

*US-UA Working Group Yearly Summit
IV:*

*Providing Ukraine with an Annual
Report Card*

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**Ukraine & Social Cohesion:
It is Not Possible to Give Clear Answers to
Complicated Questions**

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Preliminary Remarks

- Generalizations are often True, the Real Challenge is understanding the Exceptions.
- 92.7% of all Information Conveyed in PowerPoint Presentations is Misleading or Out-of-Date.
- Life is like Sand, Lawyers & Sociologists put it into Boxes; hence beware of Collective Nouns.

When Does A Nation's History Begin?

1) 882 A.D. ?

2) 1654 ?

3) 1917/8 – 21 ?

4) 1934 - 45 / 56?

5) 1941 – 45 / 56 ?

6) 1991 – Present ?

- Prince Oleg “founds” Kyivan Rus’ [*Київська Русь*];
- Pereyaslav Agreement [*Перереяславские соглашения*];
- Central Rada ‘ [*Центральна Рада*]; & Declaration of Independence; &
- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) [*Організація Українських Націоналістів (ОУН)*], Famine & separatism [*голод і сепаратизму*].



Illustrations of U.S. [American] Attitudes toward History



- “That is history” Unattributable.
- “History does not repeat itself, only historians.” Variation of a quote attributed to Mark Twain.
- “The past is the present, [] . . . it is the future, too.” Mary Tyrone in Eugene O’Neill’s Play “ Long Days Journey into Night.” Act II, Scene 2.

Nonetheless, it is indisputable that history is a “historical accounting,” of how we found our way into a very real situation.

Bases of History & Ethnography (Leonid Zalizniak)

- **Historical Prism:** archeology, economics history (vs. Great Man [Person] Analysis), ethno-linguistics, linguistics, and anthropology, [academic disciplines].
- **Ethnographic Prism:** culture, language, ethnic territory, mentality historical consciousness and anthropology.
- **Moving Borders & Minority Groups** -- Russians, Belarusians, *Crimean Tatars*, Moldovans, Bulgarians, Poles, Jews, *Roma* Romanians, *Russyni*, Armenians, & Hungarians.
- **Nationalism** (National-States), Diaspora, and Intermarriage. Every has mixed lineage.

Four Competing Schools of Historiography (Taras Kuzio, 2006)

- **Russophile** – Imperial Framework (but what about Novgorod & Lagoda), Ukrainians strove to reunite with Russians; denies significance of Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples. (and their states). After Kievan Rus >> Vladimir Suzdal and then Muscovy.
- **Sovietophile** – limited recognition of Belarusians and Ukrainians, but within the Soviet Construct sees Russians as “Elder Brother” of other nationalities; Fusion of Russian nationalism and Soviet “Communism”. Reunification not annexation.
- **Ukrainophile** – claims to be the primary heir of Kievan Rus. Nurtured by the Ukrainian diaspora. Suppression of the unique Ukrainian people. 1,500 years of Ukrainian History vice Russia’s 800 years.
- **East Slavic** – claims to be scholarly, but probably a reaction to other “schools” anti-Russian & anti-nationalism, Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian. Ukraine as a buffer or bridge. Both Kravchuk and Kuchma are prototypes.

Ethnic Cleansing Before the Term Existed

During the **Russo-Circassian War** (1763 [1817] - 1864) Russian troops expel Circassians (Adyghe), Ubykhs, Abkhaz, and Abaza. (Image: Wikimedia) *see* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MT50djHCikQ>.



Russia has succeeded in holding its conquests only by conducting significant ethnic cleansing, according to Ukrainian commentator Petro Olueschuk who points to the difference between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, on the one hand, and Kaliningrad, on the other, as indicative of what Moscow is doing in Crimea and the Donbas.

Source: Paul Goble

Belavezha Accords then



- **UKRAINIANS ELECT A NEW PRESIDENT**

The victory by the industrialist, Leonid D. Kuchma, shocked nationalists, who feared he would push Ukraine back into Moscow's orbit. He denied any such intention, but he cannot solve the deepening split between Ukrainian-speaking western Ukraine and the Russian-speaking eastern Ukraine.

Economic Stagnation, Quality of Life, Corruption & Political Alienation

Quality of Life Index:	84.88	
Purchasing Power Index	28.42	Very Low
Safety Index	50.57	Moderate
Health Care Index	49.13	Moderate
Climate Index	50.63	Moderate
Cost of Living Index	27.60	Very Low
Property Price to Income Ratio	25.78	Very High
Traffic Commute Time Index	40.24	Moderate
Pollution Index	68.00	High
f Quality of Life Index:	84.88	Moderate

Available at http://www.numbeo.com/quality-of-life/country_result.jsp?country=Ukraine

Utilitarian vs. Nationalists

- The Russian language as a *lingua franca* at least for business.
- Historical Animosity, Economic Dependence, & the Problem of the “Other” -- Prof. Niall Ferguson’s War of the World (war in former-Yugoslavia vs. the Czech/Slovak Velvet Divorce).
- **Russian “Federation” State** (2014 Change-- *requires Russians with passports of two or more countries to inform the migration service on their own initiative, with those who intentionally conceal dual citizenship being criminally liable*). **Citizenship is a wonderful political intelligence tool.**
- **Ukraine: Unitary State** (No multiple citizenships, but Jamala pennon & Commission on Crimean Tatar Autonomy): crisis presents opportunity.
- Neighbors, Co-Workers, Friends, Relatives, In-Laws, Spouses, Parents, & Siblings.

Foreign Aid & Political Support: Inadequate, Misguided, Mismanaged, Stolen, & Dispiriting

Sarta Dyczok, “Ukraine: Movement Without Change, Change Without Movement,” (2013); **James Bovard**, “Attention Deficit Democracy,” (2015); and **Janine Wedel**, “Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe,” (Updated 2015).

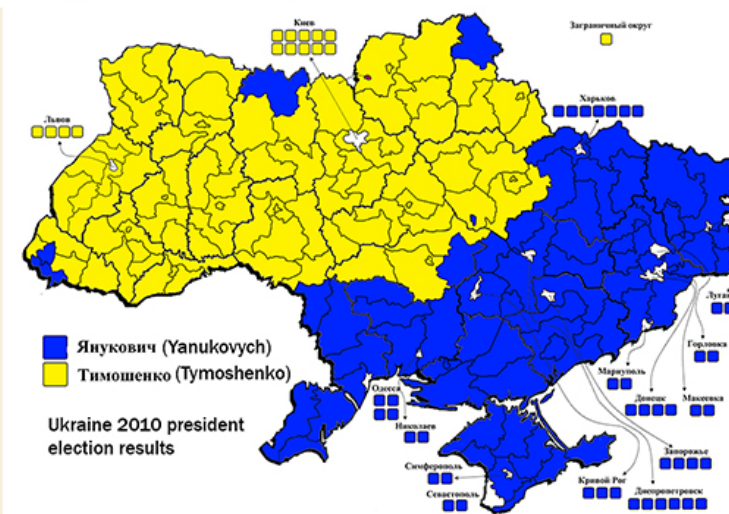
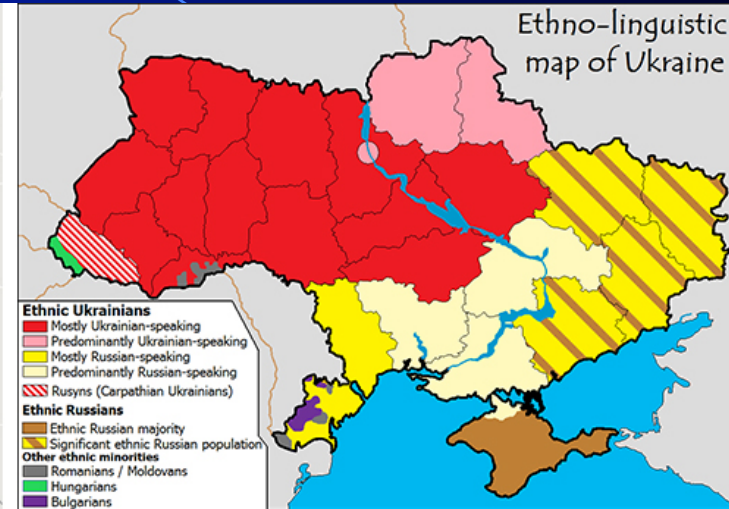
E.G. “Since 1992, the U.S. has sent \$3 billion to \$5 billion in aid to Ukraine, with only cursory public disclosure,” *Huffington Post*, 3/7/14;

Foreign Aid to Ukraine in All Sources (EU, Japan, US), (Economic, Health, Infrastructure, 2011-15 Total in US **\$1,403,680,000**, *World Bank Data*, at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/DT.ODA.ALLD.CD>;

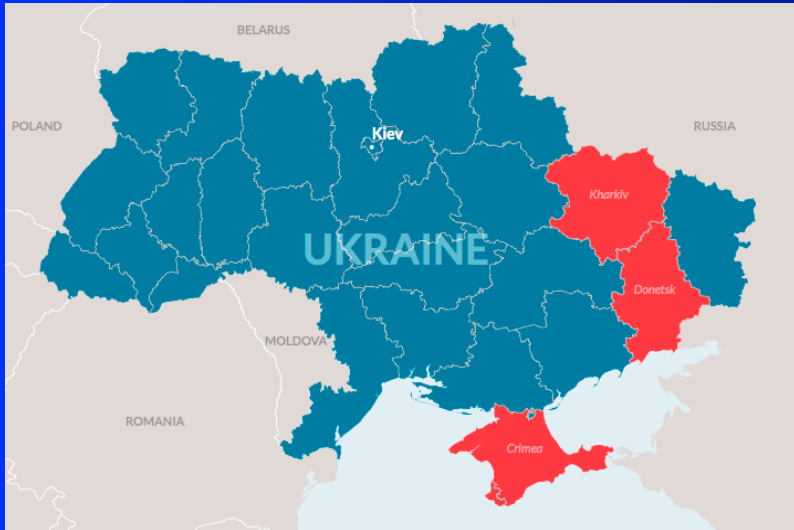
“Ukraine tried to join NATO — and NATO said no,” *Washington Post*, 9/4/14; &

“Ukraine May Need Far More Foreign Aid to Rescue Its Economy,” *Wall Street Journal*, 9/23/14.

Linguistic/Ethno National/Political Ukraine

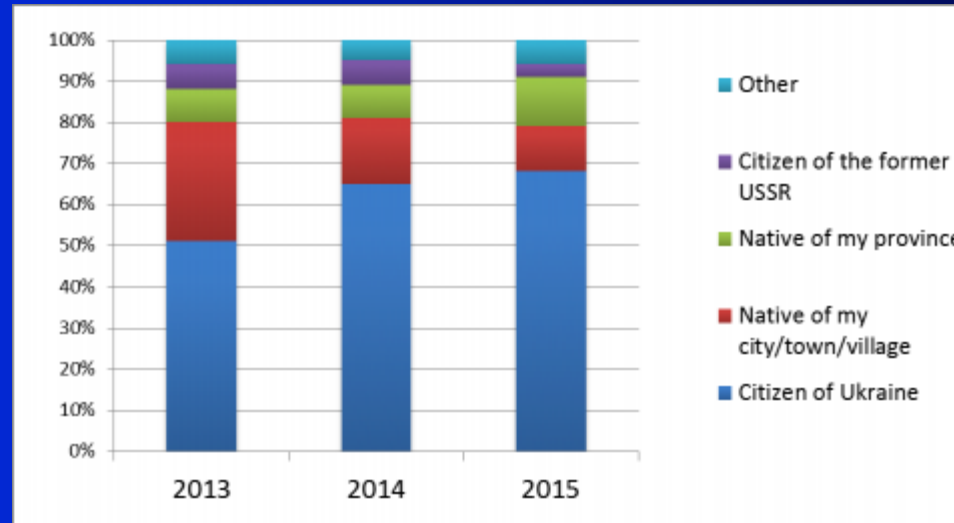


“Negative” Identity



“Who do you consider yourself to be first and foremost?” (% of respondents in national identity poll in Ukraine)

Prof. Mikhail Alekseev, San Diego State University



National Pride

Across Ukraine, the most notable change in public opinion trends since the start of the armed conflict is a spike in civic national pride and sense of national belonging in **Western & Central Ukraine.**

Eastern Ukraine defies generalization.