



## **Research Report for MUNOH 2014**

**Forum: The Security Council**

**Question of: Resolving the Ukrainian Crisis**

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### **Description of the issue**

*“The thought that what we are now witnessing in Ukraine could trigger a cascade of actions and reactions that end in war will strike most readers as fanciful. Fortunately, it is. But we should not forget that the possibility that [...] the assassination of Archduke could produce a world war seemed almost inconceivable [as well].”*

This account of Graham T. Allison, Professor of Government at Harvard University, issued in May 2014 represents, on the one hand, what most experts think about the future developments of the Ukrainian Crisis, but it also draws our attention to the fact that we cannot rely on this belief, but have to take the threat this conflict poses to world peace seriously and find measures to alleviate it in accordance with the principles of self-determination and territorial integrity of all states.

Within only 5 months, demonstrations against the government's decision to not join an EU Free Trade Agreement have developed into one of the largest political crises since the Cold War and in further 3 months, the situation has even become more tense with fights causing an increasing number of casualties every day occurring in several provinces in the East of the former Soviet state.

Since the 22 February 2014, when president Viktor Yanukovich escaped from the capital Kiev, protesters occupied the main politically significant buildings in the city and a new

government was established, new and partly unexpected events have been reported from Ukraine, from the occupation of the Crimea bases and the referendum held there to similar developments in Donetsk and Lugansk, from accusations against Russia to the adoption of the first sanctions against Russia since the Cold War by the EU as well as the USA. The Western states have, from the beginning on, accused Russia of having initiated and executed the taking over of the peninsula Crimea with the aim of reintegrating it into the Russian Federation and they have therefore accused Russia of having breached international law, especially by infringing on the Ukrainian territorial integrity on which Russia had agreed in 1989. In consequence of this accusations, which Russia strongly denies, while attempting at justifying their measures by their *"Responsibility to Protect"*, the Western states have excluded Russia from the G8 until there is a basis for diplomatic relations and negotiations restored. Further, the EU and the USA have imposed visa limitations and bank account freezes on Russian officials blamed by them for the crisis, but yet those sanctions have not led to an easing of the tensions.

New deaths, resulting from fights between the governmental forces and pro-Russian separatists in several regions in Eastern Ukraine, are reported daily, adding up to the number of 350 currently (as of June 18<sup>th</sup> ).

Although the recently elected president, Petro Poroschenko, had immediately, in his inauguration, announced that he would seek for the dialogue with all parties except for terrorists to alleviate the conflict as soon as possible, he has not yet achieved any results as the currently responsible "leaders" in the East of the country do not want to negotiate with him and vice versa. Poroschenko's call for an armistice for at least some time had been rejected and hence the fights continue with the Ukrainian army bombarding the separatist positions. His one- week ceasefire has not led to any easing of the tensions as it was not even supported by his own population in the end and although Moscow expresses its appreciation for an extension of this ceasefire as of July 1<sup>st</sup>, the separatist groups do not appear to have any particular interest in following this demand.

The economy, which is undoubtedly an important factor for the outbreak as well as the course of the crisis, has once again come to the focus of attention when on 16 June, 2014, Russia decided to cut all gas supplies to Ukraine as a result of Ukraine not paying there bills. Once again, diplomatic attempts to solve the problem, finally initiated by EU Commissioner of Finance, Olli Rehn, had not succeeded in bringing Ukraine and Russia to an agreement. The consequences of this decision for the Ukrainian population can not yet be evaluated exactly, but it appears that the parties to the dispute are moving further away from each other day by day.

The recent developments in other cities, most remarkably the referendum held in Donetsk in May have alarmed the neighbouring states of Ukraine which have a significant part of the population considered ethnically Russian. They fear that Russia is willing to further enlarge their territory by annexing regions of their countries as well. The Baltic States as well as Poland have called on the NATO to support them and the US has assured to send troops to those states for at least a certain amount of time. Such measures do certainly not lead to enhancing the risk of a war immediately but neither do they help stabilising the situation in the entire region. In March, the Ukrainian PM of that time stated that *“There are no military options on the table right now”*, but the conflict is yet a military one and the use of force and the role of the Russian army are crucially important and as the security of not only the Ukrainian people but also the security of an entire region in Eastern Europe is endangered, the United Nations Security Council must take action according to the UN charter.

After the exclusion of Russia from the G8, the Western states took the next step by drafting a resolution condemning the actions of Russia in Ukraine to be discussed by the SC in order to show Russia's isolation on the international political level. While a veto of Russia can currently prevent the adoption of any resolution by the SC, the western nations most importantly hope for China to express their disapproval of the Russian actions by abstention. On the same issue, Russia has proposed a resolution, without success, while the GA has, with only 11 votes against, passed a resolution to support Ukraine and criticise Russia.

Whatever the future development of the crisis will be, it must be in the interest of all SC members to find a negotiated solution to the conflict in order to avoid a war of any extent by all means in order to restore peace in Ukraine for the people who are most suffering from the political and economic struggles of the different states.

In the following sections, I will elucidate the reasons for the outbreak of the crisis as well as the position and interests of the many different parties involved. Taking a look at the line of events and on all levels, I will also point out possible future scenarios and various reasonable solutions to the issue. We have to be clear about the fact, that this conflict might change drastically within a few days only and that some ideas might thereby lose their validity, but understanding the background that enabled the outbreak of this crisis will certainly enable you to come up with further appropriate solutions to it, in accordance with all UN principles to which the member states have ensured to pay full respect.

## Background Information

It would truly be a wrong judgment to assume that the entire developments only date back to last year's November and the decision of Anchoy to move further away from the EU. It is further wrong to believe that this conflict is only a conflict of ethnicities or of political interests. The economy of Ukraine is one of the most important factors in this crisis and for its outbreak which I will try to elucidate alongside other factors. In several conflicts and with the course of changes made to the European map, Ukraine has faced an alternating fate in its past. Most remarkably, Ukraine became part of the Soviet Socialist Republic in 1937 and lasted under Soviet control until 1989. Since then, Ukraine (since 1945 a member of the UN) has been in a difficult conflict, between rather working towards joining the EU and NATO or staying closer with Russia on which they are very much depending regarding energy supply. Since independence was declared, the economy has not really prospered, a growth that brought hope between 2000 and 2007 was outweighed strongly by the global financial crisis that hit Ukraine very hard. The country mostly relies on heavy industry exports for which the demand is low while they are lacking most resources and so the governmental budget and account balance are developing more and more negatively. Facing the problems of a very weak currency and many structural problems, the labour situation in Ukraine is not good, if not as bad as in Spain or Greece.

In recent years, exports to the former Soviet States especially Russia, has risen while exports to the EU have decreased and looking at the imports, we can see that Ukraine is even relying on Russia for gas imports and more importantly has high debts at Gazprom, the reason for which Russia has officially cut the state of gas supply now.

While there henceforth appeared to be a move rather towards Russia than the EU in economy, it looked like Ukraine was moving towards the EU in politics for quite a long time. With the victory of the pro-European *Orange Revolution* in the 2004 presidential elections the first step was taken, but in the following 6 years of presidency, the leaders of the party, most prominently Yulia Timoschenko, could not agree on a common line of politics to lead Ukraine into a better future.

Therefore, in 2010, the rather pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovytsch was elected president and with him, Ukrainian politics started slowly to rather favour cooperation with Russia again. This culminated in November 2013 with the decision to not sign the planned trade agreement with the EU, which was, in Kiev, seen as a strong signal against the cooperation with the western states and towards full cooperation with Russia.

From this background, it is obvious that finding a good solution to this conflict must incorporate measures to strengthen the Ukrainian economy to the benefit of the Ukrainian

companies and the people employed by them. Ukraine must avoid to be dependent on either the EU or Russia regarding imports but must seek for a balance and trade relations with Western as well as CIS states to avoid shortages and being pressured by interest groups from one side.

After Yanukovich's disappearance an interim government was set up under the lead of interim president Yatsenyuk, that also consisted of man of his party fellows. This government should govern the state until the presidential elections which were set for 25 May 2014. Only a few days after the shifting of power in the country however, the political crisis was drastically exacerbated by the actions on Crimea, finally leading to the military conflict we are facing today.

## **Crimea**

Crimea is a peninsula at the Norther Coast of the Black Sea that borders Ukraine in the West and Russia in the East. With a square area of 27,000km<sup>2</sup> and 2.4 million inhabitants (2007), it is important for Ukraine's agricultural production. Crimea has, within Ukraine, the status of an autonomous republic, meaning that they have their own parliament and a Council of Ministers that is approved by the president and that governs the region. They can set their own rules on environmental, labour and infrastructure issues for example and further they are authorised to hold referenda on diverse topics except for secession. That is however exactly what happened this year's March, but which is clearly not in accordance with the Ukrainian constitution.

There are several background aspects we have to take into consideration. First of all, about 60% of Crimea's population see themselves as Russian alongside only 24% Ukrainian. The number of ethnic Russians has even increased significantly over the last years. Further and much more important, the Russian Black Sea Fleet is headquartered on Crimea, in Sevastopol. With 13,000 marines and 25 vessels it is still the smallest of the Russian fleet units but still vitally important to the Moscow administration. As an old leasing agreement ensuring Russia the right to use the harbours on Crimea for their army expires in 2017, Russia desired to extend this contract in 2008. Pro Western PM Timoschenko however, rejected this claim saying that Ukraine shall be "*a zone free of any military bases*". This policy was not continued by president Yanukovich who in 2010 agreed on extending the contract until 2042 in return for gas discounts for Ukraine. Experts have continuously outlined the importance of the base for Russia and the Russian investments in the expansion of the harbour and the announcement to enlarge th fleet by 6 new submarines, reveal that Moscow sees Crimea as crucial to their military strategies. These

circumstances prompt the idea that Russia was supporting or backing the referendum and military intervention on Crimea in order to not let this important territory be controlled by a pro-Western government that had been formed in Kiev.

After Yanukovych had left Ukraine, about 38,000 Russian troops were ordered to carry out trainings close to the border and at the same time, pro-Russian military forces took control of the parliament of Crimea. They immediately enforced the dismissal of the former government, installing the leader of the pro-Russian party as new PM. A referendum on secession was set to 30 March 2014. Even so, the new government announced independence from Ukraine and unity with Russia on 6 March 2014. This must be seen as a strategic decision as the government by this decision tried to avoid the invalidity of such a referendum under Ukrainian constitutional law. Further, the Russian parliament had previously, when the Ukrainian crisis had already started, adopted a law that makes the accession to the Russian Federation easily possible for every region by holding a referendum. Several politicians see this as a further hint to prove that Russia has planned and backed the actions on Crimea.

To justify the internationally criticized and non-accepted decision to declare independence, the government of the autonomous republic as well as Russia referred to an advise given by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the question of Kosovo in 2010. In the case of Kosovo, the ICJ had issued a statement saying that the unilateral declaration of independence did not contradict international law, which however was not a decision of the court. Though there might be parallels between Kosovo and Crimea, international politicians including German chancellor Angela Merkel have pointed out that the situations could not be compared at all as ...

### **The consequences of the Crimea events**

After the outbreak of the crisis on Crimea, it did not take long for the protests against the Kiev administration and in favour of joining Russia to start in other cities in the East of the country. At the beginning of March already, buildings were occupied and governments dismissed by force in Donetsk or Odessa. In the course of the month, more and more demonstrations aroused in other cities and from seeing the images in the news, one could assume that Crimea had started at chain-reaction in the East, had encouraged the Russian population to push through their interests violently and quickly. We will see that it is difficult to say what their interests really are in the following chapters.

Until April, armed separatist troops took control of police stations and all political facilities in the affected towns. 15 April 2014 finally marks a further stage of escalation in the region due to the start of the anti-terrorist-mission of the government and its army starting with the attack on the Eastern aircraft-base in Kramatorsk. Since then a military conflict has developed throughout the region and therefore, it is crucial to take a look at the military situation in general.

## The military situation

Debating this issue in the Security Council, we must be clear that we are focusing on military and security matters in our debate and resolution. The military situation in this conflict is changing within a few days only at the moment and it is difficult to keep track of what is happening at the different spots. Most recently, US organisations have claimed that several thousands of Russian soldiers were moving at and toward the Russo-Ukrainian border and further that tanks were moved towards to the border. Western officials have expressed their fear that the Russian governments delivers those tanks to the separatist groups for them to use those against the attacking Ukrainian army.

The involvement of the Russia army in the conflict in the East of Ukraine is one of the most difficult issues tackle. Relentlessly, the western leaders have called on Putin to stop the Russian military support for the separatists, while Russia continues to claim that they have never been involved actively in the fights against the Ukrainian forces.

Just recently, an separatist leading military officer officially admitted that within his forces, there were only about 20% local population, while 80 % were mercenaries or as he put it, voluntarily acting “friends” of the revolution coming from elsewhere which he did not define concrete. Experts believe that this ration might be common throughout all the separatist groups and this of courses raises especially the question: Where if not from Russia do they come from and do they just come due to political sympathy ?



(map: the Russian military presence in the conflict area as of May 2014)

Violent clashes first occurred in the Euromaidan demonstrations, but back then, the situation was only a conflict between demonstrators and policemen. With the start of military exercises of nearly 40,000 Russian troops at the Russo-Ukrainian border on 26 February, military actions started. Two days later, militarily equipped fighters occurred on Crimea and seized public buildings. They were not wearing any military signs, but they were alleged directly to be Russian forces. Once again only one day later, on 1 March 2014, the Russian parliament allowed Putin to use Russian troops in the Ukrainian conflict without restrictions and so, they directly took control of Ukrainian military bases on Crimea. Due to that action as well as the seizure of the parliament in Simferopo, the Ukrainian army was put into alert state.

The Ukrainian army, which consists of about 130,000 active personnel and a reserve troop of roughly 1,000,000 is generally supporting the pro-European government in Kiev. It has supported Yatsenyuk and it is also standing behind new president Poroschenko in the fight against the pro-Russian forces. Although the military had first declared its desire to not become an active part in the conflict, the violent takeover of Crimea and the following raise of alert state by the president changed this quickly. Especially in the recent anti-terrorist operation of the government, the forces started to attack the bases of the separatist groups, aiming at re-gaining control in the East. This mission has however not been very successful and helicopters of the army have been shot by the seperatists, which are an equal enemy for the Ukrainian army if supported by weapons from Russia. In comparison to the Russian army, Ukraine's military is outgunned in every aspect, from army to navy, from tanks to aircraft. Russia is in many cases 8 times stronger than Ukraine here and hence, the Ukrainian army would probably have no chance in a war with its nighbour. Currently, the Ukrainian army is sticking to the ceasefire announced by the president unlike the seperatists who continue to attack the army, especially their helicopters and other air crafts.

### ***Are the people in the East really all willing to become a part of the Russian Federation ?***

It is difficult to determine accurately, how many people in the East of Ukraine are really favouring to see their region being included in the Russian Federation. Although, we see many people on the streets in Donetsk or Luhansk, waving Russian flags and expressing their full support for the plans of the seperatists, there are doubts whether they represent the opinion of the majority of the population. Further, the referendum have revealed



overwhelming support for the independence from Ukraine, but are those results reliable ? Without any independent observers, it appears to be likely, especially after the separatist blocked many election offices at the presidential election, that the referenda were influenced either by putting pressure on the electorate or by active electoral fraud in counting the votes.

A survey of the PEW Research Center suggests that actually the clear majority of the people in the East are against leaving Ukraine (cf. table at the end of the section). This table does further express that also the Russian speakers, which Moscow claims to protect are rather in favour of staying with Ukraine. Only on Crimea, there really appears to be a very strong support for Russia with only 12% willing to remain an autonomous republic within Ukraine.

The right-hand diagram however shows that the East is very dissatisfied with the work currently carried out in Kiev while the West of the country rather supports the pro-European government. Consequently, it is possible that the people in the East would rather like to see a pro-Russian government in charge, which does however for a majority of them not mean that they do not want to live in Ukraine.

Further surveys of PEW have shown that the Russian speakers would prefer to have two official languages in the region, but in general, they do not see the EU as a bad partner.

### Most Ukrainians Want to Maintain Current Borders...

*% should Ukraine...*

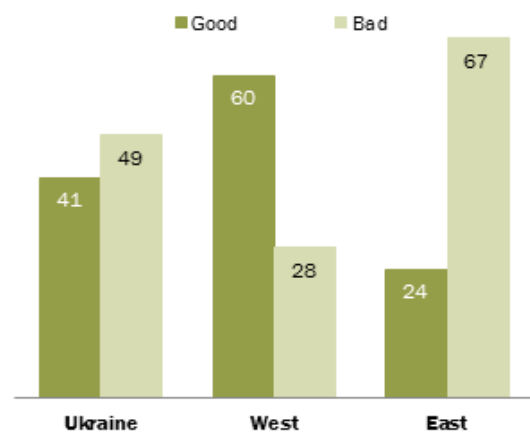
	Remain united	Allow regions to secede	Don't know
	%	%	%
<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>
West	93	4	2
East	70	18	13
<i>Russian speakers</i>	58	27	15
Crimea	12	54	34

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. UKR10.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Eastern Ukraine Unhappy with Kyiv

*% What kind of influence is the current government in Kyiv having on the way things are going in Ukraine?*



Note: Not asked in Crimea.

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. Q38AUKR.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### The role of the EU and the US in the conflict - What are they backing ?

Just as the Western leaders claim that Russia is behind the separatists, Russia and the

separatists have claimed that the US and the EU have backed the Euromaidan demonstration and that they are also backing the new government in Kiev actively. A conversation between the Ukrainian ambassador to the USA and the Assistant Secretary of State, Nuland, supported those allegations against the US at least as Nuland obviously presented clear ideas of how the government of Ukraine should look like, with Yatsenyuk in lead and without others such as but not limited to, Vitaly Klitschko.

Even further, several news agencies reported in April that US mercenaries were fighting against pro-Russian forces in Ukraine, which the US denied and which could not be proved. Even without verification, this assumption is not unlikely as such US forces have been seen in several conflicts.

The EU expresses clearly that it not been involved actively in the demonstrations against Yanukovich. It is supporting democracy as its core political principle and it is also supporting NGO's in non-member states in Europe that promote democratisation in their respective countries, also in Ukraine. The EU of course wants Ukraine to become a more important trading partner and would have liked to see the initial trade agreement implemented. This however does not mean that they have actively supported the demonstrations, especially not any violent actions. In several public statements, all EU sub-organisations have declared their disapproval of any use of violence.

Concluding, there is no evidence that the EU has actively fostered the conflict, while the role of the US remains a bit more unclear. They might be actively expressing their interests in the background and they might also have an influence on several politicians in Ukraine, but yet, their involvement can not at all be compared with Russia's actions.

## **Solutions/Possible future scenarios**

There are several possible scenarios for the development to the situation in Ukraine and especially the East of the country and I want to outline some of them in the following section discussing their chances and advocates as well as opponents.

First, there has been a peace plan for Ukraine proposed by the newly elected president Petro Poroshenko.

## **Peaceful plan of the President of Ukraine on the settlement of the situation in eastern regions of Ukraine**

1. Security guarantees for all the participants of negotiations.
2. Amnesty for those who laid down weapons and didn't commit serious crimes.
3. Liberation of hostages.
4. Establishment of 10 km long buffer zone on the Ukrainian-Russian border. Withdrawal of illegal armed formations.
5. Secure corridor for the escape of Russian and Ukrainian mercenaries.
6. Disarmament.
7. Establishment of units for joint patrolling in the structure of the MIA.
8. Liberation of illegally seized administrative premises in Donetsk and Luhansk regions.
9. Restoration of functioning of local government.
10. Restoration of central television and radio broadcasting in Donetsk and Luhansk regions.
11. Decentralization of power (through the election of executive committees, protection of Russian language; draft amendments to the Constitution).
12. Coordination of governors with representatives of the Donbas before the elections (in case of the approval of single candidature, in case of discrepancies – the decision is taken by the President).
13. Early local and parliamentary elections.
14. Program of creating jobs in the region.
15. Restoration of industrial objects and objects of social infrastructure.

Poroschenko has declared peace and order throughout Ukraine his priority and set up the given 15 points and called on all parties and states to support this plan. While criticism came from Russia and the separatist groups shortly after its publication, Vladimir Putin has now expressed his support for the plan, probably due to the political pressure of the US and the EU. Poroschenko has further called for a stop of all military actions for a week which been violated by the seperatists. An end of military actions is however necessary for the peaceful negotiations which all parties except for the seperatists favour. It is therefore yet difficult to assess whether the plan can be implemented regardless of its content. A very crucial aspect of the plan is point 11. Poroschenko has recognised that he must grant the pro-Russian people more rights in order to get them to negotiate a peace to his favour. In return for his concessions, Poroschenko makes clear with this plan that it is his aim to not cede any part of Ukraine and that the Ukrainian Constitution shall be in force throughout the country again. In general, this peace plan must be seen as a possible solution to the conflict that would be a compromise, though it does not comply with the demands issued by the seperatists. The recent support of Putin, who even called for a

longer ceasefire, makes it more likely that this plan, with slight adaptations is successful in case that Putin has this large influence on the separatists Western leaders consider him to have.

Another possible scenario is the military intervention of Russia in the conflict if the Poroshenko plan fails and the army continues to attack the cities in the East. The Russians might want to protect the ethnically Russian population and the latest reports of the NATO that there is still a large amount of Russians at the border, also moving tanks towards the border indicates that this possibility exists. However, due to the decision of the Russian parliament of Wednesday, 25 June 2014 to end the warrant for him to take immediate military action in Ukraine. Although, this can be seen as a slight step towards de-escalation of the conflict, Russia has not taken measures strong enough to make this scenario absolutely unlikely. What rather makes it unlikely, is the probable reaction this action would trigger; the military intervention of the NATO and most remarkably the US in case of a large-scaled Russian intervention would not be unlikely and the threat of a large war being caused by a chain-reaction might prevent Russia from intervening actively with their army.

The same reason can be applied to predict that the military intervention of the Western states is unlikely without Russia actively taking action, too. Ukraine is not a member of the NATO and even if the interior fights continue, this will not be a reason for the Western states to use force. Similar events occurring in other previous members of the Soviet Union such as Latvia or Estonia which are NATO members would maybe cause a harsher reaction of the parties to the treaty, but there are no signs yet that minorities or Russia are planning such action in the respective states.

Although the outbreak of a transnational war over the issue of Ukraine is not likely at the moment, it cannot be excluded and this is why the Security Council must consider measures to further decrease the probability of this scenario.

On the other hand, it is certain that the EU and G7 will further try to pressure Russia if no advance is made quickly. This pressure will, besides the diplomatic one, be exerted through sanctions. In general, we differentiate four different types of sanction that are or might be used in the conflict currently:

a) **targeted sanctions**: by freezing bank accounts or denying entrance into other countries, these sanctions are “targeted” on individuals held responsible for unfavourable

developments; they might be extended to very important Russian politicians

b) **financial sanctions**: the use of this type would mean the exclusion of Russian trade entirely from the economy of another state or a union such as the EU; especially due to Russian resource supply to several countries and even remarkable trade of the US with Russia, this seems unlikely; however, Great Britain has already considered to exclude Russian banks from their market

c) **economic sanctions**: banning the import of certain essential export goods of a country to hit the economy hard and make the companies pressure the government into change of politics might be a possibility in many conflicts but appears to be least applicable here due to many states, as mentioned, relying on Russian export of gas; such sanctions might however be possible for several countries on their own

d) **diplomatic sanctions**: this type includes for example the exclusion of Russia from the G8, so it means to exclude them from important groups and negotiation in which to take part in they have a particular interest in; other diplomatic sanctions are usually implemented by the SC, which seems difficult currently as we will see in the following;

Finally, we must take into consideration options of the UN to contribute to de-escalation and peace. It would of course be a possibility for the SC to deploy UN blue helmet troops to Ukraine, but as they are peacekeepers, this would only be possible after an armistice has been signed between the rivalling parties and a lasting ceasefire has been established. Due to the current position of the separatists, who appear to want to fight for their independence with all means available to them, it seems unlikely that such an armistice can be achieved in short time. Once again, the pressure of Moscow on the leaders of the separatist groups to agree to such an agreement might be the decisive step. Without a peace agreement, the UN would be able to send an observer mission to Ukraine to monitor the action and a Special Envoy could support or even lead negotiations as suggested by Poroschenko. This idea might remind us of the UN's mission to Syria with Kofi Annan in the lead that was internationally considered a failure which might be a reason for only low support for this plan.

It is clear that Russia is currently able to use its veto to block any resolution in the SC and they have yet shown that they will make use of that. Due to this circumstance, it is

impossible for the SC to impose sanctions on Russia or deploy missions that shall investigate the Russian involvement in the crisis. Though the threat of losing the veto power might prevent Russia from active military intervention, this power means consequently that the other members will have to come to terms with Russia, making compromises in the conflict to be at all able to settle the dispute. While stabilising the Ukrainian economy and making it less dependent on Russian supply might be crucial for the future of the country, it must be the focus of the SC to restore peace at the borders in the East and to secure that peace.

Finally, the situation at the end of June seems to be that Ukraine, after the presidential election, has gotten some stability and with Poroschenko a new president who is really at aiming at resolving the conflict with a compromise. It is up to the separatist groups now to enter negotiations and accept a ceasefire to enable these negotiations. To bring the groups to the bargaining table, Russia is the decisive instance. The Western leaders will continue to pressure Russia to finally use their influence on the groups to a larger extent and in case of non-compliance with their demands, they might impose harsher economic sanctions on Russia. It is not yet really clear how the final solution to satisfy all parties will look like but there has been a start made and all UN members states now ought to consider possible ideas to help Ukraine and its population with a well-based compromise that includes Western and Russian interests.

*“An eventual deal [must] include an [...] agreement by the West as well as the Russians to abandon meddling into Ukrainian affairs, assurance that the NATO will not recruit Ukraine and arrangements for the both [sides] to pop up Ukraine's disastrous economy[...]”.*

(Rodric Braithwaite, British Diplomat and previous ambassador to Russia on the solution to the conflict)

### **Relevant treaties/resolutions**

Due to, not only the short time that this crisis is yet lasting, but also the ability of Russia to veto all resolutions in the SC, there is only one GA resolution passed on the issue. Still, there are some other treaties and documents that are important to be taken into consideration to understand the issue.

- A/RES/
- SC proposal by UK
- SC proposal by Russia
- Budapest Memorandum

- [Ukrainian Constitution](#) (link provided)
- UN charter Art.1, §2 (2)
- North Atlantic Treaty (Art.4+5)

## Organisations/Councils involved

- OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe)
- NATO
- UNSC
- ICJ
- EU
- G7 (after exclusion of Russia)

## Timeline of Events (adapted from *BBC World News*)

- 21 November 2013: Yanukovich announces abandonment of EU trade agreement
- Late November 2013: large demonstrations with more than 100,000 participants take place in Kiev
- December 2013: Protesters take under occupation the town hall of Kiev
- January 2014: parliament decides to take action against protesters and some days later, first casualties are caused by the conflict; protesters are arrested by police
- 14 February 2014: easing of tensions → protesters are released and town hall is no longer occupied
- 20 February: violence has occurred again and to an extent as never before : 88 people fall victim to the clashes within only 2 days
- **22 February 2014:** Yanukovich escapes/protesters take over political control in Kiev and call the end of the presidential power/ new elections are set to 25 May/ Tymoschenko is freed from jail
- **27-28 February 2014:** Pro-Russian forces appear on Crimea and take control of important buildings
- 1 March 2014: Duma authorises Putin to use force to protect Russian interests in Ukraine/ criticism from US and Europe does not change Russian policy
- 3 March 2014: first announcement of Russia that it considers to cut gas supply
- **15/16 March 2014:** Russia first uses its veto in the SC to block critical resolution on

Crimea / 97% vote in favour of secession of Crimea and the proposal to join Russia

- 17 March 2014: first sanctions on Russia imposed by EU and USA
- **12 April 2014**: in several cities in the East, pro-Russian demonstrations and seizures of buildings take place/ more and more militant separatists appear especially in Donetsk
- 15 April: start of the “anti-terrorist operation” by the Ukrainian forces to restore order
- **17 April**: Geneva talks between EU, US and the leaders of Russia and Ukraine (Geneva agreement declared)
- 25 April: for the first time, a group of OSCE observers is imprisoned by the separatists
- 1 May: Ukrainian army is put on full alert after pro-Russian forces take control in Donetsk
- 3 May: OSCE observers released after lengthy negotiations and due to Russian pressure
- **25 May**: presidential elections held/ most offices in East closed/ Poroschenko in first round elected president
- May – June : offences and counter-offensives alternate with no real advances
- **5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> June**: G7 , Putin and Poroschenko want the fights to end, Russia however according to Western leaders does not use its power to pressure the separatists into negotiations
- **16<sup>th</sup> June**: Russia cuts Ukraine of gas supplies
- 25 June : Russia cancels authorisation of military intervention in Ukraine
- 28 June: Putin wants the ceasefire to be extended although separatists do not stick to it
- **30 June**: demonstrations in Kiev → people demand the government to end the ceasefire and actively fight the separatists with all forces available
- July 5: Ukrainian army after end of ceasefire advances and seizes regions around Donetsk; separatists have to move back to other regions



## Definitions of Key Terms

- **separatist:** an advocate of independence or autonomy for a part of a political unit
- **autonomous republic :** a type of administrative division similar to a province or state. A significant number of autonomous republics can be found within the successor states of the Soviet Union, but the majority are located within Russia. Many of these republics were established during the Soviet period as Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
- **Sanction:** an action that is taken or an order that is given to force a country to obey international laws by limiting or stopping trade with that country, by not allowing economic aid for that country, etc.
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## Questions for the delegates

The following questions are a help for you when you are writing your position papers as they give you hints at what questions you should be able to answer in the forum and address in your paper to be well prepared for the debate.

- What is your country's diplomatic relation with Ukraine and Russia ?
- Which measures has your country taken with regard to the situation in Ukraine ?
- Which unions/agreements is your country a party to that could play a vital role in the conflict ?
- Does your country consider the actions taken by Russia and the separatists in Crimea and Donetsk "legal" ?
- What options do the United Nations and especially, which options does the UNSC have to contribute to an easing of the tensions in Ukraine ?
- Which kind of measures to be taken by the international community (see background information) does your country consider most effective ?
- What other solutions might there be to resolve the crisis ?
- Is there Poroschenko Peace Plan useful ?

## Useful sources for your research

- <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26270866> (news updates)
- <http://www.ft.com/indepth/crisis-in-ukraine> (economic perspective)
- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/up.html> (general information on Ukraine)
- <http://www.un.org/en/sc/> (information on SC and all official documents of the SC provided)
- your country in the CIA World Factbook
- your governmental websites as well as the websites of your embassies in either Russia or Ukraine and at the UN
- important : always keep yourself updated with the latest events through reliable news sources until the time freeze in September !

Please send your position papers to [sc@munoh.de](mailto:sc@munoh.de) and also to [de\\_an-krusa@t-online.de](mailto:de_an-krusa@t-online.de) before the deadline. If you have any issues with the preparation of your position, please do not hesitate to contact us as soon as possible !

Sincerely yours,

Fabian Krusa

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