

Interview with Valeriy Chalyi (VC). Interviewer: Yuliia Mendel (JM). Place of interview: Washington, D.C.

JM: At the beginning, please tell me something about yourself, what were the most important events in your life that have shaped you into who you are today? Can you describe these events in more detail?

VC: Since school time I believed that I'd be someone who will combine both: humanitarian and technical issues. That's why I chose at that time a very special course in one of the Soviet universities for cybernetics. But when it was a transition time from the Soviet Union to Independence I understood that the country would be more open. That's why I tried to find something that would be similar, but that would let me analyze the situation in different sphere and at the same time be more active abroad. So that was my decision at that time to be not a diplomat, but to deal with foreign policy, international security.

Influences

Education

Influences

National Taras Shevchenko

So I graduated from history department and after that in Kyiv university (means Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko university) I chose international relations.

At that time in the 1990s there were new issues important for the country: the independence of Ukraine, sovereignty and many other aspects connected to the international law. As I had academic background in history and law I chose international relations. From 1993 to the last year, for all this time, I was doing foreign policy. I held different positions. In 1995 I held a bureaucratic position as an assistant to the members and advisers to the president of Ukraine at that time. After that I served for three times under different Presidents: twice in the President's Administration, once in the National Security and Defense Council. Except that I held the position of the deputy of the Minister of foreign affairs in 2009-2010. Also I worked in the think-tank the Ukrainian Center of Economic and Political Studies that is called the Razumkov Center now.

Influences

Work

I give such a broaden context because you ask me about the events. So all the time I had a deal with foreign policy, but most events in the history of my country – Ukraine – found me in the

Orange Revolution

Revolution of Dignity

position of a civil activist. I mean the end of 2004 and the beginning of 2005 when there was the Orange Revolution, at that time I worked in the Razumkov Center and involved in the team of one of the candidates (means – for Presidency). That's why I took active part in the Orange Revolution.

It happened that during the Revolution of Dignity I also worked for the Razumkov Center. As I was retired from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because of Yanukovich's decision in 2010 to make significant changes in the foreign policy and security priorities. It was 2010, it was my decision to have a political resignation. As it was of political reasons. I disagreed with the change of our course, because I disagreed with the so-called strategy of “non-block country”. It meant not to apply immediately for NATO membership, but to close any opportunity for Ukraine to decide about this security system for Ukraine. Also I disagreed with the first attempts to move to the Custom's Union, not the EU. For me all these decisions were obviously taken since 2010. So after the Orange Revolution these significant changes in foreign policy and security priorities pushed me to become independent. And after that the Revolution of Dignity happened. Together with the Revolution of Dignity I describe these two events as the stage for the dramatic changes in Ukraine, they made significant impact on my life also. I was in the Council of Maidan and that meant a “one-way ticket”.

JM: Let's return earlier to the Soviet times. It's very interesting to know how you as the current representative, face of Ukraine in Washington, were formed. It's interesting to hear about your parents' relation to the Soviet system, what books did you read, was there an influence of religion in your family? How did you look at the events that were happening in 1989, 1991 and later?

VC: Well, I have a typical story. I remember the Soviet period very well including 1985 when we received the news that General Secretary of Communistic party of the Soviet Union died. And please believe me on that night most Ukrainian and Soviet children they saw dreams... Let me describe what I thought. I imagined that many aircrafts from the United States, from NATO countries, planned to bomb the Soviet Union. The general impression was that everything broke, everything was destroyed. But we woke up the next morning and understood that nothing had happened. It was the period of changes of mind because we started receiving new information, we

History

Victor

Yanukovich's rule
(2010-2014)

Orange Revolution

Revolution of Dignity

Activity

History

Konstantin
Chernenko's
death in
1985

Influences

True history of
Ukraine

Holodomor

started receiving real truth about the history of Ukraine, not yet about Holodomor, not yet about many sensitive issues in the history. But there was information about the history of the Communist Party, it wasn't true, about Lenin, about many leaders of the Soviet Union. We were shocked, we understood that some of them were criminals and some of them were not such brilliant guys as we used to think. It was shock for the society.

After that the Soviet Union collapsed and the Independence of Ukraine. If you ask me about the events definitely these events and even before the declaration of Independence of Ukraine, the act of sovereignty of Ukraine and all these movements in Ukraine, all young people at that time participated in the People's movement. Many of us were involved because we wanted to build a new country. I understood that we were building a new country, that there was a transformation. So it wasn't about the books. I read the same books as an average child and student of the Soviet times.

Influences

People's movement of Ukraine (Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy)

JM: Which impressed you more?

VC: You can request this question to my students of the post-graduate studies. They told me that I conducted a brilliant lecture on Nietzsche. I really read almost all Nietzsche during the Soviet times. Not because he was one of the greatest philosophers, no. Because he was new and prohibited in the Soviet times. I found it in the apartment of my friend and his father was a bureaucrat in the Communist Party. And I found these five books of Nietzsche in the end of the 1980s. I read them with great interest and after that time I read almost all Nietzsche.

Influences

The writings of Nietzsche

It was after 1985, I was 15-16 years old. It opened new opportunities. But definitely I also read the books that every child likes. But at that period when I was a teenager, a student, I mostly read history, philosophy books.

JM: Do you mean Soviet history?

VC: Not necessary. Even at that time we tried to find... My connection to the world abroad was very unique for the Soviet times. The Soviet times simply didn't give any opportunity for the access to other countries. We always used only the regular telephone, as there were no mobile

Influences

Radio sports

phones at that time. But if you tried to reach the United States it was almost impossible. Or if it was possible you'd be together on the line with the KGB officer. Computers and the Internet – it may sound unbelievable – but there were no computers and the Internet, no mobile phones. But there was connection through the radio station at that time. Mostly military, but I was 11 years old when I went for an interesting kind of sports: Radio sports. I have a candidacy in sports now. As amateurs we had a special collective station for children and we were allowed to connect all the world. It was approved by the KGB, but it was a unique opportunity. I remember that at that time I made a radio connection with Raul Castro, the King Hussein, the Arctic Station “Komsomolskaya Pravda” – it was an expedition to the North Pole. There was a team of three of us, I participated with my friends, all of them now live abroad: One of them lives in Italy, another – in Israel. It was a special international championship. For many countries it was usual to participate and I remember that we competed for 2 days, for 48 hours and if you make such connection as Raul Castro because there were only five stations in Cuba at that time – it significantly changed your record. So finally – I don't remember exactly – we were among the 10 000 global participants from 150 000 participants at that time. It was interesting for me and it allowed me to make the connection with the whole world, including Japan.

Place

Vinnitsia

JM: It was in Vinnitsia. It was from 1982 until 1986.

VC: It was one of the things that really changed my mind because we received the so-called QSL. This is kind of a card that you can receive from abroad as a prove of this connection. Usually the amateurs were making their own QSL and on this QSL there was a picture from the capitalist world. We were really shocked when we compared our equipment with the Japanese equipment.

You remember at that time for the first time we saw the Japanese techniques, like TV etc, but we were shocked how different it was. And that made a great impact on my mind at that time. But mostly we talk about Independence, the Orange revolution and the Revolution of Dignity.

JM: If to talk about your family can I ask a little more about political topics that your family was talking about? Did they talk about politics during the Soviet times and how did they accept or did

they the collapse of the USSR?

VC: My father was a public servant. He was not involved in politics and we didn't discuss with him any political development. After that we discussed it with him, but not before the USSR collapsed. I remember one example for you. Like every teenager we discussed political issues. And there was a public communist newspaper "Pravda" or "Truth", "Pravda" at that time. I found some texts to be strange in this newspaper, I think my father as well, but we opened such a discussion on other topic. And I remember I tried to win the dispute and tried to find the score of the soccer match (football). It is a very long story, but finally you will understand why I described it. Maybe you will make it shorter.

If you play abroad in the field of your opponent, it makes you two points higher. If you have a tournament, you can play at home or as a guest. And if you calculate a number of goals, if you have more as a host at home, you will win, if equal you will not. But my mother said that every goal is calculated for two. I said no, we are equal and after that calculate who makes more goals outside, not at home. And finally we started a really serious dispute. And in "Pravda" I found one example that showed that my system worked, and his didn't. I brought this newspaper which was the only true and that nobody could disagree with that and I gave it to my father and he said: Is that Pravda. They lie all the time. So it was my first impression when I remember that he, as a communist, said that Pravda was a lie.

JM: Did they accept the events of 1991, the Independence?

VC: At that time I wasn't in Kyiv, as I mentioned before. When in 1991 there was a putsch to Gorbachov in Moscow and it was called a putsch. It is another word. It was a putsch when the communistic party didn't want to allow any changes in the Soviet Union and in fact imprisoned Gorbachov in Faros in Crimea. It was in the summer and I was at the university at that time. Together with my friends we came to Crimea and I remember when we found the submarines where next to the coast, like 15 000 meters, we saw submarines and we understood that something was happening and it was going wrong.

Influences

Family

Influences

Newspaper
„Pravda”

History

GKChP in August
1991

Imprisonment of
Mykhail
Gorbachov

Place

Crimea

Our neighbors from Moscow put their tent next to us and they told us that the airport was closed and we couldn't leave. But finally, Crimea came to Ukraine and I went back to Vinnytsia. We understood that something dramatic happened because there was one of the most important Soviet armies near Vinnytsia (we still have aviation headquarters in Vinnytsia). So we understood that something happened but it was very quick. But after that the movements for independence started, People's movement, we participated in it.

JM: So let's move to the first revolution that happened. You mentioned already that you didn't take part in it, but for sure you have some memories. What were the reasons of the revolution, independence? How do you remember the situation and the protests?

VC: It was the period that I have just mentioned. We participated in the People's movement, events and I remember this was one of my teachers Muliava who later became the deputy of the Minister of Defense responsible for patriotic side of the Ukrainian officials. I can not describe you what was happening at that time in Kyiv.

JM: But what are your memories, what do you remember from that period in your native town (Vinnytsia)?

VC: Ok, there was a discussion at the university about membership in the communistic party. I remember after that students' Revolution on Granite, I remember, I was offered to become a member of the communist party. I was young, but with my good skills and education – I was one of the best students at the university – so I was offered to apply for candidacy in the communistic party. These events happened at the same time and when I came to that special council – bureau it was called – and I remember there were cases to vote. The first one was about my application to become a member of the communistic party because at that time if you were not a member of the communistic party you didn't have any chance for career development – and the second one was the case of professor Muliava who applied to leave the communistic party because of many of these events. And when I heard the discussion about him I immediately left the room. And I never

Revolution on the Granite

Activity

Participation in People's movement of Ukraine

(Narodnyi Rukh)

Revolution on Granite

History

Holodomor (Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933)

returned. I was very happy as I saw the developments in the capital of Ukraine and we had our own discussions among the students. Mostly we were receiving more and more information about the situation. I wasn't among the most active part of the young generation because many of them – especially those who had nationalistic parents and my family wasn't a family of nationalists. So I wasn't told about Holodomor for example at that time. Frankly, I heard the whole story of Holodomor from President Yushchenko for the first time in my life.

It was one of the meetings with the President Yushchenko in the Embassy. I was sitting next to him and he spent one hour educating me about the story and I'm very happy to have received this information from him. We can criticize Yushchenko, but Yushchenko made great things in Ukraine for the change of the understanding of the history of that period. And it was going from his heart.

So finally we were receiving more and more information, we were participating in different events, additional thing: we were receiving information for example about documentaries, movies. Earlier we simply had not had a chance to watch them.

JM: When you're talking about discussions what were the points of discussions. What was the attitude to these events?

VC: Frankly, most of the people at that time were not personal about the events like during the Orange Revolution or the Revolution of Dignity. Because the Revolution of Dignity was the time when you should decide: were you on one side or another? In the 1990s it was a more complicated picture. That wasn't obvious what was happening with the country. People didn't know what independence meant. Real independence at that time it wasn't taken like in the United States. Now we understand what independence is, we paid a huge price, big price. Tens of thousands of our people are killed also for us to be independent. You can ask many times, but I cannot tell you that everyone in Vinnycia was sitting and keeping great attention to this event. No it was about the non-popular Prime-minister, the non-popular bureaucratic system. That's why the young generation tried to make changes. My perception was: we needed changes. Perestroika,

Motivations

Desire for changes

History

Gorbachev's Perestroika

glasnost, we needed changes, we needed independence for my country, we needed decisions in Kyiv, not in Moscow. So it was my impression from that time.

JM: So do you think these events in the 1990s influenced the next revolutions, the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity and what can you remember now about this protest “Ukraine without Kuchma”. Did you take part in it, were you involved?

VC: In connection to this, first, it wasn't revolution yet in the 1990s. It was a movement of young people, but most of these young people came to the Orange Revolution in very important positions. At that time I was a politician and I was very active in the civil society. My case was very interesting. I was in Kuchma's administration, I was invited not by Kuchma, but by Razumkov. But during the election of 1993-1994 I was in the election team. I was responsible for foreign policy and I remember that we tried to pay attention to foreigners, because all channels were controlled by the current president Kravchuk. So I was in opposition and we tried to attract attention of the international community – of the United States, of the European countries – for the new developments and changes in the country.

The first years, 1993-94, from my point of view it was a real time of reforms in Ukraine. Can you imagine? From 11 000% of inflation Kuchma's administration and Kuchma himself decreased significantly for 10%. From 11 000%! And it was the first time success of radical economic reforms.

I think it was the best strategy, the best program, no one ever repeated this program, because it was prepared on a very good academic basis and the analysts and scientists were involved. And many of them still work, like my colleague, the academic Sidenko, but also Galchinsky, Anatolii Galchinsky. So it was the first year of the real reforms and it was a significant change. After that there was a significant change in the National Bank. But unfortunately, finally president Kuchma chose a different way – of playing big games with big business, not with the young politicians.

And here is a curious thing. During the demonstration (Ukraine without Kuchma) I stood near a group of journalists. Frankly, I wasn't in the crowd (of protesters), but I was among experts and

History

Presidential election in Ukraine of 1994

Actors

Leonid Kuchma

Aleksandr Razumkov

History

Protest action „Ukraine without Kuchma”

journalists near the presidential administration. And from the yard, from the street, I saw the window of my previous office. And it's even more interesting that in the future it would become mine again.

Every time it was very critical to participate. But every time before the Revolution of Dignity and I think the Orange Revolution I didn't stand fighting for something. And since the Revolution of Dignity I changed significantly.

“Ukraine without Kuchma”... I cannot say I was the most active at that moment. We tried to analyze the situation, we tried to put the country on the right way.

YM: Let's move to the Orange Revolution. It's interesting to hear not only about the reasons why it broke out and your memories, but what was also the influence of international politicians. Can we talk about the U.S. or Polish influence? Did they have influence by coming, making statements etc?

**Orange
Revolution**

VC: I want to make the story short. First. If anyone says that we, the Ukrainians, didn't organize the revolutions and they were organized it abroad, this is a fake. But we had many programs before the Orange Revolution when I was in Razumkov's Center. I remember that we had independent poles that showed that trust to the authorities was going down and we needed new changes. And this center and others received donors' financial support. It was given in a very transparent way and it was real support – it developed civil society.

Activity

Programs and seminars in Razumkov's Centre

I remember it was a program of party development. I remember one of the names of the seminar “Women in political life”, we organized this seminar with support of journalists. So that it was real impact, that was a very transparent financing from abroad. What was really important was the position of the international community in different countries after this conflict. Thankfully, it wasn't a real conflict yet with involvement of Russia, but there were attempts. You know, it could be the same scenario, not the same with Russia involvement, but killing people. And by the way, Kuchma was the main person who stopped any attempts to use the weapons against people. I remember that if you want I can describe the situation.

**Western
Policy**

Funds for social programs

Actors

Leonid Kuchma

Prime Minister Yanukovych pushed Kuchma to kill people, not to kill, but to use military forces. And I remember how those military forces were stopped, including the position of President Kuchma and the Minister of Defense Kuzmuk.

JM: So you mean real weapons?

VC: Yes, it was the national security defense meeting when one of two ministers asked the president to use internal military forces. They had to push the crowd out of the Maidan and the center of Kyiv. At that time it wasn't the same as the Revolution of Dignity when on some days we had a million of people downtown Kyiv. But at that time we were talking about tens of thousands of people. Frankly, it was realistic to push people out. And those two ministers asked Kuchma to use force. Yanukovych also pushed by saying: If ministers wanted this as a president you should make the decision to send troops. And Kuchma asked the minister of defense Kuzmuk and he said: the army won't stand against our people. So this stopped the situation at that time.

So the foreign involvement of the main international actors was the mechanism of solving the conflict, an international mechanism, including participation of some representatives of our partners. This all took place after the crisis, but not significantly during the process.

If someone says that these tens of thousands were brought to the Maidan by foreign scenario, by Americans, that's false. It was our strategy, we prepared the strategy. It was the analytical group led by Anatolii Hrytsenko. And I remember we discussed this scenario and possible response how we will deal with it. And it was one of the scenarios to have more people and to prepare more equipment. We were prepared to that because we were making prognosis that it could happen.

JM: If we talk about the EuroMaidan, do we talk only about the EU Association or was there a complex of reasons that led to EuroMaidan. I mean Tymoshenko was imprisoned, there were other political prisoners, corruption.

Actors

Victor
Yanukovych

Military forces

Oleksandr
Kuzmuk

Events

National
security
defense
meeting

Actors

People

Leonid
Kuchma

External solidarity

Foreign
involvement of
main

Activity

Preparing the
strategy by
analytical
group

Actors

Anatoliy
Hrytsenko

VC: That was definitely not about Tymoshenko. I came to the Maidan on the first day. Before that people gathered at European Square, but I arrived to the Maidan when the students were beaten. If I am not mistaken the 18th of October was the date when here was an official decision of the Cabinet of Ministers rejecting signing of the Association Agreement.

JM: But still people had a hope?

VC: Yes, yes, yes. And I know another story how it was happening. It was the National Security Defense Council led by the President responsible for that not Azarov and the ministers. And they made some tricky things.

After we understood that the situation was shaking and Yanukovych planned to come to Vilnius and declare maybe to change the position that was an alarm for us to come to the Maidan, and there was Mustapha Nayem who made that post. But it was the competition with the Yanukovych team among the two most influential figures. And one of them was using these activists and civil society. But not in open way. Like I remember myself: me and my wife we immediately arrived to the Maidan.

I came in the evening and I remember we were really surprised. I met there MP Shevchenko, Andrii Shevchenko who's now the Ambassador to Canada. And I remember we stand there at 2 pm and went to take a cup of tea and when we come back we understand that the crowd of thousands reduced to 60 people. It was 3 p.m. And I made the alarm to every channel that stood there, I called for people to come back. Politicians decided to close everything that day and I was surprised: something was wrong: 60 people were too little and some shady characters came at night. I remember that night. It was the 21st of November. It was before the Vilnius Summit.

During the Vilnius Summit there was a conference and I was invited. I remember there was Poroshenko, Tiahnybok, Sikorsky and other European politicians. After that conference, before the final decision, we understand that I have information that different politicians tried to push Yanukovych to make the right decision. They were trying to push him until late night. And we

Revolution of Dignity

Actors

People

Place

European Square

Independence Square in Kyiv

Actors

National Security Defense Council

Victor Yanukovych

Mustafa Nayem

Valeriy Chalyi

Valeriy Chalyi's wife

Activity

Spread the information

Motivations

Resignation from European integration

Actors

Andrii

Shevchenko

Politicians

understood that Yanukovych doubted. And we kept the European flag there. There were 18 of us – we were social activists from the conference. We prepared some papers that were saying “stop delaying our future” and something like that. We wanted the Association Agreement to be signed. We signed article 152-153 that described the role of the civil society and the special mechanism. And we signed it in front of all TV channels, international TV channels. And in the evening, we went to the place where politicians had to sign the agreement. And we were waiting for Yanukovych to come. And I remember when 18 of us were standing there and that was prohibited by the police for other people to join. But I arrived there because I had some connection with the Embassy and I found the solution for people to support us. I remember there were two MPs and a group of journalists and finally we had the group of Ukrainians who were staying with flags. And can you imagine there were like 20 of us and can you imagine in 10 meters from us there were like 150 journalists. So it happened that the crowd turned into a much bigger – of over hundred of people. Finally we waited for Yanukovych. I think he understood everything but Putin was keeping him at that time strongly. At that time it wasn't so dramatic. The dramatic events would be later.

YM: Was that the only reason that called people to the Maidan?

VC: No, people were not satisfied with the situation. One of the options was to bring Ukraine closer to the EU by signing the Association Agreement, we had to go back from the Soviet period, back from another direction to the agreement with Russia. And the President made people mobilize for this idea. And finally everything stopped. It was a push. But the first thing was to change the direction of development of the country. There were a lot of people who were not satisfied with the situation. But the main push was the night when the students were beaten, it was a completely different thing.

I remember the first time when the police, Berkut, tried to push people out of Maidan and it wasn't a joke. It was the situation that could lead to killing people at that time already.

The situation was developing more and more dramatically at that time and I remember in February, before killing people, I was in Moscow. And together with Iuliia Mostova, Mustapha

Actors

Social activists

TV channels

Police

People

Motivations

Abandonment

Activity

Staying with flags

Actors

Journalists

People

Motivations

Desire for EU integration

Abandonment of EU

Association Agreement

Actors

Police

Berkut

People

Mustafa Nayem

Yulia Mostova

Evgenii Kiseliiov

Activity

Information support

Nayem and Evgenii Kiseliiov – four of us – we made a briefing for international journalists. And together we described the situation. Everyone was asking about how it was developing and I said: you know we feel that the very next day we will face dramatic changes in the situation development. And when we went back it was the 18th of February. 12 people were killed on that day. And I saw the smoke from the fire near the parliament. So I immediately went to the Public radio, I was sitting there next to an MP, a representative of Yanukovych in the parliament – Iurii Miroshnichenko. We understood that the situation was changing every hour and we understood that the only way to make the situation secure was to go to the Maidan. The SBU, the police said we had to push everyone out of the streets, close the shops, close everything, stop the metro. And I understood that's it. That was the attempt to stop the people. Then I asked him Iurii to tell people that that was their right to come to protest to the Maidan, he tried to avoid. I said you are a representative in the Parliament. And finally he said yes people can come. But then when we saw the picture what happened in the evening I remember I said I should go to the Maidan.

Before that there were the dictatorship laws. I remember when I arrived to the 5th channel immediately I got email that I'd be put into prison in the next days. By one of the Medvedchuk's close advisers. That wasn't the only message. There was also a threat that Medvedchuk would do something with me. And I took Tymoshenko's attorney and asked him to defend me. It wasn't a joke – 5 years in prison. You ask me about my decision. It was the decision of everybody. And after that when people were killed on that night I stayed among them. But the difference between the positions of mine and these young Ukrainians, heroes of Ukraine, the Heaven Hundred, existed. I was staying closer to the stage and they went to Institutska street. At that time I had a bullet proof vest.

They understood that somebody who tried to kill was looking for a target, not for everybody. They wanted to make a mess, to make an additional conflict on the streets, among police and the crowd.

YM: Was there any other scenario that could finish the Revolution of Dignity except the bloody one and after that how do you see the influence in corruption system and everything that's happening now. May be we can talk about the oligarchs.

Actors

“The Heavenly Hundred”

Place

Instytutska street in Kyiv

Actors

Ukrainian politicians

International leaders

Victor Yanukovych

Council of Maidan

Civil society activists

Angela Merkel

Frank-Walter Steinmeier

Radoslaw Sikorski

Laurent Fabius

External solidarity

Negotiations between protesters and the authorities

VC: There was an attempt that politicians made a compromise by pushing the international leaders like ministers of foreign affairs of France, Germany, Poland. And there was a representative of Russia. There were a lot of meetings to find a compromise. And they found it. There would be early presidential elections, Yanukovych agreed to make a step back. And when Ukrainian politicians come with this idea to the Council of Maidan that included not only politicians, but also civil society activists, we rejected this idea. After that some of these politicians called chancellor Merkel. She asked Steinmeier to come to us. And Steinmeier arrived with Sikorski, Fabius.

Sikorski was very supportive to Ukraine for many years and he understood the importance of security, but at that moment he said: You should go for a compromise because in any other case you will be killed. And I remember that one of my colleagues said: you don't understand, we are ready.

But he didn't understand. No foreigner could understand what was happening in Ukraine after the killing of young people, after the killing of the Heaven Hundred. Finally, there was a very emotional discussion in the hotel of Kyiv that included the Council of Maidan. And I remember we voted for a compromise with Yanukovych. Frankly, I was surprised that most of the members under the pressure of foreign partners voted for a compromise. Only three people voted against it. I won't name other two people, but I myself was against it. And I said to them: it is not realistic, you will see what will happen in the evening. Go to the Maidan and feel the emotions of the people, Yanukovych will have no chance to stay in the country. And finally that happened.

So the compromise scenario was broken immediately because people were taking the most active part in the revolution. So I think no other scenario after the killing of the people could have taken place. Before the killings there could be another scenario if there were no foreign forces from abroad.

The Russian officials were deeply involved, especially in information campaigns. And by the way still many people who divided the country, they are still holding the very important positions in TV channels and the information sphere.

Under the pressure of Russia some Ukrainian politicians tried to bring Ukraine back. The people of Ukraine stopped this. This is the first outcome. The second one is the real open reforms that were not implemented for the last 25 years and no one can reject the reform in the police, the

Russia's Policy

Disinformation

**Revolution of
Dignity**

Outcomes

system of Prozzoro, the procurement procedures, some changes in the defense system. We realistically have a new army. But at the same time people's expectations after the Revolution of Dignity are much higher. This is the biggest problem – the disbalance between the expectations and the speed of reforms. The biggest issue is about the speed of reforms, not about the direction. But when we speak about corruption and the big business, the role of different political branches... it's a long story that cannot be changed in one year. The most important is to keep this track.