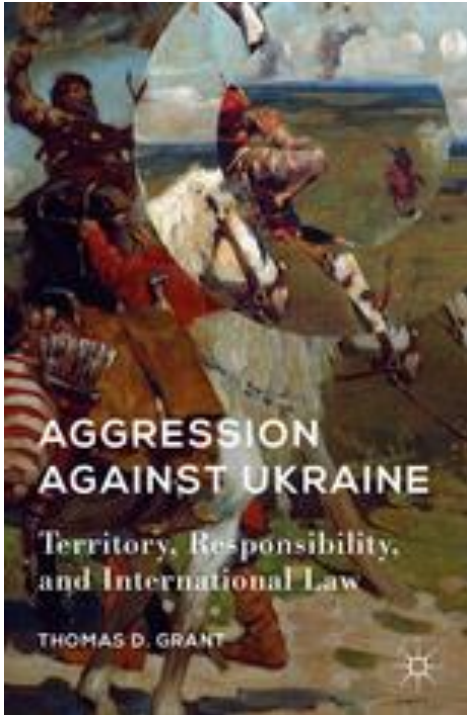
New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

Available at Council Library Main Collection (102672)

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Crimea, Global Rivalry, and the Vengeance of History critically examines the causes and consequences of Russia's annexation of Crimea and reviews differing annexations in history from the Seven Years War to today. It develops a unique comparative historical approach designed to compare

and contrast alliance formations after Soviet collapse with alliance formations in previous eras. It argues that contemporary Russia-Ukraine conflict is more reminiscent of conflict during the Bolshevik revolution than Hitler's annexation of the Sudetenland, but that a nascent Russian-Chinese alliance can be compared to that between Weimar Germany and Soviet Russia. And although the US-NATO-European-Japanese reaction is not that of 'appeasement,' it is reminiscent of French reaction to Prussian annexation of Alsace before World War I, or European reaction to Russian annexations before the Crimean War. Based on these historical analogies and others, the book urges an alternative global strategy toward both Russia and China in the effort to prevent a renewed arms race, if not global war."



Aggression against Ukraine : territory, responsibility, and international law

Thomas D Grant

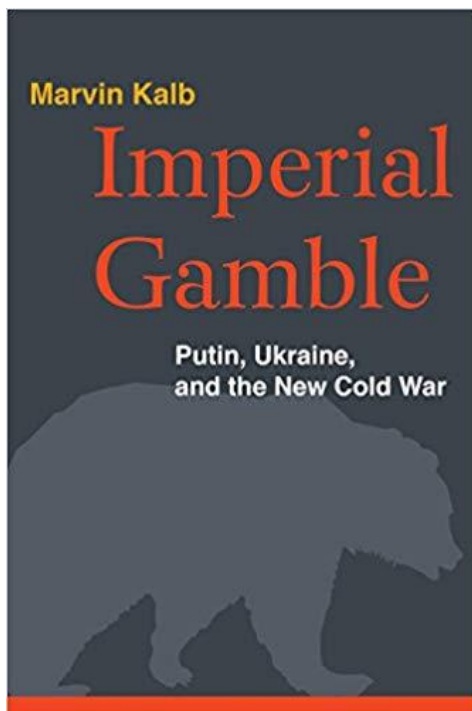
New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

Available at Council Library Main Collection (102671)

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Aggression against Ukraine marks a stunning shift. Ever since 1945 it had been understood that the borders of States must not be the object of forcible change by other States. However, Russia has now revived long-buried historical claims—and prosecutes them by dint of arms. The annexation of Crimea in

March 2014 and the subsequent armed incursions in eastern Ukraine under color of separatist movements in Donetsk and Luhansk challenge not just one State's territorial integrity, but jeopardize the general settlement on which international law for almost three generations has rested. This is the settlement which enabled human rights and modern institutions of international law to flourish. Russia's domestic rejection of human rights and its new geopolitics of territorial seizure in this light should be seen not in isolation but as connected developments—and as a challenge to international law and global public order at large. "



Imperial gamble : Putin, Ukraine, and the new cold war

Marvin L Kalb

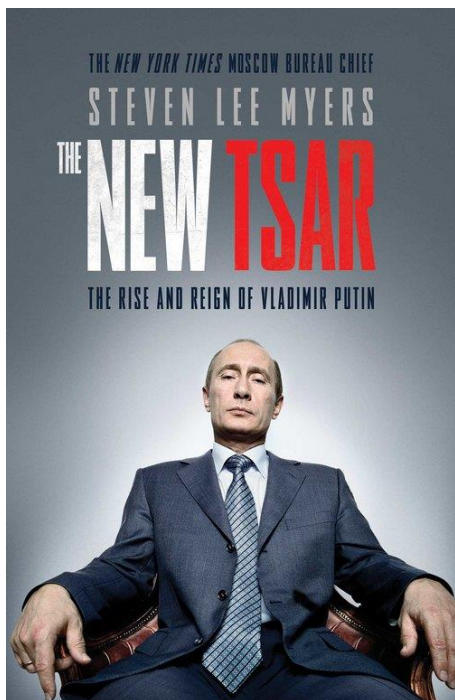
Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution, Sept. 2015

Available at Council Library Main Collection (102828)

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Marvin Kalb, former CBS Moscow bureau chief, traces how the Crimea of Catherine the Great became a global tinder box. The world was stunned when Vladimir Putin invaded and seized the seaport region of Crimea in March 2014. In the weeks that followed, separatist rebels aided by Russia took over territory in

the area surrounding Crimea in eastern Ukraine. The United States and its Western allies immediately imposed strict sanctions on Russia and have continued to tighten those sanctions. This sharp deterioration in East-West relations has raised basic questions about the policies of Vladimir Putin and the future of Russia. Marvin Kalb, who reported from Russia in the 1950s for Edward R. Murrow and served as the CBS Moscow bureau chief in the early 1960s, argues that, contrary to conventional wisdom, Putin did not "suddenly" decide to invade Crimea and then instigate a pro-Russian rebellion in eastern Ukraine. He had been waiting for the right moment in the months after Ukrainians rose up in bloody protests against the pro-Russian president in Kiev's Maidan Square. Those demonstrations had led Putin to the conclusion that Ukraine's opposition constituted an existential threat to Russia. Imperial Gamble examines how Putin reached that conclusion by taking a critical look at the recent political history of post-Soviet Russia. It also journeys deeper into the Russian past to more fully explain the roots of Russian nationalism that drives both Putin and the Russian people who support his actions in Ukraine. Kalb argues that the post-cold war world today hangs on the resolution of the Ukraine crisis. So long as it is treated as a problem to be resolved by Russia, on the one side, and the United States and Europe, on the other, it will remain a danger zone with global consequences.



The new tsar : the rise and reign of Vladimir Putin

Steven Lee Myers

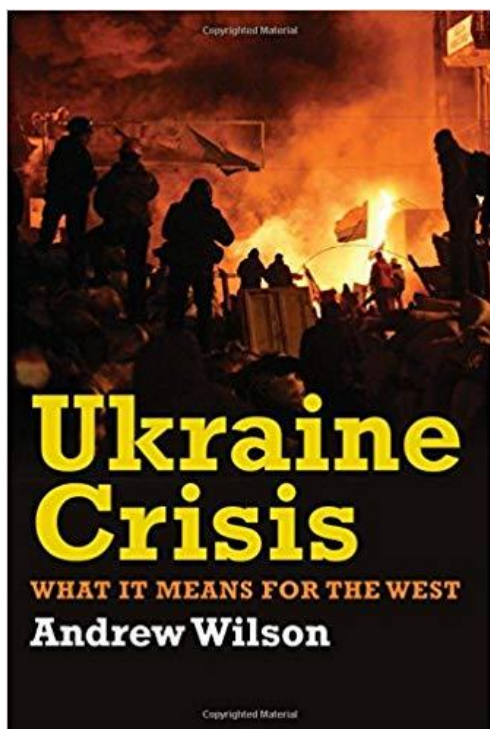
New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 2015

Available at Council Library Main Collection (102744)

Access via [Eureka](#)

"In a gripping narrative of Putin's rise to power as Russia's president, Steven Lee Myers recounts Putin's origins—from his childhood of abject poverty in Leningrad, to his ascension through the ranks of the KGB, and his eventual consolidation of rule. Along the way, world events familiar to readers,

such as September 11th and Russia's war in Georgia in 2008, as well as the 2014 annexation of Crimea and the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, are presented from never-before-seen perspectives."



Ukraine crisis : what it means for the west

Andrew Wilson

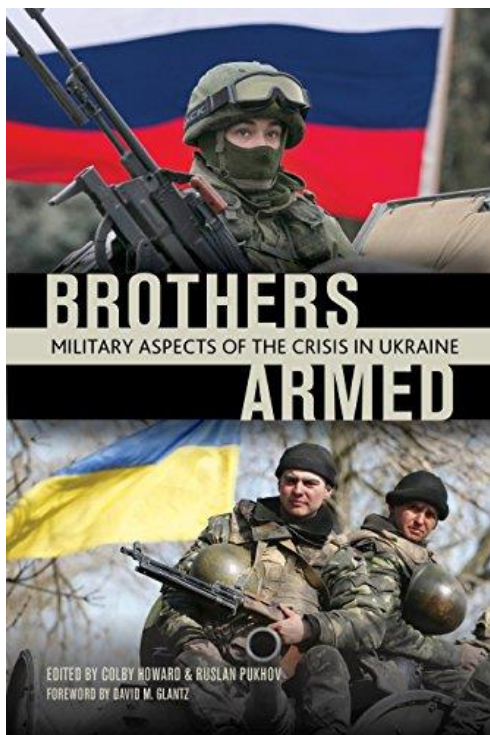
New Haven : Yale University Press, 2014

Available at Council Library Main Collection (101451)

Access vis [Eureka](#)

"The aftereffects of the February 2014 Uprising in Ukraine are still reverberating around the world. The consequences of the popular rebellion and Russian President Putin's attempt to strangle it remain uncertain. In this book, Andrew Wilson combines a spellbinding, on-the-scene account of the Kiev Uprising with a deeply informed analysis of what

recipitated the events, what has developed in subsequent months, and why the story is far from over."



Brothers armed : military aspects of the crisis in Ukraine

Colby Howard; Ruslan Pukhov

Minneapolis, MN : East View Press, 2014

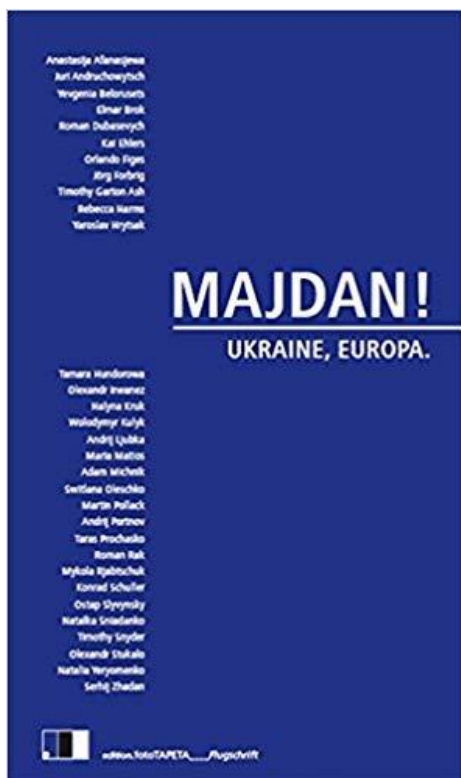
Available at Council Library Main

Collection (101441)

Access via [Eureka](#)

Brothers Armed: Military Aspects of the Crisis in Ukraine is a book from the Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST), a Moscow-based think tank focused on military and security issues. Presenting a collection of essays by leading

Russian and Ukrainian military, security and political analysts, Brothers Armed charts the history of military reform and progress in Ukraine and Russia from the collapse of the Soviet Union to the 2014 annexation of Crimea.



Majdan! : Ukraine, Europa

Claudia Dathe; Andreas Rostek

Berlin : edition.foto Tapeta, 2014

Available at Council Library Main Collection (100942)

Access via [Eureka](#)

Die Ukraine ist das einzige Land Europas, in der die Annäherung an die EU mit Blut bezahlt haben, sagen Beobachter der Proteste am Majdan-Platz in Kiew. Der Schriftsteller Juri Andruchowytch meint lapidar: „Wenn wir uns für Europa einsetzen, geht es dabei auch um unsere Souveränität. Um die Menschenrechte und um die Freiheit. Das sind nicht nur schöne Worte, das ist die nackte Wahrheit.“ Es sind Sätze wie wir sie von den

Dissidenten in Warschau, in Budapest, in Prag kennen – Sätze aus den achtziger Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts. In der Ukraine des Jahres 2014 hat es viele, sehr viele Tote gegeben, bevor ein korruptes Regime weggedrängt werden konnte in einen Kampf zwischen der Gesellschaft und Machthabern, die das Land systematisch ausgenommen haben.

In diesem Buch kommen vor allem Stimmen aus der Ukraine zu Wort, Schriftstellerinnen, Dichter, Intellektuelle. Die Zeit, um die es geht ist: jetzt. Das Buch betreibt eine Art Geschichtsschreibung des Augenblicks: Ein Land will sich befreien. Für Europa ein historischer Moment. Deshalb geht es in diesem Buch immer auch um Europa, und Autoren aus anderen europäischen Ländern beschreiben das aus ihrer Sicht. Mit Beiträgen u.a. von Juri Andruchowytch, Elmar Brok, Orlando Figes, Jörg Forbrig, Timothy Garton Ash, Rebecca Harms, Tamara Hundorowa, Halyna Kruk, Maxym Kidruk, Adam Michnik, Timothy Snyder, Martin Pollack, Natalka Sniadanko und Serhij Zhadan.



Ukraine : l'indépendance à tout prix

Annie Daubenton

Paris : Buchet/Chastel, 2014

Available at Council Library Main

Collection (100845)

Access via [Eureka](#)

Comment se déprendre de l'Union soviétique ?

Pour l'Ukraine, c'est, depuis 1990 et les premiers mouvements populaires pour l'indépendance, et jusqu'à la révolution de 2013-2014, la même question qui se pose. Écartelée entre la Russie poutinienne, qui refuse de laisser le pays prendre son envol, et l'attrait pour l'Europe, l'Ukraine ne

cesse, depuis 20 ans, de réclamer la liberté, l'indépendance et un État de droit.

Si l'Ukraine a fait figure de pionnière en matière de subversion ' révolution démocratique, révolution civile, « révolution orange » et Maïdan ', elle n'en est pas moins confrontée à toutes les difficultés propres aux pays issus de l'Union soviétique : bataille avec les structures de l'ancien régime, lutte contre la corruption, mutation dans les mentalités.

Tout l'enjeu de cet ouvrage est de comprendre ce parcours complexe de l'Ukraine depuis la chute de l'Union soviétique et d'essayer de voir, au-delà de la révolution de 2013-2014, ce qui peut advenir.



Russie/Ukraine : de la guerre à la paix?

Antoine Arjakovsky

Paris : Parole et Silence, 2014

Available at Council Library Main

Collection (100996)

Access via [Eureka](#)

Depuis le 21 novembre 2013 les événements s'enchaînent en ex-URSS à une vitesse et dans des proportions telles qu'ils menacent aujourd'hui le monde d'une nouvelle guerre froide. L'Ukraine s'est dans un premier temps révoltée contre un État corrompu et manipulé par la Russie au nom de son attachement à la civilisation européenne et aux

valeurs de justice et de dignité. La Russie, se sentant menacée, a réagi en déclenchant une guerre de l'information sans précédent, en annexant la Crimée et en déstabilisant l'Ukraine orientale. Une grande confusion règne au sein de l'opinion publique européenne. Quels sont, à la lumière de la mythologie politique, les vrais enjeux du conflit entre la Russie et l'Ukraine ? Quelles en sont les causes profondes ? Quelles conséquences cette guerre pourrait entraîner pour l'Europe et pour le monde ? Et surtout, comment retrouver le chemin de la paix ?



Euromaidan : was in der Ukraine auf dem Spiel steht

Juri Andruchowytsch

Berlin : Suhrkamp, 2014

Available at Council Library Main Collection (100939)

Access via [Eureka](#)

"Ich gehe auf den Maidan. Wer kommt mit?", schrieb der ukrainische Journalist Mustafa Najem im November 2013 auf Facebook. Aus einer lokalen Demonstration gegen die autokratische Entscheidung des Präsidenten Viktor Janukowytsch, das Assoziierungsabkommen mit der EU nicht zu unterzeichnen, wurde eine landesweite

Protestbewegung: der Euromaidan. Mehr als hundert Menschen wurden getötet, als der friedliche Protest in Gewalt umkippte.

Ein halbes Jahr später ist in der Ukraine nichts mehr, wie es war. Nach dem Sturz des korrupten Regimes nutzt der russische Präsident Vladimir Putin die Fragilität der Übergangsregierung aus und lässt seine Armee ins Nachbarland einmarschieren. Während eine reife ukrainische Zivilgesellschaft die Bildung neuer staatlicher Strukturen bewacht, schwört der Kreml die Bürger auf einen nationalistischen imperialen Kurs sein.

»Euromaidan« steht für die Hoffnung auf Erneuerung der ukrainischen Gesellschaft. Für eine nachgeholte Revolution. Für den Alptraum eines neuen Ost-West-Konflikts. Wird es sie geben: eine freie, selbstbestimmte Ukraine an der Seite Russland und Europas? Schriftsteller, viele von ihnen Aktivisten, erzählen von den aufwühlendsten Tagen ihres Lebens. Historiker, Soziologen und Politikwissenschaftler versuchen sich an einer Anatomie des Augenblicks.

Selected Articles

Integrity on trial: Judicial reform in Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova

Steven Blockmans; Nadejda Hriptievschi, Viacheslav Panasiuk; Ekaterine Zguladze. 2018

[Access online](#)

This study identifies innovations in the three associated states' justice sectors. It analyses changes to both the 'hardware' of the justice system, i.e. the constitutional and institutional frameworks, as well as the 'software', i.e. selection, appointment, promotion and disciplinary procedures and other means to fight corruption in the justice sector.

Rebuilding Ukraine: an assessment of EU assistance

Kataryna Wolczuk; Darius Žeruolis. 2018

[Access online](#)

The challenge of transforming Ukrainian institutions requires a smarter, more flexible and more differentiated approach to using EU assistance for individual projects.

EU-Russia relations in the new Putin era: not much light at the end of the tunnel

András Ràcz; Kristi Raik. 2018

[Access online](#)

This report analyses the ramifications of and short-to-medium-term prospects for relations between the EU and Russia around three main arguments: first, the views of the EU and Russia on the international and European security order, second, the disagreements in the conflict over Ukraine, and third, the economic ties between Europe and Russia.

Ukraine and its neighbors: analysis of regional trends

2018

[Access online](#)

The crisis of the European integration project, in conjunction with the aggressive revisionist policies of Russia, has badly affected the situation in Eastern Europe. Historically, the region is predisposed to irredentism, ethnic nationalism, conflicts between neighbors and suspicious attitudes towards the great powers, culminating in the influence of contradictory

tendencies.

Deepening EU-Ukrainian relations: what, why and how?

Michael Emerson; Denis Cenuşa. 2018

[Access online](#)

For Ukraine, the signing of the Agreement in 2014 was an act of strategic geo-political significance. Emblematic of the struggle to replace the Yanukovych regime at home and to resist the attempt by Russia to deny its 'European choice', the Agreement is a defiant statement of Ukraine's determination to become an independent democratic state. This book adds new value in charting Ukraine's progress in putting the Agreement into effect.

"Nobody wants us": the alienated civilians of Eastern Ukraine

2018

Four years after Kremlin-backed armed groups seized parts of Ukraine's eastern region of Donbas, the peace process has stalled and the conflict has largely faded from global headlines. Yet Ukrainians on both sides of the Donbas front lines face a humanitarian crisis and a growing sense of abandonment by both Kiev and Moscow.

The United States, Russia, and Europe in 2018: chipping away at four Gordian knots

Andrey Kortunov, Olga Oliker. 2018

In October 2018, a select group of Russian and American experts met to discuss four topics central to U.S.-Russian relations: the conflict in Ukraine, the future of the European security order, the war in Syria, and the question of interference in other states' political processes. Their goal was to identify the positions of stakeholders with an eye to defining the possibilities for future negotiations and paths out of conflict.

Supporting political stability by strengthening local government

Lily Salloum Lindegaard; Neil Anthony Webster. 2018

The government that followed the 2014 Maidan revolution in Ukraine has pushed a decentralisation agenda. After decades of Soviet style top-down governance, the status and role of local governments has been pushed to the fore. If implemented successfully, it could increase local development and political engagement, ultimately contributing to increased political stability in Ukraine and Europe. Yet the significance of decentralization reforms is often lost in the noise surrounding Crimea, the secessionist conflict in the east, and the political power struggles in Kiev.

Trust and decision-making in times of crisis : the EU's response to the events in Ukraine

Michal Naturski ; Karolina Pomorska. 2017

[Access online](#)

It is a common assumption that through decades of co-operation there has been an emergence of trust between the Member States of the European Union. Yet, we have little evidence about the nature of trust and its implications for decision-making, in particular in times of crisis. Hence, our article's central question: how does trust matter in the process of decision-making during crisis? Our argument is that uncertainty during the crisis enabled trust-building between the actors: Member States and European institutions. In the case of the Ukrainian crisis, this happened in parallel to the decreasing levels of trust in EU–Russia relations. Consequently, the EU was able to agree and implement the instruments of coercive power. To illustrate our argument, we look at the adoption of EU sanctions in reaction to the annexation of Crimea, the downing of the Malaysian Airlines MH17 plane and the war in Donbas.

New "borders" in Eastern Europe : Ukraine since the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of the conflict in the Donbass

Gabriele Baumann ; Moritz Junginger; Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. 2017

[Access online](#)

The principle of border inviolability within Europe was put into question in 2014 with the Russian annexation of Crimea and the breakout of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. These events created two new "borders" in Eastern Europe: one de-facto national border in the case of Crimea and a frozen frontline in the case of the occupied territories in the Donbas.

Both came into being in contravention of international law and are negatively impacting people in Ukraine.

Ukraine 'experts' in the West and Putin's military aggression : a new academic 'orientalism'?

Taras Kuzio ; Center for Transatlantic Relations.; Cicero Foundation. 2017

[Access online](#)

The author examines the academic misconceptions among scholarly and think tank papers in the field of Putin's military aggression against Ukraine and the ensuing crisis. He argues that many of these articles have been written using orientalist stereotypes of Russia, Ukraine and the Crimea that have deep roots in Western academia.

Arming Ukraine : capability requirements - a view from Kyiv

Igor Fedyk ; Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuuringute Keskus. 2017

[Access online](#)

This paper aims to highlight Ukraine's needs for international military-technical aid. It does so from three angles: first, it outlines officially stated needs (the "top down" statement of requirements); then it compares this with the needs identified on the ground in the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) area (the requirement as seen "bottom-up"); finally, it gives an expert assessment (an "outside-in" perspective) of the spectrum of needs and priorities. It also considers whether Ukraine is ready to actually absorb and use such aid effectively.

Fog of falsehood : Russian strategy of deception and the conflict in Ukraine

Katri Pynnöniemi ; András Rácz; Ulkopoliittinen instituutti. 2016

[Access online](#)

This report analyses Russian propaganda and disinformation – here collectively called strategic deception – concerning the conflict in Ukraine. The strategic deception is not exclusively a Russian term, but it does capture what the authors think is an essential feature of the current Russian foreign and security policy. It is driven by attempts to put the adversary into a defensive posture and off balance, and thus, to create conditions for surprise.

A people's army : civil society as a security actor in post-Maidan Ukraine

Rosaria Puglisi ; Istituto Affari Internazionali. 2015

[Access online](#)

The paper argues the large-scale mobilisation of Ukrainian society is the most significant legacy of Euromaidan and its tragic aftermath. Civil society intervened to fill the gap created by the state's failure turning de facto into a security actor. Hence, post-Maidan civil society has displayed the potential to act as a "change agent" determined to induce substantial reforms in Ukraine.

Heroes or villains? : Volunteer battalions in post-Maidan Ukraine

Rosaria Puglisi ; Istituto Affari Internazionali. 2015

[Access online](#)

The war in Eastern Ukraine started unexpectedly in a moment when the Ukrainian army was not combat ready. The new government had to employ battalions made of self defence groups of the Maidan. A lot has been written about them, but mainly in propaganda terms. This article describes their role, composition, how they are perceived by the public opinion, their political activism and concludes with some reform proposals.

The future of EU-Ukraine relations : four scenarios

Olga Averina ; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. 2014

[Access online](#)

The authors sketch four scenarios on the state of EU-Ukraine Relations in the year 2030. Two scenarios describe a process of Ukraine moving towards the EU: the "Highway"-Scenario, in which Ukraine is a full member, and the "Speed-limit Road", in which Ukraine is a "bridge" between the EU and Russia. The other two scenarios see Ukraine either in an unchanged position or in a stronger involvement in the Eurasian space.

Tracing the origins of the Ukraine crisis : should the EU share the blame?

Alyona Getmanchuk ; Thanos Dokos; Europe's World.; Інститут Світової Політики.; Ελληνικό Ίδρυμα Ευρωπαϊκής και Εξωτερικής Πολιτικής. 2014

[Access online](#)

A paper by a Ukrainian author, arguing that when the EU made it clear that it was willing to sign an Association Agreement with Ukraine, Brussels took at least partial responsibility for developments in the country. Responsibility is not of course the same as blame, and the EU can be blamed for only one thing; it overestimated the European aspirations of the Ukrainian government at that time, and underestimated the anti-European Russian authorities' plans for Ukraine.

Ukraine : la crise commence

Corentin Brustlein; Dominique David; Étienne de Durand; Thomas Gomart; Tatiana Kastouéva-Jean; Laurence Nardon; Vivien Pertusot; Institut français des relations internationales. 2014

[Access online](#)

The authors analyse the recent events in Ukraine arguing that this is just the beginning. The disappearance of Ukraine as a sovereign entity would be a thunderclap in Europe as it would be very difficult to manage and might trigger a possibility of a long civil war. If Ukraine survives it will be with the Crimean region in the best case under the supervision of an international agreement, and in the worst under direct supervision of Moscow.

Framing the international context of the Ukrainian crisis

Marco Giuli ; Madariaga - College of Europe Foundation. 2014

[Access online](#)

This paper focuses on specific aspects of the current crisis in Ukraine, taking into consideration the positions of the major players in the international system. It argues that Russian assertiveness is a sign of extreme weakness which is not in the interest of the US, whilst the approach of European countries risks becoming a factor of significant instability within Ukraine.

Conflict in the Ukraine : a case study of IHS capability

James Green ; Reed Foster; IHS Aerospace, Defense and Security.; IHS Workshop IHS "Using OSINT to Analyse Today's Security Landscape" (2014 : Brussels) 2014

[Access online](#)

The Ukrainian government will struggle to successfully suppress attempts at secessionism

in eastern Ukraine and preserve the country's territorial integrity. Avoiding such a scenario would require substantial decentralisation of power and guarantees of cultural autonomy to predominantly Russian speaking eastern and southern Ukraine. Should the government succeed in staving off secessionism and preventing a Russian military intervention, international loans that are expected to come in over the next one to two years are likely to be sufficient to prevent a sovereign default and collapse of the country's financial sector. Nevertheless, risks of a Russian military intervention will remain acute until at least June 2014. Even if a Russian intervention is not triggered by the crisis in eastern Ukraine, Russia is likely to continue to maintain its troop levels close to Ukraine's borders as a means of applying pressure and to offer a contingency in the event that it wishes to launch a military intervention.

Crise en Ukraine : un regard intérieur

Oleg Grytsaienko ; Institut français des relations internationales. 2014

[Access online](#)

This paper by former Ukraine diplomat Grytsaienko examines the Ukraine crisis from an insider's perspective, and challenges the current popular view of a country divided between a pro-Ukrainian Centre and West, and a pro-Russian South-East. This view, he says, will become a relic of the past, as the range of political opinions in the regions will become more complicated. We should expect the emergence of Poroshenko's own party, and the United Opposition will certainly be split between a pragmatic wing supportive of Poroshenko, and a populist wing that remains loyal to Tymoshenko, the author predicts. This shift could lead to further political destabilisation. [FR]

The crisis in Ukraine : an insider's view

Oleg Grytsaienko ; Institut français des relations internationales. 2014

[Access online](#)

This paper by former Ukraine diplomat Grytsaienko examines the Ukraine crisis from an insider's perspective, and challenges the current popular view of a country divided between a pro-Ukrainian Centre and West, and a pro-Russian South-East. This view, he says, will become a relic of the past, as the range of political opinions in the regions will become more complicated. We should expect the emergence of Poroshenko's own party, and the United Opposition will certainly be split between a pragmatic wing supportive of

Poroshenko, and a populist wing that remains loyal to Tymoshenko, the author predicts. This shift could lead to further political destabilisation.

Eastern Ukraine : a dangerous winter

International Crisis Group. 2014

[Access online](#)

Winter in Ukraine is injecting further uncertainty into an already volatile conflict. After well over 5000 deaths and eight months of war, eastern Ukraine – particularly the separatist-held parts of Donetsk and Luhansk – now runs the risk of a humanitarian crisis, warns the ICG.

Ukraine : running out of time

International Crisis Group. 2014

[Access online](#)

This report examines the interim government as it scrambles to find its footing in a dangerous and confusing environment. It looks at pro-Russian unrest in the South East, the actions of Ukrainian far-right groups and Russian and Western policies toward Ukraine.

What do the Maidan protests tell us about Ukraine? : Diagnosis and prospects for Ukrainian politics

Wojciech Konończuk ; Tadeusz A Olszański; Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich. 2014

[Access online](#)

As argued by the authors, Maidan should be seen as the first clear manifestation of a new generation of Ukrainians - raised in an independent Ukraine, well-educated and familiar with new social media, but nonetheless seeking to ground themselves in national tradition. As a consequence of the radicalisation and escalation of the protests following 19 January, the political opposition has lost a significant proportion of the control.

Aggression in Ukraine : what consequences await its architects?

Marius Laurinavičius ; Rytų Europos studijų centras. 2014

[Access online](#)

A short article in a series on domestic political dynamics behind Russia's attitude towards Ukraine. (Russian and other languages)

What will determine Ukraine's future scenarios?

Marius Laurinavičius ; Rytų Europos studijų centras. 2014

[Access online](#)

The author gives an outlook on the future of Ukraine by pointing out its most important determinants, namely Russia's projected model of Ukraine, Russia's possible role as a veto player in questions of EU and NATO expansion into Eastern Europe, the Ukrainian domestic structure of politics and economics, as well as Ukraine's economic dependence on Russia. The analysis of these factors leads to different scenarios.

Inside Ukraine

Vira Nanivska; Iaroslav Kovalchuk; Vasyl Filipchuk; Olena Zakharova; Volodymyr Prytula; Vasyl Povoroznyk; Svitlana Mizina; Anatoliy Oktiysiuk; Oleksiy Obolenskiy; Svitlana Sudak; Міжнародний центр перспективних досліджень. 2014

[Access online](#)

This publication by the Ukrainian International Centre for Policy Studies reviews the political competition, the economic situation and the government policy in Ukraine; it includes a chapter titled "who will coordinate European integration in Ukraine?". (Russian)

Civic awakening : the impact of Euromaidan on Ukraine's politics and society

Olesia Ogryzko ; Kateryna Pishchikova; Fundación para las relaciones internacionales y el diálogo exterior. 2014

[Access online](#)

The MH17 air-crash disaster of July 17 is likely to have a severe impact on the development of the Donbas conflict in Ukraine as well as on EU-Russia relations. Written before the tragedy, this working paper argues that the 'Euromaidan' protests, that occurred between December 2013 and February 2014, have provoked two fundamental changes that give grounds for cautious optimism about Ukraine's incipient transition to democracy. First, after more than two decades of civic apathy and low impact, Ukrainian civil society

seems to be on the rise. Second, state-society relations are being reconfigured, with citizens demanding greater oversight of and accountability from state institutions, and civic activists pushing for a greater role in policy-making. These new societal and political trends should be further supported by the EU.

Not another Transnistria : how sustainable is separatism in Eastern Ukraine?

András Rácz ; Arkady Moshes; Ulkopoliittinen instituutti. 2014

[Access online](#)

The situation in Eastern Ukraine is often compared with that of Transnistria, the separatist region of Moldova. However, the two cases differ for a number of reasons, all of which will make the "Novorossiia" project much harder for Russia to sustain than Transnistria, according to this Finnish Institute of International Affairs paper.

Die Ukraine-Krise : die Dimension der paneuropäischen Sicherheitskooperation

Wolfgang Richter ; Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. 2014

[Access online](#)

The author argues that the Ukraine crisis cannot be explained merely by Russian neo-Soviet revisionism, as Russia is in defence against a "western expansion strategy", which threatens Russian security interests. The step backwards into a bipolar confrontation in Europe could be prevented by a rejuvenation of the pan-European security cooperation instruments established in the 1990s.

What will happen with Eastern Ukraine?

Andrew Wilson ; European Council on Foreign Relations. 2014

[Access online](#)

Europe needs a clearer and more unified strategy for a diplomatic settlement if Ukraine is to avoid becoming a frozen conflict. According to this European Council on Foreign Relations paper, the EU should aim at the return of Donbas to Ukraine by implementation of the Minsk agreements; the EU can help prevent Moscow controlling Kyiv's geopolitical

choices by converting Russia's pain from sanctions into a tool for diplomacy.

Ukraine is not alone : how the world supports Ukrainians in countering Russia's aggression

Інститут Світової Політики. 2014

[Access online](#)

The Institute of World Policy has estimated the real amount of aid provided to Ukraine by the international community. Results of the research displayed that the world supports Ukraine not only with declarations and statements, but also with real actions, providing consultants, humanitarian aid and bulletproof vests. (In Ukrainian and English)