

**INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE**

***ALLEGATIONS OF GENOCIDE UNDER THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION  
AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE***

***(UKRAINE V. RUSSIAN FEDERATION)***

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**PRELIMINARY OBJECTIONS  
SUBMITTED BY THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

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**Volume III  
(ANNEXES 61 - 135)**

1 October 2022



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## **Annex 61**

The Guardian, Ukraine Protests are no Longer Just about Europe (22 January 2014)



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**Opinion**🕒 This article is more than **8 years old**

# Ukraine protests are no longer just about Europe


## *Volodymyr Ishchenko*

The far right has infiltrated a movement that in itself does not reflect all the people. There must be an alternative to this senseless violence

Wed 22 Jan 2014 15:12 GMT



**T**here is little doubt that **Viktor Yanukovich's rule** is corrupt. It stands for the interests of the richest few in Ukraine's highly unequal society and is responsible for the brutal suppression of opposition. The majority of

 protesting Ukrainians hope for a just, fair and democratic society, even if naively connecting this hope to an idealised "Europe".

Yet [Euromaidan](#), Ukraine's pro-EU protest movement, has still not become a point of conflict between the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian society as a whole. According to the polls, support for Euromaidan is heavily concentrated in the western and central regions, while Ukrainians living in the east and the south of the country overwhelmingly disapprove. After mass violent clashes with the police [started on Sunday](#), in which a leading role was played by a far-right network of groups called [Right Sector](#), there is no doubt that people in the eastern and southern regions would condemn the protests even more. This is unfortunate because the agenda of the protest has shifted from a desire to be associated with Europe to the struggle against the police state after parliament ripped up the constitution and rushed through laws restricting, among others, the freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of speech.

The Right Sector militants did not appear from nowhere, although many media and liberal protesters preferred to ignore their existence. They were active participants in the protest from the very beginning, interested not so much in European association as the "national revolution". They efficiently infiltrated the volunteer guards of the tent camps.

On [1 December](#), they were the main force behind the violent attack near the presidential administration, contrary to the popular version that blamed government provocateurs. When, last Sunday, [Vitali Klitschko](#), the most probable next president of Ukraine according to the polls, tried to stop clashes with police, he was booed. Many protesters, who could not imagine themselves throwing stones and molotovs at the police line before, joined the violence of the extreme right, frustrated at the lack of progress after coming each Sunday to listen to the same talks from opposition leaders.

Yet those who may be thrilled with the illusion of an all-national revolt are forgetting that this is another step in the normalisation of the far right. Right Sector has already efficiently mainstreamed its slogans ("Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes!", "Glory to the nation! Death to enemies!", "Ukraine above everything!"). We must not forget that these are people with sometimes overtly neo-Nazi ideas who would eagerly pass even more repressive laws, but only against other, ethnically defined enemies.

Several thousand people are participating in the violent clashes but, outside the two central squares and several neighbouring blocks, everyday life in Kiev is going on as usual. .

This week, though, riot police demonstrated that they can restore control over the streets in a few minutes and that they are ready to open fire against protesters - two have been killed with gunshots, as of midday on Wednesday.

What could be the alternative to this dead-end of senseless rallies without action and no less senseless violence? The negotiations that started between the opposition and some representatives of the government seem to be only an attempt to calm down the protesters. However, on Monday, students at [Kyiv-Mohyla Academy](#), one of the best universities in Ukraine, started an indefinite strike against the police state laws, aiming to stop completely teaching in their university and initiate political strikes on other campuses and workers strikes as well. If they succeed, they could show the way to a non-violent but still radical and efficient way to bring down Yanukovich's government.

## opinion



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## **Annex 62**

Interfax.ua, Anti-Terrorist Measures to be Taken Against Separatists – Turchynov (7 April 2014)







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Facts

15:04 07.04.2014 **Anti-terrorist measures to be taken against separatists - Turchynov**

1 min read



Verkhovna Rada Chairman and acting President Oleksandr Turchynov has said that anti-terrorist measures will be taken against separatists who seized administrative buildings in Luhansk, Donetsk and Kharkiv regions using arms.

"An anti-crisis headquarters was set up tonight, and anti-terrorist measures will be taken against those who took up arms," he said in a televised address in Kyiv on Monday.

Tags: #turchynov

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Zelensky holds regular Supreme Commander's HQ meeting

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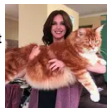
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**Annex 63**

Interfax-Russia, Donetsk Proclaims Itself Sovereign Republic (7 April 2014)

(translation)



**Translation from Russian**

Interfax-Russia, *Donetsk Proclaims Itself Sovereign Republic* (7 April 2014), available at: <https://www.interfax-russia.ru/south-and-north-caucasus/sobytiya-na-ukraine/doneck-provozglasil-sebya-suverennoy-respublikoy>

## **Donetsk Proclaims Itself Sovereign Republic**

Kiev. 7 April. INTERFAX-UKRAINE – People who had occupied the building of the Donetsk regional administration, held a meeting on Monday afternoon at which they voted for a declaration on the sovereignty of the Donetsk People's Republic.

According to Interfax-Ukraine news agency correspondent, those gathered said that the adopted declaration would be the basis for the establishment of the Donetsk People's Republic.

"Only the Supreme Council of the Republic may speak on behalf of the people of the Donetsk People's Republic. The most important matters of state concerning the development of the Republic and its relations with other states are to be submitted to a nationwide discussion or referendum," the document reads.

The referendum on the establishment of the Donetsk People's Republic is scheduled for 11 May at the latest.



**Annex 64**

MK, Russian Spring in Documents. Acts Adopted by the Donetsk People's Republic (7 April  
2014)

(translation)





**Translation from Russian**

MK, *Russian Spring in Documents. Acts Adopted by the Donetsk People's Republic* (7 April 2014), available at: <https://www.mk.ru/politics/article/2014/04/07/1010161-russkaya-vesna-v-dokumentah-kakie-aktyi-prinyala-donetskaya-narodnaya-respublika.html>

07.04.2014, 17:50 POLITICS

## **Russian Spring in Documents. Acts Adopted by the Donetsk People's Republic**

### **Turchynov launches counterterrorism operation in Kharkov, Donetsk and Lugansk regions**

The Donetsk regional NGO's Committee of Voters of Donbass has posted on its website the documents adopted today by the "people's council of the newly created people's state", - the Donetsk People's Republic. The meeting, which is attended by "representatives of non-governmental organisations from the Donetsk region", will continue after a break, at 6.30 pm Moscow time.

We provide the full text of the "Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Donetsk People's Republic", the Act on the declaration of its independence and the "Appeal of the DPR to Russian President Vladimir Putin.



### **DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE DONETSK PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

"The congress of representatives of territorial and administrative divisions of the Donetsk region, proceeding from the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and a number of other international instruments enshrining the right of peoples to self-determination,

- Expressing the will of the multinational people of the Donetsk region,
- Realizing the historical responsibility for the future of the Donetsk region and its people,
- Respecting the sovereign rights of all peoples and the will of peoples towards their further development,
- Proceeding from the priority of universal human values, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other universally recognized international legal instruments,
- Seeking to establish a people's democratic rule-of-law sovereign state;

DECLARES:

The establishment of the sovereign state of the Donetsk People's Republic.

The state sovereignty of the Donetsk People's Republic guarantees the supremacy, independence, unity and indivisibility of the state power in the republic within its territory and the independence and equality in all respects.

1. Citizens of all nationalities of the Donetsk People's Republic make up its people, which is the bearer of sovereignty and the source of state power. The full authority of the people is exercised on the basis of the Constitution of the Donetsk People's Republic, both directly and through elected representative bodies.

The state power in the republic is exercised in accordance with the principle of its division into legislative, executive and judicial branches.

Only the Supreme Council of the Republic may act on behalf of the people of the Donetsk People's Republic.

The most important state issues concerning the development of the republic and its relations with other states are submitted for a nationwide discussion or referendum.

2. The territory of the Republic may not be changed without the consent of its citizens.

The Supreme Council of the Republic decides all issues of the territorial and administrative structure.

3. The Republic guarantees equal rights and liberties to all the citizens residing on its territory, irrespective of their nationality, social origin, political convictions, and religious orientation.

4. The people of the Donetsk People's Republic have the exclusive right of ownership over the land and its subsoil, air space, water and other natural resources located within the territory of the Republic.

The economic and scientific and technical potential created on the territory of the Republic is its property and the material basis of sovereignty and is to be used in the interests of its citizens.

The enterprises, institutions, organizations and facilities of other states and international organisations may be based on the territory of the Donetsk People's Republic and use its natural resources only in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic.

The Republic provides conditions for free development and protection of constitutionally recognized forms of property, which exclude appropriation of results of someone else's work, with priority given to collective forms;

5. The Republic independently determines its economic status, pursues its financial, credit and investment policy, draws up its state budget, and establishes the procedure for the formation and use of monetary and other funds.

6. The Republic independently establishes the procedure for environmental protection on its territory and for the use of natural resources and monitors the environmental situation.

The Republic has the right to prohibit construction and terminate operation of any enterprises, institutions and organizations and other facilities posing a threat to ecological safety.

7. The Republic is independent in deciding the matters of science, education and cultural and moral development. The citizens of all nationalities residing on the territory of the Republic are guaranteed the right to their free national and cultural development and the use and comprehensive development of their national languages.

This Declaration shall be in force from the moment of its adoption and shall be the basis for the drafting of the Constitution of the Donetsk People's Republic and for participation in preparing and concluding treaties with other republics and states".

## **ACT ON THE DECLARATION OF STATE INDEPENDENCE OF THE DONETSK PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

"In Ukraine, with the support of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, illegal paramilitary groups carried out a coup d'état.

The new authorities are feverishly seeking protection and support in America and in Europe from those who have already actually been ruling our country since 2005. The leaders of the state are signing onerous agreements with international organisations. The country is being drawn into NATO.

Centuries-old brotherly relations with the Slavic peoples and the peoples making up the Commonwealth of Independent States have been destroyed.

The most severe censorship has been introduced in the country. An anti-Russian psychosis is being fomented and the image of the brotherly Russian people as the enemy is being formed. A nationalist pro-fascist dictatorship is being established in Ukraine with the support of oligarchic capital.

Residents of the Donetsk region and many deputies of all levels who value the future of our land and people living on it and who value the friendship and cooperation with the countries of the Customs Union are categorically against cooperation with the criminal authorities and do not recognise its illegal decisions.

Expressing great concern and anxiety about growing tension and insurmountable contradictions between different parts of Ukraine, based on the will of the people of the Donetsk region, and confirming the priority of universal human values and commitment to the commonly recognized principles and norms of international law,

The Donetsk Regional Council declares the establishment of a sovereign state,  
**THE DONETSK PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.**

The Donetsk People's Republic will build relations with other states in accordance with international law and along the lines of equality and mutual cooperation. The territory of the DONETSK PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC within the recognised administrative boundaries is indivisible and inviolable. This Act shall come into force from the moment of its approval at a general regional referendum."

### **ADDRESS OF THE DONETSK PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TO VLADIMIR PUTIN**

"To the President of the Russian Federation V.V. PUTIN from the "United People's Committee of Donbass"

(name of the structure as agreed on the spot)

Dear Vladimir Vladimirovich!

Citizens of Donbas are addressing you!

We appeal to you as our hope for our future and the future of our children.

For several months now, Ukraine has been plunged into a series of disastrous events that are leading our society into socio-economic collapse, civil war and division. The Kiev junta has introduced repression and arrests against Russian-speaking citizens. The practice of politically motivated criminal prosecutions is being introduced in the centre of today's Europe. Free access to information and Russian television channels is being blocked.

All these months we, the residents of Donbas represented by its People's Militia, have been trying to express our popular protest against the political course pursued by the Kiev junta using all available democratic procedures. We regularly gather mass rallies of thousands at which people unanimously demand that the authorities hear the voice of the people and meet the demands of their citizens.

However, the new Ukrainian authorities do not want to hear their people. Instead, arrests and repression are being carried out against us: people are threatened with dismissals, "closing" of businesses and criminal cases. Some are simply abducted and taken to Kiev, where they are then held in prisons and cells.

Many of our supporters, driven to despair, decide to leave for other states to save their families. Others of our adherents are prepared to fight to the end and take active street action.

We do not want to go anywhere! We want to live in our own land! We want peace and stable development. Donbass has everything necessary for this: rich natural resources, developed infrastructure, talented and enterprising people.

But the junta in Kiev is deliberately leading us towards war and destruction. We do not want that and we are ready to fight for our future and the future of our children! The entire state apparatus is now working against us. The combat forces of the Ukrainian army are already being drawn to our lands and ordered to oppose their own people.

In this regard, we appeal to you, Vladimir Vladimirovich, as the last hope for our future and the future of our children. Only in Russia do we see the sole defender of our culture of the Russian world. Only the peacekeeping contingents of the Russian army will be able to send a convincing signal to the junta in Kiev, which came to

power through arms and blood. We are ready to fight and die for our ideals and for our convictions! But without your support, without Russia's support, it will not be easy for us alone to resist the Kiev junta and its neo-fascist system."

Meanwhile, acting Ukrainian President Aleksandr Turchynov made a television address, saying that an antiterrorist operation would be carried out against the activists who seized administrative institutions in Lugansk, Donetsk and Kharkov. The Verkhovnaya Rada has registered a draft law on the introduction of a state of emergency in three regions.

Leonid Slutskiy (LDPR), head of the State Duma Committee for CIS Affairs, commented on the situation:

according to him, residents of the Donetsk region "have the right to express their opinion, but should reflect on the fact that Kiev's rejection of the unification of Russian communities may escalate into practical aggression".

## **Annex 65**

TASS, Federalization Supporters in Luhansk Proclaim People's Republic (28 April 2014)





**TASS**

RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY

## Federalization supporters in Luhansk proclaim people's republic

World April 28, 2014, 2:17 UTC+3

**They demand amnesty for all participants in the protest movement in Ukraine's east, recognition of Russian as a state language, and to hold a referendum on matters concerning self-determination of the region**



© EPA/ZURAB KURTSIKIDZE

DONETSK, April 28. /ITAR-TASS/. In Luhansk, federalization supporters at a meeting on Sunday proclaimed the establishment of the Luhansk People's Republic, Ukraine's Freedom radio reports.

In that city, where a joint headquarters of the country's South-East was established several days ago to coordinate other offices in other districts, federalization supporters delivered an ultimatum to the Kiev authorities on Sunday.

In particular, the protesters demand amnesty for all participants in the protest movement in Ukraine's east, recognition of Russian as a state language, and to hold a referendum on matters concerning self-determination of the region.

If their demands are not met by April 29, they promise to move on to militant actions.



## **Annex 66**

TASS, People of Donetsk, Lugansk Republics Chose Independence — Duma Speaker (11 May 2022)





RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY

UKRAINE CRISIS 11 MAY, 15:13

# People of Donetsk, Lugansk republics chose independence — Duma speaker

On May 11, 2014, Donbass held referendums on the status of the Donetsk and Lugansk republics, with 89.7% of people voted for self-determination in DPR and 96.2% in LPR

MOSCOW, May 11. /TASS/. The people of the Donetsk and Lugansk people's republics eight years ago made their choice in a referendum in favor of building their life in independent states, Russian State Duma Speaker Vyacheslav Volodin said in a message of greeting on the occasion of the republics' 8th anniversary.

"Eight years ago, the Donetsk and Lugansk people's republics held referendums on self-determination. The people of the DPR and LPR made their choice in a referendum in a free and democratic way, thus exercising their right to self-determination, and made a decision to build their life as independent states. I wish the people of the Donetsk and Lugansk people's republics happiness, health and prosperity," Volodin said on the State Duma's website on Wednesday.

He stressed that after the government coup in Ukraine in 2014 the people of Donbass refused to tolerate the dictatorial regime in Kiev.

"Human rights were ignored, the interests of Donbass people were defied, their mother tongue was banned and a distorted version of history was imposed," Volodin said.

On May 11, 2014, Donbass held referendums on the status of the Donetsk and Lugansk republics. In the Donetsk Region, 89.7% voted for self-determination. In the Lugansk Region, the proposal was supported by 96.2%. On May 12, the Donetsk and Lugansk republics proclaimed state sovereignty. The Donetsk republic adopted its Constitution on May 14, and the Lugansk republic, on May 18. Kiev and the Western countries refused to recognize the plebiscites.

The DPR on Wednesday is celebrating its 8th anniversary. This year it is doing so for the first time as a sovereign state recognized by Russia. Russian President Vladimir Putin on February 21 declared the recognition of the DPR and LPR in accordance with their constitutions within the borders of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions as of the beginning of 2014. On February 24, in response to a request for assistance from the leaders of the Donbass republics, he launched a special military operation. The Donetsk and Lugansk republics began their own campaigns for the liberation of their territories remaining under Kiev's control.

**TAGS**

[Ukraine crisis](#)

**Annex 67**

Reuters, Results Show 96.2 Percent Support for Self-Rule in East Ukraine Region: RIA (12 May 2014)





Results show 96.2 percent support for self-rule in east Ukraine region: R...

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EMERGING MARKETS MAY 12, 2014 / 2:19 PM / UPDATED 8 YEARS AGO

## Results show 96.2 percent support for self-rule in east Ukraine region: RIA

By Reuters Staff

1 MIN READ



MOSCOW (Reuters) - Final results in a referendum organized by pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine's Luhansk region showed 96.2 percent support for the region's self-rule, the Russian state RIA news agency reported on Monday.

The agency, citing one of the organizers of the referendum, said that Luhansk will appeal to the United Nations to recognize the region's independence.

The vote, which took place on Sunday in two east Ukraine provinces, has been condemned by the West, but Moscow said that on Monday that it respects its outcome.

Reporting by Lidia Kelly; Editing by Alissa de Carbonnel

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## **Annex 68**

Al-Jazeera, Leaders of Eastern Donetsk and Luhansk Regions Declare Independence After Claiming Victory in Sunday's Self-Rule Vote (12 May 2014)



# Ukraine separatists declare independence

*Al Jazeera*

*Leaders of eastern Donetsk and Luhansk regions declare independence after claiming victory in Sunday's self-rule vote.*

Video Duration 02 minutes 18 seconds

Separatists claim victory in east Ukraine

Separatist leaders in eastern Ukraine have declared independence, undermining an upcoming May 25 presidential election, strengthening the Kremlin's hand and putting pressure on Kiev to hold talks with the self-proclaimed regional leaders.

The declarations of independence by Donetsk and Luhansk come just 13 days ahead of a Ukraine national presidential election, which both regions say they will [not take part in](#).

Separatist leaders said 89 percent of those who cast ballots on Sunday in the Donetsk region and about 96 percent of those who turned out in Luhansk voted for sovereignty.

Voters "have chosen that path that has enabled the formation of an independent state, the Luhansk People's Republic," said self-declared "people's governor" Valery Bolotov at a rally in the city of Luhansk.

The crowd cheered enthusiastically, but Bolotov stopped short of declaring the region's desire to join Russia.

Donetsk, however, did ask to join its neighbour's federation.

"We, the people of the Donetsk People's Republic, based on the results of the May 11, 2014, referendum, declare that henceforth the Donetsk People's Republic will be deemed a sovereign state," Denis Pushilin, co-chairman of the separatist government, said to applause on Monday.

"The people of Donetsk have always been part of the Russian world, regardless of ethnic affiliation. For us, the history of Russia is our history," he said.

Both Donetsk and Luhansk said the Ukraine presidential election on May 25 would not be held in the newly independent regions, a status unacknowledged by Kiev.

## **'Talks with East'**

For its part, Russia signalled it had no intention of subsuming eastern Ukraine the way it annexed Crimea in March.

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Instead, Moscow is pushing to include eastern regions in negotiations on Ukraine's future, suggesting that Russia prefers a political, not military, solution to its worst standoff with the West since the Cold War.

Such talks are central to a potential path towards peace outlined on Monday by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The plan laid out by Swiss President Didier Burkhalter calls on all sides to refrain from violence and urges immediate amnesty, talks on decentralisation and the status of the Russian language.

Acting Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk pledged on Monday to hold talks with those in Ukraine's east. But he gave no specifics and did not address Sunday's vote or the declarations of independence by the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

"We would like to launch the broad national dialogue with the east, centre, the west, and all of Ukraine," Yatsenyuk told a news conference in Brussels, adding that the agenda should include changes to the constitution to give more power to the regions.

## **Annex 69**

Nationalia, Donetsk, Luhansk offer to maintain links with Ukraine in exchange for recognition as republics (2 September 2014)





# Nationalia


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### News

## Donetsk, Luhansk offer to maintain links with Ukraine in exchange for recognition as republics

02.09.2014 13.27h

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**Both self-declared states want their own military units, capacity to conclude international agreements, would accept "common security space" with Ukraine · Proposal unveiled one day after Putin asked for "statehood" for the two republics · Ukraine, NATO say Russia has troops, military equipment in Donetsk, Luhansk**

Leaders of eastern Ukraine self-proclaimed republics of Donetsk and Luhansk yesterday offered Kiev a political agreement that helps solving the military conflict [that began on April](#). At a meeting in Minsk (Belarus) with Ukrainian, Russian and OSCE delegates, representatives of the two Russian-speaking majority republics -which all UN members still officially regard as two Ukraine's provinces- [proposed](#) that Kiev recognize their special status. In exchange, Donetsk

9/28/22, 3:00 PM

Donetsk, Luhansk offer to maintain links with Ukraine in exchange for recognition as republics - Nationalia

and Luhansk would resign claiming new territories from Ukraine, and [would accept to preserve](#) a "common security space" with that country.

The proposal also foresees Kiev accepting that both self-styled republics have their own military units. Donetsk and Luhansk also demand capacity to conclude international agreements on economic matters. This would allow them, for example, to join the Russian-led Customs Union.


What both secessionist republics are proposing almost equals to independence, in spite of eventual agreements that their governments could reach with Ukraine. Kiev rejects such a solution and, in fact, [not even contemplates a federalised Ukraine](#), as Moscow [has suggested](#) on several occasions.

The Donetsk and Luhansk leaders disclosed those proposals the day after Russian President Vladimir Putin [had said](#) Ukraine should start talks on "statehood" of the two self-declared republics. A Kremlin spokesman later denied that Putin was referring to full independence for Luhansk and Donetsk.

### **Kiev says Russian troops found in eastern Ukraine**

Talks between Ukraine, Russia, Donetsk, Luhansk and the OSCE in Minsk -which will resume on Friday 5th- are taking place while at the war front, the Luhansk and Donetsk militians have been accumulating victories last week against the Ukrainian army. Kiev [says](#) this is due to the fact that there are Russian troops in Luhansk and Donetsk. NATO [also claims](#) that Russian military equipment has been spotted within the Ukrainian borders.

A few days before, Ukraine [had announced](#) that it was about to resume their policy to get NATO membership. NATO said it is developing a plan for a rapid reaction force to act in Eastern Europe. Reacting to this, Moscow [warned](#) it will review its military strategy to deal with NATO, "one of the external threats to the Russian Federation."

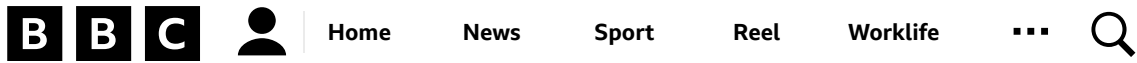
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## **Annex 70**

BBC News, Ukraine Crisis: Turchynov Announces Anti-Terror Operation (13 April 2014)





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## Ukraine crisis: Turchynov announces anti-terror operation

Acting Ukrainian President Oleksandr Turchynov said he would not allow a repetition of what happened in Crimea which was annexed by Russia last month.

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### Editor's recommendations



**Annex 71**

Russia Today, 3 Civilians Killed in Shelling of Slavyansk Residential Area (26 May 2014)





## 3 civilians killed in shelling of Slavyansk residential area (GRAPHIC VIDEO)

RT

At least three civilians have reportedly been killed and several wounded when the Ukrainian Army launched a mortar attack on the town of Slavyansk in eastern Ukraine. One of the shells fell near a local teachers college, according to Ridus news portal.

Residential blocks were ruined as a result of the assault by Kiev's forces on Monday, the Ridus correspondent reported from the scene. At least two apartment blocks were damaged and “at least two people – a man and a woman – were killed,” the reporter said.

“We came up to look at the man but he was already dead. A shell had fallen right next to a 9-storey apartment block, all the glass was out. The man’s head was bleeding, his arms and legs were broken. When we went further, we found a dead woman near a teachers college, a shell hit there too,” a local told RT, adding that after that a third man was found nearby.

При обстреле #Славянск, один из снарядов упал возле педагогического института, погибла женщина <http://t.co/rXHalbI5Gopic.twitter.com/SdCMOdgSm7>

— Ридус (@RidusNews) [May 26, 2014](#)

The woman was identified as Olga Prokhorenko, 60, Ridus news portal writes. The published photo depicts a woman lying on the grass with a large blood stain on her back.

URGENT: Ukrainian army shells #Slavyansk residential area, 2 civilians killed <http://t.co/cTo2yIo6jopic.twitter.com/NOOfusMLKI>

— RT (@RT\_com) [May 26, 2014](#)

“For the first time in a month and a half of my staying in the south-east [of Ukraine], I see real panic among the people. They’ve been running out of their homes in Slavyansk with their children, half-dressed,” reporter Andrey Krasnoshchyokov tweeted.

The journalist did not rule out that the military began firing in response to artillery shooting by forces of the self-proclaimed People’s Republic of Donetsk.

“It’s unknown who started first,” he wrote.

Roman, a witness who was at the site, told RT that there were “around six or eight shell craters” near the college where the woman’s body was found.

“There were many wounded. About ten people,” he added.

RIA Novosti, citing local self-defense, reports of gunfights on the outskirts of Slavyansk, in the villages of Vostochny, Semyonovka and Slavkurort. Ukrainian army launched several artillery salvos from the mountain of Karachun near the town.

Meanwhile, clashes continue in Donetsk spilling over from the airport to the city center. The Mayor of Donetsk called on residents not to leave their homes.

*“The situation in Donetsk remains tense. Today there have been armed clashes between Ukraine’s artillery units and supporters of the People’s Republic of Donetsk,”* Aleksandr Lukyanchenko said in a televised address, adding that there are victims among civilians.

Donetsk airport has been shut down following fighting between Kiev forces and self-defense squads earlier on Monday.

Clashes in Donetsk and Slavyansk come after the early results of the elections in Ukraine were announced.

Ukraine's likely president-elect, Petro Poroshenko, announced Monday that Kiev is not going to stop the military operation in the east of Ukraine, neither will it hold negotiations with armed people.

*“They don’t want to talk to anyone,”* he told a media conference.

Poroshenko said the *“anti-terrorist”* operation in the south-eastern regions will be held in a more efficient way, with soldiers getting better ammo and their lives and health being insured.

**Annex 72**

Russia Today, “Slaughterhouse”: Civilians Die in Kiev’s Ruthless Military Attacks (27 May 2014)



'Slaughterhouse': Civilians die in Kiev's ruthless military attacks (G...

<https://www.rt.com/news/161772-eastern-ukraine-attack-deaths/>

## 'Slaughterhouse': Civilians die in Kiev's ruthless military attacks (GRAPHIC)

RT

Bodies are piling up in Donetsk morgues after Kiev unleashed fighter jets and artillery on the country's southeast just hours after the presidential election. New leader-elect Petro Poroshenko is pushing for the crackdown to become even "more effective."

Ukraine's southeast saw only a brief suspension of Kiev's military operations on Sunday while the nation took to the polls. Just before the presidential election, Ukrainian MPs called for immediate troop withdrawal from the country's southeast.

Following the vote, the leading candidate – billionaire chocolate tycoon Petro Poroshenko – said he sees no reason why the military should stop the operation.

*"I support its continuation, but demand a change in its format – it must be shorter and it must be more effective, military units must be better equipped,"* he said, despite earlier statements that he is ready for dialogue with the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics.

Soon after the last vote was cast, the Kiev military descended on the southeast with new energy, shelling Slavyansk and attacking the airport in Donetsk with mortars.

The number of victims is not yet known. According to the prime minister of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, Aleksandr Boroday, 100 self-defense forces and civilians died in Donetsk during the attack. Donetsk authorities reported that about 40 people died and 43 others were injured.

In Slavyansk, at least three civilians died, including one woman.

*"We see what that means today – shelling against civilians, bombs that fall near occupied apartment blocks, fighter jets, and helicopter launches against an urban population,"* analyst Daniel Patrick Welch told RT, adding that talks were never part of Poroshenko's plan.

*"We came up to look at the man but he was already dead. A shell had fallen right next to a nine-story apartment block, all the glass was out. The man's head was bleeding, his arms and legs were broken,"* a Slavyansk resident told RT. Civilian quarters of the city – which is home to about 130,000 people – came under fire for the first time on Monday.

*"When we went further, we found a dead woman near a teachers college, a shell hit there too,"* a local added, saying that a third man was found nearby.

---

**BREAKING:** Woman killed as Ukrainian troops shell eastern city of [#Slavyansk](http://t.co/cTo2yIo6jopic.twitter.com/An3mZyGein)<http://t.co/cTo2yIo6jopic.twitter.com/An3mZyGein>

— RT (@RT\_com) [May 26, 2014](#)

'Slaughterhouse': Civilians die in Kiev's ruthless military attacks (G...

<https://www.rt.com/news/161772-eastern-ukraine-attack-deaths/>

On Tuesday, reports appeared of a possible fourth victim among the civilians in Slavyansk. A woman was also killed near the Church of the Reigning Mother of God, according to a message on the website of the Gorlovsk and Slavyansk Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. It added that the building of the church was damaged along with an apartment building and student dormitory nearby.

*“A bomb fell just 10 meters from the church. Fortunately, there were no people in the church at that time,”* the message reads.

On Tuesday, Ukrainian fighter jets and helicopters were unleashed at armed self-defense forces occupying the airport in the city of Donetsk.

Army helicopter just passed over us, fired towards airport and left. Black smoke is rising over the train station building [#Donetsk](#)

— Petr Shelomovskiy (@shelomovskiy) [May 26, 2014](#)

*“We’ve lost more than 50 self-defense fighters,”* said the PM of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People’s Republic, Aleksandr Boroday, as quoted by RIA Novosti.

*“Many of the casualties are a result of two Kamaz trucks having been shelled by the Ukrainian army. The trucks were driving the wounded from the battlefield near the airport.”*

The identification of bodies is underway the city’s morgue.

We ask 2 cover the young man's body. [#Donetsk#morgue](#) employee: 'U shd've come in the morning, piles of dead bodies' <pic.twitter.com/BiredyHpZz>

— Maria Finoshina (@MFinoshina\_RT) [May 27, 2014](#)

You expect more bodies?—Yes. [#Donetsk](#) morgue. Just one of several in the city where those killed in clashes r brought <pic.twitter.com/9I4VMu18Zx>

— Maria Finoshina (@MFinoshina\_RT) [May 27, 2014](#)

Meanwhile, the city’s central railway station was also shelled on Tuesday. One civilian was killed and two others – including an eight-year-old boy – were injured, the region’s administration told RIA Novosti.

ЖД вокзал, Донецк. Простые жители [#Донецк](#) [#Донбасс](#) [#донецкаянароднаяреспублика](#) <pic.twitter.com/ZCQVwgXZP3>

— Наталия Тропешко (@n\_tropeshko) [May 26, 2014](#)

Government troops reportedly launched mortar fire on a private housing area in Donetsk on the same day.

Later in the day, the military stepped up the offensive, and fighting in Donetsk continued throughout the night around the airport, which was then taken under control by Ukrainian troops.

On Monday, Vice Premier Vitaly Yaryoma stressed that the operation will continue until not a single self-defense fighter *“is left on the territory of*

'Slaughterhouse': Civilians die in Kiev's ruthless military attacks (G...

<https://www.rt.com/news/161772-eastern-ukraine-attack-deaths/>

*Ukraine.”*

*“We saw the results yesterday,” Yaryoma added.*

Kiev first launched a punitive military operation in the volatile southeastern regions of Donetsk and Lugansk back in April. Following a coup in Kiev, the two proclaimed their independence from the new authorities, with the desire to break away seeing landslide support in May 11 referendums.





**Annex 73**

The Financial Times, Kiev Anti-Terror Operation Takes Toll on Slavyansk Residents (11 June 2014)



Kyiv

## Kiev anti-terror operation takes toll on Slavyansk residents

Thousands flee fighting while those that remain face worsening conditions



Fighting between pro-Russia militants and Ukrainian forces have caused destruction in Slavyansk © AFP

John Reed in Svyatogorsk JUNE 11 2014

Svetlana Polishuk fled the separatist-controlled city of [Slavyansk](#) in late May when her hilltop neighbourhood of Artyema came under heavy shelling for reasons she still does not fully understand.

“We were living in a quiet district – there weren’t any checkpoints, [separatists or Ukrainian army](#),” she on Tuesday from Svyatogorsk, a town about 30km (18 miles) away, where the rumble of frontline explosions can still be heard. “I don’t know why but we had really hard bombardment of our neighbourhood – some days so hard, it hardly stopped.”

Ms Polishuk packed her mother, Galina, into a taxi for what she called a “terrible” trip across the front line between [Ukrainian security forces](#) bombarding the city with mortars and heavy artillery and the [pro-Russian separatist insurgents](#) inside.

Thousands have made a similar exodus since late May after Ukrainian forces tightened their cordon around the city in a security operation aimed at flushing out rebels.

Many others remain trapped in worsening humanitarian conditions inside Slavyansk, which had a prewar population of nearly 130,000. There is no sign yet of any international aid coming to the rescue – either in Slavyansk or the nearby towns where people have fled

towns where people have fled.

Such collateral damage is one measure of the high cost the security strategy Kiev is employing to counter pro-Russia separatists in eastern Ukraine is exacting. The campaign has uprooted thousands of Ukrainian citizens, while attracting fresh criticism to a government that otherwise enjoys widespread sympathy in the west.

Petro Poroshenko, Ukraine's new president, on Tuesday ordered the establishment of an "escape corridor" for civilians seeking to leave eastern parts of the country where Kiev launched its counter-insurgency campaign in April.

There were no immediate details as to how this would work – nor any evidence that it was being put in place as government troops and rebels again traded fire, even as Ukrainian and Russian officials continued talks to de-escalate the conflict.

Inside Slavyansk, most residents were without power, running water or gas. Some were living in their basements, said people who have been inside the city.

Information on their plight has become harder to glean, as few journalists are working in the city and mobile phone coverage has gone silent, cutting off residents from relatives who have fled elsewhere.

Many of those displaced from Slavyansk went to Svyatogorsk, a resort town famous for its blue-and-gold-domed hillside Orthodox monastery, whose hallways and rooms have been packed with hundreds of cots. Camps, such as the Pearl of the Donbass, have filled up with displaced people.

The facility was housing 580 children and 80 adults, about 10 of whom were trying to contact relatives via land lines from its administrative office on Tuesday afternoon. Svyatogorsk was also without mobile communications.

Those arriving from Slavyansk have brought stories of deaths and injuries from heavy bombardment, which they said came from both sides of the conflict.

Human Rights Watch, the advocacy group, on Monday urged Kiev to review its counterinsurgency operation in eastern Ukraine, saying both the government and the rebels "have obligations under international law to avoid harm to local residents".

Irina Andrusenko fled Slavyansk with her husband and two children on May 30 after enduring shelling that began at 4am most days. Separatist snipers and an artillery commander positioned themselves on her building's roof, she said, until

residents chased them away.



“Bombs? We don’t know who was bombing us,” Ms Andrusenko said on Tuesday at a home for children with tuberculosis in Svyatogorsk, where she had taken refuge with her family. A neighbour, she said, was injured in the head from shrapnel and died last month.

“The only people who are left are corpses and pensioners,” said Andrey Vorobyev, her husband. “Everyone who could leave, left.”

Svyatogorsk’s population has swollen from under 5,000 before the conflict to more than 25,000, according to Donetsk provincial officials. Despite an evident humanitarian crisis, most of the relief efforts in Slavyansk and Svyatogorsk are being bankrolled by private individuals or companies.

The Red Cross said it had been unable to visit Slavyansk because neither Kiev authorities, nor the self-proclaimed Donetsk People’s Republic that claims sovereignty over the city, will provide security guarantees or reliable information.

Ms Polishuk, who went to Svyatogorsk’s city hall to inquire about help, found its doors locked on Tuesday afternoon. Two signs were hung there appealing to local residents to donate food for the “refugees”, and telling them where they might go if they needed medical help.

In the absence of a concerted relief effort – either from Kiev or the international community – the displaced were left to contemplate a difficult future, and wondering who to blame for the destruction of their city.

“Our army is shooting civilians,” Angela Chumak, another Slavyansk resident staying at the children’s tuberculosis facility said on Tuesday.

But Mr Vorobyev disagreed. “It is war,” he said. “We are just hostages of the situation.”

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**Annex 74**

Russia Today, Shells Hit Hospital as Ukrainian Army Resumes Strike on Slavyansk (30 May 2014)





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30 May, 2014 06:14 / Home / World News

# Shells hit hospital as Ukrainian army resumes strike on Slavyansk



Slavyansk, Ukraine (RIA Novosti / Maks Vetrov) © RIA Novosti

Kiev's troops renewed the shelling of Slavyansk on Friday morning, residents told RT. A local children's hospital and a clinic came under fire. There are no reports of injuries.

[Read RT's live updates on the violence in Ukraine](#)

*"This morning they hit the children's polyclinic in the center of the city and the reception ward of the children's hospital. It was at 5 am," Vladimir, a Slavyansk resident, told RT.*

*"The hospital and the polyclinic stand close to each other. The hospital was damaged worse than the polyclinic," another resident said. "There were no victims."*

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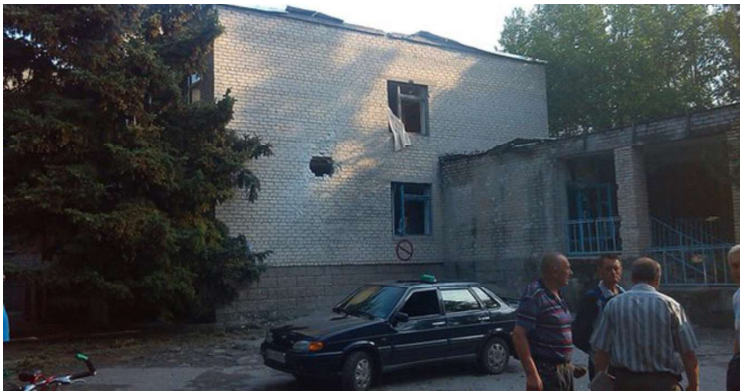
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There were some children staying in the hospital at the time of the attack. They were all taken to the building's basement for cover after the shelling started, said Olga, a nurse working there.

*"I've worked here for 30 years, and I never thought I would have to come to a ruin to do my job. That's our government and our 'valorous' Ukrainian troops for you," she said.*

Kiev said it did not use artillery on Friday and claimed that it was the militia, who trained their own guns on the hospital to put the blame on the Ukrainian military.

Troops loyal to Kiev intensified the military crackdown on the militias of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic in mid-April. They are using artillery, aviation and armor in a bid to take control of the restive region.

Zelensky issues Ukrainian estimates on daily army losses

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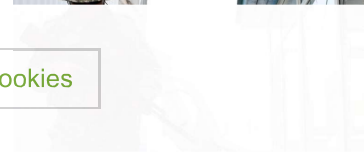


**US psy ops exposed: Washington isn't concerned about morals, it's worried about getting caught** FEATURE



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The military operation in eastern Ukraine will continue until the region *"can live and function normally and the people are calm,"* acting Defense Minister Mikhail Koval stated on Friday.

Slavyansk has been in the focus of the confrontation, which has claimed dozens of lives, both among the belligerents and local [civilians](#).

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**Детская больница после утреннего обстрела. 30.05.2014**  
[#Славянскpic.twitter.com/REsU4r50WX](#)

— СЛАВЯНСК (@Sloviansk) 30 мая 2014

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The militias are holding... combination of guer... from the Ukrainian troops. They scored a major

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success on Thursday, when they shot down a helicopter carrying one of Kiev's generals.

Some people in Slavyansk believe that Kiev's troops will now retaliate for the general's death and devastate the city.

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Reports of shooting in Donetsk, as city braces for third day of fighting

Shells hit school, kindergarten in Slavyansk amid Ukraine military op (VIDEO)

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## **Annex 75**

The Daily Mail, Inside Homes Shattered by Ukraine's Unofficial Civil War: Destruction from Weeks of Fighting Revealed as Country's Richest Man Calls for End to Violence (20 May 2014)



## Inside Ukraine's homes shattered by the unofficial civil war

*Damien Gayle*

### Inside homes shattered by Ukraine's unofficial civil war: Destruction from weeks of fighting revealed as country's richest man calls for end to violence

- **Slavyansk suburb is left devastated by Ukrainian army shelling after a night of fighting with separatist rebels**
- **Russia begins to withdraw its forces from its border with Ukraine after order issued by President Putin**
- **Ukraine's richest man Rinat Akhmetov calls on east Ukrainians to protest against the continuing insurgency**

Published: 12:32 BST, 20 May 2014 | Updated: 13:59 BST, 20 May 2014

Her hand covering her mouth, her face contorted with anguish, Yekaterina Len stood sobbing this morning in the kitchen of her shattered house in Slavyansk, east Ukraine.

Where just days ago the 61-year-old stood preparing borscht, now there was nothing but blackened sodden mess, the effects of a Ukrainian army shell which landed straight on her roof.

Slavyansk has been a major battleground in the unofficial civil war raging between troops loyal to the pro-West Kiev government and separatist rebels who claim 'fascists' have seized control in their country.

But with nearly 130,000 residents in this Donetsk region city, a centre for heavy engineering, there are plenty of civilians caught up on the crossfire.

### Scroll down for video

Yekaterina Len, 61, cries inside her ruined house after shelling by the Ukrainian army as her grandson stands behind her in Slavyansk, eastern Ukraine

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Mrs Len is comforted by her granddaughter as she stands outside the wreckage of her home, while neighbours try to clear some of the rubble left by the shelling

Mrs Len tries to salvage what valuables she can from her wrecked home, as fighting rages on between soldiers loyal to the government in Kiev and separatist rebels

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Mrs Len buries her face in the arms of a neighbour as she bawls with grief at what has become of her home

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Mrs Len's neighbours share her grief as they look at the mess her home has been turned into by the continuing fighting around the city of Slavyansk

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Yesterday rebels continued to exchange fire with government soldiers on the outskirts of Slavyansk, even as the country's richest man called on them to lay down their weapons.

Meanwhile, Russia's defence ministry announced that its units have begun to dismantle their camps close to the Ukrainian border, in line with orders from President Vladimir Putin.

Soldiers in the Bryansk, Belgorod and Rostov regions were now preparing to make the journey back to their home bases, said a spokesman. But Nato's spokesman Oana Lungescu challenged the Russians 'to prove they are doing what they are saying.'

Nato claims the Kremlin has stationed 40,000 soldiers along the border with Ukraine. The U.S.-led alliance told the Associated Press it is watching the situation closely, but could not yet confirm any troop movements.

The Russian defence ministry said last night it would take time for soldiers to dismantle their camps and load up equipment before marching to railway stations for redeployment.

Pro-Russian armed militants guard a checkpoint blocking the major highway which links Kharkiv to Slavyansk

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A pro-Russian armed militant guards the checkpoint outside Slavyansk as cars approach on their way to the city of nearly 130,000

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Vladimir Putin addresses during the Russian-Chinese talks in Shanghai, China today. He yesterday ordered Russian troops away from his country's border with Ukraine

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## NATO sees no Russian troop withdrawal from Ukrainian borders



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LIVE

President Putin's order seemed to make clear he has no immediate plans to intervene in mainly Russian-speaking east Ukraine, where separatist militants have fought with government forces after seizing control of towns and cities.

The rebels declared the Donetsk and Luhansk regions independent following referendums earlier this month, which Ukraine and the West have denounced as a sham.

Russia has scathingly criticised the new Ukrainian government, which came to power in February after the toppling of pro-Russian president Yanukovich, for using the military against its own people.

But Putin's order to withdraw troops from areas near the border and his new support for Ukraine's presidential vote this Sunday seemed to reflect a desire to de-escalate the worst crisis between Russia and the West since the Cold War.

It could also forestall further sanctions from the U.S. and European Union, which have imposed travel bans and asset freezes on members of Putin's inner circle over Russia's annexation of Crimea following the Kiev coup.

A Ukrainian soldier rests at a temporary camp near a checkpoint in Mariupol, far to the south of Sloviansk and near to the Black Sea

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A Ukrainian soldier reads in his camp. They maybe breathing a sigh of relief after the Kremlin announced it would withdraw its forces from the Ukrainian border

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A soldier smokes a cigarette as sunlight streams through the forest canopy at his camp near Mariupol

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A soldier tries to get some sleep under a tree, while his comrade looks on. Russia has condemned Kiev for deploying the army against its own people in east Ukraine

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Last night Ukraine's richest man, metals tycoon Rinat Akhmetov, toughened his stance against the rebellion, saying it has devastated the eastern regions that form the nation's industrial heartland.

Pro-West groups in Ukraine had previously Mr Akhmetov, who is listed as the 101st richest man on the planet with a wealth of \$11.6billion, of financing the east's separatist militias.

But he last night called for an end to the mutiny in the east, which he described as a 'fight against the citizens of our region.'

'Is looting in cities and taking peaceful citizens hostage a fight for the happiness of our region? No, it is not!' said the oligarch, who was previously closely linked to Ukraine's former president Viktor Yanukovich.

A part of a mortar shell id buried in the road after a night of fighting between pro-Russian militants and Ukrainian army in Slavyansk

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Roza Gerasimenko, 69, is overcome with emotion as she surveys the damage to her house following shelling by the Ukrainian army last night

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Mrs Gerasimenko looks at the damage to her roof. Her home was one of a number which sustained serious damage from the shelling in a residential area of Slavyansk

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A local looks at the damage to houses after the fighting last night. Ukraine's richest man has called on the rebels to lay down their arms

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Mrs Gerasimenko sobs with grief at the destruction caused by the fighting, which is still continuing all over the east of Ukraine

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Mr Akhmetov called on all workers in the region to today hold a 'peaceful warning protest' at the companies where they work by blowing sirens 'in support of peace and against bloodshed' and continue to do so in coming days.

An end to the fighting probably can't come soon enough for Yekaterina Len, or her 79-year-old neighbour Roza Gerasimenko, whose home was also gutted by

Ukrainian army shelling overnight.

Today relatives and neighbours were helping them to what valuables they could from their destroyed homes, as both surveyed the devastation and wept.

## **Send a text to help our navy: Crippled Ukraine fleet is stuck in harbour and running out of money while Russia rearms**

By TIM SULLIVAN, Associated Press

Advertisement

Ukraine's navy is in Odessa's harbor, though it can be hard to spot.

It's tucked behind a collection of storage tanks and overshadowed by immense cargo vessels docked nearby. There are a couple of dozen boats, few much larger than a decent-sized yacht and many in desperate need of repair. The government is begging the public to help pay their bills.

This is what's left of Ukraine's fleet since Russia annexed the Crimean Peninsula two months ago, taking with it the navy's key base and most of its ships. 'Times are not the best for the fleet now,' admitted Captain Oleh Chubuk, spokesman for Ukraine's naval command.

Ukraine's navy ships are docked along with cargo vessels in the Black Sea port of Odessa, Ukraine, where they are now headquartered since Russia seized Crimea

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The reality is far worse. Separatist unrest is battering eastern Ukraine, breakaway leaders have vowed to disrupt Sunday's presidential elections and Crimea has been annexed by Russia.

Ukraine's military is facing its worst crisis ever with a navy that has lost two-thirds of its vessels, an army desperate for basic equipment and a defence ministry that has taken to hustling 50-cent donations that people can make with mobile phone text messages. It has raised over \$1million so far that way - enough to buy one interceptor missile on a U.S. Navy warship - but military officials are thrilled.

'We'll use the money to buy the things we lack, like bulletproof helmets and medical supplies,' said Bogdan Buta, Ukraine's deputy defence minister.

Kiev's Western allies, meanwhile, including the U.S., have shown little willingness to help it rearm, fearing that more weaponry could upset diplomatic negotiations or provoke Russian President Vladimir Putin even further.

There are a couple of dozen boats, few much larger than a decent-sized yacht and

many in desperate need of repair

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A navy cadet enters the building of the naval academy in Odessa. Many Ukrainian sailors switched sides to work for Russia after the takeover of Crimea

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The loss of Crimea, a peninsula that dangles from the Ukrainian mainland deep into the Black Sea, meant the loss of Kiev's naval headquarters as well as a series of navy bases and all the ships and boats in port there.

This has left Ukraine with little influence over its own crisis, and, despite its long coastline and numerous ports, little power in the Black Sea.

In Odessa, the port city that is now the main base for the Ukrainian navy, the sense of betrayal by Russia is deeply felt.

Formed after the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union, Ukraine originally didn't even think it needed a large navy, said Evgenii Livshyts, a retired submarine captain living in Odessa. Moscow, the new naval commanders thought, would remain a friendly presence; Russia continued to base its huge Black Sea Fleet in Crimea and pay Ukraine rent for the base.

'Our attitude was: "We don't need much ... We believe you, big brother!": Retired submarine captain Evgenii Livshyts during an interview with the Associated Press

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Kiev 'believed that the elder brother would protect it and everything would be the way it used to be,' said Mr Livshyts. 'Our attitude was: "We don't need much ... We believe you, big brother!'"

This port city, with its wide tree-lined streets and ornate 19th-century buildings, has become a tourist destination in recent years. But it was built by sailors and

traders and still retains the feel of a shipping town.

The oldest part of Odessa is built on a hill high above the port, and sailors, with striped uniforms that make them look as if they are stepping out from a Second World War movie, are a constant presence.

An undisclosed number of Ukrainian sailors switched sides to work for Russia after the takeover of Crimea, including the country's naval chief, Admiral Denis Berezovsky. But the remaining sailors insist morale has not been battered.

'You should have seen their eyes!' said Mr Livshyts, gleeful at the memory of the Ukrainian sailors who refused to join the Russian navy. 'You can create any kind of weapon, but this spirit you can't create it. It's just there.'

For weeks after the takeover, Ukrainian sailors played cat-and-mouse games with Russian ships, trying to keep their vessels from being taken by Moscow for as long as possible. The stand-offs were mostly non-violent, with Kiev clearly fearing that dead Russian sailors could be used as an excuse for even more aggression.

Originally outfitted with cast-off Soviet equipment and overshadowed by Moscow's forces, the Ukrainian military has never had it easy. Successive Kiev governments kept its funding to the minimum, and officials say former President Viktor Yanukovich, the pro-Russian leader who fled power earlier this year after months of protests, purposefully starved his own armed forces so they would pose even less of a challenge to Moscow.

Ukraine spent just \$5billion on defence last year, less than 10 per cent of what Russia says it budgeted for its military.

The results have been predictable, with Ukrainian soldiers now lacking everything from training to body armour. Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov recently said the country had just 6,000 combat-ready soldiers.

A tugboat motors past Ukrainian navy vessels, many of which are said to be so dilapidated they cannot move under their own steam

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Russia is slowly returning some of the ships it seized in Crimea, apparently dismayed by their poor condition

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The navy, though, has fared even worse. Ukraine's fleet, so decrepit that many ships need the help of tugboats to go anywhere, was reduced from about 75 ships before the Crimea takeover to 28 after. Russia is slowly returning some of the ships it seized, apparently dismayed by their poor condition.

'The Ukrainian navy was weak before, but now it's even weaker,' said Pavel Felgenhauer, a Moscow-based military analyst. 'They've got only one ship good for action.'

That ship, the 400ft Hetman Sagaydachniy, evaded capture because it was on its way back from an anti-piracy deployment off the Horn of Africa when Crimea was seized. The frigate's arrival in Odessa a few days later, despite announcements from Russia that it had switched sides, was a big morale boost.

Mr Felgenhauer isn't surprised at the high morale. Despite its long history of troubles, and its desperate lack of funding, Ukraine's military now seems intent on rebuilding its armed forces.

'They're trying to put their act together and fill their ranks with volunteers,' he said.

Captain Chubuk agreed, saying the navy is now 'trying to spread its wings.'



## **Annex 76**

CNN, Air Attack on Pro-Russian Separatists Kills 8, Stuns Residents (3 June 2014)



**START THE DAY HERE**

Hurricane Ian makes landfall in Cuba. Russia expected to annex regions in Ukraine. NASA's DART mission hits its target.

## Air attack on pro-Russian separatists in Luhansk kills 8, stuns residents

Diana Magnay and Tim Lister, CNN

Updated 6:53 PM EDT, Tue June 3, 2014



 Video Ad Feedback

02:22 - Source: [CNN](#)

Separatists blame military for airstrike

**STORY HIGHLIGHTS**

Five women and three men were killed in explosions at pro-Russian building in Luhansk

Government, separatists trade blame for the air attack in the middle of the city

CNN investigation shows that explosives came from the air despite government denial

**(CNN)** — Bloodstained pavement, a woman’s compact, a pair of shattered spectacles, a single shoe covered in dust were among the debris left by a devastating series of explosions that hit the headquarters of the pro-Russian separatists in the eastern Ukrainian city of Luhansk on Monday.

The carnage was sudden, unexpected. This was the middle of a city, a building adjacent to a leafy square, where civilians walked and worked. Eight people were killed, five women and three men, according to the self-declared Luhansk People’s Republic; the authorities in Kiev reported the same tally.

But there the agreement ends.

The pro-Russian leadership in the city immediately accused the Ukrainian air force of carrying out the attack. A fighter jet had been flying overhead at the time, and social media video appeared to show it firing cannon or rockets. The authorities in Kiev denied its planes had been involved. Initially, the anti-terrorist operation said the explosion originated from inside the building, then that an anti-aircraft missile operated by the separatists had misfired, reacting to heat from an air-conditioning system on the outside of the building.

But a CNN investigation in Luhansk has found clear evidence that whatever detonations hit the building and the adjoining park came from the air. The tops of trees were splintered, and a series of small craters – about a dozen – had been blasted in a straight line, starting in the park and reaching the walls of the building, blowing out many of its windows and spraying the area with jagged shrapnel. That’s what appears to have killed most of the victims and injured 20 more.

The pattern of the craters clearly indicated some sort of strafing, according to a munitions expert at the scene with CNN. Their size suggested 30-millimeter ordnance, he said, which is standard equipment on the Su-25, a ground attack fighter, and the Su-27 – both combat aircraft operated by Ukraine.



**RELATED GALLERY**  
Ukraine after the election



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Militants' plea to Russia goes unanswered



**RELATED VIDEO**  
Walesa: U.S. spread too thin to lead



The Special Monitoring Mission of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe came to a similar conclusion, releasing a statement late Tuesday that said: “Based on the SMM’s limited observation, these strikes were the result of non-guided rockets shot from an aircraft.”

It’s thought to be the first time that civilians have been killed or injured in an attack by the Ukrainian air force since pro-Russian groups began occupying buildings in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions more than two months ago.

The self-declared prime-minister of the People’s Republic of Luhansk, Vasily Nikitin, told CNN he hoped the attack would spur Russian President Vladimir Putin to action.

“We appealed to Russia to send us peacekeepers. I think after they see what happened to us in the center of our town, they’ll send them more quickly,” he said.

Nikitin said he was ready to provide all the evidence collected to independent experts.

Nick de Larrinaga, Europe editor of IHS Jane’s Defence Weekly, told CNN he believed the Ukrainian air force “used their Su-25 ‘Frogfoot’ ground attack aircraft during the operation in Luhansk. It is specifically designed for attacking ground targets – unlike the Su-27, which is principally a fighter aircraft.”

The planes were flying to provide support for a base of the Ukrainian Border Guard on the edge of the city. Why one may have targeted the administrative building, several miles away, is unknown.

The Border Guard compound, in a southern suburb of Luhansk, came under attack before dawn Monday. It was a concerted assault from several directions, involving hundreds of pro-Russian militants, and continued for some 12 hours. On a visit to the site Tuesday, a CNN team found dozens of spent cartridges in several locations around the base, whose buildings had also been hit by rocket-propelled grenades. Part of the roof of the main building hung precariously in the strong wind. Vehicles outside had been burned out, the fuel dump blown up.

By late afternoon, only a token force of separatists were still in place, using blocks of apartments within 100 meters of the base as protection. They cradled brand new assault rifles and carried boxes of ammunition but insisted they were local men. Patches of dried blood marked the place where one of several militants killed or wounded Monday had been hit by gunfire from the base.

One of the separatists, who gave his name as Oleg, said, “They call this an anti-terror

operation, but it's wrong. When they use air force against their own people, it's wrong." He dismissed Ukraine's President-elect, Petro Poroshenko, as "illegitimate."

Oleg and other fighters said the base had been attacked because it was the hub for Ukrainian patrols along a several-hundred-kilometer stretch of the nearby border with Russia – an area that has seen increased infiltration by Russian militants and weapons in recent weeks.

Several soldiers inside the compound were also injured in the clashes, and windows in the adjoining apartment blocks were pock-marked with bullet holes.

As CNN filmed, two men raced into the base through its charred gate-house.

The battle for eastern Ukraine is intensifying. The casualties are rising, as are the number of pro-Russian separatists and the roadblocks dotted throughout the region. And in some areas, the only obvious presence of the Ukrainian state is in the sky.

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**Annex 77**

Radio Liberty, Despite Denials, All Evidence for Deadly Explosion Points to Kyiv (4 June 2014)





## Despite Denials, All Evidence For Deadly Explosion Points To Kyiv

*RFE/RL*

On June 2 an explosion ripped through the Luhansk state administration building.

Before anyone knew what had happened, [graphic video from the scene](#) began to appear online. A dazed woman with her legs blown off and seemingly near death stared blankly into a camera amid rubble and lifeless bodies.

Just as soon, rumors began to spread about what had taken place.

As is happening more and more frequently, both the pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian sides were quick to latch onto stories that fit comfortably into their narrative of events on the ground.

Separatist supporters reported almost immediately that the attack came from a Ukrainian fighter jet.

From Ukrainian officials, the denials were swift. "The most likely cause of the explosion was careless and inept handling of small arms and explosives," Oleksandr Dmytrashevskyy, a Ukrainian military spokesman, told [RFE/RL's Ukrainian Service](#).

Andriy Senchenko, deputy chief of staff for acting President Oleksandr Turchynov, declared that a heat-seeking missile fired by pro-Russian separatists had mistakenly targeted an air-conditioning unit on the fourth floor of the administration building.

Video from the scene showed a blown-out fourth-floor window with billowing smoke:

Pro-Ukrainian supporters were quick to run with the story:

Despite the Ukrainian denials, the evidence from observers and journalists on the ground overwhelmingly points to a strike from a Ukrainian aircraft.

A June 3 report from the [special monitoring mission](#) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said:

*"Based on the SMM's limited observation these strikes were the result of non-guided rockets shot from an aircraft. The number of casualties is unknown."*

The OSCE did not immediately reply to a request for further information.

A [CNN investigation](#) found "clear evidence" that the detonations came from the air:

*"But a CNN investigation in Luhansk has found clear evidence that whatever detonations hit the building and the adjoining park came from the air. The tops of trees were splintered, and a series of small craters -- about a dozen -- had*

*been blasted in a straight line, starting in the park and reaching the walls of the building, blowing out many of its windows and spraying the area with jagged shrapnel. That's what appears to have killed most of the victims and injured 20 more.*

*"The pattern of the craters clearly indicated some sort of strafing, according to a munitions expert at the scene with CNN. Their size suggested 30-millimeter ordnance, he said, which is standard equipment on the Su-25, a ground-attack fighter, and the Su-27 -- both combat aircraft operated by Ukraine."*

Anna Nemtsova, a reporter for the "Daily Beast," tweeted this from the scene on June 3:

In a dispatch from the scene, Nemtsova [also reported](#) seeing 21 craters.

The Ukrainian military -- which has been in a pitched battle for two days against separatists who launched an attack on a border outpost in the region -- has used fighter jets to support its mission in Luhansk.

But it still has not claimed responsibility for the attack on the state administration building, where reports say eight unarmed civilians died.

And the dissembling has become a useful propaganda tool for the Russian side, while apparently hardening public opinion in Luhansk.

A photo making the rounds on Twitter, along with horrific images from the scene, shows the second World Trade Center building being hit on 9/11. The caption says, "[air conditioner explosion](#)."

Alex Luhn, a "Guardian" reporter, posted this image of Ukraine's president-elect, who met with U.S. President Obama on June 4 and is due to be sworn in on June 7:

And on a nationally televised Russian talk show hosted by Arkady Mamontov -- a well-known host who has provided a steady stream of [sensationalist propaganda](#) about Ukraine -- commentators said the actions proved the separatists were the last defense against "[fascism and American aggression](#)."

All this raises a more troubling question for Kyiv. As it ramps up its offensive against pro-Russian separatists, there are likely to be more civilian casualties -- particularly as air power plays a greater role. If it accepts this, is it also prepared to talk honestly about the consequences of war?

-- Glenn Kates

**Annex 78**

The New York Times, Civilians Pay a Price for Gains of Ukraine Forces (12 July 2014)



## *Civilians Pay a Price for Gains of Ukraine Forces*

By Sabrina Tavernise

July 12, 2014

MARINKA, Ukraine — War came to this small farm town Friday night in the form of rockets that crashed into an apartment building near a rebel base, killing a man while he was watching television in his living room.

It was the first such attack in Marinka, southeast of Donetsk, the rebel stronghold in eastern Ukraine's pro-Russian insurgency, and appeared to be part of a broader advance by Ukrainian forces in the east on Saturday. The military hit rebel positions in Horlivka, a crucial town to the north, and in Karlovka, a town with a strategic bridge.

But while the Ukrainian forces might have scored tactical victories, they were not winning any friends in Marinka, where the assumption was they were to blame. The attack there left five civilians dead and four wounded, according to the regional government, a grim sign of the imprecision and blunt force of the weapons being used by both sides in this war, which began in the spring when pro-Russian rebels seized Ukraine's southeastern edge and declared independence.

"Pigs," said a man with gray hair who was wiping away tears. "People were sleeping in their beds."

The source of the rocket attack was in dispute. A Ukrainian military officer, who asked that his name not be used because he was not authorized to speak to the news media, said the Ukrainians did not have artillery positions close enough to hit Marinka.

"Our artillery just wouldn't have reached there," the officer said. "It's as simple as that."

A military spokesman, Vladislav Seleznyov, said that Ukraine did not use its airpower or heavy artillery against rebel targets that were close to civilians.

But the proximity of civilians did not stop the Ukrainians from shelling in and around Slovyansk, the former rebel stronghold they took back this month. And rebels in Marinka showed a reporter exploded rocket casings and a gaping hole in the animal feed factory where they were based, as evidence that the rockets had come from the Ukrainian military. Two rebels had been injured, they said.

Across the street from the factory was the apartment building that took the worst hit, No. 6 Zavodskaya Street, a gray brick building rimmed with pretty gardens of brown-eyed susans and marigolds. A hole opened into a living room, which had collapsed in on itself. A door ripped from its hinges lay atop a large pile of curtains, cabinets and bricks.

Igor Nersisyan, a retiree who lives on the second floor, said he had helped a neighbor dig her husband out from under that rubble early Saturday morning. The man, whom Mr. Nersisyan identified as Victor Belotserkovny, was dead when they reached him, the top of his skull sheared off in the blast.

"They are trying to destroy peaceful people," said Mr. Nersisyan, who blamed the Ukrainian military, as residents with bags of belongings walked away from the building.

Olga Gavrilovna, a first-floor resident, was putting thawing frozen chicken into a thin blue plastic bag in her tiny kitchen; the floor was covered with the contents of its cupboards and the windows were blown out. She crunched over the glass, throwing leftover soup into the toilet, barely stopping to survey the damage.

"I just can't think right now," she said, with a blank look. "What is there to say?"

There were unconfirmed reports on Saturday that Ukrainian warplanes struck targets near Dzerzhinsk, a town north of here, killing hundreds of rebels. Both sides have made unsubstantiated claims about casualties in the past.

Also on Saturday, another rocket attack killed at least four people on the southern edge of Donetsk. Local residents said the attack took place around 4 p.m. By evening, businesses and homes were still in flames, and bodies lay outside a building that had been hit. One of the bodies appeared to be that of a girl in her early teens.

It is possible that the rebels were receiving reinforcements. The state news agency of Ukraine, Ukrinform, reported Saturday that militants had crossed from Russia into Ukraine in the Krasnodon district, near the village of Veliki Sukhodil in a large convoy of armored vehicles, including tanks. That claim has not been verified.

In Donetsk, leaders of the rebel movement gave their version of the events in Marinka. Igor Strelkov, the Russian citizen who is the military commander of the rebel forces here, said the Ukrainian armed forces had struck a milk factory as well as the animal feed factory; he claimed that more than 30 people had been killed, despite the lower figure provided by a local official.

“This is a relatively standard picture for the Ukrainian military,” said Alexander Borodai, another Russian citizen, who along with Mr. Strelkov leads the insurgency here.

Despite all of that, the rebels seemed to be in a light mood.

A wedding of a rebel commander, known by the name Motorola, took place on Friday in a large ceremony at a central hall filled with fighters holding their guns. Rebel forces also announced a singles night in Lenin Square for local women to meet fighters.

“We await everyone who is looking for a dependable, courageous, real man,” Pavel Gubarev, a rebel commander, said in a Facebook posting. “And yes, there will be dancing.”

Mr. Borodai, who usually wears fatigues, was dressed in civilian clothes — a sharp blue blazer, jeans and blue suede loafers. When asked for his response to the European Union’s recent decision to impose sanctions against him, Mr. Borodai seemed to take pleasure in the answer.

“It’s unfortunate, of course, that in the near future I can’t visit Europe or walk around European towns,” he said, noting that he especially liked Austria, Germany and the south of France. “But it doesn’t scare me. I’m even happy, because I have excellent company,” he added, turning to Mr. Strelkov and smiling.

**Annex 79**

Radio Liberty, Several Dead in Latest Violence in Luhansk (14 July 2014)





# Several Dead In Latest Violence In Luhansk

July 14, 2014 14:20 GMT

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Officials in the eastern Ukrainian city of Luhansk say that at least three people were killed in shelling on July 13. One of the victims was a female guard at a school that was badly damaged in the strikes, while residents of apartment blocks said one of their neighbors was killed by shrapnel. (Reuters) NOTE: Video contains graphic images.

↓ Direct link ▾

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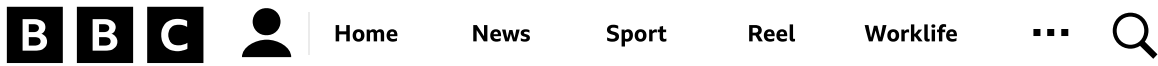
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## **Annex 80**

BBC News, Ukraine Conflict: Russian Aid or Trojan Horse? (22 August 2014)





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# Ukraine conflict: Russian aid or Trojan Horse?

🕒 22 August 2014



| Daniel Sandford: "Trucks have now physically entered Ukraine"

**Russia's dispatch of a huge convoy of lorries carrying humanitarian aid to east Ukraine has raised suspicions about its intentions, given its support for the rebels fighting the Ukrainian government there.**

It is believed the aid is meant primarily for the besieged rebel-held city of Luhansk, home to 425,000 people before the conflict erupted in April and now under government siege.

After waiting more than a week, **lorries began crossing the border on 22 August** without Ukrainian permission or Red Cross escort, after Russia accused the authorities in Kiev of delaying the convoy's entry unreasonably.

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## How bad is the situation in Luhansk?

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In the words of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the situation in Luhansk and other rebel-held areas is "critical - thousands of people are reported to be without access to water, electricity and medical aid".



A photo from 14 July shows smoke from a mortar attack on Luhansk



AP

AP

A photo from Luhansk on 18 July shows a woman weeping among the covered bodies of relatives said to have been killed by government shelling

On 22 August, Luhansk's city council said on its website (in Russian) that residents had entered their 20th day without electricity or running water, while neither landlines nor mobile phone connections were working.

"The bombardment does not stop," it said as Ukrainian government forces continued their siege of east Ukraine's second city.

Food, medicine and fuel had not been delivered, and wages and benefits had not been paid, for a "long time".

The daytime temperature is was as high as 30C on 22 August, compounding the misery of residents without water and no power to run fans or air conditioning.

With many people seeking refuge in other parts of Ukraine or over the border in Russia, the city's population has dropped to 250,000, the council said earlier in August.

### Luhansk under siege

## War in eastern Ukraine: The human

## cost



- At least 2,119 people had been killed and 5,043 wounded since mid-April, a UN report on 7 August said
- 951 civilians have been killed in Donetsk region alone, the official regional authorities said on 20 August
- Official casualty counts only record certified deaths while in some particularly dangerous parts of the war zone, such as Luhansk region, victims are said to have been buried informally, for instance in gardens
- Rebels (and some military sources) accuse the government of concealing the true numbers of soldiers killed
- 155,800 people have fled elsewhere in Ukraine while at least 188,000 have gone to Russia

## Where is the convoy?





More than 100 of the 260 or so Russian aid lorries which arrived at the Ukrainian border on 14 August crossed into Ukraine at Izvaryne on 22 August, heading for the city of Luhansk.

The remaining fleet is parked near the Russian town of Kamensk-Shakhtinsky, just over the border, where they have been since leaving the Moscow region on 12 August.

Luhansk is normally an hour's drive up the M04 motorway from Izvaryne, which lies in rebel-held territory.

However, fighting continues in the area and Ukrainian government troops have reportedly cut the M04 into Luhansk at Novosvitlivka, 9km (6 miles) south-east of the city.

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## What's in the Russian lorries?

The white-painted Kamaz goods lorries are said to be carrying 2,000 tonnes of aid, donated by "Muscovites and residents of the Moscow region", according to the Moscow regional government. It is said to include:

- 400 tonnes of cereals
- 100 tonnes of sugar
- 62 tonnes of baby food
- 54 tonnes of medical items and medicines
- 12,000 sleeping bags
- 69 electricity generators

Foreign journalists who were allowed to look into the lorries at random at Donetsk reported seeing sacks of cereal and sleeping bags.

A Ukrainian border service check on 34 lorries reportedly recorded that they contained 260 tonnes of cereals, salt, water and medicines.

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## Are the Red Cross involved?

Citing security concerns after continued shelling in Luhansk on 21 August, the Red Cross said it was not part of the convoy "in any way" as it began to roll into

Ukraine.

It had previously been involved in protracted negotiations to escort the convoy and distribute the aid.

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## Is this a Russian Trojan Horse?

With an estimated 20,000 Russian soldiers deployed along the Ukrainian border until recently, Nato chief Anders Fogh Rasmussen told Reuters on 11 August that he saw a "high probability" of a Russian military intervention.

"We see the Russians developing the narrative and the pretext for such an operation under the guise of a humanitarian operation, and we see a military build-up that could be used to conduct such illegal military operations in Ukraine," he said.

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius also warned the convoy "could be a cover for the Russians to install themselves near Luhansk and Donetsk and present us with a fait accompli".

However, the first lorries to enter Ukraine were escorted only by rebel fighters, reporters say, and Russia insists it has no hidden military agenda.

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## Why might Russia want to send troops in?

Russia has long been **accused of encouraging the separatists and supplying them with weapons and volunteers**. A Russian-supplied anti-aircraft missile was blamed for downing Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 in eastern Ukraine in July, with the loss of 298 lives.



Ukrainian soldiers near Donetsk on 11 August

Ukrainian military gains against the rebels, **pushing them back towards their strongholds in Donetsk and Luhansk**, mean that if there is ever a time for the Russian military to intervene openly, it is probably now.

It would not be the first time Russia's troops have intervened in Ukraine but its annexation of Crimea in March was virtually bloodless, whereas the war in eastern Ukraine has claimed at least 2,119 lives since April.

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## What does the Kremlin say?

Announcing the the convoy was crossing the border, the foreign ministry said it was a "purely humanitarian mission, which was prepared a long time ago, in an atmosphere of full transparency and in co-operation with the Ukrainian side and the ICRC [Red Cross]".

It accused the Ukrainian government of obstructing the convoy's progress to buy more time for its war on the rebels in Luhansk.

---

## How are the Ukrainians reacting?

President Petro Poroshenko accused Russia of a "flagrant violation of international law" after the aid lorries entered Ukraine without permission.

Security chief Valentyn Nalyvaychenko described the convoy's entry as a "direct invasion" but added that no force would be used against it.



AFP

AFP

Ukrainian aid lorries in Kharkiv on 14 August

After news broke that Russia was sending a convoy to Luhansk, the Ukrainian authorities organised their own convoy of 75 lorries reportedly carrying 800 tonnes of aid.

About 100 tonnes of the aid, which consisted mainly of fruit and vegetables, was delivered to displaced people in "10 towns in the east", the Red Cross said on 17 August.

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**Annex 81**

The Washington Post, Airstrike Kills 11 Civilians in Rebel-Held Town in Eastern Ukraine (15 July 2014)



Airstrike kills 11 civilians in rebel-held town in eastern Ukraine - The ... <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/airstrike-kills-11-civilians-in-re...>  
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## Airstrike kills 11 civilians in rebel-held town in eastern Ukraine

By Associated Press

July 15, 2014

SNIZHNE, Ukraine — An airstrike in eastern Ukraine destroyed an apartment building Tuesday, killing at least 11 people and adding to the civilian death toll from the fighting between government forces and pro-Russian insurgents.

Rebels blamed the attack on the Ukrainian air force. The government denied blame but did not offer an alternative explanation.

The bombing in the rebel-held town of Snizhne demonstrated how airstrikes and heavy rocket fire are becoming increasingly common as the conflict drags into its fourth month. The attack comes one day after a Ukrainian military transport plane was shot down in disputed circumstances.

Health officials in the Donetsk region, which includes Snizhne, said 11 people died. Rescue workers pulled a small child with broken legs alive from the rubble as residents sifted for belongings.

Dmitry Tymchuk, a military analyst who coordinates closely with Ukraine's Defense Ministry, said that there could be only one explanation for the bombing because rebels are unlikely to have any planes capable of carrying out such a strike. "Only Russian aviation could have performed the airstrike on Snizhne," he wrote on his Facebook account.

The Ukrainian Defense Ministry stopped short of making that claim but insisted that the bombing could not have been carried out by its air force as none of its planes were on sorties at the time.

Andrey Lysenko, a spokesman for Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council, called the incident a "cynical and bloody provocation" aimed at discrediting the armed forces.

No reliable updated death toll in the conflict is available, but hundreds of civilians are thought to have been killed. Authorities said Tuesday that 258 service members have been killed in fighting and 922 injured.

Representatives of the separatists' self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic said 12 civilians were killed Monday in the city in rocket attacks and airstrikes.

On Monday, Ukraine said a military cargo plane carrying eight people was shot down by a missile fired from

Airstrike kills 11 civilians in rebel-held town in eastern Ukraine - The ... <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/airstrike-kills-11-civilians-in-re...>

Russian territory. Security Service chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko said he had “unconditional evidence” of Russian involvement, the Interfax-Ukraine news agency reported Tuesday. Rebels said they shot the plane.

 **Comments**



## **Annex 82**

BBC News, Ukraine Crisis: Shell hits Donetsk Trolleybus (22 January 2015)



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## Ukraine crisis: Shell hits Donetsk trolleybus

Shelling in Donetsk in Ukraine has killed 13 people at a trolleybus stop.

The city is at the centre of an area held by pro-Russian separatists.

The incident comes hours after a new round of diplomatic talks took place in Berlin.

It called for a ceasefire but came up with no breakthrough agreement.

Ukraine has accused Russia of having stationed more than 9,000 soldiers in the disputed area, and doubling its military supplies.

Russia denies responsibility for the recent upsurge in fighting.

David Stern reports from Kiev.

22 January 2015 · BBC News · Europe



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Donetsk airport 'victory' claim



## **Annex 83**

The Insider, Ukraine's Maverick Battalions Are Becoming a Problem (29 July 2015)



## Ukraine's maverick battalions are becoming a problem

Reuters



File photo of activists of the Right Sector political party attending anti-government march in Kiev  
Thomson Reuters

(Reuters) - From a basement billiard club in central Kiev, Dmytro Korchynsky commands a volunteer battalion helping Ukraine's government fight rebels in the east. A burly man with a long, Cossack-style moustache, Korchynsky has several hundred armed men at his disposal. The exact number, he said, is "classified."

In the eyes of many Ukrainians, he and other volunteer fighters are heroes for helping the weak regular army resist pro-Russian separatists. In the view of the government, however, some of the volunteers have become a problem, even a law unto themselves.

Dressed in a colorful peasant-style shirt, Korchynsky told Reuters that he follows orders from the Interior Ministry, and that his battalion would stop fighting if commanded to do so. Yet he added: "We would proceed with our own methods of action independently from state structures."

Korchynsky, a former leader of an ultra-nationalist party and a devout Orthodox Christian, wants to create a Christian "Taliban" to reclaim eastern Ukraine as well as Crimea, which was annexed by Russia in 2014. He isn't going to give up his quest lightly.

"I would like Ukraine to lead the crusades," said Korchynsky, whose battalion's name is Saint Mary. "Our mission is not only to kick out the occupiers, but also revenge. Moscow must burn."

Such talk and recent violent incidents involving members of unofficial armed groups have raised government concerns about radicals running out of control. President Petro Poroshenko now says that all "illegal groups" must disarm because they threaten to make the country even more unstable than it already is.



Members of Ukrainian armed forces fire grenade launcher in Avdiivka in Donetsk region  
Thomson Reuters

"No political force should have, and will not have, any kind of armed cells. No political organization has the right to establish ... criminal groups," Poroshenko said on July 13.

The president said he might legislate for emergency powers to deal with armed groups, and that anyone armed who was not a member of the law enforcement agencies "will be classed as a terrorist."

But interviews with members of volunteer battalions and Ukraine officials suggest it will not be easy for Poroshenko to impose his will. Some battalion leaders, while ostensibly under the control of the government, are increasingly critical of Ukraine's political leaders. They want to press them to sack judges seen as favoring the rich and powerful, to oust oligarchs who control much of the economy and to prosecute the riot police accused of killing more than 100 people during protests early last year.

## **HAPHAZARD FORMATIONS**

Most of Ukraine's almost 40 volunteer battalions grew out of squads of protesters who battled the Berkut riot police during the protests on Kiev's Independence Square, or Maidan Nezalezhnosti, which began in November 2013.





A female protester stands watch against the Berkut riot police during the protests in Maidan Nezalezhnosti.  
REUTERS/Valentyn Ogirenko

After the protests toppled President Viktor Yanukovich, pro-Russian separatists rose up in the east of Ukraine in April, 2014, demanding independence from the new government in Kiev, which they called a "fascist regime." In response, several leaders of the Maidan protests raced east with fellow protesters to try to stop the rebel advance.

Numerous brigades and battalions formed haphazardly, with most leaders accepting anyone willing to fight. Serhiy Melnychuk, who founded the Aidar battalion in eastern Ukraine and is now a member of parliament, said he signed up people between the ages of 18 and 62 and "from the homeless to pensioners."

Irregular though these forces were, some acquired weapons from the Defense Ministry, officials and battalion leaders said. Others received money and equipment from wealthy oligarchs. They became powerful forces in the struggle against pro-Russian separatists.

In an interview in Kiev, Melnychuk, wearing a cross around his neck and a wristband in the national colors of Ukraine, said that he had five men on the day the Aidar battalion formed, but 250 within two weeks. They had all fought on the Maidan and "didn't need military training," he said.

He conceded some Aidar members ran out of control. "I don't deny people were looting there (in eastern Ukraine)," he said.

Melnychuk now faces various charges from Ukrainian prosecutors connected to his time in the east. They include robbery and forming an illegal group;

Melnychuk denies the charges.



Serhiy Melnychuk, founder and former commander of the Aidar battalion, speaks during an interview with Reuters in Kiev, Ukraine, July 6, 2015.

REUTERS/Valentyn Ogirenko

In addition, the human rights group Amnesty International has documented cases of abuse which it says were committed by members of Aidar last year and "amount to war crimes." The allegations include abducting and beating men suspected of collaborating with pro-Russian separatists, and extorting money.

Last year the Ukrainian government tried to bring Aidar and other volunteer groups under its control. It ordered Aidar to reform into the 24th assault battalion as part of Ukraine's official forces. Melnychuk described that order as "criminal," but said most of his men had demobilized or come under official control by this year.

He and other battalion leaders said that their soldiers' loyalty did not always lie with the authorities and that some groups still operate beyond official control.

Melnychuk was scornful of attempts to crack down on the battalions, saying such moves had been provoked by Russia spreading propaganda. He said Russia was scared of the battalions because the volunteers inflicted the most losses on the pro-Russian rebels, "so they pretend that we eat little children for breakfast."

The political situation in Ukraine remained difficult and fragile, he said, criticizing the lack of change in government. "The (Maidan) revolution was

interrupted by the aggression (in the east) and the patriots left Maidan and went to the east to protect Ukraine," he said. "Only 10 percent of people in positions of power are new; the rest are all the same, pursuing the same schemes they always did."



Ukrainian parliamentary deputies tussle during a session in Parliament in Kiev July 22, 2014.  
REUTERS/Alex Kuzmin

Andriy Filonenko, a founder of the Tornado battalion, was equally defiant about accusations against his fighters. Eight members of the battalion have been accused of crimes including rape, murder and smuggling. Ukrainian officials say one video shows a re-enactment of how members of Tornado forced two captives to rape another man; they also say some 40 members of the battalion have criminal records.

Filonenko told Reuters the charges were ridiculous. "I don't understand all this talk about criminal records," he said. "All I know is that people spilt their blood for Ukraine, for the motherland."

Like Melnychuk, Filonenko said the "old order" was out to protect itself. He said the charges were only made after the Tornado battalion had uncovered what it said was a smuggling ring involving local politicians in east Ukraine. Officials say the charges came before Tornado's alleged smuggling discovery.

Filonenko, who wore a black T-shirt with a red Ukrainian trident on it, defended the battalion's actions, citing the violence and lack of resources in the east. "It's a war. They're not handing out sweets," he said.

"Think of it this way: There's a task, for the task you need a vehicle to get there and back – but they don't give you any vehicle or petrol to fulfill the task ... You have to pick up wounded ... so what do you do? ... Of course, you stop a car and take it."

### "THEY STEAL A LOT"

Close to bankruptcy, Ukraine has struggled to implement reforms demanded by the Maidan protesters. Its police and courts are still widely seen as favoring the powerful, and bribes are still used for everything from avoiding speeding penalties to getting into good schools.

For some powerful interests, the rule of force, not law, remains tempting. In March, a group of armed men in combat fatigues raided the Kiev offices of the state-owned oil company UkrTransNafta. Two parliamentary deputies accused the billionaire Ihor Kolomoisky, who harangued journalists at the scene of the raid, of sending the masked men into the building after one of his allies had been sacked as chairman of the company.



Policeman stands next to an entrance to the head office of Public Joint-Stock Company UkrTransNafta in Kiev  
Thomson Reuters

Kolomoisky is widely credited with funding volunteer battalions that defended the city of Dnipropetrovsk and fought against pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine.

Poroshenko moved to assert his authority, meeting Kolomoisky in the aftermath of the raid. As a result, Kolomoisky stepped down as governor of Dnipropetrovsk, in the east of the country, though he remains a powerful

business figure with political influence. Kolomoisky did not respond to requests for comment.

Interior Minister Arsen Avakov told Reuters Ukraine was now "rebooting" all of its power structures to start with a "clean sheet," and at the same time trying to root out criminal elements in the battalions.

"As in all big communities of people, there are different types," he said. "We must tell the truth: Some have looted and we will punish them."

He said that some armed groups "appropriated the names" of established battalions and that "no one really knows where they are fighting or where they have fought."

Ukraine's military prosecutor, Anatoly Matios, says he is determined to take action. He told Reuters he intends to take members of Tornado battalion to court for their alleged offences.

"Who made the decision, turned a blind eye to their criminal record and allowed them to become police officers? Who gave them weapons and did not foresee the possible tragic consequences?" he said in an interview at the prosecutor's office. He said he wanted to check all police battalions "in order not to have a second Tornado."

Matios recognizes that his moves may prove unpopular. "I understand a very large part of society may even hate me for the thankless but legal work that we do. It's not comfortable at a minimum." On July 8, activists poured manure at the front entrance of his office. He described it as a paid-for protest.



Members of Ukrainian armed forces ride atop armoured personnel carrier in the town of Avdiivka in Donetsk region

### Thomson Reuters

A shoot-out earlier this month between the police and forces linked to the political group Right Sector showed the issue of independent armed groups had to be dealt with, officials said.

Right Sector, a far right Ukrainian nationalist party that runs volunteer battalions, said two of its members were killed after being set upon by police in the town of Mukacheve, western Ukraine. The Interior Ministry said the group had fired first.

After the incident, Right Sector called for the interior minister to resign and threatened to send battalions of fighters to Kiev.

Ukraine's government says that Right Sector and other groups have to decide whether they want to be political groups or combat battalions, but cannot be both. Inevitably, though, battalion commanders have political views.

In his billiard club headquarters, commander Korchynsky of the Saint Mary battalion made his disdain for the government plain. "Like the majority of Ukrainian people, I think (the new leadership) is bad ... They steal a lot. When Yanukovich was stealing, that was bad. But these people are clearing up when the country is at war, so they are guilty on two counts. This is marauding."

He said the revolution that began with the Maidan had been interrupted, but would one day be completed. He did not say when.

If so, he will have to confront Poroshenko. On July 16, the president, decried the problems posed by unspecified "internal enemies" of the country. He told parliament: "I will not allow anarchy in Ukraine."

## **Annex 84**

BBC News, Ukraine Crisis: Donetsk Without Water After Shelling (19 November 2014)





World | Africa | Asia | Australia | Europe | Latin America | Middle East | US & Canada

## Ukraine crisis: Donetsk without water after shelling

🕒 19 November 2014



AFP

AFP

| Residents in Donetsk have been taking refuge from fighting for months

**Residents in large areas of rebel-held Donetsk were left without water after power supplies to a filtration plant were hit by shelling, according to the city's independent mayor.**

Areas of the city centre still had some water, though supplies to the rest of Donetsk had been cut, he said.

that engineers were using a negotiated "safety corridor" to try to repair the power supplies to the filtration plant.

The repair work was due to be finished by 19:00 local time (17:00 GMT) on Wednesday, he added.

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Petro Poroshenko's order came amid more fighting in the east of the country

In response to the ongoing conflict, President Petro Poroshenko signed a decree on Sunday withdrawing all government service funding to rebel-held territory - including to schools and hospitals.

Pensions and benefits to citizens living in the area have already been stopped, although Mr Lukyanenko says Donetsk continues to pay into the Ukrainian treasury.

In addition, the decree mandates that all Ukrainian state companies must halt operations in the rebel-controlled regions of Donetsk and Luhansk within a week.

A ceasefire in eastern Ukraine was agreed in September, but tensions have been increasing since pro-Russian separatists held elections condemned by Ukraine as illegal.

The meeting came after Mr Putin was rebuked by Western leaders at the G20 summit in Australia.



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## **Annex 85**

BBC News, Ukraine Conflict: UN Says Million People Have Fled (2 September 2014)





## Ukraine conflict: UN says million people have fled

*BBC News*



Image source, AP

Image caption,

Many of those leaving Ukraine have crossed the border into Russia

**More than a million people have left their homes because of the escalating conflict in eastern Ukraine, a UN official says.**

[In the past three weeks alone](#), the number of people displaced inside Ukraine itself has doubled to at least 260,000, according to the UN's Vincent Cochetel in Geneva.

Another 814,000 people have crossed the border into Russia this year, he says.

Pro-Russian rebels have been fighting Ukrainian forces since April.

Separatists in the eastern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk declared independence after Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine.

Since the violence erupted, some 2,600 people have been killed and thousands more wounded.

The city of Luhansk has been under siege by government forces for the past month and is without proper supplies of food and water.

But the Ukrainian army has been forced to retreat as pro-Russian rebels gain ground, and said they had withdrawn from the city's airport after coming under attack from "Russian tanks".

Military spokesman Andriy Lysenko said sappers had blown up the airport's runway so that it could not be used by rebel forces.

Rebels have also advanced in Donetsk region, around the city of Donetsk and further south near the port of Mariupol.

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### **Ukraine's million displaced - by Imogen Foulkes, Geneva**

Many of those who have fled the violence have not registered with the Ukrainian authorities: doing so does not guarantee they will receive any aid, and some young men apparently fear they will be recruited into the Ukrainian army if they declare themselves.

At the same time more than 800,000 Ukrainians, mainly ethnic Russians, have crossed the border into Russia. Others are fleeing to Poland, Belarus, or the Baltic states.

The UN has figures from one Baltic country, though it will not say which one, indicating that at least 20,000 Ukrainians have recently arrived.



Image source, AFP

Image caption,

Russia says some 814,000 people have used its visa-free regime since January

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Crisis talks between Ukraine officials, rebels and Russian envoys ended without agreement on Monday but will resume on Friday.

- Russia's EU Ambassador Vladimir Chizhov told Russian media the Kremlin would release recordings of a controversial conversation between

President Vladimir Putin and European Commission head Jose Manuel Barroso - if Mr Barroso did not object - in which Mr Putin said he could capture Kiev within two weeks. Russian officials say the remarks have been taken out of context

- Russia is to alter its military structure as a result of the Ukrainian crisis and Nato's presence in Eastern Europe, Kremlin adviser Mikhail Popov has said
- Estonian Prime Minister Taavi Roivas called for Nato to bolster its military resources to make it unthinkable for Russia to act beyond its current involvement in Ukraine, in a interview with Reuters news agency
- In its first detailed assessment since granting Ukraine a \$17bn bailout in March, the International Monetary Fund said Ukraine would need billions of dollars of additional support if the fighting in the east continued through next year



Image source, Reuters

Image caption,

Pro-Russian rebels are gaining in confidence after recent advances



Image source, Reuters

Image caption,

Government forces are hard pressed after losing ground in several areas



Image source, Reuters

Image caption,

Residents shelter from artillery fire in a basement on the outskirts of Donetsk

## Corridor problems

In early August, the UN refugee agency said 117,000 people were displaced in

Ukraine but it now says that number has climbed dramatically, and could be even higher as many of those affected are unregistered and staying with family and friends.

The UN also says that there has been a decline in the use of humanitarian corridors set up by the Ukrainian authorities because of a series of fatal attacks on civilians.

In the past few days, an estimated 10,000 people have fled the southern port city of Mariupol since pro-Russian rebels captured areas close to the Russian border.

Russia denies Ukrainian and Western accusations that it is providing troops and equipment to the rebels.

It says 814,000 people have arrived from Ukraine this year under a visa-free regime.

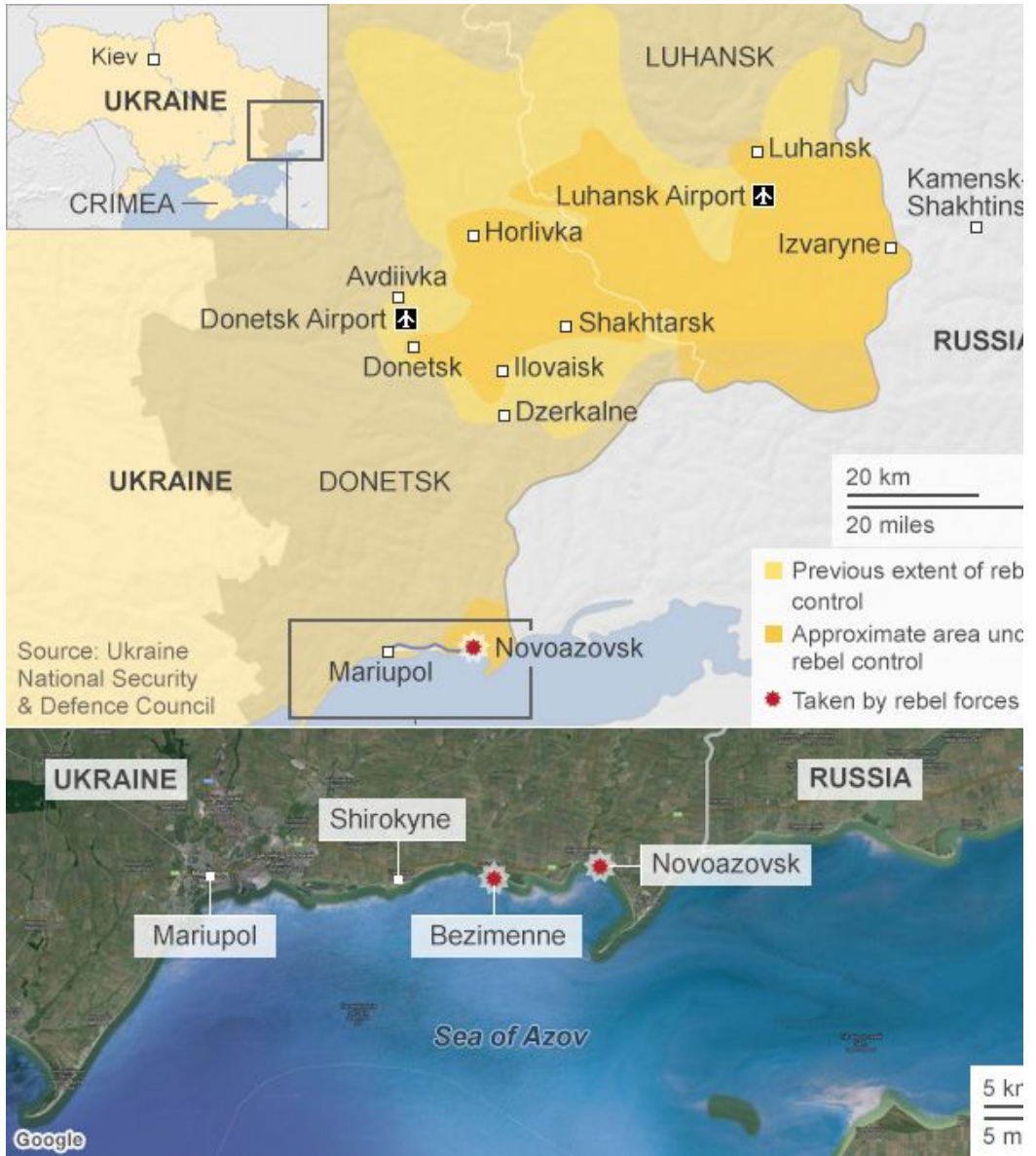
Of these, 121,000 have applied for temporary asylum or refugee status. The UN says most Ukrainians in Russia are staying with relatives and friends or finding private accommodation.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres has warned that if the crisis is not stopped quickly "it will have not only devastating humanitarian consequences but it also has the potential to destabilise the whole region".

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## War in eastern Ukraine: The human cost

- At least 2,593 people killed since mid-April (not including 298 passengers and crew of Malaysian Airlines MH17, shot down in the area) - UN report on 29 August
  - 951 civilians killed in Donetsk region alone, official regional authorities said on 20 August
  - In some particularly dangerous places, such as Luhansk region, victims are said to have been buried informally, making accurate counts difficult
  - Rebels (and some military sources) accuse the government of concealing true numbers
  - 260,000 people have fled elsewhere in Ukraine while at least 814,000 have gone to Russia.
-



## **Annex 86**

Russia Today, Referendum Results in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions Show Landslide Support for Self-Rule (11 May 2014)





## Referendum results in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions show landslide support for self-rule

RT

The results of referendums have been announced in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions, showing the majority of voters support self-rule, amid an intensified military operation by Kiev which resulted in several deaths.

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Almost 90 percent of voters in Donetsk Region have endorsed political independence from Kiev, the head of the Central Election Commission of the self-proclaimed 'Donetsk People's Republic', Roman Lyagin, announced.

*“Counting the ballots proved to be surprisingly easy – the number of people who said ‘no’ was relatively small and there appeared to be only a tiny proportion of spoiled ballots, so we managed to carry out counting quite fast. The figures are as follows: 89.07 percent voted ‘for’, 10.19 percent voted ‘against’ and 0.74 percent of ballots were rendered ineligible,”* Lyagin told journalists.

In Lugansk Region 96.2 percent of voters supported the region's self-rule, according to the final figures announced by the local election commission.

This is the pile for all the yes votes :)  
[#Donetskpic.twitter.com/7wusyG8VK3](#)

— Paulaslier\_RT (@Paulaslier\_RT) [May 11, 2014](#)

Despite fears that amid Kiev's intensified military crackdown – which killed at least two civilians on referendum day – the turnout will be low, in both of the region it was unexpectedly high. In Donetsk it reached 74.87%, while in Lugansk the central election commission says 75% of eligible voters came to the polling stations.

With such a huge turnout, the referendums have been recognized as valid by both election commissions.

The acting president of Ukraine, Aleksandr Turchinov, has condemned as a “farce” referendums in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

*“This propaganda farce won't have any legal consequences, except for criminal charges for its organizers,”* Turchinov said, Interfax reported.

Following the referendum, officials of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic have not ruled out that in case the situation in the region deteriorates, they may have to request peacekeeping forces to be deployed.

*“We will try to cope with it on our own; we don't want this confrontation to increase, especially on our territory,”* Denis Pushilin, co-chairman of the

Donetsk People's Republic, said. *"If the situation deteriorates, we reserve the right to ask for a peacekeeping contingent,"* he added.

Pushilin has also said that within hours the Donetsk People's Republic may decide if it is going to stay with Ukraine or not. The republic has also decided not to take part in Ukraine's presidential elections on May 25, according to media reports.

The referendums, according to Turchinov, were inspired by Russia to *"totally destabilize the situation in Ukraine, disrupt the presidential election and overthrow the Ukrainian government."*

Calling the regional voting on self-determination illegal, Kiev sent its recently formed paramilitary forces to Donetsk and Lugansk regions on Sunday, in an apparent move to disrupt referendums.

As armored military vehicles blocked passage to polling stations, voting in four towns across Lugansk region was [disrupted](#). In the Donetsk town of Krasnoarmeysk, the National Guard [shot](#) at a crowd and killed two civilians who were protesting their attempt to seize a polling station.

The people's governor of the Donetsk Region, Pavel Gubarev, told journalists on Sunday that Donetsk and Lugansk will emerge as new legal entities as a result of the referendum.

*"The referendum for us is about creating a new state paradigm,"* he said.

Vyacheslav Ponomaryov, the people's mayor of Slavyansk, Donetsk Region, where some of the heaviest fighting between Ukrainian troops and self-defense activists took place, said the next step following the referendum would be developing closer ties with Russia.

*"Russia is our brotherly nation, [we hope for] full interaction with Russia, including entering the Customs Union,"* Ponomaryov said.

One of the organizers of the referendum in Lugansk, Vasily Nikitin, told journalists that the region will appeal to the United Nations to recognize its independence, RIA Novosti reports. Nikitin also said Lugansk was not going to take part in the Ukrainian presidential election on May 25.

[#Lugansk](#) leader says it's probable that, after independence, the rgn 'll form an unit govt w/ [#Donetsk](#). Acc. to him, other rgn's 'll follow them

— PaulaSlier\_RT (@PaulaSlier\_RT) [May 12, 2014](#)

Moscow hopes the results of the referendums in eastern Ukraine will instigate dialogue between Kiev and the regions that voted in favor of self-rule, according to the Kremlin's press-service.

*"Moscow respects the will of the people in Donetsk and Lugansk and hopes that the practical realization of the outcome of the referendums will be carried out in a civilized manner, without resorting to violence, through dialogue between representatives of Kiev, Donetsk and Lugansk,"* the statement reads.

The Kremlin says it welcomes all mediation efforts, including those by the OSCE.

Spokesman for the president, Dmitry Peskov earlier explained that Putin *"did not urge, but recommended"* that the votes be postponed. However, the

spokesman says that *“even considering the authority of the Russian president,”* it was difficult for Donetsk and Lugansk authorities to follow his recommendation amid Kiev's ongoing military crackdown.

Both the EU and US have dismissed the ballots in eastern Ukraine as illegal.

*“If these referenda go forward, they will violate international law and the territorial integrity of Ukraine. The United States will not recognize the results of these illegal referenda,”* US State Department spokesperson Jen Psaki said in a statement late on Saturday.

The European Union came up with a similar comment, adding that the referendums ran counter to the Geneva agreement on de-escalation reached by Ukraine, Russia, the EU and the United States last month.

*“The so-called referenda in ... parts of Lugansk and Donetsk Regions were illegal and we do not recognize the outcome. Those who organized the referenda have no democratic legitimacy,”* Maja Kocijancic, a spokeswoman for EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton, said in emailed comments to Reuters.

OSCE Chairperson-in-Office and Swiss President Didier Burkhalter described the referendums in eastern Ukraine as *“incompatible with the Ukrainian constitution and therefore illegal.”*

*“Such provocative actions must be avoided,”* Burkhalter said at a meeting of EU ministers in Brussels on Monday.

Despite the rejection of the referendums by Kiev and most Western countries, it won't be so easy to ignore the results, international affairs expert Serdja Trifkovich believes.

*“After the referendum it will no longer be possible for the regime in Kiev to say that they do not want to negotiate with the so-called terrorists,”* Trifkovich told RT. *“They will be forced to acknowledge internally that they are facing the level of agreement among the people in the eastern regions that will prove it rather difficult to deal with by force.”*



**Annex 87**

Unian, Full-fledged ATO in Slavyansk: Checkpoints Taken, Two Helicopters Shot Down,  
Fatalities (to be updated) (2 May 2014)

(translation)



Translation from Ukrainian

Unian, *Full-fledged ATO in Slavyansk: Checkpoints Taken, Two Helicopters Shot Down, Fatalities (to be updated)* (2 May 2014), available at: <https://www.unian.net/politics/913887-v-slavyanske-prohodit-polnomasshtabnaya-ato-blokpostyi-vzyatyi-sbityi-dva-vertoleta-est-pogibshie-obnovlyaetsya.html>

## Full-fledged ATO in Slavyansk: Checkpoints Taken, Two Helicopters Shot Down, Fatalities (to be updated)

08:19 AM, 02.05.2014

16.14 Roads leading to Slavyansk blocked by natural obstacles.



[Twitter message:]

Alexander Kots

@sashakots

Heavy rain, all activity wound down #Slavyansk

11:34 AM - 2 May 2014 from Ukraine

**15:15** American BuzzFeed journalist Mike Giglio and interpreter Yelena Glazunova recounted details of their abduction by militants: "We were brought to a room with shabby walls, as it turned out later, they were garages. They took our belts and jewellery, and did not untie our eyes.



Militants interrogated journalists in a garage / REUTERS

**15:14** Railway traffic through Slavyansk is restored. Tyres are now being removed from the rails by assistant drivers and conductors. Trains have been instructed to take an alternative route via Krasny Liman.

**14:46** The headquarters of the anti-terrorist operation offer rank-and-file militants in Slavyansk to surrender voluntarily.

**14:28** American BuzzFeed journalist Mike Giglio and interpreter Yelena Glazunova, who were earlier detained by separatists in Slavyansk, have made contact.

**14:20** Security forces control half of Slavyansk, locals fear that terrorists will poison water.

**13:28** Locals block the advance of armoured vehicles. Slavyansk.



[Facebook photo]



So, what to do with these terrorist accomplices?

**12:59** Public transport stopped working in Kramatorsk, links with Slavyansk are cut off.

**12:58** The military detained four terrorists from a checkpoint from which helicopters were shot down.

**12:46** Terrorists paralyzed train traffic in Slavyansk. The militants seized an electrical signal power.

**12:17** The self-proclaimed mayor of Slavyansk, Vyacheslav Ponomaryov, says terrorists have losses.



Vyacheslav Ponomaryov

**12:00** Gorlovka's chief saboteur "Abver" refused to assume command and tries to flee the city.

[Facebook post:]

Dmytry Tymchuk  
about 8 years ago

According to the latest information from *Information Resistance* group, there have been problems during the transfer of the powers from the commander of the Russian saboteur group in Slavyansk, "Strelka", to a Russian saboteur, "Abver", who is in Gorlovka.

"Abver" refused to assume command. This saboteur is now trying to leave Gorlovka.

The Ukrainian security forces are taking measures to detain him.

**11:49** American BuzzFeed journalist Mike Giglio and interpreter Yelena Glazunova have been missing in Slavyansk since the morning of 2 May. There has been no telephone contact with them. The last message the editorial board of *News of Donbass* received from Mike was: "We were captured at a checkpoint". He then managed to report that he and Yelena had been sent by the separatists to the seized SBU building in Slavyansk.

[Twitter message:]

Tihiy

@mtihiy

Ukrainian paratroopers in Karachun Hill area, the dominant height in front of Slavyansk



7:24 AM · 2 May 2014

**11:41** Terrorists tried to seize a train with passengers in Slavyansk.

**11:20** Separatists in Slavyansk call on residents to come to the main square to make a video appeal to Russian President Vladimir Putin asking for "help".

[Twitter message:]

Simon Shuster

@shustry

Separatist ham radio calling on people of Slavyansk to come to main square "to make a video appeal to V.V. Putin for help." [#Ukraine](#)

7:05 pm - 2 May 2014

[Facebook post:]

Dmitry Tymchuk

about 8 years ago

According to the latest information from *Information Resistance* group, the self-proclaimed mayor of Slavyansk, Vyacheslav Ponomaryov, is personally organising the bringing of civilians to the streets of the city to "protect" Slavyansk from the Ukrainian security forces.

The task is to provide the terrorists with a human shield, consisting primarily of women and children.

Interestingly, according to our information, a few days ago, Ponomaryov himself arranged for his family to leave Donbass. The Ukrainian security forces have information on their whereabouts.

**10:34** Two members of the Ukrainian Armed Forces were killed and several others wounded as a result of militants' firing at Mi-24 helicopters near Slavyansk last night, the Defence Ministry said.

**10:24** Terrorists in Slavyansk are preparing to carry out a provocation with possible loss of life, the planning of which was reported yesterday.



Strelkov / [instagram.com/sashakots](https://www.instagram.com/sashakots)

**10:16** The commander of Russian saboteurs Igor Strelkov (Igor Girkin, an officer of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces) and a group of his subordinates are on their way for a breakthrough from Slavyansk. Dmitry Tymchuk said this on his Facebook page.



REUTERS

**09:46** Militants shelled the State Emergency Service helicopter which arrived at the site with a medical team to assist and evacuate.

**09:41** A military helicopter near Slavyansk was shot down by highly qualified foreign military specialists. The helicopter was found to have been shot down by several MANPADS (man-portable air defence system) launches. "This indicates that trained, highly qualified foreign military specialists, rather than local civilians, who, according to the Russian leadership, have weapons purchased in hunting shops, are operating in the ATO territory," the SBU Anti-Terrorist Centre said in a statement.

**09:08** The operation is being carried out by units of the Interior Ministry, the National Guard and the Armed Forces. Nine terrorist checkpoints have now been brought under control within the city of Slavyansk, Arsen Avakov said on his Facebook page.

[Facebook post:]

Arsen Avakov

about 8 years ago.

At 4-30 a.m. the active phase of the ATO started in the Slavyansk-Kramatorsk area.

By the forces of the Interior Ministry, the National Guard and the Armed Forces. At the moment 9 terrorist checkpoints in the city of Slavyansk have been brought under control. The city is tightly cordoned off. The

terrorists opened fire with heavy weapons against the Ukrainian special units. This includes grenade launchers and MANPADS. One pilot is dead and there are several wounded. A real battle is being fought with professional mercenaries. The terrorists do not shy away from firing while hiding behind civilians in Slavyansk, from apartment blocks - they know about the order to ATO units not to return fire threatening residential properties.

The operation continues as planned.

I ask the residents of Slavyansk and Kramatorsk to stay off the streets and be careful around windows.

We, together with the Minister of Defence and the commander of the National Guard are here.

Railway traffic in the ATO zone will be blocked in the next hour. Traffic on roads near Slavyansk has been restricted to a minimum. Everyone is asked to refrain from travelling for the duration of the ATO.

We are working.

Thank you to all fighters and officers with honour.

OUR ATO OBJECTIVES AND, at the same time, REQUIREMENTS TO TERRORISTS ARE SIMPLE: Free the hostages, lay down arms and vacate the administrative buildings, restore normal functioning of the city's infrastructure.

**08:57** Photo of a wounded pilot taken captive by terrorists after helicopter was shot down appeared on social media.



slavgorod.com.ua

**08:40** According to the latest information from *Information Resistance* group, the terrorists are carrying out an emergency "expropriation" of personal vehicles belonging to the city's residents in Slavyansk' districts that remain under control of the terrorists.

**08:19** Machine gun fire can be heard from several directions. An alarm is sounded in the city, church bells are run. Clouds of smoke rise into the sky from checkpoints, Slavgorod.com.ua reports.

According to unofficial reports, the Ukrainian military have already recaptured the television tower on Karachun Mountain from the fighters. There is no information about casualties or injuries so far.

## **Annex 88**

Russia Today, 39 People Die After Radicals Set Trade Unions House on Fire in Ukraine's  
Odessa (2 May 2014)





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LIVE



2 May, 2014 18:49 / [Home](#) / [World News](#)

## 39 people die after radicals set Trade Unions House on fire in Ukraine's Odessa



A protester wrapped in a Ukrainian flag walks past a burning tent camp and a fire in the trade union building in Odessa May 2, 2014. (Reuters / Yevgeny Volokin) © Reuters

39 anti-government activists have died in a fire at Odessa's Trade Unions House. Some burned to death, while others suffocated or jumped out of windows, the Ukrainian Interior Ministry reported. The building was set ablaze by pro-Kiev radicals.

### [WARNING: GRAPHIC CONTENT INSIDE]

A total of 46 people have died in Odessa's violence on Friday and almost 200 others have sustained injuries, Odessa Region prosecutor Igor Borshulyak told journalists on Saturday.

39 of the dead lost their lives in the fire at the Odessa Trade Unions House, according to the Ukrainian emergencies agency.

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the agency's statement reads.

Police detained over 130 people following Friday's bloody clashes and opened up 10 criminal investigations with charges including premeditated murder and violence against law enforcement officers.

According to the ministry, the Friday standoff on Odessa included "anti-Maidan" activists on one side and "football fans" from Odessa and Kharkov, as well as "euro-Maidan" activists, on the other. A criminal case on the charges of mass unrest has been opened.



The Trade Unions House was set on fire by pro-Kiev radicals after they surrounded and destroyed the tent camp of anti-government activists that stood in front of the building on Odessa's Kulikovo Field Square. It was torched in a storming attempt after some of the anti-Maidan activists rallying in the square barricaded themselves inside the building.

The majority of the victims were found on the floors of the Trade Unions House having apparently burned to death or suffocated from smoke. Others jumped out of the building's windows, according to police.

Earlier reports of the clashes in Odessa said that both sides used Molotov cocktails and, allegedly, gunfire. Part of the pro-Maidan activists reportedly bore insignia of the radical Right Sector group.

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 0:00  28:53
- ▶ CrossTalk, HOME EDITION: Self-determination  
 0:00  26:22

**Дом профсоюзов в Одессе.**  
[pic.twitter.com/2ello8frMX](https://pic.twitter.com/2ello8frMX)

— Антимайдан (@myrevolutionrus)  
 May 2, 2014

A live video [stream](#) from inside the building showed disturbing scenes of supposedly dead bodies lying around the rooms with thick smoke in the air and blood stains on the floor.

Most of the bodies filmed had St. George ribbons attached to their clothes, distinguishing the victims as pro-Russian or anti-Kiev activists.

The person filming said he counted up to 25 dead bodies on the upper floors alone.

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preparing to jump. Reports claimed that those who jumped and survived were surrounded and beaten by football ultras and the Right Sector.

**#Одесса** люди стоят на карнизах  
дышать в здании не чем .  
[pic.twitter.com/qdw5l0jW6D](http://pic.twitter.com/qdw5l0jW6D)

— Новороссия  
(@NOVORUSSIA2014) **May 2, 2014**

Они пишут: **#Одесса** ...колорад  
готовится к полету...  
[pic.twitter.com/UI0Ko2KUZe](http://pic.twitter.com/UI0Ko2KUZe)

— Ольга Левитова (@levitovo) **May 2, 2014**

The riot police lines standing beside the building were apparently doing nothing to prevent the violence, the photos showed. Police officers reportedly said they could not do anything because they were “*unarmed.*”

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Republic of Odessa told Rossiya 24.

One of the activist trapped there told RT by phone earlier that up 50 people were there with him, including women.

**There are a couple of hundred riot police. They are doing nothing:**  
[pic.twitter.com/cu4pCMgWmd](https://pic.twitter.com/cu4pCMgWmd)

— Howard Amos (@howardamos)  
May 2, 2014

As people were dying in the burning building, some of the pro-Kiev activists jeered on Twitter that “*Colorado beetles are being roasted up in Odessa*,” using a derogatory term for pro-Russian activists wearing St. George’s ribbons. Few media outlets followed the developing situation, with thousands of people taking to live streams to see the events unfolding.

However, just as the first official death toll emerged, some Western media and leaders rushed to seemingly downplay the role of pro-Kiev activists in the incident and to blame their rivals instead.

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*"More than 40 people were killed in Odessa on Friday, most caught in a building set on fire after pro-Russian activists and supporters of Ukrainian unity fought running battles across the southern port city," Reuters wrote.*

*"Horrible with at least 38 dead in Odessa. Seems to have started with pro-Russian attempt to get control of buildings. Violence must stop!" Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt wrote on Twitter. Earlier, Bildt blamed "pro-Russian thugs" for the street violence in Odessa.*

**A night to be mourning a national tragedy in Ukr, [@carlbildt](#) only wants to pin blame on 'pro-Russia thugs'. Appalling [pic.twitter.com/ukV9f60Zp4](https://pic.twitter.com/ukV9f60Zp4)**

**— GrahamWPhillips  
(@GrahamWP\_UK) [May 2, 2014](#)**

## **Annex 89**

BBC News, Ukraine Conflict: Pro-Russia Journalist Oles Buzyna Killed (16 April 2015)





## Ukraine conflict: Pro-Russia journalist Oles Buzyna killed

*BBC News*



Image source, Учасник

Image caption,

Oles Buzyna was known for his pro-Russian views

### **A Ukrainian journalist known for his pro-Russian views has been shot dead in the capital Kiev.**

Oles Buzyna, 45, was killed by shots fired from a car, Interior Ministry adviser Anton Gerashchenko said.

Mr Buzyna is the latest in a series of allies of Ukraine's pro-Russian former President, Victor Yanukovich, to die in suspicious circumstances.

His killing comes a day after former MP Oleg Kalashnikov, who was close to Mr Yanukovich, was shot dead in Kiev.

Mr Gerashchenko, who is also an MP, said he believed both killings were related to the victims' involvement with Ukraine's "anti-Maidan" movement. It opposed the popular overthrow of Mr Yanukovich in 2014.

According to Mr Gerashchenko, both men were key witnesses in a criminal case related to pro-Russian activists who attacked protesters in the Maidan Square uprising that deposed Mr Yanukovich.

Mr Buzyna, who was an active blogger and briefly editor of pro-Russian daily newspaper *Segodnya*, was killed outside his home.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko has ordered an investigation into the murders, calling them "deliberate" acts that play "into the hands of our enemies".

At least eight other officials connected to Mr Yanukovich's government have died suddenly in the past three months.

Authorities initially labelled some of the deaths suicides, but later they said it was possible that some of the people were killed or forced to take their lives.

Asked on a call-in programme about the shooting of Mr Buzyna, Russian President Vladimir Putin said: "This is not the first assassination. There is a whole series of such killings in Ukraine."

## **Annex 90**

NBC News, Pro-Russian Journalist Oles Buzina Shot Dead in Kiev, Ukraine (16 April 2015)



## Pro-Russian Journalist Oles Buzina Shot Dead in Kiev by Masked Gunmen

Prominent Ukrainian journalist Oles Buzina, known for his pro-Russian views, was shot dead in Kiev by two masked gunmen, the interior ministry said.

April 16, 2015, 4:27 PM MSK / Updated April 17, 2015, 1:50 AM MSK

/ Source: NBC News

KIEV, Ukraine — A prominent Ukrainian journalist known for his pro-Russian views was shot dead on Thursday in Kiev by two masked gunmen, the interior ministry said, a day after a former lawmaker loyal to ousted President Viktor Yanukovich was also killed.

Oles Buzina, 45, was known for his pro-Russian opinion pieces published in Ukraine's *Sevodnya* daily newspaper, which is part of the media empire of Ukraine's richest businessman Rinat Akhmetov.

"Today at 1320 hrs (6:20 a.m. EDT) ... two unidentifiable men in masks shot journalist Oles Buzina," the ministry said in an online statement. The shooting appeared to have taken place outside his home and a team of police investigators was at the scene.

A day earlier a former member of parliament for Yanukovich's discredited Party of Regions, Oleh Kalashnikov, was killed in a similar attack at his home as he entered the premises.

An interior ministry adviser to President Petro Poroshenko linked the deaths since both victims played a part in the "Anti-Maidan" movement, which opposed pro-Western protests that ousted Yanukovich in 2014.

"It seems the shooting of witnesses of the Anti-Maidan affair continues," the adviser, Anton Gerashchenko, said in a Facebook post.

Russian President Vladimir Putin, in a televised call-in show, referred specifically to Buzina's death saying it had been politically motivated.

"This is not the first political assassination. Ukraine is dealing with a whole string of such murders," Putin said during his annual call-in in Moscow.

— Reuters



## **Annex 91**

The Interpreter, Ukrainian Journalist Sergei Sukhobok Murdered in Kiev (2015)





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# Ukrainian Journalist Sergei Sukhobok Murdered In Kiev

7 years

Stream: [Ukraine Live Day 422 \(/Interpreter\\_Mag/stream/1552\)](#)Publication: [Ukraine Liveblogs \(/Interpreter\\_Mag/publication/154\)](#)[\(/Interpreter\\_Mag/press/7936\)](#)

Ukrainian media report that the journalist and co-founder of *Obkom* (<http://obkom.net.ua/>), Sergei Sukhobok, was killed on the night of April 12-13 in Kiev.

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Journalist Lyudmilla Chichkaneva **wrote on her Facebook page** ([https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=947798105264551&id=100001031125349](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=947798105264551&id=100001031125349)) today that Sukhobok's body had been formally identified by his *Obkom* colleague, Alexey Mironov.

*Obkom* have **announced Sukhobok's killing** (<http://obkom.net.ua/news/2015-04-15/1824.shtml>), but the statement reads that more details (beyond the date of his death) are yet to come.

Donetsk news site **62.ua notes** ([http://www.62.ua/news/799201?utm\\_source=web](http://www.62.ua/news/799201?utm_source=web)) that Sukhobok, a Donetsk native, had long been known and respected as a journalist at several newspapers in the city before moving on to found *Obkom*.

-- *Pierre Vaux*



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## **Annex 92**

Euronews, UN Adopts Russian-drafted Resolution on Ukraine Crisis (17 February 2015)



English ▾

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Home (/) > News (/news) > World (/news/international) > **UN adopts Russian-drafted resolution on Ukraine crisis**

USA (/NEWS/AMERICA/USA)

## UN adopts Russian-drafted resolution on Ukraine crisis

COMMENTS(#VUUKLE-COMMENTS-299726)

By **Euronews** (https://twitter.com/euronews) with **Reuters** • Updated: 17/02/2015

The United Nations Security Council on Tuesday called on all parties in eastern Ukraine to stop fighting and implement a European-brokered peace deal as an almost three-day-old ceasefire rapidly began to unravel.



Russia drafted a resolution, adopted unanimously by the 15-member council, in a move that US Ambassador to the UN, Samantha Power, described as "ironic."

Russian Ambassador to the UN, Vitaly Churkin said: "The Minsk agreement must be fully complied with by all sides, said Russia's Ambassador to the UN Vitaly Churkin. "We have to avoid adopting unilateral measures that would contradict the letter and spirit of the document signed in Minsk on the February 12, 2015."

Pro-Russian rebels in Ukraine fought their way into an encircled government bastion and were battling street to street on Tuesday, according to Reuters reports. The rebels say the truce does not apply at all to the main battle front at the town of Debaltseve.

"Russia signs agreements then does everything within its power to undermine them, Russia champions the sovereignty of nations and then acts as if a neighbor's borders do not exist," Power told the Security Council after the vote.

"The idea that Russia, which manufactured and continues to escalate the violence in Ukraine has tabled a resolution today calling for the conflict's peaceful solution is ironic to say the least," she said.

The resolution endorsed the peace deal that was reached at all-night talks in the Belarussian capital Minsk last week and called for all parties to implement it.

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**Pro-Kyiv Ukrainian forces pulling out of rebel-held Debaltseve (/2015/02/18/pro-kyiv-ukrainian-forces-pulling-out-of-rebel-held-debaltseve)**

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**Lavrov blames the West for war in Ukraine and accuses it of Russophobia at UN General Assembly (/2022/09/25/lavrov-blames-the-west-for-war-in-ukraine-and-accuses-it-of-russophobia-at-un-general-asse)**

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**Annex 93**

Telegraf, Poltorak on Disengagement: Agreements with Aggressor are Worth Nothing (20  
October 2016)

(translation)



**Translation from Russian**

Telegraf, *Poltorak on Disengagement: Agreements with Aggressor are Worth Nothing* (20 October 2016), available at: <https://telegraf.com.ua/ukraina/politika/2917869-poltorak-o-razvedenii-dogovorennosti-s-agressorom-nichego-ne-stoyat.html>

## **Poltorak on Disengagement: Agreements with Aggressor are Worth Nothing**

Svetlana Kalatenko | 20 October 2016, 14:50



**Ukraine is ready to implement the agreements reached on the withdrawal of troops from the demarcation line, but the agreements with the aggressor are worth nothing.**

The Ukrainian Defence Minister Stepan Poltorak has said that Ukraine is ready to implement the agreements reached on the withdrawal of troops from the demarcation line, but the agreements with the aggressor are worth nothing.

According to the Defence Ministry, he said this at a meeting with strategic foreign advisers and ambassadors of the UK, Canada and the Republic of Lithuania.

"We are ready to implement the agreements reached on the withdrawal of troops from the demarcation line, just as we were ready to implement the previous agreements. But the experience shows that any agreements with the aggressor are not even worth the paper on which they are signed," the minister stated.

He stressed once again that Ukraine hopes to solve the problem politically and diplomatically, but this can only be done if it has a strong army.

"We are on a march. This march is towards Europe, the Alliance and democratic values. We are waiting for your help when the Ukrainian army is reformed, in particular, to avoid mistakes and minimise risks during the reform process," he noted.

Poltorak spoke about the strategic documents already approved in the defence sector and about the deadlines set for reforming the Ministry, the General Staff and the Armed Forces of Ukraine. He also said that the State Programme for Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine was at the final stage of development.

The sides agreed that first of all the advisors needed to get acquainted with the strategic documents and the results of the reform stages that had already been completed.

In his turn, the UK Strategic Advisor General Sir Nick Parker expressed his respect and support for the reform processes that had been launched. In particular, he said that he understands how difficult it is to reform the Ministry when the military operation is underway. He also stressed the importance of working out an algorithm for the work of the group of strategic advisers.

According to him, apart from studying documents, it is necessary to work on building trust, because this is the key to the successful work of the team.

Ms. Jill Sinclair, advisor on the part of Canada, said that the openness that had already developed among all those gathered at the meeting shows the high potential for further cooperation.

Major General Jonas Andriuškevičius, advisor on the part of the Republic of Lithuania, said he had been one of those who had reformed and created the Lithuanian armed forces and knew from his own experience how difficult and lasting the process that awaited Ukraine would be.

Poltorak separately thanked the British, Canadian and Lithuanian Ambassadors for their active public stance in the performance of their duties in Ukraine.

## **Annex 94**

Ukrinform, Reznikov: Only Normandy Four Leaders Can Change Minsk Agreements (11 July 2020)



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## Reznikov: Only Normandy Four leaders can change Minsk agreements

11.07.2020.14:23

Only Normandy Four leaders can change the format of the Minsk talks.

"The decision on the 'birth' of the Minsk format was made at the level of the Normandy format, so any other decisions related to Minsk can be made only within these consultations. Trilateral Contact Group is a technical and logistical center. Its task is to touch upon the emerging issues, but all decisions should and can only be made by the leaders of the Normandy format," Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine - Minister for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories Oleksiy Reznikov said, RBC news agency reports.

According to him, the Normandy format meeting can be held "at a distance", if the leaders of the participating states agree. At the same time, it is realistic to hold consultations in September after fulfilling the obligations of the Paris summit, but only "if there is mutual will of all participants in this process."

Reznikov also noted that a number of provisions of the Minsk agreements of February 2015 did not correspond to today's realities. It is implied that the document outlines the already irrelevant dates of implementation of the agreements, the contact line and the procedure for holding elections in the occupied areas of Donbas until the restoration of Ukraine's control over its border.

"There are a lot of things that no longer work and, therefore, the parties in Minsk cannot agree a priori. This is what our European partners are talking about, starting with the phrase of German Chancellor Merkel that Minsk is not carved in stone. I did not say anything new," the Vice Prime Minister added.

As a reminder, Russia waits for the official comment of Ukrainian authorities on the statement made in Minsk about the need to revise the Minsk agreements. Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Sergey Lavrov also stated that Kyiv had rejected the agreements, which had been reached at a meeting of political advisers in Berlin, during the meeting of Trilateral Contact Group.

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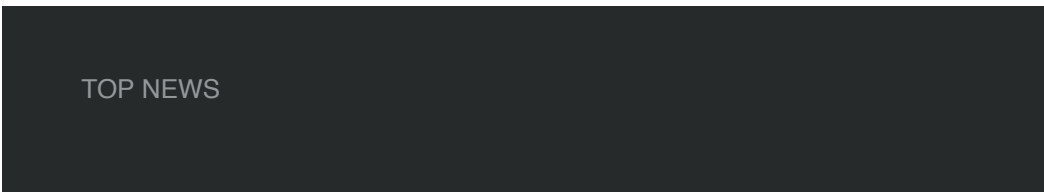


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## **Annex 95**

Ukrinform, Poroshenko Says Minsk Agreements Partially Fulfilled Their Goal (13 December 2019)



9/28/22, 9:56 AM

Poroshenko says Minsk agreements partially fulfilled their goal

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Former Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko has said he believes that the Minsk agreements were justified and partially fulfilled their goal.

He stated this in an interview with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

"Were the Minsk agreements justified? Of course, they were. Have they fulfilled their goal? Partly yes and partly not. The introduction of a Steinmeier formula, taken out of context in the Kremlin wording, certainly weakened Ukraine's position. Why did they [the Minsk agreements] not achieve complete success? Due to the absolutely destructive blocking position of Russia. This is why we suggested that a position on peacekeepers be introduced, which was fully agreed with the permanent members of the UN Security Council, except for Russia, that are obliged to act as guarantors of Ukrainian sovereignty as part of the Budapest Memorandum and a transitional phase designed for the implementation of a road map of the Minsk agreements, which describes the timing and sequence of all points of all Minsk agreements," Poroshenko said.

At the same time, analyzing the effect of the Minsk agreements, Poroshenko said that the purpose of these documents was to stop Russian aggression, to stop the advance of regular troops of the Russian army, and this task had been fulfilled.

"From the very beginning, the goal was to disrupt the Kremlin project of Novorossiya or Malorossiya, no matter how they called it, which envisaged the destruction of Ukrainian statehood and the dismemberment of Ukraine. This goal was also achieved," he said.

According to him, it was critically necessary to take the time to build the effective Ukrainian Armed Forces.

"I emphasize, not for the attack, but for the protection of Ukrainian land, so as to substantially increase the cost of the movement of regular units of the Russian Armed Forces on each subsequent

9/28/22, 9:56 AM

Poroshenko says Minsk agreements partially fulfilled their goal

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meter of our land. And this goal was also achieved. I emphasize again that all three documents of the Minsk agreements were based on the peace plan of President Poroshenko," he said.

Poroshenko said that the formation of a global coalition in support of Ukraine and the demonstration of solidarity around the world with Ukraine was another goal pursued by the Minsk agreements.

"The responsibility for non-compliance with the Minsk agreements was reflected in the application of sanctions by the U.S., G7, EU, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and all others," he said.

At the same time, he stressed that sanctions are not directed against the Russian people, but remain the only tool at the disposal of the world community to motivate Russia to release Ukrainian land from aggression by the Russian army, as well as to free hostages. According to Poroshenko, this is a concrete practical result of the signing and implementation of the Minsk agreements.

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## **Annex 96**

Russia Today, Minsk Deal Was Used to Buy Time – Ukraine's Poroshenko (17 June 2022)





QUESTION MORE

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## Minsk deal was used to buy time – Ukraine's Poroshenko

Petro Poroshenko said the Minsk agreements “meant nothing” and claimed credit for giving Kiev enough time to militarize



FILE PHTO. Former Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko. ©STR / NurPhoto via Getty Images

Petro Poroshenko has admitted that the 2015 ceasefire in Donbass, which he negotiated with Russia, France and Germany as president of Ukraine, was merely a distraction intended to buy time for Kiev to rebuild its military.

He made the comments in interviews with several news outlets this week, including Germany's Deutsche Welle television and the Ukrainian branch of the US state-run Radio Free Europe. Poroshenko also defended his record as president between 2014 and 2019.

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*“We had achieved everything we wanted,” he said of the peace deal. “Our goal was to, first, stop the threat, or at least to delay the war – to secure eight years to restore economic growth and create powerful armed forces.”*

He cited Sun Tzu’s stratagems as an inspiration for the deception. Winning a war does not necessarily require winning military engagements, Poroshenko said, calling the deal he made a win for Ukraine in that regard.

Poroshenko failed to be reelected in a landslide vote for President Volodymyr Zelensky, who promised voters that, unlike his predecessor, he would secure peace in Donbass.

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In the interviews, Poroshenko spoke about his role in negotiating the Minsk agreements, a roadmap for reconciliation between his government and the Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics. The former president apparently confirmed that Kiev hadn’t come to the talks in good faith, but simply wanted a reprieve after suffering a military defeat.

The agreements included a series of measures designed to rein in hostilities in Donbass and reconcile the warring parties. The first steps were a ceasefire and an OSCE-monitored pullout of heavier weapons from the frontline, which were fulfilled to some degree.

Kiev was then supposed to grant general amnesty to the rebels and

Ukraine makes decision on mobilization

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extensive autonomy for the Donetsk and Lugansk regions. Ukrainian troops were supposed to take control of the rebel-held areas after Kiev granted them representation and otherwise reintegrated them as part of Ukraine.

**Read more:** Ex-president tries to leave Ukraine (again)

Poroshenko's government refused to implement these portions of the deal, claiming it could not proceed unless it fully secured the border between the rebellious republics and Russia. He instead endorsed an economic blockade of the rebel regions initiated by Ukrainian nationalist forces.

Zelensky's presidency gave an initial boost to the peace process, but it stalled again after a series of protests by right-wing radicals, who threatened to dispose of the new Ukrainian president if tried to deliver on his campaign promises.

Kiev's failure to implement the roadmap and the continued hostilities with rebels were among the primary reasons that Russia cited when it attacked Ukraine in late February. Days before launching the offensive, Moscow recognized the breakaway Ukrainian republics as sovereign states, offering them security guarantees and demanding that Kiev pull back its troops. Zelensky refused to comply.











Now an opposition MP, Poroshenko, called on Western nations to provide more and heavier weapons for Kiev so that Ukrainian soldiers can "*do [the West's] job*" and defend Europe from Russia. He also

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-

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Russia sanctions and for his country to join the EU and NATO as soon as possible.

Poroshenko claimed that Russian President Vladimir Putin was the one who broke the Minsk agreements. He claimed credit for Ukraine not falling into Russia's hands within a matter of days, which was the prediction of some Western officials. The country stood up to the attack thanks to military reforms that his government implemented, the former president claimed. Moscow never gave a timeline for its military operation in Ukraine, stating only that it has proceeded as intended.

The Ukrainian official also called for the “*de-Putinization*” of Europe, his own country and Russia itself. He said this meant curbing Russian influence in other nations and toppling Putin. It is the only way to save the world from an “*existential threat*” that, Poroshenko claimed, the Russian leader poses.

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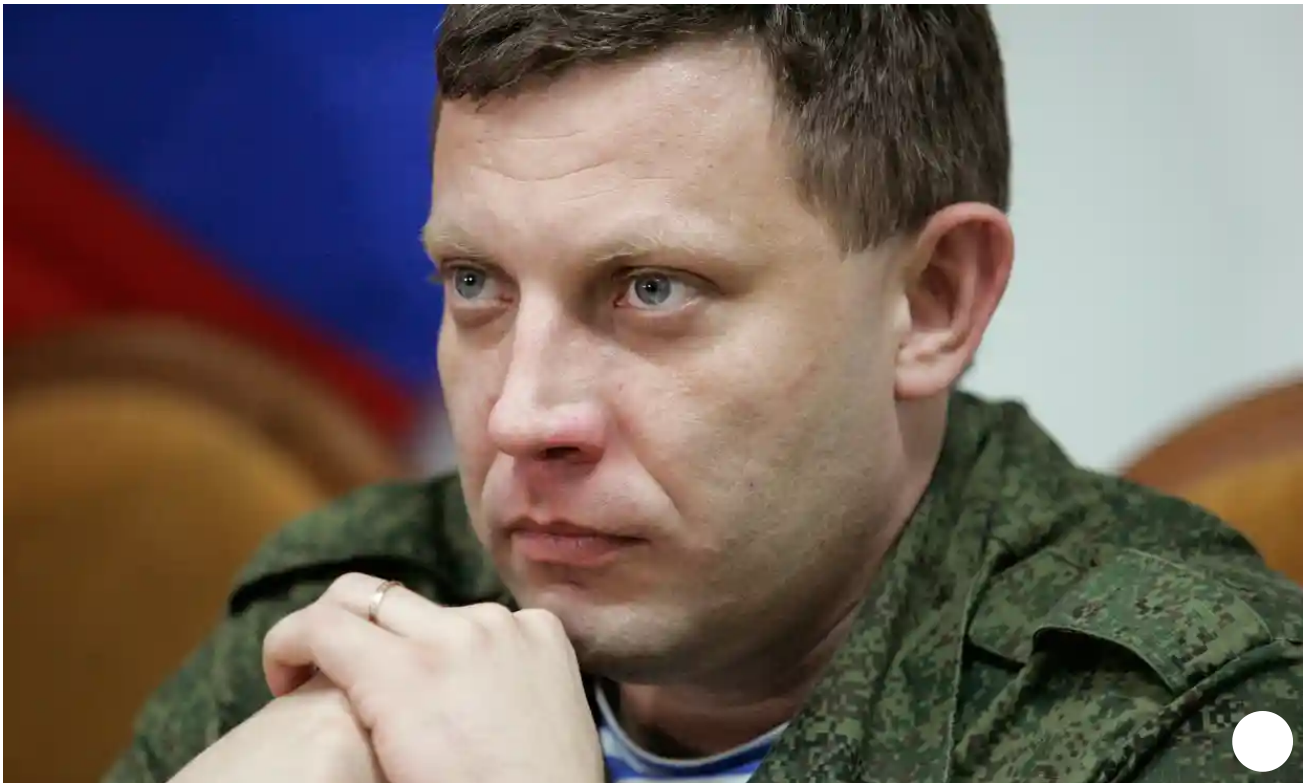


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**Annex 97**

The Guardian, Rebel Leader Alexander Zakharchenko Killed in Explosion in Ukraine, (31 August 2018)





## Ukraine

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# Rebel leader Alexander Zakharchenko killed in explosion in Ukraine

## Prime minister of self-declared Donetsk People's Republic dies in cafe blast

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### Marc Bennetts in Moscow

Fri 31 Aug 2018 18.09 BST

The leader of a Kremlin-backed separatist republic in war-torn eastern **Ukraine** has been killed in a blast that tore through a cafe close to his official residence in Donetsk.

Alexander Zakharchenko, 42, was named prime minister of the so-called Donetsk People's Republic (DNR) in November 2014. The DNR's official news agency confirmed his death and said the republic's finance minister, Alexander Timofeev, was injured when the explosive device went off in the Separ café in the centre of Donetsk. The bomb was planted in a nearby vehicle, Ukrainian media reported.

Zakharchenko is the latest in a series of separatist leaders to have been

assassinated during the ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine, where more than 10,000 people have died since fighting broke between Kremlin-backed separatists and pro-Ukrainian government forces in 2014, according to UN figures. More than 1.5 million people have been displaced by the fighting.

Vladimir Putin called the killing a “dastardly” act that aimed to destabilise the fragile peace in the region and the Russian president expressed his condolences to Zakharchenko’s family.

The Russian foreign ministry was quick to react, accusing the Ukrainian government of ordering the “terrorist attack”, although Putin’s later statement did not blame Kiev for the killing.

The Ukrainian security service chief, Igor Guskov, said Zakharchenko’s death could have been the result of infighting between rival separatist factions or an operation by Russian special forces. Kiev has previously accused Russia of killing separatist figures who refuse to obey Kremlin orders.

Separatist forces have detained a number of suspects, Russia’s Interfax news agency reported, citing a security service source in Donetsk. “Several Ukrainian saboteurs and people connected to them have been arrested on suspicion of involvement in the assassination of the republic’s leader,” Interfax quoted the source as saying.

Numerous international attempts to secure a lasting ceasefire in eastern Ukraine have been unsuccessful. The United States and European countries imposed economic sanctions on Russia over its military actions in Ukraine in 2014, including the Kremlin’s annexation of Crimea. Putin denies sending troops and

weapons to eastern Ukraine, but admits that some Russian “volunteers” are fighting alongside separatist forces.

Ukraine’s infrastructure minister, Volodymyr Omelyan, said this month that Kiev would sever all remaining public transport links to Russia over its military actions in eastern Ukraine, as well as an increase in Russian naval activity near Crimea. There have been no direct flights between the two former Soviet republics since October 2015.

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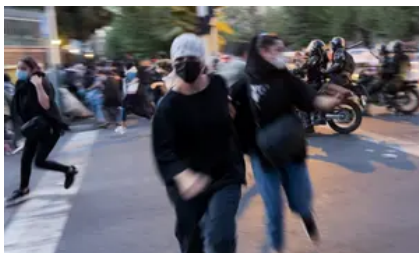
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## **Annex 98**

Deutsche Welle, Alexander Zakharchenko: The Latest Ukrainian Rebel Leader to Face an  
Abrupt Death (2 September 2018)



## Alexander Zakharchenko: The latest Ukrainian rebel leader to face an abrupt death | DW | 02.09.2018

*Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com)*

Bomb attacks, ambushes, mysterious illnesses — militant leaders in eastern Ukraine often die in violent and dramatic ways, even far away from the front line. And now, Alexander Zakharchenko has died in a bomb blast.

Rebels in Ukraine are still reeling from the assassination of the head of the self-proclaimed "[Donetsk People's Republic](#)," [Alexander Zakharchenko](#), who was [killed by a bomb blast on August 31](#) while sitting in a coffee shop in downtown Donetsk. The entity's "finance minister" and a youth leader were injured in the attack. The rebels say they captured "Ukrainian operatives" after the bombing.

Russian news site Lenta.ru tweeted the CCTV video showing the moment of the blast, which had been published by state-funded Rossiya 1.

However, 42-year-old Zakharchenko is only the latest in a line of rebel commanders who have died in dramatic ways. Another Donetsk leader, Vladimir Makovich, briefly served as the "vice speaker" of the rebel assembly in 2014 before fading into the background of the rebel administration. He died in 2017, with the official cause of death being a brain tumor. He was 54 years old.

### **Shot during an ambush**

Just a few months before Makovich's passing, battalion commander Mikhail Tolstykh was killed when someone [fired an incendiary rocket at his office outside Donetsk](#). Tolstykh, better known by his nom de guerre "Givi," was 36 at the time.



Rebel commander Arsen Pavlov, also known as 'Motorola'

In 2016, top militant leader Arsen Pavlov, also known as "Motorola," was killed when [a bomb was placed in an elevator of his apartment building](#). The Russian-born warlord was 33, and the commander of the so-called "Sparta" battalion. Rebel officials blamed both of the commanders' deaths on "Ukrainian operatives." Kyiv denied any involvement and pointed the finger at Moscow, describing such attacks as Russia-sponsored "purges."

### **Heart attack at 46**

All in all, nearly a dozen high-ranking militants were killed in the last three years. Others faced unexpected diseases. The first leader of the "Luhansk People's Republic," Valeri Bolotov, 46, died in early 2017 while in his Moscow apartment. Heart failure was the reported cause of death, but some media outlets speculated that the politician had been poisoned. Bolotov had resigned his Luhansk function as early as August 2014 and had lived away from the public eye until his death.

Bolotov's close aide Gennadiy Tsytkalov, 43, reportedly killed himself in 2016 while in custody. He was being investigated over an alleged coup attempt. Tsytkalov's death also sparked rumors that the politician, who once served as prime minister of the Luhansk-based entity, was murdered.

### **Trading blame between Kyiv and Moscow**

The attack that claimed the life of Zakharchenko has once again set off [a spiral of accusations between Kyiv and Moscow](#). Russia quickly stated it has "all reasons to believe" that Ukraine was behind the blast. This was corroborated by rebels, who referred to the suspects they had in custody.

In turn, the Ukrainian security service SBU put forward two theories about Zakharchenko's assassination, saying that he might have been killed due to a power struggle between the warlords or that he may have been removed by Russian agents after falling from Moscow's grace.

Alexander Zakharchenko: The latest Ukrainian rebel leader to face an... <https://www.dw.com/en/alexander-zakharchenko-the-latest-ukrainian-...>

Zakharchenko is unlikely to be the last rebel leader to die a violent death in the Ukraine fighting, which has already claimed over 10,000 lives.





**Annex 99**

European Pravda, No pressure over Concessions: Kuleba on Negotiations with Germany's  
Foreign Minister (7 February 2022)

(translation)



**Translation from Russian**

European Pravda, *No pressure over Concessions: Kuleba on Negotiations with Germany's Foreign Minister* (7 February 2022), available at: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/rus/news/2022/02/7/7133666/>

## **No pressure for concessions: Kuleba on conversation with German foreign minister**

MONDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 2022, 17:43

The Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba has assured that there is no pressure on Ukraine from Germany for the sake of any concessions from the Ukrainian side in an attempt to reduce tension between the West and Ukraine, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other.

According to a correspondent of the European Pravda, he said this at a joint press conference with German Foreign Minister, Annalena Baerbock, in Kiev.

Dmytro Kuleba stated that at the meeting he reiterated which issues were categorical "red lines" for Ukraine: first, no concessions on territorial integrity, second, no negotiations with the militants, and third, Ukraine's full right to determine its own foreign policy.

"By no means do I want to say that Annalena Baerbock said something to the contrary to me and I was trying to persuade her. Now, the question about whether foreign guests are forcing us to make any concessions is very popular in Ukraine. I declare with absolute responsibility that neither during today's meeting nor before it did Annalena Baerbock force me to make any concessions on the issue of the conflict resolution. It was an exchange of views between friends and partners, who seek the same thing - to resolve this conflict by diplomatic means", Dmytro Kuleba stressed.

Let us recall that that the head of the German foreign ministry is one of the four EU foreign ministers who are visiting Ukraine on 7 February. The foreign ministers of Austria, Slovakia and the Czech Republic went to the frontline zone in Donbass.

Her French counterpart Jean-Yves Le Drian was due to arrive at the same time as Annalena Baerbock, but his visit was postponed by a day in view of French President Emmanuel Macron's visit to Moscow, where the foreign minister also went.



**Annex 100**

Uryadovy Kuryer, On the Future of Donbass in Terms of Numbers (21 July 2018)

(translation)



**Translation from Ukrainian**

Uryadovy Kurier, *On the Future of Donbass in Terms of Numbers* (21 July 2018), available at: <https://ukurier.gov.ua/uk/articles/pro-majbutnye-donbasu-movoyu-cifr/>



21 July 2018

**SURVEY****On the Future of Donbass in Terms of Numbers**

One third of Ukrainians are convinced that in order to establish peace in Donbass, international sanctions and pressure by international institutions on the Russian Federation should be strengthened. Half of the respondents believe that it is worth agreeing to compromises, but not to all of them, for the sake of peace in Donbass.

The results of a nationwide public opinion poll, which was conducted by Ilka Kucheriva Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with the survey research service of Razumkov Centre from 19 to 25 May 2018 in all the regions except the Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, were presented at Ukrinform on Thursday. In addition, the main results of the research by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, which was based on focus group discussions held in February 2018 in cities in Donetsk region (Nikolaevka, Myrnohrad, Pokrovsk, Slavyansk) and Lugansk region (Rubizhne, Svatove, Severodonetsk, Starobelsk) were released.

In sum, according to the results of the opinion poll, only 17% of the population support the establishment of peace in Donbass by force. That said, the greatest proportion of those who support the belligerent solution reside in the west (24%) and in the centre (19%) and significantly less such supporters reside in the south (8%) and the east (11%). Only 20% agree to peace "at any price".

The important matters of reintegration are part of the social and humanitarian policy of the state towards citizens from the non-controlled areas of Donbass. In fact, each of the steps proposed for consideration was supported by the majority of the Ukrainian population. The most supported steps in the social and humanitarian spheres are, first of all, simplifying access to education at Ukrainian educational institutions of different levels for residents of non-controlled areas (67% support and only 16% do not support this), strengthening of control over payments to internally displaced persons to avoid abuses (64% support and 15% oppose this), providing (financial and material) support to residents of isolated districts of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions who want to move to the Ukraine-controlled areas (60% support and 20% oppose this); and simplifying to a maximum extent the use of any administrative services in populated areas near the front line (60% support and 21% oppose this).

There was a more mixed public support for such steps as removal of restrictions on social and pension payments to Ukrainian citizens living in the isolated districts of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions (40% support and 35% are against this), maximum simplification of crossing the line of demarcation, easing the access regime (48% support and 31% oppose this), tightening control over crossing the line of demarcation (47% support and 26% oppose this) and permission to trade in food and other basic commodities with non-controlled areas (46% support and 29% oppose this).

The survey showed that there was no consensus on what Ukraine's policy towards the non-controlled areas should be. 17% of the respondents think it is necessary to officially recognize these territories as occupied and to end all trade, services, payments and contacts (in particular, movement of people from these territories); 20.5% believe that it is necessary to keep the economic blockade, but to maintain humanitarian relations (movement of people, payment of pensions, supply of water and electricity); 22% believe that it is necessary to allow trade in critical goods (trade in food and basic commodities by Ukraine and in anthracite from the isolated districts of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions) with the maximum support of humanitarian contacts, while 20% of the respondents support the proposal to develop relations, both humanitarian and trade ones, with the non-controlled areas to a maximum extent. A significant part of the population - every fifth respondent (20%) – are undecided about their view of the optimum Ukrainian policy towards the non-controlled territories.

Among the solutions that should be adopted to establish peace in Donbass, the people consider only two to be really efficient: international pressure on Russia to force it to abandon interference in the conflict in Donbass (32%) and successful restoration of normal life in the controlled territory (31%). All other possible solutions are not considered efficient for the establishment of peace. The support for the idea of introducing an international peacekeeping contingent to Donbass has remained unchanged at 60%, the same percentage as last year.

A total of 2,019 respondents over the age of 18 were interviewed. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2.3%. The survey was financed within the framework of the project called "Program for Promoting Social Activism, Join Us!", which is financed by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented in Ukraine by Pact.

**Maria LAGIDNAYA**

for Uriadovy Kurier



## **Annex 101**

Interfax-Ukraine, Rada Appoints Next Elections to Local Self-Govt Bodies for Oct 25 (15 July 2020)



## Rada appoints next elections to local self-govt bodies for Oct 25

*Interfax-Ukraine*



The Verkhovna Rada has scheduled elections for local authorities on Sunday, October 25.

Some 326 MPs voted for corresponding decree No. 3809 at the plenary meeting on Wednesday.

According to the decision, on Sunday, October 25, the next elections of deputies of district councils and rural, township and city mayors will be held.

Elections of deputies of the Supreme Council of Crimea, deputies of local councils and rural, township, city mayors in the temporarily occupied territories of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, in certain areas, cities, towns and villages of Donetsk and Luhansk regions are neither appointed nor held.

"Due to the impossibility of ensuring the representation of the joint interests of the territorial communities of villages, towns, and cities of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, elections of deputies of Donetsk and Luhansk regional councils are neither appointed nor held," the resolution says.

In turn, MP Oleksandr Kachura (the Servant of the People faction), answering a clarifying question whether elections to city councils will be held, told Interfax-Ukraine: "There will be merged territorial communities. If changes, according to perspective map, the territory joins, then it can be the first election, and if it does not join, then the city council remains. For example, the city council will remain in Kyiv, since it has a special status it is Ukraine's capital, and some 120 MP will be elected to its city council."

According to him the next elections will be held everywhere, in district, rural, village councils, as well as elections to the regional councils and the elections of rural, village and city mayors.

According to adopted decision No. 3809, elections of deputies of the Supreme Council of Crimea, deputies of local councils and rural, village, city mayors in the temporarily occupied territories of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, in certain districts, cities, towns and villages of Donetsk and Luhansk regions are not appointed and are not held.



**Annex 102**

RBC Ukraine, Zelensky on War in Ukraine: We Will Win on the Battlefield and then End It at the Negotiations Table (21 April 2022)

(translation)



**Translation from Russian**

RBC Ukraine, *Zelensky on War in Ukraine: We Will Win on the Battlefield and then End It at the Negotiations Table* (21 April 2022), available at:

<https://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/zelenskiy-voynе-ukraine-pobeda-budet-boyu-1653119307.html>

## **Zelensky on the War in Ukraine: We Will Win on the Battlefield and then End It at the Negotiations Table**

Kiev, Saturday, 21 February 2022, 10:49



Photo: President of Ukraine Vladimir Zelensky (Vitaliy Nosach/RBC Ukraine)

Ukraine will achieve victory in the war with the Russian Federation on the battlefield. But its end will still be discussed at the negotiating table.

This was reported by RBC-Ukraine, citing an interview with President Vladimir Zelensky.

"We did not start the war, that's true, but we have to end it. I thought we could end it purely by dialogue. Now I understand that the end will also be diplomatic, exactly the end. But unfortunately, I thought it would be a dialogue which would occur within an appropriate time-limit," he said.

According to him, he expected that in a dialogue with Russia there would answer to many questions.

"And now it is like a car - not a petrol car or an electric car, but a hybrid one. That is why the war is so difficult and the victory will be very difficult and bloody, it will definitely be in battle, but its end will definitely be in diplomacy. Because there are things that we will not be able to bring to an end without sitting at the negotiation table. Because we want to get back everything, and the Russian Federation does not want to give back anything," Zelensky added.

We shall remind you that Zelensky earlier said that the price of Ukraine's victory in the war against Russia would be the lives of tens of thousands of Ukrainians.



**Annex 103**

Euronews, Shelling of Donetsk: Dozens of Casualties and Wounded (14 March 2022)

(translation)



Translation from Russian

Euronews, *Shelling of Donetsk: Dozens of Casualties and Wounded* (14 March 2022), available at: <https://ru.euronews.com/2022/03/14/ukraine-topstory-monday-update>

## Shelling of Donetsk: Dozens of Casualties and Wounded

Euronews • Last updates: 14/03/2022



**Fragment of a Ukrainian Tochka-U missile in Donetsk** – copyright Alexei Alexandrov/Copyright 2022 The Associated Press. All rights reserved

According to the latest reports, 23 people were killed and at least 18 wounded when the debris of a downed rocket hit Donetsk city centre.

According to the Russian Defence Ministry, a rocket from Tochka-U Tactical Missile Complex was launched from Krasnoarmeysk area controlled by the Ukrainian military.

The head of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, Denis Pushilin, said that the downed rocket carried a cluster warhead, which resulted in so many casualties.

At the same time, in another part of Donbass, in Ukrainian-controlled Kramatorsk, one of the shells hit a residential area. According to the city's mayor's office, two elderly people died as a result of the fire in a private residential building.

According to the Ukrainian side, shelling caused outage at the local filtration plant, leaving 10 settlements without water.

Fighting also continues in other cities. In particular, a four-storey residential building in central Kharkov was practically destroyed as a result of shelling. There has been no information on victims or injured so far.

All of this is taking place against the backdrop of the opening of humanitarian corridors and the ongoing talks between the delegations of Ukraine and Russia, but now via video mode.

## **Annex 104**

BBC News, Deadly Donetsk Blasts Hit Separatist-Run City in Ukraine (19 September 2022)



## Deadly Donetsk blasts hit separatist-run city in Ukraine

*By Paul Kirby*

**By Paul Kirby**  
BBC News



Image source, Telegram/itsdonetsk

Image caption,

Video posted online showed the aftermath of an explosion in a square in western Donetsk

**Thirteen people have been killed and others wounded in a series of explosions in the separatist-run city of Donetsk in eastern Ukraine, according to its Russian-backed mayor.**

Alexei Kulemzin blamed "punitive" Ukrainian shellfire for the deaths. There is no comment from Ukrainian officials.

Donetsk has been controlled by Russia's proxy authorities since 2014.

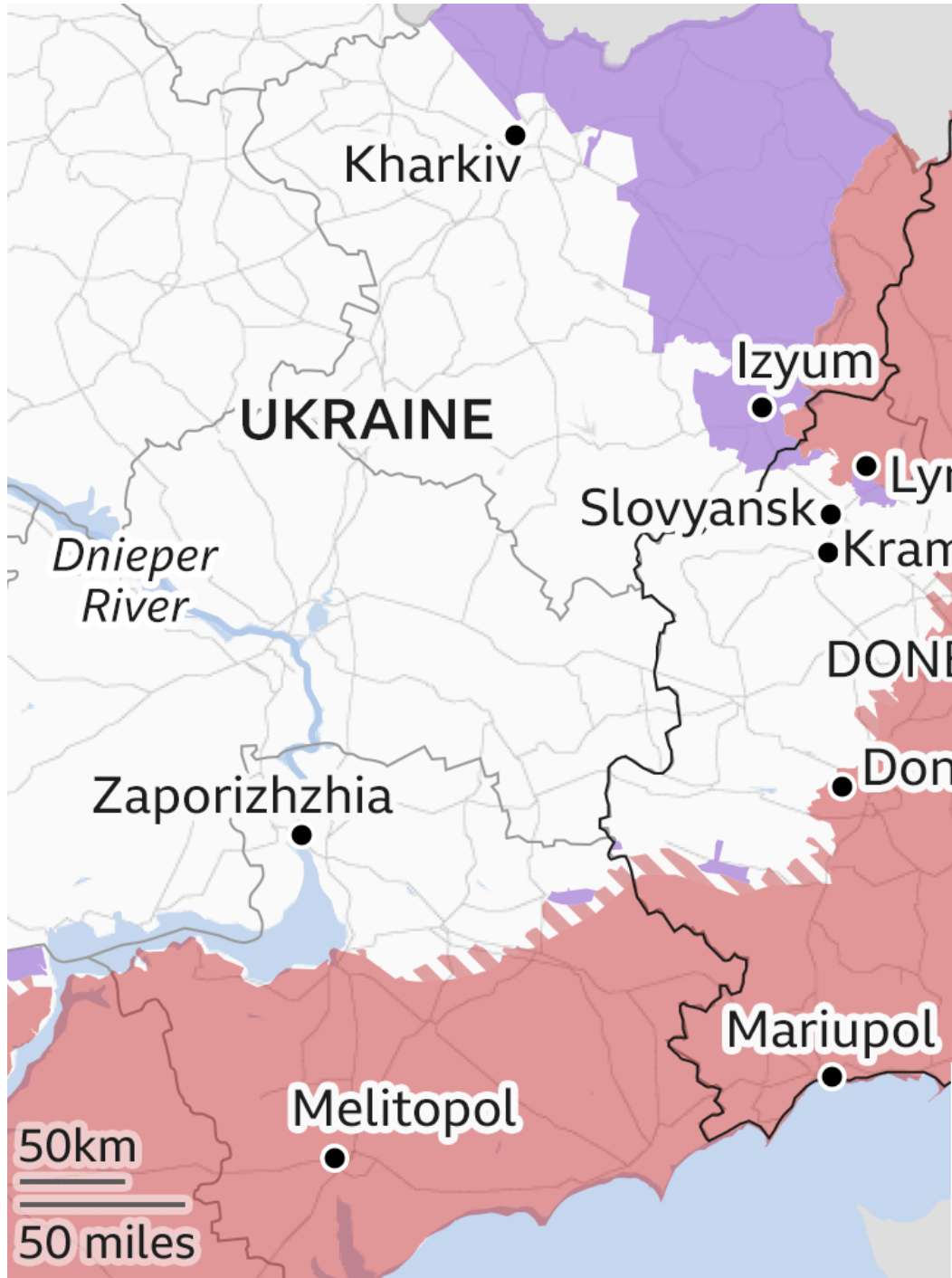
They have repeatedly accused Ukrainian forces of targeting the city.

Independent confirmation is hard to come by on the ground in separatist-held areas of the east. However, local authorities said nine 150mm shells were fired at the Kuibyshevsky district of Donetsk, from a village to the west of the city.

Local leader Denis Pushilin accused Ukraine of deliberately targeting civilians at a bus-stop, a shop and a bank.

Although Russian forces have seized areas of the Donetsk region further south since the invasion began in February, they have struggled to push the Ukrainian army back from the outskirts of the city itself.





Source: Institute for the Study of War (21:00 GMT)

Ukrainian forces have launched counter-offensives in the south as well as the north-east, and their most dramatic progress has come this month in the northern Kharkiv region.

The head of Luhansk region, Serhiy Haidai, shared video of a Ukrainian tank crossing a pontoon bridge, and said Ukraine now controlled the left bank of the Oskil river, seen as the front line in north-east Ukraine.



Image source, Telegram/A\_Shtirlitz

Image caption,

Ukraine's armed forces said they had pushed across the river at the weekend

If Ukrainian forces are able to maintain a foothold on the eastern side of the Oskil, it will represent a breakthrough. Mr Haidai said the next target would be liberating the city of Lyman, which was seized by Russian forces in May.

"Luhansk region is right next door. De-occupation is not far away," he claimed.

In his nightly address late on Sunday, President Volodymyr Zelensky said that recent days may have looked like a lull of sorts: "But there will be no lull. There is preparation for the next series... For Ukraine must be free. All of it."

Russia was accused on Monday of targeting a nuclear plant in the south.

Ukrainian nuclear operator Enerhoatom said a rocket landed 300m (1,000ft) from nuclear reactors at the country's second-largest plant in Mykolaiv region, called the South Ukraine plant.

The UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said it was told by Enerhoatom that the impact temporarily disrupted three power lines, but the plant remained connected to the grid, with all three reactors functioning normally.

Last night russian terrorists attempted to strike the South Ukraine Nuclear Power Plant in the Mykolaiv region. A missile fell 300 meters from the plant.  
 kremlin's nuclear terrorism continues.  
 russia is the threat to the whole world.  
<pic.twitter.com/aWhz8yNXWp>

— Defense of Ukraine (@DefenceU) [September 19, 2022](#)

The BBC is not responsible for the content of external sites. [View original tweet on Twitter](#)

Ukraine's - and Europe's - biggest nuclear plant at Zaporizhzhia has come under repeated fire since it was occupied by Russian forces at the start of the war and the IAEA has called for a safety zone to protect it. The IAEA said the situation there "remains fragile and precarious". Its six reactors are in a shutdown state, but are getting essential power to remain safe.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin has denied allegations of war crimes after some 450 bodies were uncovered in burial sites in the liberated city of Izyum.

[The discovery has prompted the European Union's presidency](#), currently held by the Czech Republic, to call for an international tribunal into Russia's invasion.

Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said the revelations were "a lie, and of course we will defend the truth in this story". He said the "scenario" was the same as in the town of Bucha near Kyiv, where local authorities say at least 458 civilians were murdered during Russia's occupation.

President Vladimir Putin said on Friday that Ukrainian counter-offensives would not change Russia's military plans in the east of Ukraine.

The ministry of defence in Moscow posted video on Monday that it said showed attack helicopters destroying Ukrainian manpower and equipment.

However, according to the UK's defence intelligence update, it was "highly likely" that [Russia had lost four combat jets in Ukraine](#) in the past 10 days as its air force took greater risks to support ground forces under pressure from the Ukrainian advances.

The Institute for the Study of War says Russia is relying increasingly on "irregular volunteer and proxy forces" instead of its conventional military units.

Russia says it is fighting neo-Nazis in Ukraine - a claim widely dismissed - and that it is threatened by the Nato alliance's strong relations with Ukraine.

The actual civilian death toll is believed to be thousands higher. Tens of thousands of combatants have been killed or injured.

Russia, a global energy supplier, is locked in an economic struggle with the West which imposed sweeping sanctions in response to the invasion.

Media caption,

Watch: Putin failing on all his strategic military objectives - UK

## More on this story



**Annex 105**

TeleSur, Ukrainian Shelling of Donetsk Leaves 13 Dead (19 September 2022)





News > World

# Ukrainian Shelling of Donetsk Leaves 13 Dead



Aftermath of the bombing in Donetsk, Sept. 19, 2022. | Photo: Twitter/ @MatrangaDorothy

Published 19 September 2022

**For the past three days, Ukrainian forces have been also carrying out shelling of civilian areas in districts such as Kievsky, Voroshilovsky, and Kalininsky.**

On Monday morning, Donetsk's Major Alexei Kulemzin denounced that Ukrainian forces shelled the Kuybyshevsky district, leaving 13 civilians dead.

**RELATED:**

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**Correspondent**  
**Alejandro Kirk**  
**Injured in Donetsk**


A few hours later, local media reported that the death toll rose to 16 and includes two children. The bombardment was directed at areas where there are no military personnel.

The Ukrainian armed forces attacked the Baku square, where the various explosive devices hit a bus stop. As a result of what happened, the Donetsk mayor temporarily suspended the circulation of trolleybus route number 14 through the square.

On Sunday, the Ukrainian army also attacked Gorlovka, a city in the north of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, with artillery fire. Five civilians were killed and three people seriously injured were reported.

**Ignorance, the root and stem of all evil**

@ivan\_8848 · FOLLOW

 The number of civilians killed in Donetsk increased to 16, despite the shelling, not a single Russian military target was hit, only civilian ones.

Western media do not report these deaths of innocent adults and children at all.

Watch on Twitter

3:25 PM · Sep 19, 2022



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A day earlier, Ukrainian forces fired 155-mm shells at the Kievsky, Voroshilovsky, and Kalininsky districts, leaving four dead and eight injured. Among the injured civilians was teleSUR correspondent in Donetsk, Alejandro Kirk.

On Monday, Russia's Defense Ministry reported that its forces had destroyed workshops housing US missile systems in the city of Zaporizhia. It also confirmed the existence of clashes in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

Last week, the Ukrainian authorities started a "counter-offensive" in Donetsk. Russian President Vladimir Putin on Friday ratified his commitment to the liberation of that region.

**teleSUR English**

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Briefing by the Russian Defence Ministry.  
September 16, 2022.

**#Russia #Ukraine**

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8:42 PM · Sep 16, 2022 (i)

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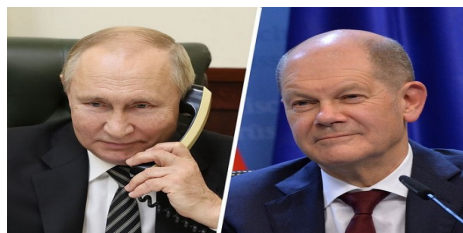
NATO's Approach to Russia's Borders Planned Years Ago



Donbass Liberation: Goal of Russia's Operation in Ukraine



Mexico's Peace Proposal for Ukraine



Vladimir Putin Talks With German Chancellor Olaf Scholz



**Annex 106**

CGTN, At Least 13 Killed by Shelling in Donetsk City (19 September 2022)



World 18:40, 19-Sep-2022

Translate >

# At least 13 killed by shelling in Donetsk city

Updated 20:02, 19-Sep-2022

<https://news.cgtn.com/news/2022-09-19/At-least-13-killed-by-shelling-in-Donetsk-city-1dsrfV3LPqg/index.html>

CGTN

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At least 13 people, including two children were killed due to the shelling at a square in the Kuibyshevskiy district of Donetsk city, Mayor Alexey Kulemzin said on Monday, adding that the number of wounded is not yet known.

 0

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**Annex 107**

TASS, FSS Solves the Murder of Dugina (22 August 2022)

(translation)



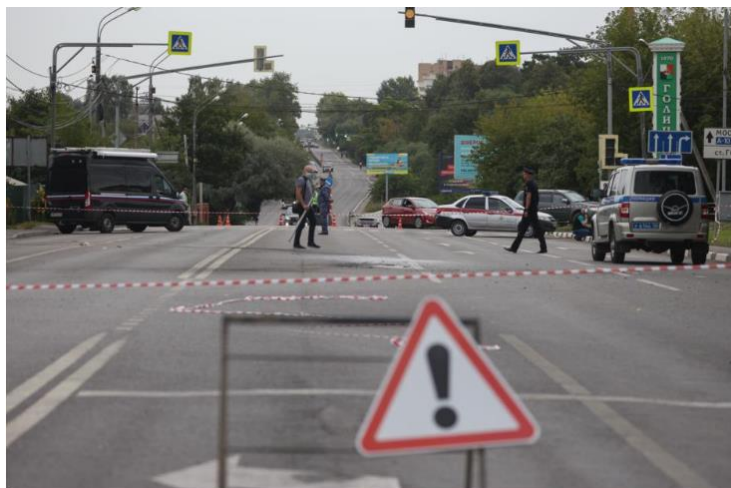


**Translation from Russian**

**TASS, FSS Solves the Murder of Dugina (22 August 2022), available at: <https://tass.ru/proisshestviya/15531419>**

22 August, 14:11, updated on 22 August, 15:15 The investigation of the death of Alexandr Dugin's daughter

## **FSS solves the murder of Dugina**



© Sergey Bobylev/TASS

**The FSS [*Federal Security Service*] has established that "the crime was prepared and committed by the Ukrainian special services" and that its perpetrator was Natalya Vovk, a Ukrainian citizen, who fled to Estonia after the murder**

MOSCOW, August 22. /TASS/. The murder of the journalist Daria Dugina has been solved: it was prepared by the Ukrainian special services and the perpetrator was the Ukrainian citizen Natalya Vovk who fled to Estonia after the crime. The Public Relations Centre of Russia's Federal Security Service told this to TASS on Monday.

"The Federal Security Service has solved the murder of the Russian journalist Daria Dugina, born in 1992, as a result of urgent investigative measures," the FSS stressed. They established that "the crime was prepared and committed by the Ukrainian special services" and that the perpetrator was the Ukrainian citizen Natalya Pavlovna Vovk, born in 1979.

She arrived in Russia on 23 July 2022 together with her daughter, Sofia Mikhailovna Shaban, born in 2010. "On the day of the murder, Vovk and Shaban were at the *Tradition* literary and musical festival, where Dugina was present as a guest of honour. After carrying out a remote-controlled bomb attack on Toyota Land Cruiser Prado vehicle driven by Dugina, Vovk, together with her daughter, left for Estonia via the Pskov region on August 21," the FSS reported.

The Federal Security Service specified that in order to organise Dugina's murder and obtain information about her lifestyle, Vovk and her daughter rented a flat in Moscow in the house where the deceased lived. The criminals used a Mini Cooper to carry out observation of the journalist. They used licence plates of the Donetsk People's Republic, E982XHN DPR, when entering Russia, Kazakh plates, 172AJD02, when staying in Moscow, and Ukrainian plates, AH7771IP, when leaving Russia. "The investigation materials have been handed over to the Investigative Committee," the FSB added.

Later, the law enforcement agencies said that Natalya Vovk would be put on a wanted list for extradition to Russia.

Earlier, the opposition activist Ilya Ponomaryov said on "February Morning" YouTube channel that the so-called National Republican Army may be behind the murder of Daria Dugina. That said, Ponomaryov himself urged to join the NRA and provide support to the organisation.

## **Annex 108**

TASS, Official in Kharkov Region Killed in Car Explosion — Authorities (11 July 2022)





RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY

MILITARY OPERATION IN UKRAINE 11 JUL, 16:22

## Official in Kharkov region killed in car explosion — authorities

According to the administration, the terrorist attack was carried out by a sabotage and reconnaissance group whose members planted a bomb under the car

KUPYANSK, July 11. /TASS/. Head of the administration of the Veliky Burluk settlement, located in the liberated part of the Kharkov region, was killed in a car explosion, the regional temporary civilian administration said in a statement.

"A car explosion in Veliky Burluk, which killed local administration chief Yevgeny Yunakov, was a well-planned terrorist attack organized by Nazis from the Ukrainian government," the statement reads.

According to the administration, the terrorist attack was carried out by a sabotage and reconnaissance group whose members planted a bomb under the car.

### TAGS

[Military operation in Ukraine](#)



**Annex 109**

TASS, Mariupol Mayor Unhurt After Assassination Attempt - Source in Mayor's Office (20 August 2022)







RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY

MILITARY OPERATION IN UKRAINE 20 AUG, 17:39

# Mariupol mayor unhurt after assassination attempt - source in mayor's office

Police at the cordon said that there were no casualties

DONETSK, August 20. /TASS/. Mariupol Mayor Konstantin Ivashchenko escaped unharmed in an assassination attempt, the mayor's office told TASS on Saturday.

"Yes, it did happen. Everyone is alive. It's all right," the source said when asked about the attack.

A TASS correspondent has reported that Mariupol Zoo, the scene of the attack, is sealed off by law enforcement officers. Police at the cordon said that there were no casualties.

**TAGS**

Military operation in Ukraine



**Annex 110**

UrduPoint, Assassination Attempt on Mariupol Mayor Results in No Injuries, Casualties (21 August 2022)





Home » World » Assassination Attempt on Mariupol Mayor Results in No Injuries, Casualties

# Assassination Attempt On Mariupol Mayor Results In No Injuries, Casualties

Umer Jamshaid Published August 21, 2022 | 12:00 AM



22 Successful Years of Publication

MARIUPOL (UrduPoint News / Sputnik - 21st August, 2022) An assassination attempt on Mariupol Mayor Konstantin Ivashchenko has taken place at the entrance to the city zoo, with the territory cordoned off by the law enforcement forces, a Sputnik correspondent reported on Saturday.



injured or killed.

An explosive ordnance disposal team of the Donetsk People's Republic's (DPR) internal ministry is operating at the accident scene.

The DPR's law enforcement forces are identifying the persons involved in the detonation of the explosive device near the zoo, the republic's internal ministry said.

"Law enforcement officers are establishing the circumstances of the explosion, ... identifying individuals involved in the detonation of the explosive device in the central part of Mariupol," the ministry's public relations center said on its official Telegram channel.

It has been established that the explosive device was improvised and contained submunitions, it added.



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## **Annex 111**

The Moscow Times, Russia-Installed Official in Ukraine Killed in Car Bombing (24 August 2022)





9/27/22, 7:44 PM

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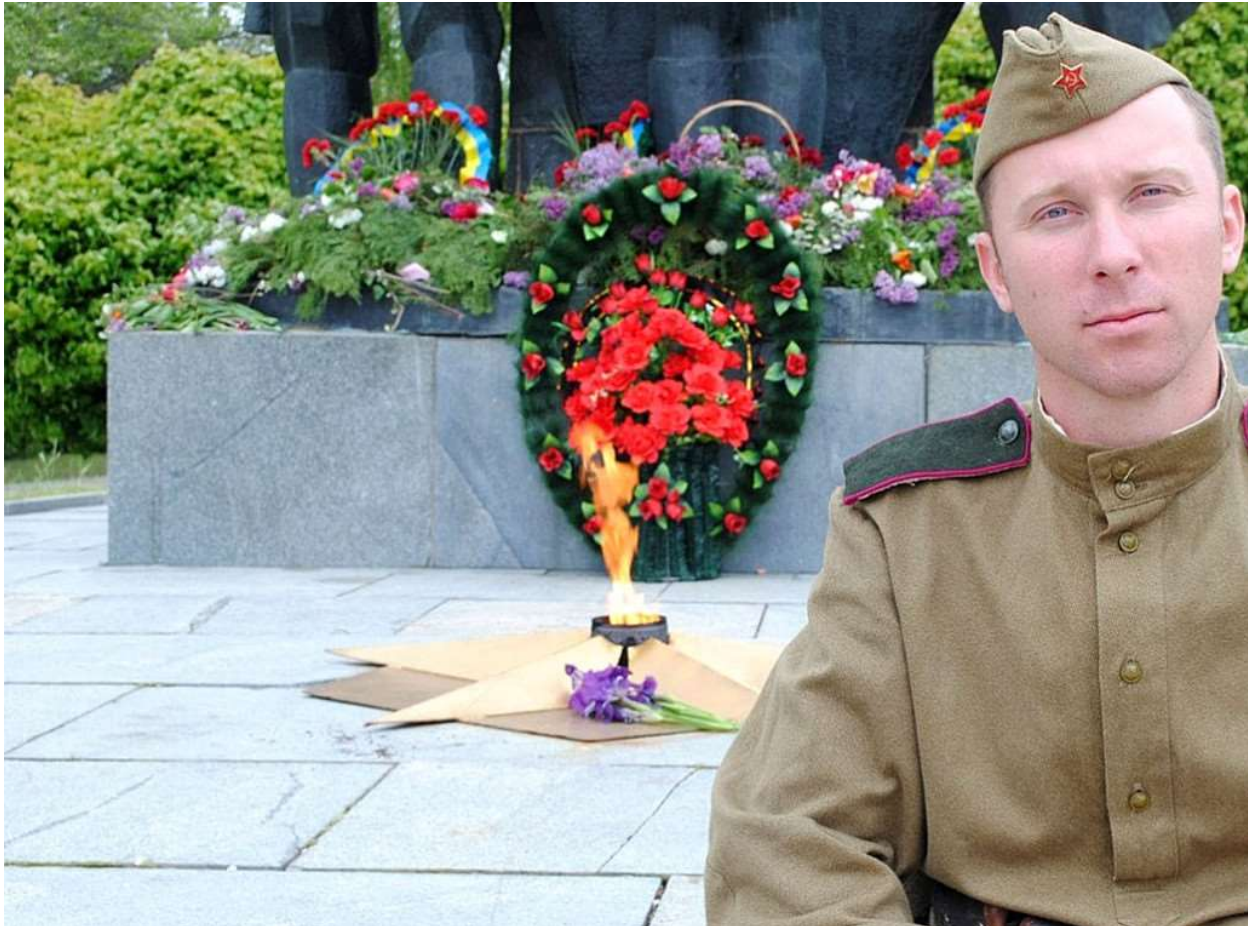
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## [Russia-Installed Official in Ukraine Killed in Car Bombing](#)

Aug. 24, 2022





Ivan Sushko. t.me/vrogov

A Russian-appointed official in southeastern Ukraine's occupied region of Zaporizhzhia was killed in a car bomb attack, a member of the Moscow-backed regional administration [said](#) Wednesday.

The assassination of Ivan Sushko, who headed the town of Mykhailivka, is the latest of several attacks against pro-Russian officials in the occupied regions of Zaporizhzhia and Kherson in recent weeks.

"An explosive device was placed under the car seat," Vladimir Rogov, a member of Zaporizhzhia's Russian-appointed administration, wrote on messaging app Telegram.

"Ivan Sushko was wounded in the explosion and hospitalized in a critical condition," Rogov said. "He soon died."

Sushko's death follows an attempted car bombing Tuesday on Russian-appointed Kherson region official Igor Telegin, who survived.

Earlier this month, the Moscow-installed head of the Kherson region, Vladimir Saldo, was hospitalized in Moscow after what Russia's Defense Ministry claimed was an attempted poisoning.

His deputy Vitaly Gura was shot and killed a day later.

Responding to Sushko's assassination, Rogov called Ukraine a "terrorist organization" and called for its "destruction."

The Kremlin has been pressing ahead with a campaign of Russification in the areas of southern and eastern Ukraine that it occupies.



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## **Annex 112**

Teller Report, In the Kherson Region Reported an Attempt on the Deputy Head of the  
Department Telegin (23 August 2022)



## **In the Kherson region reported an attempt on the deputy head of the department Telegin**

*Anonym*

In the Kherson region, an attempt was made on the deputy head of the department of internal policy of the region Igor Telegin. The official is alive.

This is reported by RIA Novosti with reference to the deputy head of the military-civilian administration of the region Kirill Stremousov.

“We just talked to him ... He is alive and well.

There was a complete assassination attempt on him, but everything is fine, ”Stremousov said.

He explained that an improvised explosive device had gone off.

He suggested that "local sabotage group mothballed" was operating.

Earlier it was reported that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the DPR is identifying persons involved in the explosion in the central part of Mariupol, where the head of the city administration Konstantin Ivashchenko was supposed to be.



**Annex 113**

Forbes, In Night Raid, Choppers Blow Up Fuel Depot On Russian Soil Near Ukraine, 1 April  
2022





## In Night Raid, Choppers Blow Up Fuel Depot On Russian Soil Near Ukraine

*Sebastien Roblin*

Belgorod Fuel Depot

At the Russian city of Belgorod, flames roil over fuel depots hit by rockets fired by attack ... [+] helicopters.

Video capture.

It would sound like improbable fanboy fiction if there weren't recordings showing it actually happening.

Specifically, videos and images [posted](#) on the social media page *Belinter* show allegedly Ukrainian combat helicopters at 5 AM local time on April 1 causing massive damage to a fuel depot in the Russian city of Belgorod.

Belgorod lies just 35 miles northwest of Ukraine's second city of Kharkiv, and for long has been a staging ground for Russian armies which invaded Ukraine on February 24. In theory, it should have fallen well within the umbrella of Russia's famously elaborate integrated air defense system.

Yet a recording shows two attack helicopters unloading flurries of 80-millimeter S-8 rockets into the blazing fuel depot with impunity.

The attack caused massive fireballs to the light skies and columns of smoke to pour into the air. Allegedly, eight 2,000 cubic meter fuel storage tanks were set ablaze. The regional governor [claimed](#) two workers were injured in the attack, but the owning Rosneft company stated there were no injuries.

Another video suggests two Mi-24 Hind gunships, a type operated both by the Russian and Ukrainian militaries, appear to have participated in the attack.

The Ukrainian Army was [estimated to operate](#) 34 Mi-24s at the beginning of 2022, including gun-armed Mi-24Ps, cannon-armed Mi-24Vs and Mi-24VPs, and Mi-24PU-1s specially modernized by Ukraine. All of these models can (and usually do) mount B8V20 rocket pods on their stub wings, each carrying 20 [S-8 rockets](#).

A Ukrainian Air Force MI-24 helicopter l

Mykolayiv, UKRAINE: A Ukrainian Air Force MI-24 helicopter launches missiles during strategic ... [+] command-staff "Clean sky" exercises at the Shirokiy Lan range, near the southern city of Mykolayiv, 22 September, 2006. Ukraine's pro-Russian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich said 19 September 2006 Ukrainians did not support NATO membership and, thus, he would not retract his call for a slowdown on joining the military alliance. AFP PHOTO/GENIA SAVILOV (Photo credit should read GENIA SAVILOV/AFP via Getty Images)

AFP via Getty Images

Ukraine's Mi-24 have been seen in action only occasionally since fighting began on February 24, notably strafing Russian paratroopers in the [Battle of Antonov Airport](#) near Kyiv in the first day of the war.

Just one Ukrainian Mi-24 and one Mi-8 have been [confirmed destroyed](#) as of March 31 by researchers, though actual losses may well be higher.

The apparent attack flies in the face of conventional military wisdom. True, low-flying aircraft using terrain to mask their approach can be difficult to detect. But proper combat air patrols by overflying fighters and A-50 airborne early warning aircraft could have offered a superior overhead angle using doppler radar to detect such an attack.

Furthermore, short range air defenses, including man-portable missiles and vehicle-mounted systems, pose considerable threats to helicopters, and indeed have accounted for most of [Russian helicopter losses](#). And one would expect the Russian armies staging from Belgorod would have extensive short-range air defense interposed between that city and Ukrainian forces.

That said, such a failure of Russian air defenses would be of a piece with their [underwhelming performance](#) in the conflict so far.

The attack could impair the mobility of Russian forces in this sector ,which already are reeling from blows by Ukraine's 92<sup>nd</sup> and 93<sup>rd</sup> mechanized brigades at Chuhuiv and Trostyanets.

It also comes at a time that Russian aerial bombing is increasingly targeting Ukrainian fuel depots in an effort to ground Kyiv's remaining aircraft and reduce the operational mobility of Ukrainian ground forces which may seek to counterattack reinforce troops in Eastern Ukraine, where Moscow claims it plans to focus future military efforts.

#### TOPSHOT-UKRAINE-RUSSIA-CONFLICT

TOPSHOT - A member of the Ukrainian special forces stands as a gas station burns after Russian ... [+] attacks in the city of Kharkiv on March 30, 2022, during Russia's invasion launched on Ukraine. (Photo by FADEL SENNA / AFP) (Photo by FADEL SENNA/AFP via Getty Images)

AFP via Getty Images

Despite many Russian sources confirming the attack took place, at the time of writing Ukraine's military has yet to claim responsibility. This, combined with ample footage of the attack, has led some to speculate Moscow might have staged the attack against itself as a false flag operation to reinvigorate public support for Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

A few days prior, an [explosion in a Belgorod ammunition depot](#) was initially speculated to be from a Ukrainian missile attack, but then was clarified to have been an accident.

The false flag theory for the helicopter attack seems problematic given the great extent of the damage, and the validity of a fuel depot as a target of military value.

Claims that the Belgorod attack marks the first attack by Ukraine on Russian soil are also inaccurate, as Ukraine had already acknowledged [striking Millerovo airbase](#) in Russia using [Tochka ballistic missiles](#), destroying at least one Russian

In Night Raid, Choppers Blow Up Fuel Depot On Russian Soil Near ...

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/sebastienroblin/2022/04/01/in-night-rai...>

fighter.



## **Annex 114**

Al-Jazeera, Ukraine Accused of Deadly Cross-Border Attack on Russian Village, 12 May 2022



## Ukraine accused of deadly cross-border attack on Russian village

*Al Jazeera*

*If confirmed, it would mark the first time a Russian has been killed inside the country by Ukraine shelling since Moscow's invasion in February.*

One person was killed and seven were wounded in a Russian village bordering Ukraine in what may be the first death of a Russian civilian inside the country since Moscow launched the war.

Governor Vyacheslav Gladkov of Russia's Belgorod province said on Thursday the attack by Ukraine forces occurred in the village of Solokhi.

The village came under shelling from the Ukrainian side late Wednesday, and residents were later evacuated "to a safe place", Gladkov said. With a population of 638, Solokhi lies 20km (12 miles) north of the [Ukrainian region of Kharkiv](#).

"Seven wounded, another victim was brought late at night. Everyone is provided with qualified medical care, medicines are available in full. One person died. We will provide material assistance to all the victims and the family of the deceased," Gladkov said on his Telegram channel.

Al Jazeera could not independently verify Gladkov's account. If confirmed, it would mark the first death in Russia under Ukraine fire since the start of the war.

### 'Most severe to date'

Russian authorities in areas bordering Ukraine have accused Kyiv of a series of attacks, including a helicopter raid on a fuel depot. Ukraine, which has been fighting off the Russian invasion since February 24, has not claimed responsibility for the attacks.

Gladkov described the shelling as "the most severe to date", adding an apartment building had been destroyed, according to Russia's state-run news agency TASS.

A series of explosions was heard on April 27 in three Russian provinces bordering Ukraine, authorities said, and an ammunition depot in Belgorod province caught fire about the same time.

Ukraine Presidential Adviser Mykhailo Podolyak described the attacks as payback and "karma" for Moscow's invasion.

"If you [Russians] decide to massively attack another country, massively kill everyone there, massively crush peaceful people with tanks, and use warehouses in your regions to enable the killings, then sooner or later the debts will have to be repaid," [Podolyak said](#) at the time.

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Belgorod province borders Ukraine's Luhansk, Sumy and Kharkiv regions, all of which have seen heavy fighting since Russia invaded Ukraine.

On April 1, a Russian official alleged two Ukrainian military helicopters flew across the border and bombed a fuel depot in the eastern city of Belgorod. It was the first known air raid by Ukraine's forces on Russian soil since [Moscow invaded its neighbour](#).

Video images of the purported attack posted online showed what looked like several missiles being fired from low altitude, followed by an explosion that sparked a huge fire.

At the time, Ukraine's top security official Oleksiy Danilov denied Kyiv had carried out that attack.

The incidents have exposed Russian vulnerabilities in areas close to Ukraine that are vital to its military logistics chains.

Russia sent tens of thousands of troops into Ukraine on February 24 in a "[special military operation](#)" to degrade its military capabilities and root out what it calls dangerous nationalists. Thousands of Ukrainians have been killed and millions displaced.

Ukrainian forces have mounted stiff resistance and the West has [imposed sweeping sanctions](#) on Russia in an effort to force it to withdraw its troops.

**[Mansur Mirovalev](#) contributed to this report from Kyiv.**



## **Annex 115**

The Moscow Times, Cross-Border Shelling Damages Russian Bridge, Refinery, 6 June 2022



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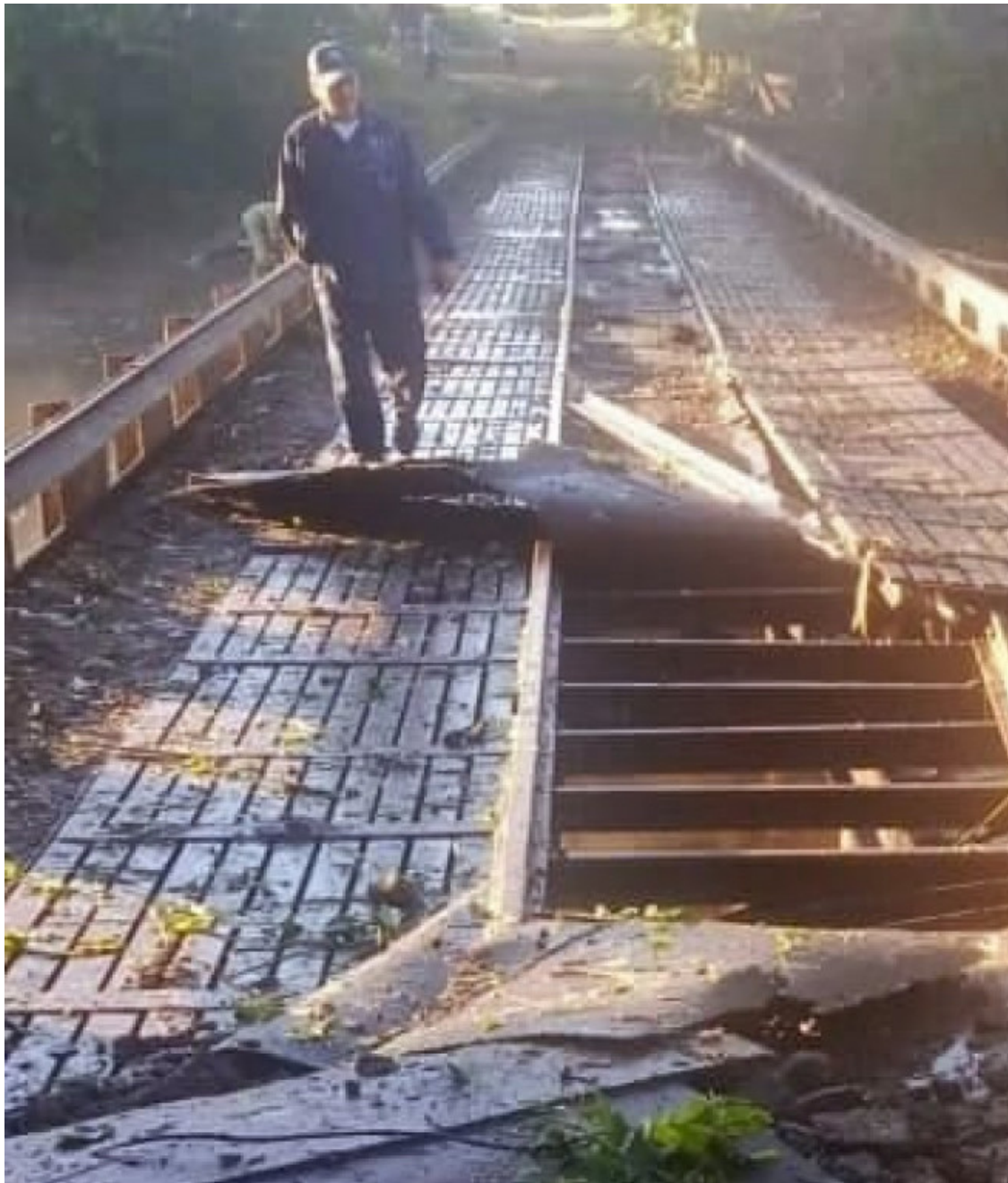
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## [Cross-Border Shelling Damages Russian Bridge, Refinery.](#)

Updated: June 6, 2022





Damaged bridge in the Kursk region village of Tetkino. [t.me/gubernator\\_46](https://t.me/gubernator_46)

A bridge and a sugar refinery in western Russia's Kursk region near Ukraine have been damaged in the latest cross-border shelling, Governor Roman Starovoi [said](#) Monday.

There were no injuries or fatalities in the attack on the Kursk region village of Tetkino, Starovoi said.

"The main impact was on the local bridge," the governor said. "There is damage on the territory of the sugar factory."

Footage published on his Telegram channel showed the partially damaged bridge, as well as destroyed homes and a burnt-out car.

Tetkino residents have [launched](#) a petition calling on President Vladimir Putin to protect them from an

increased number of cross-border attacks.

A local resident who published a video address to Putin [said](#) plainclothes security agents visited her for an interrogation about possible family links in Ukraine.

Attacks on Russian territory have increased after Moscow's forces withdrew from Kyiv and Ukrainian forces carried out successful counterattacks toward the Russian border.

At least three Russian civilians have been [killed](#) in the reported attacks, local governors have said.

One of the staging grounds for the February invasion of Ukraine, Kursk regions and other neighboring regions have been under a [heightened terrorist threat](#) level since April.

Ukraine has not claimed responsibility for the attacks on Russian territory while not formally denying being behind them.

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**Annex 116**

TASS, Ukrainian Army Shells Settlement in Russia's Bryansk Region, No Casualties Reported,  
5 July 2022







RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY

5 JUL, 10:16

## Ukrainian army shells settlement in Russia's Bryansk Region, no casualties reported

According to the region's governor Alexander Bogomaz, the emergency services are working on site

MOSCOW, July 5. /TASS/. Ukraine's armed forces have shelled the Zernovo settlement in the Suzemsky district of the Bryansk Region with about 18 artillery shots and no reported casualties, the region's governor Alexander Bogomaz said on his Telegram channel.

"This morning, the Ukrainian side shelled the Zernovo settlement in the Suzemsky district. About 18 shots were recorded. There are no injuries. The emergency services are working on site," the governor wrote.

The Zernovo settlement is located 117 kilometers south of Bryansk on the border with Ukraine.

On April 13, the Ukrainian side shelled the Novye Yurkovichi checkpoint in the Klimovsky district. The day after, two combat helicopters delivered a strike on residential buildings in the Klimovo settlement injuring seven people. On April 25, Ukrainian troops fired more than 50 mortar shells at the Troyebortnoye checkpoint and on April 29, at least 35 shots were fired at Russian border guards at the Belaya Berezka border checkpoint. On the following day, an area around a Russneft oil pumping station in the village of Zhecha was shelled by Ukrainian troops.

In June, the Bryansk Region was shelled three times. On June 20, the

Suzemka settlement was shelled by the Ukrainian army with one person injured. On June 14, six people sustained shrapnel wounds in the shelling of a settlement in the Klinty urban district. One person was wounded in the June 4 shelling of the Sluchevsk settlement.

**Annex 117**

BBC News, Belgorod: Fear and Denial in Russian City Hit by Shells, 4 July 2022



## Belgorod: Fear and denial in Russian city hit by shells

By Steve Rosenberg

**By Steve Rosenberg**  
Russia Editor, Belgorod



Image caption,

The site of the blast in Belgorod

### In her fifth floor apartment in Belgorod, Lidiya tells me of her narrow escape.

"At ten past three on Sunday morning I was woken by a blinding flash and a loud explosion. I ran onto my balcony and saw a giant ball of flames heading towards the building.

"I ran inside. Suddenly all my windows shattered.

"Down below I heard shouting and crying. I could see rescuers digging people out of the rubble and carrying away the bodies."

Russia accuses [Ukraine of launching three missiles at Belgorod](#). Ukrainian officials have denied it. But whatever it was that exploded in this southern Russian city, the emergency has completely undermined Moscow's claim that it ordered Russian troops into Ukraine to make Russia safer.

In reality, the security situation in Belgorod, and other Russian regions near the Ukrainian border, has deteriorated since the invasion.

"This is the first time something like this has happened in the city," Lidiya tells me. "There was no shelling in the city of Belgorod half a year ago."

Local officials say four civilians were killed in the explosion and dozens of houses damaged.

Across the border the scale of destruction has been far greater.

Since the start of the Russian invasion, thousands of civilians have been killed in Ukraine; some cities have been reduced to rubble by repeated shelling.

"We need to live in peace with Ukraine. We always used to," Lidiya tells me. "So many of us have relatives in Ukraine. And there are many Ukrainians living here."

Most of the people I speak to in Belgorod are not so conciliatory.



Image caption,

Knarik would like to see harsher methods used against the Ukrainians

"Russia needs to give a proper response to this, so that there is no more shelling and so they stop scaring our people," says Vadim. We're talking near the police cordon. "Firing a missile back at Kyiv would have made them think."

Knarik tells me she "feels sorry" for people in Ukraine. "They're the same as us. They have children, too. But I think we need to take harsher measures."

So many people here do not join the dots; they don't make the connection between Russia invading Ukraine and their lives becoming less safe.

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## War in Ukraine: More coverage

That's partly because the Russian state media does all it can to prevent those dots from being joined together in people's minds. It does so by demonising Ukrainians: referring to them as "Nazis", "neo-Nazis", "fascists" and "ultra-nationalists", and by repeating from morning till night that in this conflict Russia has justice on its side.

But, also, many Russians simply don't want to believe that their country started this, that Russia could possibly be the aggressor.

Now, though, a senior figure in the Russian Orthodox Church has spoken out for peace. Following the explosion in Belgorod, Metropolitan Ioann of Belgorod and Stary Oskol said it was time "to turn swords into ploughshares".

On the website of the Belgorod Diocese, he wrote: "We humbly pray that the deceased find peace and that the injured heal. We pray for an end to the bloodshed that is taking place on Ukrainian soil, but which has today come to our homes too."

"We need to restore good relations in a peaceful way," she tells me. "We need to come to our senses."

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**Annex 118**

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## Transcript: Clinton addresses nation on Yugoslavia strike

### March 24, 1999

**PRESIDENT CLINTON:** My fellow Americans, today our armed forces joined our NATO allies in airstrikes against Serbian forces responsible for the brutality in Kosovo. We have acted with resolve for several reasons.

We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive.

We act to prevent a wider war, to defuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe, that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results.

We act to stand united with our allies for peace. By acting now, we are upholding our values, protecting our interests, and advancing the cause of peace.

Tonight I want to speak with you about the tragedy in Kosovo and why it matters to America that we work with our allies to end it.

First, let me explain what it is that we are responding to. Kosovo is a province of Serbia, in the middle of south eastern Europe and about 160 miles east of Italy. That's less than the distance between Washington and New York, and only about 70 miles north of Greece.

Its people are mostly ethnic Albanian and mostly Muslim.

In 1989 Serbia's leader Slobodan Milosevic, the same leader who started the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and moved against Slovenia in the last decade, stripped Kosovo of the constitutional autonomy it's people enjoyed, thus denying them their right to speak their language, run their schools, shape their daily lives. For years, Kosovar's struggled peacefully to get their rights back. When President Milosevic sent his troops

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and police to crush them, the struggle grew violent.

Last fall, our diplomacy, backed by the threat of force from our NATO alliance, stopped the fighting for awhile, and rescued tens of thousands of people from freezing and starvation in the hills where they had fled to save their lives. And last month, with our allies and Russia, we proposed a peace agreement to end the fighting for good. The Kosovar leaders signed that agreement last week.

Even though it does not give them all they want, even though their people were still being savaged, they saw that a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war.

The Serbian leaders, on the other hand, refused even to discuss key elements of the peace agreement. As the Kosovars were saying yes to peace, Serbia stationed 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo in preparation for a major offensive and in clear violation of the commitments they had made.

Now they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood. This is not war in the traditional sense. It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenseless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.

Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative. It is also important to America's national interests. Take a look at this map. Kosovo is a small place, but it sits on a major fault line between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, at the meeting place of Islam and both the Western and Orthodox branches of Christianity.

To the south are our allies, Greece and Turkey. To the north, our new democratic allies in Central Europe. And all around Kosovo, there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges, countries that could be overthrown by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo.

All the ingredients for a major war are there. Ancient grievances, struggling democracies and in the center of it all, a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the Cold War ended, but start

## **Strike on Yugoslavia**

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new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division.

Sarajevo, the capital of neighboring Bosnia, is where World War I began. World War II and the Holocaust engulfed this region. In both wars Europe was slow to recognize the dangers, and the United States waited even longer to enter the conflicts. Just imagine if leaders back then had acted wisely and early enough, how many lives could have been saved? How many Americans would not have had to die?

We learned some of the same lessons in Bosnia just a few years ago. The world did not act early enough to stop that war either. And let's not forget what happened. Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school, soccer fields and parks turned into cemeteries. A quarter of a million people killed, not because of anything they had done, but because of who they were. Two million Bosnians became refugees.

This was genocide in the heart of Europe, not in 1945, but in 1995. Not in some grainy newsreel from our parents' and grandparents' time, but in our own time, testing our humanity and our resolve.

At the time, many people believed nothing could be done to end the bloodshed in Bosnia. They said, "Well, that's just the way those people in the Balkans are." But when we and our allies joined with courageous Bosnians to stand up to the aggressors, we helped to end the war. We learned that in the Balkans, inaction in the face of brutality, simply invites brutality. But firmness can stop armies and save lives.

We must apply that lesson in Kosovo, before what happened in Bosnia, happens there, too.

Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Secretary Albright has worked tirelessly for a negotiated agreement. Mr. Milosevic has refused.

On Sunday, I sent Ambassador Dick Holbrooke to Serbia to make clear to him again on behalf of the United States and our NATO allies that he must honor his own commitments and stop his repression or face military action. Again, he refused.

Today, we and our 18 NATO allies agreed to do what we said we would do, what we must do to restore the peace. Our mission is clear -- to

demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's purpose so that the Serbian leaders understand the imperative of reversing course, to deter an even bloodier offensive against innocent civilians in Kosovo and, if necessary, to seriously damage the Serbian military's capacity to harm the people of Kosovo.

In short, if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war.

Now I want to be clear with you, there are risks in this military action -- risk to our pilots and the people on the ground. Serbia's air defenses are strong. It could decide to intensify its assault on Kosovo, or to seek to harm us or our allies elsewhere. If it does, we will deliver a forceful response.

Hopefully, Mr. Milosevic will realize his present course is self-destructive and unsustainable. If he decides to accept the peace agreement and demilitarize Kosovo, NATO has agreed to help to implement it with a peacekeeping force.

If NATO's invited to do so, our troops should take part in that mission to keep the peace, but I do not intend to put our troops in Kosovo to fight a war.

Do our interests in Kosovo justify the dangers to our armed forces? I thought long and hard about that question. I am convinced that the dangers of acting are far outweighed by the dangers of not acting -- dangerous to defenseless people and to our national interests.

If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge. Right now, our firmness is the only hope the people of Kosovo have to be able to live in their own country, without having to fear for their own lives.

Remember, we asked them to accept peace and they did. We asked them to promise to lay down their arms and they agreed. We pledged that we, the United States and the other 18 nations of NATO would stick by them if they did the right thing. We cannot let them down now.

Imagine what would happen if we and our allies instead decided just to look the other way as these people were massacred on NATO's doorstep. That would discredit NATO, the cornerstone on which our security has rested for 50 years now.

We must also remember that this is a conflict with no natural national boundaries. Let me ask you to look again at a map. The red dots are towns the Serbs have attacked. The arrows show the movement of refugees north, east and south. Already, this movement is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia, which has its own Albanian minority and a Turkish minority.

Already, Serbian forces have made forays into Albania from which Kosovars have drawn support. Albania has a Greek minority. Let a fire burn here in this area, and the flames will spread.

Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a wider conflict -- a war we would be forced to confront later, only at far greater risk and greater cost.

I have a responsibility as president to deal with problems such as this before they do permanent harm to our national interests. America has a responsibility to stand with our allies when they are trying to save innocent lives and preserve peace, freedom and stability in Europe. That is what we are doing in Kosovo.

If we've learned anything from the century drawing to a close, it is that if America is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is prosperous, secure, undivided and free.

We need a Europe that is coming together, not falling apart. A Europe that shares our values, and shares the burdens of leadership. That is the foundation on which the security of our children will depend. That is why I have supported the political and economic unification of Europe. That is why we brought Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO, and redefined its mission. And reached out to Russia and Ukraine for new partnerships.

Now what are the challenges to that vision of a peaceful, secure, united, stable Europe? The challenge of strengthening a partnership with a democratic Russia, that despite our disagreements, is a constructive partner in the work of building peace. The challenge of resolving the tensions between Greece and Turkey, and building bridges with the Islamic world.

And finally, the challenge of ending instability in the Balkans, so that these bitter, ethnic problems in Europe are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of bombs. So that future generations of Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic to

fight another terrible war. It is this challenge that we and our allies are facing in Kosovo.

That is why we have acted now -- because we care about saving innocent lives, because we have an interest in avoiding an even crueler and costlier war and because our children need and deserve a peaceful, stable, free Europe.

Our thoughts and prayers tonight must be with the men and women of our armed forces, who are undertaking this mission for the sake of our values and our children's future.

May God bless them, and may God bless America.

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**Annex 119**

The New York Times, CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE PRESIDENT; Clinton Underestimated Serbs, He Acknowledged (26 June 1996)





CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE PRESIDENT

## *CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE PRESIDENT; Clinton Underestimated Serbs, He Acknowledges*

By John M. Broder

June 26, 1999

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President Clinton acknowledged today for the first time that he had underestimated Serbia's ability to withstand the NATO bombing campaign.

In a lengthy news conference this afternoon, Mr. Clinton said he had believed that President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia would submit to allied demands after "a couple of days" of bombing and halt the Serbian assault on Kosovo.

NATO and the Administration were initially criticized for that miscalculation of Serbian stamina, and then for failing to have a strategy for a prolonged air war, a campaign that ultimately lasted 78 days.

Until today, the President and his top advisers did not concede that they were wrong in their initial expectation that Mr. Milosevic would capitulate after a few days of limited air strikes.

Mr. Clinton said he had come to realize, once Mr. Milosevic withstood the first days of bombing, that the conflict would last for many weeks until the damage compelled the Yugoslav leader to relent in his campaign of terror in Kosovo.

Mr. Clinton said he had been "surprised and heartbroken" by the destruction of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade by guided weapons from an American B-2 bomber, an incident that continues to strain relations between the United States and China.

"I had no earthly idea that our system would permit that kind of mistake," Mr. Clinton said.

On another matter, Mr. Clinton said he had misspoken earlier this year when he said he had been presented with no evidence of breaches of security at United States nuclear weapons laboratories during his tenure in office.

"I think my choice of wording was poor," Mr. Clinton acknowledged today. "What I should have said was I did not know of any specific instance of espionage, because I think that we've been suspicious all along."

He said new information had since come to light, including that of the transfer of highly classified computer codes relating to nuclear weapons design and testing from a secure computer to the personal computer of a Chinese-American scientist at Los Alamos National Laboratory.

The President took no position on a recommendation from his intelligence advisory board that nuclear weapons design work be made independent of its current bureaucratic home, the Energy Department, or given greater autonomy within the agency. "I have asked our people to look at it," he said.

He declined to answer a question about the peace talks in Northern Ireland, where militant groups on both sides of the conflict are required to disarm by July 1 under terms of an agreement signed in April 1998.

The parties are in intense negotiations, the President said, and time is short to resolve longstanding issues. "This is a very serious, serious period, and I do not want to say anything that would make it worse," he said.

He was asked several questions about Kosovo during the 75-minute news conference. He grew passionate when asked why he would not consider providing aid to rebuild Serbia, which was significantly damaged by the allied air campaign.

He has said before that no Western aid will flow to Belgrade as long as Mr. Milosevic remains in power. He repeated that pledge today and delivered a lectern-pounding admonition to the people of Serbia.

"What the Serbian people decide to do, of course, is their own affair," the President said. "But you know, they're going to have to come to grips with what Mr. Milosevic ordered in Kosovo."

He continued: "And then they're going to have to decide whether they support his leadership or not, whether they think it's O.K. that all those tens of thousands of people were killed and all those hundreds of thousands of people were run out of their homes and all those little girls were raped and all those little boys were murdered. They're going to have to decide if they think that is O.K., and if they think it's O.K., they can make that decision, but I wouldn't give them one red cent for reconstruction if they think it's O.K., because I don't think it's O.K."

Mr. Clinton also emphatically rejected a reporter's suggestion that the United States and NATO were guilty of war crimes for killing Yugoslav civilians and destroying electric stations and waterworks. "NATO did not commit war crimes," Mr. Clinton said. "NATO stopped war crimes. NATO stopped deliberate, systematic efforts at ethnic cleansing and genocide. And we did it in a way to minimize civilian casualties."

He said that the allied bombardment had been the most accurate in the history of warfare and that civilian deaths had been minimal.

The Administration has not released an estimate of civilian deaths caused by the NATO air campaign, but one official said the preliminary tally was in the "low hundreds." The Pentagon estimates that allied attacks during the Persian Gulf war of 1991 killed several thousand Iraqi civilians.

Serbian reports have estimated civilian deaths at 1,200 to 2,000.

Mr. Clinton said he had been fooled by Mr. Milosevic when they last met, at a luncheon in Paris in 1995 when leaders were gathered to sign the Dayton peace accords that ended the war in Bosnia. Mr. Clinton said he had thought that perhaps Mr. Milosevic was not responsible for the atrocities and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia that left an estimated 250,000 dead and 2.5 million homeless.

"It was a delightful and interesting lunch," the President said. "And I thought, well, you know, maybe he had some distance between the extreme activities of the Serbs in Bosnia.

And then he went right out and did it all over again, and I mean with people directly under his control."

A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 6 of the National edition with the headline: CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE PRESIDENT; Clinton Underestimated Serbs, He Acknowledges



**Annex 120**

The Washington Post, Kosovo's Cruel Realities (4 August 1999)



 The Washington Post

## Kosovo's Cruel Realities

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By Salman Rushdie  
August 4, 1999

In the wake of the Gracko killings, British Prime Minister Tony Blair has appealed to the Albanians of Kosovo to set aside their enmities. "We fought this conflict," Mr. Blair said in the provincial capital Pristina last Friday, "because we believe in justice, because we believed it was wrong to have ethnic cleansing and racial genocide here in Europe towards the end of the 20th century, and we didn't fight it to have another ethnic minority [the Kosovan Serb minority] repressed."

These are good-hearted, high-minded, decent words, the words of a man who believes he has fought and won a just war, and for whom "justice" includes the idea of reconciliation. But they also indicate a failure of imagination. What happened to the Albanians in Kosovo was an atrocity whose dark effect on the spirit may lie beyond the power of decent men such as Mr. Blair to wish away. What happened may be, quite simply, unforgivable.

Tragically, this is not the first such imaginative failure. In the conflict's early days, many Kosovar Albanians also failed to grasp the scale of the horror that was coming their way. In many villages, the men decided to flee, convinced that Milosevic's army was intent on massacring them. They vanished into the woods, over the mountains, out of the army's murderous reach.

But they made one miscalculation: they left their families behind, unable to believe that their wives and children and infirm grandparents would be at risk from the advancing soldiers. The human capacity for the atrocious proved greater than these other human beings were able to foresee.

Now let us imagine the refugees' terrible return at the conflict's end. Nervously, hoping for joy, they near their village. But before they get there they understand that the unimaginable has occurred.

The men of this village must now face a truth in which profound shame and humiliation mingle with great grief. They are alive because they ran away, but the loved ones whom they left behind have been murdered in their stead. The bodies which they now carry in farmyard carts to the burial ground speak accusations through their shrouds.

The village's survivors tell the returned refugees the story of the massacre. They tell them how some of the Serbs in the village put on Serbian army uniforms and used their local knowledge to help the killers flush out the terrified Albanians from their bolt-holes. No, they said, don't bother to search that house, it has no cellar. Ah, but this house, there's cellar under that rug, they'll be hiding in there.

These Kosovan Serbs have fled now. But Milosevic doesn't want them in Serbia, where they are the living proof of his defeat. And Mr Blair, too, wants them to go home and be protected by K-FOR. They are

reluctant to return, fearing vengeance. And guess what? They're right. They're right and Tony Blair, with his vision of a new Kosovo -- "a symbol of how the Balkans should be" -- is wrong.

I supported the NATO operation in Kosovo, finding the human rights evidence in favor of intervention to be powerful and convincing. Many writers, intellectuals, artists and left-leaning bien-pensants thought otherwise. One of their arguments was, if Kosovo, then why not Kurdistan? Why not Rwanda or East Timor? Oddly, this kind of rhetoric actually makes the opposite point to the one it thinks it's making. For if it would have been right to intervene in these cases, and the West was wrong not to, then surely it was also right to defend the Kosovans, and the West's previous failures only serve to emphasize that this time, at least, they -- "we" -- got it right.

The anti-intervention camp's major allegation was and is that NATO's action in fact precipitated the violence it was intended to prevent; that, so to speak, the massacres were Madeleine Albright's fault. This seems to me both morally reprehensible -- because it exculpates the actual killers -- and demonstrably wrong.

Set aside all emotion and look at the cold logistics of Milosevic's massacre. It quickly becomes apparent that the atrocity had been carefully planned. Now, one does not make detailed plans to wipe out thousands of people just in case a speedy response to a Western attack should be needed. One plans a massacre because one intends to carry out a massacre.

True, the speed and enormity of the Serb attack took the NATO forces by surprise (another failure of imagination). That doesn't make it right to blame NATO. Murderers are guilty of the murders they commit, rapists of their rapes.

But if "we" were right to go in, and the war was indeed fought for idealistic motives, the idealism of the present policy looks increasingly starry-eyed. The reality, as reported by experienced foreign correspondents who have returned from Kosovo to say that they have never seen anything like it, is that there are few Serbs left in Kosovo, and it is probably impossible to protect them.

The old, multicultural Sarajevo was destroyed by the Bosnia war. The old Kosovo is gone too, very probably for good. Mr. Blair's ideal Kosovo is a dream. He and his colleagues should now support the construction of the free, ethnically Albanian entity which seems like a historical inevitability.

The aftermath of a war is no time for dreaming.

Salman Rushdie is a British novelist and essayist.

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 **Comments**



**Annex 121**

The New York Times, An Echo of Kosovo in Bonn (13 April 1999)



## International

The New York Times  
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April 13, 1999

### IN GERMANY

## An Echo of Kosovo in Bonn

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By ROGER COHEN

**B**ERLIN -- Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party Monday, but the margin of his victory clearly reflected some uneasiness over Germany's participation in NATO air strikes against Yugoslavia.

At a party congress in Bonn called to elect a replacement for Oskar Lafontaine, the former finance minister and Social Democratic Party leader who quit politics last month, Schroeder gained 76 percent of the vote in an uncontested ballot.

The vote followed a vigorous speech by Schroeder in which he said that "the genocide in Yugoslavia cannot be met with pacifism" and that Germany must stand by the ethnic Albanian "victims of expulsion, rape and murder."

The chancellor's words did not by any means convince all the delegates of a party whose pacifist wing resisted the deployment of Pershing missiles on German soil in the 1980's and continues to regard war as inherently wrong.

"This NATO military operation is based on the age-old misconception that there is such a thing as a just war," said Henning Voscheran, one of the party delegates. But a motion from his wing of the party demanding an immediate cease-fire was rejected.

Before the vote, Schroeder made it clear that he would be satisfied with 80 percent backing. He thus fell short of his target, as close to one quarter of the delegates voted against him. The vote was 370 in favor, 102 against, and 15 abstentions. Of all postwar Social Democratic leaders, only Lafontaine in 1995 was elected with a

smaller majority.

After three weeks of bombing, opinion polls show that about two-thirds of Germans support the country's participation in the NATO attacks. But in a country whose postwar mantra was long that "only peace" would go out from German soil, the return to war remains a sharply divisive issue.

In essence, Schroeder's "Red Green" coalition of Social Democrats and Greens has argued that Germany had two guiding doctrines after the fall of Hitler's Reich: no more war, and no more genocide. In the Balkans, the two have come into conflict, and the government has decided that the latter principle must take precedence.

Both Schroeder and his Green foreign minister, Joscha Fischer, have been firm in defending Germany's role in the NATO attacks, repeatedly using very harsh language to describe the acts of the Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic. But uneasiness in both governing parties is still evident.

The vote Monday made Schroeder the Social Democratic Party's eighth chairman since World War II and the first since Willy Brandt to be chancellor and party leader at the same time. In theory, he should now be in a stronger position to push through reforms aimed at deregulating the German economy that the left wing of his party opposes.

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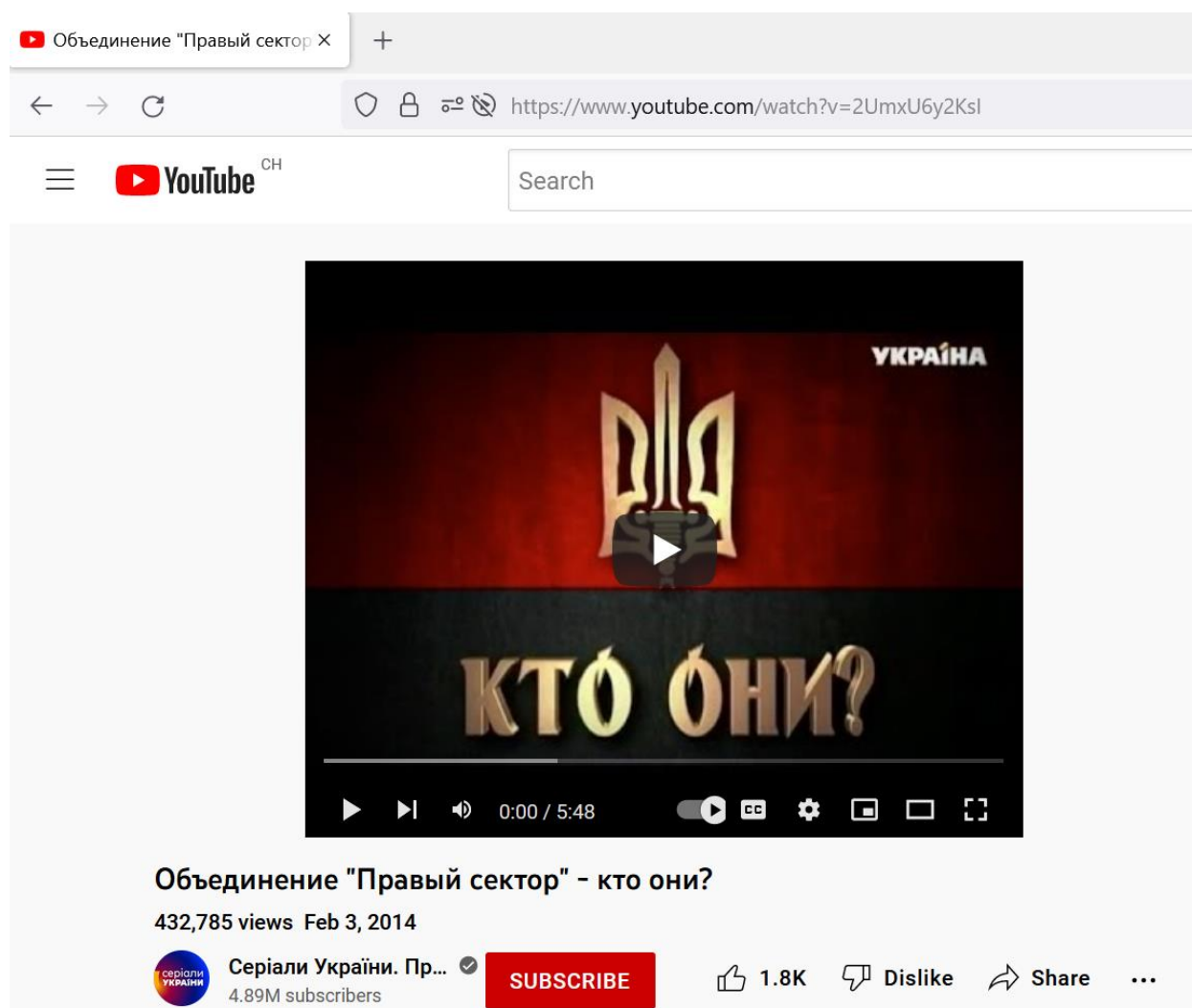
**Annex 122**

YouTube, The “Right Sector”: Who Are They? (3 February 2014)

(transcript, translation)



**YouTube, Channel “Ukraine’s Series. Premier”, “The “Right sector””: who are they?”, 3 February 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UmxU6y2Ksl>**



Объединение "Правый сектор" - кто они?

432,785 views Feb 3, 2014

Серіали України. Пр... 4.89M subscribers

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### Video Transcript (from Russian and Ukrainian)

[00:03]

**[Host]:** It is on the 5th floor of the building with the clock that members of several Ukrainian radical organisations are now based. In fact, the whole world is now discussing Ukrainian radicals. The words "Praviy Sektor" ("Right Sector") are pronounced in the US State Department without translation. There is around dozen nationalist organisations "under the wing" of this movement; the Right Sector activists attacked the police on Grushevsky Street on 19 January. Now they make their demands and are ready to leave only on their own terms. Who are they, these fighters, what unites them and do they obey anyone? Oksana Kotova found out.

[00:38]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** Well-protected legs, face, something in their hands, and the obligatory element of the gear - a shield, a special chic if it is a trophy. Some people call these guys terrorists, others call them fanatics, but everybody has long ago concurred in the opinion that it was the opposition that brought them to the streets; the only dispute now is whether it can get them out of here.

[00:56]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** Nobody knows how many there are, and where their main base is, what have they got in stock apart from Molotov cocktails and stones, and who is the real leader of the now silent Right Sector fighters. In fact, they were little known before these events on Grushevsky Street. "The aggressive actions of representatives of the radical Right Sector organisation are unacceptable," is a quote from a statement from the US State Department, followed by an appeal to the US authorities:

[01:25]

**[Announcer]:** "Please stop the resistance of nationalist and terrorist organisations of the Right Sector and take part in the liquidation of the radical groups using the forces and resources of US special services". 27 January 2014.

[01:40]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** A petition on the White House website to help the Ukrainian police gathered around 26,000 signatures in almost a week, with 100,000 needed for the Presidential administration to consider the issue. And here is the response from the Ukrainian authorities:

[01:51]

**[Prosecutor General of Ukraine Viktor Pshonka]:** It is necessary to stop immediately the mass unrests, which are accompanied by rapes, torchings, and pogroms. It is not just hooliganism, It is a crime against the state.

[02:04]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** They've been on the streets for over a month, 5 seized buildings, blocked streets in the centre of the capital are the work of the most aggressive fighters, the "White Hammer" unit is the elite of pogroms, judging by this footage, the fear of death is completely absent, as is the euphoric perception of any political force.

[02:18]

**[Unknown person]:** For Maidan!

[02:20]

**[Unknown person]:** Get the f\*\*k out of here!

[02:23]

[Indistinct]

[02:29]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** In the last week they have been in the role of peaceful protesters, their peace base being two tents in the street and one of the floors in the trade unions house, it is categorically prohibited to film. In the corridors there are camping mats, iron shields, sticks and fighters sleeping like British soldiers in the Crimean War - in balaclavas. The British, however, wore them because of the Balaklava cold and the Right Sector because of fear of persecution.

[02:47]



**[Leader of Social-National Assembly Igor Krivoruchko]:** You can't find exactly among the fighters any women, children, or veterans, there is some kind of esprit de corps, that is, whoever gets there doesn't get there by chance, they all know one another.

[02:58]

**[Leader of the Right Sector Dmitriy Yarosh]:** They know for what sake they shed their blood, for what sake they sacrifice their freedom, their time, and their money. Each person has fear.

[03:09]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** Two days later, exactly on Tuesday night, the Right Sector is threatening again to launch pogroms if the authorities and the opposition don't comply with their ultimatum to immediately release all those arrested.

[03:19]

**[Leader of the Right Sector Dmitriy Yarosh]:** They simply don't leave us any choice, they provoke, provoke another wave of violence. We do not want it, but after all we won't leave people behind bars.

[03:29]

**[Representative of Afghan Warriors in the Right Sector Andrey Marunchak]:** We see that the negotiations interfere with us from both sides, that is why veterans of the Afghan war are ready to act as a third force.

[03:37]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** But there will be no this or any other third party in the negotiations.

[03:41]

**[Deputy Head of All-Ukrainian Union "Batkivshchyna" Aleksandr Turchinov]:** This doesn't have to turn into a meeting, or into some party organization of this very complicated, but very important process, therefore I believe that the negotiating group is sufficiently represented.

[03:57]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** The political analyst has his own answer to the question why the opposition is not particularly keen to get the Right Sector off the streets:

[04:03]

**[Political analyst Taras Berezovetz]:** The Right Sector is beneficial for the opposition, because they can always say: we do not have any relationship with them, and we cannot be responsible for their actions, but the opposition actually does not have its own force units that are ready to act *[Indistinct]* and the opposition needs them to pressure the authorities.

[04:19]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** They recognize only one person now.

[04:22]

**[Leader of Social-National Assembly Igor Krivoruchko]:** The majority of people who represent here the interests of Ukrainians in the Verkhovna Rada, are just traitors. Nobody can doubt the

integrity of, for example, of such a person as Andriy Parubiy, or Oleg Lyashko. We saw him on the front. Arseniy Petrovich spoke a lot about some sort of bullets in the forehead, but in the end we actually did not see him here.

[04:40]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** The commandant of Maidan Parubiy confesses to me, on camera, that he does have influence over radicals. In the nineties, he, by the way, was the head of the organization Patriots of Ukraine, which disappeared and now reappeared as part of the Right Sector, but he will not use his friendship ties. “A radical is not so terrible as he is painted”, Parubiy assures.

[04:58]

**[Commandant of Maidan Andrey Parubiy]:** You control them. This word is not good. – You care about them. I cooperate with them. And does the opposition cooperate with them? We are all in opposition. They will continue standing on the Maidan.

[05:11]

**[Correspondent Oksana Kotova]:** The punishments for offences during mass rallies in Western countries are much more serious than in Ukraine, experts say, for example, in France a hidden face during a riot entails 3 years in prison, in the UK, in addition to a fine, it may result in 10 years in prison, and in Germany the punishment is even stricter – life sentence.

[05:29]

**Vidym Kolesnichenko, people's deputy:** Some of the guys who are foot soldiers, they are used by the organisers as cannon fodder. The situation gets out of control even for these organisers.

[05:38]

**Correspondent Oksana Kotova:** The position the Right Sector has now is "there is nowhere to retreat", for them a step back is a step leading to a detention centre or to the underground.

Oksana Kotova, Pavel Kholodov, Roman Rebriy, "Events of the Week".

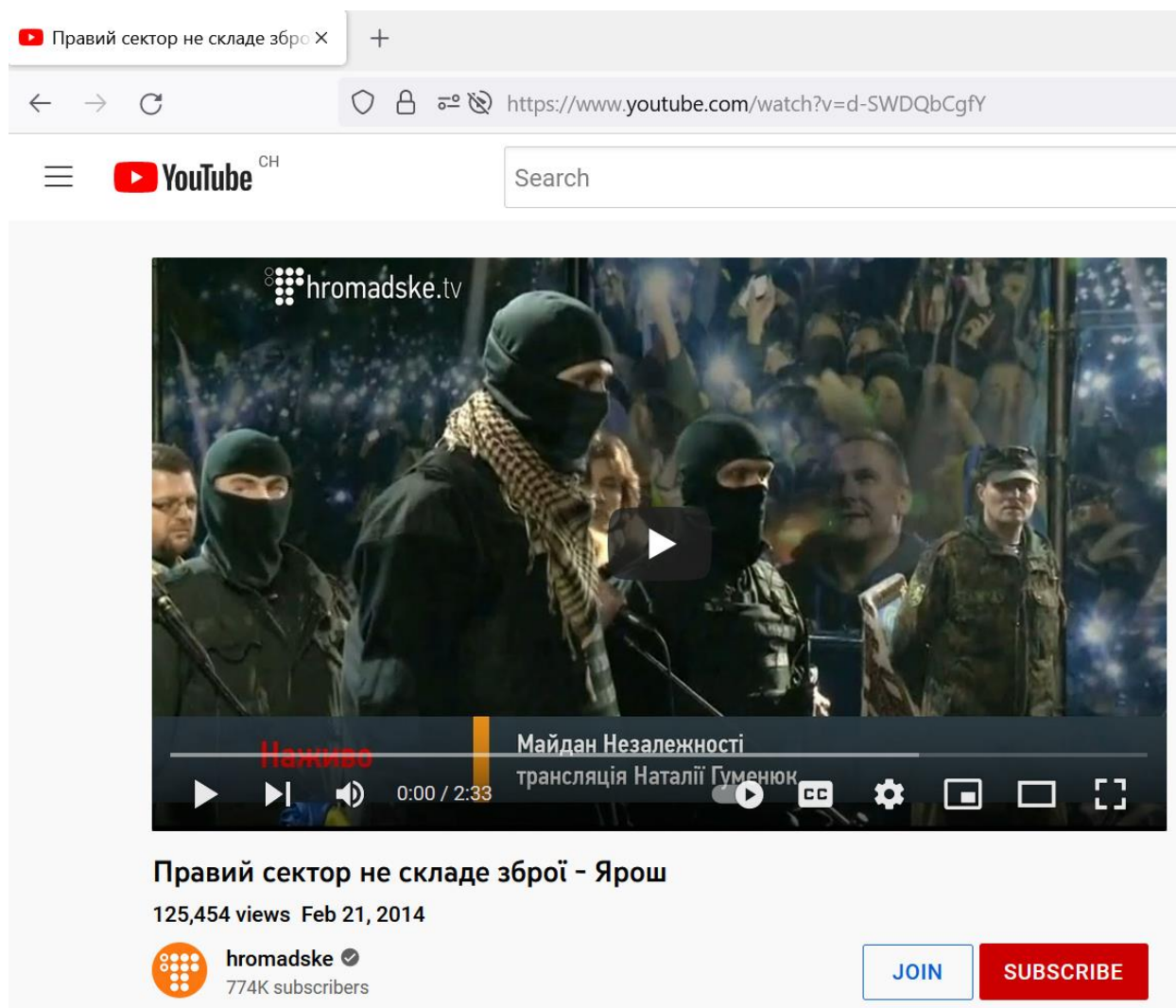
**Annex 123**

YouTube, Yarosh: The “Right Sector” Will Not Lay Down Its Arms (21 February 2014)

(transcript, translation)



**YouTube, Channel “hromadske”, “The “Right Sector” will not lay down its arms – Yarosh”, 21 February 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-SWDQbCgFY>**



Правий сектор не складе зброї - Ярош

125,454 views Feb 21, 2014

**hromadske** ✓  
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### Video Transcript (translated from Ukrainian)

[00:06]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** Glory to Ukraine!

[00:11]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** Glory to Ukrainian heroes who perished in the battle for freedom, justice and prosperity of our homeland, our Ukraine. Glory!

[00:27]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** Brothers and sisters, the situation is difficult again, as it has been many times. The authorities have engaged in a process of "window dressing". The agreements that have been reached do not meet our goals. The Right Sector won't lay down the arms. The Right Sector won't lift the blockade of any state institution until our main requirement is fulfilled - Yanukovych's resignation.

[01:05]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** Guys and girls, I want to stress that...

[01:12]

**[The crowd chanting]:** Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal! Tri-bu-nal!

[01:38]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** All are to blame here: Zakharchenko, commanders of Berkut, those who gave orders, snipers must be arrested!

[01:58]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** The Right Sector has always stood and is still standing for the unity of the rebel movement. The Right Sector calls all subjects of the Maidan to the joint... to continue the joint struggle against the regime of internal occupation. We are ready to take responsibility for further deployment of the Ukrainian revolution. Glory to Ukraine!

[02:25]

**[Dmitriy Yarosh]:** Thank you, friends!

## **Annex 124**

Kommersant, Photos of the police officers attacked and wounded by the Maidan protesters  
(2014)





9/26/22, 2:41 PM

KMO\_088197\_175983\_1\_t218\_184947.jpg (968x544)





### **Annex 125**

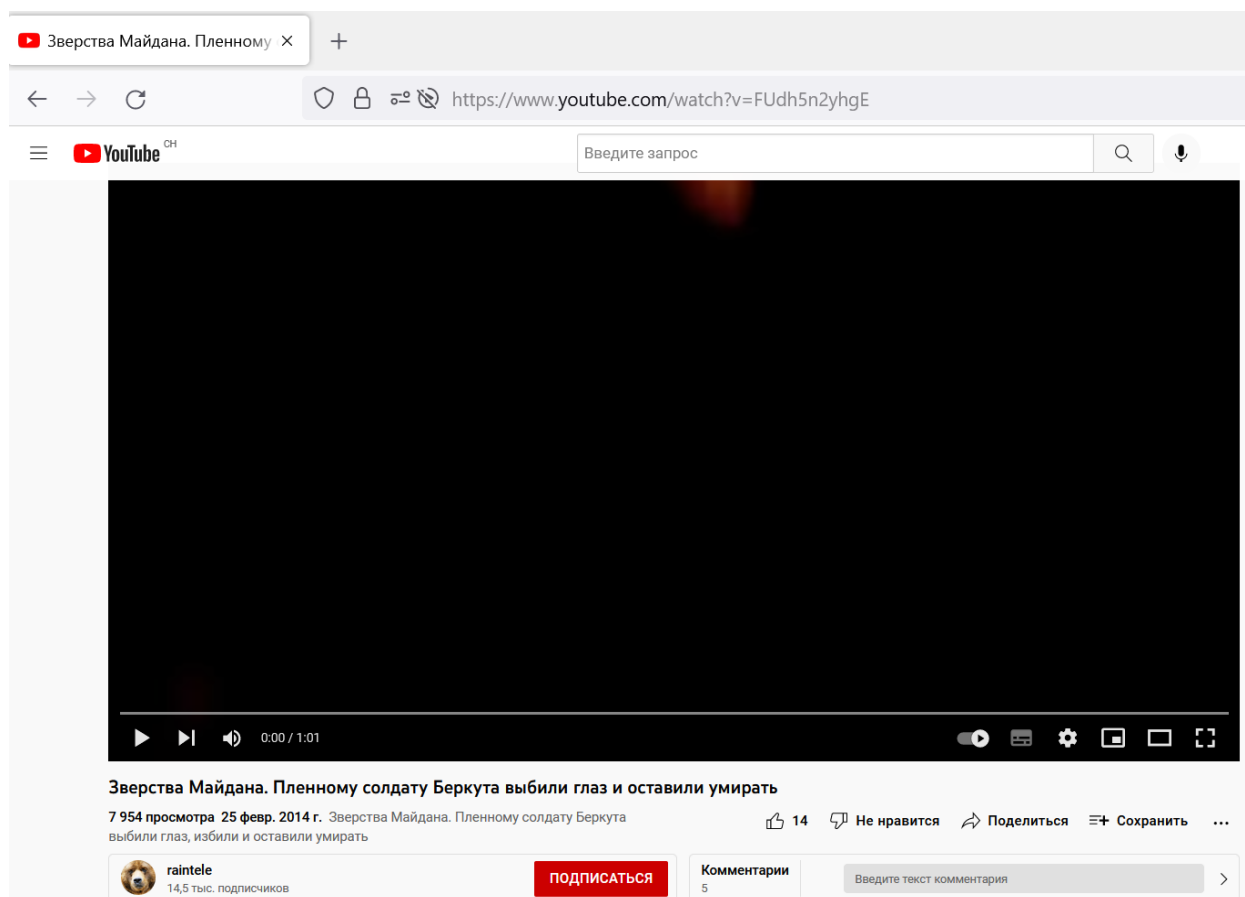
YouTube, Maidan atrocities. Captive Berkut soldier had his eye knocked out and was left to die  
(25 February 2014)

(transcript, translation)



**YouTube, Channel “rainteles”, “Maidan atrocities. Captive Berkut soldier had his eye knocked out and was left to die”, 25 February 2014, available at:**

**<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUdh5n2yhgE>**



### Video transcript (translated from Russian)

[00:03]

**[Unknown person]:** He doesn't have an eye.

[00:07]

**[Indistinct]**

[00:16]

**[Unknown person]:** Well, there's a stretcher in the first tent, quick, it's urgent! Come on!

[00:22]

**[Unknown person]:** Ambulance, right?

[00:24]

**[Unknown person]:** No ambulance! **[Indistinct]**

[00:30]

**[Unknown person]:** So, it's Berkut! It's Berkut!

[00:35]

**[Unknown person]:** No eye. Get a stretcher, quick! *[Indistinct]*

*[00:44]*

**[Unknown person]:** Ambulance! Ambulance! It's Berkut.

*[00:46]*

**[Unknown person]:** No ambulance!

*[00:48]*

**[Unknown person]:** It's a prisoner.

*[00:54]*

**[Unknown person]:** Does he have a pulse?

**Annex 126**

I. Lopatonok, O. Stone, Ukraine on Fire, Documentary (2016)

(transcript, translation)







00:00:57	Vladimir Putin	Do you want to know what was happening in Ukraine?
00:00:58	Victoria Nuland:	We have spent over 5 billion dollars to assist Ukraine
00:01:03	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	You know, in big politics whatever they're talking about, they are talking about money
00:01:10	Oliver Stone	NATO has expanded by 13 countries up to the borders of Russia. 13 countries
00:01:16		The focus has to be not allowing this crisis to turn into a hot war between Ukraine and Russia
00:01:28	Viktor Yanukovych	This is a dangerous topic, we're talking about war. No one should feel safe today.
00:02:44	Narrator	Ukraine it's an ancient and proud land with a rich history filled with much beauty, heroism and sacrifice Ukraine is a border land, a place where east meets west. This is the flag of Ukraine, the blue represents the sky the gold is seeming endless fields of wheat. Ukraine is a prize many have sought, and much blood was spilled in a quest to possess it. Ukraine has been the path for the western countries as they attempted to conquer the east. In world war I and in world war II and every time the Ukrainian people payed the highest price for this grand games of power. History doesn't repeat but it surely rhymes said mark twain looking closely to the history of Ukraine one will notice many rhymes being surrounded by stronger powers Ukrainians needed a lot of cunning to survive the art they truly mastered in time was the art of changing sides. In the middle of the 17th century Ukrainian leader Bogdan Khmelnititskiy broke the peace they made with Poland and sided with more powerful Russia. Just over 50 years later as the Russian-Swedish war was raging another Ukrainian leader Ivan Mazepa broke the union with Russia and switched sides joining forces with the Swedish invaders. Many times Ukrainian history was written by third parties, seeking to keep the gains of the revolution at any cost Russia agreed to the humiliating Brest-Litovsk peace of 1918 which turned Ukraine into a German protectorate. Another historical document that changed the fate of Ukraine was the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 one of many such agreements being signed between European countries and rising Germany. Attempting to protect his nation from the approaching Nazi threat Joseph Stalin negotiated a treaty of non-aggression with Adolf Hitler. While promising each other peace the soviet and German foreign ministers Molotov and Ribbentrop divided the map of eastern Europe splitting it into German and soviet spheres of influence. No sooner as the Molotov-Ribbentrop

<p>pact was signed Poland was split and in September of 1939 eastern Poland became the western Ukraine and a part of the family of the soviet republics and the USSR. But even this bold dividing of lands and nations only delayed the inevitable, Germany broke its promise to the USSR. On June 22nd 1941 Germany invaded the USSR, launching 'Barbarossa' the largest military operation in world history. Barbarossa was aiming for Saint-Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev (Ukraine) - three destinations of major significance. Ukraine with its rich land and resources was an important industrial and economic source for the USSR, to cut it from the Soviet Union would strike a big blow indeed. For most of the Soviet Union the Second World War was about fighting the invaders of their land. But it wasn't quite so simple for Ukraine. The truth is Ukraine has never been a united country. When world war II broke out a large part of western Ukraine's population welcomed the German soldiers as liberators from the recently enforced soviet rule and openly collaborated with the Germans. The real scale of collaboration was not announced for many years after the war, but we now know that whole divisions and battalions were formed by Ukrainian collaborators such as SS Galizien, Nachtigal and Roland battalions. Just in the beginning of the war more than 80 thousand people from the Galicia region voluntarily involved for the SS Galizien in a month and a half, notorious for its extreme cruelty towards Polish, Jewish and Russian people on the territory of Ukraine. Members of these military groups came mostly from the organization of Ukrainian nationalists the OUN founded in 1929. This organization had an ultimate goal of creating an ethnically pure independent Ukraine and considered terror as acceptable tool for achieving their ends. Their official flag was black and red, land and blood. It will remain in Ukraine's history long after the OUN will cease to exist. In early 1940 the most radical nationalist part of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists got its own leader - Stepan Bandera [for Ukraine, for freedom, for honor, for glory] severely anti-Semitic and anti-communist he proclaimed an independent Ukraine in 1941. His German allies found such an act of self-will unacceptable and they put him in prison for nearly all the Second World War. Not participating in the events physically Bandera still managed to successfully spread his ideology. Many independent historians state that the OUN militia exterminated from 150 to 200 thousand Jews on the Ukrainian territory occupied by the Germany by the end of 1941. The most notorious and outrageous massacre took place on September 29 of 1941 in Babiy Yar, Kiev. "All kikes of the city of Kiev and its vicinity must appear on Monday,</p>		
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<p>September 29 by 8 o'clock in the morning. Bring documents, money and valuables and also warm clothing, linen, etc. Any kikes who do not follow this order and are found elsewhere will be shot". 33.771 Jews were killed in this two-day operation by the Nazis and the Ukrainian militia. Another outrageous massacre was carried out by the Ukrainian rebels army and the OUN. It happened on the territory of the German occupied Polish Wolyn and eastern Galicia between 1943 and 1944. This genocide of poles was led by Mykola Lebid. 35 to 60 thousand people in Wolyn and 25 to 40 thousand people in eastern Galicia became the victims of this massive ethnic cleansing operation. Sensing the inevitable loss of the German troops the OUN gave up on its former ally and began fighting equally against the German and the Soviet forces. In January of 1943 the USSR army began pushing back the German troops liberating one part of Ukraine after another. Western Ukraine was the last Ukrainian region held by the Germans, finally was liberated in October of 1944. Bandera's gangs continued their guerrilla war against the Soviet regime, carrying out bloody attacks on Ukrainian villages and towns, leaving behind chaos and victims among civilians. This war went on till the mid 1950's when the last collaborators were detained or fled the country. On May 7 of 1945 Germany unconditionally surrendered to the allies and Ukraine remained a part of the USSR.</p> <p>Peace after the Second World War was short-lived. The USA and the USSR, nations who allied together along with England against the Nazis, later tragically became foes as the cold war began. The era of political and military tension between the USA and the USSR lasted for nearly 45 years keeping humanity under constant threat of nuclear war. In this battle the USA never lost sight of Ukraine because of its importance. US intelligences kept a close eye on Ukrainian nationalistic organizations as a possible source of counter-intelligence against the Soviet Union. CIA documents that just recently been declassified show strong ties between US intelligence and Ukrainian nationalists since 1946. From the CIA agents' reports it's clear that they weren't mistaken about the nature of the Ukrainian nationalists and Stepan Bandera. According to the OSS report of September 1945 Bandera had earned a fierce reputation for conducting a reign of terror during World War II. After the second world war Bandera and other Ukrainian nationalist leaders fled to Europe where the CIA covered them. The CIA later informed the immigration and naturalization service it had concealed Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainians from the Soviets. The operations involving</p>		
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		<p>Ukrainians continued for many years. The Nurnberg trials of 1945 and 1946 had put the political, economic and military leaders of fascist Germany to justice and revealed to the world the monsters' face of Nazism and the crimes they committed. But the Ukrainian Nazis were spared of such fate and some were even granted indulgences by the CIA. By 1954 [1951] the agency excused the illegal activities of OUN's security branch in the name of cold war necessity. In 1949 Mykola Lebid, the man responsible for the mass massacres in Wolyn was moved to the USA where he died in 1989 without ever being investigated or pursued as a war criminal. Protecting the Ukrainian nationalist Mykola Lebid the CIA stopped criminal investigation of the immigration and naturalization service in 1952. Perhaps Bandera lost his use to the USA or maybe the KGB agency outplayed the CIA but in 1959 Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian nationalist, was killed in Munich where he was hiding under the name of Stepan Popel. It would be fair to say that Bandera became the main symbol of Ukrainian nationalism by sheer chance because he wasn't neither its only nor its most powerful leader. Dmitriy Dontsov was the father of the far right totalitarian doctrine in Ukraine. Andriy Melnyk was the leader of another fraction of the OUN. Roman Shukhevich the leader of the Ukrainian insurgent's army and many others contributed greatly to the movement. Bandera's dangerous ideology suppressed by the soviet government but supported by external forces never completely died. The seeds of Ukrainian nationalism were passed from generation to generation, unfortunately it was just a matter of time before they would once again blossom. In 1954 Ukraine's territory was expanded even more when Nikita Khrushchev, leader of the USSR and Ukrainian himself, generously gave the Crimean region to Ukraine. Historians will debate for many years about the legitimacy of this action and 60 years after the Khrushchev's gift dramatic new events were taking place in Crimea.</p>
00:15:47	Reporter	<p>The eyes of the world are on Ukraine as the crisis in Crimea continues...          Dozens of well-armed people have seized the government buildings in Crimea.          Should Ukraine just shrug its shoulders and say "ok, Crimea is lost"?</p>
		<p>The old argument would repeat once again... the cold war was going up and down while both rivals were obsessively building up their military capacity. The turning point came with the Perestroika when the USSR got its new leader Michael Gorbachev, in the middle of 1980-s. Perestroika means restructuring towards liberalization and marketization.</p>

		It certainly had a positive impact on the international situation
00:16:37	Reporter	Astonishing news from East Germany where the East German authorities announced that the Berlin wall doesn't mean anything anymore
00:16:47	Narrator	But inside the USSR the weakening of the Kremlin control had different consequences. In Ukraine the nationalistic political organization called Narodny Rukh or the People's Movement emerged in 1989 due to this new openness.
00:17:03	Vyacheslav Chernovol	... and all of us on this remarkable occasion, the foundation of our movement.
00:17:06	Narrator	They advocated for independence of Ukraine from the USSR and became the starting point for many of the Ukrainian nationalistic and neo-Nazi leaders. In 1991 one of them, Oleh Tyahnybok founded "Svoboda", an openly radical nationalistic party following the good old principles of Bandera.
00:17:29	Oleh Tyahnybok	They trained themselves and fought with Russkis, fought against Germans, fought against kikies and other vermins who wanted to take away Ukraine from us.
00:17:41	Narrator	"Purge Ukraine from Jews and Russians!"; "Ukraine for Ukrainians!"; and so on. These statements got him the 5th place on the list of top 10 anti-Semites world-leaders in 2012 according to the Simon Wiesenthal center
	Oleh Tyahnybok	Glory to Ukraine! crowd: Glory to the heroes!
00:17:57	Narrator	But also sadly attracted numerous followers. Dmitriy Yarosh founded another extreme right organization "Trizub" or "Trident" in 1994. In April of 2013 Yarosh became the assistant to a member of Parliament from the opposition party "Udar". Later that year he became the leader of the most radical Ukrainian neo-Nazi group "The right sector". Andriy Parubiy would soon lead the whole army of the ultra-nationalistic warriors and the torch marches will once again lighting the streets of Ukrainian cities. The world drastically changed in August of 1991 when the USSR de-facto ceased to exist, and global political map welcome many newcomers, Ukraine was one of them. In modern history it was for the first time Ukraine was truly independent and all on its own.

00:19:20	Reporter	The red flag above the Kremlin came down today when president Gorbachev resigned ending 70 years of communist rule in the Soviet Union.
00:19:30	Narrator	The years after the disintegration of the USSR became known as crazy 90-s on all post-soviet territories.
00:19:40	Reporter	He's leaving behind 15 independent states that share only a disaster's economy and an uncertain future.
00:19:48	Narrator	After the planned economy of the USSR the free market dramatically changed the rules of the game. New businesses emerged quickly and the first oligarchs were born overnight. A former country without class division became stratified, the chosen few ones became rich while the rest had to fight to survive.
00:20:10	Vladimir Putin	Right after gaining independence an even wilder privatization and pilfering of property, of the state property began, lowering the life quality of the people right after the independence. And what is interesting, whoever was coming to power nothing changed for the common people. A constant robbery of the people was happening, a constant robbery of the Ukrainian people. Of course, the people grew tired of this abuse of power, of this absolutely crazy corruption.
00:20:48	Narrator	The people's growing discontent made Ukraine more vulnerable to outside forces and a new kind of war was launched one had never known before - the color revolutions
00:21:04	Reporter	The protesters are confronting the police while the result of the elections is being questioned and they are calling for a new vote.
00:21:13	Narrator	Ukraine has had 2 color revolutions for 24 years of its independence. In 2004 people came on the streets of Kiev and started the orange revolution. At that time Ukraine once again became the battlefield of two forces: Russian and western governments. The confrontation reached its peak during the presidential election of November 2004. The two major candidates: western-backed Viktor Yushchenko and Russia-oriented Viktor Yanukovych almost equally shared the votes of the Ukrainians. By the way - calling Viktor Yushchenko western-backed is not an exaggeration, his wife - Kateryna Yushchenko is a former US state department official and worked in the White House during Reagan's administration. The division was along geographic line: traditionally pro-Russia eastern Ukraine voted for Yanukovych, while western Ukraine chose Yushchenko. By the announced results Viktor Yushchenko lost to Viktor Yanukovych but thousands of people didn't agree with that and came to the central square of Kiev on November 22 <sup>nd</sup> .

		The situation got wide press coverage.
00:22:30	Reporter:	The government election commission ignored the reports of fraud declaring Kremlin-backed Viktor Yanukovych the winner.
00:22:35	Narrator:	The international politicians such as former general secretary of NATO Javier Solana became frequent guests in Kiev initiating negotiations between parties.
00:22:47	Javier Solana	I hope very much that with the good will of everybody we will be able to overcome these difficulties.
00:22:55	Narrator	The results of the negotiations were often reached only on paper. Thus, Viktor Yushchenko never told his supporters to stop blocking the government buildings in the center of Kiev. Therefore, these non-violent and very orange protests lasted for a month during which the result of the previous election were canceled, and new elections were announced. An important nuance - just 3 months before Viktor Yushchenko became a victim of a mysterious still unsolved poisoning, but it didn't prevent him from winning the new election. But as we shall soon see there was much more than just the people's will that lead to this victory. This peaceful revolution and its leaders were warmly welcomed by the international community, but the euphoria didn't last long. Yushchenko's government completely failed with reforms and lost its chance to establish democracy instead of setting into internal fighting. Viktor Yushchenko was not reelected for a second term but in the end of his presidency he had time to give one last gift to his supporters from western Ukraine.
00:24:00	Viktor Yushchenko	Finally, I want to say something that millions of Ukrainian patriots have been waiting for many years. I have signed a decree for the unbroken spirit and standing for the idea of fighting for independent Ukraine. I declare Stepan Bandera a national hero of Ukraine. Glory to Ukraine!
00:24:36	Narrator	The hero status of Stepan Bandera was short-lived. In 2010 Viktor Yanukovych was elected president. This time the international community had no doubts about the legitimacy of the elections. In January 2011 Viktor Yanukovych repealed the hero title of Bandera and after almost 4 years of his presidency another revolution shook Ukraine. Unfortunately, this one was anything but peaceful.
00:25:22	Oliver Stone	Mr. Yanukovych, I am an American, I'm an outsider to this situation and it's very complicated, but I would like as a



		<p>filmmaker just to jump into the action and go to those moments in November 2013. You're president of Ukraine, you've been president for 3 years at this point, the country is in a bad economic shape, you have a trade agreement with Russia and now you're seeking to make a better agreement with the EU and you're negotiating. Can you bring me at that moment and what you were thinking?</p>
00:25:59	Viktor Yanukovych	<p>It was, indeed, a very complicated period of time for Ukraine and we had to find a solution for the problems in 2013. Therefore, we had two partners. First of all, we were relying on the International Monetary Fund, but throughout the whole year of negotiations the IMF suggested us unacceptable solutions: a significant rise of utility rates, first and foremost for the electricity and natural gas. This would mean a lot of expenses for the people, while their income would stay at the same level. We didn't go there. We suggested other solutions but got an official refusal from IMF in November 2013. This left us with Russia. Russia told us that it was ready for partnership if we took its interests into consideration.</p>
00:27:14	Vladimir Putin:	<p>Economies of Ukraine and Russia emerged as a united economy, we had developed absolutely unique special economical relationships. Russian markets were wide open for Ukrainian produce as well as our custom borders. Therefore, it would mean that EU with all its goods would enter our markets without any negotiations.</p>
00:27:42	Viktor Yanukovych	<p>When we started calculating the balances, we realized the agreement, offered by Europe for Ukraine, required essential economic expenses, and Europe didn't provide any loss balancing, and in the meantime the Russian market would be significantly limited or even shut down.</p>
00:28:08	Vladimir Putin	<p>We said: "of course, if Ukraine has come to this decision, this is it's choice and we respect this choice, but we don't have to pay for it"</p>
00:28:20	Viktor Yanukovych	<p>Our negotiations with Europe didn't succeed, so we suggested taking a pause in this way.</p>
00:28:29	Reporter:	<p>Violent clashes erupted in Ukrainian capital Kiev as more than 100 thousand people protested against the government's decision to delay the association deal with EU.</p>
00:28:43	Oliver Stone	<p>Vitaliy, you were the minister of interior affairs of Ukraine in this period and you were chief of the police of the country. Can you tell me your vision of what happened from November protests through February protests?</p>

00:28:56	Vitaliy Zakharchenko:	We had the information that massive protests were planned beforehand anyway and they were supposed to start in 2015, but the opposition used the fact that the Cabinet, and then the president decided to suspend signing an association agreement with the EU.
00:29:19	Narrator	Arseniy Yatsenyuk, leader of the opposition party "Fatherland". Oleg Tyagnibok, leader of the opposition nationalist far right political party "Svoboda". Vitali Klitschko, leader of the opposition party "Udar".
00:29:32	Reporter	Both the EU and Ukrainian officials on Thursday stated that the suspension of talks on closer tights can be revived after the 2-day meeting, but officials say that the deal is off the table for now.
00:29:43	Angela Merkel	We expected more from it, you know.
00:29:46	Viktor Yanukovych	I want you to hear me. For three and a half years I have been one on one of this matter... with a very strong Russia.
00:30:02	Reporter	Pro-EU protests on the streets of Kiev enter the 2nd day. The crowd of thousand protesters are now joined by the leader of the opposition, world boxing champion Vitaliy Klitschko. He called the demonstrators to maintain pressure on the government after it decided not to sign a major trade deal with the EU.
00:30:22	Oliver Stone	You go back to Kiev the next day after the meeting with Merkel and protests are on, am I right? Can you take me about that period?
00:30:27	Viktor Yanukovych	In the very beginning I had clear understanding that those were peaceful protests and during peaceful protests there can and should be a dialogue and I was ready for it.
00:30:49	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	When speaking about the protests of November-February, one should always take into consideration the dynamics of their development, which took place in Ukraine in advance before. There was a big number of NGOs financed from abroad, lots of journalists, working for grants.
00:31:09	Narrator:	Robert Perry is a long-time investigative journalist based in Washington DC best known for his major disclosure of the Iran-contras scandal in 1980s. He is a founder of Consortiumnews.com and he's reported extensively on the crisis in Ukraine and the forces behind it.
00:31:25	Robert Perry	An NGO is a non-governmental organization and many NGO's are quite legitimate. They represent good purposes,

		maybe they help people in the country, solving medical, water problems or deal with kind of social problems. But there are some NGO's that have become funded by the government entities and serve more the purpose of that government rather than trying to serve the people that they're sensibly working for. What we can see in the 1980s at that point the CIA had been partly discredited because of scandals that it been exposing in 1970s.
00:32:03	Narrator	For 15 years the CIA had secretly financed overseas activities of national students' associations but then it came the light of fantastic web of CIA penetrations.
00:32:14	Robert Perry	So, when the Reagan administration came in, there was this concept that instead of having the CIA with traditionally would go into the different target countries funding the media, the NGOs, funding different political operations. That was essentially formed out to a new organization called National Endowment for Democracy which was created in 1983. And it would do pretty much what the agency used to do. It would go into all of these countries and it would support their political groups, train activists, deal with the journalists, business groups, and try to push USA foreign policy interests sometimes against the interests of the host government, the target government. They were also received financial and logistical help from the National Endowment for Democracy and other US agencies. They help them train activists working with journalists to get their side represented more favorably. They worked on things like how to get traction, how to make things viral, how to use that to generate support for your course.
00:33:19	Narrator	And support was generated. Mustafa Nayem, a founder of one of Ukraine's new media outlets.
00:33:28	Mustafa Nayem	Good evening, or, rather, good night.
00:33:31	Narrator	Gromadske TV knew very well how to make something go viral. It was his notorious Facebook post on November 21st of 2013 that have led the first crowd to Maydan
00:33:45	Mustafa Nayem	I wrote this just to see if there were such people out there or if, maybe, we would just talk about it somewhere in Facebook.
00:33:53	Narrator:	"If you don't read the newspaper, you're uninformed if you read the newspaper, you're misinformed" Mark Twain. To deliver our message officially enough in a modern world with so many different technologies and means of communications, you must embrace them all. As the disturbing events of Euromaydan started on November 21 of

		<p>2013, three new TV channels went on the air and suddenly became stunningly popular in Ukraine:</p> <p>Spilno TV found on November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2013</p> <p>Gromadske TV found on November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013</p> <p>Espresso TV found on November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2013</p> <p>Directly from opposition protests these channels went viral supporting the protests and encouraging more and more people to come to Maydan.</p>
00:34:42	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	<p>First mass protests started on the 21<sup>st</sup>, November 21<sup>st</sup>. At first, they were peaceful, all categories of people were there: both young and old people, people with the kids. It was clear that they trusted authorities, including the police, because they felt it was safe to come there and there was no threat that any measures will be used against these protesters, use of force etc. Accordingly, the police officers on duty those days were not carrying any firearms. But among protesters there were spotted come radicals, members of ultraright parties and neo-fascist organizations. And on 24<sup>th</sup>, on November 24<sup>th</sup> they committed their first act of aggression. On November 24<sup>th</sup> they attacked the building of Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine and the police officers guarding it. The second attack was against the security service officers of Ukraine on November 25<sup>th</sup>. And then their notorious events of November 30<sup>th</sup>.</p>
00:36:12	Narrator	<p>November 30<sup>th</sup> of 2013 became the first turning point of the Euromaydan. One of its most reported and mysterious events.</p>
00:36:20	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	<p>Let me tell you about these events from my perspective. I got a call from Popov, the head of Kiev City Municipality, he said that on that day they wanted to bring to Maydan the equipment for Christmas tree installation. I explained to him that there was no way they could do that while there were people on Maydan. Around 1 A.M., when most of the people started leaving the square, I had a phone conversation with the head of security service of Ukraine and asked for his assessment of the situation. He told me: "I think, thank God, it's over. All information we receive says that it's over". Starting from November 21 I, basically, lived and slept in my office, sometimes I had 2 hours of sleep per day. I came home around 3 A.M. I set the alarm for 6:30 A.M., I turned the TV on right away after I woke up, Channel 5 was on and it was showing a lot of ambulances and beaten people.</p>

00:37:34	Reporter	[indistinct] After *** police attack peaceful protesters with club, happening in early morning hours. The eyewitnesses said that the police did use ***
00:37:43	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	Frankly speaking, I broke out in a cold sweat.
00:37:48	Yanukovych	My first reaction to the police actions on Maydan was immediate; we had to investigate who gave an order to break up the protesters and use force against them. I was against any violations of human rights and using force against the protesters.
00:38:12	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	Popov just wasn't in position to make such decisions single-handedly. Who was Popov subordinate to? He was subordinate to the Chief of Staff - Serhiy Vladimirovich Lyovochkin -head of the Administration.
00:38:11	Narrator:	Coincidentally, Serhiy Lyovochkin was a close associate to many US politicians. The Security Service of Ukraine had evidence that on that night Lyovochkin was in contact with the opposition leader Yatseniuk, where they discussed the clearing of Maydan and pretext of installing an annual Christmas tree. News media reported that the right police cruelly attacked students peacefully sleeping in their tents, but scenes from the event seem to tell a different story. It appears that the protesters were waiting the police, additionally there were dozens of journalists, and cameras from the new public TV news outlets prepared to cover the events. And most [indistinct] a group of well-trained young men arrived at Maydan almost simultaneously with the police. They infiltrated the crowd and began provocations with insults, stones, and torches.
00:39:30	Robert Perry	The Right Sector in Ukraine represents a part of Ukrainian population, and has often favored an extreme right position, they had militias, they came especially during Maydan protests. There were groups were being shipped into Kiev, where they provide the muscle in fact for the demonstrations. The demonstrations ran from being relatively peaceful protest to being increasingly violent.
00:39:56	Narrator	The first step in detective work is to establish a motive. It is now set that Serhiy Lyovochkin is held in the highest team by its powerful US friends. Outraged by what was reported on news, the Ukrainian people came out in force on the next day to vent anger with the police actions.

00:40:19	Oliver Stone	The violence started to take off when?
00:40:22	Viktor Yanukovych	De facto, serious law violations began in December 2013. The events taking place in Kiev at that time were highly radical. There were neo-Nazi organizations participating, there were young people armed with various things: bats, metal bars, they also used road building machinery. With bulldozers they ran into the police officers, who were guarding the governmental and president administration buildings and didn't let the protesters seize these buildings. How could the president go to such an unruly crowd? Who was he supposed to talk to? The techniques, launched at that time, were planned well in advance.
00:41:27	Narrator:	As veiled and masked as the color revolutions can be an attentive viewer can see a subtle pattern similarly revealing their true nature. To make crowds act as one obedient group you have to unite them on the conscious level. The masterminds of color revolutions know this well and mastered this art. Symbolism is one of the most powerful tools to achieve this and revolutionary political organizations with surprisingly similar names and even more similar logos have appeared time and again. Almost is [indistinct] marking the countries that would be hit by color plate next. They are often described as being aware and active but actually trained and radical. They are the ones who take the first shot, literally and metaphorically to transform peaceful protests into full [indistinct]. Their fingerprints can be found everywhere on the map of color revolutions. Using all the experience of past generations, simple but effective tools like catching [indistinct] and chanting are employed. Crowd: Together – power! Together – power!
00:42:47	Narrator:	We'll know for exciting the crowd and creating a group identity they depersonalize the individuals and make them easier to manipulate. Crowd: Who is not jumping is a "Moskal"! (Russian) Who is not jumping is a Moskal! Man on stage: Thank you friends! Glory to Ukraine! Crowd: Hail to the heroes!
00:43:06	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	Of course, it couldn't be done without money. It's not a secret that there has been a huge number of NGOs, different grants and subsidies investing into Ukraine.

00:43:20	Narrator	Incidentally, one of such organizations, Gromadske TV, received generous donations from the Dutch and US embassies as well as from the Renaissance foundation, an NGO founded by George Soros.
00:43:35	George Soros	I've set up a foundation in Ukraine before Ukraine became independent from Russia and the foundation has been functioning ever since. And it played an important part in events now.
00:43:57	Narrator	"I like criticism, but it must be my way" Mark Twain
00:43:59	Oliver Stone	Did you see any evidence of US involvement? Did you feel the presence of the US?
00:44:05	Viktor Yanukovych	US representatives, congressmen, were frequent guests at that time. Mrs. Nuland visited on numerous occasions and we had discussed state of affairs with her, but after that she went to Maydan and supported protesters and accused police of abuse of power. We saw all these messaged on Maydan.
00:44:32	Chris Murphy	We all will back here, on this square to celebrate with you and Ukraine that stands with the EU and US.
00:44:43	Robert Perry	All members of congress were visiting Ukraine during that period most famously congressman John McCain. So some of the people who were challenging their government, their likely government at that point, were being told by seeing US official the person who had run for president and top official the US Congress that the US was with them.
00:45:01	John McCain	I'm senator John McCain and it's always a pleasure to be back in Ukraine.
00:45:06	Robert Perry	Senator McCain was in sense giving the people on Maydan feeling that they have the back in the most powerful country on Earth.
00:45:15	John McCain	This is not about the future you want for your country; this is about the future you deserve.
00:45:23	Viktor Yanukovych	Many delegations were coming over and I told them that, first of all, they shouldn't have lied, they shouldn't have taken the protesters side and protected only their right, creating and deepening the conflict. Are the protesters allowed to seize governmental buildings in any country? Can a Ukrainian ambassador come to the protesters in Ferguson and hand around donuts and accuse the police officers? I believe it is unacceptable in any European country as well, so why was Ukraine treated like that?
00:46:09	Oliver Stone	Who was your highest-level contact with the US government in this period?

00:46:11	Yanukovych	My high-level contact was Vice President Mr. Biden. We had frequent phone conversations, but the problem was that Mr. Biden said one thing, but they did different things in Ukraine.
00:46:30	Oliver Stone	And the US ambassador?
00:46:31	Viktor Yanukovych	The US ambassador received visits from Maydan representatives all the time. We knew it well, we kept track of it, and we got an impression that there was headquarters in charge of the whole process in the US embassy.
00:46:54	Robert Perry	In early February of 2014 as the Maydan crisis became more violent there was a phone call that was intercepted between the assistant secretary of state in Europe Victoria Nuland and the US ambassador in Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt.
00:47:07	Reporter	Questions of credibility are being raised after a private chat between the two top US diplomats was leaked online.
00:47:16	Victoria Nuland	I think Yats is the guy who's got the economic experience the governing experience he's the... what he needs is Klitsch and Tyagnybok on the outside. I just think Klitsch going in... he's going to be at that level working for Yatseniuk, it's just not going to work
00:47:30	Geoffrey Pyatt	Yeah, no, I think that's right. Ok. Good, do you want us to set up a call with him as the next step?
	Victoria Nuland	Sullivan's come back to me VFR saying you need Biden and I said probably tomorrow for an atty-boy and to get the deets [details] to stick. So Biden's willing.
00:47:45	Geoffrey Pyatt	OK.
	Robert Perry	So, you had this remarkable phone call where two high officials in the US government are openly talking about coup and about how they're planning to dysfunction the government of Ukraine.
00:47:56	Victoria Nuland	Fuck the EU!
00:47:57	Geoffrey Pyatt	No, exactly
00:47:58	Robert Perry	Not a whole US government feels what way. There is a division on this. But a neocons development wants very much to change the strategic dynamic in Eastern Europe. The neocons are very smart people and they have been [indistinct] for a long time. They came in around with their sure propaganda. They studied how to create hard platoons to put American people. They had his experience what they were getting America people to get excited about Central America back in 1980s.



00:48:27	Reporter	[indistinct] The ground forces are now armed with Russian artillery.
00:48:33	Robert Perry	They've been applying the same strategies ever since they remind dedicated to achieving their goals. They still want to get rid of certain governments they want a regime change in Syria, regime change in Iran. They're very skilled at this, and they have a lot of allies inside the news media, inside the government and that means they that can do a lot to control the narrative of any story.
00:49:00	Robert Kagan	I think in America these days we have somehow told ourselves that there are a lot of ways of dealing with these problems other than hard power. Vladimir Putin cares about hard power.
00:49:07	Robert Perry	The neoconservatives can now demonize the leader of the country. That sells with the American people, so you don't just argue the policy, you attack the leader. So, the neocons became very skilled at picking out leaders, finding them ugly trades and then highlighting them. Yanukovych, you might say that he is a rave hulking political leader, but you make him into a devil. He is thoroughly corrupt, evil that wants to kill people on Maydan is wonderful white-hated demonstrators, so you got black-hat versus white-hat. And when you keep repeating that basic scenario and it works with the American people.
00:49:45	John McCain	You got to realize who Vladimir Putin is. He's an old KGB [indistinct in English] who wants to restore the Russian Empire.
00:49:53	Robert Perry	You make them demons, and American people find that this way they can understand the world. Once that happens, that's difficult for journalists or someone else find it hard to say 'now hold on, there is no certain white hat and black hat, it's all very complicated' and if you say that you're instantly branded as an Yanukovych apologist or Putin apologist the one, who dared to say that is now under attack no matter who it is - a journalist, academic or whatever.
00:50:19	Narrator	Any good director will tell you that tempo and rhythm are the most essential components instruments to hold an audience in attention.
00:50:30	Vitaly Zakharchenko	The techniques used at Maydan required sacred victims. It was part of the scenario.
00:50:42	Narrator	It can also be called a method of betrayal, when the allies and followers are [indistinct] thrown into the revolutionary flame. The idea is simple: when the preparation work is done, the trigger just needs to be pulled to set the machine at

		<p>full motion. The murder of politician Rafik Hariri led the Cedar Revolution. Looking back at the mysterious poisoning of Viktor Yushchenko right before the orange revolution in 2004 we see now that he became the sacred victim himself. Most political analysts believe that the compassion of the Ukrainian people at that moment tilted the scales giving him the presidency. The number of victims among the protesters during Euromaydan totaled over 100. They were called the Heavenly Hundred. All the sacred victims were immediately mythologized.</p> <p>The beating of students on November 30 of 2013 was an obvious trigger of Euromaydan. Those who sent trained provocateurs to the square very well realized that peaceful protesters were the ones to get hurt the most. It's hard to keep protests going for months on end. Tension subsides and people inevitable get tired. Holidays are also big danger for revolutionary masterminds. People want to be home with their family, with the friends. And one needs to be inventive to keep people in the cold tents city.</p> <p>On Christmas Day of 2013 tabloid journalist and political “wanna-be” Tatiana Chornovol was chosen to become the tool to wake up the protests on Maydan back up.</p>
00:52:46	Reporter	<p>A civic activist and journalist known for investigating corruption among senior officials was found beaten outside Ukraine’s capital on Christmas.</p>
00:52:57	Narrator	<p>Her heroic deeds as the Reporter looked more like pretty crimes trespassing of the presidential residence of Viktor Yanukovych. Leading crowd to seize Kiev city administration building, breaking into a car of Security Service of Ukraine. It looked like Tatiana was more interested in making news than reporting it and gaining name recognition be turned into votes for her struggling political career in opposition party “Fatherland”. She gave the world media a Christmas present in 2013, when she was cruelly beaten by unknown [indistinct] on a road. Despite the fact, that in just 3 days all the suspects were arrested and confess the beating of Tatiana during a road rage incident, world media kept insisting upon the political background of the crime. Instantaneously Tatiana became a heroic martyr, uniting people around her image.</p>
00:53:52	Reporter	<p>The beating coming in a mid of political turmoil in Ukraine – this is driving protests.</p>
00:53:55	Narrator	<p>Euromaydan was once again a center stage and Tatiana in less than 2 months after the assault, she was already healthy</p>

00:54:07	Tatiana Chemovol	<p>enough to attack the office of “Party of Regions”, the party of Viktor Yanukovych.</p> <p>This is the home base of the cars which attacked me! This is the very nest of this criminal mafia government! And the death squads are also coordinated from there!</p>
00:54:14	Narrator	<p>One of the staff members, 65-year old IT-specialist Vladimir Zakharov was killed during the attack. So, where is Tatiana now? Well, she finally got her position of power in the new government.</p> <p>One month later the time for another act to play came. Armenian Ukrainian protester Sergei Nigoyan was one of the first to arrive at Maydan. He wasn't radical or violent but instead naive and full of hope. Watching Sergei read the patriotic poem is like watching a casting tape for the role of the sacred victim.</p>
00:54:55	Sergei Nigoyan	<p>Keep fighting, you are sure to win! God helps you in your fight! For fame and freedom march with you and right at your side!</p>
00:55:03	Narrator	<p>Unfortunately, Sergei got the part. Betrayed by his brothers in arms this video would eventually go viral after Sergei was killed early in the morning on January 22 of 2014. The circumstances of his death remain unknown to this day. Even though the whole area of protest was heavily filmed at time. There were no records or witnesses to help the investigation and his body was moved immediately from the scene of the crime. Sergei became the first killed martyr of Euromaydan, and [indistinct] the police officers were appointed as his killers. Almost 2 years later the official investigation would still deliver no results. Now it's widely believed that Nigoyan's murder was staged by provocateurs to escalate the conflict.</p> <p>God speaks to people with the language of signs. On January 26, 2014 Pope Francis prayed for Ukraine addressing thousands of people on Saint Peter's square in Vatican City. After the prayer two white doves were released from the Pope's window and were immediately attacked by a crow and a seagull. Those who understand the language, could easily read the meaning of this omen. Soon great forces – the seagull and the crow - will be tearing apart two Slavic nations - the white doves. This omen gave hope to the Ukrainian people saying that by God's will, the doves will be saved, but it also predicted severe hardship and many victims.</p> <p>The events, which could enter into the history of the color revolutions as the most massive human sacrifice yet, arrived</p>

		right on schedule - one month later.
00:57:07	Reporter	For weeks, this European capital was been seen in a violent uprising. Today is the bloodiest day yet. The protesters are pushing up towards the government district, armed here with Molotov cocktails. We saw handguns and shotguns too. There are casualties from both sides. She just said that there are 6 dead people up there not just injured, dead, they seem to be hit by snipers.
00:57:33	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	They started down police officers on February 20 <sup>th</sup> .
00:57:40	Viktor Yanukovych	I was informed that snipers started shooting and there were casualties on both sides.
00:57:46	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	First shots came from the building of the conservatory, which was controlled by Maydan forces.
00:57:55	Narrator	And here again we meet [indistinct] from "Narodniy Rukh". Andriy Parubiy, who was at the peak of his glory as a self-proclaimed commandant of Maydan, which basically means - the leader of the radical opposition.
00:58:11	Andriy Parubiy	We warned them that Maydan would take actions if our requirements weren't met in the nearest time
00:58:23	Vladimir Putin	The goal was to wreak havoc, but Yanukovych definitely wasn't the one to benefit from it.
00:58:32	Reporter	The protesters were filmed leading a long line of *** the police away. It's not clear where they were taking them. 67 officers are currently reported to be missing.
00:58:42	Oliver Stone	S: 14 policemen dead and 43 wounded?
00:58:44	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	There were 20 policemen dead and over 150 injured with gunshot wounds.
00:58:53	Viktor Yanukovych	Then, on 20 <sup>th</sup> and 21 <sup>st</sup> of February it was clear that a military coup-d'état had begun.
00:59:03	Reporter	... from inside the protest camp the opposition leader Vitali Klitchko urged his supporters to stay put. "Each of you here should stay strong in spirit", - he said, "Because we're not going anywhere".
00:59:21	Viktor Yanukovych	At that time, we were engaged in negotiations with the opposition and often we succeed to reach an agreement, but, as I realized later, it was a game. The radical part of opposition which didn't participate in the negotiations didn't listen to

		anybody. They just did their job.
00:59:47	Narrator	Like in 2004 during the orange revolution the international leaders felt that it necessary to intervene and bring both sides to the negotiation table.
00:59:57	Vladimir Putin	Three ministers of Foreign Affairs of European countries came to Kiev.
01:00:00	Narrator	Laurent Fabius, Frank-Walther Steinmeier, Radoslaw Sikorski.
01:00:10	Vladimir Putin	They took part in the meeting of Yanukovych and opposition and reached an agreement about pre-term elections and about building further relations between the opposition and the president
01:00:23	Narrator	The Ukrainian president and the leaders of the entire government protest they have agreed on a truth.
01:00:32	Reporter	The truth with to give talks between the president Yanukovych and the opposition chance.
01:00:36	Narrator	Just like in 2004 the opposition or at least the radical fraction "The Right Sector" headed by Dimitry Yarosh, had no intension on fulfilling its part of a bargain.
01:00:49	Dmitriy Yarosh	They reached agreements don't meet our requirements. Right Sector will not put down the arms, Right Sector will not lift a blockade from a single government building before they fulfill our main requirement – resignation of Yanukovych.
01:01:11	Viktor Yanukovych	I have signed such an agreement but a little later I've realized that it didn't matter what agreement we signed, the coup-d'état was already planned and it was inevitable. So, de facto, it didn't depend on us.
01:01:32	Polish foreign minister	If you don't support this you will have martial law, the army, you'll all be dead.
01:01:37	Reporter	The opposition leaders left same [indistinct] and found a way, the end of bloodshed, but they want to take a conclusion from meeting to the people. It was soon apparent that the people were not happy.
01:01:50	Vladimir Putin	And the next day Mr. Yanukovych left for the second biggest city in the country – Kharkov. As soon as he left, both his residence and government were seized by armed people. How would you call that?
01:02:08	Viktor Yanukovych	The matter is that I left for Kharkov by helicopter. My motorcade left on its own, but nobody knew that. As the

		<p>presidential vehicles were driving, they opened fire on them. Also, our Intelligence Service had information that there were mercenaries whose mission was not to detain president Yanukovych, but to execute him. I asked president Putin for a permission to enter the territory of Russia. I got such a permission and was provided assistance. February 24, I arrived at Russia.</p>
01:03:02	Narrator	<p>At the same time Kiev was saying its last goodbyes to the victims of the massacre. It was also welcoming those who came to power at their cost.</p>
01:03:20	Reporter	<p>Ukraine's parliamentarians voted for the new speaker of the Assembly to become [indistinct] president. Olexandr Turchynov called on [indistinct] to form a new government by Tuesday. These latest developments followed the dismissal of president Viktor Yanukovych on Saturday.</p>
01:03:37	Robert Perry	<p>And they removed Yanukovych not following the constitutional procedures for impeachment.</p>

01:03:40	Viktor Yanukovych	But the procedure of the impeachment wasn't followed. Both Constitutional and Supreme Courts had to be involved and at least ¾ of the Parliament members should have voted.
01:03:55	Narrator	The Parliament of Ukraine consists of 450 deputies. The Constitution of Ukraine requires at least a ¾ majority, in other words - 338 votes in favor of the impeachment, but only 328 deputies voted "Yes".
01:04:11	Viktor Yanukovych	But ¾ of the Parliament did not vote.
01:04:13	Robert Perry:	US State Department almost immediately said it was a legitimate government, and now was part to get regime change. Instead of having someone revived the February 21st agreement they made to bring Yanukovych and some teacher away that became any possibility anymore. Then you had issue in Ukraine resisting, the Crimea wanted to break away and things rapidly escalated.
01:04:38	Reporter	Voters will decide on Sunday whether leave Ukraine and join Russia. The campaign with the slogan "Together with Russia" has the backing of Moscow.
01:04:48	Oliver Stone	The Crimea situation, the referendum is also what happening during this period very quickly.
01:04:52	Viktor Yanukovych	Crimean referendum was an initiative of Crimean people. It was their respond to Maydan's representatives trying to arrange another Maydan in Crimea. It's not a secret that Crimean people has always been Pro-Russian.
01:05:13	Narrator	Crimean authorities, sensing the mood of the populace, fully supported Viktor Yanukovych's decision to postpone 2013 European Union association deal, and side deeper ties to Russia. As the events in Kiev took their course, Crimean authorities issued a declaration putting into words the fears of its people. "Based on the will of the Crimean people, who elected us, we declare that we will not give Crimea to extremist and neo-Nazis, seeking to seize power in Ukraine at the cost of the blood of the country and its citizens". After the regime change in Kiev rumors began spreading in Crimea, then the new authorities will be merciless to those who opposed them.
	Dmitriy Yarosh	Glory to Ukraine!
		crowd: Glory to the heroes!

01:05:58	Narrator	This led to the pro-Russian demonstrations rejecting the new government in Kiev. On February 27 the government buildings in the capital of Crimea were seized by pro-Russian protesters. The current Crimean government was dismissed, and the new leader Sergey Aksionov was assigned as the leader of the Crimean autonomous republic.
01:06:22	Viktor Yanukovich	Surely, they had hope and they applied to Russian Government to be protected.
01:06:30	Narrator	On March 16 the Crimean referendum was held, and people voted to leave Ukraine and enter the Russian Federation.
01:06:40	Robert Perry	The situation in Crimea is being presented as Russian invasion and again nobody who looks seriously looks at full number. Some of the full numbers stand by the US government agencies themselves, shows preferring people of Crimea being part of Russia. In US news media is all been presented as Russia's invaded and [indistinct] action with people with guns on the backs, some held back to polling boxes to get 96% approval for rejoining Russia.
01:07:09	Reporter	...a referendum in Crimea is just quiet simply unconstitutional... It does raise questions on whether this vote is really fair especially giving a heavy military presence in Crimea right now.
01:07:22	Robert Perry	So, what's how it's been sold to the American people, the realities are very different.
01:07:28	Reporter	The atmosphere here is certainly electric. The thousands of people who've gathered in the capital Crimean city of Simferopol, voted this referendum, held last Sunday in which the majority of people here overwhelmingly voted in support of being reunited with Russia.
		crowd: Russia! Russia!
01:07:46	Vladimir Putin	I want to ask – what is a democracy? Democracy is a policy, based on people's will. How can we find out people's will? In modern world we do it by voting. People came and voted – the turnout was over 90 percent and over 90 percent voted in favor of joining Russia. We should respect people's choice and not to manipulate international law and principles of democracy every time accordingly to your geopolitical interests. We didn't have any warfare there, nobody shot a single fire, nobody killed anybody.
01:08:31	Oliver Stone	What is described by the west as Russian invasion in Crimea is in fact a presence of Russian soldiers in the Crimea, can you clarify that?



01:08:39	Viktor Yanukovich	There have always been Russian soldiers in Crimea, since Black Sea Fleet base has been there.
01:08:50	Narrator	As long as 1804 Sevastopol's naval base became the main military port of Russian Empire on the Black Sea. During the WWII the heroic defense of Sevastopol lasted almost a year and took hundreds of thousands of lives. Therefore, the naval base in Crimea has a legacy of historical pride for the Russian Black Sea fleet as well as being of huge strategic importance.
01:09:32	Robert Perry	There was a life back when I remember there was Soviet missiles put in the Cuba for fight Americans were us angry, and how we almost went to a nuclear competition over having weapons that kind of destruction placed close to United States. If the United States considers Cuba to be unit's backyard, then Crimea plays as Russia's doorstep.
	Narrator	If the United States considers Cuba to be unit's backyard, then Crimea plays as Russia's doorstep.
01:09:57	Oliver Stone	The consequences of the US sea base or NATO base?
01:10:00	Vladimir Putin	There could be very grave consequences. The base, per se, doesn't mean anything, but there is a nuance I would like to point out why do we react so vehemently to NATO's expansion? We are concerned with the decision-making process. I know how decisions are made. As soon as the country becomes a member of NATO it can't resist the pressure of the USA a powerful state and a NATO leader. And very soon anything at all can appear in such country – missile defense systems, new bases or, if necessary, new missile strike systems. What should we do? We need to take countermeasures, meaning, to aim our rocket systems at new facilities which we consider to be threatening us. The situation gets tense.
01:10:53	Sergei Lavrov	If we're attacked, we will certainly respond.
01:10:56	Vladimir Putin	Sometimes I don't quite understand the logic of our partners, sometimes it looks like they need an external enemy to keep in leash and establish discipline in their own, so called Western European bloc. And despite all the concerns, Iran doesn't live up to it.
01:11:20	Oliver Stone	I am concerned about the expansion of NATO. NATO has expanded into 13 countries up to the borders of Russia, 13 countries.
01:11:27	Viktor Yanukovich	This is a very dangerous topic, this is a topic of war. A war between Russia and the United States is a complete

		madness.
01:11:44	Narrator	In early spring of 2014 Eastern Ukraine was also buzzing with protests against the new authorities in Kiev. This region's population, close to Russia geographically and culturally, feared that the ultra-right lines of the newly formed government will bring neo-nationalism to their lands. And they had reasons. The status of the Russian language in Ukraine has been a stumbling block for many years.
01:12:12	Reporter	... Russian as a second state language was one of the main campaign promises of president Viktor Yanukovych.
01:12:21	Narrator	In 2012 the Yanukovych government passed a law making it the second official language in Southern and Eastern parts of Ukraine, the area with Russian-speaking population makes up a majority. Ukrainian nationalist groups initiated massive protests opposing the law and observing viewer might see some familiar faces there.
01:12:40	Oleg Tyagnibok	That gang, that junta, those bastards can be defeated.
01:12:47	Narrator	On February 23rd, 2014 the very next day after the regime change the new government voted for annulment of the official status of the Russian language and even though later this decision was vetoed by the acting president Alexander Turchinov. It still sent a message and a powerful one. This alarmed the Russian-speaking cities of the Eastern Ukraine and people took to the streets to show their disagreement. In response pro-Maydan groups conducted their own demonstrations. When the two parties would meet, it was always tense. And eventually it led to tragedy. 1 person died and over 50 people were wounded in clashes during the pro-Russian march, protesting the new government in Kiev. On April 6 the Crimean scenario began repeating in Eastern Ukraine. The protesters seized the government buildings, and the next day April 7 they proclaimed Donetsk People Republic. Kiev replied by announcing a beginning an anti-terrorist operation in Eastern Ukraine. By that time, the international media was screaming about a Russian invasion in Ukraine.
01:14:08	Reporter	Russia could be on the verge of invading Ukraine!
01:14:10	Narrator	But strong words stayed only in the media. The Ukrainian authorities never announced a war like situation. Why?

		“IMF cannot give money to countries engaged in ongoing war” – Petro Poroshenko.
01:14:23	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	When it comes to big politics, whatever you talk about, you talk about money.
01:14:29	Narrator	Too much money was already invested in Ukraine to stop halfway.
01:14:33	Victoria Nuland	We've invested over 5 billion dollars to assist Ukraine [indistinct] other goals. They would ensure and secure, prosperous, and democratic Ukraine.
01:14:42	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	What democracy did this money establish? What was the process of the establishment like? Is it the same regime which is being established by force now in Donbass?
01:14:52	Narrator	Obviously, the funds had to keep coming and a conflict had to be going. Getting more and more bloody and deadly. “we took him down, altogether”. As parties from both sides were using more sophisticated and lethal weapons.
01:15:16	Viktor Yanukovych	Mr. Turchinov is bearing a huge responsibility for starting a war against his own people. He sent the troops to Donbass. They did what I had not to done before and they started the bloodshed.
01:15:41	Narrator	The world seems too busy, welcoming his new democracy in Kiev, to notice what was being done as it was spreading its wings over the country. Many in southern Ukraine had been viewing the revolution with concern. And an anti-Maydan movement formed in the city of Odessa in January 2014. The protesters set up camp in front of the trade union house, a building, that would soon become a monument to a massacre of itself. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Odessa. It is strategically located on the Black Sea and it's Ukraine's largest seaport. It's not surprising that Ukraine's new authorities were watching this situation unfolding there with growing alarm. More and more of the Odessa's people were joining the anti-Maydan movement. At the same time as the events in the Eastern Ukraine were heating up. The new Ukrainian government didn't have the power to wage war in too many fronts. If Odessa were to join the uprising in the eastern regions, it would seriously complicate the situation. This rebellion had to be extinguished immediately

		and at any cost, and that cost was high. On May 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 2014 soccer fans flocked to the center of Odessa city for Ukrainian championship match. Surprisingly a great number of this fans who came into Odessa just a night before, also turned out to be fighters for Maydan's self-defense units along with members of radical organizations from all parts of Ukraine
		Crowd: Hail to the nation! Death to the enemies! Ukraine, above everything, Ukraine, above everything!
01:17:25	Narrator	These fans masked, armed and shouting nationalistic modals began a disturbances in the center of the city, as they marched to the anti-Maydan tent encampment with the attack. The anti-Maydan protesters sought shelter in the trade union house, but it was a trap. Maydan supporters started throwing molotov cocktails into the building until it was caught in flames. People burnt to death inside or trying to escape jumped through the windows. Although the fire station was less than a mile away, it took almost half an hour for firefighters to arrive. When they finally did, the damage had been done. But here is an intriguing fact: just a few days before those dreadful events, a messenger from Maydan Andriy Parubiy made a visit to Odessa. It's an interesting coincidence that some of the people he met with in Odessa were seen at the scene that fateful day. But not everyone was mourning. On the popular political talk-show Shuster live the news about the people burnt alive in Odessa was welcomed with a long round of applause.
01:18:45	Oleg Lyashko	In fire in Odessa died: 15 Russian citizens, 10 people from Transdnistria and no residents of Odessa.
01:18:55	Narrator	On its Facebook page the Right Sector announced the events of May 2 <sup>nd</sup> as a proud moment in national history. An official investigation *** event is going on now for nearly two years and it's yet to reach a conclusion. But it seems that experts had all the information needed from very beginning.
01:19:15	Andriy Parubiy	Certainly, the provocations came from Putin's fighters, who began breaking up Ukrainian demonstration.
01:19:26	Narrator	It looks like Odessa really is a very important piece of real estate. That it was honored with a very special new governor, appointed at May 30, 2015. Mikheil Saakashvili, an old friend of the US, born and raised in Ukraine's neighboring country Georgia.
01:19:47	Reporter	How dare [indistinct] Georgia!
01:19:48	Narrator	A quick look at his biography gives one understanding that he was grown for a special mission.

01:19:54	Mikheil Saakashvili	I'm a peaceful protester! Back off! Back Off!
01:19:58	Narrator	Mister Saakashvili received a US State Department scholarship and he worked for the New York lawfirm which represented the organization "Kmara" a group that appeared earlier, when we learned about color revolutions.
01:20:11	Mikheil Saakashvili	We are dealing with democratic bloodless revolution.
01:20:14	Narrator	This is the Revolution of roses, and this is Michael Saakashvili with "Kmara" busy with overthrowing the legitimately elected president Eduard Shevardnadze.
01:20:27	Mikheil Saakashvili	Removing the government by peaceful methods -that's classic, that's really European way!
01:20:31	Narrator	Soon after the rose revolution blossomed fully Georgia announced its intentions to join NATO and plant fresh NATO military bases on fertile soil right on Russia's border.
01:20:42	Mikheil Saakashvili	Never ever we'll give our freedom and independence, never ever we'll give any piece of our territory.
01:20:49	Narrator	Saakashvili's mission was accomplished at least to his friends and NATO. The Georgian populace wasn't quite as happy though. In 2007 they took it to the streets devoice discontent. And Mr. Saakashvili responded with force. The people's discontent grew. Saakashvili's party lost parliamentary elections and the opposition took control.
01:21:14	Reporter	He said that means that the parliament's majority should set up a new government and me as a president according to a constitution.
01:21:23	Narrator	Michael decided not to wait the results of the president's elections and fled the country on October 2013. In 2014 Saakashvili refused summons to appear in court as a witness in several criminal cases. Later the same year he was accused of misuse of power and embezzlement. Saakashvili wound up in the US and soon his friends in Washington found him a new assignment. Mikhael actively supported Maydan and very soon was rewarded with a high position in the new Ukrainian government. First as the president's counselor and then as the governor of Odessa. The day before taking this position he renounced his citizenship to Georgia, the country where he's born, and became a Ukrainian citizen.
01:22:13	Mikheil Saakashvili	I will remain a proud citizen of my proud Motherland. A proud citizen of my proud Motherland.
01:22:22	Narrator	As they say, the battle is worth the blood both literally and figuratively.

01:22:27	Nino Burjanadze	I know the real value of Mr. Saakashvili's reforms as well as I know that his role. And presence in Ukraine is a part of the project which certain forces need to carry out in Ukraine.
01:22:42	Narrator	Geoffrey Pyatt, the US ambassador to Ukraine, had to visit Saakashvili in just in month he took the office in Odessa.
	Geoffrey Pyatt	As long as the Odessa administration is delivering results on Ukraine, you're going to see a steady flow of Embassy and Washington visitors coming here
01:23:00	Narrator	The meeting was fruitful and Geoffrey – generous. No matter how well Saakashvili's job goes it looks like shouldn't be worried about his finances. On his Facebook page he posted an official document showing that the new governor of Odessa gets a pretty penny from a Washington. Almost 200 thousand dollars a year. For comparison, the governor of Maine gets 70 thousand dollars a year, so if Odessa became a new US state, it would be at the top of the list. Mr. Saakashvili to feel right at home in his newly adopted country. He's best friend with fellow of color revolutionary leader Viktor Yushchenko, who is the godfather of his son.
01:23:49	Vladimir Putin	Ex-president Saakashvili is assigned as Odessa governor. This is an insult to all people of Odessa, to all the Ukrainians. He wasn't even granted a work visa in the USA, he applied for jobs in universities, but they didn't even offer him a permanent position. But he can be Odessa's governor, can't he? Are there no professional, capable and fit Ukrainians for this job?
01:24:26	Narrator	A war once launched doesn't choose its victims.
01:24:29	Reporter	We are just learning at this hour that Malaysian Airlines has now confirmed that they have lost contact with one of its planes. Plane was indeed shot down by a missile while flying at high altitude over Eastern Ukraine near the Russian border. 298 revised number of souls on aboard all dead.
01:24:50	Robert Perry	It was a murder; it was a crime. [Indistinct] about pursuing the answers. There was a report, a very limited report for about a few month after event, but since then they said the next report would be on the first anniversary of the event. But we deal with the criminal investigation before it become a cold case. It's been a curious element. Why is there not

		a greater pressure from the both the media and the western governments?
01:25:23	Narrator	But even without any answers, the fingers were pointed immediately.
01:25:28	Barak Obama	That's not an accident that is happening because of Russia's support. Evidence indicates that the plane was shot down by a [indistinct] missile. That was launched from the area that was controlled by the Russian-backed separatists inside of Ukraine.
01:25:41	Vladimir Putin	And, certainly, the state over whose territory this took place, bears responsibility for this awful tragedy.
01:25:49	Narrator	The Malaysian Boeing wasn't the first plane to play a significant part in American-Russian relationships. On September 1 <sup>st</sup> , 1983 Korean Airlines flight 007 New York – Seoul via Anchorage was shot down by a soviet interceptor aircraft over territory of USSR in the Sea of Japan.
01:26:10	Ronald Reagan	There is absolutely no justification either legal or moral for what the soviets did.
01:26:15	Narrator	The tragedy of the Korean Boeing was considered a perfect occasion to demonstrate the NATO military power within dangerous proximity to the Soviets. On November 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 1983 NATO launched able "Archer" – a 10-day command post exercise, simulating a conflict escalation coming in a nuclear attack. It was followed by placing a "Pershing-2" nuclear missiles in Europe. What Reagan didn't take in consideration, was the paranoid overreaction of the Soviets. A recently declassified US intelligence report shows that for the first time since the Cuban missile crisis the world got close to nuclear war. Just like in 1983 the Malaysian Boeing crash was a leverage against the enemy. A new wave of sanctions hit Russia immediately after the tragedy.
01:27:14	Barak Obama	The United States is imposing new sanctions and on key sectors of Russian economy.
01:27:19	Narrator	Almost a year and 3 months later the Dutch Safety Board published the report.
01:27:24	Man on a stage	Ladies and gentlemen! Flight MH17 crash was caused by the 9N314M detonate outside of the left side of the cockpit.
01:27:37	Narrator	The report didn't blame any specific group or person and estimated a very wide area of 300 kilometers as the zone where the missile was fired.
01:27:55	Yan Novikov	At the same time the Russian producer of "Buk" missiles "Almaz-Antey" conducted its own independent investigation. The results of the experiment have refuted the conclusions of Dutch Safety Board about type of the missile and the

		launch site.
01:28:03	Narrator	<p>During the experiment they blew up a retired airliner with a “Buk” missile and came to the conclusion, that the Malaysian plane was brought down by an older type of missiles not used by Russia anymore, but still in possession of Ukraine. The company claims that the missile was launched from the territory controlled by the Ukrainian military. One would expect that these controversial results would against the public in the investigation. But the tragedy of Malaysian flight MH17 had already played its role in a big geopolitical game. Therefore, it was soon forgotten. The goal was achieved. After the third wave of sanctions hit Russia the tensions between the two countries skyrocketed. So, the question presents itself: are we truly witnessing the beginning of Cold War II now? And if so, what are chances to survive at this time?</p> <p>In 1947 the bulletin of atomic scientists introduced the doomsday clock. It represents a countdown to global nuclear annihilation. In 1953 during the height of the Cold War it came its closest to midnight, as the superpowers were creating massive nuclear arsenals.</p>
01:29:38	Reporter	This is the story of America’s ever-expanding atomic weapons program.
01:29:40	Narrator	As the world began to grasp the insane danger of nuclear warfare and took measures to control the arms race the situation was steadily improved. In 1991 the doomsday clock was at its furthest for midnight – 17 minutes. That time of hope was short-lived though. As the world is become more and more unstable. But in 2015 the bulletin of atomic scientists moved the clock to just 3 minutes to midnight.
01:30:16	Reporter	Stayed unchecked climate change into nuclear arms race resulting for modernization for huge arsenals, cause extraordinary undeniable threat to continue the existence of humanity.
01:30:29	Narrator	The United States and Russia have embarked on massive problems to modernize their nuclear arsenals. Undermining existing nuclear weapons treaties. The clock ticks now at just three minutes to midnight because international leaders are failing to perform their most important duty – ensuring and preserving the health and vitality of human civilization.
01:31:31	Narrator	“Patriotism is supporting your country all the time, and your government when it deserves it” Mark Twain.



01:31:37	Robert Perry	The role of an American journalist, in my view, is to inform the American people as best as you can of what you were able to find out and to not be afraid of any kind of attacks that come with that.
01:31:50	Victoria Nuland	The vast majority of those who participated on the Maydan were peaceful protesters. If you had a chance to see the pictures... many of us visited including the members here. There were mothers and grandmothers and veterans.
01:32:06	Congressman	Before you going on, a question: whether neo Nazi groups involved?
01:32:12	Victoria Nuland	There were, as I said, almost every color of Ukrainians was represented including some ugly colors.
01:32:17	Congressman	The answer is "yes"?
01:32:21	Robert Perry	And that's the patriotic role I think to be, journalist of democracy is to provide the public with as much informations they can operate. They can feel their responsibility to the citizens and directing the government to do what they want and to be misinformed about what is happening.
01:32:39	Narrator	We truly believe there is only one way to protect yourself from this game of manipulation. Awareness. Knowledge is power. The ability to recognize the red flags in time might save another country, perhaps you own, from capture on from being dragged into tomorrow chaos and mayhem. This relates to each and every one of us because war today comes not only with tanks and bombs. It comes with the manipulative mass media with journalism that lies and hides, and twists facts, one that is more focused on making news rather than on reporting them.
01:33:16	Vitaliy Zakharchenko	I want to believe that, finally, there will be peace in Ukraine.
01:33:39	Viktor Yanukovich	I pray that people in Ukraine unite and eliminate the hatred that exists there now, and I pray that peace comes to Ukraine
01:33:56	Vladimir Putin	We understand that the world has changed. It's impossible to keep everything frozen like it was in the Cold War era, we should look into the future.
01:34:15	Narrator	Many times in our film we have shown the spiral of history while we often repeat old mistakes, it also always gives us another chance and hope.



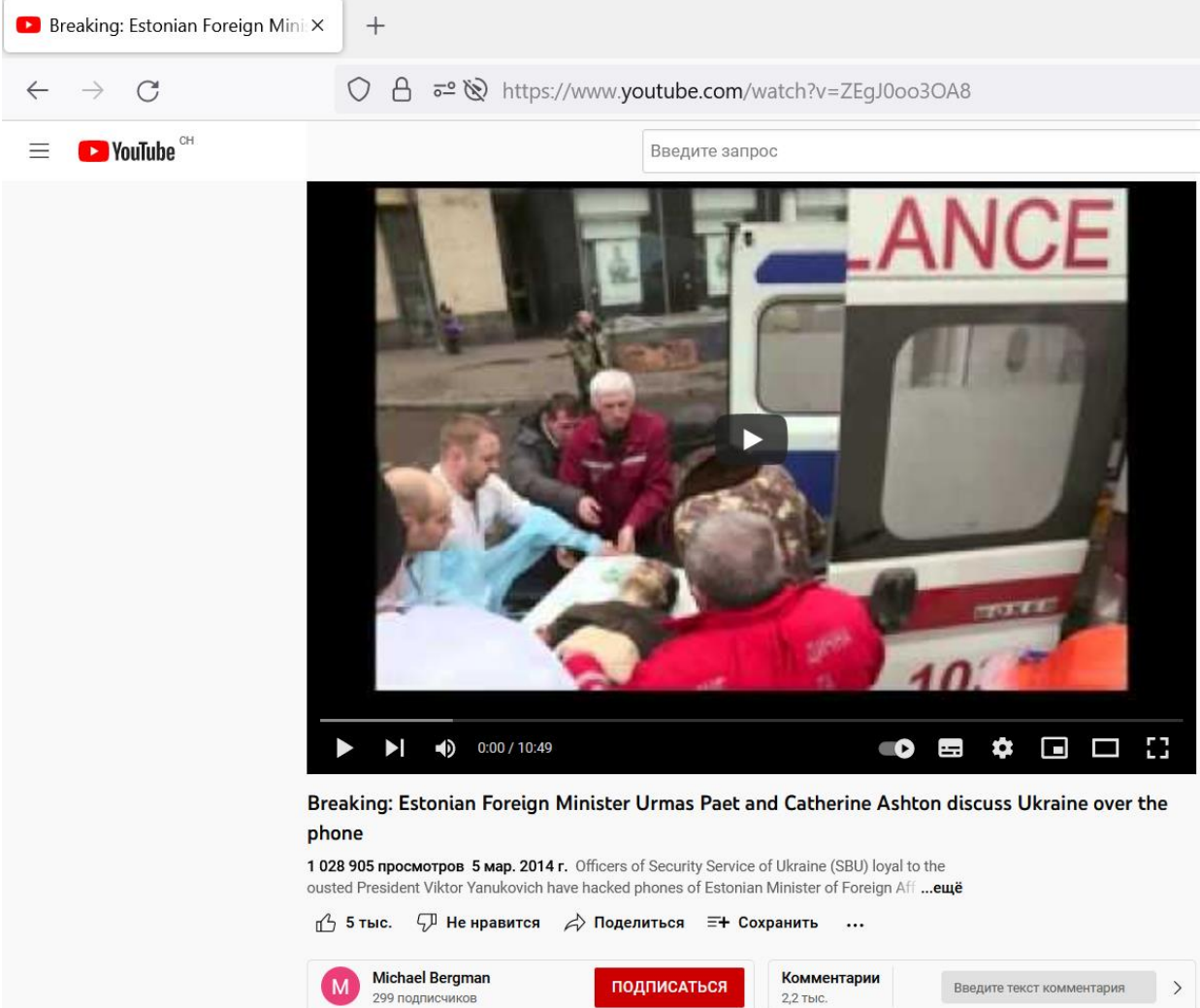
**Annex 127**

YouTube, Breaking: Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet and Catherine Ashton Discuss  
Ukraine Over the Phone (5 March 2014)

(transcript)



YouTube, Channel “Michael Bergman”, “Breaking: Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet and Catherine Ashton discuss Ukraine over the phone”, 5 March 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZEgJ0oo3OA8>



Breaking: Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet and Catherine Ashton discuss Ukraine over the phone

1 028 905 просмотров 5 мар. 2014 г. Officers of Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) loyal to the ousted President Viktor Yanukovich have hacked phones of Estonian Minister of Foreign Aff ...ещё

5 тыс. Не нравится Поделиться Сохранить ...

Michael Bergman  
299 подписчиков

ПОДПИСАТЬСЯ

Комментарии  
2,2 тыс.

Введите текст комментария

### Video Transcript

[00:09]

[Unknown person]: Hello.

[00:11]

[Unknown person]: Hello, good afternoon, madam, this is again the [indistinct] service. Should we go, you think it's going to be possible straight away.

[00:22]

[Unknown person]: To connect you to Mr Paet?

[00:25]

[Unknown person]: Yes.

[00:25]

[Unknown person]: Yes, yes.

[00:26]

**[Unknown person]:** So, please go on, I am connecting with the Lady Ashton cabinet.

[00:30]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, thank you.

[00:31]

**[Unknown person]:** You are welcome.

[00:42]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, hello, this is Marion speaking.

[00:44]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, it is for the conference with the Estonian Foreign Minister, they are online, please stay on.

[00:51]

**[Unknown person]:** Hello.

[00:52]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, hello. Can you put me through please?

[00:56]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, I will connect you to Minister Paet, one moment.

[01:00]

**[Unknown person]:** Thank you.

[01:01]

[Music]

[01:20]

**[Unknown person]:** Hello, Minister.

[01:21]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Hello.

[01:22]

**[Unknown person]:** Hi, I'll put you through, thank you very much.

[01:25]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Yes, thank you.

[01:37]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Hello.

[01:55]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Hello.

[01:56]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Hello.

[01:58]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Hello, how are you?

[01:59]

**[Urmis Paet]:** I am fine. And you?

[02:00]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** I'm good, good, I just wanted to catch up with you on what you thought when you were there.

[02:05]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Yes, I returned last night already, I was one day.

[02:09]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Yeah, yeah. Impressions?

[02:15]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Impressions are sad. I met with representatives of Regions' Party, also new coalition representatives and also civil society, there is this lady called Olga, who is the head of the doctors, you know her.

[02:31]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Oh yeah, yeah. I do.

[02:32]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Yes, so that, well, my impression is indeed sad in that there is, well, no trust and also that these politicians who return out of the coalition, well, people from Maidan and from civil society, they said that not everybody who will be in your government, all these guys have dirty past, so that well they made some proposals to the same Olga and some others from civil society to join new government, but this Olga, for example, she says directly that she is ready to go to the government only in the case if she can take with her, her team, foreign experts to start real healthcare reforms.

[03:16]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Yeah

[03:18]

**[Urmis Paet]:** So that well, basically the trust level is absolutely low, on the other hand, all these security problems, integrity problems, Crimea, all this stuff, Regions Party was absolutely upset, they say that well, they accept, they accept this that now they will be a new government, there will be extraordinary elections, but there is enormous pressure against the members of parliament, that there are uninvited visitors during the night to party members. Well, journalists, some journalists who were with me, they saw during the day that one member of parliament was just beaten in front

of the parliament building by these guys with the guns on the streets. So that, well, this mess is still there and, of course, this Olga and others from civil society, they were absolutely sure that people will not leave the streets before they see that real reforms will start, so that it's not enough that there is just change of government. So that is the main impression, so that from EU's and also, well, Estonia's point of view of course, we should *[be]* ready to put this financial package together, also together with others, this is a very clear message, she is needed, that it's not enough that there is change of government, but the same real reforms, real, you know, action to increase the level of trust, otherwise, well, it will end badly. Because the Regions Party also said that well, you will see that if the people from the eastern part of Ukraine will really wake up and well, start to demand their rights, some people also with me they were in Donetsk, there people said "well, we can't wait, how long still the occupation of Ukraine lasts in Donetsk. That it is really a Russian city and we would like now to see that, well, Russia will take over". So that, well, short impressions.

*[05:26]*

***[Catherine Ashton]:*** No, very, very interesting. We've just had a big meeting here with Olli Rehn and the other commissioners about what we can do. I mean, working on financial packages, short-, medium-, long-term. Everything from how we get money and quickly, how we support the IMF and how we get a kind of investment packages and business leaders and so on. On the political side, what type of resources we've got and I also said to the civil society and to Yatsenyuk and Klichko and everybody I met yesterday: "We can offer you people who know how to do political and economic reform. The countries that are closest to Ukraine happened to have been through dramatic changes and have done big political and economic reforms. We've got loads of experience to give you, which we are happy to give". I said to the people in Maidan "Yes, you want real reforms, but you've got to get through the short-term first. So, you need to find ways in which you can establish a process that will have anti-corruption at its heart, that will have people working a long fight until the elections and that you can be confident in the process". And I said to Olga "You may not be the health minister now, but you need to think about becoming the health minister in the future, because people like you are going to be needed to be able to get, to make sure it will happen". But I also said to them: "If you simply barricade the buildings now and the government does not function, we can't get money in, because we need a partner to partner with".

*[07:04]*

***[Urmas Paet]:*** Absolutely.

*[07:05]*

***[Catherine Ashton]:*** But I said to the, you know, the opposition leaders, shortly to become government: "You need to reach out to Maidan, you need to be, you know, engaging with them, you also need to get ordinary police officers back on the streets under a new sense of their role, so the people feel safe". I said to the Party of the Regions': "People you have to go and lay flowers where the people died, you have to show that you understand what you have, what has happened here".

*[07:32]*

***[Urmas Paet]:*** Absolutely.

*[07:33]*

***[Catherine Ashton]:*** Because what you're experiencing is anger of people who've seen the way that Yanukovych lived, and the corruption, and they assume you're all the same. And also, the



people who've lost people and who feel that, you know, he ordered that to happen. There's quite a lot of shock, I think, in the city, a lot of sadness and shock, and that's going to come out in some very strange ways if they're not careful. I think all of this we just have to work out, so we've done a big meeting here today – to try and get this in place – but yeah, very interesting, your observation.

[08:06]

**[Urmis Paet]:** It is and, well, actually the only politician the people from civil society have mentioned positively was Poroshenko.

[08:14]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Yeah, yeah

[08:16]

**[Urmis Paet]:** So that he has some sort of so-to-say trust among all these Maidan people and civil society in fact, and what was quite disturbing, the same Olga told that, well, all the evidence shows the people who were killed by snipers from both sides, among policemen and people from the streets, that they were the same snipers, killing people from both sides.

[08:44]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Well, that's... Yeah, that's...

[08:45]

**[Urmis Paet]:** And then she also showed me some photos, she said that as a medical doctor she can, you know, say that it is the same handwriting, same type of bullets, and it's really disturbing that now the new... new coalition don't want to investigate what exactly happened, so there is now stronger and stronger understanding that behind the snipers it was not Yanukovich but it was somebody from the new coalition.

[09:12]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** I think they do want to investigate. I mean I didn't pick that up. That's interesting. Gosh.

[09:15]

**[Urmis Paet]:** Yeah. So, it was indeed disturbing that if it starts now to live its own life very powerfully that it already [*discredits*] from the very beginning also this new coalition.

[09:26]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** I mean, this is what they've got to be careful of as well – that they need to demand great change but they've got to let the Rada function. If the Rada doesn't function then there could be chaos – complete chaos. So that, it's all, you know, being an activist and a doctor is very, very important but it means you're not a politician, and somehow, they've got to come to a kind of accommodation for the next few weeks, with how the country's actually going to run – and then we get the elections and things can change, and that's, I think, going to be quite important. I'm planning to go back early next week, probably on Monday.

[09:56]

**[Urmis Paet]:** It's really important that now, well, people from Europe and also West show up there, that's absolutely important.

[10:03]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Miroslav is going with Visegrad's group on Friday, Friday-Saturday, William Hague on Sunday, I've got to go on Monday.

[10:10]

**[Urmas Paet]:** Good. I also heard that Canadian Minister is going on Friday and yesterday also William Burns was here, we met also with Burns there in Kiev yesterday.

[10:20]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Yeah, good. I did not know that John Baird was going. Ok, my friend, thank you very much.

[10:27]

**[Urmas Paet]:** Thanks for these comments and I wish you well. Nice Australia.

[10:33]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Yeah. What?

[10:34]

**[Urmas Paet]:** Nice Australia. Enjoy.

[10:36]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** I'm not gonna go, I'm gonna delay it, because I'm going to Ukraine instead.

[10:40]

**[Urmas Paet]:** OK, good, good. OK, thank you and all the best. See you!

[10:46]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Thank you so much. Bye.

[10:47]

**[Urmas Paet]:** Bye.

**Annex 128**

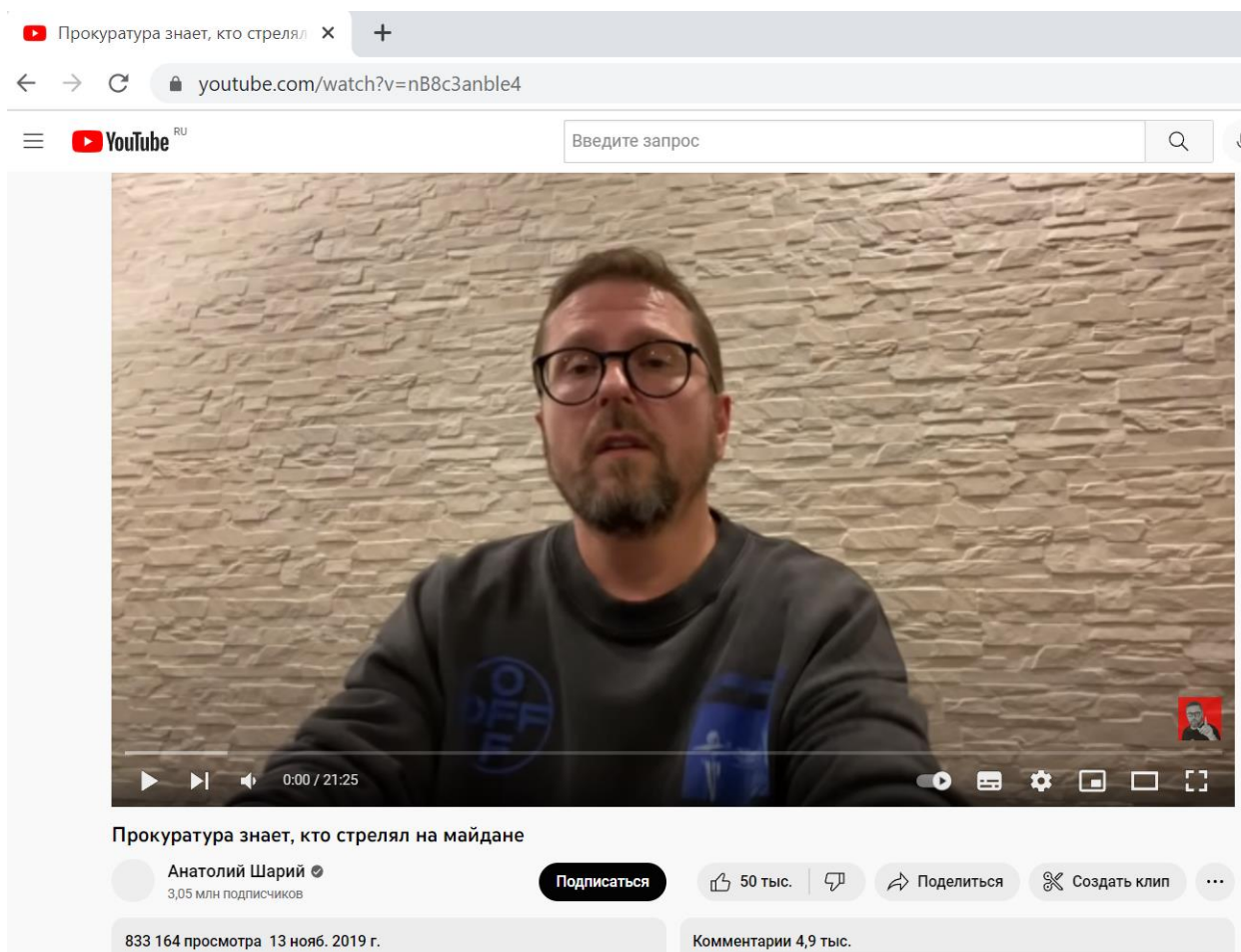
YouTube, The Prosecutor's Office Knows Who Was Shooting on Maidan (13 November 2019)

(transcript, translation)



**YouTube, Channel “Anatoliy Shariy”, “The Prosecutor's Office Knows Who Was Shooting on Maidan”, 13 November 2019, available at:**

**<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nB8c3anble4>**



### Video transcript (translated from Russian and Ukrainian)

[00:00]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Hello, dear friends, you have heard of course that Gorbatyuk, Head of the Special Investigations Department of the Prosecutor General's Office, was given a kick in the arse, he quit or was forced to quit. And he says that the Maidan cases are now under threat and that the Maidan cases will not be investigated. I am going to show you a couple of excerpts from the video that Gorbatyuk and this special investigation department have now and always had. Pay attention! I do not know if it was somewhere or not, but they definitely had it, they have its transcript containing the dialogues.

[00:48]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Oh, once again they are shooting journalists.

[00:54]

*[Indistinct, with foul language in Ukrainian]*

[01:22]

**[Unknown person]:** Dear viewers! I have to apologize. They are shooting not at the journalists. They are shooting at the participants of the protest action. But we certainly can say - at the rebels,

because people with automatic machines guns have just run up to us. They said to free the window for shooting.

[01:44]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** These, let's say, people with a pronounced accent of Western regions, they were choosing the place, it's Hotel Ukraine, to start shooting.

[02:06]

**[Unknown person]:** So now in the hotel a group of armed people has just run, looking for convenient positions for firing ranges.

[02:19]

**[Unknown person]:** So now we will walk on the roofs to see if there are any snipers on the roofs.

[02:28]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** While saying "ah-ah" they walked around, they looked, he looked there on the roof, but there was nobody there. And here are these people who were choosing places to fire, the thing is that the Special Investigations Department, according to our information, does have the timing. I mean, strange things were happening, when people were choosing places for shooting, a few minutes later the shooting started and there were fatalities. That's amazing, yes, but nevertheless the General Prosecutor's Office did nothing, apparently guessing where the shooting was coming from.

[03:11]

**[Unknown person]:** This is Kiev.

[03:38]

**[Unknown person]:** We can't see the sniper from here, we can't see him yet.

[03:42]

**[Unknown person]:** But they are shooting from there, from those APCs.

[03:47]

**[Unknown person]:** There are four snipers above the APCs.

[03:50]

**[Unknown person]:** Because we got four snipers up there, where those APCs are. They have two sniper rifles, two automated assault rifles.

[03:56]

**[Unknown person]:** Where are the APCs?

[03:57]

**[Unknown person]:** There near the APCs, over the KAMAZ trucks, we got four snipers there. But here we do not see them yet.

[04:01]

**[Unknown person]:** Then they haven't got here yet, have they?

[04:01]

**[Unknown person]:** But here?

[04:05]

**[Unknown person]:** Listen, stay down, they are shooting here, they are shooting here. Do you see how he takes it off his arm?

[04:10]

**[Unknown person]:** Where is it, on top of the Cabinet of Ministry building?

[04:12]

**[Unknown person]:** Not on top of the Cabinet of Ministry building, but on those very KAMAZ trucks that are there. Ok, I got it, I got it. Let him remember, two snipers and two automatic machine gun shooters.

*[Further indistinct in Ukrainian]*

[04:27]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** The one he mistook for a sniper above the armoured vehicles, they, according to the Prosecutor General's Office documents and this is not my making up, yes, according to the Prosecutor General's Office documents there was no shooting at the time the shots were fired.

[04:40]

**[Unknown person]:** So, the second group of protesters has just approached. They are armed and they are also looking for other spots for fire positions.

[05:11]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Judging by the shots, they probably didn't find convenient points, that's who he meant when he talked about the snipers standing on an APC.

[05:53]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Shots are being fired, but the description that the Prosecutor General's Office has, and we hope that the Prosecutor General's Office will someday begin to move in that direction after all, says that it's not these people who are shooting.

[06:23]

*[Indistinct in English]*

[06:34]

**[Unknown person]:** Stay away. They are shooting here. There are four snipers and they are shooting the windows. I'm sure. I can show you. Look, you can see them.

[06:50]

**[Unknown person]:** Ah, yes, over there.

[06:51]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** He himself doesn't understand where the shooting is coming from, but he is telling foreign journalists that it's those people over there who are shooting. Again, judging by the

documents of the Prosecutor General's Office, it's not visually obvious that these people are shooting. At the same time, the video shows 3 or 4 people, possibly employees of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry in black clothing, taking cover behind trucks across Institutskaya Street. At the time the video footage was taken, isolated sounds of loud gunfire can be heard. However, there is no visual evidence that these employees of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry were shooting. I mean, the video footage does not show gunfire flashes, powder smoke or smoke from the weapon. On 20.02.2014, several participants of the Revolution of Dignity were killed and employees of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry were wounded from powerful firearms, possibly Kalashnikov rifles, around the time of the video recording mentioned above. According to one of the investigators' versions, the fire came from Hotel Ukraine.

[07:53]

**[Unknown person]:** These four snipers are shooting.

[08:01]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Well, it's in his brain, most likely. The prosecutors disagreed, and I understand that the conclusions were made by some other ballistics experts. Why wasn't there an investigation?

[08:14]

**[Unknown person]:** You see, here they're moving. Oh, yeah, there are all these snipers with yellow signs on their hands.

[08:30]

**[Unknown person]:** So, you see.

[08:34]

**[Unknown person]:** The sniper is shooting and they cover him with Kalashnikov assault rifles.

[08:39]

**[Unknown person]:** He shot somewhere two or three times.

[08:46]

**[Unknown person]:** He fires several times and then retreats.

[08:54]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** You've already seen them all. Their commander, moreover, yes, he went afterwards...Well, with the new authorities everything was already fine. So, it was 100% clear that they did not shoot anyone either. Who shot then?

[09:08]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, these people, they are killers and not the soldiers.

[09:16]

**[Unknown person]:** You see again the same people, the same yellow marks, the same yellow marks on the arms.

[09:24]



**[Unknown person]:** We suspect that this is Alpha.

[09:26]

**[Unknown person]:** That is either the Ukrainian Alpha, or those notorious Russian special forces.

[09:30]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Yeah, yeah, yeah. It's the killers and all that. "Yepidozra", according to the Prosecutor General's office, and one of the versions is that the shooting came from Hotel Ukraine, from the 11th floor. Which floor is that?

[09:44]

**[Unknown person]:** I am in the hotel Ukraine on the other side, on the back side. And you are shooting what is happening in the Institutskaya street. There are five snipers working here. I don't even know on what floor. I will ask now.

[10:01]

**[Unknown person]:** Excuse me, what's this level, storey?

[10:04]

**[Unknown person]:** Listen, I am on the eleventh floor.

[10:07]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** And this is what you will hardly be given an explanation for either. Two snipers were caught in Hotel Ukraine, can you imagine what luck it is?

[10:16]

**[Unknown person]:** Dear viewers, I want to repeat that the units of self-defense that we saw here in the hotel Ukraina. We thought they were looking for the spots good for fire ranges, good spots, however, this is not quite true. They are looking for snipers first. The two snipers were neutralized in the hotel Ukraina, disarmed, and we do not know what has happened then with them. Whether they were taken to the Maidan or what. It is not known at all.

[10:45]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Can you imagine that a young man made up something just as he did regarding the snipers who were on the APC, right? Now, how do you explain that?

[10:56]

**[Unknown person]:** Friends! Well, there is good news. Our guys have just caught a sniper.

[11:10]

**[Unknown person]:** He was taken to the headquarters.

[11:19]

**[Unknown person]:** Doctor, friends, we need a doctor at the front.

[11:23]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** The follow-up story is just about how this whole thing was managed, that is to say, how it was all thought out.

[11:30]

**[Unknown person]:** Maidan, now all together. We sing our glory song.

[11:38]

**[Unknown person]:** Before this there is an announcement that from the left flank, from the Trade Unions building, it is necessary to increase fire a bit.

[11:45]

**[Unknown person]:** Do not shoot ours in the back, guys, do not shoot ours in the back. Be careful. Ours came out of barricades. Do not shoot ours in the back. Be careful.

[11:58]

**[Unknown person]:** We do not shoot and do not throw anything, because there are already our guys there. They moved to the height of Zhovtneve and to Institutskaya. Carefully, look, this is our victory. We moved forward, but be careful.

[12:15]

**[Unknown person]:** Attention, guys! Because of the black smoke we may not see ours and may get them shot.

[12:21]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Dragging law enforcers...

[12:25]

**[Unknown person]:** All those who are in smoke, wear protective equipment.

[12:35]

**[Unknown person]:** Who is at the height of Zhovtneva, step in, support them, do not leave them there alone. It is necessary to consolidate at the height just like on the Institutskaya, avoid being cut off from the rear, let's get support.

[12:47]

**[Unknown person]:** I see a lot of reserves, guys, here from the Khreshchatyk side. If centurions are formed in the team, please, go.

[13:00]

**[Unknown person]:** Sacred fathers, take him behind the stage, everything behind the stage, behind the stage, guys, be prudent.

[13:25]

**[Unknown person]:** Announce.

[13:31]

**[Unknown person]:** Friends...

[13:33]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Well, here's the call to go to slaughter, actually.

[13:37]

**[Unknown person]:** Who has iron shields, those with iron shields, to Zhovtnevy, two hundred more to Zhovtnevy, with iron shields.

[13:46]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Well, and here's some excellent footage, as far as I'm concerned, that's also available, of course, to the Prosecutor General's Office. I don't know, they have probably even been made public already.

[13:55]

*[Indistinct in Ukrainian]*

[14:04]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 18.02.2014 until 7pm, from around 2pm on the 18th *[February 2014]*, law enforcers began pushing protesters in large numbers away from Institutskaya Street and Grushevskogo Street in the direction of Independence Square. In the said period, starting from 2pm, firearms were used against law enforcers and members of the internal troops of the Ukrainian Interior Ministry by individuals who were not identified by pre-trial investigators.

[14:29]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Around 5:20 pm, on 12 Khreshchatyk Street, in front of a barricade, two servicemen of military unit 3030 were killed with the use of a single firearm, a 9 mm PM pistol: Tretiak - death was caused by a gunshot blind bullet wound to the face and neck with damage to the spinal cord. We can guess who killed him. And Tepluk: death was caused by a blunt gunshot wound to the neck, chest, abdomen. From the mentioned firearm in the same period, this was someone who simply went and killed people, the soldiers Garavenko and Sharapa of the mentioned military unit and Levchykin, member of the special unit "Berkut" of the Volyn region, received gunshot wounds.

[15:19]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** At around 6:40 pm, the soldier of military unit 4125 Goncharova was killed, death was caused by perforating wound to the neck and a blade of a "Poleva-6" bullet stabiliser, a hunting cartridge of 12mm calibre for smooth-bore firearms, was extracted from the wound channel.

[15:40]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** In addition, during the said period gunshot injuries were caused to 83 law enforcers. Peaceful protest. Specifically, 27 people on Khreshchatyk Street, well, here we have list. 2 people on European Square. Hunting weapons, hunting weapons, hunting weapons, assault rifle.

[16:01]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** So, about 8 p.m. the soldier of a military unit Vlasenko was killed near the house No. 1 on Institutskaya street, the death came as a result of the gunshot through wound to the thorax. An element of "Poleva-6" bullet stabiliser of a 12 mm hunting cartridge for smooth-bore firearms was extracted from the wound channel.

[16:25]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Around 9:05 pm, the member of "Berkut" Fedyukin was killed on Institutskaya Street near the flower clock; his death resulted from a blunt penetrating gunshot wound to the chest. The firearm of 410 calibre, unfit for weapon identification, again, some kind of hunting weapon.

[16:49]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 9:30 and 10:00 pm, Berkut member Bulitko was killed near the Globus shopping mall on Institutskaya Street.

[17:00]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 10:00 and 10:30 pm, the serviceman Ivanenko was killed on Institutskaya Street near the subway, Independence Square. A gunshot wound to the neck. The bullet that caused the injury was not found, but according to the results of the ballistics test on Ivanenko's shield, the damage to the shield was caused by a full-jacketed or semi-jacketed bullet from a cartridge for rifled firearms, no more than 20 mm calibre, a point-blank shot.

[17:31]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 10 and 11 pm, on Independence Square near the Independence Monument, soldier Zakharchenko was killed, a perforating gunshot wound to the abdomen, most likely AK 74, automatic rifle bullet. Then, Berkut member Tsvigun was killed, death was caused by a penetrating through-and-through gunshot wound to the chest, the bullet was not found, it went through. Also, in the said period, gunshot injuries were caused to 55 law enforcers.

[18:05]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Around 8:02 a.m., at the time of confrontation near the Independence Monument, the soldier Spichak was killed, gunshot wound to the thigh, blood loss.

[18:19]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 8:30 and 9 am, Berkut member Zubko was killed on Institutskaya Street, a perforating gunshot wound.

[18:29]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Between 9:00 and 9:10 am, on a section of Khreshchatyk between houses, an employee of the Police Patrol and Checkpoint Service of the Interior Ministry was killed on the pavement, death came as a result of a perforating gunshot wound to the head, bird shot and buckshot were extracted from the corpse.

[18:46]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** At 9 am near the Oktyabrsky Palace, a Berkut officer *[suffered]* a gunshot wound to the head with brain damage, buckshot was extracted.

[18:56]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Some people were shot at point-blank range, at point-blank range, and there is certain Kostenko, who came from Crimea, he was supposed to become a superhero, but he didn't, because I made it public that he went to Crimea himself, got a passport there and so on, and he was actively collaborating with some Russian security services. He gave testimony, quite clear testimony that Karas, Yevgeny Karas, who now keeps company with employees of some

prosecutor's offices, shot members of the internal troops, a member of the internal troops, an ordinary wounded soldier, shot at point-blank range, raised his helmet and shot him in the face.

[19:34]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** Well, here we then see a list, in total, 13 law enforcers were killed during confrontations between 18 and 20 February, 7 of them were members of the internal troops, regular soldiers. There are 46 items for ballistics tests, 9 PM bullets, 13 - bird shot, 17 - buckshot, 410 calibre bullets - 6, "Blondo" bullet - 1, "Poleva" and "Poleva-2" 12 calibre bullets - 2, 5.45, 5.6, 5.62 calibre bullets, "Rubeykin" bullet.

[20:11]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** The criminal case file contains results of 24 ballistic tests, 9 PM bullets, and this is already as of the 20<sup>th</sup>, buckshot, bullets, bullets, bullets. Also, the pre-trial investigation found that 469 employees of law enforcement authorities had been injured – the Special Investigation Department of the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine.

[20:33]

**[Anatoliy Shariy]:** What were they investigating, this department? These criminal proceedings have been going on since 2014. Nothing has been done, nothing has been found, no one has been found. Gorbatyuk should keep his gob shut and just go somewhere to plough the land and so on. I do hope that the Prosecutor General's Office will come out of the anabiosis and look up these documents, look up the video they still have, we know this for sure, we know for sure that this video has been analysed, we know for sure that ballistics experts showed where the shooting was coming from, it was coming from several points, but Hotel Ukraine also was the place from where the shooting was done. But no one is telling you anything, because now, after almost six years, it still does not pay to tell the truth, that's all. This was Anatoly Shariy, please subscribe so you don't miss a thing. Bye.



## **Annex 129**

YouTube, Gian Micalessin, Finally the Truth About the Beginning of the Civil War in Ukraine?  
(16 November 2017)

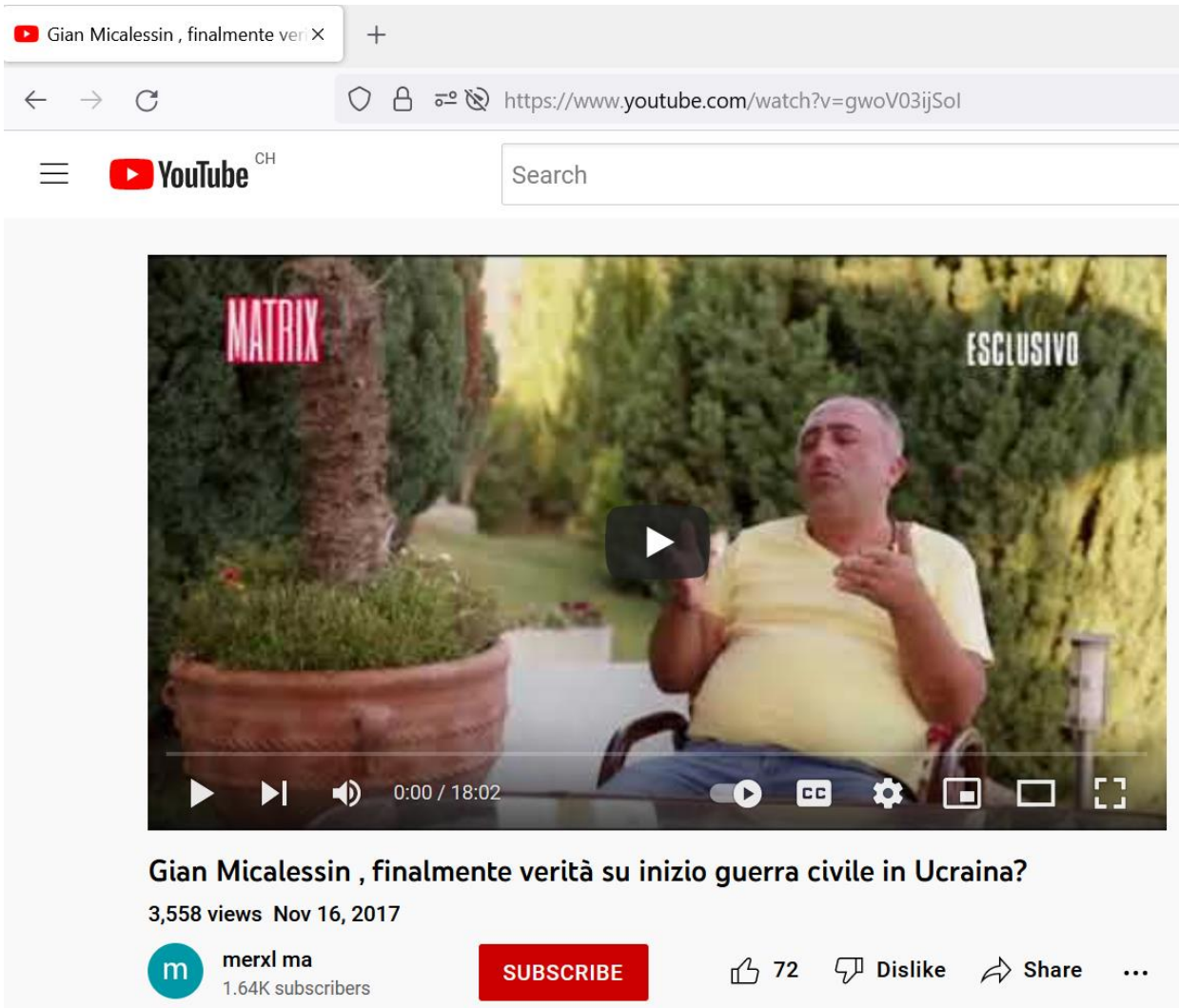
(transcript, translation)





**YouTube, Channel “merxl ma”, “Gian Micalessin, Finally the Truth About the Beginning of the Civil War in Ukraine?”, 16 November 2017, available at:**

**<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gwoV03ijSol>**



Gian Micalessin , finalmente verità su inizio guerra civile in Ucraina?

3,558 views Nov 16, 2017

**m** merxl ma  
1.64K subscribers

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### **Transcript of the Video (translated from Italian and Russian)**

[00:00]

**[Unknown person]:** F\*\*k, what the hell is that? *[Indistinct in Russian]* Somebody has been killed, damn! *[Indistinct in Russian]* it has happened exactly here... A man near me has been killed!

[00:09]

**[Kvaratskelia Zalogy]:** It was at sunset. I heard the sound and whistle of bullets.

[00:16]

**[Unknown person]:** A man has been shot in the head by a sniper!

[00:18]

**[Alexander Revazishvili]:** They have ordered to shoot at policemen, as well as at protestants, without distinction.

[00:26]

**[Unknown person]:** Where do the shots come from?

[00:28]

**[Unknown person]:** From Ukraina!

[00:29]

**[Unknown person]:** From Ukraina?

[00:30]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** The shots were fired from inside of the hotel Ukraina.

[00:54]

**[TV host]:** Gian Micalessin, a delegate from the war. Where did you meet them? Good evening.

[00:58]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** I met them after a year of investigation, I met two of them in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. I met the third in another East European country, who was asked not to rebel.

[01:08]

**[TV host]:** So, they were even rebels, these...?

[01:11]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** They were Georgians, who were sent by their president George Saakashvili to take part in Ukrainian opposition.

[01:19]

**[TV host]:** So, these were not Russians to shoot? Is this the main idea?

[01:24]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The Russians... the Russians have never been accused of having shot, they have been accused of supporting the government who could have shot the protesters. Though this idea doesn't substantially resist more in front of testimonies of these three protagonists.

[01:36]

**[TV host]:** Watch the testimony.

[01:37]

[Applause]

[01:40]

[Music]

[01:54]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** Kiev, February, 2014. Maidan square in the heart of Ukrainian capital is occupied for three months by manifestants, who ask the government, president Viktor Yanukovich, to sign the agreement Of European Union association.

[02:15]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** In the morning of 18th of February there are bloody clashes. There are already about 30 victims.

[02:23]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The worst comes in the morning on the 20th of February. A group of mysterious snipers opens fire on protesters and policemen. In a few hours there are about 80 corpses. The day after Yanukovich flees abroad. On the 22nd of February the opposition takes the power.

[02:49]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** But who have fired at the crowd and policemen? At the moment the official version is that it was the massacre ordered by Pro-Russian government.

[03:01]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The version seems suspicious from the beginning. The first to falsify it is the minister of foreign affairs in Estonia Urmas Paet, who has just returned from the trip to Kiev, when only five days after the massacre have passed, Paet tells the commissar of internal affairs of European Union Catherine Ashton the findings suggested by a Ukranian doctor who has examined the corpses on Maidan Square. The telephone call, taken over and spread by media, is frustrating.

[03:33]

**[Urmas Paet]:** What was quite disturbing, the same Olga told that, well, all the evidence shows the people who were killed by snipers from both sides, among policemen and people from the streets, that they were the same snipers, killing people from both sides.

[03:50]

**[Catherine Ashton]:** Well, that's... Yeah, that's...

[03:51]

**[Urmas Paet]:** And then she also showed me some photos, she said that as a medical doctor she can, you know, say that it is the same handwriting, same type of bullets, and it's really disturbing that now the new... new coalition don't want to investigate what exactly happened, so there is now stronger and stronger understanding that behind the snipers it was not Yanukovych but it was somebody from the new coalition.

[04:21]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** We have met some members of the group, which on that day opened the fire on the crowd. They are Georgians. But that day of February 2014 they were those protesters who occupied Maidan square and hotel Ukraina.

[04:36]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The story starts at Tbilisi and shows many actors, Hidden behind the curtains. The first is ex-president of Georgia Mikhail Saakashvili, the protagonist of August of 2008 of one short, but bloody war with the Russia of Vladimir Putin. The second is his counsellor militant Mamuka Mamulashvili. Sent to Kiev to support the protests of Maidan square, he becomes the commandant of Georgian volunteers unit, engaged in clashes with Pro-Russian rebels from Donbass.

[05:14]

**[Kvaratskelia Zalogy]:** The first meeting has been with Mamulashvili. There were 25 people, who had met in the office of national movement and 10 people of 25 had signed.

[05:27]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** Look at it, this is an identity document under my name. It was a certificate of a unit which consisted of policemen and militants. It was structured like a military unit. And in fact, it was a security service. Mikhail Saakashvili has created it. We had to go to Ukraine. We didn't have any choice.

[05:55]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** In another Eastern European country, which we were asked not to rebel against, we met Alexander. Like two other people, he also arrived from Georgia and, like others, he has been as well the protagonist of tragic events at Maidan square.

[06:10]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** He also served in Saakashvili's security services and before that was a sniper in the Georgian army. For this very reason he was selected by Mamuka Mamulashvili.

[06:25]

**[Alexander Revazishvilli]:** Mamuka first asked me if I really had been a sniper, chosen by the Georgian army. "Well, if it is true, - he told me, -you need to go to Kiev".

[06:34]

**[Kvaratskelia Zalogy]:** On the 15 January we have departed. On the plane I have received my passport and the other passport with my photo but with different name and surname. Then each of us was given one thousand dollars with a promise to give us 5 thousand more.

[07:01]

**[Alexander Revazishvilli]:** We had to deal with provocations. We were the ones who had to provoke Berkut, the special police forces. Our task was to provoke them in a way to clash them against the crowd.

[07:19]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** On about 15th or 16th of February the situation started to become more serious every day. It was completely out of control and meanwhile, first shooting was heard.

[07.40]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** With growing tension new protagonists enter the game.

[07:46]

**[Alexander Revazishvilli]:** On a day around 15 February Mamulashvili personally visited our tent. There was another person in uniform with him. He presented him to us and told that he was an American military instructor.

[08:04]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The American's name is Brian Christopher Boyanger and he is a former officer and sniper of the U.S. 101st Airborne Division. After Maidan he will move to the Donbass front, where he will fight the ranks of Georgian legion.

[08:24]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** We were always in touch with that Brian, who was a man of Mamulashvili. It was him who gave orders. I had to follow all his instructions.

[08:37]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** Early suspicions of firearms use by protesters involved Sergey Pashinsky, a Maidan Square leader who later became the speaker of Kiev's parliament. On February 18, a machine gun with precision optics popped out of the trunk of a car that stopped by protesters. Seconds later, Pashinsky approaches and orders to let it go.

[09:09]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** On the first of April the militants of extreme right-wing group Praviy Sector leave Kiev, carrying some strange sacks, where they say they keep musical instruments.

[09:24]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** On these days there were all the heads of opposition in the hotel Ukraina. Pashinsky and other three people, among whom there was also Parasiuk, have taken sacks with arms in a hotel. They were the ones who got them into my room as well.

[09:44]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** The Parasiuk, recognized by Koba, was Volodymir Parasiuk, one of the leaders of protests on Maidan square. From that time, he has become famous for an ultimatum, with which he threatened to kick out the president Viktor Yanukovich with arms.

[10:03]

**[Volodymir Parasiuk in Ukrainian]:** If by tomorrow at 10 a.m. you do not deliver us an official statement calling for Yanukovich's resignation we will attack you with weapons... I swear to you!

[10:14]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** When Mamulashvili arrived, I also asked him. "What is happening?" – I told him. - What do we need these arms for, everything is fine". "Koba, the things are becoming complicated. We have to start shooting" - he answered. – "We can't go to president elections in advance".

[10:37]

**[Kvaratskeliia Zalogy]:** I was in the hotel Ukraina. On the 18th of February somebody has brought the arms into my room. There were two Lithuanians in the room with me. They have taken the arms. Mamulashvili arrived at the hotel and explained that there would be shooting somewhere the next morning. From the other hand, the morning after that he wasn't alone, he was with Brian. And there was somebody else whom I didn't know with them.

[11:07]

**[Alexander Revazishvili]:** If I remember correctly, it was supposed to be February 15 or 16. Pashinsky ordered us to pack our belongings and took us in the building of conservatory. I entered

the palace together with all my group. Pashinsky arrived with other people. Almost all of them were in masks. Judging by bags that they had I understood at once that they were carrying the arms. They took the arms from bags and started to distribute them to different groups. Only Pashinsky spoke. It was him who gave orders. He explained us that there was a risk that Berkut, the special forces of police, would assault the building. He told us that we needed to resist in some way.

[12:00]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** Nobody told us that we had to kill people. We needed to shoot in a way to create chaos and confusion.

[12:11]

**[Unknown person]:** *[Indistinct]* Have you heard? Be careful! There is another wounded. These sons of b\*\*ches are shooting.

[12:18]

**[Unknown person]:** From there, from there.

[12:22]

**[Unknown person]:** From *[hotel]* Ukraina, right?

[12:23]

**[Unknown person]:** Yes, from that terrace.

[12:24]

**[Unknown person]:** Bastards, they are shooting from the hotel Ukraina.

[12:26]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** Bang! After that another bang, like this. A blow and a pause. All of them came from the other part of the hotel. At that moment I heard blows from the adjacent room. At the same moment the Lithuanians opened the window. One of them shot, while the other one closed the window again. I didn't manage to understand what was happening. Pashinsky, who cried to everyone to be ready, to take arms and the rest of equipment. So, everyone rose and he gave the instructions.

[13:12]

**[Alexander Revazishvili]:** We needed to shoot at groups of two or three. Everyone started to shoot - two or three shots in a burst. Pashinsky moved from one side to another and here was always a younger guy near him, a guy, whose name was Parasiuk. We didn't have much choice. The order was given to shoot at Berkut, namely the police, as well as protesters without differentiating. For this reason, I was... I was totally shocked and surprised.

[13:46]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** While at the upper floors of the hotel Ukraina they were shooting at the crowd, the manifestants at the square of Maidan were seeking refuge inside the hotel. And in this way the victims found themselves near their murderers.

[14:04]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** There was such chaos inside, you couldn't even tell who was one or the other. There were a lot of people.

[14:12]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** In the hall, covered with dead bodies, blood and wounded, a camera captures the gunmen, who walk away after firing on the crowds.

[14:26]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** It was a nightmare, it was terrible. When we came out of the hotel Ukraina, there were fires in the streets and there were injured policemen. There were terrifying scenes.

[14:41]

**[Alexander Revazishvili]:** We abandoned the arms. They ordered to leave everything there and to go away, to leave the building as fast as possible. One could hear people shouting. There were the dead and many wounded around. My first and only thought was to go away in a hurry before they noticed me, in other case they would have cut me into pieces at the place. Somebody was already crying that there were snipers. I knew well what they were talking about. Then I saw the dead, all those wounded being taken away, and it came back to me. At that moment I didn't realize, I wasn't ready, but then I realized: we were used, used and framed up.

[15:33]

**[Koba Nergadze]:** The decision to talk, to tell everything wasn't made just now, I have matured it slowly, for a long time. In fact, there wasn't any reason to pursue me. There is nothing that I could be accused of under the laws of my country. And anyway, I am a soldier, I'm not afraid of anything, even of death.

[16:02]

[Music]

[16:28]

**[TV host]:** This is your purpose, Gian Micalessin. To tell us that in fact these are the fake news, namely to tell us that the revolution at the square is the one that has shown us the bad Pro-Russian president without arms and with social networks, but the story turned out to be different at that square.

[16:52]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** Unfortunately, fake news, as you say, was the official truth, which has been fed to us for at least four years and that cost a fortune for us, it cost a fortune for us, Italians.

[17:03]

**[TV host]:** Embargo and the risk of war. but consequently, behind these snipers that you have seen and who tell about not being afraid for their life, because they are soldiers, in reality, how can one think, that they naively didn't realize that they have been made instruments of rebellion that they didn't belong to?

[17:19]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** Well, substantially they thought of making a sort of similar revolution, a so-called pink revolution in Georgia, in which they took part, under the guidance of Saakashvili. That

war ended peacefully. Consequently, also in this case they thought from 18 to 19 that they didn't need to take arms, that everything could be solved with a rebellion on the square. Evidently in these days, when the European mediation told: "Let's go to anticipated elections then to see, what will the people want", the heads of the opposition decided that one should not...

[17:51]

**[TV host]:** They decided to kill their people to instigate a rebellion.

[17:54]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** This is what this film is about.

[17:56]

**[TV host]:** It's really incredible. Thank you, Gian Micalessin.

[17:57]

**[Gian Micalessin]:** Thank you.

[17:58]

[Applause]



**Annex 130**

Gettyimages, UKRAINE-UNREST-POLITICS-US-KERRY (04 March 2014)



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### UKRAINE-UNREST-POLITICS-US-KERRY

US Secretary of State John Kerry (C), Oleksandr Turchynov, Parliament Speaker and Ukraine's interim President (L) and Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk shake hands during their talks in Kiev on March 4, 2014. Kerry arrived in Kiev for talks with Ukraine's new interim government, amid an escalating crisis in Crimea. AFP PHOTO/ YURY KIRNICHNY (Photo credit should read YURY KIRNICHNY/AFP via Getty Images)

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**Annex 131**

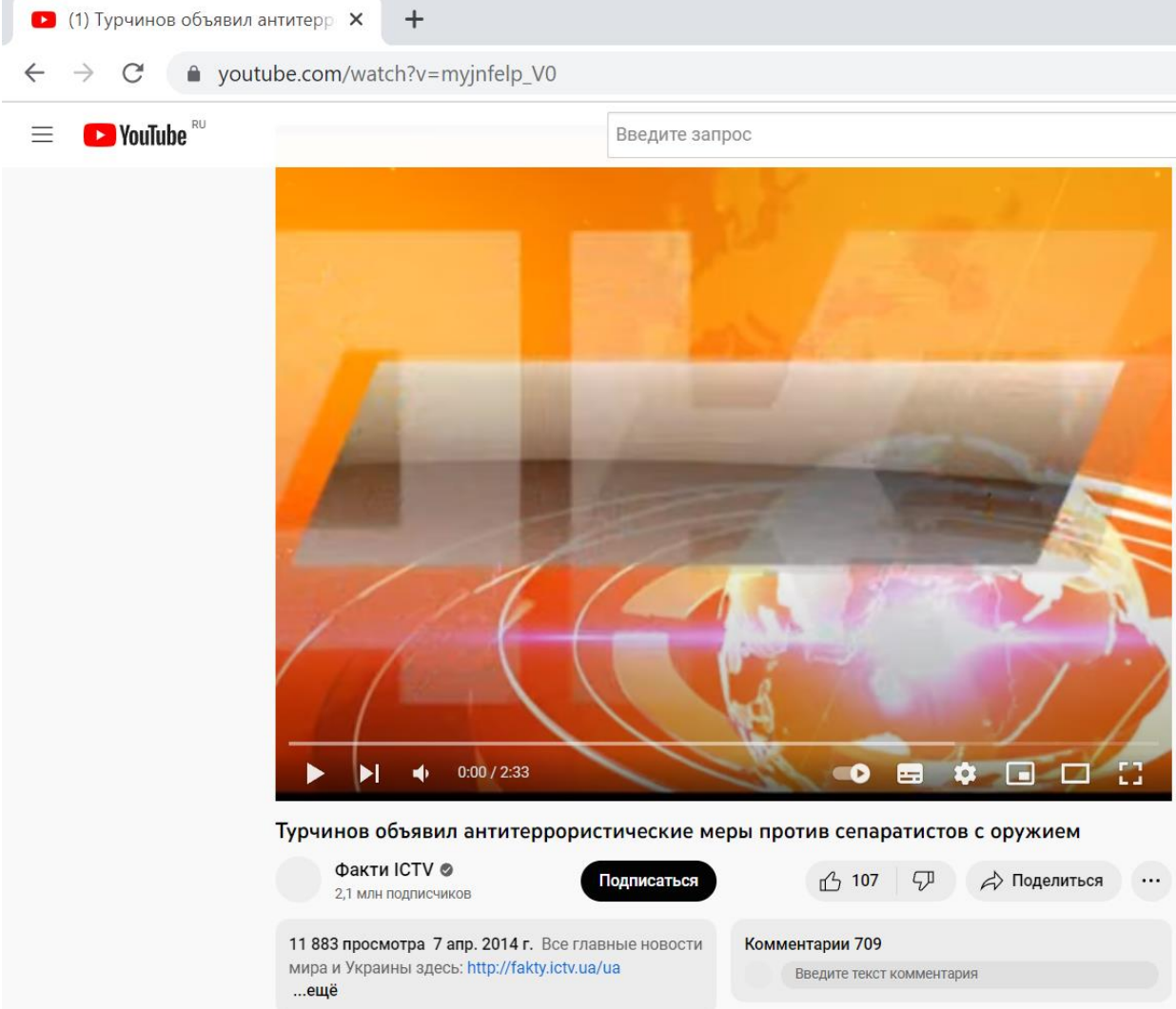
YouTube, Turchinov Announced Anti-Terrorist Measures Against Armed Separatists (7 April  
2014)

(transcript, translation)



YouTube, Channel “Facts ICTV”, “Turchinov announced anti-terrorist measures against armed separatists”, 7 April 2014, available at:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myjnfelp\\_V0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myjnfelp_V0)



(1) Турчинов объявил антитеррористические меры против сепаратистов с оружием

youtube.com/watch?v=myjnfelp\_V0

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107

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11 883 просмотра 7 апр. 2014 г. Все главные новости мира и Украины здесь: <http://fakty.ictv.ua/ua> ...ещё

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### Video Transcript (translated from Ukrainian)

[00:03]

**[Head of the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** Compatriots! Yesterday the second wave of the special operation of the Russian Federation against Ukraine started; its purpose is to destabilize the situation in the country, to overthrow the Ukrainian authorities, to disrupt the elections and to tear apart our country.

[00:21]

**[Head of the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** Separatist groups that are coordinated by Russian security services seized the building of the Kharkov Regional State Administration, the building of the Regional Administration and Security Services in Donetsk, as well as the SBU building in Lugansk, and what is especially dangerous, took up weapons. All of this is happening in the context of presence of Russian troops near our border.

[00:46]

**[Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** Enemies of Ukraine are trying to play the Crimean scenario, but we will not let that happen. This night anti-crisis headquarters was formed, and antiterrorist measures will be held against those who took up arms.

[01:01]

**[Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** We have strengthened protection of the Eastern border of our country. Taking into account the passive behavior of some local law enforcement agencies, they will be also additionally completed at the expense of the departments from other regions.

[01:14]

**[Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** For coordination of legal structures, we sent to Kharkov the Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov, to Donetsk - the First Vice Prime Minister General Vitaly Yarema, to Lugansk - the Secretary of Council of State Security and Defense Andriy Parubiy, and the Head the Security Service of Ukraine Valentyn Nalyvaichenko.

[01:36]

**[Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** Tomorrow one of the first issues on the agenda in the Verkhovna Rada will be the law on harsher punishment for separatism and other crimes against the state. According to Ukrainian legislation, the question will be raised regarding ban of the activities of political parties and public organizations standing on the separatist positions and working for the aggressor country against its own state and its people.

[02:04]

**[Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Aleksandr Turchinov]:** I respect various political views including those of our opponents, but separatism and use of weapons against our own country, which has a direct threat to the security and the lives of our citizens, is not politics, it is a serious crime, and we will act adequately and decisively against criminals.



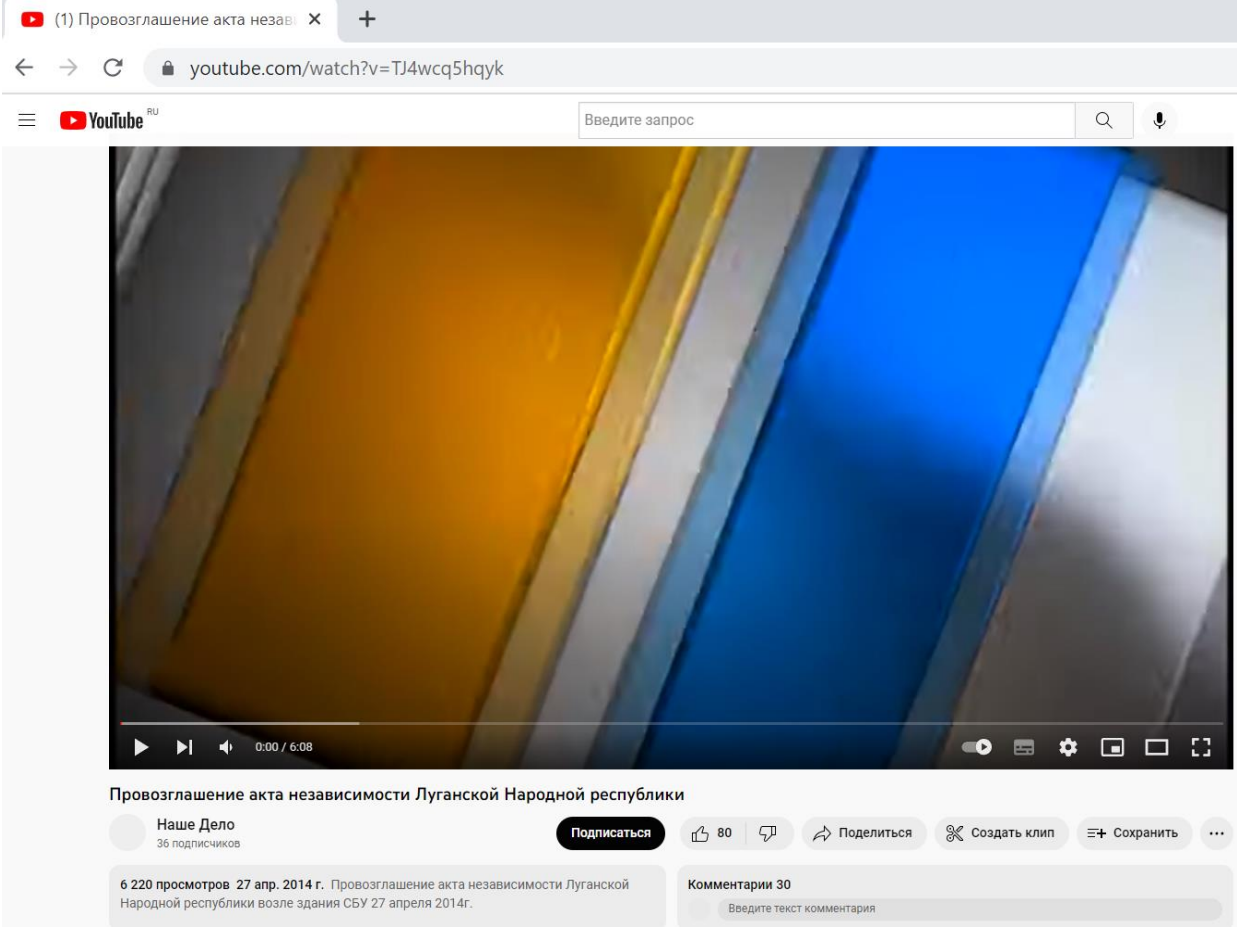
**Annex 132**

YouTube, Proclamation of the Act of Independence of the Lugansk People's Republic (27 April  
2014)

(transcript, translation)



**YouTube, Channel “Our Business”, “Proclamation of the Act of Independence of the Lugansk People’s Republic”, 27 April 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJ4wcq5hqyk>**



The screenshot shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Провозглашение акта независимости Луганской Народной республики" (Proclamation of the Act of Independence of the Lugansk People's Republic). The channel is "Наше Дело" (Our Business) with 36 subscribers. The video has 6,220 views and was uploaded on April 27, 2014. The description mentions the location as "Народной республики возле здания СБУ 27 апреля 2014г." (People's Republic near the building of the SBU on April 27, 2014). The video player shows a progress bar at 0:00 / 6:08 and various control icons.

### Video Transcript (translated from Russian)

[00:12]

**[Crowd chanting]:** Russia! Russia! Russia! Russia! Russia!

[00:21]

*[Russian anthem plays]*

[01:04]

**[Speaker]:** We have come a long way, we have suffered so much together with you, we have been through so many tragedies already, we ourselves were angry, we didn't understand, we were struggling for it, we made demands, and I believe that today we, together with our comrades, today we finally gave birth, gave birth to a good baby, I think that today we should declare ourselves the Lugansk People's Republic!

[00:49]

**[Crowd chanting]:** Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk! Lugansk!

[02:01]

**[Speaker]:** For 23 years we have been tortured, we have been ripped off, they have been destroying our factories, for 23 years we have been begging with an outstretched hand, begging Kiev for help on the road, on the line of communication. I think we should put an end to, finish this vicious business and we have to carry this heavy burden together with you, and without your support and without our support we will be unable to do this, so we must be united, and, as we know, when we are united, we are invincible.

[02:41]

**[Speaker]:** Tell all your neighbours, all your friends, that there is nothing to be afraid of here, that if we don't start getting off the couch, nothing will happen. But right now, right now I am grateful to the guys who are supporting us, they are officers. I want to tell you this: the truth is on our side and we will win, the victory will be ours!

[03:12]

**[Speaker]:** We are not afraid of being arrested, the fear has gone, even the horror has gone, what is left is confidence in our forces, we have taken the road to victory and we must follow it to the end and it is for us to decide in what country we will live. Donbass, be glorious!

[03:39]

**[Speaker]:** Declaration of sovereignty of the Lugansk People's Republic.

The congress of representatives of territorial communities, political parties and non-governmental organisations of Lugansk region, based on the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and a number of other international documents that enshrine the right of people to self-determination, expressing the will of multi-ethnic people of Lugansk region, being aware of the historical responsibility for the future of Lugansk region and its people, respecting the sovereign rights of all peoples and the will of peoples regarding their further development, based on the territorial structure, priority of universal humanity, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other universally recognised international legal instruments, and seeking to create a people's, rule-of-law, democratic, sovereign state, declares the establishment of a sovereign state, the Lugansk People's Republic!

[04:56]

[“Victory Day” song plays].

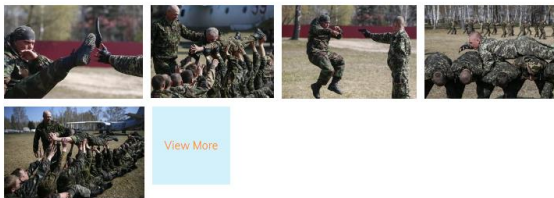
### **Annex 133**

Reuters, Pictures of former members of Maidan Self-Defence joined the newly created National Guard of Ukraine (31 March 2014)





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Members of a "Maidan" self-defence battalion take part in a training at a base of Ukraine's National Guard near Kiev March 31, 2014. Volunteers arrived at the base for training to qualify for service in the newly created National Guard. REUTERS/Gleb Garanich (UKRAINE - Tags: POLITICS MILITARY CIVIL UNREST)

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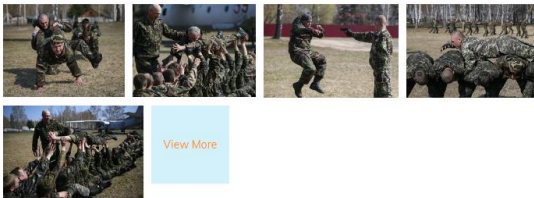
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## **Annex 134**

O. Huss, Nations in Transit (2021): Ukraine, Freedomhouse.org

(excerpt)



## Ukraine: Nations in Transit 2021 Country Report | Freedom House

By Oksana Huss and Oleksandra Keudel

In 2020, Ukraine witnessed active resistance to major reforms, which essentially erased the democratic achievements of the previous year. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy initiated changes at the beginning of the year among key political staff, from the government to the Prosecutor General and the President's Office. Most of these promising reformers were replaced by controversial personalities associated with different informal interest groups. Significant achievements of Ukraine's special anticorruption institutions were torn down by a judiciary that worked to undermine the basic government principle of checks and balances. In particular, the Constitutional Court attacked cornerstones of anticorruption work by ruling that asset declarations, political appointments, and anticorruption institutions themselves are unconstitutional, which plunged the country into a constitutional crisis on top of the serious social and economic challenges posed by COVID-19.

The pandemic increased Ukraine's dependence on IMF loans and foreign financial assistance to overcome the crisis. The conditionality of foreign donors intensified the demand for reforms, some of which explicitly contradicted the interests of influential groups. Ukraine's leadership entered the year with sufficient support, both among the public and the political establishment, to achieve significant reforms. But the capacity for these goals disappeared as tensions increased between influential groups, and as popular support for the government declined.

The fragmentation of President Zelenskyy's influence was noticeable at both the national and local levels of governance. While in 2019, *Shuha Narodu* ("Servant of the People")—the pro-presidential faction in the *Verkhovna Rada*, Ukraine's parliament—had adopted legislation in a fast and unified manner (aka "turbo mode"), in 2020, consensus in the decision-making process was increasingly based on ad hoc coalitions. Procedural mistakes during the Rada's "turbo" period made it easy to revoke the legislative basis for reforms, while hampering the consensus-building needed for new legislation. At the local governance level, elections in October cemented the power of regional elites, where mayor-led parties and political projects of oligarchs gained substantial representation in many regional councils. The central authorities had difficulty enforcing their decisions, as demonstrated when mayors challenged or sabotaged quarantine restrictions in court, sometimes forcing the government to give concessions. The informal power of large financial-industrial groups (FIGs) became evident when the president implored these enterprises to lead the pandemic relief efforts in their respective regional bases.<sup>1</sup>

The local elections on October 25 put additional pressure on authorities to advance decentralization and finally reach consensus on the new administrative division of the country. Despite some local opposition, administrative-territorial reform has been pushed to avoid overlapping jurisdictions in about 100 traditional districts and new territorial communities (municipalities) after the municipal elections. Communities maintained fiscal autonomy from the district and regional budgets. Rules of succession between old and new administrative units have been set. These actions helped to avoid a collapse in public service

provision after the municipal elections but failed to clarify the confusion between state competences and those of local governments, especially at the district level.

The negotiations over constitutional amendments and legislation set to clarify competences of state administrations and elected councils revealed areas of increasing leverage by local elites due to the advancing decentralization reform. After backlash to the president's amendments in 2019, which failed to incorporate local government input, the central authorities launched an unprecedented, inclusive consultation process in January; this effort comprised thematic working groups, rounds of regional negotiations, and consensus-based decisions, and it continued online during the pandemic.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, open consultations were ongoing during the year over new competences for local self-government and state administrations.

In addition to pushing the decentralization reform, the October local elections were important for Ukraine's democratic governance since they tested the new Electoral Code, which improved the electoral process through open party lists, inclusive gender quotas for candidate lists, and revised sanctions for electoral offenses. The option to change one's electoral address now enables internally displaced persons (IDPs) de facto to vote. Still, limits on fair elections remained: political parties increased their leverage in local governance through a new power to recall their deputies from local councils ("imperative mandate"), while a new requirement that candidates must accumulate a certain quota of votes in order to move up party lists would limit the open-list principle. Although the overall assessment of the October election process was positive, misuse of administrative resources, vote buying, and unregulated political advertising posed challenges for the conduct of free and fair elections.

Apart from challenges within the country, Ukraine's democratic consolidation is also complicated by the insecurity that Russia poses through its military aggression in Donbas and continued occupation of Crimea.<sup>3</sup> For example, Ukraine aspires to shield itself from Russian disinformation, yet the relevant draft law "On disinformation" infringed on media freedom and was abandoned. Similarly, the Zelenskyy administration faces polarized public opinion on a possible solution to the armed conflict. While the growing veteran community, their families, and citizens with patriotic sentiment increasingly protest the president's conflict resolution strategy, there is a sizeable proportion of those who would now accept some form of a peace deal that ends the war.<sup>4</sup>

The Ukrainian civic sector proved anew to be a strong pillar under challenging circumstances. Civil society organizations (CSOs) and volunteers have been critical to cushioning the negative impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. They initiated public-private partnerships and large-scale informal mobilizations to support at-risk groups and medical workers. Civil society demonstrated resilience in coping with the ramifications of Russian aggression by protecting the rights of IDPs and veterans, and facilitating community dialogue.<sup>5</sup> The state does not create legal obstacles for CSOs, and there were slight improvements in the rules for public funding and taxation. At the same time, there are instances of persecution of civic activists, including physical attacks, intimidation, and damage to property. In fact, journalists experienced physical attacks at the same rate as in the previous year,<sup>6</sup> yet investigations of such cases were ineffective or nonexistent. With the change of government, the tone in interaction between CSOs and the authorities is gradually shifting from dialogue to dissent.

Media in Ukraine remained pluralistic and free from state pressure in 2020. Media outlets are, however, significantly influenced by the financial support and

political agendas of their owners. The television market is highly concentrated and influenced by six media holdings, which draw 71 percent of the country's viewing audience. Yet television is losing its popularity in favor of social media and news websites. Several sites, such as VoxUkraine and texty.org.ua, offer quality data journalism, while the online media Ukrainska Pravda, Hromadske.ua, and several others do independent reporting. At the same time, numerous online media and press, especially at the local level, do not provide their audiences with diverse opinions and independent editorial content.<sup>7</sup> With internet usage reaching 90 percent of citizens in the country, disinformation is widespread and far fewer citizens are capable of detecting it. Disappointed, they may end up refraining from consuming news at all.<sup>8</sup>

There are positive tendencies in Ukraine's fight against grand corruption, but also increasing resistance from the judicial branch. The National Agency on Corruption Prevention (NACP) has been reformed, and the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) continued investigations of high-level corruption<sup>9</sup> while improving coordination with the Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (SAPO). Compared to previous years, when investigations were mostly obstructed in the courts of general jurisdiction, the specialized High Anti-Corruption Court (HACC) demonstrated a real prosecution of corruption in 2020 by delivering its first convictions resulting in sentences.

Investigations and convictions of corruption increasingly involve judges, as well as managers of state-owned enterprises and politicians. Among ongoing top investigations, NABU pressed charges against several judges of the Kyiv District Administrative Court (KDAC), the court of first instance in reviewing appeals against decisions by public authorities. NACP detected illegal assets in the declarations of judges of the Constitutional Court. These accountability efforts backfired on the entire anticorruption infrastructure and led to a constitutional crisis when the Constitutional Court proclaimed the appointment of Artem Sytnyk as head of the independent NABU unconstitutional, challenged the constitutionality of HACC itself, and, in October, abolished asset declarations by public officials.

Looking forward, the Constitutional Court's discrediting of reform-driven laws and appointments by ruling them unconstitutional poses a serious threat in several ways. The judiciary has revealed itself to be an unpredictable player that can act beyond the particularistic economic interests of judges. It also risks undermining the conditionality of macro-financial assistance by the IMF and the European Union's visa-free regime, which Ukraine relies upon to avoid a deep political and economic crisis, especially during the global pandemic. The current constitutional crisis provides an opportunity to finally reform the judiciary at its base, a prospect that has popular support. However, the increasing fragmentation of the Sluha Narodu party and decreasing popularity of President Zelenskyy restrict the ability of political leadership to introduce substantial changes.



### **Annex 135**

S. Gangloff, Turkish policy towards the conflict in Kosovo: the preeminence of national political interests in *Balkanologie*, Vol. VIII (1) (2004)





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## Turkish policy towards the conflict in Kosovo: the preeminence of national political interests

*La politique de la Turquie dans le conflit du Kosovo : les pré-éminence des intérêts (politiques) nationaux*

**Sylvie Gangloff**



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versy on the deployment of Russian S-300 missiles in Cyprus. However, as usual (as it had been the case for the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina), some editorials were more vindictive<sup>23</sup>. They vigorously denounced the new ethnic cleansing, the inaction of the international community and the new orthodox plot and, for some of them, openly advocated the independence of Kosovo. Of course, the massive massacres undertaken by the Serbian authorities during the course of Spring 1999 revitalized in all the newspapers the image of Serbs as « ethnic cleansers », « murderers » and « butchers ».

But Turkish leaders maintained their commitment to the preservation of the territorial integrity of the FRY and were extremely reluctant to intervene in the internal affairs of Kosovo. To reject the parallel with the situation in the southeast of Anatolia, they put forward two kinds of arguments :

1 - The repression in Kosovo was on such a large scale that no comparison was possible. President Demirel even called this repression a « genocide »<sup>24</sup>.

2 - The nature of the conflict was completely different. « They call them a minority in Kosovo but we do not have minorities in Turkey », declared Süleyman Demirel<sup>25</sup>.

Turkish leaders were backed, in this approach, by most of the editorialists : « There is no other state that commits such violence against its own population on its own territory (...) The war between the Serbs and the Albanians is both an ethnic and religious confrontation »<sup>26</sup>.

Turkish leaders officially advocated the « restoration » of the rights of the Albanians<sup>27</sup>. By insisting on the *restoration* of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo, the Turks avoided any unwelcome comparison with the Kurds (who never had any rights in the past such as those enjoyed by the Albanians in Kosovo under the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution).

Here again, Turkey has followed the path of the United States. The Turkish air force participated in NATO air strikes on the FRY<sup>28</sup> and after June 1999, as it had announced very early on, it contributed to the international peacekeeping force stationed in Kosovo. Around 1 000 Turkish soldiers were deployed in

<sup>23</sup> See for example **Necati Özfatura** in *Türkiye*, 10/04/98, 05/08/98, 06/08/98. Comments on Kosovo of one of this famous editorialist of *Türkiye*, had been compiled and published at the end of 1998 : **Özfatura (Necati)**, *Hedefteki Ülke. Kosova* [Kosovo. A Threatened Country], İstanbul : İzci, 1998.

<sup>24</sup> *Hürriyet*, 13/04/99.

<sup>25</sup> **Anadolu Ajansı**, 28/04/99.

<sup>26</sup> *Milliyet*, 26/03/99.

<sup>27</sup> In the proposal the Turkish government made on 16 March 1998 to halt violence in Kosovo, they expressly recommended « restoring the rights of all ethnic groups in Kosovo, which they enjoyed at the time of Kosovo's autonomy ». *Turkish Daily News*, 17/03/98. President Demirel talked as well of the « restoration of fundamental rights and freedoms of Albanians in Kosovo » during his official visit to Albania in mid-July 1998. **Albanian Telegraphic Agency**, 15/07/98.

<sup>28</sup> A total of 11 F-16's planes were stationed in the Ghedi base in Italy.