

**OŚRODEK STUDIÓW WSCHODNICH**  
Centre for Eastern Studies

**THE ORANGE  
RIBBON**

**A calendar of the  
political crisis in Ukraine  
autumn 2004**

compiled by Wojciech Stanisławski

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*In late autumn 2004, orange ribbons, scarves and kerchiefs became popular clothing accessories not only in Ukraine but also abroad. They expressed solidarity with the Ukrainians protesting against electoral fraud, especially those who stayed in Kiev's main square, Maidan Nezalezhnosti, defying freezing temperatures. Outside Ukraine, orange ribbons were seen most frequently in the streets of Polish cities. This special gesture of support for our Eastern neighbours has brought both nations closer together and created a unique atmosphere in which Polish diplomats acting together with others from the EU, as well as Polish politicians, NGOs and the media, could help to solve the political crisis in Ukraine. This is why the present paper, which aims to provide an chronological description of the events in Ukraine from Warsaw's perspective, is entitled "The Orange Ribbon."*

*The present document was prepared by the Centre for Eastern Studies which, as a state-run analytic institute, was directly involved in supporting the efforts of the Polish government and EU diplomats aimed at ending the political crisis in Ukraine. The impulse to start works on a timeline came from the Polish Foreign Minister Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, who suggested that it was necessary to prepare a thorough study of the EU's involvement in the orange revolution, during which for the first time in its history, Ukrainian society expressed its adherence to European values so vocally, and the enlarged Union faced the first major challenge of its eastern policy.*

*The timeline is based on CES materials, including the daily news service (Wiadomości OSW) and a special Ukrainian service made available to the Polish authorities in November and December 2004. CES experts prepared the latter service on the basis of their monitoring of Ukrainian and foreign electronic media, the Internet and the press. In addition, they also used the PAP foreign services and reports by journalists from major Polish dailies (principally Rzeczpospolita and Gazeta Wyborcza) and weeklies (Tygodnik Powszechny, Polityka, Wprost, Newsweek). Talks with Polish diplomats and experts directly involved in the events in Ukraine also made a particularly important contribution to the present paper.*

*It has been a year since the events described in "The Orange Ribbon" took place. Meanwhile, the memories of the protest campaign in Ukraine have faded, and the atmosphere of hope and power which prevailed in the Maidan has waned. The new ruling elite led by President Viktor Yushchenko, which came to power as a result of the protests, has begun to quarrel and divide. It has lost a lot of the support given it by the Ukrainian public and the trust that the international community had*

*put in it. No major state reforms have yet been launched in Ukraine which could meet the hopes kindled by the orange revolution. However, the most important effects of the turbulent events of autumn 2004 remain and appear to be permanent. People in Ukraine are no longer frightened, and now openly speak about their problems and expectations; Ukraine has made its mark and built its position among European states. Following last year's events, it is now impossible to omit Ukraine from debates on the European Union's eastern policy or from most plans relating to the Community's external relations, both in terms of enlargement and major security questions.*

**Jacek Cichocki**

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## 19–31 OCTOBER

# TWO OUT OF FOURTEEN

### Tuesday 19 October\*

■ MPs of the Ukrainian Parliament appeal to the candidates, electoral commissions and other state and local authorities for a free and democratic election, and to the citizens to make a free and well-thought out choice. Pro-presidential MPs boycott the vote, and appeal for the parliamentary sessions to be suspended until the election finishes, claiming the parliament's rostrum has been used for pre-election agitation.

■ *The Washington Post* notes that the Russian president is pumping money into Ukraine, and openly supports the autocratic candidate in the presidential election there on 31 October. (...) Before the year's end, Putin may rule a real empire, when sixty million Europeans who have become citizens of independent states since 1991 realise they are being ruled by the Kremlin again.

### Wednesday, 20 October

■ It is reported in Russia that President Vladimir Putin intends to come to Kiev on 28 October for a military parade to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Ukraine's liberation. The Deputy Chairman of the Union of Russian Ukrainians, Valery Semenenko, states that President Putin's visit could affect the course of the election campaign; he dissociates himself from the resolutions of the recent convention of Russian Ukrainians held in Moscow, during which support was pledged to Viktor Yanukovych, and protests were made against the opening of a large number of polling stations in Russia, which could be used to forge the election results.

■ The Mariupol airport refuses approach clearance for the plane which Yushchenko is using to fly to a meeting with voters. The candidate lands in Donetsk, and takes a taxi to get to the electoral meeting. ■ Several thousand students protest in Lviv at intensifying repressions of the youth organisation

\*Each daily description in this calendar has been divided into two parts, one covering events in Ukraine, and the other consisting of reports on foreign reactions, where Russia's reactions are separate from the others, and information concerning Poland is written in bold typeface.

Pora. ■ Yuri Potykan, the chief of one of Yushchenko's regional teams, is detained in Kharkiv, as explosive materials have allegedly been found in his car. ■ According to Channel 5 television station, the only one to support Yushchenko, the militia has arrested 15 Pora activists on various pretexts over the last few days, explaining that they resemble wanted thieves, document forgers and rapists. ■ Railway ticket offices in Trans-Carpathia and several other Ukrainian regions refuse to sell tickets for trains going to Kiev on 22 and 23 October, reportedly due to the computer system being blocked; thousands of oppositionists willing to take part in the "Power of the Nation" demonstration go to the capital by minibuses, the so-called *marshrutki*.

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■ *The candidate who wins the presidential election in Ukraine will have to adjust his programme to a great extent to become a "man in the middle," both in domestic and foreign policy, declares Gleb Pavlovsky, a Russian political scientist linked to the Kremlin.*

■ Cornelius Ochmann, an Eastern European expert from the German Bertelsmann Foundation, says that if the events in Ukraine develop according to Russia's wishes, it cannot be ruled out that the three Slavic countries, Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, will form a political union in the future together with Kazakhstan; he describes Poland's previous policy towards Ukraine as "very constructive," and states that as regards Ukrainian and Eastern European affairs, Poles and Germans have a lot more in common that they do with the British or French.

■ **Polish members of the European Parliament hold a press conference in Brussels to explain the situation in Ukraine after meetings with the election teams of the two principal candidates in the presidential election. According to the Polish delegation, the pro-European option is an obvious choice for the Ukrainian elite, who however think that following its enlargement, the European Union has failed to give Ukraine a clear sign for integration, says Piotr Pinior. The 15-year perspective for Ukraine to join the EU is definitely too long, adds Janusz Onyszkiewicz. We must take political initiatives to foster closer relations between the EU and the Eastern European countries, in order to prevent the emergence of a new velvet curtain, this time between the EU and the Eastern Europe, Pinior says in summary.**

## Thursday, 21 October

■ During a meeting with foreign diplomats in Kiev, Viktor Yushchenko accuses the authorities of making preparations to forge the election results. *Don't play the game of starting a fire, because it will get out of your control. The Ukrainian voter today is different than 10 years ago*, he warns. On the same afternoon, air traffic controllers at the Kriviy Rig airport repeat the trick played by their colleagues in Mariupol the previous day; Yushchenko goes to the meeting by car.

■ Oleksandr Omelchenko, Mayor of Kiev, who is also one of the candidates in the presidential election, promises that if mass demonstrations on 1 November threaten to become disturbances to public order, a state of emergency may be announced in the capital city.

■ As a result of a civil action brought against the owner of the station, the court seizes the bank accounts of Channel 5, the only independent television station which covers the whole country. Channel 5's licence for broadcasting in Kiev is challenged but not withdrawn; the station continues broadcasting.

## Friday, 22 October

■ The General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine closes the investigation into the already widely publicised matter of Viktor Yushchenko's illness. According to the chief of the Prosecutor's Office's press office, Serhiy Rudenko, a test by medical experts has not revealed the presence of any toxic substances in the opposition candidate's body, nor has the investigation found any evidence to prove that Yushchenko was deliberately poisoned or that biological weapons were used against him. ■ The Prosecutor's Office appeals to students to refrain from participating in street demonstrations, which "disturb public peace and cause destabilisation," and are led by "criminals from the youth organisation Pora."

■ 15,000 soldiers of the Interior Ministry troops are deployed to the holiday resorts near Kiev; rumours are spread that they are equipped with electric shock truncheons, tear-gas, stun and smoke grenades. ■ The Our Ukraine opposition bloc claims that Leonid Kuchma's team is ready to use force, including firearms, against people who take part in pre-election street demonstrations.

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■ **The Polish Sejm passes a resolution appealing to the Ukrainian authorities to maintain all democratic standards during the presidential election,**



**emphasising that free and fair elections are the key element of a democratic order in a state of law, and expresses its deep respect to the Ukrainian people for making efforts to reinforce the system governed by democratic principles and the rule of law in Ukraine; and gives its assurance that Poland, using its own rich experience in this field, wishes to support them. 330 MPs vote for this resolution and 12 against it.**

## **Saturday, 23 October**

■ More than 100,000 people take part in a demonstration of support for Viktor Yushchenko. Before noon, two columns of demonstrators start their march from the centre of Kiev; at 2 P.M. they reach Lesia Ukrainka square, where the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) office is located; it is guarded by armoured personnel carriers at the local authorities' order. The candidate says in his speech that unless the authorities forge the results, he will win the election, and asks for any provocation to be ignored.

■ Agents provocateurs, who appear to have militia IDs upon their clothing, break windows of the CEC's offices. Plain-clothes militiamen are part of the group of assailants, who attack opposition activists with sticks and knives in front of the CEC in the evening. Approximately half an hour later, Yushchenko supporters force their way into the Commission's building and halt its session until midnight. Thus the resolution by the Central Electoral Commission to open an additional 45 polling stations in Russia (and not over 400 as planned before) is passed after the due deadline.

## **Sunday, 24 October**

■ The mayor of Kiev, a candidate in the election, states that he intends to ban further opposition demonstrations in the city. ■ In the afternoon, nearly two hundred journalists protest in Kiev and Lviv against the threat of repression against independent television Channel 5, shouting, *Keep your hands off Channel 5, the only one that doesn't lie.* ■ The militia searches the offices of the opposition and non-governmental organisations looking for arms, explosives and drugs.

## Monday, 25 October

- The President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma cancels both his visit to Poland and his meeting with the President of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski scheduled for that day, due to the rise in tension in Ukraine's domestic situation. He also appeals to all political forces in Ukraine to refrain from making any attempts to destabilise the country, and he states during his meeting with the heads of law enforcement agencies and local administrations that the election will be a "test of maturity" for every citizen.
- The Minister of Defence Oleksandr Kuzmuk declares that the Ukrainian army high command will do its best to conduct the election within the army fairly and without exerting any pressure, and denies that the troops taking part in the victory parade could be used for a resolution by force of arms.
- Journalists from Channel 5 television station go on hunger strike in the evening in protest at the pressure exerted by the authorities.

## Tuesday, 26 October

- The leader of Our Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, publishes an open letter to the Russian President Vladimir Putin, who is on a visit to Ukraine, in which he says that he supports top-level mutual visits, provided that they are used to resolve the problems existing between the two nations, and emphasising that the Russian president's current visit will doubtless be evaluated in the context of the Ukrainian election.
  - While visiting Ukraine, Putin delivers an hour-long speech broadcast by most of the television stations (including those private ones whose owners sympathise with Kuchma) praising the economic and political co-operation between the two countries and the successes of the Ukrainian government headed by Viktor Yanukovich. He also supports the introduction of dual citizenship for citizens of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.
  - Under pressure from several thousand student demonstrators, Lviv city council adopts a resolution condemning Ukraine's central government for persecuting and repressing students for political reasons.
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- The mission of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), in its initial report evaluating the course of the election campaign as conducted in Kiev, states among other things that most of the mass media are failing to provide objective information on the candidates, and that rep-

representatives of the executive authorities are supporting the ruling camp's candidate, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, during the campaign. The Council of Europe and the Višegrad Group declare their intention to send observers to Ukraine. In September, five members of the CE Parliamentary Assembly had already stated that there was a danger that the election could be held in a contrary way to the Council of Europe's standards.

## Wednesday, 27 October

■ Viktor Yushchenko's team forbids his supporters to hold any actions on 28 October in Kiev or its environs, when the military parade will take place. According to confidential information, the authorities have planned provocations to discredit Yushchenko on that day. Residents of Kiev, frightened by the anticipated clashes between the opposition and law enforcement forces, buy out the basic necessities and foreign currencies, and take their children away from Kiev.

■ Student strike committees begin operating at 17 academic centres in Ukraine.

■ Oleksandr Zinchenko, the chief of Yushchenko's electoral campaign, states that the Presidential Administration has ordered the governors and the law enforcement agencies to ensure victory for Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. Zinchenko makes a plea to Yushchenko supporters to attend the polling stations en masse while the ballots are being counted.

■ In Kiev, Yuri Boyko and Alexei Miller, the presidents of the Ukrainian concern Naftohaz Ukrayina and of Russian company Gazprom sign an agreement on investment co-operation as part of an international gas consortium, which provides inter alia for the development of the Novopskov–Uzhhorod gas pipeline, and for a contract to be signed to increase Russian gas transit through Ukrainian territory in 2005 by 5 billion m<sup>3</sup>. The presidents of both countries take part in the ceremony.

■ Diplomats from the EU member states accredited in Kiev appeal to the Ukrainian authorities to return to the path of democracy, emphasising that there have been numerous irregularities in the election campaign.

■ **A debate is held at the European Parliament on the situation before Sunday's presidential election in Ukraine, in connection with the irregularities revealed in the course of the election campaign. Only just over ten MPs, nearly half of whom are Poles, take part in the debate. Following Janusz**

Onyszkiewicz's presentation of the abuses, suggestions are made as to how to tackle this issue at the EU–Russia summit scheduled for 11 November; MPs also demand that the course of the voting and the election campaign be monitored. MP Anna Fotyga (of the Polish Law and Justice party) raises the issue of the prospects for Ukraine's membership in the EU. Guenter Verheugen, the commissioner responsible for the EU's neighbourhood policy, listens attentively to the debate.

■ *We are watching the dramatic election campaign in Ukraine very carefully. We are aware of the great importance of support for the Ukrainian society from global public opinion. Therefore, we want to assure you that we shall react to any violations of civic freedoms and democratic standards in Ukraine. We shall inform public opinion both in Poland and abroad about such cases; we shall require the Polish authorities to respond properly, and we shall make pleas to the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. We owe this to Ukraine, to ourselves and to the world. Ukrainian democracy needs our solidarity. Be assured of it. We shall not let hope die.* This statement was signed by over one hundred Polish intellectuals and politicians, including Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Bronisław Geremek, Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Father Adam Boniecki, in an open letter addressed to the Ukrainian people.

## Thursday, 28 October

■ The Supreme Court (SC) of Ukraine grants the protest by Viktor Yushchenko's election team against the number of polling stations opened for Ukrainians in Russia, stating that the decision by the Central Electoral Commission to open an additional 41 polling stations in Russia was taken after the due deadline, and thus in contravention of the law.

■ A military parade to celebrate the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ukraine's liberation from Nazi occupation takes place on the Khreshchatyk, with more than 8000 soldiers and war veterans present. It is watched by the presidents of Ukraine, Russia and Azerbaijan, and by the Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

■ Groups of thugs again attack opposition supporters who have gathered in front of the Central Electoral Commission in Kiev.

■ The Razumkov Centre announces the public opinion poll results, according to which 32% of Ukrainian voters will support Viktor Yushchenko during the presidential election on 31 October, 28% will vote for Viktor Yanukovich, only 4% do not intend to vote, and 10% have not yet made up their minds who to vote for.

■ Seven journalists from the popular private Ukrainian television station 1+1 resign from their jobs in protest against pressure and censorship. *We refuse to take part in the information war. The government has declared this war on its own nation, they write in their statement.*

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■ The European Parliament passes a resolution on the pre-election situation in Ukraine by acclamation. Euro-MPs voice their concern about the course of the election campaign, and emphasise the significance of further co-operation between the EU and Ukraine. **The Parliament also sends a seven-observer mission which includes four Poles, delegation head Marek Siwiec and Grażyna Staniszevska, Filip Adwent and Jerzy Buzek.**

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■ US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage warns the Ukrainian authorities against electoral abuses that could adversely affect US-Ukrainian relations, and criticises both the control of the mass media by the authorities and the forceful assaults made against opposition electoral meetings.

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■ **The Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski delivers a lecture at the Katholieke Universiteit of Leuven in Belgium, during which he appeals to Europe not to look on passively at Russia as it tries to pull Ukraine to its side. But instead of building bridges of co-operation with this country, we must show that the role of Ukraine in Europe is appreciated, and we should not cloud the prospect of its membership in the Union, he emphasises.**

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■ **Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka meets a group of Poles observing Ukraine's presidential election. He declares: *If the election complies with democratic standards and international undertakings, it may bring Ukraine closer to Europe, closer than ever before; however, if such rules are violated during the election, this will write off Ukraine's European aspirations for many years; this is why we attach such great significance to the way this important act is being carried out by our neighbour.***

## Friday, 29 October

■ In the evening, President Leonid Kuchma makes a moderate pre-election address, stating among other things: *Let the winner be the one who ends this campaign honourably. Ukraine has to be the winner in this election.*

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■ *The European Union does not have a long-term concept of its relations with Ukraine, and is treating the country with double standards, declares the Ukrainian Ambassador at the EU, Roman Shpek, in an interview for the Reuter's agency.*

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■ The United States expresses a critical opinion of the campaign before the Sunday presidential election. *It has not satisfied international democratic criteria, which is deeply disappointing for us,* states the Department of State spokesman Richard Boucher. ■ The US Embassy in Kiev warns that the US government is ready to impose sanctions against Ukraine if democratic standards are violated during the election.

## 30 October, Saturday

■ The Ukrainian Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko and the Russian Ambassador Viktor Chernomyrdin sign a protocol in Kiev under which Ukrainian citizens will be allowed to stay in Russia without registering their residence for 90 days, and to cross the borders between the two countries while holding only identity cards, starting from 1 November. ■ At a meeting with speakers of both houses of the Russian parliament, President Putin appeals for the prompt adoption of a law to allow dual Russian and Ukrainian citizenship to be held.

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■ *31 October 2004 is the most important date in the history of Ukraine since it regained its independence,* says Borys Tarasiuk, Ukraine's former foreign affairs minister, and today one of Yushchenko's closest associates, in an interview with *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

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■ **Euro-MPs Jerzy Buzek and Grażyna Staniszewska, who are in Kiev together with an observer delegation from the European Parliament, meet with the leaders of election teams and members of the CEC. They also meet Viktor Yushchenko, who outlines the situation in Ukraine and the kinds of voting regulation violations & forgeries committed during the first election round. Jerzy Buzek also meets candidate Anatoli Kinakh (who supported Yushchenko in the runoff), and activists from the Pora organisation.**

## Sunday, 31 October

■ The turnout in the first election round is over 75%. None of the candidates receives an absolute majority of votes. The exit poll results indicate that Yushchenko & Yanukovych will compete in the runoff; the former led in the public opinion polls conducted after the Sunday election by the Razumkov Centre, by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology and by the SOCIS centre, while Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych won the poll conducted by the Social Monitoring centre.

■ The opposition accuses the authorities of abuse and fixing the election. Yushchenko's supporters gather in the streets of Lviv and Kiev. The left-wing candidates, the socialist Oleksandr Moroz and the communist Petro Symonenko, also claim the election has been fixed. The key irregularities mentioned are the manipulation of voter registers and switching off the lights in the offices of the district and territorial election commissions in the Lviv region. After the voting, which finished at 8pm, the authorities mobilise militia troops to surround the building of the Central Electoral Commission in Kiev, as they are anxious about the demonstration promised by Yushchenko's team, which however is cancelled at the last moment.

■ Most international observers believe that the election in Ukraine did not meet democratic standards. At a press conference, the common mission from the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and NATO name the bias of the mass media and the state administration authorities' favouritism towards Yanukovych & frustration of his opponents' campaigns as being among the key reasons for this. The observers appeal to the authorities to remove the shortcomings in the electoral law before the runoff. Euro-MP Jerzy Buzek is one of the OSCE observers; he inspects more than ten polling stations as well as the Central Electoral Commission.

## Monday, 1 November

■ At noon, the Central Electoral Commission informs that the ballot count from 94% of polling stations shows that Yanukovich has received 40.12% support and Yushchenko 39.15%. The official election results will be known in the next 10 days. Yushchenko's team, who do their own so-called "parallel ballot" counting on the basis of copies of reports from polling stations, accuses the authorities of serious forgeries. According to Mykola Tomenko of the opposition candidate's team, this delay is a deliberate ploy by the CEC. *They simply do not want to announce that Yushchenko has won the election; they are wheeling and dealing, counting that something can be done about this fact,* says Tomenko.

■ Demonstrators in Kiev and Lviv demand the announcement of the true election results.

■ According to Yushchenko, copies of election reports which would prove attempted forgery have been withheld from release to members of local election commissions upon the local authorities' instruction in Sumska oblast (south-eastern Ukraine). In his opinion, there is a similar situation in the Luhansk oblast in eastern Ukraine. *My advantage is sweeping in the Sumska oblast,* Yushchenko declares at a press conference.

■ The press and information department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs states that heavy military equipment has been deployed near the office of the Central Electoral Commission in Kiev, and that it could be used to prevent any illicit attempts to enter the CEC.

■ **Most Polish observers delegated by the European Parliament criticise the Ukrainian authorities for the way in which the election campaign was held; in their opinion it was unfair, dirty and had nothing to do with democratic principles. *This is a step backward,* announces Jerzy Buzek at a press conference at the end of the day in Kiev, although several hours earlier, the head of the European Parliament's observer mission Marek Siwiec declared that the observers *had not noticed even a single gross irregularity in the course of the election.* Jerzy Buzek participates in revising the European Parliament delegation's standpoint, and opposes any papering over the election abuses**



**by some of its representatives.** Finally, the joint mission of the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and NATO highlights mass media bias and discrimination in favour of one of the candidates. A representative of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, Hanne Severinsen, described the discrepancies between the exit poll results and the initial election results published by the CEC as "interesting".

■ The US Department of State shares the opinion of the OSCE, according to which Sunday's election in Ukraine did not satisfy many democratic standards, and was a step backward in comparison with the parliamentary elections in 2002. Zbigniew Brzeziński, the former national security advisor to President Jimmy Carter, is also worried that abuse may be possible in the runoff. ■ Taras Kuzio, an analyst from the Washington-based Jamestown Foundation, deems the result of the Sunday presidential election in Ukraine "unusually suspicious".

■ A deputy to the Russian State Duma, Vladimir Ryzhkov, states that *by explicitly supporting only one candidate, we make millions of Ukrainians disaffected with Russia.* Ryzhkov believes that the Kremlin has adopted a "wrong" strategy by unambiguously taking a position on the two frontrunners in the Ukrainian presidential election.

## Tuesday, 2 November

■ During a parliamentary debate, the opposition accuses the CEC of deliberately delaying the publication of complete results (the uncounted ballots are mainly from Kiev, where Yushchenko has a clear advantage). According to Yushchenko's representatives, he received more than 50% of the votes and had already won the election in the first round. ■ Several thousand Yushchenko supporters, including young people from the Pora organisation, protest in the streets of Kiev.

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■ **During a meeting of the EU foreign ministers in Brussels, the Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs Jan Trzuszczński suggests adding a debate on the situation in Ukraine to the agenda of the European summit due to begin on Thursday, and that the heads of the 25 EU member states should appeal for a fair election campaign before the second round of the Ukrainian presidential election.** So far, this is done by the Dutch government, which makes a plea to the Ukrainian authorities to ensure appropriate conditions for a free and fair election in the period before 21 November.

■ At a press conference at the European Parliament in Brussels, Marek Siwiec, the head of the European Parliament's delegation monitoring the presidential election, plays down the violations of the election procedures.

## Wednesday, 3 November

■ The CEC still does not announce the final results of the election, explaining that it is having problems getting data from all the constituencies. There is a flurry of speculation that pressure is being exerted on the Commission; Oleh Rybachuk of Viktor Yushchenko's election team claims that the CEC chairman Serhiy Kivalov is being blackmailed by the Presidential Administration, and that is why he has not announced the final results of Sunday's election.

■ Viktor Yushchenko's election team promises a series of peaceful demonstrations by his supporters in Ukraine's largest cities in protest at the failure to announce the final results of the election, and announces a nationwide readiness to strike at an electoral meeting on 6 November.

■ Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich requests support from the heads of the regional executive authorities; the governors are supposed to explain to the public that all the promises that he has made before the election are not merely temporary and will be fulfilled. *Don't do it for me personally*, the prime minister indicates. *Act as if there wasn't an election at all*.

■ In an adopted memorandum on its political strategy, the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU), whose leader Oleksandr Moroz received approximately 5.5% of the votes during the first round of the presidential election, declares its readiness to transfer Moroz' votes to Viktor Yushchenko. This is agreed on condition that Yushchenko undertakes to meet a number of the electoral demands included in the SPU's programme. First of all, they demand that Yushchenko supports constitutional reform, and concludes investigations into the most notorious violations of law, punishing all those responsible for political murders. The SPU also demands the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops from Iraq, as well as guarantees that Ukraine will not enter into any military or political alliances with the West, but will strengthen relations with Russia instead.

## Thursday, 4 November

■ The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine decides that the party will not support any of the candidates before the runoff, and appeals to its electorate to vote against both of them.

■ Parliamentary Deputy Nestor Shufrych, a member of the pro-presidential Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) [SDPU(o)], states that a group of opposition deputies has broken into the Central Electoral Commission building. This message is repeated by all the pro-governmental mass media; several hours thereafter it is denied by a CEC spokesperson. *It seems to me that Mr. Shufrych is simply lying*, she says.

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■ During a session of the European Council, the Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka and the minister of foreign affairs Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz state that Poland wants the Council to appeal for a free and fair campaign before the second round of the presidential election. *It would be strange if the European Council did not express its opinion in such a situation and on such an issue*, says Marek Belka, who had already spoken about the same matter with the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder before leaving for Brussels. Finally, in the evening, following an appeal made by Cimoszewicz, the Dutch foreign affairs minister Bernard Bot promises that such a standpoint from the European Council will be expressed in the final documents on the session.

## Friday, 5 November

■ The Socialist Party of Ukraine decides that it will support Yushchenko in the runoff. The leader of the SPU, Oleksandr Moroz, undertakes to participate personally in campaigning for Yushchenko.

■ There is still no official report from the CEC. Yushchenko's team announces updated but still incomplete results of the so-called parallel ballot counting which it made on the basis of the election commissions' report copies. According to the calculations, Yushchenko has received 40.46% support and Prime Minister Yanukovych 38.5%.

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■ Leaders of EU member states appeal to the authorities in Kiev to ensure proper conditions for a free and fair election to be held, and regret that the first election round failed to meet international democratic standards. They also recall the fact that the EU considers Ukraine as a key neighbour and partner. ■ Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz remarks in a speech that he has received more and more messages questioning the reliability of not only the election campaign in Ukraine but also of the election results.

## Saturday, 6 November

■ Tens of thousands of Viktor Yushchenko's supporters come to an opposition electoral meeting in Kiev. The leaders at the meeting accuse the authorities of mass forgeries during the first round of the election. According to Yushchenko's team, more than a million voters were unable to cast their ballots as they had not been entered in the voter registration lists; the delay in announcing the election results is due to manipulations by the presidential administration, who have hacked into the CEC's server. Blank local commission reports which have already been stamped and signed are shown to those present at the meeting.

## Sunday, 7 November

■ Five hundred people come to a meeting held in Kiev by Petro Symonenko's Communist Party of Ukraine to celebrate the 87<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Bolshevik coup.

## Monday, 8 November

■ President Leonid Kuchma appeals to the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine, Serhiy Kivalov, to remove all the errors that occurred during the first round of the presidential election in Ukraine, especially those involving voter registration lists. *It cannot be permitted that citizens are unable to cast their votes*, he states. Volodymyr Lytvyn, the speaker of the Ukrainian parliament, also appeals for any irregularities to be prevented during the runoff.

■ The Party of the Regions, led by Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, lodges a complaint at the Central Electoral Commission against the leader of Our Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, claiming that he has deliberately breached the regulations on electoral campaigning by holding an electoral meeting in Kiev, in contravention of the law forbidding campaigning until the results of the first election round are officially announced. Meanwhile, Yanukovich, who holds the position of the prime minister, is constantly present in the mass media.

■ Former prime minister Anatoliy Kinakh, leader of the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine and a candidate in the presidential election, signs an agreement with Viktor Yushchenko declaring his support for the latter in the runoff. Deputies of the Democratic Platform of the National De-

mocratic Party, who left the pro-governmental parliamentary majority in September, also sign an agreement to co-operate with Yushchenko in the second round of the election.

■ Viktor Yushchenko meets Metropolitan Volodymyr, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchy); they express their common concern about the artificial division of Ukraine into eastern and western parts on the basis of religious denomination.

## Tuesday, 9 November

■ During a visit to the USA, Eduard Prutnik, an advisor to Prime Minister Yanukovych, tries to present him as a better ally of the United States than Yushchenko could be. In a lecture at the National Press Club in Washington, and in an interview for *The Washington Times*, Prutnik claims that in his campaign Yanukovych has promised to leave Ukrainian troops in Iraq, while Yushchenko has promised to withdraw the troops. He assures that electing Yanukovych for president will not mean an increase in Ukraine's dependence on Russia.

■ Journalist Volodymyr Holosniak is fired by the Ukrainian state television station UT-1 because he has demanded that as well as a statement by Yanukovych's election team on his refusal to participate in a pre-election television debate, a statement by Yushchenko's election team should also be read on air.

## Wednesday, 10 November

■ The Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine announces the election results at the last possible statutory deadline; according to its statement, the first round of the election was won by the leader of Our Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, who received 39.87% of the votes, and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych came second with 39.32%. The CEC promises that a debate between the two candidates will be broadcast by state television on 15 November.

■ **In Strasbourg, the Polish minister of foreign affairs and Chairman of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, says that he hopes democratic principles will be respected during the second round of the presidential election in Ukraine on 21 November. *The whole of Europe expects that the election will provide Ukrainians with a real ability to choose the candidate they want, he emphasises.***

## Thursday, 11 November

■ The Ukrainian Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Mykhailo Manin declares that the militia does not intend to deploy any combat equipment around the building of the Central Electoral Commission during the runoff. *There will be no armoured personnel carriers*, he assures.

■ President Leonid Kuchma inaugurates the operation of the Ukraina foundation, whose main objective is to protect civic rights and freedoms.

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■ **As a result of President Putin's unexpected visit to Ukraine, Polish foreign minister Cimoszewicz's meetings with President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovich, scheduled for his visit to Kiev, are cancelled. Cimoszewicz's visit agenda is shortened to a minimum.**

## Friday, 12 November

■ President Kuchma flies to Krasnodar in Russia, where he meets President Putin. Late in the same afternoon, the two presidents and Viktor Yanukovich meet in Kerch, Crimea, to take part in the opening ceremony of a new ferry connection between the Ukrainian port of Krym and the Russian port of Kavkaz. The ministers of transport who accompany them sign several documents concerning railway traffic between the two countries. Observers believe that Putin's second visit to Ukraine in such a short time is connected with the country's presidential election.

■ President Kuchma dismisses several heads of regional administration in several constituencies of northern, central and western Ukraine, where the opposition candidate Yushchenko has won the first round of the presidential election by a significant margin.

■ Nearly 10,000 people take part in a demonstration of support for Prime Minister Yanukovich in Donetsk. Some demonstrators admit to journalists that they have been forced by their bosses to participate in the meeting.

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■ **Polish foreign minister Cimoszewicz comes to Kiev as a representative of the Council of Europe, and meets the speaker of the Ukrainian parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn, the chairman of the CEC Serhiy Kivalov (who places the responsibility for problems with the reliability of voting registers on the local authorities and the chairpersons of the election commissions who "have no experience") and the winner of the first round of the presidential election**

**Viktor Yushchenko. Planned meetings with President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovych are cancelled, as both politicians have gone to the Crimea to meet Vladimir Putin.**

■ **Minister Cimoszewicz meets with Yushchenko, although – as he emphasises – he wanted to meet both candidates (among other reasons) to emphasise the impartiality of Poland, the Council of Europe and all those carefully watching the Ukrainian election. He also wants to stress the fact that he is participating in the meetings as the Chairman of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers. Nevertheless, he congratulates Yushchenko on the results, and emphasises that, first of all, he has noticed two kinds of signs during his stay in Kiev: the awareness of the high turnout and great engagement by the public, and the fact that the principles of impartiality during the election campaign were violated, mainly in the mass media, where numerous examples of interference by the authorities can be seen. For his part, during the talks Yushchenko describes various techniques used to fix the election (showing previously forged reports, among other things); he emphasises that a struggle between various outlooks and types of morality is being currently fought in Ukraine, and declares that *Ukraine needs a strategic partner like Poland for democratic principles to achieve success in the country.***

■ **At a press conference, Cimoszewicz states that he has received information on preparations to violate voting regulations during the runoff as well. *During this visit, I have wanted to give a clear message to Ukrainian society: your choice is very important both for yourselves and for all your partners, he says. I disagree with the opinion that the cancellation of the meetings with President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovych is an affront. I understand that President Kuchma is receiving the President of Russia today, and I have already expressed my regret about not meeting Mr. Yanukovych.***

## Saturday, 13 November

■ **The strike action in support of Prime Minister Yanukovych as candidate for president, which was promised to take place at many of the largest Ukrainian enterprises, ends with moderate success; only a few factories stop work, including the Kharkiv Malyshev Plant, which is a well-known tank manufacturer.**

■ **US President George W. Bush sends Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as his personal representative to observe the**

second round of the presidential election in Ukraine. According to Russian internet news bulletins, President Bush has called the Russian President Vladimir Putin several times to try and persuade him not to engage in supporting the candidacy of Viktor Yanukovych. Reportedly, Bush has also had several telephone conversations about the course of the Ukrainian election with President Leonid Kuchma.

## Monday, 15 November

■ President Leonid Kuchma announces he is ready to invite both the candidates to succeed him to talks, in order to reach a mutual understanding and prevent the eruption of social strife in the country.

■ During a live TV debate on state television, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovych present their views on foreign and domestic policy, social affairs and the economy. The candidates adopt a sharp tone: Yushchenko refers to Yanukovych's criminal past, and accuses his government of corruption and a lack of professionalism; Yanukovych accuses his rival of just pretending to be in the opposition, and recalls that Yushchenko was a member of the state government, and is responsible for leading the people to poverty. Yushchenko points to the need to integrate with European structures, and Yanukovych opts for integration within the framework of the Common Economic Space.

■ During the debate, Yushchenko declares that if he wins, he will withdraw the Ukrainian contingent from Iraq; in turn, Yanukovych states that his foreign policy priorities will include relations with Moscow and building a Common Economic Space with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

■ At a press conference, the CEC Chairman Serhiy Kivalov states that the Commission is not ready to hold a second round of the presidential election due to money shortages. Two days later, the parliament allocates the necessary funds.

■ The parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn meets Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor to President Bush, in Washington. According to an anonymous White House informant, Ms. Rice has told Lytvyn that the US administration does not support any of the candidates for the presidency in the Ukrainian election; it only wants the election to be fair and democratic, and that Ukraine should take the path towards democracy.

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■ **Viktor Yushchenko sends a letter to Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka, thanking him for supporting the development of Ukraine's relations with**



**Poland and the European Union.** Yushchenko declares an interest in Ukrainian-Polish co-operation, and emphasises that Poland is an example for Ukraine of how to build a sovereign state and implement transformation. *The main objective of my political activity is to build a strong democratic state in Ukraine on the foundations of freedom, pluralism, rule of law and respect of human rights. I have always attached great significance to Poland, especially to its experience in building a sovereign state. The example of Poland, which has already gone along the road Ukraine wants to take now, is particularly valuable and beneficial for us,* writes Viktor Yushchenko. *I would like to thank you personally, Prime Minister, for your support of the development of relations between Ukraine, Poland and the European Community.* A representative of Yushchenko's election team, the former deputy prime minister of Ukraine Leonid Kozachenko, believes that this letter is in fact a plea by the opposition to the authorities in Warsaw for Poland to engage more deeply in defending democracy in Ukraine.

## Tuesday, 16 November

- At a press conference, Viktor Yushchenko assures journalists that, if he becomes president of Ukraine, he will do everything for the Ukrainian mass media to have freedom of speech. He promises to create a public television channel and to liquidate the so-called *temnyki*, secret guidelines sent to the mass media on how to report public life in the country. Yushchenko also promises to launch a civil disobedience campaign if the authorities forge the results of the runoff.
- The Supreme Court of Ukraine grants the complaint by representatives of Viktor Yushchenko's election team against the Central Electoral Commission, and decrees that the voting results in the first round of the election in constituency no. 100 in Kirovohrad are valid. It also orders the CEC to add them to the total result. This decision slightly increases Yushchenko's advantage over Yanukovych. ■ At a press conference, one of Yushchenko's closest associates, the MP Oleh Rybachuk, states that the Ukrainian authorities intend to bribe members of election commissions throughout the country to help fix the election results, and presents the "price list", according to which the secretaries of these commissions should receive approximately US\$3000 each.
- Well-known Ukrainian athletes join the campaign in the run-up to the second round of the presidential election. Support for the opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko is declared by the famous boxing brothers Vitaly and Volodymyr Klichko, the world chess champion Ruslan Ponomariov and the

association of Ukrainian world champions and gold medallists Olympic Fire. In turn, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich is supported by the world-class footballer Andriy Shevchenko, Olympic swimming champion Yana Klochkova and veteran pole-vaulter Sergei Bubka.

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■ At the European Parliament in Strasbourg, two Ukrainian MPs, Serhiy Holovaty and Ihor Ostash, appeal for foreign observers to be present at as many polling stations as possible during the runoff ballot. During a meeting with Euro-MPs, they also express their hope that the European Parliament will support the democratisation process in Ukraine. In their opinion, support from European and trans-Atlantic institutions was too small during the first round. At the time of the meeting, it is mostly Polish Euro-MPs who participate, including Jerzy Buzek and Grażyna Staniszevska.

■ The authorities in Transnistria make an official plea to citizens of Ukraine residing in Transnistria to vote for Viktor Yanukovich during the second round of the presidential election. It is emphasised in the document that a victory for Yanukovich will have positive consequences, including for Transnistria, while Yushchenko's coming to power will be as dangerous for Transnistria as for Ukraine.

■ **Polish Euro-MPs once again try to persuade their foreign colleagues to send a clear message to Ukraine that it has a chance to fulfil its pro-European aspirations before the presidential election runoff. However, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski admits that it has been impossible to include words of support for democratic Ukraine's European aspirations in the draft resolution summing up the results of the November European summit. Nevertheless, a letter declaring the Union's openness to Ukraine's European aspirations is addressed by the leadership of the European People's Party (EPP-ED). An open meeting with two Ukrainian MPs, who appeal to the EP to give a clear message of support for democratisation in Ukraine, is also held in the parliament in Brussels upon the initiative of the Polish Law and Justice party.**

## Wednesday, 17 November

■ Approximately 5,000 members of the Ukrainian youth organisations Pora and Sprotyv, which support Viktor Yushchenko in the presidential election, come to demonstrate in protest against persecution by the militia, and stage a picket in front of the local militia headquarters. Pora activists appeal to

students all over the country to go on a general strike to protect the recently detained activists of youth organisations which support Yushchenko.

■ Berkut special militia troops attack dozens of people in Verbivets (Cherkassy region) who bar the way to a truck carrying materials discrediting Viktor Yushchenko. At the same time, Serhiy Tyhipko, the leader of Viktor Yanukovych's election team, informs that if the political situation gets worse on the day of the second round of the election, tens of thousands of miners could come from Donbas to protect the Central Electoral Commission. *We would not like the situation to force us to take such measures*, states Tyhipko.

■ The British newspaper *The Independent* reprints a conversation with five anonymous militia officers in Kharkiv, who told journalists they had been ordered to fix the results of the presidential election; they also admitted that a special secret group had been created at the Ukrainian MIA to intimidate opposition activists, destroy the opposition's election materials and destabilise the situation in the country.

■ The Deputy Speaker of the Russian State Duma, Lubov Sliska, supported by an MP of the communist faction Nikolai Kondratenko, appeals to Russian MPs to refrain from interfering with the course of the election campaign in Ukraine, and warns them against provoking a civil war.

■ The international human rights organisation Amnesty International expresses its concern about repression of Ukrainian citizens who have actively been protecting their voting rights (in Sumy among other locations), and promises to launch an action of solidarity.

■ Javier Solana, the EU's High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, has a telephone conversation with President Leonid Kuchma, during which he emphasises the European Union's profound desire to be able to express its acknowledgement of a free and fair election in Ukraine.

■ *If Ukraine takes positive steps towards democracy, the European Parliament will appeal to the Commission and the member states for an open consideration of its partnership and neighbourhood policy, recognising the European aspirations of Ukraine*, states a resolution adopted by the votes of 625 Euro-MPs. **In the opinion of Euro-MP Grażyna Staniszewska, the fact that they have been convinced to express a more open standpoint towards Ukraine in the resolution passed on Wednesday by the European Parliament is to a great extent the contribution of the Polish MPs.**

## Thursday, 18 November

■ The Parliament of Ukraine passes a bill forbidding ballots during the presidential election runoff to be cast at polling stations other than that nearest to one's place of residence. The law cancels all the previously issued certificates authorising voting outside of one's place of permanent residence. The law also forbids any voting outside a polling station.

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■ Several thousand followers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchy) take part in a meeting of support for Viktor Yanukovych in Kiev. They express their belief that only Yanukovych can unite the currently divided Ukrainian Orthodox Church. *Viktor Yanukovych is a man sent by God*, one priest says.

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■ According to a public opinion poll conducted by the Ukrainian Institute of Social Studies and by the Social Monitoring centre published on 18 November, 95% of Ukrainian voters intend to take part in the second round of the presidential election. 30% of respondents have stated that they will accept the election results announced by the CEC, even if it is not won by their candidate; 41% will not accept such results, but will not take part in any protest actions.

■ The director of the Ukrainian Democratic Initiatives foundation invites Polish sociologists from the Polish Pracownia Badań Społecznych research centre in Sopot, from the Russian Yuri Levada Analytical Centre, and from the Institute of Comparative Social Studies to take part in the national exit polls during the second round of the presidential election. They hope that the presence of foreign experts will safeguard local researchers against allegations of non-objective evaluation.

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■ The press publishes an appeal in support of democracy in Ukraine, signed by more than a thousand outstanding scientists, writers, cultural figures and students from Ukraine and several other countries, including Poland. The document expresses concern about the situation in Ukraine during the election, including the mass violation of voting rights, manipulation of the law and abuses of power, the persecution of students and pressure on Ukrainian institutions of higher education. The authors of the appeal declare their solidarity with the people who have stood up to defend their rights, and promise to disseminate information on any irregularities during the election.

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■ Viktor Medvedchuk, the head of the Presidential Administration, Viktor Pinchuk, a leading Ukrainian oligarch (and also the president's son-in-law) Prosecutor General Hennadiy Vasyliiev and the Minister of Internal Affairs Mykola Bilokon are put on the US Department of State's so-called blacklist for participating in fixing the results of the first round of Ukraine's presidential election. According to *The Washington Times*, which has publicised the information, this means that their applications for US visas will be examined with special scrutiny. This message is confirmed by the press attaché of the US embassy in Kiev. Hryhoriy Surkis, an MP and businessman who has close connections with Kuchma, was blacklisted even before them. The Americans promise that subsequent people will be put on the blacklist if the fixing is repeated during the runoff.

■ **In Poland, the first signs of solidarity with democratic Ukraine emerge: seminarians from the Greek Catholic Seminary give a concert in Lublin, and students gather nearly a thousand signatures on a petition submitted thereafter to the Ukrainian consul. Torches and candles are lit in front of the Ukrainian consulate in Krakow, and demonstrations of support are also held in Olsztyn.**

## Friday, 19 November

■ President Leonid Kuchma declares that he will not sign the bill which the Parliament passed the day before which forbids ballots from being cast at polling stations other than that nearest to one's place of residence, as all its provisions are contrary to the constitution.

■ Viktor Yanukovych sharply criticises the opposition for appealing to people to take to the streets of Kiev on the post-election night between Sunday and Monday. Speaking to 7,000 members of the New Co-operation organisation, who have gathered in front of Kiev's Ukraine Palace, Yanukovych appeals to them not to submit to the opposition's "irresponsible actions." *Those who tell us that our blood is hotter than the Georgians, and urge us to take to the streets of the cities to spread confusion, should remember that today the power is in the Ukrainian nation, in our workers, people who work every day to ensure prosperity for our country, and not in those who frighten others and invite them to go out to the squares.* The opposition had already promised on Thursday that if the authorities fixed the election, hundreds of thousands would take to the streets of Kiev.

■ The speaker of the Ukrainian parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn makes a plea to the administration authorities reminding them that any fixing is impermissible. *I believe it is necessary to remind representatives of the executive authorities, including law enforcement agencies and members of the election commissions, that they are personally responsible for preventing any violations of the law during the voting which may cause disturbance during ballot casting or even, God forbid, bring about an outbreak of social conflict*, he states in parliament.

■ US Senator Richard Lugar and the Speaker of the Russian State Duma Boris Gryzlov come as special envoys from their presidents to Kiev. They will be observers during the Sunday presidential election runoff in Ukraine. *I hope the Ukrainian authorities are aware of the fact that the recognition of the new president will depend on the course of the election*, declares Lugar at a press conference.

■ **Sweden strongly and decisively supports Poland's pro-Ukrainian activities in the European Union, Polish prime minister Marek Belka states while in Stockholm, following his talks with the Swedish head of the government Göran Persson.**

■ **The Undersecretary of State at the Chancellery of the Prime Minister (CPM) Jacek Kluczkowski, and the Prime Minister's advisor Olga Iwaniak, are delegated by the prime minister to go to Kiev. In the late afternoon, Jacek Kluczkowski meets the leader of Viktor Yanukovich's election team and the President of the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) Serhiy Tyhipko. Tyhipko promises Yanukovich's victory; in his opinion, this will happen because of a very high turnout in eastern Ukraine. The leader of Yanukovich's election team also warns the West and Poland against supporting the opposition's expected protest action.**

## Saturday, 20 November

■ *I have not let instability upset the country for the last ten years. I shall not allow it today, either. There will be no revolution. The authorities will do their best to ensure that the election is held in a peaceful manner and in a manner suitable for a democratic country*, declares President Leonid Kuchma in a television speech. *Incitement to violence can already be heard now. They [the opposition] have not understood anything, they have not learnt anything*, he adds.

■ *In the case of victory for the reformer Viktor Yushchenko, it will be possible to enlarge the European Union and NATO with Ukraine*, assesses expert Alexander

Rahr in the German daily *Die Welt*. Analysts from the London-based Citigroup emphasise that the current presidential election is a turning point in Ukraine's history.

■ In Kiev, the Undersecretary of State at the CPM Jacek Kluczkowski meets Yushchenko and hands him a letter from the Polish prime minister. *Poland continues to support Ukraine in its striving to strengthen European democratic standards, the civil society, democracy, the freedom of the mass media, respect for individual rights and a market economy. Poland supports and will continue to support Ukraine's aspirations to complete integration with the European Union*, writes Marek Belka. During the conversation, Viktor Yushchenko says he is convinced the authorities will inevitably fix the 21 November election, and appeals to Poland, and in particular to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, to speak out on the matter of freedom of elections in Ukraine. *We have talked about the situation in Ukraine in the run-up to the election, but also about co-operation between Poland and Ukraine. We have devoted much attention to economic issues, in particular to adjusting legal standards [in Ukraine] to the EU requirements*, comments Jacek Kluczkowski.

■ A European Parliament delegation comes to Kiev. One of its members is Euro-MP Jerzy Buzek, who takes part in interviews with the election team leaders and the CEC. He also visits the demonstrators at Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square).

■ Warsaw students hold the first of a series of pickets in front of the Ukrainian embassy to support democratic initiatives in Ukraine, with several hundred people present. From that time until 4 December, demonstrations in front of the embassy, the gate of the Warsaw University and the Presidential Palace take place every day, as do marches by hundreds of Warsaw residents along the streets linking the buildings.

## Sunday, 21 November

■ The second round of the presidential election, during which people choose from two candidates, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych and the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, lasts the whole day. According to data from an exit poll conducted by the Razumkov Centre and the Kiev International Institute of Sociology published several minutes before midnight, Yushchenko has received the support of 54% of the voters, and his rival, the Moscow-backed

Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, has received 43%. According to initial data provided by the Central Electoral Commission, the turnout was 78.82%.

■ The chief of the prime minister's election campaign Serhiy Tyhipko claims that according to the data he has, Yanukovych is the winner. However, Tyhipko declares that he is ready to accept a potential defeat and go into a "civilised opposition." The opposition promises it will defend the voting results. *We ask the authorities to accept the election result. We are able to defend Yushchenko's victory*, declares Julia Tymoshenko on Channel 5 television. More than 20,000 Yushchenko supporters wait for the results at Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kiev. The MIA declares that reinforced spetsnaz troops are present in the capital solely for the purpose of protecting public order.

■ The first reports of election fixing emerge; numerous cases of voting by "flying brigades" from eastern Ukraine and artificial inflation of turnout have been noted. *The turnout has been massively overstated in the Luhan and Donetsk oblasts, and in the south of Ukraine. In some places it might even be 100 percent*, declares Anatoliy Hrytsenko, a representative of the opposition candidate's election team in the evening. Observers delegated by the European Parliament notice that opposition observers have been denied access to the electoral commissions in some regions. Boris Gryzlov, the Speaker of the Russian State Duma, states that he is aware of some abuses, but these could not have affected the overall result of the election. *Yushchenko's advantage is so big that it will be impossible to paper over the election result*, says the Deputy Speaker of the European Parliament Jacek Saryusz-Wolski.

■ There is also "antiterrorist" fever; the MIA informs that 1.5 kg of explosives has been discovered in the car of a resident of Ivano-Frankovsk; according to militia experts, they were intended for an attack in the capital. A bomb was also found in a Ternopil primary school, where one election commission had its office.

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■ The former Russian deputy prime minister Boris Nemtsov, appearing on Ukrainian television wearing an orange scarf, says that Moscow has made a mistake by supporting Viktor Yanukovych in Ukraine's presidential election.

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■ *The European Union should start a discussion on establishing closer relations with Ukraine, help the country to join the World Trade Organisation more quickly, and revise its action plan for Ukraine as part of its neighbourhood policy*, declares one of the observers delegated by the European Parliament, Latvian MP Aldis Kauskis.



## 22–24 NOVEMBER

# THE MARCH TO THE MAIDAN

### Monday, 22 November

■ According to data announced around noon by the Central Electoral Commission, following the counting of 98.23% of the reports, the election has been won by Yanukovych, for whom 49.57% of the votes were cast, while Yushchenko received 46.57% support. The turnout was 80.22%.

■ In the evening, following the counting of 99.7% of the reports, the Central Electoral Commission announces that the presidential election has been won by Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych with 49.7% of the votes. According to the CEC, the opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko received 46.7% of the votes. Approximately half an hour later, Yanukovych appears on television to thank his voters who have voted for peace and democracy; he appeals to Ukrainians to forget the divisions that have emerged during the campaign, and assures them that he will respect the views and expectations of those who supported the opposition leader during the election. However, he rules out any co-operation with radicals who have been inciting people to raise barricades. In the afternoon, the opposition promises to call a special parliamentary session for the next day.

■ Meanwhile, more than 100,000 Yushchenko supporters have gathered since morning at Independence Square in Kiev, protesting the fixing of the election results; during the late afternoon, the square and the Khreshchatyk which crosses it turn into a campsite. Yushchenko's supporters come to Kiev from other cities. Yushchenko speaks to them late in the evening, repeating the accusations that the authorities have fixed the results. In his opinion, 1.2 million ballots were forged in Donetsk region alone, and 3.1 million ballots have been forged in total. Yushchenko challenges the election runoff results announced by the CEC, and promises a mass disobedience action & the building of a civil resistance movement. He also demands the cancellation of the results in the east of the country, including in Donetsk region (according to official data, 96% of voters there cast their ballots for Yanukovych); he accuses the authorities of staging a *coup d'état* and appeals to his supporters to protect the "true results." At the same time, he warns them of the militia, who reportedly intend to crush the Kiev meeting in the morning, and asks the militia-men loyal to the city authorities to safeguard order in the city.

■ The authorities of several Ukrainian cities, Kiev, Lviv, Vinnica, Ivano-Frankovsk and Ternopil, refuse to accept the presidential election results which state that Viktor Yanukovich has become President of Ukraine. The authorities in Kiev address an appeal to the Ukrainian parliament to reject the results announced by the CEC. Thousands of students gather in the centre of Lviv to protest the fixing of the election result, and promise they will come to Kiev. The World Congress of Ukrainians, which represents a diaspora of seven million people, recognises Yushchenko as president. According to the opposition, the worst forgeries have taken place in the eastern regions, including in the city of Donetsk. Yushchenko's supporters demand that the election be repeated in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

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■ In the afternoon, a statement appears signed by the heads of the MIA and the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), who declare that their structures are ready to quickly and decisively “stamp out lawlessness.” In the document, the opposition is accused of intending to take over power at any price, blackmailing the authorities and involving young people in illicit activities. In the evening, the SBU disassociates itself from the statement, and states that it has appealed to both election teams and to society at large for peace, and to avoid any attempts at involving law enforcement structures in the political struggle. The speaker of the Ukrainian parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn also rules out announcing a state of emergency in the country.

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■ The Russian President Vladimir Putin, who is on a foreign trip at the time, is the first head of state to acknowledge Yanukovich's victory in the election, stating during a telephone conversation that the electoral struggle has been *tough yet fair, and Yanukovich's victory is convincing*. Boris Gryzlov, the president's personal envoy, does the same several hours before him. Observers delegated by the Commonwealth of Independent States do not express any serious reservations either; the head of the CIS mission Vadim Gustov sees the excessive amount of orange on the streets on election day as the most serious shortcoming. Representatives of the Russian opposition party the Union of Rightist Forces with Boris Nemtsov declare a *votum separatum*, publicise incidents of fixing, and express their support for democracy in Ukraine.

■ Observers from the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Freedom House, who have watched the election, deem it noncompliant with democratic rules and standards. Jerzy Buzek, a member of the EP's mission, co-edits the EP's statements with the

intention of ensuring that sufficiently firm language is used. In its first statement, the European Union warns that it will not acknowledge the election results, and appeals to Kiev to verify them. NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer expresses his disappointment with Ukraine's failure to fulfil the undertakings it has made to the West regarding the respect of democracy, and warns that this will affect political relations between NATO and Kiev. Bernard Bot, the Foreign Minister of Holland, which holds the Union's presidency for this six-month period, promises that all the EU's member states will express their concern about the election results to their respective Ukrainian ambassadors.

■ The US Department of State expresses deep anxiety in connection with reports of mass forgeries, and appeals to the Ukrainian government to take actions to guarantee that the election results reflect the choice of the Ukrainian nation. Otherwise, imposing US sanctions against Ukraine cannot be ruled out. Senator Richard Lugar, the president's personal envoy, accuses the Ukrainian government, including President Leonid Kuchma, of involvement in fixing the election. The Ukrainian authorities are sharply criticised by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Richard Pipes (separately). *I very much regret that Russia has already congratulated Yanukovich. This election has been fixed*, says an anonymous White House representative.

■ **The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs appeals for the course of the Ukrainian election to be revised, together with the OSCE, and the announcement of true and reliable results. This violation of democratic principles has met with resistance from international public opinion and a majority of Ukrainian citizens. This will lead the country into a political and social crisis, and move it away from the road to integration with Euro-Atlantic structures. It is our sincere hope that in this tense social situation none of the parties resorts to using force, the MFA says in its official statement. It cannot be ruled out that the European Union will refuse to accept the results of the presidential election runoff in Ukraine, predicts the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz.**

■ The Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka also expresses his concern about the course of the election, and after the end of the first Polish-French Intergovernmental Consultations in Paris, he declares, *The Republic of Poland has held and still maintains the position that it is not the election of a specific candidate for president, but the observation of international standards and the manner in which the future president of Ukraine is chosen, that is the matter of key significance for the future of Ukraine and its position in Europe. The fairness*

*of ballot counting and the transparency of this election are of key significance. The Ukrainian public expect such fundamental principles and an adherence to democratic standards to be respected. If this comes true, Ukrainians will believe they live in a state of law and in a free and democratic country.*

■ A “solidarity chain” of several hundred people forms between the Embassy of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. ■ In Lublin, hundreds of city residents chant *We want the truth!* at a demonstration of solidarity with Ukraine in Litewski Square.

## Tuesday, 23 November

■ People keep coming to the Independence Square from the morning; nearly 200,000 have gathered there by noon. Along with Ukrainian flags, those of Georgia, Belarus and Poland fly above the crowds. Following Viktor Yushchenko’s appeal, those gathered there march towards the parliament building, where an emergency debate on the election is being held. Due to a lack of a quorum (as pro-presidential and communist MPs are absent), no decision is passed. At the parliamentary forum, speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn claims that the president, the government and the parliament are responsible for the crisis. Viktor Yushchenko again accuses the authorities of fixing the election, and demands that the Supreme Court cancels the election results in several constituencies, where (he says) more than 1.5 million ballots have been forged. Yulia Tymoshenko opts for dissolving the parliament and holding new parliamentary elections.

■ Following the end of the session, Yushchenko swears a formal oath as president, in violation of the correct procedures. *The forgeries by the Central Electoral Commission have only delayed the announcement of the nation’s true choice. This choice has been announced today in the parliament. I have taken the oath on the Bible in compliance with the Constitution of Ukraine and with the procedure applicable in our country,* he declares. He then announces the creation of a National Council for Protection of the Constitution, and invites residents of Kiev to Independence Square, while at the same time appealing to the militia, army and customs service not to turn against the demonstrators.

■ In the evening, a majority of demonstrators, encouraged by Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleksandr Zinchenko, move towards the president’s palace, not ruling out any intention of occupying the building. Finally, talks conducted by Yulia Tymoshenko at the President Administration premises, the demonstrators confine themselves to blocking the building. The Ministry of Internal Affairs

and the Security Service of Ukraine deny that any emergency meeting of law enforcement agency chiefs was held during the evening in Kiev. Several hundred supporters of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, with football fans among them, approach the parliament building; in the evening, Yanukovich's supporters put up their own campsite near the seat of the Ukrainian government.

■ Demonstrations numbering many thousands of people are held in Lviv, Ternopil, Kharkiv, Zhytomir and the north-eastern town of Sumy. Support for Yushchenko as president-elect is declared by the authorities in other Ukrainian cities and districts, including Lutsk, Drohobych and Khmelnytsky. Yanukovich's supporters also hold meetings of support for their leader in several cities in eastern Ukraine; in turn, the city council of Odessa requests that President Kuchma declare a state of emergency.

■ The Ukrainian diplomatic corps declares its support for Yushchenko. The MFA spokesman Markiyan Lubkivski informs that 150 Ukrainian diplomats have signed a statement of support for the opposition's presidential candidate. *We cannot silently watch a situation when the democratic development of Ukraine is called into question, as this may cause the country's international isolation*, the statement reads. A split among the law enforcement agencies appears; officers of several MIA units, including some from the Bars special troops, come over to the opposition side. *We appeal to all the security forces and the military to refuse to carry out criminal orders, and to remain true to the oath sworn to the Ukrainian nation*, says one of the opposition leaders, Roman Zvarych. *The slightest provocation may turn peace demonstrations into clashes with the law enforcement forces*, writes *Le Figaro*. Heads of the Christian churches, with the exception of the Orthodox Church-Moscow Patriarchy, take the side of the opposition as well.

■ *The Central Electoral Commission in Ukraine will not announce on Tuesday the final results of the Sunday presidential election obtained after counting 100 percent of the ballots*, declares the CEC spokesperson Zoya Kazanzhi, who admits that there may be dissent within the Commission; some members of the commission intend to resign. Two members of the CEC appeal to the others to refuse to sign the report stating the final results of the election, considering the high number of electoral protests. The opposition appeals for the dissolution of the CEC and the appointment of a new commission to re-count the ballots cast during the Sunday election.

■ President Leonid Kuchma appeals to all the political forces in the country to enter into negotiations to prevent a split in the country. The president

states in a statement read on television at approximately 10pm that the authorities will not use force against the nation. *Contrary to the opposition's claims, the constitutional authorities in Ukraine exist, are legal and are performing their functions. They are operating in compliance with the constitution and the law applicable in Ukraine*, he adds. ■ The parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn opts to summon a round-table discussion between the authorities and the opposition. The discussion would take place between the outgoing President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma and the two rivals in the presidential election runoff. Yulia Tymoshenko supports the idea of starting talks with Leonid Kuchma, although only about how the handover power is to be organised.

■ The parliament of Crimea, where pro-Russian deputies are in a majority, warns against a realistic threat of a split in the country; they recognise Viktor Yanukovich as the winner of the presidential election, and appeal to President Leonid Kuchma and to the Parliament to take any actions provided by the constitution to maintain the unity and integrity of the country. ■ Miners from Donbas declare their readiness to march to Kiev.

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■ *For the time being Russia can neither recognise nor challenge the results of the election in Ukraine, as there are no official results yet*, states Russian President Putin at a press conference, and encourages other countries to take a similar stance to wait and see. The Russian president criticises any attempts to challenge the election results by the European Union and other countries. In this context he is especially referring to the opinions of the OSCE observers, which Putin believes constitute a challenge to the prestige of the organisation. Putin admits that he has congratulated one of the candidates, but he did this on the basis of the exit poll results. The Russian MFA has no doubts; it states that the Ukrainian election, irrespective of some irregularities, has been democratic, free, transparent and legally valid. The Ministry instead expresses its surprise and deep anxiety about the reaction of the Ukrainian radical opposition forces to the voting results, and criticises *some countries, including those outside Europe, and international structures* for supporting and stirring up illicit actions aimed at destabilising the situation in Ukraine. In Moscow's opinion, the European Union's stance on the Ukrainian election as expressed by the Dutch foreign minister constitutes a call for a review of the election results, and open encouragement for the opposition to take illicit, forceful actions.

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■ The US Department of State expresses its surprise at Moscow's premature recognition of Viktor's Yanukovich's victory in the election. According to

information in the US press, the Russian Ambassador in Washington Yuri Ushakov has heard comments that it had been inappropriate on Putin's part to congratulate Yanukovich. The Russian MFA does not as yet comment on that officially. The Department of State openly challenges the voting results, and appeals to the Ukrainian authorities to launch a thorough investigation and to take actions to correct the situation, if necessary; its representative does not exclude the imposition of sanctions, if it appears that the election has been fixed.

■ British Foreign Minister Jack Straw expresses his anxiety about the situation, and asks that force not be used against the demonstrators. A similar appeal is made by the German head of diplomacy Joschka Fischer.

■ In Warsaw, members of the Permanent Commission of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly discuss the post-election situation in Ukraine. The EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana reiterates the EU's appeal to the Ukrainian authorities to verify the election results. Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili wishes peace and victory to the Ukrainian demonstrators, while the President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko congratulates Viktor Yanukovich on his victory in the election. EU Commissioner Danuta Hübner declares that the European Commission will express its position on the issue of Ukraine in the near future, and that she personally is against imposing sanctions. The President of the Christian-democratic European People's Party Wilfried Martens invites Yushchenko to the EPP's meeting in Brussels. *Ukraine still has a chance of convincing the international community that it [the election] was fair*, says Slovakia's deputy foreign affairs minister Ivan Korčok after his meeting with the ambassador of Ukraine.

■ ***President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and the Polish government should immediately recognise Viktor Yushchenko as the president of Ukraine***, a Ukrainian MP from the Crimea and representative of the Crimean Tartars, Refat Chubarov, declares after the parliamentary session. A similar opinion was expressed earlier on that day by the Euro-MP and member of the Polish Law and Justice party Michał Kamiński.

■ At a meeting near the parliament, the opposition supporters are reassured and encouraged to fight for their rights by Euro-MPs Jerzy Buzek, Grażyna Staniszevska and Michał Kamiński among others, together with a Belarusian opposition leader, Anatoly Lebedka. Jerzy Buzek delivers a short speech to those gathered, who answer by chanting "Poland" and "Solidarity."

■ The head of the European Parliament's delegation which supervised the course of the election in Ukraine, Marek Siwiec, appeals at a press confe-

rence for the election results to be verified by the Ukrainian election commission and courts. He emphasises that many more irregularities were definitely noted during the campaign in the run-up to the second round and during the election itself than had been the case during the first round.

■ Viktor Yushchenko invites former Polish President Lech Wałęsa to come to Kiev.

■ Upon his return from Kiev, Minister Jacek Kluczkowski gives his account of the course of the presidential election runoff, and of the substance of his conversations with Ukrainian politicians, to Prime Minister Marek Belka and to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. The president decides to establish contact with the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, and the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, who appeal for his presence in person to help relieve the tension.

■ In the afternoon, Aleksander Kwaśniewski makes a declaration concerning the results of the presidential election in Ukraine, stating *inter alia*: *From the beginning, Poland has claimed that the presidential election would be a test for Ukrainian democracy and would determine Ukraine's reliability for its global partners. Unfortunately, we cannot deem the test result satisfactory. Our country is deeply convinced that it is not the election of a specific candidate for president, but the observance of international standards and the manner in which the future president of Ukraine is chosen, which are the matters of key significance for the future of Ukraine and its position in the world. The fairness of the ballot counting and the transparency of this election are of key significance. We believe that the Ukrainian public expects such fundamental principles to be respected, and all the structures of the Ukrainian state owe their society the observance of those election rules in a reliable and unarguable manner. We have commented with anxiety and concern on the irregularities noted during the first election round. Today, after the second round, there is plenty of doubt, fundamental reservations, protests by Ukrainian citizens, by Ukrainian political parties, by international observers, by the governments of European countries, and by international institutions such as the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the European Parliament. A great part of Ukrainian voters have a sense of being misled, as in their opinion the election has been conducted in an unclear and non-transparent way, and many abuses and forgeries have taken place. We stand firmly behind Ukrainian society. We are participants in what is happening there, and we want to see how the events develop further (...). Poland does not want to patronise anyone, Poland does not want to interfere with others' affairs, Poland duly respects the sovereignty of its great and most excellent neighbour; however, Poland wants to*



*share its experience at such a difficult moment. Especially at this place, at this Palace, where the “round table” discussions were held 15 years ago, we have the moral claim, the moral right to say “yes” to dialogue and “no” to violence, “yes” to co-operation and “no” to deepening conflicts.*

■ Aleksander Kwaśniewski also promises that he will contact President Kuchma in the near future, and ask him to become engaged in a discussion, negotiations and co-operation with the two runoff candidates, in co-operation with the Council of Europe and the European Union.

■ Leonid Kuchma calls Aleksander Kwaśniewski in the early afternoon. The Polish president emphasises the seriousness of the situation, declares himself to be definitely opposed to forceful solutions, and suggests Warsaw’s readiness to start talks. The term “negotiations” is not used at the time; nevertheless, as early as that time of the evening, President Kwaśniewski talks about the Ukrainian crisis and the shape of potential negotiation initiatives with the Chairman of the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers, the Polish minister of foreign affairs Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz and with the EU’s High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana, as well as with the Council of Europe’s Secretary General Terry Davis, who is visiting Warsaw.

■ At the same time, attempts to establish direct contact with Viktor Yushchenko are being made; this finally happens in the late evening.

■ Several thousand Poles and ethnic Ukrainians residing in the Małopolska region form a “chain of solidarity” with Ukraine at the central Market Square in Krakow. ■ At a special press conference, the President of Warsaw Lech Kaczyński congratulates Viktor Yushchenko, and at a special session Warsaw city councillors recognise him as the rightful president. ■ Two demonstrations move off from the area of the Warsaw University gate: one towards the Presidential Palace, and another towards the Embassy of Ukraine; apart from students, prominent Polish politicians such as Zyta Gilowska, Jan Rokita, Lech Kaczyński and Marek Borowski take part in the demonstrations. ■ Students in Poznań gather signatures to protest against the election fixing near the Collegium Novum.

## Wednesday, 24 November

■ The Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine delays announcing the final results of the second round of the presidential election for several hours. Finally, the official results are announced at 5.30pm. They state that the win-

ner is Viktor Yanukovych with 49.46%, and Viktor Yushchenko second with 46.61%. The report is signed by 11 out of 15 commission members. The opposition does not accept the results stated by the CEC. At 8pm, Viktor Yushchenko speaks to 200,000 of his supporters who have gathered at a rally in Kiev, calling for a national political strike and appealing to western governments to reject the election result. *Today I want to swear to you that my struggle against the regime will be even tougher and more deliberate*, he declares. The opposition promises to block state administration buildings, transit roads, airports and ports, as well as to call strikes at higher education institutions and at enterprises.

■ In the evening, Yushchenko states that a National Salvation Committee (NSC) to protect democracy has been created. As the city authorities are favourably disposed to them (earlier that day, Kiev's mayor Oleksandr Omelchenko took the side of Yushchenko's supporters), before midnight hundreds of students occupy the Ukrainian House in the city centre near the Maidan, a building which has a showroom and conference hall. The building becomes the office of the staff co-ordinating the civil disobedience. There is a rumour in the city that a 20,000-strong group of miners, Yanukovych supporters, have moved to Kiev. There is growing anxiety about a possible provocation or pacification of the "campsite" at the Maidan square. Yushchenko secretly meets with the chief of the SBU.

■ President Leonid Kuchma, whose term in office is about to end, accuses the opposition of intending to stage a *coup d'état*, and of striving to split the country; he guarantees that he will prevent any forceful solutions. He also appeals to all political forces to start talks immediately, and to the international community to refrain from interfering in Ukraine's internal affairs. *A civil war is possible in the country*, warns Kuchma. The president-elect Viktor Yanukovych declares his readiness to start negotiations promptly with the opposition, and his team announces a five-point agenda for settling the crisis. At a government meeting, Yanukovych claims that he cannot see any reason for the street demonstrations staged by the opposition, and that nothing out of the ordinary is happening in the country. The Ukrainian opposition rejects the proposal to negotiate with Yanukovych's team; they see President Kuchma as the only partner for talks. According to unofficial information, the ruling team is considering an option in which Yanukovych will be the president and his rival Viktor Yushchenko will be nominated head of government. The Ukrainian MFA warns in a statement sent to the European Union that, considering the fact that the final election results have not yet been announced

and that President Leonid Kuchma has taken efforts to normalise the situation, the positions by influential international organisations and some countries are only complicating the situation additionally.

■ The Ukrainian Minister of Defence, Oleksandr Kuzmuk, appeals to the Ukrainian army to remain loyal to the constitution, and to maintain calm and moderation in their activities. He also states that the election has been held in compliance with the binding legal regulations, without any violations whatsoever on the part of the military. The minister states that, contrary to rumours currently circulating, no movements of the army will take place, except for those connected with exercises planned earlier, and that all units are at their regular places of deployment. At the same time, the Security Service of Ukraine announces that there are no Russian special militia troops on Ukrainian territory, thus contradicting the information spread by the opposition that nearly a thousand militiamen of the Russian Vitiaz special troops have been sent to Kiev.

■ The Lviv regional council, where Viktor Yushchenko's supporters are in the great majority, declare their assumption of power over the Lviv region; they express a vote of no confidence in the region's administration, and entrust a newly appointed Executive Committee with executive authority. Yushchenko's supporters demonstrate in the city, chanting anti-Russian slogans in front of the Russian consulate; upon this news, the Russian MFA requires the Lviv authorities to ensure security for the consulate and its Russian employees.

■ Fourteen journalists from the Ukrainian state-owned television station UT-1 go on strike to protest against censorship. The International Federation of Journalists stands up for them on the same day. Earlier, Kuchma accuses the Channel 5 television station of complicity in preparations for a *coup d'état* allegedly being staged by the opposition.

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■ The Russian State Duma adopts a resolution on the events in Ukraine stating its deep anxiety about extremist actions taken by the radical opposition, and appeals to the parties in the conflict to act within the limits set by the law. *The post-election situation in Ukraine should be settled in compliance with the existing electoral legislation*, states the Kremlin in a communiqué published after telephone conversations between Vladimir Putin and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder.

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■ The West continues to criticise the way the Ukrainian presidential election has been conducted. US Secretary of State Colin Powell states that the USA does not recognise the election results as legally valid, and appeals for them to be revised in order to reflect the will of the nation. Zbigniew Brzezinski believes after the official announcement of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's victory in the Ukrainian election, new elections should be demanded.

■ The Dutch government issues a statement on behalf of the European Union expressing its scepticism about the reliability of the results announced by the CEC, and appeals for a careful investigation into all the complaints. ■ The EU head of diplomacy Javier Solana calls on both sides of the Ukrainian crisis to start negotiations, and at a session in which he participates, the European Parliament's foreign affairs commission declares that it will not accept the results of the Ukrainian election until it receives evidence proving that it has been conducted correctly. During the debate, Bronisław Geremek suggests that the European Union should address the Ukrainian public and not President Kuchma, and state that it does not accept Russia's interference with Ukraine's affairs. **Jerzy Buzek recalls that the European Union has fostered the development of democracy in such distant countries as Iraq and Cuba; therefore it must support the development of democracy in its largest neighbour, Ukraine. He also makes a plea to Solana for a "highest-level" EU special mission to be sent to Kiev immediately. It should consist of 15 to 20 members, including deputy ministers of the EU member states, Euro-MPs, and representatives of the European Commission and of the presidency, says Buzek in determining the mission's composition.** ■ The Vice-President of the European Parliament, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, appeals to the parliament's speaker for an emergency session of the European Parliament to be urgently convened to discuss the situation in Ukraine. **Members of the Polish Civic Platform party gather signatures among Euro-MPs in Brussels to support the motion. They also initiate a resolution by the European Parliament concerning Ukraine, which will finally be passed on 2 December.**

■ Concern about the situation in Ukraine is also expressed by the Chancellor of Germany, NATO's secretary general, the OSCE's president and German & Lithuanian MPs; the latter send a letter to Yushchenko to assure him of their solidarity. ■ Pope John Paul II says he is praying for Ukrainians. ■ The European Parliament budget commission withholds its consent to grant a loan to Ukraine by the European Investment Bank.

■ Activists from the Belarusian opposition youth organisation Zubr hand out orange ribbons and flags in the centre of Minsk, to demonstrate their sup-

port for Viktor Yushchenko. ■ Lithuanian non-governmental organisations appeal to their government to support the Ukrainian opposition leader. *Today, the defenders of a free and democratic Ukraine need our solidarity and support*, state representatives of the Open Lithuania Fund, the Civil Society Institute and the Civic Forum.

■ **The Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski makes another statement, wherein for the first time he outlines in public the “negotiation programme,” saying among other things: *We expect the election results to be revised to reflect the truth, and verified in compliance with the applicable procedures, in such a way that we are able to say that these are the true results of the election in Ukraine. (...) Secondly, we expect all the sides to the Ukrainian conflict to refrain from using forceful solutions. President Kuchma has given me such guarantees several times. Chairman Yushchenko has spoken in a similar spirit. (...) Thirdly, it is our great desire that a dialogue should start between the major political forces in Ukraine on what should be done next, after the election, and how representatives of the two blocs can co-operate.***

■ **President Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds a meeting at the President’s Palace with the participation of the deputy foreign affairs minister Adam Rotfeld, the Intelligence Agency chief Andrzej Ananicz, the advisor on Eastern policy Stanisław Ciosek, and Jacek Kluczkowski, undersecretary of state at the Prime Minister’s Chancellery, to discuss the situation in Ukraine and his telephone conversations with Ukrainian and European politicians. He also informs them of his decision to undertake mediation in the Ukrainian conflict, and his readiness to go to Kiev. Those gathered decide to send a preparatory group to Kiev on a mission of mediation. The group’s negotiating mandate, drafted on behalf of the President by Adam Rotfeld, is also outlined in general terms: the group’s task is to attempt to prevent a forceful solution and to make preparations for mediation. The President, in consultation with the Prime Minister, appoints Jacek Kluczkowski to lead the group, which will consist of the Polish president’s advisor Stanisław Ciosek, the director of the American department at the MFA Henryk Szlajfer, the deputy director of the European department of the MFA Wojciech Zajączkowski, and the Prime Minister’s advisor Olga Iwaniak.**

■ **Due to a delay in the landing at Kiev of the Polish special plane which the preparatory group is travelling in, the previously arranged meeting with Viktor Yushchenko does not take place.**

■ **Late in the evening, Jacek Kluczkowski and Olga Iwaniak talk with Oleksandr Zinchenko, one of Yushchenko’s key advisors; the Polish prepara-**

tory group suggests that Yushchenko's team should develop a proposal for a possible compromise; they present the Polish concept of resuming political dialogue in Ukraine and holding round-table talks with the participation of international mediators. On behalf of the opposition, Zinchenko promises to develop a draft solution to the political crisis, taking the Polish proposals into consideration. According to press releases published some time later, Yushchenko's advisor claims during this conversation: *We are going the whole hog; the worst they can do to us is kill us...*

■ In the evening, Aleksander Kwaśniewski states that he has been invited to come to Kiev by both Viktor Yushchenko and Leonid Kuchma; *this decision has not been taken today just because the arrival of the President of Poland is possible only when there is a subject for a serious conversation, when we all know what the standpoints of the parties are.*

■ President Kwaśniewski is busy all day having telephone conversations with the EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana, the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, the Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schroeder (who informs him about his conversations with the Russian President Vladimir Putin), and with Viktor Yushchenko. Javier Solana agrees to take part in a potential mediation mission in Kiev.

■ The apogee of demonstrations of solidarity with Ukraine. On that day, among other actions, residents of Poznań go on a mass demonstration; the deputy president of the city Maciej Frankiewicz and the President of Adam Mickiewicz University, Prof. Stanisław Lorenc, address them. ■ A letter of support for the democratic aspirations of Ukrainians is addressed by councillors and the president of Olsztyn to their twin-town of Lutsk. Students and teachers from the Ukrainian School Complex in Górow Iławiecki join the street demonstration. ■ Several hundred people gather in front of the Sejm in Warsaw. Deputy Speaker Donald Tusk and the chairman of the Polish Social Democrats Marek Borowski go out to talk to the demonstrators, and receive an open letter from Warsaw students appealing for *intensive actions to be taken to settle the crisis in Ukraine, and to support the Ukrainian opposition.* ■ More than a thousand demonstrators sing the national anthems of Ukraine and Poland at the Market Square in Wrocław. ■ Residents of Rzeszów demonstrate in front of the honorary consulate of Ukraine. ■ "Toruń–Kiev is our common affair" chant four hundred people in the Old City's Market Square in Toruń.

## 25 – 26 NOVEMBER

### THE FIRST “ROUND TABLE”

#### Thursday, 25 November

■ The Supreme Court bans the publication of final election results, pending the resolution of the complaint filed by Viktor Yushchenko’s election staff. Once published in the parliament and government journals (*Holos Ukrayiny* and *Uriadovy Kurier*, respectively), the resolution by the Central Electoral Commission would become binding, and Viktor Yanukovych would be able to take his oath of presidency and assume office. *Holos Ukrayiny* complies with the ban, while the editorial board of *Uriadovy Kurier* begins the publication. However, opposition deputies stop the distribution of any printed copies.

■ Despite a denial by the Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov and the Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin, rumours spread that Russian special troops have arrived in Kiev. Channel 5 television is one source of this information, while Viktor Yushchenko’s staff claim that two aircraft with commandos of the Vityaz force have landed in an airfield near Kiev. This piece of information proves untrue some time later. It is only probable that an aircraft with a small group of commandos landed in the military base in Irpen at that time, in order to evacuate Leonid Kuchma if necessary. ■ An Extraordinary All-Ukrainian Congress of Local Council Deputies calls on the departments of force to submit to President Viktor Yushchenko, and on the Councils themselves to establish executive committees to replace local administrative structures, pending the new president’s inauguration.

■ Viktor Yushchenko begins to create parallel government structures and issues his first decrees. These include decrees on the creation of a National Salvation Committee (NSC) and of the NSC Executive Committee, which in turn is charged with the tasks of a government; on the creation of a social militia force called People’s Self-Defence, whose task is to ensure law and order together with the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Security Service of Ukraine; and to organise a civilian defence force, the so-called Ukrainian Guard (the latter force was never created). Oleksandr Zinchenko, Yushchenko’s campaign chief, updates demonstrators gathered in Independence Square in Kiev on these plans, and asks them to “non-aggressively” block state buildings, including the government, parliament and Presidential Administration offices, as well as the main railway routes. Zinchenko also an-

nounces five “executive decrees” issued by the new President, which, nevertheless, never come into force.

■ More members of the government camp, including officials of the departments of force, join the opposition. Western Ukraine responds to calls for a general strike and to obstruct transport: teachers in Lviv go on strike, as do most enterprises in the region. An executive committee formed by the Lviv District Council and composed of Viktor Yushchenko’s supporters takes over some of the District’s state administration bodies.

■ The opposition declares that negotiations concerning a new vote can only begin if Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich steps down.

■ General Oleksandr Skybynetsky, advisor to the Head of the Security Service of Ukraine, addresses opposition supporters demonstrating in Kiev, and calls on officers of the departments of force to protect the nation, and not act against it. ■ At a rally in Lviv, General Mykhailo Kutsyn, the Commander of Ukraine’s Western Operational Command, declares that the troops he controls will not be used against the nation. ■ Deputy Economy Minister Oleh Hayduk resigns in protest against the fixed election results.

■ The 1+1 private television channel, controlled by the head of the Presidential Administration Viktor Medvedchuk, declares that it will only broadcast reliable and true information, and will not submit to political pressure.

■ Volodymyr Lytvyn, the Ukrainian Parliament Speaker, appeals for a political decision to be taken in order to resolve the situation and to prevent complete international isolation. According to Lytvyn, the Supreme Court’s decisions on the complaints of massive electoral fraud filed by the opposition will be crucial.

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■ The Russian President Vladimir Putin sends an official letter to congratulate Viktor Yanukovich on his victory in the presidential election in Ukraine.

■ Ukraine is one of the major subjects discussed during the Russia–EU summit in the Hague. Following the summit, Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende admits that both sides still hold differing positions concerning the crisis in Ukraine, but they agree that a peaceful solution is needed and that no violence should be used. Balkenende emphasises that the EU cannot accept the Ukrainian election result, while Putin maintains that all records based on which the election commission issued its verdict were signed by representatives of both election camps, and that complaints concerning electoral fraud should be sorted out by the courts. Putin also warns European states that they should not interfere with the conflict in Ukraine or provoke confusion



and mass public disturbance there, and stresses that Russia is not interfering in the affairs of Ukraine.

■ In a press conference, Sergei Markov, a Russian political scientist and Director of the Institute of Political Studies, exposes a plot allegedly laid by Zbigniew Brzeziński and Adrian Karatnycki of Freedom House, and implemented by Poles without the knowledge of the US government. The main objective of this plot is to transfer power in Ukraine to Viktor Yushchenko, to which end Poland is alleged to be making a significant contribution (according to Markov, the arrival of Lech Wałęsa in Kiev and the expected visit of the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski are not coincidental). Yushchenko’s putative victory is meant to reinforce Poland’s role in the EU, counterbalance French and German influence, prevent the Union from consolidating under the auspices of Paris and Berlin, and destroy the good relations between Putin and Bush. Markov claims that the plan is being kept in secrecy because, after centuries of repression and abuse at the hands of the Polish aristocracy, Ukrainians do not trust Poles.

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■ In a conversation with the outgoing Ukrainian President, Leonid Kuchma, the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende says that the Ukrainian election result is impossible to accept.

■ The German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer calls for a check of the election results under international supervision. In a letter, the archbishops of Lviv, Lubomyr Huzar and Marian Yavorsky, together with Karl Lehmann, the Chairman of the German Catholic Bishops’ Conference, criticises the “serious irregularities” that occurred during the election.

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■ At 17:00 CET, the Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma invites the Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus and the Polish leader Aleksander Kwaśniewski to act as mediators in order to solve the conflict between the authorities and the opposition in Ukraine. The Lithuanian Foreign Minister Antanas Valionis says: *We will consider all possibilities. We need a clear understanding of what this means.* Several hours earlier, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry issued a statement emphasising that *Ukraine can always rely on Lithuania’s solidarity in its ambition to build a strong state founded on the principles of European democracy.*

■ **In the morning, most members of the negotiating team meet the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, who thanks them for their speedy arrival, emphasises that it is regarded as a “friendly ges-**

ture” and recommends haste in starting the talks. In Hryshchenko’s opinion, Kuchma is prepared to accept a “round table,” provided that talks begin without any preliminary conditions. In a subsequent statement for *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Jacek Kluczkowski will say, *Hryshchenko told us directly that we needed to hurry. He said that Kuchma might accept a compromise, but his influence on the departments of force was decreasing every day.*

■ Around midday, a “preparatory group” composed of five Polish experts holds the first meeting with Leonid Kuchma since the outbreak of the “election crisis” at a villa in Konche Zaspa. The Ukrainian President is accompanied by his advisor Serhiy Lovochkin (and also briefly by Hryhory Cherniavsky). President Kuchma says that Yanukovych’s election victory is a fact, and that in his opinion the rise of tension should be blamed on Yushchenko’s team. Leonid Kuchma mentions the phenomenon of the *destructive Western Ukrainian mentality*, in reference to the well-known problems surrounding the opening of the Polish military cemetery (Cmentarz Orłąt) in Lviv. He also claims that the “pro-Yushchenko” demonstrators are being paid in dollars. One of the meeting participants will subsequently tell *Gazeta Wyborcza*: *It began hopelessly. Kuchma kept accusing the West and Poles of partiality, he shouted that the people standing in Independence Square were all being “paid by Berezovsky and Soros,” and complained that he could not work in his own buildings. For quite a long time, he rejected the idea of any mediation whatsoever.* The Ukrainian President also makes it clear that he expects his opposite numbers to come up with proposals for some specific solutions. Serhiy Lovochkin (who is linked to the Donetsk clan) suggests that the mediators should prepare a “package” of draft political solutions.

The Polish side suggests that the strategy for the talks should be modified: instead of discussing events which the two sides view differently, a debate should be initiated on how to prevent violence and bloodshed. Ambassador Henryk Szlajfer suggests political dialogue, a meeting of experts and a “package” of solutions to the election and political dilemmas. As the initial minimum, the Poles suggest that the supporters of both presidential candidates should pledge to refrain from radical action and the use of force. Around 14:00, President Kuchma, who initially criticised “Polish partiality,” accepts the idea of organising a debate involving mediators for the first time. He also commends the efforts to reach agreement, i.e. developing a “package” of arrangements on several issues. This is apparently the moment when the Ukrainian authorities first accept the idea of “round table” talks involving the two sides of the conflict and international mediators.

■ In the early afternoon, Ambassador Stanisław Ciosek holds talks with the advisor to the Russian Embassy in Kiev to update him on the Polish initiatives.

■ At the same time, Ambassador Henryk Szlajfer informs a US Embassy official of the current status of the talks. The response is one of gratitude, and an assurance that Washington fully supports the measures taken by Poland. Late in the afternoon, Ambassador Szlajfer signals to one of the Ukrainian partners that any escalation of the conflict should be avoided; this is the first in a series of such signals sent by the Polish camp.

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■ Several hours later, at Viktor Yushchenko’s staff headquarters, members of the Polish preparatory group meet Ivan Plushch, and later Yushchenko himself. They discuss the “round table” concept, the date of the Polish President’s arrival and the idea of starting talks without any initial conditions. The Ukrainian partners are not enthusiastic about the latter concept, or the suggestion that the “round table” talks should involve only three representatives of each side. They are concerned that if he senses weakness, Kuchma could launch a political counter-offensive. Most of the meeting is devoted to analysing the situation, the chances of starting political dialogue, and possible scenarios for a visit by Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Javier Solana, Valdas Adamkus and other international mediators the next day. Even before the talks co-ordinated by Minister Jacek Kluczowski begin, Yushchenko receives a phone call from President Kwaśniewski, who recommends flexibility to the Ukrainian opposition leader. The experts are only informed at around 21.30 of the Polish President’s decision to go to Kiev the next day.

■ Attempts fail to start talks, or even establish contact, with Viktor Yanukovych, who is convinced of “the Poles’ partiality.” His conviction grows stronger after his afternoon meeting with Lech Wałęsa, who simply presents his position and leaves for Independence Square to join the protesters. Yanukovych perceives this as a sign of disregard for his arguments, and concludes that this attitude is representative of the “Polish side” collectively. Members of the Polish preparatory group find out about this following their meeting with Lech Wałęsa at the Polish Embassy; the information is confirmed by people from Yanukovych’s team only late in the evening. For several hours, members of the Polish group try to reach Yanukovych’s advisors, in order to pass the message that the Polish authorities’

objective is not to support any particular side or candidate, but to abide by democratic standards.

■ Wojciech Zajączkowski and Olga Iwaniak meet Viktor Pinchuk, the Ukrainian oligarch, deputy and son-in-law of President Kuchma; he says he believes that Ukraine will keep its integrity and will not be divided. Pinchuk further declares that he is ready to work towards a political solution, and comes up with a proposal to split power and influence between the supporters of Yushchenko and Yanukovych.

■ Some Polish mediators meet Rinat Akhmetov, an oligarch, businessman and leader of the “Donetsk clan,” who says that a political solution should be sought; he is prepared to accept Viktor Yushchenko as the President of Ukraine, provided that he is elected in compliance with the Ukrainian constitution.

■ The former Polish President Lech Wałęsa spends most of the day in Kiev meeting Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovych. He also addresses opposition supporters demonstrating in Independence Square who welcome him with an ovation. *Everyone assured me that there would be no use of force, but I warn you against provocations. Ukraine stands a great chance, the whole world is looking at you,* he says inspiring an outburst of enthusiasm. Wałęsa’s representative, the former Solidarity activist Zbigniew Bujak, stays in Kiev. Ex-President Wałęsa emphasises that all Poles agree on the question of Ukraine. *Knowing what [President] Kwaśniewski does, I believe that he will do everything it takes to resolve the situation in Ukraine,* he declares. *I think that Poland can play a unique role solving the conflict with the support of European institutions,* says Yushchenko, standing by Wałęsa’s side.

■ Late in the afternoon, Jacek Kluczkowski and Stanisław Ciosek meet Lech Wałęsa at the Polish Embassy.

■ With the assistance of a Ukrainian MP, a meeting is organised several minutes after midnight between members of the Polish negotiating group and Deputy PM Andriy Kluyev, who at that time is one of Yanukovych’s close collaborators, and Volodymyr Sivkovich, a member of the SDPU(u) and head of the parliamentary commission investigating the circumstances of Viktor Yushchenko’s poisoning. Andriy Kluyev reasserts in rather harsh words that Viktor Yanukovych doubts Warsaw’s impartiality. He also protests against foreign interference in the developments of the political process in Ukraine and Lech Wałęsa’s statements. For their part, Minister Kluczkowski and Ambassadors Ciosek and Szlajfer emphasise that by refusing to start any dialogue, the team of Prime Minister Yanukovych are

exposing Ukraine to isolation, and may be deemed responsible for a possible outbreak of violence. Finally, Polish experts manage to hand in the invitation to "round table" talks, and obtain Kluyev's agreement to form a joint working group composed of election staff members representing both candidates. Kluyev says that his camp is ready to form a coalition government with the Our Ukraine bloc, and to share influence in state institutions with Yushchenko supporters.

■ Borys Tarasiuk, a Ukrainian opposition activist, former Foreign Minister and one of Viktor Yushchenko's closest aides, who is visiting Poland at that time, addresses the Polish Sejm. He appeals for solidarity and support for the Ukrainian nation's choice, asks that the falsified election result not be accepted, and for friendly mediation on Poland's part. Tarasiuk also meets the Speaker of the Sejm, Józef Oleksy. The Polish Parliament adopts by acclamation an appeal calling on the Parliament of Ukraine to do whatever it takes to ensure that *truth, liberty and democracy prevail in Ukraine*.

■ The Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski receives Borys Tarasiuk. Following that meeting, Tarasiuk makes a reference to his long-time contacts with Aleksander Kwaśniewski: *Meetings with the President became particularly regular and constructive when I became Foreign Minister of Ukraine. There is no other politician in Europe, or elsewhere in the world, who has acted so consistently for Ukraine and in the interests of Ukraine, and who has reminded Europe and the whole world about Ukraine. Tarasiuk also says: The democratic forces of Ukraine gathered in Viktor Yushchenko's bloc believe that the President of the Republic of Poland is the best possible mediator for talks between President Kuchma and Mr. Yushchenko, who has the support of the Ukrainian nation. (...) President Kwaśniewski has already taken some steps to fulfil the role which we consider the best.*

■ In the evening, Polish President Kwaśniewski says: *I assess the situation as follows: any possible compromise will be very difficult to work out, but patience is usually rewarded, so let us keep trying. What is important is the documents of the European Union-Russia meeting. (...) The Polish President says that in his opinion, the scope of the Ukrainian compromise should include the following elements: Firstly, the necessary verification of election results by the Supreme Court in all cases where election protests have been filed. In practice, if any serious abuses or instances of electoral fraud are detected, the results for the given constituency should be annulled, and the votes recounted by the Central Electoral Commission. The second thing should be that both sides, that is, the authorities*

*of Ukraine and the civil opposition movement which we see on television, abstain from any use of force or violence and ensure peace, so that the legal procedures can be finalised in accordance with the regulations. Finally, the third element is the necessity for the major political forces of Ukraine to meet at a round table to discuss the future of this country, necessary political reforms, and ways to ensure the unity of Ukraine, which has been undermined (...). This is a very general outline of a certain political concept which, if accepted by both sides, i.e. the authorities and the opposition, could form a good basis for solving the present crisis. The President once again declares that he is ready to go on a mediation mission to Ukraine.*

■ In several telephone conversations held during the day, the Polish President consults the Lithuanian leader Valdas Adamkus on the current developments in Ukraine.

■ In the evening, the Polish embassy in Kiev and President Leonid Kuchma's press office announce that Aleksander Kwaśniewski is coming to Kiev before noon the next day.

■ Demonstrations of support for Ukraine take place throughout Poland. Members of the Gdynia City Council adopt a resolution supporting Ukraine's aspiration to democracy and independence, and at the monument to the Victims of December 1970 in Gdynia, a rally is held to express support for democratic Kiev. Members of the Gdańsk City Council also adopt an appeal in support of Ukraine. ■ In Łódź, two thousand demonstrators join a march along Piotrkowska Street and listen to addresses by the Mayor Jerzy Kropiwnicki, the regional NSZZ "Solidarność" leader and the vice-chancellors of Łódź's universities. ■ In a special session, the senate of the Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin expresses solidarity with the Ukrainian nation and congratulates Viktor Yushchenko. Tents are put up near the Marie Curie-Skłodowska monument, in which Polish and Ukrainian students spend the night in a gesture of solidarity. ■ In Katowice, students of the Silesian University hold a demonstration. The authorities of several cities in Silesia display orange flags on town hall buildings. ■ Rallies of solidarity are organised by the authorities and schools in places such as Bydgoszcz and Poznań; in the latter, the monument of the Polish playwright Aleksander Fredro is decorated with an orange scarf. In the coming days, similar decorations will be applied to the monuments of Taras Shevchenko and Adam Mickiewicz in Warsaw, and the Neptune statue in Gdańsk.

## Friday, 26 November

■ More than 200,000 Yushchenko supporters hold a non-stop rally in Independence Square. As journalists on pro-government radio and television stations decide to defy the authorities, millions of Ukrainian viewers get the first opportunity to listen to the opposition leader's uncensored statements, and to see the reactions of his supporters in the Kiev city centre. Yushchenko's backers wearing orange scarves are also invited to the UT-1 studio for the very first time. Opposition supporters block entrances to buildings housing the government and the president's offices. Before noon, tens of thousands of miners from Donetsk, who arrived in Kiev in the morning, start marching towards the city centre. They intend to unblock the public buildings and disperse those demonstrating in the Maidan. Their march is stopped several times, and finally they turn back, probably as a result of an intervention by Polish mediators. Viktor Yanukovich addresses the miners gathered near the main railway station, stating *inter alia* that he does not want the presidency at a price of "even a single drop of blood." Most of the miners go back to Donetsk.

■ Cardinal Lubomyr Huzar, leader of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine, declares that he hopes for the present crisis in Ukraine to be solved through dialogue, as happened in Poland in the past.

■ An extraordinary meeting of the Parliament of Ukraine is called for Saturday, which will be devoted entirely to the country's difficult political situation.

■ Election Commission Secretary Valentyna Zavalevska officially requests that her signature be withdrawn from the election result records. She claims that when she signed the records she did not know anything about the complaints concerning electoral fraud filed by the opposition. ■ Oleh Rybachuk, one of the leading opposition members, reveals that his group has recordings of phone calls which are proof of the ways in which data was falsified during the first and the second round of the presidential election.

■ In the town of Sumy, thousands of opposition supporters blockade several hundred district administration officials in the administration building.

■ In an extraordinary session, the Kharkiv District Council resolves that the region will stop paying taxes to the central budget, and decides to establish district and local executive committees with the powers of state administration bodies. ■ The Donetsk District Council announces a referendum on the district's status as a constituent republic of the Ukrainian federation, to be held on 5 December. *We can live without the other half [of the country], but can*

*they live without us?* asks Donetsk's Mayor Oleksandr Lukyanchenko. ■ In Odesa, a resolution is adopted initiating the secession of the Odessa region and the proclamation of an independent Novorossiysky Kray region there. ■ In front of a rally of his supporters, Viktor Yanukovich accuses the opposition of organising a coup in Ukraine. The rally is a beginning of the Donetsk "anti-Maidan", a permanent demonstration of support for Yanukovich.

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■ The seventeen Central European Initiative (CEI) member states whose representatives are holding a meeting in Portoroz, Slovenia call for an enquiry into election results and possible fraud. **The Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka, who is present there, says:** *The second round of the presidential election in Ukraine and the recent developments have led to a crisis which poses a threat to the country and may have serious consequences for Europe. There is no doubt that the election process was tainted by fraud and irregularities, and it therefore cannot be regarded as democratic. The officially announced results are deeply discordant with the will of the Ukrainian nation. At the moment, Ukraine is divided politically. The country's long-term stability and development are in danger.*

■ Before noon, the Presidents of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia jointly express concern about the situation in Ukraine and their support for the Ukrainian nation. In the early afternoon, the Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus departs for Ukraine.

■ Following Vladimir Putin's earlier gesture, leaders from Central Asia congratulate Viktor Yanukovich. Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov says he believes that Yanukovich's activities in this high office will reinforce Ukraine's independence and build its prestige on the international stage. Kyrgyzstan's leader Askar Akayev and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev also send congratulations.

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■ In a press conference, the Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov declares that he hopes that Europe will recognise Ukraine's choice, and will not try to influence the Ukrainian nation.

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■ **Around 10:00, an aircraft carrying President Aleksander Kwaśniewski lands at Kiev airport. The Polish leader has arrived at the invitation of Leonid Kuchma and the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko to join talks about possible ways to overcome the political crisis. At the airport, Aleksander Kwaśniewski is welcomed by the Polish Ambassador to Kiev Marek Ziółkowski, the leader of the Polish expert group Minister Jacek Kluczowski,**



and Ambassadors Stanisław Ciosek and Henryk Szlajfer; they update the President on the current situation, the outcome of talks so far and the possibilities of starting dialogue. Several hours later other European politicians arrive in Kiev, including the Lithuanian president Valdas Adamkus (invited personally by President Kuchma), the EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana and the OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubisz.

■ Following overnight talks with Deputy PM Kluyev, early in the morning the Polish experts Wojciech Zajączkowski and Olga Iwaniak meet Serhiy Tyhipko, the chief of Viktor Yanukovych's election staff, at election staff headquarters. Members of the Polish preparatory group find out that Yanukovych's supporters, who are coming from Donetsk by special trains, intend to clear the entrances of the central state offices by forcefully removing Yushchenko's backers. Tyhipko himself rejects the idea of a "round table," and makes it clear that the government has already decided to use force; he states that the arrangements made with Leonid Kuchma are no longer valid because the only legally elected president is Viktor Yanukovych. This information reaches Aleksander Kwaśniewski during his introductory meeting with Leonid Kuchma. When Kuchma finds out about this, he once again backs the idea of withholding action, at least pending the mediators' visit to Kiev, and contacts Tyhipko. Tyhipko is notified about the arrival of Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Javier Solana and Valdas Adamkus, in a conversation with Jacek Kluczkowski; Tyhipko agrees to stop the march of "pro-Yanukovych" miners towards the centre of the city. A few minutes later, Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds a phone conversation with Tyhipko on this subject.

■ For the next several hours, successive conditions are negotiated with Leonid Kuchma's team, including the venue for the "round table" meeting and the initial terms of agreement. This is seen as Kuchma's "trial of strength."

■ Members of the Polish preparatory group reach Viktor Yushchenko's election headquarters, where they hold talks with Ivan Plushch and other Yushchenko advisors, discussing details of the positions to be adopted during the "round table" talks. Two hours later, Viktor Yushchenko, Ivan Plushch, Oleh Rybachuk, Oleksandr Zinchenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Kinakh and others on the Ukrainian side, accompanied by President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Javier Solana, Minister Adam Rotfeld, Ambassador Marek Ziółkowski and Minister Jacek Kluczkowski as mediators, come to the table. Yushchenko presents further evidence of electoral fraud.

■ Aleksander Kwaśniewski and Viktor Yanukovych exchange their opinions even before the negotiations begin. Yanukovych assures the Polish President that he is *ready to hold a new election, but it is not possible for legal reasons.*

■ The “round table” talks finally begin at 19:00 in the Mariyski Palace. The participants include both presidential candidates, President Leonid Kuchma, Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn and the mediators, namely the Presidents of Poland and Lithuania Aleksander Kwaśniewski and Valdas Adamkus, as well as the EU’s head of diplomacy Javier Solana, the OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubisz, and the Russian Duma Speaker Boris Gryzlov. The parties adopt a declaration stating that both sides of the conflict oppose the use of force and wish to avoid bloodshed, and that they have decided to join talks in order to solve the election crisis. Summarising the meeting, the Polish President emphasises its importance: *This is a good start, but the road towards resolving the conflict will be difficult. We may have to come to Kiev again shortly for more talks.* When the “round table” deliberations are over, President Kuchma announces that the plan is for the opposition and the authorities to start talks. He also adds that both sides have pledged not to use force. However, the solution suggested by the Polish side, to repeat the second round of voting, is not yet accepted. The legal framework for resolving the conflict is to be defined by the Ukrainian Parliament. President Kwaśniewski’s proposal, for the Supreme Court proceedings concerning the election protests to be broadcast live by Ukrainian state television, is accepted. Earlier during the day, the group of Polish mediators meets the Ukrainian Supreme Court Chief Vasyl Malarenko, who assures them that the opposition’s election protests will be examined objectively and with due diligence.

■ President Leonid Kuchma criticises Lech Wałęsa for his visit on Thursday, 25 November, stressing that he did not invite Wałęsa, and that his arrival only added to the tension. Kuchma comments on the former Polish President’s motives by saying, *He decided he wanted to be spoken about in Ukraine.*

■ A tent is put up in front of the Ukrainian embassy in Warsaw as a sign of solidarity with the demonstrations in the Maidan square. ■ In Poznań, a demonstration is held by members of the Congress of Liberal Internationales (including delegates from Senegal and Paraguay). In Olsztyn, a demonstration is staged by the people of Bartoszyce, Lelkowo, Kętrzyn, Górowo Iławeckie and Morąg who chant “Olsztyn needs a free Ukraine!” ■ Solidarity activists in Starachowice petition the Polish authorities to back the uprising in Ukraine. Several thousand people gather in Długi Targ in Gdańsk;

they are addressed by Bogdan Borusewicz and other speakers. ■ Local leaders in the Podkarpacie region express support for the *civil campaign for a democratic Ukraine*. In Lublin, a Poland–Ukraine Civil Committee is established, with the assistance of the local Uniate parish priest Stefan Batruch.

27 – 28 NOVEMBER

## THE AUTONOMY OF DONETSK

Saturday, 27 November

■ In an extraordinary meeting, the Parliament of Ukraine adopts a resolution proclaiming the second round of the presidential election invalid, because it was marred by massive violations of the law and fails to reflect the voters' will. 307 out of 450 deputies vote in favour of the resolution. The MPs also pass a vote of no-confidence in the Central Electoral Commission, and call on the President to dismiss the original CEC members and appoint new ones. Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn emphasises that the resolution's significance is purely political, and that it does not determine whether the second round will be repeated or a whole new election held. Oleksandr Moroz, one of the opposition leaders, has a different opinion; he believes that the resolution has legal force. ■ In the opinion of the pro-presidential camp, the second round can only be deemed invalid, subject to the parliament's agreement to implement a constitutional reform limiting the president's powers before the new vote. *Reform first, and then the second round may be repeated*, says Yuly Yoffe of the pro-presidential Trudova Ukraina faction.

■ In the evening, a working group composed of representatives of both presidential candidates holds its first meeting; both sides agreed to form such a group in the presence of President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and others during Friday's "round table" talks.

■ As the condition of the country's financial system worsens, President Leonid Kuchma demands that Serhiy Tyhipko, who has been on leave since the end of July in connection with his role as head of Viktor Yanukovych's election staff, should immediately return to work. ■ Viktor Yanukovych asks the hundreds of thousands of opposition supporters who have been rallying in the streets of Kiev for nearly a week to stop their protests. He argues that his objective is to prevent bloodshed.

■ A demonstration of Yanukovych supporters in Donetsk gathers more than 50,000 people. A declaration announced at the rally reads: *If a coup d'état takes place in Ukraine, a referendum on the proclamation of autonomy should be held immediately*. District Governor Anatoliy Blyznyuk says: *We should have (...) a parliament of our own and we should take and implement our decisions*

here. ■ In Lviv, demonstrations in support of Viktor Yushchenko continue near the Opera House.

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■ In the centre of Minsk, the Belarusian opposition youth organisation Zubr holds another rally in support of Viktor Yushchenko.

■ Hearing about the Parliament's decision, the Dutch head of diplomacy Bernard Bot says on behalf of the European Union that the best way to solve the crisis would be to hold a new election by the end of the year. ■ According to the former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, the Ukrainian Parliament's resolution invalidating the second round of the presidential election has exacerbated the political crisis in Ukraine.

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■ **Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds telephone talks with Viktor Yushchenko and the Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn. The latter both tell the Polish leader that the Ukrainian Parliament has approved the proposal to repeat the second round of presidential election by a massive majority of votes; they thank Kwaśniewski for his mediation and for holding the "round table" conference.** In an interview for Lithuanian radio, the President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus says: *The success of the "round table" organised to solve the election crisis in Ukraine should be largely credited to the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski.* ■ The Belgian daily *Le Soir* writes: *Warsaw has played an immense role in resolving the Ukrainian crisis.*

■ *This revolution is changing Ukraine and Europe; it is changing the world for the better. Today history is happening here, in Kiev. You should be proud,* says Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of the Law and Justice (PIS) party addressing the Ukrainians gathered in Independence Square.

■ In Warsaw a five-hour concert takes place near the Belweder palace under the motto "Kiev and Warsaw – A common cause!" ("Kijów–Warszawa – wspólna sprawa!") ■ The people of Białystok hold a demonstration to express support for Ukraine.

## Sunday, 28 November

■ A congress of people's deputies and local councils is held in Severodonetsk. It is referred to as "all-Ukrainian", although only representatives of the 17 eastern and southern districts are present. Also present are Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, the Mayor of Moscow Yuri Luzhkov and the advisor to the Russian Embassy to Ukraine. Participants in the congress reaffirm the

validity of the presidential election results as announced by the CEC, which declared Yanukovych the winner. ■ The delegates adopt a resolution stating that if the next president takes office in an unlawful manner, they reserve the right to take measures to protect the interests of people in their respective regions, including the right to hold a referendum to define the status of these regions. They say the southern and eastern regions intend to declare autonomy. There are also calls to ignore the Supreme Court decision, should it contest Yanukovych's victory. The most radical calls, condemned by President Kuchma, are not included in the final resolution. The congress appoints an Inter-Regional Union of Local Government Bodies with its official seat in Kharkiv, led by a Co-ordination Council. Borys Kolesnikov, head of the Donetsk District Council, says that this is the reaction of district authorities to the political situation in the country.

■ The Donetsk District Council promises to hold a referendum on the district's autonomy on 1 December. The referendum is to be held on 9 January.

■ President Leonid Kuchma declares that the attempts to create an autonomous republic in eastern Ukraine are unconstitutional. Viktor Yushchenko refers to them as "separatism" and asks Ukraine's Prosecutor General Hennadiy Vasylyev to intervene. Yushchenko also declares that he does not intend to implement any excessive restrictions on the use of the Russian language in public life.

■ The National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine, which is chaired by the President of Ukraine, calls for the momentum of political dialogue to be increased, the illegal decisions of local authorities to be revoked, and the blockade of state offices to be discontinued. It also speaks out against the use of force. (Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, who is a member of the Council, is absent.) ■ The Security Service of Ukraine's head Ihor Smeshko also speaks out against any forceful solutions. ■ In a special statement, the External Intelligence Service of Ukraine (SZR) declares that it is taking all possible measures to prevent a forceful solution of the conflict and any external interference with Ukraine's internal affairs, and is making efforts to ensure Ukraine's territorial integrity and social unity.

■ Late in the afternoon, President Leonid Kuchma meets Viktor Yushchenko and Ivan Plushch, one of Yushchenko's associates and a former speaker of the parliament, for the first time since the beginning of the crisis (the public is not informed of the meeting).

■ In the evening, Deputy Interior Minister General Serhiy Popkov orders the Interior Ministry's internal troops mobilised in Kiev to *clear the occupied offi-*

ces at any cost. Live ammunition is distributed to soldiers. At 22.45, the Interior Ministry troops are sent to Kiev, yet they receive an order to turn back before launching the action. According to subsequent information leaks, this was a result of pressure exerted by the Land Forces Commander General Mykola Petruk, the SSU and the Military Intelligence representatives. What exactly happened then remains unclear. ■ Earlier that day, people demonstrating in Independence Square are increasingly concerned about the possibility of a violent intervention. Yulia Tymoshenko appeals: *I ask everyone to reinforce the blockades, especially the blockade of the President's office. This night may be decisive.* ■ Addressing the separatists' congress in Severodonetsk near Luhansk, PM Yanukovich says: *As Prime Minister I believe we are on the brink of a catastrophe. If bloodshed begins, we will not be able to stop it.*

■ The National Salvation Committee established by the opposition asks President Leonid Kuchma to dismiss PM Viktor Yanukovich immediately on the grounds of his involvement in ballot rigging, to change the composition of the CEC, to dismiss governors who incite separatist movements, and to oblige the prosecution authorities to initiate criminal proceedings against those who initiate such movements. The opposition allows the president 24 hours to comply with these demands, and warns that failing to meet them will be regarded as a crime against the nation. Meanwhile, Kuchma criticises the attempts to block buildings as a violation of the law and a breach of Friday's "round table" arrangements.

■ The German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer believes that holding a fresh presidential election increasingly appears to be the most reasonable way to solve the crisis in Ukraine. ■ *Russian intervention in Ukraine would undermine one of the major pillars of German foreign policy, the friendship between Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and the Russian President Vladimir Putin, writes Der Spiegel.* ■ Immediately after the information of a planned forceful intervention reaches Western states, their Presidents and heads of diplomacy begin to phone President Kuchma. The Americans declare that if bloodshed takes place in Kiev, Washington will consider members of the Ukrainian authorities as suspects of crimes against humanity.

■ **Facing the danger of the internal troops' intervention in the streets of Kiev, opposition leaders contact President Aleksander Kwaśniewski asking him to intervene with the Ukrainian authorities. Kwaśniewski unsuccessfully tries to phone Leonid Kuchma.**

■ The former Italian ambassador to Moscow Sergio Romano writes in *Corriere della Sera*: Poland should guarantee Vladimir Putin that Ukraine will never become a bargaining tool in its hands.

■ A Polish Day is celebrated in Independence Square in Kiev with artists and musicians from Warsaw. Perfect, Edyta Górniak, Paweł Kukiz and others entertain the opposition supporters. ■ Prayers for Ukraine take place in several places including the Uniate church of St Basil, and the Dominican church in Warsaw.

■ In the afternoon, President Kwaśniewski decides that four members of the Polish expert group, Jacek Kluczkowski, Stanisław Ciosek, Olga Iwaniak and Wojciech Zajączkowski, will go to Kiev the next day, due to the rising tension in Kiev and the absence of any progress in the talks.



## Monday, 29 November

■ The Supreme Court of Ukraine begins to examine the complaint filed by the opposition, demanding that the CEC’s decision to declare Viktor Yanukovich the winner be revoked. The Court’s session is broadcast by several television stations.

■ The independent NGO Open Ukraine presents a report on electoral fraud during the second round of the presidential election in Ukraine. The report claims that the total number of falsified votes ranges from 2.8 to over 3.2 million.

■ During a meeting with Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and the governors of the Eastern districts which are threatening to proclaim autonomy, President Leonid Kuchma calls for a new presidential election. He also expresses concern about the possibility of the country breaking up and the disintegration of Ukraine’s financial system; several hours later, the acting Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, states that he is no longer able to meet the increasing demand for cash. Yanukovich declares that he will accept a fresh vote in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions if massive electoral fraud is proved.

■ The working group’s talks are stuck in deadlock. One of the opposition leaders, the socialist Oleksandr Moroz, comments: *Today, rather than continuing dialogue, Yanukovich has joined the Mayor of Moscow and representatives of the Russian Ambassador to Kiev in making undertakings aimed at undermining our state’s territorial integrity.*

■ Serhiy Tyhipko resigns from his position as Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine and as head of Viktor Yanukovich’s election staff. A number of sources claim that Tyhipko will be the ruling team’s candidate in case a new election is held.

■ The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry protests against *the disruptive and biased statements by officials of foreign states concerning Ukraine’s territorial integrity. Ukraine has concluded treaties confirming the inviolability of its borders and territorial integrity with all its neighbours. Attempts to contest these principles run*

counter to Ukraine's interests, and may pose a threat to stability in Europe. Although no specific state is named in the document, most commentators believe it refers to Russia, whose representatives have taken part in the Severodonetsk congress of "secessionists" representing the Eastern and Southern districts of Ukraine.

■ Viktor Yushchenko accuses President Kuchma of involvement in the separatist processes in Eastern Ukraine, saying: *The fact that the Kharkiv District Governor Yevhen Kushnariov has kept his job proves that Kuchma himself is involved in actions that threaten to break up the country.* ■ The separatist calls from the Eastern regions are condemned by Defence Minister Oleksandr Kuzmuk, who declares that the army will defend the country's integrity and sovereignty.

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■ A group of people armed with hammers and other tools attack Viktor Yushchenko's supporters in Luhansk. Several dozen people are injured, including journalists and foreign observers. The incident takes place during a rally of about one hundred opposition supporters, at which several hundred Yanukovych backers turned up unexpectedly.

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■ The Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Aleksandr Yakovenko, replying to the question of whether Russia is going to express any reservations if it is decided in Ukraine that votes should be recounted or the ballot repeated, says: *Russia believes that all Ukraine's problems should be solved in accordance with the constitution and the laws in force.* The Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov holds a telephone conversation with the US Secretary of State Colin Powell, in which he argues that the situation in Ukraine should be resolved in accordance with Ukrainian laws.

■ White House Spokesman Scott McClellan states, *The international community should unite in support of a peaceful, democratic process in Ukraine and its sovereignty, independence and integrity.* ■ In a phone conversation, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell appeals to President Leonid Kuchma to preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity and not to submit to separatist pressure. ■ Calls for integrity are also expressed by the EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer during a joint conference in Brussels. ■ The Council of Europe offers to assist Ukraine in organising a new election. ■ *In the Ukrainian conflict, Russia's future and its imperialistic ambitions are at stake,* writes *Le Monde*. French intellectuals including Alain Besançon, Pascal Bruckner, Chantal Delsol, Andre Glucksmann, Janos Martonyi and

Françoise Thom write in an open letter: *The European Union should visibly side with the democratic ambitions of the Ukrainian people.*

■ *Poland has repeatedly stated that Ukraine needs special attention from Europe. (...) Europe has responded too superficially. This is the source of Ukraine's problems, Lech Wałęsa tells Izvestia.*

■ A delegation of Polish MPs, led by the parliamentary speaker Józef Oleksy, arrives in Kiev. The MPs discuss the Ukrainian crisis and how to solve it with the Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn and the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko. Some members of this group also meet President Leonid Kuchma and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich.

■ Early in the afternoon, members of the Polish preparatory group start a series of talks in order to overcome the political impasse and prepare a second "round table" meeting. The Ukrainian President demands that the blockade of state offices be lifted, arguing that the political process cannot be resumed as long as the blockade continues. He also justifies the demonstrations of pro-Russian Yanukovich supporters who have been demanding autonomy for Eastern and Southern Ukraine. The Polish negotiators' most important task is to re-launch the mechanism of working group meetings, and to develop a legal formula under which it would be possible to repeat the second round of voting. Members of the Polish team start talks with major entrepreneurs interested in stabilising the situation in Ukraine, including Viktor Pinchuk, Rinat Akhmetov and Vitaly Hayduk. Polish Minister Jacek Kluczkowski also meets the Deputy Chairman of Yulia Tymoshenko's Bloc Anatoly Matvienko, who declares that the opposition is determined and ready to take over power in Kiev, even if that involves the use of force.

■ Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds telephone conversations concerning the Ukrainian crisis with Ukrainian President Kuchma, the Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schäussel, the EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana, the Ukrainian Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn, the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende and the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. He emphasises that it is vital to preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity and prevent both sides from resorting to violence.

■ Demonstrations of solidarity are held in several Polish cities including Gdańsk and Szczecin, where the Szczecin Philharmonic Orchestra performs the Ukrainian national anthem. ■ In Kraków, nearly one thousand people

**gather in Wolnica Square to watch a concert organised to express support for a democratic Ukraine.**

## **Tuesday, 30 November**

■ PM Viktor Yanukovych offers to give the Prime Minister's job to Viktor Yushchenko, and to pass a political reform to expand the head of government's powers once Yanukovych himself becomes President of Ukraine. Yushchenko declines.

■ During a session of Parliament, the opposition fails to carry through either a vote of no confidence in Yanukovych's government or a resolution against the separatists of Eastern Ukraine. In the Parliament forum, the Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine Mykola Azarov accuses the opposition of involvement in activities that are harming Ukraine's economy. Finally, Volodymyr Lytvyn closes the session; immediately thereafter, a crowd of radical opposition supporters unsuccessfully attempts to break into the Parliament building. The Parliament's Liaison Commission decides that the Parliament should resume its deliberations on the usual date, i.e. in the morning of 1 December.

■ Around 16:00, the National Salvation Committee breaks off talks with the government team and proclaims the resumption of the blockade of public buildings (which has not ceased), including the Parliament. The Committee calls on the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators to refrain from any forms of violence, and demands that an extraordinary meeting of the Parliament is held. *For three days, the authorities took advantage of the negotiations to gain time (...) that's why today we have decided to appeal to the international guarantors who have made the beginning of dialogue possible*, declares parliamentary deputy Petro Poroshenko.

■ The Committee creates a new advisory body called the National Committee for the Defence of Ukraine's Territorial Integrity, led by two retired Land Forces generals, General Vitaliy Radetsky and General Anatoliy Lopata. This decision remains on paper and is never implemented.

■ The Prosecutor General's Office initiates criminal proceedings against the organisers of the Severodonetsk congress in connection with activities aiming at forcefully abolishing the constitutional order. The Security Service of Ukraine also reports that an inquiry has been initiated into an assault against the state's territorial integrity and inviolability of the state border. Addressing Parliament, its Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn condemns separatism: *We stand on the brink of an enormous crisis of state*. Complying with the MPs' demands,

Deputy Prime Minister Mykola Azarov endorsed this opinion on behalf of the government. Meanwhile, the Donetsk and Kharkiv district authorities revoke their pledges to strive for autonomy for their respective regions. A rally of Yanukovych supporters in Donetsk brings together about 10,000 people.

■ On the other hand, the authorities in Odessa make declarations indicating that they are interested in proclaiming autonomy. *When one part behaves like an absolutist ruler and disregards the will of the other half of the country which voted differently, then sooner or later the other half will be tempted to create autonomy*, explains the mayor of Odessa Ruslan Bodelan. Volodymyr Rusenko, Yanukovych's campaign head in the Odessa region, reminds that the potential *South-East autonomous region (...) would span an area much larger than Western Ukraine, and in economic terms, it would account for 80 percent of the GDP.*

■ The National Bank of Ukraine reports that large numbers of people have begun to withdraw savings from banks. In order to ensure financial stability, the Central Bank imposes certain measures, e.g. it limits the amount of dollars that companies and individuals may purchase daily to US\$1000 in cash and US\$50,000 in non-cash transactions (the limit remains in force until 31 December). The NBU also limits the maximum amount of ATM withdrawals, and imposes a ban on early termination of deposits.

■ The Ukrainian Parliament Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn cancels his visit to Brussels, where he was expected to meet European Union officials. He justifies his decision by the complex situation in Ukraine.

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■ Russian President Putin discusses the situation in Ukraine with the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. According to the German *communiqué*, both politicians declared a willingness to recognise and respect the result of a new ballot in Ukraine, provided that it is organised in accordance with the constitution, and reflects the will of the Ukrainian nation. Putin allegedly assures Schroeder that Moscow is prepared to co-operate with a democratically elected President of Ukraine, irrespective of who takes this office. Putin emphasises that a solution to the Ukrainian crisis should be sought in a democratic manner and based on respect for the law, rather than on external or internal pressure.

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■ Deputies of the pro-Kremlin United Russia faction at the Russian State Duma express support for Yuri Luzhkov's mission to the Severodonetsk congress of delegates from the Eastern and Southern districts of Ukraine, and commend the fact that Luzhkov offered moral support to Viktor Yanukovych's backers.

■ Lubov Sliska, Deputy Speaker of the State Duma, announces that delegations of the Russian Parliament are going to visit cities in Eastern and Southern Ukraine. Russian deputies led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, head of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), intend to join rallies of Yanukovich's supporters. ■ The Don Army's Ataman sends a telegraph to Yanukovich on behalf of 20,000 Cossacks recognising Viktor Yanukovich as the unquestionable winner of the presidential election in Ukraine, and offering to assist him in efforts to take power. The Rostov Cossack group announces its mobilisation. The Atamans support the idea of autonomy for the Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine and their “possible incorporation into Russia in the future.” They send an open letter to President Putin asking him to support the “dreams of the Ukrainian brothers.”

■ The Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov declares that Russia is ready to act as an intermediary in the process of sorting out the crisis, if requested to do so by the Ukrainian authorities. *The excessive involvement of certain European politicians in the processes taking place in Ukraine has caused an escalation of tension. It was only after the leaders of Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine met in Severodonetsk as a result of these provocative steps that our western colleagues started calling for moderation and respect for the constitution and laws of Ukraine, says Lavrov.*

■ Vladimir Putin and Leonid Kuchma agree in a telephone conversation that Boris Grizlov should go to Kiev again. He will be present during Kuchma's talks with Aleksander Kwaśniewski and Valdas Adamkus on 1 December. The Russian Foreign Ministry states that the Russian foreign minister has held telephone conversations with the foreign ministers of Germany and the Netherlands. In these talks, Sergei Lavrov presented Russia's position on the crisis to Joschka Fischer, saying that it is founded on the inadmissibility of subjective assessments and interference with the internal affairs of sovereign Ukraine. The subject of the talk with Bernard Bot was EU-Russian relations. ■ The Russian Foreign Ministry protests against the obstruction of Russian journalists' work in Ukraine. According to the ministry's spokesman Aleksandr Yakovenko, journalists are being intimidated and threatened by the opposition and its supporters.

■ The Foreign Ministry of Ukraine summons the Russian embassy advisor Anatoly Korsun, who has taken part in the congress of would-be secessionists from Ukraine in Severodonetsk, to inform him that it is unacceptable for Russian politicians to make public statements on the Ukrainian election, especially statements that may heat up the atmosphere and incite separatism.

■ *Ukraine will not receive a promise of accession to the European Union in the foreseeable future, says the Vice-President of the European Commission Günter Verheugen.*

■ *US President George W. Bush states that he has held a morning conversation with President Aleksander Kwaśniewski who is going to Ukraine to take part in talks between the sides of the conflict. We wish him success, says George W. Bush and adds: We want the goals of the Ukrainian people to be met.* ■ *The French President Jacques Chirac also holds a telephone conversation with President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. President Chirac expresses full support for Aleksander Kwaśniewski's mediation mission.* ■ *Aleksander Kwaśniewski and the Czech President Vaclav Klaus believe that repeating the presidential election should be the way in which Ukraine's political crisis is solved.*

■ *President Aleksander Kwaśniewski organises a press conference in which he says: In our opinion, the arrangements provided for in the Ukrainian round table documents are being complied with. I am satisfied for three reasons: first, the political talks, although difficult, have been progressing since Friday, and second, all sides of the conflict are refraining from violence. Thirdly, the Supreme Court is working to examine the protests filed in connection with the electoral fraud that took place. It is unprecedented that the Supreme Court deliberations are being broadcast live by the Ukrainian media. I would not play this down, because this solution creates a new quality of public and political life in Ukraine. On the other hand, however, I must say that we are concerned about the situation, because successive days are bringing only very slow progress towards finding formulas that will make it possible to end the crisis. We hear very dangerous political statements indicating that a part of Ukraine is moving towards autonomy, that there are separatist tendencies. We see that people are growing weary, which may lead to uncontrollable outbreaks; we also see that after certain arrangements have been made, members of the Ukrainian political elite change their mind, which makes it difficult to implement earlier decisions.*

■ *The Polish President holds political consultations with US President Bush, the Dutch PM and EU leader Jan Peter Balkenende, the German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, Javier Solana, Valdas Adamkus, Vaclav Klaus and the French President Jacques Chirac. Aleksander Kwaśniewski also discusses the Ukrainian crisis with the Polish Parliament Speaker Józef Oleksy, who updates him on the outcome of the Polish MPs' visit to Ukraine on 29 November and the results of meetings with deputies and the opposing parties.*

■ In the evening, the Polish President decides to go to Kiev the next day and resume the “round table” talks. He says: *Our plan (...) is to vocally reaffirm two points, which have been known and implemented since Friday. The first point is this: we avoid any forceful methods and there is no use of violence. The second point is this: we engage in political dialogue at all possible levels in order to find a solution. There will also be other points, which I don’t want to discuss now and which also concern important questions, such as the election, what happens after the election, Ukrainian-Russian relations and the relations between Ukraine and Europe.* The President emphasises that the entire five-item plan has the support of the US President, the German Chancellor and the EU Presidency. Late in the evening, Javier Solana’s aircraft lands in Kiev.

■ Stanisław Ciosek, advisor to the Polish President, meets the Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin. Jacek Kluczkowski and Olga Iwaniak talk to former Security Service of Ukraine Chief and former Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk at a Kiev hospital where Marchuk is staying. He tells them that to the best of his knowledge and belief, the soldiers and officers of the Interior Ministry, the Security Service of Ukraine and the armed forces, as well as their commanders, will not accept being deployed to suppress the opposition demonstrations, and will remain loyal to the constitution of Ukraine.

■ In Wrocław, students of Wrocław University, the Technical University and the University of Economics organise a three-hour “Solidarity with Ukraine” march, and the vice-chancellors of these schools cancel lectures for the day. Władysław Frasyniuk and the President of Wrocław Rafał Dutkiewicz meet the demonstrators, who carry Polish, Belarusian and Ukrainian flags. ■ Students gathered at a rally in front of Ukraine’s Honorary Consulate in Rzeszów chant “One Ukraine!”

## Wednesday, 1 December

■ At 11.30, the Parliament of Ukraine adopts a resolution to withdraw the vote of confidence in Viktor Yanukovich’s government by a small majority of votes (229 votes in favour of the motion, the required minimum being 226). At the same time, it calls on the President to form a “government of national unity.” However, the opposition’s proposal to dismiss the Prosecutor General is rejected by a majority of MPs. Behind the scenes at the Parliament, speculation is rife about who will become the next Prime Minister. The most frequently named candidate is the current Parliament Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn,



followed by the socialist leader Oleksandr Moroz; even Yulia Tymoshenko’s name is mentioned.

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■ Testifying before the Supreme Court, several members of the Central Electoral Commission confirm that violations of the electoral laws were committed during the presidential election. Andriy Mahera declares that the violations were “systematic.” He admits that in the polling stations he himself monitored some voters had been intimidated, and others had cast their ballots based on false certificates. Oleksandr Chupakhin says that the CEC rejected many complaints submitted by the opposition. Ruslan Knyazevich says he believes that after polling stations were closed on 21 November, about one million false votes were added to the ballot boxes. The Court continues to examine complaints concerning the Central Electoral Commission’s resolution. Yanukovych’s election staff file more complaints in order to prolong the procedure. ■ Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych applies to the Supreme Court to annul the second round’s results, accusing the CEC of committing irregularities while counting votes in Western regions of the country.

■ The Prime Minister fails to join President Leonid Kuchma’s meeting with government members in charge of economic affairs. A high fever is given as the reason.

■ President Kuchma suggests solving the present crisis by concluding a constitutional agreement, but he fails to specify what form such an agreement should take. He also repeats that he is opposed to repeating the second round of voting, and calls for an entirely new election to be held.

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■ A poll published by the Razumkov Centre shows that the number of Ukrainians who believe that Yushchenko will be the next president has increased from 19% to 45% over the past month, and the number of those believing that Yanukovych will be president has dropped from 58% to 30%. 52% of respondents believe that the second round of voting was rigged.

■ Yushchenko’s supporters gathered at the “village” of tents in central Kiev enthusiastically welcome the Parliament’s decision. New groups of demonstrators begin to arrive in the Maidan. Pro-Yushchenko rallies also take place in Western and Central Ukraine. In the evening, opposition supporters demonstrating in Kiev stop one of a group of trucks leaving the Presidential Administration building, and find papers of the Central Electoral Commission and other documents hidden under loads of snow. The documents are handed over to Viktor Yushchenko’s election staff.

■ The Pora organisation starts a picket of Leonid Kuchma’s dacha in Konche Zaspá, where the president has his office for the time being.

■ The Donetsk District Council announces a local referendum to be held on 9 January 2005 concerning the district’s transformation into a “federal constituent” of Ukraine.

■ The Kharkiv District Administration Chief Yevhen Kushnariov withdraws his support for Yanukovych’s election, saying that as of that moment, he is on Ukraine’s side alone. ■ The Dnipropetrovsk District Council adopts a resolution distancing itself from the calls for autonomy and warns against illegal actions. *I went to Severodonetsk in order to restrain separatist sentiments*, Yanukovych tells journalists.

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■ Russian President Putin discusses the situation in Ukraine with the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende. Both politicians emphasise the need to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, in compliance with the Ukrainian constitution and laws.

■ Mykola Levchenko, secretary of the Donetsk City Council, who represents the Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine, is received with honours at the State Duma on 1 December. He delivers an address at the plenary session; at a subsequent press conference, he says that he is calling for more active support from Russia and more Russian involvement in Ukraine. Levchenko says that the Eastern regions’ only aim is to transform Ukraine into a federation.

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■ During a debate on Ukraine at the European Parliament, MEPs express support for Ukrainian democracy. Jacek Saryusz-Wolski says on behalf of the European People’s Party, *A vibrant, true democracy is being born before our very eyes. Almost a quarter of a century ago, similar events took place in the Gdańsk shipyard where Solidarity was born. (...) People are lifting up their heads and, just as in 1980, they are doing so against all the odds. Then the response of most European democracies was clear. The message then was that the people on the other side of the Iron Curtain had a right to freedom. Just as then, all the political families in the European Parliament stand united in their unequivocal support for democracy and the rule of law in Ukraine.*

■ Borys Tarasiuk, speaking at the European Parliament, says the European Union should be more actively involved in the observation mission if the second round of voting is repeated. Many MEPs present in the European Parliament session in Brussels wear orange scarves. MEPs from Poland’s Civil Platform party (PO) are the first to start distributing these to their colleagues. Benita

Ferrero-Waldner, European Commissioner for External Relations and the European Neighbourhood Policy, declares that the Commission is not closing the European Union’s door to Ukraine. In the evening, a European Parliament delegation led by Jacek Saryusz-Wolski goes to Ukraine.

■ Government and opposition representatives at Germany’s Bundestag unanimously decide that repeating the presidential election in Ukraine is the only possible way to peacefully and democratically resolve the crisis. Meanwhile, *Der Tagesspiegel* criticises Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder for neglecting Germany’s policy towards Ukraine because of his close relations with Russian President Putin. ■ Zbigniew Brzeziński appeals to the United States and the European Union to back democratic forces in Ukraine decisively. ■ *The European Union will not support either of the presidential candidates*, says the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende.

■ Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski arrives in Kiev. Together with Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, EU head of diplomacy Javier Solana and the Speaker of the Russian Duma Boris Gryzlov, he intends to discuss ways to solve the election crisis with Ukrainian politicians. In the afternoon, the second “round table” meeting on the Ukrainian crisis begins. In addition to the mediators named above and the OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubisz, the “round table” deliberations are also joined by Viktor Yanukovich and Viktor Yushchenko, President Leonid Kuchma and the Parliament Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn. However, they fail to agree whether the entire election is to be repeated (as President Kuchma insists), or just the second round (which is the option supported by the opposition and international negotiators). A decision on this question is postponed until the next meeting, to be held after the Supreme Court issues its judgement concerning the ballot complaints. ■ The negotiators agree that an expert group should be formed again, composed of representatives of both election camps, in order to analyse the legal situation and develop proposals on how to complete the election. They also agree that once the Supreme Court has given its judgement, i.e. on Saturday, 4 December at the earliest, the Parliament will discuss a “package” of changes to the electoral laws needed to repeat the ballot procedure, draft amendments to the constitution limiting the President’s powers, and the appointment of a new prime minister; all these measures are to be implemented at the same time. The parties assert that they reject the use of force and stand for the country’s territorial integrity. The opposition pledges to lift the blockade of state offices.

■ When the deliberations are complete, President Aleksander Kwaśniewski says, among other things, that as regards repeating the presidential election, *a formula has been devised which is not the proposition of either side*. He emphasises that the Polish side is decisively in favour of repeating the second round of voting. During a meeting with journalists he stresses that the talks were *very difficult, but (...) we managed to reach agreement on the important questions*. Minister Cimoszewicz, who has taken part in the talks as Chairman of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, adds: *We do not necessarily have to use the logic of existing legal solutions because it is possible to create new legal solutions*.

■ President Kwaśniewski announces that the next “round table” meeting will take place after the Supreme Court of Ukraine has given its judgement.

■ The EU’s High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana, who is present in Kiev, says following the completion of the “round table” talks that the decision on whether to repeat the election or the second round will be taken by the Supreme Court of Ukraine, and that both candidates should run in the election. The new ballot date will also be decided by the Court.

■ *We are grateful to Poland for its involvement in the negotiations. Poland has helped us when we needed it badly, and is playing a very constructive role in the present crisis*, Yushchenko declares following the completion of the “round table” talks.

## Thursday, 2 December

■ At midday, President Leonid Kuchma unexpectedly visits Moscow, where he meets President Putin at an airport near Moscow. At a press conference preceding the talks, Kuchma mentions the negative consequences of the opposition's actions on the economy, and expresses his negative approach to the proposal to repeat the election runoff. Putin praises Kuchma's actions to overcome the crisis in Ukraine and to protect the country's integrity, and assures him that Russia will always support Ukraine, referring to it incidentally as a Russian-speaking country: *It would be strange if Russia was staying out of the way. (...) If Russia does not make any efforts to settle the political crisis, it will be impossible to end the crisis without a loss of face for Ukraine*, he claims. The Russian President declares that *Russia is ready to act as a mediator to the extent you deem possible*, and emphasises that no-one, neither the EU nor Russia, has the right to decide for the Ukrainian nation. Vladimir Putin declares himself against a repeat of the election runoff (which is demanded by both the opposition and European mediators), and in favour of acting strictly in compliance with the constitution. Kuchma totally agrees with his views on those issues. No information is disclosed on the course of the talks.

■ Following his return from Moscow, President Kuchma meets members of the government and urges them to carry out a political reform to transfer some of the powers from the president to the government and parliament. In his opinion, it will be possible to dismiss the current government and hold a new presidential election only after these reforms. According to reports of his talks with members of the European Parliament, the outgoing president is in favour of holding an entirely new presidential election, and not for repeating the second round.

■ Viktor Yushchenko claims that the president is committing a crime by demanding the holding of a completely new election, and states that the opposition will not participate in any talks on that subject. In his opinion, the crisis can be settled only by repeating the runoff.

■ The National Salvation Committee requires President Kuchma to promptly sign a decree to dismiss the government of Prime Minister Yanukovych. Yulia Tymoshenko states that the Committee is preparing a motion for the prose-

culator's office to institute a criminal case against Kuchma, accusing him of impeding the settlement of the crisis.

■ Sixty pro-governmental MPs lodge a motion in the Constitutional Court to check whether the Parliament's resolution on a vote of no confidence in the government is legal.

■ During an hour-long session, parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn promises that the parliament will appoint working groups to urgently develop drafts of the necessary amendments to the electoral regulations, taking into consideration various possible decisions by the Supreme Court, and with the aim of shortening the electoral procedures to a necessary minimum. The parliament is also supposed to suggest candidates for new members of the Central Electoral Commission, although nominating them is a presidential prerogative.

■ The Ukrainian Supreme Court, which has been considering the electoral claim lodged by the opposition since Monday, does not announce its verdict, contrary to what has been expected; it announces a break in the session until 10am on Friday.

■ Contrary to the round-table agreement's provisions, demonstrators do not stop blocking the President's Administration or government buildings. Representatives of the National Salvation Committee appeal for no marching or any other actions to be taken outside the Khreshchatyk (including picketing the Supreme Court), and call on the demonstrators to keep blocking the two buildings. The number of demonstrators has subsequently grown once again. During an evening meeting, Yushchenko warns the authorities against using violence, claiming that the opposition will respond to force with force. ■ The deputy minister of internal affairs, Mykhailo Korniyenko, appeals to protesters in Kiev to give up blocking the official state buildings and roads, and states that the MIA has launched 15 investigations into this matter.

■ President Leonid Kuchma nominates General Serhiy Popkov as commander of internal troops. According to observers, this means that the outgoing president does not rule out the possibility of the current conflict stretching on.

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■ The European Parliament adopts a resolution initiated by members of Poland's Civic Platform party, wherein it appeals to the authorities in Kiev to annul the second round of the election, and to repeat it before the end of this December in the presence of international observers. *The European Parliament (...) categorically condemns the conditions in which the second round of the presidential election in Ukraine was held (...) rejects the decision by the Central*

*Electoral Commission (...) and considers the threats of separatism and the break-up of Ukraine as unacceptable*, the document states. Euro-MPs also criticise President Putin for supporting Viktor Yanukovich during the election and reject Moscow's allegation that the international community has allegedly contributed to acts of violence in Ukraine. The document also mentions the possibility of imposing sanctions, in case the authorities use force against participants in the peaceful protest.

■ In his speech at the European Parliament on behalf of the EU Council, the Dutch minister for European affairs Atzo Nicolai states that Ukraine has reached a crossroads, and the results of the presidential election will decide which direction its policy will take during the next four years. He also confirms that the election has not been fair, and that it was conducted in violation of international standards; he claims that in order to settle the crisis in Ukraine, broad international engagement is necessary, including from the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the USA and Russia. ■ The EU Commissioner for External Relations and the European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, reminds onlookers of the clear and critical standpoint expressed by the European Commission in response to the way the election was held. In her opinion, the results announced do not reflect the choice of the voters, and cannot be recognised by the European Commission or the EU as a whole. She emphasises the need to find a peaceful solution that will not pose a danger to the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Regarding the election, she states, *if Ukrainians only decide to conduct a truly democratic election, we shall help them hold it.*

■ The spokeswoman of the European Commission's Press and Communication Directorate General, Emma Udwin, declares that the EU's doors are open, but that the issue of Ukraine's membership in the EU is not on the agenda.

■ The European Parliament's delegation to Ukraine meets President Leonid Kuchma, who receives the text of the EP's resolution passed on the same day. Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, a member of the delegation, states that President Kuchma has reiterated his standpoint that the presidential election should be re-held in full. The president expresses his negative opinion of the resolution, and accuses the Parliament of fanning the flames of the conflict. Euro-MPs also meet the parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn.

■ The German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and the President of France Jacques Chirac evade answering the question of which solution should be chosen to settle the Ukrainian crisis.

■ US President George W. Bush declares that a potential election in Ukraine should be fair and free of any external influence, and that the nation's will

must be heard; he gives thanks for the mediation action to his friend, President Aleksander Kwaśniewski.

■ The Leader of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Cardinal Lubomyr Huzar, declares that he shares the entire Ukrainian nation's confidence in the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko.

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■ Having heard the European Parliament's resolution, the Duma's deputies decide to pass their own resolution on the situation in Ukraine "in response." The initiator Nikolai Pavlov defines the actions taken by the European Parliament's members as interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

■ Boris Gryzlov says the agreement signed on 1 December by the participants in the Kiev talks counts as a step towards resolving the problem: *the country is tired of the forceful pressure being brought by the opposition, and I believe this decision [to sign the agreement] is the most important one.*

■ The Russian head of diplomacy Sergei Lavrov declares that Russia is ready to help Ukraine settle the crisis and find a solution in accordance with Ukrainian law, if Kiev asks for such assistance. At the same time, he criticises some European representatives, who in his opinion have provoked increasing tension in the country by their excessive engagement in the situation in Ukraine.

■ In a conversation with Russian journalists, the Ukrainian opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko warns that "the orange atmosphere" of the Ukrainian revolution can be transferred to Russia. *There is plenty of work to do in your country as well*, she says. According to Yulia Tymoshenko, Putin should think about this instead of meddling in Ukraine's internal affairs. ■ The leader of the liberal Russian Yabloko party, Grigory Yavlinsky, warns the Russian authorities against the Ukrainian scenario repeating in Russia. ■ The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, bans the use of the colour orange among his staff.

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■ **President Aleksander Kwaśniewski talks to the President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Durão Barroso, informing him about the political situation in Ukraine and about the actions he has taken to conduct mediation between the sides of the political crisis there.**

■ **Students of the Gdansk University of Technology start collecting medicines for Ukrainian protesters in Kiev.**



## Friday, 3 December

■ In the late afternoon, the Supreme Court of Ukraine declares that numerous forgeries happened during the second round of the presidential election on 21 November, as a result of which it is impossible to establish reliable results of the election. As a consequence, the Court annuls the resolution by the CEC stating the election results on 24 November, and declares that the second round of the election should be re-held within three weeks of 5 December. The Supreme Court's decision is final and binding. The Central Electoral Commission must start preparations for the election immediately.

■ Opposition supporters, who have demonstrated in the centre of Kiev for a fortnight or so, respond enthusiastically to the SC's decision to repeat the election runoff. *Ukraine has become a democratic country today*, announces Viktor Yushchenko and demands that the President of Ukraine should immediately dismiss the cabinet of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich as well as members of the CEC, and amend the electoral regulations to prevent election fixing. He appeals to those gathered not to leave until the demands are fulfilled, and asks them to get involved in the election campaign. Late in the evening, Yulia Tymoshenko talks with Prime Minister Yanukovich for several hours.

■ Yushchenko appeals to international organisations for help in organising & holding a fair and free election, and to national leaders to refrain from supporting any of the candidates.

■ Even before the decision is passed by the Supreme Court, the leadership of the Pora organisation asks Viktor Yushchenko to cease any talks with the ruling camp immediately.

■ In the afternoon, President Leonid Kuchma meets leaders of parliamentary factions and members of the government at his office in Koncha Zaspa near Kiev.

■ According to the MP Stepan Havrysh, an emissary of Viktor Yanukovich, the conflict has only been transferred from the second to a third round, which will not lead to its settlement.

■ The Parliament decides to hold additional plenary sessions on 4 and 5 December. In the afternoon, a draft bill setting the procedure for repeating the second round of the election is proposed. It provides for the creation of a new Central Electoral Commission, in which the parity of both candidates' representatives will be maintained. Territorial and regional election commissions (with the rule of parity to be observed there as well) will be created; voters' registers will be revised from the beginning, and region election commissions

will have the right to correct any errors in the registers directly. ■ During the session, the parliament votes in support of a motion addressed to the president to withdraw Ukrainian soldiers from Iraq.

■ The body of Yuri Lakh is found at the central office of the Ukrainian Credit Bank; he was the bank's president and one of the closest associates of Viktor Medvedchuk, the head of the Ukrainian Presidential Administration. According to first reports, Lakh has committed suicide.

■ The governor of Kharkiv region in eastern Ukraine, Yevhen Kushnariov, who started a wave of statements understood as "separatist" a week before, moderates his standpoint, and claims that *the main objective is to preserve the territorial integrity of Ukraine. What happened is history now*, he comments on his previous statements.

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■ The Russian State Duma passes a resolution on the situation in Ukraine, stating its concern regarding *destructive interference from outside* in the affairs of their neighbour. The head of the European Parliament's foreign affairs commission, Elmar Brok, claims this resolution is unjust. In turn, the Russian MFA states that the resolution by the European Parliament on Ukraine on 2 December, including a proposal to re-hold the second round of the election only, constitutes interference with the internal affairs of the country, and the solutions suggested are contrary to Ukrainian law and democratic principles. *The demand by the European Parliament to re-hold the second round means nothing more than support for one of the sides, i.e. interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine*, states the press spokesman of the Russian MFA, Alexandr Yakovenko.

■ Gennady Seleznirov, the Duma speaker in the previous parliament, promises that he will put forward a draft resolution concerning the events in Ukraine at the meeting of the Presidium of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS on 3 December, and expresses his hope that MPs from other CIS countries will support the standpoint announced by the Duma in the morning. Seleznirov also voices his concern about the Ukrainian crisis possibly spreading beyond its borders, branding it an "export revolution."

■ The speaker of the Duma Boris Gryzlov doubts that the decision by the Supreme Court has *mended everything at once*. The deputy speaker Vladimir Pekhtin criticises the Court's decree, stating that *an unconstitutional solution exceeding the legislative framework has been chosen*.

■ The Russian mass media notice a discrepancy between the proposal to repeat the entire election, which is identified with Leonid Kuchma and Vladi-

mir Putin, and the option of repeating only the second round, for which Viktor Yushchenko and Aleksander Kwaśniewski have opted. The Russian mass media increasingly often present the Polish president as an actual supporter of Yushchenko, and not as an unbiased negotiator.

■ Shortly after the decision by the Supreme Court, the management of the Turkmen monopoly Turkmenneftegaz informs its key customers, Ukraine and Russia, that gas prices will rise by more than 36% in 2005. ■ *I have no doubts whatsoever that some external forces are at work in Ukraine, and that those forces are implementing an anti-Russian scenario*, states Yevgeny Primakov, the former Russian prime minister and currently president of the Russian Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

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■ *The standpoints of Washington and Moscow regarding the events in Ukraine have become closer; both sides want to support a process in Ukraine that will reflect the will of the Ukrainian nation*, states the spokesman of the US State Department, Richard Boucher. Washington is convinced that Russia will accept and support the result of the process whose parameters have been agreed at the round-table meeting in Kiev.

■ The President of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus states his intention to go to Kiev on 4 December in the afternoon for the third time to continue the mediations; commenting on the actions taken by President Kuchma, he adds, *I must admit I am not happy to see him [Kuchma] fly to Moscow and make his statements after all the negotiations we have carried out*. ■ The Supreme Court's decision is welcomed, among others, by Javier Solana, the Prime Minister of Holland Jan Peter Balkenende, the EU Commissioner for External Relations and the European Neighbourhood Policy Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the Council of Europe's Secretary General Terry Davis, and the US Department of State spokesman Richard Boucher. *This is a historic day not only for Ukraine, but also for the whole region*, states the Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili.

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■ **At a press conference, Aleksander Kwaśniewski announces: *I am extremely happy that the Supreme Court of Ukraine has taken decisions which reflect the truth and public sentiments, and which provide a chance for a relatively quick settlement of the political crisis. (...) I am happy that I, together with European and Russian mediators, could personally take part in this process. Please remember that when we were starting the mediation, I mentioned three objectives: the first was to verify the election result, the second to preserve peace and refrain from using force or violence, and the third to conduct political dialogue. We already suc-***

*ceeded in starting the political dialogue a week ago. I still believe that this will proceed in a similar way: we have managed to bring about calm and peaceful actions, without using any force, and the decision by the Supreme Court means that we have succeeded in achieving objective number one, i.e. the verification of the election results to make them reflect the choice of the Ukrainian voters. He also emphasises that he is ready to come with other mediators to Kiev once more. I would also like to declare on behalf of Javier Solana, Valdas Adamkus and myself our readiness to agree from tomorrow afternoon on the time [of talks] that will be set to make the final arrangements, and to develop a detailed plan for all actions. Late in the evening on Friday, the Polish MFA confirms that the Polish President will visit Kiev. A group of Polish experts co-ordinated by Minister Jacek Kluczkowski comes to Ukraine again.*

■ A group of members of the European Parliament, including Grażyna Staniszewska and Michał Kamiński, speak at a meeting in the Khreshchatyk; the latter states that *today the capital of Europe is not in Brussels, but in Kiev.*

## Saturday, 4 December

■ The Central Electoral Commission decides that the second round of the election will be re-held on 26 December. Both candidates, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovych, confirm that they will participate in the election, although the spokeswoman of the latter forwards his opinion that the decision has been taken by the Supreme Court under political pressure and in violation of the constitution. ■ Yushchenko starts mobilising his supporters by declaring to the 200,000 people gathered in Independence Square that everyone who fills in a certain questionnaire will receive a certificate of participation in the “orange revolution,” and if they want, they will be given concrete tasks to perform during the election campaign.

■ The opposition emphasises it is only ready to resume further talks with the authorities on condition that President Leonid Kuchma dismisses both the government of Viktor Yanukovych and the Central Electoral Commission.

■ At an emergency session that begins in the afternoon, the Ukrainian parliament attempts to pass two bills in the form of a “package” to amend the constitution (to launching political reform and change the scope of powers of local governments), as well as a bill amending the electoral regulations and enabling the second round of the election to be re-held. However, the opposition first requires its main demands to be satisfied, i.e. the dismissal of the government, the amendment of the electoral regulations and the re-

placement of the CEC members. Our Ukraine and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc disagree with the joint (“package”) vote on the amendments to the constitution and the electoral regulations. It had been agreed *inter alia* on Friday that the amendments to the constitution would come into force on 1 September 2005, and the current government would be dismissed following the election of the new president on 26 December. However, Friday’s decision by the Supreme Court has caused a significant hardening of the Yushchenko supporters’ position. The session ends with no solutions found; even worse, it is decided that the next session will be held as late as 14 December. After the session ends, those gathered in front of the parliament try to block the exits from the building, demanding that the deputies continue their work.

■ The All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets meets in Kharkiv. Deputies from the eastern regions, who have supported Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych in the election, take part in the congress. The building where the meeting is held is picketed by nearly 10,000 Yushchenko supporters. The congress participants condemn the decision passed yesterday by the Supreme Court to re-hold the second round of the election; they make a plea to President Leonid Kuchma to appeal against the decision to the Constitutional Court, and to Viktor Yanukovych and Viktor Yushchenko to withdraw their candidatures to preserve peace in the country. Nevertheless, no unambiguously separatist slogans are heard at the congress. ■ In Odessa, nearly 10,000 people demonstrate their support for Yanukovych and for the “separatist” resolutions passed on 28 November in Severodonetsk. In their conversation with a PAP correspondent, Yevhen Kushnariov and Boris Kolesnikov, political leaders in eastern Ukraine, confirm their support for a concept of federalising the country.

■ In a conversation with the President of the European Council, the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende, Leonid Kuchma suggests a prompt summoning of a round-table meeting with the participation of international mediators. In his opinion, the opposition has failed to comply with the conditions of the Wednesday agreement concerning the settlement of the post-election crisis in the country.

■ The Security Service of Ukraine launches an investigation into a suspected break-in to the Central Electoral Commission’s server during the presidential election runoff.

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■ The speaker of the Russian Duma Boris Gryzlov expresses the opinion that the Supreme Court’s decision to rehold the second round of the election was passed in favour of the losing side, and does not resolve the crisis, which has

already gone very far. According to him, the decision is just an attempt to find a way out of the crisis. ■ The deputy speaker of the Duma Vladimir Pekhtin believes that the verdict of the Ukrainian SC is an unconstitutional and illegal solution, and that the court has given in to the will of the mob and the opposition. ■ The press spokesman for the Russian MFA, Alexander Yakovenko, says the resolution by the European Parliament means *support for one of the sides, i.e. interference with the internal affairs of Ukraine*.

■ The European Union intends to send between 500 and 800 observers to cover the second round of the presidential election in Ukraine, promises Elmar Brok, the chairman of the European Parliament's foreign affairs commission. Solana's spokeswoman Christina Gallach emphasises that the EU does not have a candidate in the Ukrainian election. ■ The Canadian government also intends to send a significant number of observers to watch the election.

■ Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds telephone conversations with President Leonid Kuchma, Ukrainian parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn and Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende concerning a subsequent round-table meeting which, according to information released in the evening, will take place on Monday.

■ *We must do our best to avoid giving the impression that an international battle for Ukraine is being fought. The main objective is a free and fair election*, states Aleksander Kwaśniewski to *Der Tagesspiegel*. ■ Hundreds of people who have been demonstrating for twelve days in front of the Ukrainian Embassy in Warsaw gather in front of the Presidential Palace there. An appeal to the Polish President to support the sending of independent observers to watch the next round of the election is handed to secretary of state Barbara Labuda.

■ Members of the Polish negotiating team meet the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine Serhiy Kivalov, a member of the CEC, Ivan Mahera.

■ More than 30,000 people come to a concert of solidarity with Ukraine in Lublin. A special address to the audience by Archbishop Józef Życiński is displayed on a broadcast screen.

## Sunday, 5 December

■ At a meeting in Kiev, Viktor Yushchenko declares that the parliament must pass the amendments to the electoral regulations by Wednesday; the oppo-

sition does not intend to end its protest action before that time. He demands once more that President Kuchma should sign a decree to dismiss Viktor Yanukovich's government and appoint new CEC members.

■ Yulia Tymoshenko declares that if Viktor Yushchenko is elected president of Ukraine, she will work for his government, even as a deputy minister for social affairs.

■ The British press publicises the assumptions that the outgoing President Leonid Kuchma is trying to strike a deal with the opposition; in exchange for satisfying the opposition's demands connected with the election, it is alleged, he and his family will be guaranteed immunity after he leaves office. According to *The Sunday Times*, Kuchma is trying to obtain a guarantee that he will not be prosecuted for corruption or involvement in the murder of journalist Georgi Gongadze.

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■ *The peaceful solution to the post-election crisis in Ukraine proves the legitimacy of the European Union's enlargement and of the continuation of co-operation between Europe & the USA, regardless of some difficulties, claims the well-known neoconservative columnist Robert Kagan.*

■ The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe demands an increase in the number of observers during the repeated second round of the presidential election in Ukraine.

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■ **Contradictory information concerning holding subsequent round-table talks in Kiev is still being received. According to Solana's spokeswoman, the group of international negotiators will not meet next Monday. According to Warsaw sources, quoted by PAP, the situation is developing very rapidly, and another trip by President Kwaśniewski to Ukraine is highly likely. The Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus is also ready to go to Kiev at any time.**

## 6 DECEMBER

### THE THIRD "ROUND TABLE"

#### Monday, 6 December

■ The outgoing President Leonid Kuchma announces that the decision by the Supreme Court to re-run the second round of the presidential election must be implemented. During a meeting with ministers at his residence near Kiev, Kuchma states he is ready to compromise and sign the amendments to the electoral regulations & the constitution when they are adopted, at the parliament's debating chamber. However, he refuses to dismiss the government. Kuchma shows his will to compromise regarding the replacement of the CEC members, and says he expects all the participants in the round-table discussions, including international mediators, to come to Kiev.

■ The speaker of the Ukrainian parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn emphasises that the resolution of no confidence in Viktor Yanukovych's government should be enforced.

■ The parliament's Negotiating Committee debates during the day without any success; it decides that the parliament will meet on Tuesday for an emergency session to vote on the package bill on constitutional reform and amendments to the electoral regulations. The composition of the Central Electoral Commission will be changed as well.

■ During a meeting of the Negotiating Committee, the Our Ukraine party demands the immediate dismissal of the prosecutor-general, the head of the MIA and the administrative heads of some regions, whom it accuses of complicity in fixing the election result, making its support for the constitutional reforms dependent on satisfying those requirements. In Aleksander Kwaśniewski's opinion, the dispute about which happens first, the dismissal of the government or the decisions to implement major political reform, is to a great extent a matter of prestige: *When Prime Minister Yanukovych goes on leave and takes part in the election, he will not come back to his post; so in a sense the problem has already been resolved.* Yushchenko promises that the meeting at the Khreshchatyk will last until the president dismisses the government and the current members of the Central Electoral Commission. The blockades of the President Administration's and the government's offices will also be continued until that time.



■ Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych announces he is going on leave, which formally protects him against being dismissed, for the time of the election campaign in the run-up to the repeated second round of the election scheduled for 26 December. He also confirms in an interview for the private television station NTN that he will not withdraw from the election. He appoints a new leader for his election team, Taras Chornovil, who is a son of Viacheslav Chornovil, the well-known dissident and former leader of the People's Movement of Ukraine.

■ *If the Ukrainian authorities decide to withdraw their military contingent from Iraq, the operation will last approximately five months and will cost 11 million dollars, says the Minister of Defence Oleksandr Kuzmuk.*

■ In an interview for the BBC, Viktor Yushchenko assures Russia that it does not have to be anxious about his victory in the presidential election. *Russia will always be our neighbour*, he emphasised and adds that the current role of the international community in the Ukrainian election should be limited to ensuring the fair running of the election. In an interview for *Novaya Gazeta*, Yulia Tymoshenko also shares her belief that after her camp's victory, relations between Ukraine and Russia will become fair, based on partnership, in accordance with the law, and friendly. Tymoshenko recalls that, like Yushchenko, she comes from eastern Ukraine.

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■ Early in the evening at his residence near Kiev, Leonid Kuchma meets the speaker of the Russian Duma, Boris Gryzlov.

■ At a press conference, President Putin states that he is ready to co-operate with any president of Ukraine elected by the Ukrainian nation, and assures that Moscow is not interfering with local conflicts in the post-Soviet area, will always accept the choice of the nations, is co-operating closely with the authorities then in office, behaves fairly and openly, and has not been taking any destructive behind-the-scenes actions. At the same time, he condemns promises by the Ukrainian opposition that it intends to take over power at any price. *Russia will not accept anything like that, even if someone calls this democracy*, emphasises the Russian president. Putin also criticises the decision to rehold the second round of the election, branding such a solution *an attempt to adjust the legislation to a temporary situation*, and warns the West against interfering with the affairs of Ukraine and other former Soviet republics, against categorising people, and teaching a bad kind of lesson in a colonial manner.

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■ The Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Solomon Pasi states that thanks to the demonstrators, the world will get a solution which is “made in Ukraine.” The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov, who is present at the OSCE summit in Sofia, states that the OSCE is currently conducting political activity using humanitarian missions and rhetoric, and often resorts to the monitoring of political situations as its tool. ■ *Ukraine has become the site of a new confrontation between the West and Russia*, comments *Le Monde*. The Belgian *Le Soir* emphasises that *since Ukrainians have proven that they themselves can fight for such pillars of the European idea as democracy, stability and independence (...), this means that Europe must develop a genuine eastern policy, and call Kiev and not Moscow with respect to Ukrainian affairs.*

■ **The third round-table discussion concerning the post-election crisis in Ukraine is held in Kiev during the night of 6–7 December. As during the previous ones, the two candidates for the presidency, President Leonid Kuchma, the parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn and the mediators, the Presidents of Poland and Lithuania, Aleksander Kwaśniewski (accompanied by the Minister at the President’s Chancellery Dariusz Szymczycha) and Valdas Adamkus, the EU’s head of diplomacy Javier Solana, the OSCE Secretary General Jan Kubisz and the speaker of the Russian Duma Boris Gryzlov, take part in the discussions. Following the end of the discussions, Leonid Kuchma states that the parties have failed to reach an agreement regarding the dismissal of Viktor Yanukovich’s government, as demanded by the opposition, or the draft constitutional reform to limit the president’s powers in favour of the prime minister and the parliament. However, they have succeeded in agreeing on the replacement of the Central Electoral Commission’s members, on amendments to the electoral regulations aimed at restricting the possibility of fixing the elections, and on discontinuing the blockades of the government buildings.**

■ *We have reached a moment when the problems are very clearly defined, yet the differences of opinions are great*, sums up Aleksander Kwaśniewski. In his opinion, *the acceptance of the package prepared today by the working group in parliament, consisting of four points (the dismissal of the Yanukovich government, the introduction of changes to the electoral law, changes in the Central Electoral Commission and accepting the proposals of constitutional changes concerning the system of government in Ukraine) did not succeed because of disagreement from Messrs Kuchma and Yanukovich regarding the dismissal of the government, and because of a lack of agreement in this situation to political re-*

*form from Mr Yushchenko. Instead of the "package," a so-called "minimum" plan is adopted: the election will be held on 26 December, and the resolutions necessary to replace the CEC members and make amendments to the electoral regulations will be developed and adopted.*

■ Aleksander Kwaśniewski states that *a lack (...) of a decision [concerning amendments to the constitution and electoral regulations, CES] tomorrow or the day after tomorrow puts the election of 26 [December] in jeopardy. 26 December is the last legal date for the election to be held; if the deadline is missed, it will be a mere convention: it can then be held in a month, three, five months, a year, no one knows when. (...) If for any reason whatsoever the election is not held on the 26<sup>th</sup> [of December], then in fact, in the legal, constitutional, political and social sense, Ukraine will be in a terrible black hole, which I prefer not even to think about. The Polish president expresses his hope that the mediators' mission has come to an end, yet he does not rule out the possibility that if it appears that something very unpredictable is happening here, and the sides are blocking one another, then we will certainly have to come back in several days, although – which I would like to emphasise – under a big question mark.*

## Tuesday, 7 December

■ In spite of yesterday's talks, Prime Minister Yanukovych has not been dismissed; the blockade of the government buildings continues. *This is the form which our pressure takes*, explains Petro Poroshenko, one of Yushchenko's closest associates. Several hours later, Viktor Yanukovych goes on leave; the duties of the head of the government will be performed by the first deputy prime minister Mykola Azarov. Late in the evening, Yanukovych leaves Kiev; however, he declares in an interview for *Corriere della Sera* that he will return from his leave after 26 December as president of Ukraine.

■ President Leonid Kuchma asks the Parliament of Ukraine to dismiss the Central Electoral Commission, which has allowed the second round of the presidential election to be fixed. However, according to a speech by the parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn, 14 out of the 15 previous CEC members will be re-appointed as its members.

■ The crisis is not settled during the afternoon meeting between President Leonid Kuchma, Volodymyr Lytvyn and Viktor Yanukovych and leaders of parliamentary factions and groups; Kuchma still does not agree to Yanukovych's dismissal. As a consequence, the opposition does not agree to adopt the constitutional reform, which President Kuchma in turn insists on.

■ The General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine issues a statement warning Viktor Yushchenko against criminal liability for actions aimed at a forceful takeover of power, which is a reaction to the interview given by Yushchenko for the British weekly *The Sunday Telegraph*, in which he has said among other things that *unless the previous regime conforms to the will of the people, the opposition will take over power by force*.

■ Dissent within the leadership of the Power of the Nation bloc deepens between moderate and radical groups, with Yulia Tymoshenko as the overall leader. Oleksandr Moroz, for whom political reform is the utmost priority, does not rule out the possibility of withdrawing his support if this demand is neglected.

■ In an interview for *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, Yulia Tymoshenko declares that Kiev will remain a predictable and reliable partner for Moscow. *Putin is going to understand very soon that it will be better to co-operate in the future with a de-*

*mocratic Ukraine, which will become a reliable and predictable partner for Russia,* she states.

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■ Russia, backed by Belarus, blocks the adoption of a final declaration at the annual session of the OSCE's Council of Ministers in Sofia. In his speech, the head of Russian diplomacy Sergei Lavrov accuses the OSCE of using double standards in its assessment of election processes in various countries, and suggests adopting a system of objective criteria applicable to all the OSCE member states. ■ The US Secretary of State Colin Powell rejects Moscow's allegations against the OSCE, and denies that its missions have allegedly interfered with any country's internal affairs, that it uses double standards, or that Washington is allegedly pushing to extend its sphere of influence in the post-Soviet states, including Ukraine. Powell emphasises that the West's only objective in Ukraine is democracy and freedom of choice for its leaders and friends, and not rivalry.

■ *The Supreme Court was not entitled to evaluate the election, and even less so to declare that the second round be re-run. Such a formulation is illegal. What the opposition is doing in Ukraine is forceful pressure. (...) The fact that he [Yushchenko] has declared himself president is a criminal fraud,* comments the speaker of the Russian Duma Boris Gryzlov on the decision taken by the Supreme Court.

■ Participants in the "orange revolution" write an open letter to the Russian president on a 60-metre-long orange cloth bale. The signatories call on Putin not to interfere with Ukraine's internal affairs. Referring to the common history of the two countries, they ask him to come to love Ukraine *as a mother, and not as a rare dish to be eaten*. The Russian embassy in Kiev refuses to accept the letter.

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■ In an interview for *Le Monde*, the Georgian Foreign Minister Salome Zurbishvili states that thanks to Ukraine, Georgia will not be a one-off case, and that the Black Sea region has a chance for rapid democratisation.

■ Pope John Paul II receives the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church Lubomyr Huzar at a private audience.

## Wednesday, 8 December

■ The Parliament of Ukraine adopts a package of laws amending the constitution limiting the president's powers and granting new powers to the prime minister and parliament, and amending the electoral regulations to restrict

the possibility of fixing the repeated election, scheduled for 26 December. The amendment of the constitution is aimed at changing the political system of Ukraine from a presidential-parliamentary into a parliamentary-presidential one. 402 out of the 442 MPs present vote for the changes; only the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc votes against (which is a sensation in Ukrainian parliamentary practice). The constitutional reform will come into force on 1 September 2005 (provided that the “local government” amendment of the constitution is adopted earlier, during the second reading of the bill; if not, the reform will come into force on 1 January 2006). President Leonid Kuchma and the parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn immediately sign the adopted documents in the debating chamber.

■ MPs dismiss all the members of the Central Electoral Commission.

■ In the evening, Viktor Yushchenko meets his supporters at the Independence Square, announces the victory of the “orange revolution” and the beginning of a new election campaign. He also asks some of the protesters to remain in the square until the day of the vote. *We must take the spirit of unity present at this square to the Luhansk, Kharkiv and Donetsk regions*, he declares, criticising the above-mentioned regional governments for their incitement to separatism. In the evening, the opposition ceases to block the state authorities’ offices. However, demonstrators promise that the President’s Administration building will be picketed until Yushchenko takes office.

■ During electoral meetings in Donetsk, Viktor Yanukovych criticises the Supreme Court of Ukraine for the decision to re-run the second round of the election, claiming it was politically motivated and illegal. He also criticises the new composition of the Central Electoral Commission, which does not include even a single representative of his party. *This is the rule of the street, and the language of ultimatums and lawlessness*, he sums up.

■ The Prosecutor General of Ukraine, Hennadiy Vasiliev, hands in his resignation; this has been one of the opposition’s demands, which Leonid Kuchma had hitherto opposed.

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■ The speaker of the State Duma, Boris Gryzlov, claims that only a victory for Viktor Yanukovych can ensure Ukraine’s integrity and prevent it from collapsing. According to Gryzlov, the entire post-election process in Ukraine has been taking place outside the legal framework.

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■ The European Union’s head of diplomacy Javier Solana rejects the Russian president’s allegations that the West has been manipulating the presidential

election in Ukraine. In Solana's opinion, the Russian president has gone too far with his sharp comparisons. *Our objective is an election free of rigging. We do not have our own candidate in Ukraine*, Solana assures, and emphasises that neither the Russian president nor the EU have any right to interfere in Ukraine's internal affairs. ■ In an interview for the Euronews television station, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell denies that US-Russian relations have worsened due to the events in Ukraine, and says he is satisfied with the reforms adopted by the Ukrainian parliament. During his telephone conversation with President Leonid Kuchma, Powell expresses the opinion that adopting the package of law has ended the political crisis in Ukraine. He also states that the choice of the president of Ukraine is now up to the Ukrainian nation alone.

■ The spokesman of the Department of State Adam Ereli says that the decisions by the Parliament of Ukraine are *a victory for the Ukrainian nation*.

■ ***Following the decision by the Ukrainian parliament, it can be stated that the mission of the international mediators in Ukraine has been successful, states the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. The quick and firm reaction by the European Union to the fixing of the election in Ukraine indicates that the enlarged EU has already sensed the influence of its new member states, says the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in an interview for the Reuters news agency.***

## Thursday, 9 December

■ The Parliament approves the 15 new members of the Central Electoral Commission (including 11 previous members – although without the previous chairman of the CEC, Serhiy Kivalov), and ends its emergency session.

■ The campaign in the run-up to the repeated second round of the presidential election starts in Ukraine. Oleksandr Zinchenko, the head of Yushchenko's election team, announces that *the campaign is moving towards the east and south*, and that the team's major task is to convince voters in the eastern parts of the country.

■ Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych, who is on leave, claims he is no longer the candidate of the "disgraced authorities' camp" but of the 15 million people who cast their votes for him during the runoff. He brands the compromise reached on 8 December as an "unconstitutional *coup d'état*."

■ Yushchenko's close associate Roman Zvarych denies rumours that the opposition has allegedly struck a deal with President Leonid Kuchma guaran-

teeing him security after the election, and assures that Kuchma will be held liable, if he has committed any crimes. In an interview for *The Washington Post*, Yushchenko himself assures that after he has won the election, investigations will be launched or resumed into certain political and economic crimes in which structures of the Presidential Administration could have been involved, including the matter of the murder of Georgi Gongadze.

■ The laws amending the constitution which limit the powers of the president and grant new powers to the prime minister and the parliament, and amend the electoral regulations to restrict the possibility of fixing the repeated second round of the election scheduled for 26 December, which the parliament adopted yesterday, come into force. *Viktor Yushchenko has been given power over Ukraine for only one year*, comments the Russian daily *Kommersant* on this fact.

■ The Parliament's plenipotentiary for human rights Nina Karpacheva claims that some of the provisions included in the amendments to the electoral regulations, which the parliament adopted on 8 December, limit voters' rights. In her letter addressed to the speaker of Parliament, Karpacheva criticises the limitation of the right to vote outside one's place of permanent residence, as well as restricted access to ballot boxes for voters who cannot come to polling stations by themselves.

■ The Kiev district court grants the complaint by the former prosecutor general Sviatoslav Piskun against the decree dismissing him from the post of prosecutor general passed by the President of Ukraine, and declares that the decree (passed in autumn 2003) was illegal. The court declares that Piskun should be re-appointed to the post, which has been vacant since the dismissal of Hennadiy Vasiliev.

■ According to *Jane's Intelligence Digest*, approximately five hundred soldiers of the Russian special forces are stationed in Irpin near Kiev. Some of them are reportedly personal bodyguards of President Leonid Kuchma and of the chief of the Presidential Administration Viktor Medvedchuk. Their task is to evacuate Kuchma, Medvedchuk and their families from Kiev, if necessary. However, such information is not later confirmed.

■ At the evening meeting, Viktor Yushchenko announces the victory of the "orange revolution;" the offices of the President's Administration are still being picketed.

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■ The European Commission announces plans for EU co-operation with seven countries, including Ukraine, as part of a "new neighbourhood policy." The



plan includes provisions for broadened economic co-operation, assistance in adjusting Ukraine to EU regulations, improving border security, co-operation in combating terrorism, and in the fields of education, science, transport and the power industry. The Commission states that acceptance of the Ukraine co-operation plan by the governments of EU member states should be conditional on a democratic presidential election being held in the country.

■ During a meeting in Brussels, NATO foreign ministers appeal for a free and democratic election in Ukraine. They also declare NATO's support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

■ At the time of the Russia–NATO Council's session in Brussels, foreign ministers issue a joint statement appealing to all sides to avoid violence, refrain from intimidating voters, and take actions to ensure that a free and fair election is held which will reflect the choice of the Ukrainian nation. They also express their support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

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■ Most Russian mass media change the tone of their comments. The government-controlled *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* writes that Ukraine has made a "European choice."

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■ **The Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski holds a teleconference with US President George W. Bush and Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus. The US president thanks both his colleagues for participating in the international mediation mission in Ukraine, and emphasises that the successful mediation mission in Ukraine has been a perfect example of co-operation between the United States, the European Union, the OSCE and NATO.**

## Friday, 10 December

■ The new Ukrainian Central Electoral Commission approves the calendar connected with repeating the second round of the presidential election. The television debate between the two candidates will take place on 20 December, and the election results will be announced by 10 January 2005.

■ President Leonid Kuchma signs a decree re-appointing Sviatoslav Piskun as Ukraine's prosecutor general. The president has taken the decision to re-appoint Piskun to the post in connection with the decree by the Kiev court, which stated that Piskun's dismissal in 2003 had been illegal.

■ In the evening, Yushchenko is admitted for a two-day medical examination at the Rudolfinerhaus clinic in Vienna.

■ *The opposition and the treacherous authorities have conspired against me. They have started attacking me together. Therefore I have gone on leave as prime minister. I know I will not come back to the post,* states Viktor Yanukovych, who has earlier declared in an interview for *Corriere della Sera* that he will come back after 26 December from his leave as president of Ukraine.

■ Volodymyr Lytvyn reveals that the government considered the possibility of declaring a state of emergency in Ukraine in late November.

■ President Vladimir Putin states that Russia will not have any reservations if Ukraine joins the European Union. The Prime Minister of Spain, José Luís Zapatero, who Putin has met, answers a question concerning Ukraine's prospects of joining the EU by saying that the issue is not currently being considered. At the same time, Putin claims that he intends to expand economic relations between Russia and Ukraine as part of a broader co-operation between four countries, including Belarus and Kazakhstan.

## Saturday, 11 December

■ Viktor Yushchenko appeals to the European Union to recognise Ukraine as a real candidate to join the EU, and for it to present a long-term integration plan. In an interview for *The Financial Times*, he suggests a four-point plan for integrating Ukraine with the Union: recognising the Ukrainian economy as a market economy, Ukraine's acceptance into the World Trade Organisation, Ukraine's acceptance as an associate member of the EU, and subsequently as a full member.

■ At meetings with voters, Viktor Yanukovych accuses the opposition and President Leonid Kuchma of conspiring against him. He also accuses the current Ukrainian authorities of inspiring the opposition to hold the protests against the election results that have lasted for more than two weeks. He claims that the source of the "orange revolution" is an alliance of forces that have been robbing Ukraine during all the years of its independence, and appeals for a parliamentary commission to be established which would investigate whether the USA has financed his rival's election campaign.

■ *The cause of Viktor Yushchenko's illness is dioxin poisoning,* state doctors at the Rudolfinerhaus. The Ukrainian Prosecutor's General Office resumes the criminal proceedings into the matter of Yushchenko's illness, and the US De-

partment of State appeals to the Ukrainian authorities to conduct a thorough investigation into the matter.

## Sunday, 12 December

■ Viktor Yushchenko returns to Kiev from Vienna, where he was undergoing medical tests during the weekend following his dioxin poisoning in September. Yushchenko is satisfied with the General Prosecutor's Office's decisions, which resumed the investigation into his poisoning on Saturday.

## Monday, 13 December

■ Viktor Yanukovych accuses the Western mediators participating in settling the Ukrainian electoral crisis of interfering with Ukraine's internal affairs, and states that the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and the other mediators have supported the "legal nihilism" existing in Ukraine during the "orange revolution." ■ President Leonid Kuchma addresses letters of gratitude to all foreign mediators for assistance in resolving the political crisis.

■ The President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma brings a motion in the Parliament to dismiss Serhiy Tyhipko from the post of president of the National Bank of Ukraine, and to appoint Volodymyr Stelmakh in his place. The governor of Dnipropetrovsk region Volodymyr Yatsuba hands in his resignation.

■ In the evening, the opposition starts removing the tents from Kiev's central street.

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■ The Council of Europe's Secretary General Terry Davis visits Kiev. He talks about the election crisis with Leonid Kuchma, the parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn, the head of diplomacy Kostiantyn Hryshchenko, Viktor Yanukovych and the leader of Yushchenko's election team Oleksandr Zinchenko, and assures that the Council of Europe is not interfering with the electoral process in Ukraine.

■ At a meeting in Brussels, EU foreign ministers discuss the situation in Ukraine, and express their satisfaction with the recent decisions by the parliament and Supreme Court of Ukraine, as well as with the political compromise which has been achieved. ■ The European Union wants to allocate up to 3 million to cover the costs of the observers' mission during the repeated second round of the presidential election.

■ The European Commission appeals for those responsible for poisoning the Ukrainian opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko to be brought to court. The parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn also opts for conducting a “thorough investigation.”

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■ **The Euro-MP Bogdan Klich, who is visiting Kiev, claims that the European Union should offer Ukraine, should Viktor Yushchenko become president, a stabilisation and partnership treaty. Such a treaty is something intermediate between a partnership and co-operation agreement, which is now binding on the EU and Ukraine, and a treaty of association, the member of the European People’s Party makes clear.**

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■ **In Warsaw, volunteers and passers-by start making an “orange crochet scarf of support;” the world’s longest scarf, which will reach 15 metres in length, will finally be brought to the Independence Square in Kiev by the Orange Alternative activists.**

## Tuesday, 14 December

■ Viktor Yanukovych again accuses the USA of interfering with Ukraine’s internal affairs and financing his rival Viktor Yushchenko’s election campaign. The US President’s and Department of State’s spokesmen Scott McClellan and Richard Boucher reject the allegations.

■ The Ukrainian MFA spokesman Markiyian Lubkivski states that his country is not satisfied with the Ukraine–EU action plan, yet he hopes that after the end of the presidential election, talks on raising relations between Kiev and the EU to a higher level will start.

■ President Leonid Kuchma once again demands that the blockade of his administration building be lifted. The outgoing President does not intend to sign the law on ballot printing (which will make it possible to print the ballots at two printing houses, and consequently hold the election on time), which is a part of the package amending the electoral regulations, unless his opponents end the siege of the president’s office.

■ The Ukrainian communist leader Petro Symonenko submits a draft resolution to the Parliament to hold a referendum concerning the liquidation of the presidency in Ukraine.

■ 68.9% of Ukrainians oppose the idea of a federalisation of Ukraine, and 16.7% support the idea. Only 11.4% of respondents support the idea of in-

corporating the eastern regions of Ukraine into Russia, and 81% oppose it. 78.2% do not agree to the creation of a so-called South-Eastern Autonomy within Ukraine, and 12.7% support the idea, according to the public opinion poll conducted by the Razumkov Centre in the first ten days of December.

■ The former US ambassador to the UN, Richard Holbrooke, appeals in *The Washington Post* for Ukraine to be accepted into NATO within three years, and makes a plea to Poland to support Ukraine's membership.

## Wednesday, 15 December

■ Viktor Yanukovych asks his supporters in Kherson for donations to his election campaign; during his meeting with voters in Nikolayev, he states that volunteer troops of his supporters are being formed in Ukraine, who intend to come to Kiev on 26 December to protect their candidate and prevent a *coup d'état*. According to Yanukovych, one such group, based in Sevastopol, already has 35,000 members. ■ The director of the public security department at the MIA, Oleksandr Savchenko, promises that approximately 170,000 militiamen and soldiers of the internal troops, who have the right to use arms, will secure order and peace during the repeated second round of the presidential election. Nearly 30,000 police will be sent from provincial garrisons to Kiev. ■ The governor of the Kharkiv region, Yevhen Kushnariov, who is considered to be the leader of the recent separatist tendencies in the eastern regions of Ukraine, hands in his resignation. The official reason for his resignation is the fact that he has been elected chairman of a local regional council. ■ Volodymyr Satsiuk, the deputy chief of the Security Service of Ukraine fails to hand in his resignation on time, and is dismissed by President Leonid Kuchma. The opposition suspects Satsiuk, who has close connections with the head of the Presidential Administration Viktor Medvedchuk, of being involved in the attempted poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko; it was at his summer house where Yushchenko met the SBU chief Ihor Smeshko shortly before he was poisoned.

■ *Before Ukraine joins the European Union, the EU should develop a special programme of co-operation with Kiev*, states Viktor Yushchenko at a press conference in Kiev on the eve of the EU summit concerning the Union's enlargement. *I am profoundly convinced that, in geopolitical terms, Ukraine is a part of Europe*, he emphasises. On the same day, the EU commissioners' negative approach towards Ukraine's European ambitions is criticised by Wolfgang Schaeuble,

an influential member of the German CDU. Still, the former party leader Helmut Kohl believes that Ukraine's imminent acceptance into the European Union is very unlikely.

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■ The speaker of the Russian Duma Boris Gryzlov criticises the Supreme Court of Ukraine's verdict that the second round of the presidential election should be repeated. He is convinced that one side has exerted pressure on the SC. *Russia is still ready to co-operate with any elected president of Ukraine*, he states.

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■ **The Polish Ambassador in Kiev, Marek Ziółkowski, definitively rejects Viktor Yanukovich's allegations that Poland is interfering in Ukraine's internal affairs by means of President Aleksander Kwaśniewski's participation in the Ukrainian round-table discussions. *The mediators' mandate was limited to taking actions to contribute to settling the political crisis, emphasises Ziółkowski.***

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■ **Between 15 and 18 December, Polish Euro-MP Jerzy Buzek is on an observer mission in Luhansk and Donetsk; he meets governors, regional chiefs and city mayors, as well as the mass media and members of local election teams.**

## Thursday, 16 December

■ The General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine launches criminal proceedings into the matter of abuses during the ballot counting and the announcement of the results of the 24 November election against members of the Central Electoral Commission. 136 investigations into ballot forging and other manipulations during the election are launched across the country.

■ The Parliament of Ukraine approves the nomination of Volodymyr Stelmakh to the post of president of the National Bank of Ukraine, in place of Serhiy Tyhipko. ■ Agriculture minister Viktor Slauta hands in his resignation.

■ At an emergency session, the Donetsk region council cancels the resolution on holding a referendum regarding the transformation of Ukraine into a federal state planned for 9 January 2005, which it had adopted on 28 November.

■ At a press conference in Kiev, Viktor Yanukovich opts to grant the widest possible autonomy to the regions.

■ The Parliament of Ukraine rejects the bill submitted by the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc which would oblige all state officials to use the Ukrainian language while performing their official duties.

■ At a meeting with journalists, Viktor Yanukovych accuses *some European countries* of interfering in Ukraine's internal affairs, and supporting *political technologies based on methods typical of totalitarian sects*.

■ Up to 6,500 foreign observers are already registered in Kiev.

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■ Before an EU summit, the President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Durão Barroso emphasises that the dynamics of further political and economic co-operation between the Union and Ukraine depends on the legality of the election on 26 December. *An election complying with international standards may open the full potential of the action plan we have agreed on with Ukraine*, declares Barroso.

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■ **During Polish foreign minister Cimoszewicz's visit to Moscow, Sergei Lavrov states at a press conference that Russia and Poland agree that the Ukrainian nation must settle the situation for itself, without any outside interference. He also admits that the round-table discussions in which the Polish president has participated have contributed to reaching an agreement, and have prevented tension escalating in Ukraine. ■ Minister Cimoszewicz states that Russia has not given [him] any impression of regret in connection with Poland's stance on the events in Ukraine.**

## Friday, 17 December

■ The routes of the election campaigns of Yushchenko and Yanukovych cross in Kharkiv, where both candidates for the presidency hold meetings. Viktor Yanukovych once again accuses the organisers of the "orange revolution" of staging a "show." Viktor Yushchenko defends the good reputation of Yulia Tymoshenko and pleads for peace. The former candidate is welcomed by the governor of Kharkiv region Yevhen Kushnariov, and the latter by the city's mayor Volodymyr Shumilkin.

■ The Ukrainian Foreign Minister Kostiantyn Hryshchenko emphasises that Russia should be interested in Ukraine's joining NATO as soon as possible. In his opinion, considering the proximity of the two countries, *Ukraine is the best guarantor that, following its acceptance into NATO, the Alliance will not pose any danger to Russia*. According to Viktor Yushchenko, a national referendum should decide on whether Ukraine should join NATO.

■ According to the results of a pre-election public opinion poll conducted by the Ukrainian Social Studies Institute (published contrary to regulations, which

ban such polls during an election campaign), 49.4% of Ukrainian voters who intend to vote in the repeated presidential election runoff will cast their votes for the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, and 39% for Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich. 5% of voters intend to vote against both candidates.

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■ The European Union adopts a declaration in which it promises enhanced co-operation with Ukraine within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy. **At a press conference, the Polish foreign minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz states that the time will come to take subsequent steps, and recalls that the current decisions are being taken before the presidential election has been concluded.**

## Saturday, 18 December

■ President Leonid Kuchma dismisses Vasyl Baziv from the posts of deputy head of his administration and head of the president's analytical office. He accepts the resignations handed in by Yevhen Kushnariov, Oleksandr Sendeha, and the agriculture minister Viktor Slauta.

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■ President Leonid Kuchma receives a group of US congressmen; a member of the delegation, California congressman Dan Rohrbacher, states that a draft resolution providing for sanctions on Ukraine if the presidential election is unfair (which he had prepared earlier) is already out-of-date, because action has been taken in Ukraine to ensure that the election reflects the choice of the nation. ■ President Kuchma approves the sending of Ukrainian troops to the Golan Heights as part of the UN observer mission UNDOF.

## Sunday, 19 December

■ President Leonid Kuchma signs the amendments to the electoral regulations, which allow for ballots for the repeated second round of the presidential election to be printed at two printing houses. The president had made the signing of the amendments dependent on the opposition lifting the blockade of his administration buildings. Meanwhile, the youth organisation Pora claims it will not cease the blockade until the president dismisses the government.

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■ *Thinking in cold-war categories should be prevented,* states the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov. In his opinion, *building a new wall be-*



tween the eastern border of Ukraine and Russia may mean a return to the cold-war policy. The minister sees declarations that Ukraine should be in one team with the West as a provocation, an instigation and making new divides.

■ Euro-MP Jerzy Buzek, who is a member of the delegation that has visited eastern Ukraine over the last few days, emphasises that the first task for the leader of the Ukrainian opposition, should he win the presidential election, will be to overcome economic difficulties. *We in Poland know how difficult it is to wait patiently for the positive effects of transformation*, he adds.

## Monday, 20 December

■ A TV debate between the two candidates is held in the evening. However, according to experts, it does not cause any significant change in voters' opinions or feelings. Following the tactic which he has earlier demonstrated, Yanukovych presents himself as an oppositionist, while Yushchenko appeals for peace, unity and stabilisation in the country. Yanukovych also accuses Yushchenko of accepting money from the West. Yushchenko denies that, and recalls Yanukovych's criminal past.

■ The Russian Black Sea Fleet categorically denies the rumours that arms have allegedly been sold or handed out from its warehouses to Yanukovych supporters. According to the opposition MP Hryhoriy Omelchenko, 100 firearms, 90 grenades, 25 kilograms of TNT and 100 detonators have recently disappeared from the Fleet's warehouses.

■ A group of the European Parliament's observers, who have been observing the situation in eastern Ukraine for a week, makes its statement immediately upon its return to Brussels. **According to members of the European People's Party, including Jerzy Buzek and Bohdan Klich, a scenario in which Yanukovych's supporters might attempt to interrupt or invalidate the election cannot be ruled out. It is therefore necessary to send as many independent observers as possible to polling stations in Ukraine, the observers recommend. They also emphasise that if the election proceeds peacefully, the European Union and the United States should summon a conference of donors that will effectively support Ukrainian democracy.**

## Tuesday, 21 December

■ In response to messages from Moscow (including Vladimir Putin's statement on co-operation with the future president of Ukraine), Viktor Yushchenko declares that co-operation with Russia is one of Ukraine's strategic interests, although European integration should be Kiev's top priority. Yushchenko also recalls his good co-operation with Moscow when he was prime minister, and promises that if he wins the election, his first foreign visit as president will be to Moscow.

■ Viktor Yanukovych opts for a continuation of the previous multilateral foreign policy, and states that Ukraine should not choose between Russia and Europe. *My answer to the question of who we should be with is "both Europe and Russia."* During a meeting in Dnipropetrovsk, he warns against the possibility of interrupting the election which (he says) loopholes in the electoral regulations create. However, he declares that he would like the election to be completed this year; he is certain he will win.

■ An opinion poll conducted by the Razumkov Centre shows that 53% of those who intend to go to the polls will vote for the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, and 42% for Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych.

■ The spokesman of the Ukrainian MFA Markiyian Lubkivski states that after the democratic presidential election is held this Sunday, new prospects of European integration will open up for Ukraine, and serious talks with both NATO and the EU will start.

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■ More than 8,000 foreign observers sent by governments and social organisations have been registered in Ukraine by 21 December. The number of reported observers probably totals almost 12,000; some of those who have not managed to register on time are acting informally.

■ The speaker of the Lithuanian parliament Arturas Paulauskas suggests creating a trilateral Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian parliamentary assembly, at a meeting with his Ukrainian counterpart Volodymyr Lytvyn.

## Wednesday, 22 December

■ One month since the beginning of the "orange revolution," speaking to his supporters at the Independence Square in Kiev, Viktor Yushchenko announces that 2004 is "the year of Ukraine." *We, the Ukrainian people, have forced the authorities to respect our rights,* Yushchenko says in summing up the experien-

ces of the autumn. He appeals once again for national and state unity, and recalls that *neither language nor faith nor geography separate us*; he firmly denies any allegations that he intends to discriminate against Russian-speaking citizens.

■ Viktor Yanukovych's election team warns against the possibility of President Kuchma's invalidating the election and illegally extending his term in office, and so becoming the key stabilising factor. Such concerns are expressed at a press conference by Taras Chornovil, according to whom the opposition election team is seriously considering a coup scenario. Chornovil appeals to political rivals to accept the results of the Sunday election, regardless of what they are.

■ Two "autonomous" missions of Polish observers go to Ukraine in the evening. The Polish Observer Mission (POM) has been organised by students holding demonstrations of support for democratic Ukraine since November, backed by the Zagranica Group (an association of Polish non-governmental organisations operating in the East), the Polish-Ukrainian Forum, the Union of Ukrainians in Poland, the European Institute for Democracy (EID), the Stefan Batory Foundation and the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation. Polish actors have been gathering funds for the Mission's trip, which has been supported by numerous residents of Warsaw; and in mid-December, thanks to a decision by the Polish prime minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, funds from the reserve of the President of the Council of Ministers were donated to the POM organisation. Nearly two hundred POM observers go from Warsaw to the Kharkiv region.

■ Observers belonging to the Poland-Ukraine Solidarity Committee, established by Adam Lipiński, a member of the Law and Justice party, go to Ukraine the same evening. Four hundred observers go to Kiev and from there to Kherson, Donbas, Nikolayev, Odessa and many small locations in the east of the country; another, even larger group is observing the election in the areas around Lviv.

## Thursday, 23 December

■ In an interview for the *La Repubblica* daily, Viktor Yushchenko claims that the approaching election may be *a confrontation of civilisations; the authoritarian Soviet vision vs. Western democracy*.

■ According to the latest opinion poll results published, Viktor Yushchenko is going to win the Sunday presidential election; 51% voters intend to vote for him, while only 37% for his rival. Yushchenko is also chosen as “Ukrainian politician of 2004” by his compatriots.

■ Viacheslav Astapov of the press office of the General Prosecutor’s Office of Ukraine states that nearly 60 criminal cases have been launched across the country in connection with violations of electoral regulations during the election campaign and the second round of the presidential election. The prosecutor’s office has noted the greatest number of violations in the Sumy, Vinnica, Kharkiv and Kiev regions. Sviatoslav Piskun was restored to the post of prosecutor general on 10 December.

■ Ukraine’s former foreign minister Borys Tarasiuk criticises the head of the Dutch MFA Bernard Bot, who has stated that if Viktor Yushchenko wins the Sunday presidential election, he should nominate a member of his rival Viktor Yanukovych’s team as prime minister. According to Tarasiuk, Ukraine is now above all expecting reliable prospects for EU membership.

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■ **The outgoing President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, sends a letter of gratitude to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski for his contribution to and assistance in settling the political crisis caused by the presidential election in Ukraine.**

■ **There will be approximately 3,000 observers from Poland in the next 24 hours in Kiev, informs the Polish Embassy there. Among other organisations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Law and Justice and Civic Platform political parties, the Polish Observer Mission and the Polish-Ukrainian Forum send observers. Poles are also present among the observers delegated by the OSCE, the Council of Europe and the international observer mission ENEMO.**

■ **Ukrainian intellectualists, cultural figures, social activists and politicians sign a letter of gratitude to Poles for supporting the Ukrainian democratic opposition.** ■ *Dear Polish friends, we cannot find the proper words to fully express our gratitude to Poles. We feel great respect for you, for your nation. (...) Our faith in us gives us inspiration and strength. The actions taken by President Kwaśniewski (...) have been received as a sign that we are seen as a European society, students from Lviv write several days later to the editorial staff of the Polityka weekly magazine.*

■ **Considering Viktor Yushchenko’s expected victory in the repeated runoff of the presidential election, a council devoted to developing and agreeing**

a package of proposals concerning Ukraine's relations with the USA, the EU and NATO in 2005 is held at the Polish MFA with the future president's team. Those present decide to send a working group to Kiev within a week, to prepare international mediation and a political solution to the crisis at the time of the political conflict.

## Friday, 24 December

■ The outgoing President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, appeals on television to both candidates in the Sunday presidential election to shake hands, regardless of the election result. *I wish for everyone to finally see the finish of this electoral marathon*, he says, while at the same time criticising the emotionality with which the final phase of the election campaign has been conducted. He also admits for the first time that there have been some "hot heads," i.e. people who would opt for a forceful solution, within his own circle. ■ In a special proclamation to the citizens, the Ukrainian parliament appeals to them to make a conscious choice, and to representatives of the law enforcement agencies to observe the law and the constitution.

■ At a meeting concluding the pre-election campaign, Viktor Yanukovych accuses the opposition of being steered by foreign centres of influence. *We are the masters of this house*, he emphasises while addressing his supporters in Kiev.

■ At the last press conference before the election, Viktor Yushchenko is sure of his victory, but at the same time says that he does not rule out attempts to interrupt the repeated second round of the presidential election scheduled for Sunday. In his opinion, riots may be sparked by Yanukovych's supporters, or "procedural games" may be played by the Constitutional Court, under pressure from the authorities. Yushchenko reminds the people that, following his expected victory, he intends to go to Moscow on his first foreign visit.

■ Prosecutor General Sviatoslav Piskun states that the prosecutor's office will exert all possible efforts for the election to be held in a transparent way. The acting minister of internal affairs, Vasyl Zhuk, also assures that the militia will protect the rights of every person, and take all possible measures to preserve peace. The chief of the Security Service of Ukraine asks voters for tolerance and responsibility.

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■ The Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, Alexei II, who is superior in hierarchy to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchy), appeals to Ukrainian politicians *to devote their ambitions to the benefit of the country*. ■ At a session

of the State Council, Vladimir Putin emphasises that Moscow is not involved in any behind-the-scenes interference aimed at influencing the situation in any former Soviet republics.

■ **At an annual press conference, the Russian President Vladimir Putin criticises the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski for his statement in an interview for Polityka that for the USA, a Russia without Ukraine is better than a Russia with Ukraine. The Russian head of state admits that this sounds like *the words of a person searching for a place after his term in office ends*, while at the same time reminding the president of Poland's internal problems, including 20% unemployment and a considerable foreign debt.**

## Saturday, 25 December

■ The Constitutional Court of Ukraine decrees that the amendments made to the electoral regulations to prevent fixing are constitutional, except for one, which restricts the right to vote outside polling stations only to first-class invalids. Pursuant to the Court's verdict, the right to vote at home shall be vested in all ill and handicapped persons. The Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Yaroslav Davydovych, hopes that this will only pose a problem in organisational terms. *The Constitutional Court has resolved any doubts concerning the amendments to the electoral regulations*, the Presiding Judge of the Constitutional Court Mykola Selivon states while providing reasons for and justifying the change. Changes in voters' registers on voting day itself can only be introduced upon a court decision.

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■ The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov criticises Washington for *constantly commenting on the course of elections in other countries*, stating that this constitutes interference in their internal affairs.

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■ **On 25 December, in response to a request by Ukrainian non-governmental organisations operating in Poland, more volunteers from the Polish Observer Mission go to Ukraine to observe the election in Trans-Carpathia, in the area near Tiachev. ■ Orange banners measuring over 200 m<sup>2</sup>, visible throughout the city, are hung on the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw.**

## Sunday, 26 December

■ The turnout is over 77% in the repeated second round of the presidential election in Ukraine. Lines form in front of more than 32,000 polling stations in Ukraine and Ukrainian embassies in many countries, including Poland. Exit polls show that Viktor Yushchenko is the definite front-runner. The Razumkov Centre and the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, which have conducted the most extensive polls, are of the opinion that Yushchenko has won, receiving 56.31% of the votes, against 41.31% for Yanukovych. By midnight, the Central Electoral Commission has managed to process nearly one-fifth of the local commissions' reports, which show that more than 57% of voters have cast their ballots for Viktor Yushchenko, and nearly 39% for Viktor Yanukovych.

■ A rock concert and a spontaneous meeting of Yushchenko's supporters takes place at Independence Square in the evening.

■ At a press conference at his election headquarters, Viktor Yanukovych claims that *My opponents will see what real opposition is*, commenting on his probable defeat in the election. Yanukovych thus rules out any talks on co-operation. The intention to "go into opposition" is also declared by the Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine (United), by Leonid Kravchuk, the leader of the party's parliamentary faction and a former president of Ukraine.

■ The outgoing President Leonid Kuchma hopes that today's voting is the final round, and that it will ultimately finish the over-extended electoral marathon. The parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn also hopes that the repeated runoff of the presidential election in Ukraine will provide a final solution to the crisis.

■ MP Petro Poroshenko, a member of Viktor Yushchenko's team, who has for several days been mentioned as a potential candidate for the office of prime minister, states his readiness to accept the post in the evening. Earlier on the same day, the Deputy Speaker of the European Parliament, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, states that talks on the shape of the future government have started.

■ Numerous observers delegated by the European Parliament, the OSCE, the European Institute for Democracy and many other international organisations agree that the violations they have noted have not had a significant impact on the result of the election, which has been held in compliance with international standards. Vasily Volkov, a member of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, who has been watching the election in Ukraine, mentions

in an interview for the ITAR-TASS news agency that some mistakes have been made. As early as Sunday morning, the leader of Yanukovych's election team Taras Chornovil warns that the prime minister's team will lodge complaints to courts against any registered violations of the law.

■ Another, second special mission of the European Parliament goes to Ukraine. As in early December, the mission is led by Euro-MP Jacek Saryusz-Wolski.

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■ *Poland has played a key role in causing the second round of the election in Ukraine to be re-run, and has risked an engagement in events beyond its eastern border which clashes with Russia's stance, writes the French daily Le Monde.*



## Monday, 27 December

■ Having processed 99.8% of the election commissions' reports, the Central Electoral Commission states that in the second round of the election, 52.05% of the ballots have been cast for the opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko, and 44.15% for Yanukovych. Although the Commission cannot yet state the official election result because of the complaints made, its chairman Yaroslav Davydovych implies that Yushchenko's advantage over Yanukovych as noted at this point gives him to believe that Yushchenko is the winner of Sunday's election.

■ In the morning, several hours after the voting ends, Viktor Yushchenko speaks to thousands of his supporters at Independence Square, thanking them for their support and congratulating them on the victory, promising them the end of the era of Kuchma, Yanukovych and Medvedchuk. *We have done it, we have won*, Yushchenko shouted at the beginning of the meeting. The Ukrainian winner of this year's Eurovision contest in Istanbul, Ruslana Lyzhychko, gives Yushchenko the 15-metre-long orange scarf knitted specially for him in Poland.

■ Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych declares that he refuses to recognise his defeat in the presidential election, because mass violations of voters' rights and the constitution have taken place during the election. His supporters and election team have already submitted nearly 5,000 complaints to courts about the course of the election, mainly in western regions. Nevertheless, Yanukovych does not intend to call for street protests. The CEC cannot announce the final election results until the Supreme Court has considered the complaints. Yanukovych quotes the parliament's plenipotentiary for human rights Nina Karpacheva, who has allegedly said that 4.8 million people, mainly handicapped and elderly citizens, have been deprived of their right to vote as a consequence of the amendments to the electoral regulations adopted by the parliament. Yanukovych also recalls cases when people who have been deprived of the right to vote at home collapsed or died on their way to the polling station. *This is going to be a clear case of déjà vu for the CEC and for the entire society*, promises Nestor Shufrych, a member of Yanukovych's election team, com-

menting on the “repeated scheme of action” imitating the actions taken by the opposition after the voting on 21 November.

■ Heorhiy Kyrpa, the Ukrainian minister of transport, who has close connections with President Leonid Kuchma and had been considered as one of Viktor Yanukovich’s candidates for prime minister, is found shot dead in the morning.

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■ Subsequent observer teams, including those of the OSCE, the United States Congress, the Council of Europe, the Polish Observer Mission and the Committee of Ukrainian Voters, state that there are no grounds for challenging the election result. The deputy speaker of the State Duma, Lubov Sliska, who is heading the delegation of Russian MPs watching the Ukrainian election, states that some violations have taken place. ■ Boris Nemtsov, who is in Kiev at the time of the election, claims that Yushchenko’s victory is the victory of democratic forces in both Ukraine and Russia.

■ On Monday, Turkmenistan threatens that it will cut gas supplies to Russia and Ukraine starting from 1 January 2005, unless new contracts are signed by then.

■ The Russian press highlights the “defeat” of the advisors from Moscow, understanding this as a decline of the influence of Russian specialists in “political technology.”

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■ The US Secretary of State Colin Powell promises co-operation and assistance to the new Ukrainian authorities, and congratulates Ukrainians on their courage. Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, also expresses his hope that the election will bring Ukraine and the Union closer. The President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Durão Barroso and the NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer also rush to offer their congratulations. The latter states that Ukraine has a “strategic character” for NATO. ■ Wolfgang Schaeuble, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary club at the Bundestag, calls once more for the European Union to offer close co-operation to Ukraine (repeating his first such appeal of 15 December).

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■ **Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski is the first to extend his congratulations to Viktor Yushchenko by telephone.**

## Tuesday, 28 December

■ The Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine has finished counting the reports from the local election commissions. According to the calculations, 51.99% of voters cast their ballots for Viktor Yushchenko and 44.19% for Viktor Yanukovych. 2.34% voters voted against both candidates. Following the announcement of the unofficial results by the CEC, the winner appears once more at Independence Square. *I'm proud of you!* he shouts to the crowd of several thousand people. By the meeting's end, he appeals to those gathered to block the building of the Ukrainian government in Kiev; this is supposed to prevent the cabinet of Viktor Yanukovych from meeting. The opposition does not want to see Yanukovych as acting prime minister after the Ukrainian parliament has given a vote of no confidence to the government. *A new, legal government must enter the place*, maintains Yushchenko.

■ *It is up to prosecution authorities and an independent court to decide on what happens later to the outgoing President Leonid Kuchma*, states Petro Poroshenko, one of the election winner's closest associates. Yushchenko has earlier made it clear that he will not give any guarantee of security to President Kuchma.

■ In an interview for *Izvestiya*, Yushchenko confirms that he will probably go to Moscow on his first foreign visit as president of Ukraine, and emphasises that there is no possibility of a crisis in their mutual relations.

■ At a press conference, the well-known Russian political scientist Gleb Pavlovsky brands the concept of limiting Russia's influence in the world as "the Kwaśniewski doctrine" and forecasts that Russia will counter such initiatives. ■ *Viktor Yushchenko's victory in the presidential election in Ukraine will help Russia get rid of its "imperial complex" in its relations with former Soviet republics*, claims Andrei Illarionov, an advisor to President Vladimir Putin.

■ The militia in Minsk detains more than ten oppositionists who are demonstrating in connection with Viktor Yushchenko's victory.

■ The spokeswoman of the French MFA, Marie Masdupuy, emphasises that Ukraine's "anchoring" in Europe should take place only as part of the European Union's neighbourhood policy.

■ Viktor Yushchenko receives more congratulations from political leaders around the world. The German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder congratulates him on "a convincing victory" and invites him to visit Berlin. The CDU leader Angela Merkel has already congratulated Yushchenko earlier. The EU's Com-

missioner for External Relations and the European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, promises she will visit Kiev in January 2005.

## Wednesday, 29 December

■ In the afternoon, Nestor Shufrych, a representative of Yanukovych, lodges a complaint to the Supreme Court and to the Central Electoral Commission in connection with violations of the electoral regulations; 27 volumes of documents, allegedly proving that the law has been broken in all 225 constituencies, are attached to the complaint. Late in the evening, the Supreme Court rejects the first of the four complaints that had been lodged earlier.

■ The blockade of the Ukrainian government's building, which has lasted since the early morning (officials were admitted to the building, as the blockade only covered the Prime Minister) ends after four hours. Yanukovych, who has not come to work today, still does not intend to hand in his resignation as prime minister. *The election process is still ongoing, and I shall remain in office until all the procedures are finalised*, he declares. In the afternoon, President Leonid Kuchma dismisses one of Yanukovych's closest associates, the deputy prime minister for fuel and energy Andriy Kluyev, who is accused of taking an active part in fixing the second round of the election. Meanwhile, the head of administration of the outgoing President of Ukraine, Viktor Medvedchuk, who is believed to be "the power behind the throne," guarantees that he under no circumstances intends to escape from Ukraine or commit suicide. The MP Mykola Tomenko, a member of Yushchenko's camp, has earlier offered Kuchma special protection for some members of his team, including Medvedchuk. ■ Government members and the president take part in the funeral of the Minister of Transport Heorhiy Kyrpa, who died of gunshot wounds.

■ Yulia Tymoshenko speaks live on the Donetsk television station TRK Ukraina, owned by the key oligarch of the region Rinat Akhmetov. During her meetings with Akhmetov and other local politicians, she probably discusses the conditions of a modus vivendi between the new authorities in Kiev and the local elites. ■ Tymoshenko is mentioned increasingly often as the most serious candidate for the post of prime minister in the cabinet Yushchenko will appoint.

■ *The new Ukrainian authorities will raise living standards in the next three or four years to such a degree that the issue of Ukraine's membership in the European Union will become natural and obvious for everyone*, says the leader of Viktor Yushchenko's election team, Oleksandr Zinchenko. Yushchenko him-

self promises to publish a plan to develop relations with the EU, and to create a special ministry to deal with European integration.

■ In an interview for the *Vedomosti* newspaper, Yushchenko assures Russian and Western partners that all Ukraine's previous long-term obligations will be respected; he expresses a desire to maintain good relations with the country's neighbours. ■ However, Oleksandr Zinchenko, quoted above, emphasises that Ukraine's foreign policy *will cease to be multilateral, which had been its principal characteristic so far, and will simply become pro-European.*

■ The Ukrainian Minister of Defence Oleksandr Kuzmuk announces that Ukrainian soldiers will be withdrawn from Iraq by the end of 2005.

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■ Nearly 50 LDPR activists picket the Ukrainian embassy in Moscow on 29 December, with the slogans of "Poland, keep away from Ukraine", "Yushchenko is a client of Brussels and Washington" and "Donbas and Crimea, onwards to Russia." Vladimir Zhirinovskiy speaks to those gathered.

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■ 62% of Germans support Ukraine's acceptance into the European Union.

■ *The situation in Ukraine is complex and unclear, says Thomas Gomart, the Eastern affairs expert at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). It is unthinkable that Ukraine could turn its back on Russia.*

## Thursday, 30 December

■ In the evening, the Supreme Court rejects three subsequent complaints lodged by Viktor Yanukovych, who has criticised violations of the electoral regulations during the repeated second round of the presidential election. The CEC also rejects the Yanukovych team's complaint of violations of the electoral regulations during Sunday's voting; in the latter case, the prime minister, who is about to join the opposition, intends to appeal to the Supreme Court and lodge another, better-documented complaint to the CEC.

■ In an interview broadcast in the evening on Channel 5 television, Viktor Yushchenko discloses his candidates for the prime minister, i.e. Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Kinakh and Oleksandr Moroz, among other issues. According to the declarations that the likely future president of Ukraine makes, the new government will be formed on a quota basis. Yushchenko says that the priorities of the new government will include fighting corruption, developing social policy and European integration.

■ Wilfried Martens, chairman of the European People's Party (the most numerous political group in the European Parliament), congratulates Yushchenko on his victory in the presidential election.

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■ **The Ukrainian president-elect Viktor Yushchenko invites President Aleksander Kwaśniewski to his inauguration, through the Undersecretary of State at the Chancellery of the Prime Minister Jacek Kluczowski and the Polish president's advisor Stanisław Ciosek. Yushchenko also promises to visit Poland and take part, along with other national leaders, in the commemorations to be held on the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.**

■ **The Vice-President of the Catholic University in Lviv, Prof. Myroslav Marynovych, shares his opinion that because of the "orange revolution," Poles may expect Ukrainians' attitude towards the sensitive issue of opening the Cemetery of the Eaglets to change.**

■ **Members of the Polish preparatory group, led by Minister Jacek Kluczowski, meet the president-elect Viktor Yushchenko in Kiev, and give him a congratulatory letter from Prime Minister Belka. During the election, *citizens of Ukraine have chosen respect for European principles and values in Ukrainian public life*, the Polish prime minister states in his letter. The Poles also meet the deputy prime minister Andriy Kluyev, the candidate for foreign minister Borys Tarasiuk, Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Kinakh and Oleksandr Zinchenko.**

## 31 December, Friday

■ In his New Year address to the Ukrainian people, acting Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych states that he has already taken the decision to hand in his formal resignation. He still intends to appeal against the official results of the election to the Supreme Court, as he does not recognise Yushchenko's victory in the election. He claims he is *an independent politician and the rightful winner of the legal election*.

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■ The President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili pays an unofficial visit to Kiev. After his meeting with the outgoing President, Saakashvili goes to the campsite and appears before midnight on the stage in Independence Square, where he, the president-elect, Yulia Tymoshenko and the mayor of Kiev, offer their best wishes to the hundreds of thousands people gathered there.

■ Turkmenistan confirms that it will cut gas supplies to Ukraine at midnight on Friday, while stating at the same time that the decision is not politically motivated. So far, Ukraine has paid US\$44 per 1000 m<sup>3</sup>; now Turkmenistan demands US\$60 for the same amount, claiming that transport costs have grown. Almost 50% of the natural gas supplied to Ukraine comes from Turkmenistan. Immediately after Turkmenistan cuts gas supplies to Ukraine, Gazprom informs Ukraine that it will cut off supplies of gas from Russia.

*Wojciech Stanisławski*

## JANUARY 2005

# THE EPILOGUE TO THE STORM

Viktor Yushchenko had to wait more than three weeks to formally assume office.

The delay was mainly caused by the Central Electoral Commission considering the electoral protests lodged by Viktor Yanukovych's election team. Yushchenko's rival had appealed several times to the Supreme Court against the CEC's decisions: on 14 January, more than 600 volumes of files and 233 video & audio tapes were submitted to support the motion to invalidate the CEC decision, because it was allegedly impossible to establish the true results of the voting. The court was obliged to consider the motions with due respect.

In addition to the court initiatives, demonstrations were mobilised; on 9 December, several thousand Yanukovych supporters in Donetsk demanded that the CEC recognise him as the rightful winner of the election, as well as the dissolution of the parliament and the resignations of the judges of the Supreme Court and President Leonid Kuchma. Two days later, Yanukovych's supporters in Donetsk set up a mini-campsite in the centre of the city (dozens of people were also picketing in Kiev and Luhansk), and Viktor Yanukovych claimed he would never recognise the results of the repeated runoff of the presidential election.

The Supreme Court started to consider the complaints on 17 January; they were finally rejected during the night of 19–20 January. However, the losing candidate did not appeal against the verdicts to the European Court of Human Rights, as he had earlier promised; nevertheless he warned that he was entering a new stage of political struggle, aimed at his supporters winning the parliamentary elections in 2006 and forming a new government.

On 19 January, the government appointed a committee to organise the inauguration ceremony; the official results of the election were printed in the official government and parliamentary gazettes the next day. On the night of 22–23 January, the "campsite" in the Independence Square was finally removed; its last residents went home.



Most heads of state waited to offer their congratulations until the day of the swearing-in ceremony. Earlier, congratulations had been received from the EU's head of diplomacy Javier Solana, the presidents of Azerbaijan, Turkey and Bulgaria, among others; Pope John Paul II had given his blessing to Yushchenko through the Ukrainian ambassador in the Vatican. On 5 January, Viktor Yushchenko and the Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili signed the "Carpathian declaration," which stated that *these two nations have shown the entire world that freedom and democracy, the will of the people and fair elections, are stronger than the state apparatus.*

On 12 January, at the meeting with ambassadors from the Alliance's members, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer announced the continuation of the "open door" policy towards Kiev. One day later, the European Parliament adopted a resolution appealing to the European Union to present a "clear European perspective" to Ukraine, to the European Council and Commission to simplify visa procedures for Ukrainians, and for the prompt recognition of Ukraine as a market-economy state. Most of the demands were included in the resolution after amendments to its text had been proposed by the Euro-MP Bogdan Klich of the Polish Civic Platform party. *Now, the time for words has passed, it is the time for action (...). Considering the new situation, offering Ukraine the old plan of action is definitely not enough. Democracy and values – our values – have won in Ukraine. This requires the European Union to change the philosophy of our approach towards this country, offering a new strategy and a new quality of relations,* Jacek Saryusz-Wolski appealed on behalf of the EPP political group. On 19 January, Oleh Rybachuk, one of Viktor Yushchenko's close associates, presented the EU's head of diplomacy with a five-year action plan developed by Yushchenko to bring the prospect of Ukraine's integration with the European Union closer.

In the first days of January, the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov had already stated that his country would not oppose Ukraine's membership in the EU or NATO. The other side also looked for opportunities to resume dialogue; in an interview for the German weekly *Der Spiegel* on 3 January, Viktor Yushchenko assured once more that *for Ukraine, Russia is a strategic partner in the political, economic and military fields*, and he repeated this conviction in subsequent statements. Three days later, the Ukrainian parliamentary speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn was received in Moscow by President Vladimir Putin. Soon thereafter, Yulia Tymoshenko published an article in the Russian daily

*Vedomosti* writing that Russia had not lost in Ukraine. *The only losers were some Russian “political technologists” and a small group of businessmen who hoped Viktor Yanukovich would help them benefit from the criminal privatisation of Ukrainian national wealth, she insisted.*

After the complaints against the CEC’s resolution stating the election results had been rejected, a wave of congratulations came in; in his congratulatory telegram on 21 January, the Russian President Vladimir Putin assured that developing good-neighbourly and equal relations with Ukraine was one of Russia’s top priorities, and he emphasised the special significance of both countries’ active participation in the creation of the Common Economic Space as part of the CIS.

The swearing-in ceremony for the president-elect took place on 23 January, in the Parliament chamber, in the presence of MPs, the retiring president and more than 60 foreign official delegations; Poland’s delegation was headed by President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. The Russian state authorities were represented by the President of the Federation Council Sergei Mironov; the US delegation was led by the Secretary of State Colin Powell. Other visitors in Kiev included NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and the EU’s head of diplomacy Javier Solana; the European Parliament was represented by the Polish Euro-MP Jacek Saryusz-Wolski. Viktor Yushchenko swore his oath undertaking to defend the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine, to take care of the people’s prosperity and to increase Ukraine’s prestige in the world. Next, the president officially accepted the duties of the commander of the armed forces at the Marinsky Palace, and went to Independence Square, where he delivered his inauguration speech stating the programme of his presidency. He declared to the half a million people present there that Ukraine’s goal was integration with the European Union. He emphasised that his victory was a victory of all the citizens, and he was the president of all Ukraine.

Next day, the president-elect went on his first foreign visit to Moscow; he had already emphasised in Kiev that Russia had always been a strategic partner for Ukraine. Immediately before leaving for Moscow, Viktor Yushchenko nominated Yulia Tymoshenko as acting prime minister. The talks with Vladimir Putin lasted for nearly three hours; both sides expressed a positive opinion about them. Yushchenko assured Putin that he believed Russia had always

been a strategic partner for Ukraine. He promised he would respect the agreements his predecessors had entered into, including the one concerning the Common Economic Space (with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan). Putin claimed that Moscow had never taken any behind-the-scenes actions in any former Soviet republics, and was not in contact with the opposition behind the authorities' back.

On the third day of his presidency (25 January), the president of Ukraine gave his speech at a session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg, where he was given a standing ovation. Then, for the first time, a difference in the Ukrainian and EU's standpoints became apparent; while Yushchenko promised to implement a plan of reforms to lead Ukraine to EU membership, the EU Commissioner for External Relations and the European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, stated several hours later that the EU should not take premature actions to bring Ukraine into the Union. On the other hand, the House of Representatives of the US Congress adopted a resolution on the same day in which it congratulated Viktor Yushchenko on his election as president of Ukraine, and Senators Richard Lugar and Carl Levin put a bill to resume normal trade relations with Ukraine on the agenda at the US Senate. Several days later, on 8 February, President George W. Bush suggested granting Ukraine financial aid worth more than US\$100 million, the largest amount granted to all the CIS states.

On 26 January, President Yushchenko came to Poland, where he participated in the celebrations of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of liberation of the Nazi Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. At the forum *Let my nation live*, which was held next day in Krakow, the president assured that he would do his best to ensure that there was no xenophobia or anti-Semitism in Ukraine; he also declared that he would defend democracy and human rights.

Talking to the hosts, he promised that the issue of the Cemetery of the Eaglets in Lviv would soon be settled. He reiterated the promise during his subsequent meetings with Polish partners; the issue of launching an Odessa–Brody pipeline was increasingly frequently tackled during the talks.

Between 28–29 January, Viktor Yushchenko took part in the annual World Economic Forum in Davos. Both in his official speech and during talks with other national leaders and businessmen, he assured that Ukraine would emerge from the “grey economy,” gain economic and political stability, reform the

judicial system and fight corruption. He repeated once more that Ukraine's top priority was integration with European structures. He also appealed for aid to Ukraine, and encouraged businessmen to invest, promising them a friendly climate for investments and transparency of the privatisation process. *I hold out my hand to businessmen all over the world. I hope it will not remain in a vacuum*, he said, raising a toast at a meeting with business representatives.

On 2 February, Yulia Tymoshenko presented the new government's programme, entitled "Towards the People." On 4 February, she was approved as candidate for prime minister by the parliament, receiving 373 votes. President Viktor Yushchenko signed the nominations for ministers and new governors directly in the debating chamber. Anatoliy Kinakh, Oleh Rybachuk, Roman Bezsmertny and Mykola Tomenko were nominated as deputy prime ministers. Borys Tarasiuk became foreign minister, and Anatoliy Hrytsenko was named minister of defence.

In mid-February, in co-operation with the Polish Office of the Committee for European Integration, Kiev started work on creating a national Office for Integration. Regardless of the warnings by Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner, who had emphasised that for the time being the Union did not anticipate accepting Ukraine as a member, intensive preparations were made for the Brussels meeting of the EU-Ukraine Co-operation Council, and for approval of the so-called EU-Ukraine Action Plan. Finally, it was signed on 21 February; on the same day, EU foreign ministers adopted a ten-point programme of assistance for Ukraine.

NATO political and military leaders did not hide their readiness to co-operate more closely; the US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice disclosed this intention as early as the first days of February, and President George W. Bush announced on 21 February that Ukraine had to be accepted into the trans-Atlantic family. President Viktor Yushchenko discussed the two issues, integration with the European Union and with the North Atlantic Alliance, during his two-day visit to Brussels and Strasbourg. At a meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission, he emphasised that his country's European future was inseparably connected with closer relations with the North Atlantic Alliance, and he guaranteed that Ukraine's integration with NATO would not threaten the interests of other states. On 23 February, at a session of the European Parliament, Yushchenko expressed his gratitude for support for the "orange

revolution,” recalled Ukraine’s aspirations towards integration, and promised to implement thorough economic and political reforms in his country. A public opinion poll carried out several days earlier showed that 44% of Ukrainians would vote to join the EU in a putative referendum.

*On the basis of CES News*