

Contents

List of Tables	9
Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations	13
Foreword by John-Paul Himka	15
Ukraine: The Issue of National Self-determination	21
The political terrain	24
The republican elections	29
The issues.....	31
The Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections in March–April 1994 ...	37
The election law	40
The contestants.....	44
The election campaign	45
The results.....	52
Analysis of results	53
Conclusions	64
Leonid Kuchma’s Presidency in Its First Year	69
Conclusion.....	89
The Ukrainian Economy since Independence	91
Features of the economic decline.....	92
Foreign trade	97
The Soviet inheritance.....	99
Agriculture.....	100
Fuel and energy.....	103
Industry	109
The costs of separation.....	114
The costs of transition	117
The commercial banks.....	117
Trusts and other financial intermediaries	122
Capital accumulation through trade.....	124

Land privatisation.....	126
Privatisation of industry, trade and services	131
How much has been privatised?	140
The impact of privatisation on economic performance..	141
The economy in the shadows.....	144
Implications for the state building process	150
Russia, Ukraine and European Integration	153
Russia's and Ukraine's experience with democratisation and the market	154
Ukraine, the EU and NATO	156
Russia, the EU and NATO.....	162
The interdependence of Russia and Ukraine	168
The end of Ukraine's "European choice"?	170
And the beginning of a new phase in Russia-Ukraine-EU relations?.....	177
The European Union's Perspective on the Ukrainian- Russian Border	179
Migration and settlement	179
Immigration policy, strategy and instruments of the European Union.....	182
The IOM and the EU on the Ukrainian-Russian border.....	188
Do Ukraine and Russia agree with the EU's objectives?.....	191
Conclusions	194
Trade, Investment and Debt: Ukraine's Integration into World Markets	197
The state and capitalist development in Ukraine.....	198
The former Soviet bloc enters the world market.....	201
Ukraine enters the world economy	205
Trade.....	207
Investment	211
Debt and the international financial crisis of 1997-98	213
Conclusion	216

The Ukrainian Economy and the International Financial Crisis... 219	
The course of the crisis.....	220
The government's response	223
Kuchma's strategy of development.....	231
From the Orange revolution to the international financial crisis.....	240
Conclusion.....	244
Origins of the Ukrainian Crisis	249
The fragility of the Ukrainian state	250
The international isolation of the Ukrainian state.....	251
The revival of Russian imperialism.....	253
The Yanukovich presidency.....	255
The economy	258
Trade.....	259
Investment	260
Debt	261
Labour migration.....	263
The zero-sum choice.....	263
The Maidan.....	267
The pivotal moment	269
A coup?	272
A fascist junta?	273
The Ukrainian crisis internationalised.....	274
Russia's timing and calculations	277
Into the arms of the Western powers.....	278
The balance of power	280
Conclusions	282
Index	285

List of Tables

Table 1: Results of the Ukrainian parliamentary elections March–April 1994	55
Table 2: Occupational distribution of 163 elected deputies formally registered as independent candidates	62
Table 3: Regional GDP per capita as a percentage of the “leading nation” (Great Britain in 1870 and 1900; USA in 1913 and thereafter).	204
Table 4: Ukraine 2000–2009: Selected indicators of economic growth.....	236