

Ukrainian revolution from the point of view of the Russian analyst



The Communication Group “Minchenko Consulting” unites:

- PR-agency "New Image". Since 1993



- International Institute for Political Expertise (IIPE). Since 2003



- Government Relations agency "Minchenko GR-Consulting". Since 2007





Geography of our projects:



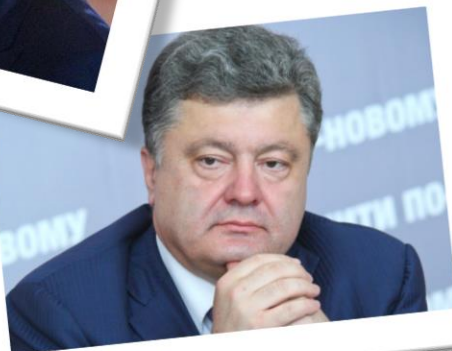
- **Belarus;**
- **Georgia;**
- **Moldavia;**
- **Serbia;**
- **Kazakhstan;**
- **Kyrgyzstan;**
- **Turkmenistan;**
- **Uzbekistan;**
- **Ukraine.**

- **Regions of Russian Federation:** Republic of Bashkortostan , Sakha , Tatarstan, Udmurtia , Khakassia, Krasnoyarsk, Perm, Primorye, Amur, Arkhangelsk, Volgograd, Irkutsk, Kirov, Kurgan, Leningrad, Magadan, Novgorod, Orenburg, Pskov, Samara, Sverdlovsk, Tver, Tyumen, Nizhni Novgorod, Chelyabinsk, the Yamal-Nenets autonomous region, the Chukotka autonomous region, the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region, Saint-Petersburg and Moscow.





- Vice-President of the Russian PR Association (RPRA);
 - 2003-2011 State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Expert of Security and CIS Countries Committees;
 - Moscow State University, Faculty of World Politics, Lecturer;
 - Author of the book "How to become and remain a governor" (the best Russian theoretical PR-work of the PR-contests "White Wing" and "Silver Archer" 2001);
- Top-20 list of the best political consultants in Russia (Obshaya gazeta);
 - 2011 top ten list of the most famous political consultants in Russia (Medialogia);
 - Co-author "Governor's political survival rating" and "Mayors political influence rating".



Premier League (Ligue 1)

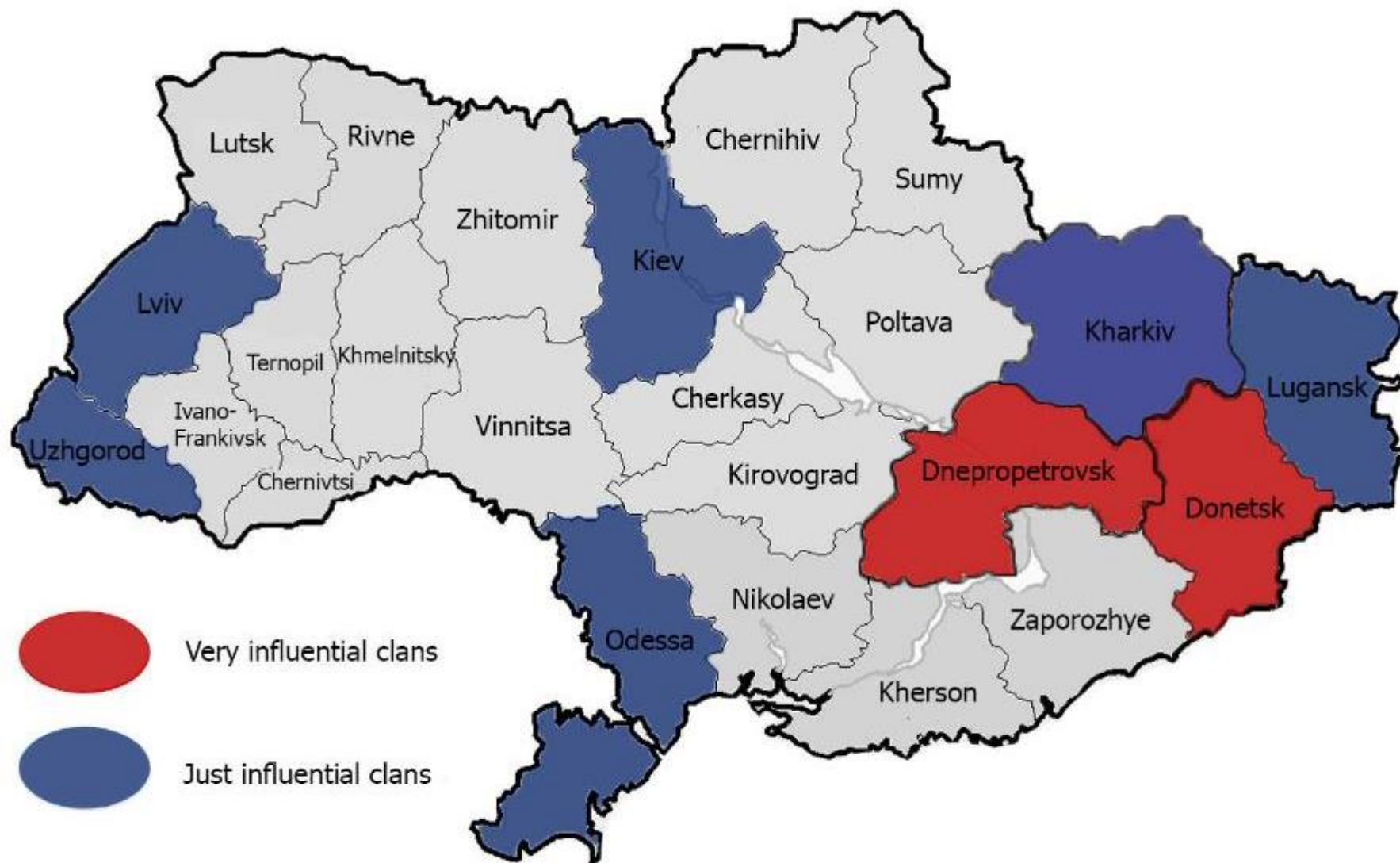
- Yanukovich's family
- Rinat Achmetov
- Dmitry Firtash
- Igor Kolomoyskiy
- Viktor Pinchuk
- Petr Poroshenko

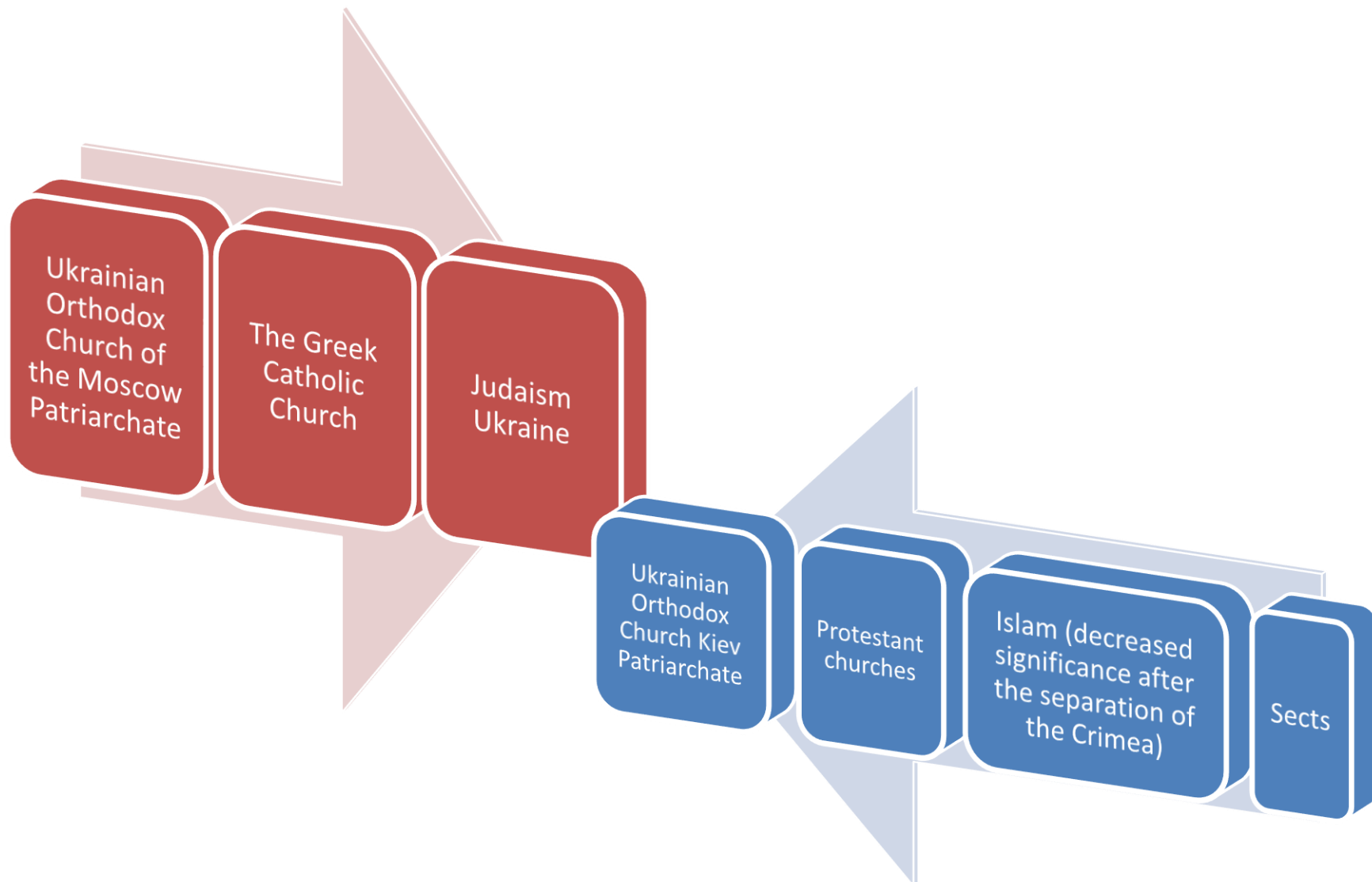
1. Significant economic assets;
2. Media resource;
3. Faction (informal is good too) in the parliament;
4. The presence of regional foothold;
5. Power resources (control over state resources and / or private army).



Second Division (Ligue 2)

- Klyuev brothers
- ISD
- Old Donetsk group
- Viktor Baloga
- Igor Eremeev
- Boris Kolesnikov
- Vadim Novinskiy
- Bogdan Gubskoy
- Vasily Khmel'nitskiy
- Taniel Vasadze
- Yaroslavskie brothers
- Sergey Tigipko
- Alexander Efremov
- Viktor Medvedchuk
- Dobkin-Kernes
- Arsen Avakov

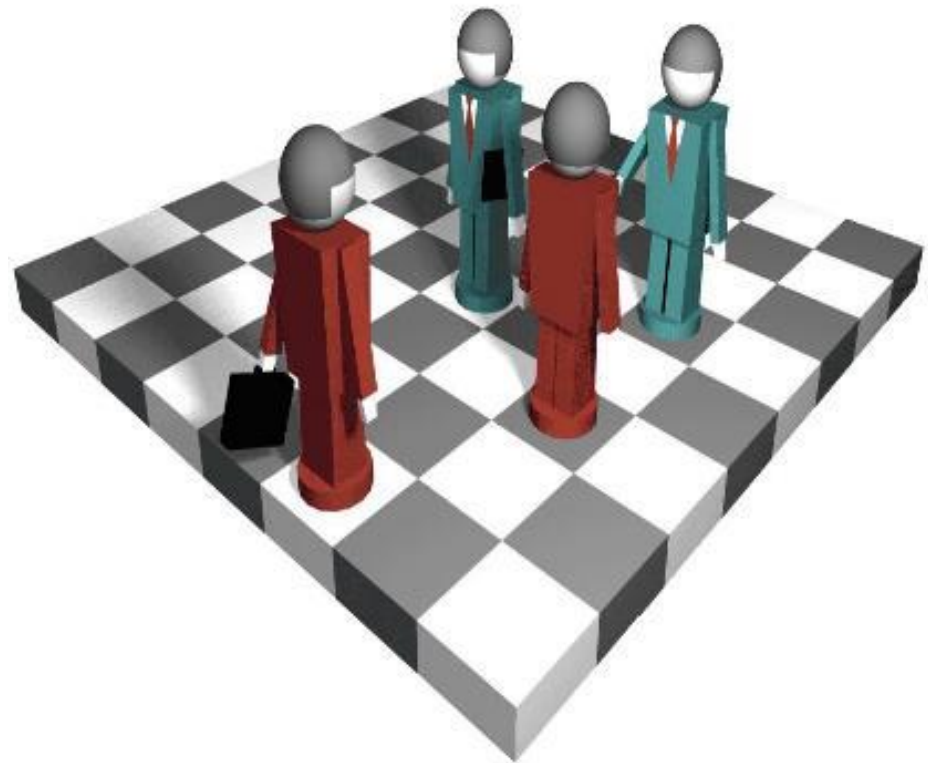






- Balancing the interests of major external actors (Russia, USA, EU);
- Loyalty of 3-4 major clans;
- Loyalty of 10-15 clans second league;
- Loyalty of law enforcement agencies;
- Electoral support for two of the three major macro-regions (West, Center and Southeast).

- Going under the protectorate of the EU, while maintaining normal relations with Russia;
- Interception control over media resources from the oligarchs;
- His Family clan economic dominance;
- Scraping the political field of the Southeast;
- Split of parliament opposition;
- Promotion of radicals from Western Ukraine. Bet on far-right politician O. Tyagnibok as convenient sparring partner in the future second round elections.



Mistakes by Yanukovich

- Managed to simultaneously disappoint all external major actors;
- Began to build a system of his family clan domination;
- Put pressure on medium and even small businesses;
- Forced law enforcement agencies to make money on their own (as a consequence the growth of corruption and autonomy of their actions);
- Has lost the Southeast, had not won the West.





- **Task** – force Yanukovych to compromise in economic and political terms.
- **Tools** – bring people on the streets through controlled media and financial mobilization.

1. Ideological supporters of "Ukrainization" (mainly from western Ukraine);
2. Greek Catholic clergy and his flock, the UOC-KP, the network structure of the Protestant confessions;
3. Protest of small and medium businessmen;
4. General democratic protest;
5. Activists of the opposition parties;
6. Students organized by "nationally oriented teachers";
7. Private armies of oligarchs;
8. Paid common people;
9. Radical nationalist groups;
10. Football fans.

Technology of maintaining protest activity



- Paid core activists from Western Ukraine;
- Provocations by corrupt law enforcers (middle status);
- "Sacred victim" before the weekend;
- Media campaign
- False evidence of "Russian interference";
- Public support from Western politicians;
- Clashes between radicals and law enforcements;
- Unknown snipers.



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Strange kidnapping





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Gaining popularity of future victim





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Peaceful protesters?





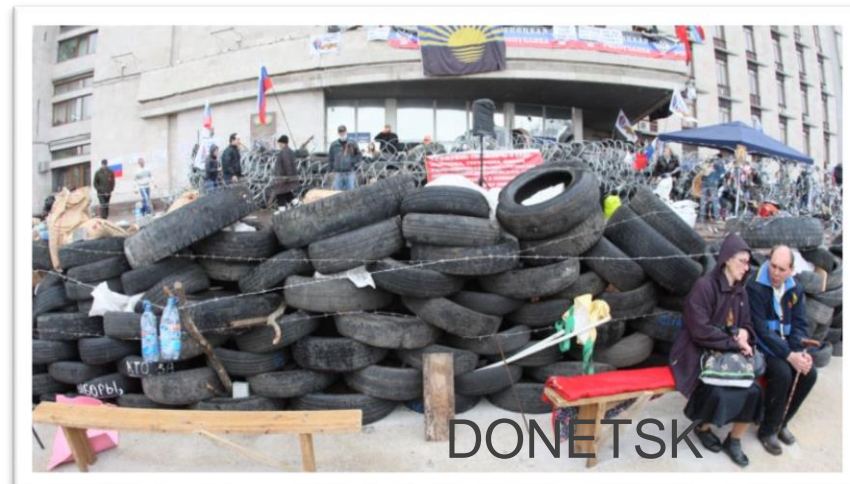
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Peaceful protest?



1. Sharp ideological reversals;
2. Bet on the power resource in terms of its deficit;
3. Several centers of decision-making;
4. Change unmotivated use and non-use of force;
5. Propaganda among existing supporters. Inability to attract waverers;
6. Use of paramilitary units, which is difficult to control;
7. Negotiations with those who have no influence on the radicals and unable to stop the violence.

These errors are the same with the new government.



1. Supporters of "Russian world" concept;
2. Nostalgic for the days of the USSR;
3. Activists of Communist party of Ukraine and partly Party of Regions;
4. Parishioners of Russian Orthodox Church;
5. Nomenclatura and law enforcements fearing lustration;
6. Frightened ordinary people;
7. Volunteers from the Crimea and Russia.
8. General democratic protest;
9. Protest of small and medium business;
10. Young passionarians seeking to build a political career;
11. Regional patriotism and resentment.







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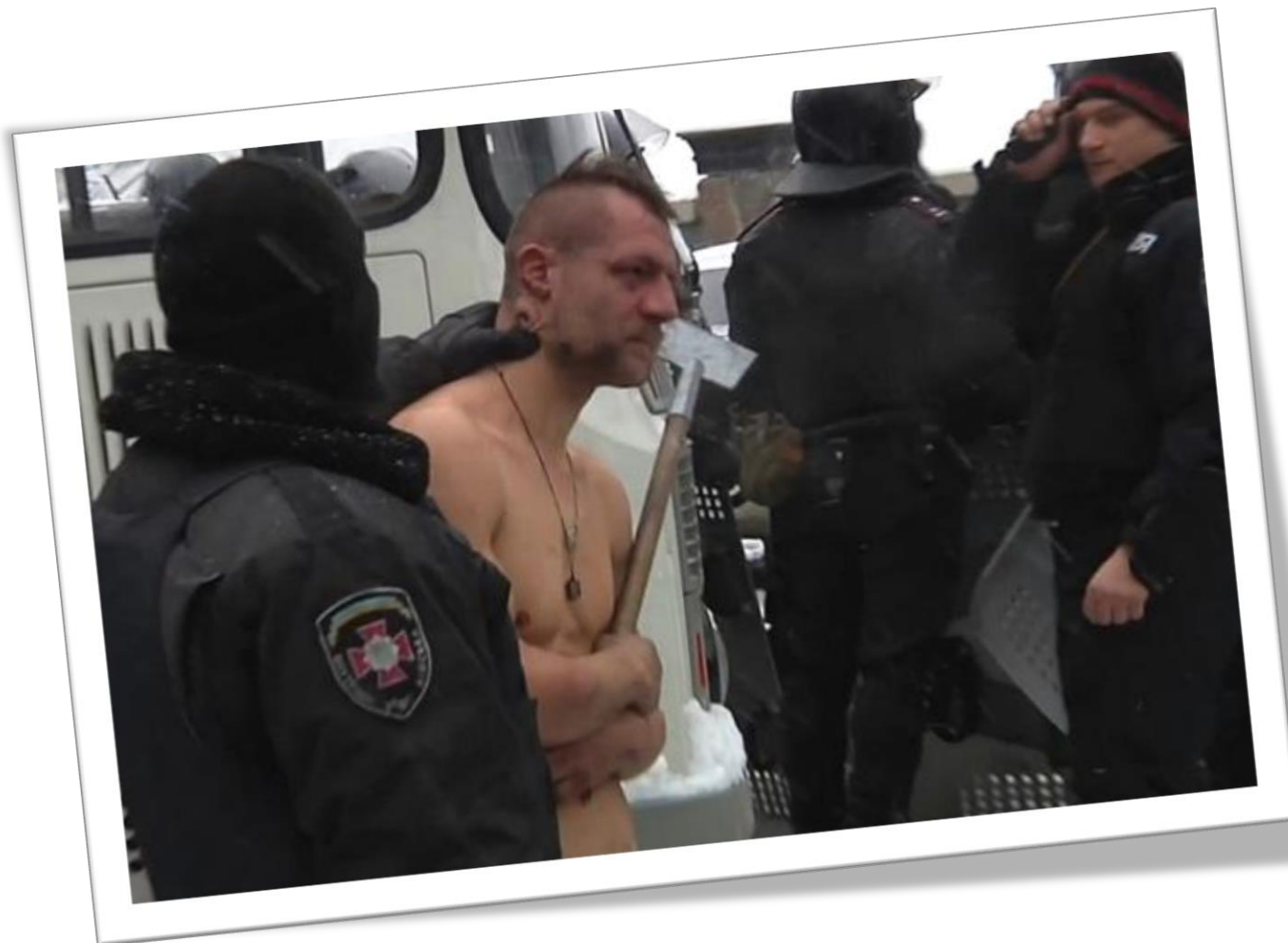
Three headed dragon of Maidan





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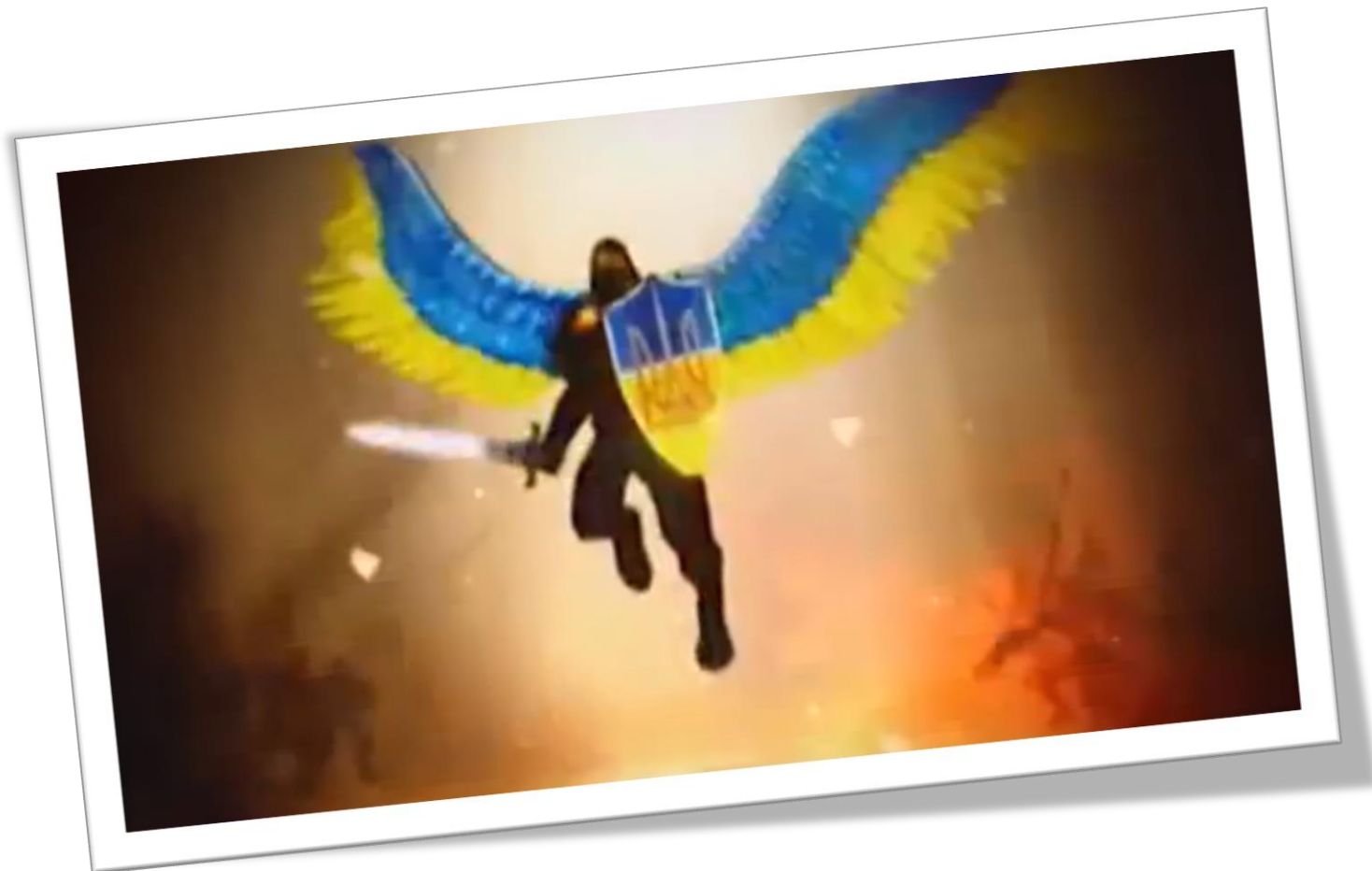
Nude Cossack





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Warrior of light?





- Killed by two shots to the heart.



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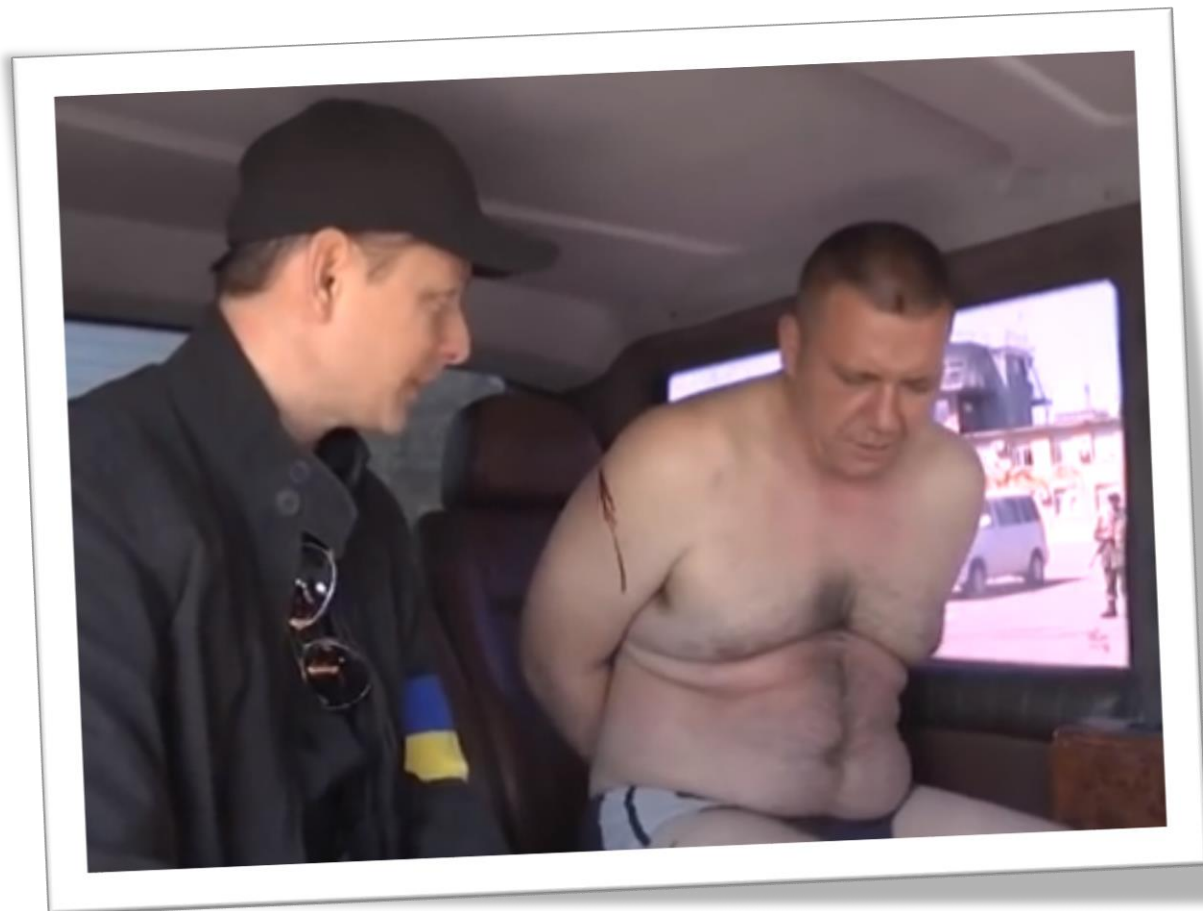
Grandmother of the Revolution?





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Radical militant and candidate for
presidency Lyashko





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Oligarch and feudal lord Kolomoyskiy







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Sexy prosecutor of Crimea







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Colonel Strelkov





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Cossack Babai



- Consensus of oligarchic groups around the figure Poroshenko (not Tymoshenko, not radical, capable of compromise);
- West supported Poroshenko as both understandable and non-radical politician;
- Russia distanced itself (elections are illegitimate, but "let it be so" - Vladimir Putin);
- Cleaning information space of Ukraine from disloyal journalists and media;
- Power pressure upon candidates from the South-East;
- Military operation in the Donbas region.



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Coalitions

Timoshenko
Turchinov
Avakov
Tyagnibok

Akchmetov
Dobkin

Poroshenko
Klitchko
Nalivajchenko
Firtash
Lyashko

Kolomoyskiy
Yarosh
Tigipko

- Firtash – Klichko and «Udar» party



Alternative routes oligarchs

- Achmetov – Yatsenuk and the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland", Korolevskaya



- Akhmetov's expansion under Yanukovych (Donetsk, Lugansk, Zaporozhye, Dnepropetrovsk regions);



- Expansion of Kolomoyskiy under new authorities (Dnepopetrovskaya, Zaporizhia, Volyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Odessa regions, some areas of Donbass).



- Controversial turnout (declared more than 60% of voters after the loss of the Crimea, no voice at all in Donbass and passive South East);
- One half of the country chose their politicians (the first four places— Poroshenko, Tymoshenko, Lyashko, Gritsenko);
- This result will push Poroshenko to radical policy, including the power scenario in the South East.



- Heir of the Soviet era business-community so-called “Tsehoviki”;
- Was near the state power structures under the rule of all presidents, starting with Kuchma;
- One of the founders of the Party of Regions;
- Has no sustained political beliefs, if not considered "pro-western agenda";
- Close relative of ex-president Yushchenko;
- Hero of corruption scandals;
- Lacks his own team.



Balance of power exists between the five main groups:

1. Exporters (mainly South-East)
2. Military-Industrial complex and engineering (South-East)
3. Operators of gas schemes
4. Importers (mainly Center and West), including illegal imports
5. Financiers (political game on exchange rates)

The new Ukraine moves towards destroying the first three groups. This is impossible without blood and confrontation. That is why Poroshenko has low chances to keep the situation.

The old model of oligarchic domination headed by President Poroshenko is threatened:

1. Lack of cheap Russian gas (main resource for industry)
2. Large-scale unemployment due to lower employment in the military-industrial complex, metallurgy, gas chemistry, coal industry
3. The need for unpopular reforms (reduction of social spending, the rising cost of utility services for the population)
4. Increased costs of security

As a result - reduction of resources that can be distributed.

Temporary solution - expropriation of assets and property of "unpatriotic oligarchs".

Result - a centralized military dictatorship, supported by the military help of the West, or disintegration of the country into several actually independent feudal principalities.



- End the bloodshed;
- Regular payments for gas supply;
- Cooperation in the sphere of military-industrial complex;
- Neutral status of Ukraine;
- Rights of russian-speaking population (federalization and the formal state status of the Russian language).



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