EXPERT REPORT

EXTREMISM IN UKRAINIAN POLITICS, SOCIETY, MEDIA, DEFENSE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

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Growing large-scale political, interethnic and social conflicts is today’s global trend that fully affects the Russian Federation and entire Eurasia.

The Ukrainian crisis that started with social unrest on the square of Maidan in the winter of 2013-2014 demonstrated vividly that radical groups’ threats aimed at disintegration of the post-Soviet space had acquired a distinct organized character in Ukraine. The coup d’état and snap presidential and parliamentary elections in the country have brought to power a large number of radical nationalist leaders. The Crimean crisis and military conflict in Donbass proved that Ukrainian radicals had integrated into Ukraine’s government system gaining considerable clout primarily to control law enforcement (Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service of Ukraine and Armed Forces of Ukraine).

Many volunteer military battalions in Ukraine are based on extremist organizations. Radical nationalist, anti-Russian sentiments have turned from marginal groups into the political mainstream supported by the country leaders and the media.

Monitoring political and ideological groups in the post-Soviet space is an important work to prevent extremist activity in Russia. A systemic approach by Russian state bodies and non-governmental organizations to working with Ukrainian counterparts re-
quires objective data. Permanent monitoring whose data is to lay a basis for an information database on what has been happening and to reveal extremists trends is an important activity of the CIS-EMO. This work will form an important part of forecasting political tensions and instability in the post-Soviet space.
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October 26, 2014 saw snap parliamentary election to the Supreme Rada of Ukraine (also often Verkhovna Rada or simply Rada). The elections were held with a mixed electoral system according to which 225 of 450 deputies were elected under party lists, while the other 225 in constituencies with FPTP. The election threshold for parties was 5%. The elections resulted in the Supreme Rada embracing the ideologies of Ukrainian nationalism, liberalism and anti-Russian rhetoric. The quality of parliamentary work and the ability to reach compromises inevitably suffered. Major characteristics of the new Ukrainian parliament include radicalization, militarization and anti-Russian focus.

With the Republic of Crimea entering the Russian Federation and the Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics declared in the east of Ukraine¹, only 198 deputies instead of 225 were elected in constituencies. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol used to have 12 single-member constituencies, while the territory of the Donetsk People’s Republic and the Lugansk People’s Republic had 9 and 6 respectively.

The Supreme Rada elections came to be a stage in redesigning the system of government that began late autumn 2013. Russian, Ukrainian and European politicians viewed the political crisis in Ukraine as a coup d’état or a “revolution of dignity.” According to post-

Maidan authorities of the country, the snap parliamentary elections were to underpin the results of the revolution and to choose a parliament that would continue post-revolution reforms. Changes in the Constitution of Ukraine after President Viktor Yanukovych had been toppled made the parliament of the country a more powerful branch reducing president’s powers. On February 21, 2014, the Supreme Rada voted for reinstatement of the 2004 Constitution.

Over the Euromaidan events, the country has been faced with demonization of former and current officials, businessmen, members of the Communist Party, the Party of Regions and other political and social forces that do not fit in the new Ukrainian nationalist discourse. This line beginning in 2014 persisted the next year. Throughout Ukraine – from the west to the east of the country, several dozens of prominent political figures from the opposition as well as former officials associated with the previous regime died for different reasons.

On August 27, 2014, Valentina Semenyuk-Samsonenko, head of the state property fund in 2005-2008, was found dead of a gunshot wound to the head in her own house in the village of Chaika in Kiev Oblast. A hunting rifle belonging to Semenyuk-Samsonenko’s son-in-law was lying nearby. The then Ukraine’s Prosecutor General Vitaly Yarema announced in the media that it was a suicide, with Ukrainian society skeptical of his statement.

On January 26, 2015, Mykola Serhiyenko, former

3. (Russian) Интерфакс: Рада восстановила конституцию 2004 года. URL: http://www.interfax.ru/world/360285
first deputy chief of the state-run *Ukrainian Railways* in 2010-2014, was found dead. Kiev police spokeswoman Yulia Mustash stated: “We have found out that it was indeed a suicide. That is why I am not sure as of the moment if the case will be further investigated”.

Assassinations and strange suicides continued. Thus, as soon as January 28, 2015, director of public utility company *Most* Victor Palaguta hanged himself in his office in Kramatorsk in Donetsk Oblast.

On January 29 Oleksiy Kolesnyk, former head of the Kharkiv Oblast administration, hanged himself in his house.

On February 25, former mayor of the city of Melitopol Serhiy Walter was reported to have hanged himself in his house.

On February 26, the body of deputy chief of the Melitopol police, Oleksandr Bordyuh, was found in a garage.

On February 28, Mykhaylo Chechetov, former deputy chair of the Party of Regions parliamentary group, jumped out of the window of his apartment.

On March 9, a Party of the Regions deputy Stanislav Melnyk committed suicide in Kiev Oblast.

On March 12, 60-year-old Oleksandr Peklushenko, former head of Zaporizhia and former three time Supreme Rada deputy, was found dead in the basement of his own house in the village of Solnechnoye – he had suffered a gunshot wound to the neck.

On March 15, editor-in-chief of *Netishynsky Visnyk* Olha Moroz was found dead with signs of foul play in her flat in Netishyn, Khmelnytskyi Oblast.

On April 13, co-founder of online media *ProUA* and *Obkom* Sergey Sukhobok was killed in Kiev.

On April 15, former Party of Regions deputy Oleg Kalashnikov was killed. When Yulia Tymoshenko was being tried and before she was put in prison, he gath-
entered protesters in the center of the capital demanding a strict verdict for the former Prime Minister. Moreover, over the last years, his organization has been handing out St. George Ribbons in Kiev. The Security Service of Ukraine had previously looked into Kalashnikov statements for potential threat to the national security. A relative of the murdered said Kalashnikov had lately been threatened bodily harm for his political views.

On April 16, Oles Buzina, a famous writer and journalist, author of *Ghoul Taras Shevchenko*, *The Secret History of Ukraine-Rus* and *The Union between Plough and Trident. How Ukraine Was Invented*, was shot from a car on Degtyarivska Street in Kiev. Oles Buzina staunchly criticized Maidan and advocated maintaining relations between Ukraine and Russia while being critical towards the toppled regime of Viktor Yanukovych.

Following a number of strange deaths, some experts said the Security Service of Ukraine has been the only structure since the Euromaidan events to not only avoid a breakup and depletion, but to have got stronger in terms of both employees’ motivation and technical equipment. Information on all the dead and murdered was available on the SSU *Mirotvorec* (Peacekeeper) website that posts all personal details on ‘enemies of Ukraine’.

Ukrainian *Mirotvorec* website registered in Canada is described as an Internet representative ‘office’ of the Center for studies of crimes against national secu-

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5. (Russian) Росблат-Украина: Открыт огонь на поражение. URL: http://www.rosbalt.ru/ukraina/2015/04/16/1389556.html


7. Mirotvorec website. URL: https://psb4ukr.org/
rity of Ukraine. The website has an open database with personal details on citizens who authors of the portal call ‘separatists’ and ‘agents of the Kremlin.’ Partners of the Internet source include the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, Security Service of Ukraine and other law enforcement agencies of the country. According to the Rosbalt Internet media, Anton Gerashchenko, an adviser to the Interior Minister of Ukraine, initiated the project. He said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, SSU, intelligence services and border control authorities use the data available on the website to collect necessary information to file lawsuits and obtain warrants to detain and arrest pro-Russian opponents of the current regime in Ukraine as well as supporters of the Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics. He also asked conscious citizens to report on ‘terrorists’ and send data to the website email. As of late May 2015, the website database consisted of over 30 thousand postings.

Following a number of high-profile murders, the founder of Mirotvorec website Georgy Tuka made a statement that the website concept would not change. As regards a possible prosecution for involvement with the murders (for posting the personal details), he commented that “over 300 of them are either arrested or annihilated” and he was not going to worry about “some two bastards who are to blame for the war.”

8. (Russian) Росбальт-Украина: Открыт огонь на поражение. URL: http://www.rosbalt.ru/ukraina/2015/04/16/1389556.html
Ukrainian Parliamentary Human Rights Ombudsman Valeriya Lutkovskaya sent\textsuperscript{11} inquires to the SSU and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to punish the people involved with the publication of personal details on the Mirotvorec website and to ban the resource in accordance with Article 23 of the law “On Protection of Personal Data.” In response, adviser to the Interior Minister of Ukraine Gerashchenko threatened Lutkovskaya with dismissal and said that the website “is extremely important for Ukraine’s national security and those who do not understand that either try to interfere with its work, are stooges or undermine national security interests” and the information is gathered from “open sources exclusively – social networks, blogs, Internet references, news feeds\textsuperscript{12}.” The SSU later spread an official statement that it did not regard Mirotvorec website activities as violating Ukrainian laws\textsuperscript{13}.

As of today, among other people, the hit list of Ukrainian nationalists includes five journalists of Russian Komsomolskaya Pravda: Alexander Kots, Dmitry Steshin, Darya Aslamova, Alexey Ovchinnikov and Pavel Korabilev\textsuperscript{14}. They were only guilty of witnessing what was happening in Donbass and writing about it in the newspaper.

\textsuperscript{11} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Омбудсмен требует привлечь Геращенко к уголовной ответственности. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3509044-ombudsmen-trebuet-pryvlech-heraschenko-k-uholovnoi-otvetstvennosti


\textsuperscript{14} (Russian) Комсомольская правда: В «расстрелном списке» украинских националистов пять журналистов «Комсомолки». URL: http://www.kp.ru/daily/26368/3249976
The new political elite of Ukraine as of the summer 2015 consists of representatives of local elites that have been able to reach a compromise with the new regime, popular law enforcement agents, media ex-opposition leaders (athletes, journalists and celebrities who supported the Euromaidan).

Major trends of the new Ukrainian political system since the onset of the political crisis are closely interrelated. These are militarization, anti-Russian sentiments, oligarch lobbyism, unipolarity, radicalization, Ukrainization and populism:

1. **Militarization.** People connected with the Army or directly with the ATO in Donbass have become leaders of the public opinion in today’s Ukraine. Personalities involved with the punitive battalions have taken leading positions on the lists of almost all parties.

2. **Anti-Russian Sentiments.** Amid conflict relations with Russia, financial, economic and social crises, almost all participants have shifted the responsibility for the acute situation in the country on “the Eastern neighbor”. People’s deputies tend compete in the Supreme Rada in who is more devious in blaming Russia for the woes of Ukraine.

3. **Oligarch lobbyism.** Oligarchs have acted typically of Ukraine and promoted loyal candidates into the Supreme Rada for political support of their activities.

4. **Unipolarity.** The Parliament of Ukraine used to consider historical, political, cultural and worldview difference between the views of people from the east and the west of Ukraine and therefore formally represented interests of all parts of the country. Since Crimea seceded from Ukraine, the DPR and LPR were formed and political players of the southeast were physically
crashed (the Party of Regions and the Communist Party), the new Parliament has become “unipolar”, representing largely the views on the future of the country of the political west.

5. Radicalization. The Svoboda nationalist party of Ukraine turned out the main sensation of the previous 2012 Rada election gaining 10% of votes\textsuperscript{15}. A nationalist faction emerged in the Ukrainian Parliament for the first time and had a monopoly on the nationalist ideology and Russophobe rhetoric. By the February 2014 coup d’état that discourse had been dominant in the politics of Ukraine. The Svoboda failed to overcome the election threshold in the 2014 election gaining only 4.71% of votes. However, seven members of the party got in the Rada through single-mandate constituencies. Nevertheless, in the new Parliament representatives of all parties (with the exception of the Opposition Bloc) directly or indirectly profess neo-Banderan ideology previously considered exclusively the domain of the Svoboda party.

6. Ukrainization. The Parliament hardly represents any other visions of the country’s development, but Euro- and Ukraine-centric, despite the language and ethnic diversity of the country whose population up to 50% speaks Russian and identifies with the Russian and/or Soviet culture. The “Russian agenda” – protection of the Russian language in Ukraine, shared history and values of Russia and Ukraine – has completely disappeared.

7. Populism. Maidan representatives, street leaders and nationalists in the Rada have affected the level

of political discussion in the Parliament. Real social and economic problems have become secondary, while populist statements and laws of an anti-Russian nature (Ukraine exiting the Commonwealth of Independent States, persecution of representatives of the Communist Party and the Party of Regions, elimination of the “fifth column” and supporters of Ukraine’s federalization, recognition of Russia as an aggressor-nation, etc.) have come to the fore.

* * *

The events related with the coup d’état in Kiev that came to be called the Euromaidan and the civil war that ensued are inextricably linked to the mass media influencing public sentiments. With the commercial part of Ukrainian media growing, independent editorial policy is quite a rarity. An overwhelming number of the media depends on either their owners who fund them or permanent clients ordering political advertorials (paid publications). Thus, most Ukrainian media are related to the regime or are a property of regime oligarchs or political figures themselves.

From the very onset of the Euromaidan, most Ukrainian media had actively covered the events in Kiev with the connotations that were positive for the protesters. As early as the beginning in 2014, the Euromaidan and Ukrainian media turned into a site for kindling hatred towards Russia and its citizens. Systemic disinformation has been a major means of rousing hatred. The consequences of kindling hatred towards opponents of the “revolution of dignity,” of turning them from freethinking citizens with dissenting views into “bandits” soon manifested themselves in a series of assassinations, including on a mass scale. Arresting and killing dissident journalists and politicians rarely
arouse indignation of the new Ukrainian political elite. On the contrary, politicians and officials often react with an approval.

Ukrainian media have come to promote neo-Banderan and neo-Nazi organizations, to worship their members as “heroes” and to recruit potential aficionados. Historical legitimization of the ideology of hatred by leading Ukrainian media proved to be far from original. Like under Viktor Yushchenko, Ukrainian collaborationists from WWII-era nationalist groups have come to be heroes of the new regime as well.

Propaganda of intolerance as a “normal” way to treat opponents of the new regime has become a key function of most Ukrainian media.

* * *

It would be very interesting to carry out an unbiased study of changes within the expert circles researching Ukrainian nationalism as well as changes within the country and society as a whole in 2013-2015. In a number of key instances, one may see a radical change of expert opinions parallel with transformations of the Ukrainian and international political mainstream. Let us give you three characteristic examples.

A German political scientist teaching at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Andreas Umland who is considered a leading expert in Ukrainian nationalism has a huge number of publications on the issue. However, right after the Euromaidan won in February 2014, Umland appointed as a member of the Expert Council of the Ukrainian parliament’s Committee for European Integration ceased to notice (or to be more precise started to deny vehemently) strengthening radical trends in Ukrainian society and focused on decon-

16. A. Umland // Academia.edu. URL: http://ieac.academia.edu/AndreasUmland
structing “Putin’s restoration nationalism” opposed by “liberation, defensive” Ukrainian nationalism. 

Umland’s colleague for many years Anton Shekhovtsov teaching at London University College went even further in supporting Maidan’s achievements. “When I was little, my grandfather taught me to pick up Colorado beetles in the garden and put them in a bottle to burn later,” he commented on Facebook the killing of 38 people burnt alive by Maidan activists on May 2, 2014 in the Trade Unions House in Odessa (the posting was later deleted). Like Umland, Shekhovtsov denies growing radical sentiments in the post-Maidan Ukraine and calls them a fiction by “the Russian propaganda.” Neither has the expert noticed any radicals in the new Supreme Rada: “I am happy with the new Supreme Rada since amid the partial annexation of their territory and the war with the Russian Federation they are faced with, Ukrainians managed to avoid populism and ultra-nationalism and voted for reformist pro-democracy forces instead.” According to Shekhovtsov, the new parliament may only be radical in that it will “radically carry out reforms Ukraine needs.” 

Timothy Snyder, a professor at Yale University and author of a number of books on mass extermination 

17. (Russian) Андреас Умланд: «Если бы не бандеровцы, Кремль изобрел бы что-то еще» // Slon.ru. URL: http://slon.ru/world/andreas_ umland_esli_by_ne_banderovtsy_kreml_izobrel_by_chto_to_eshche-1079098.xhtml
18. (Russian) А. Дюков: Об «экспертах». URL: http://a-dyukov.livejournal.com/1449760.html
19. Colorado beetles is what the post-Maidan Ukraine calls pro-Russian activists and citizens in opposition towards the new regime (the term later started to be used in Russia as well).
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of people in Europe during World War II, openly re-

sented the revision of Ukrainian history under Presi-
dent Viktor Yushchenko and, in particular, heroization

of Stepan Bandera, the Organization of Ukrainian Na-

tionalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army (OUN-UIA)

responsible for the genocide of the Polish and Jewish

population of Western Ukraine. After the forces leg-

islating to heroize Bandera and collaborations from

the OUN-UIA won in February 2014, Snyder lost any

interest in this question. He now speaks at differ-

tent European and American academic events focus-

ing on the “methods of Russian propaganda against

Ukraine.”

Andreas Umland, Anton Shekhovtsov and Timo-

thy Snyder are key experts in Ukrainian nationalism,

with their opinion on the issue vital for a broader ex-

pert attitude to the question of how radicalized, if at

all, the Ukrainian society has become after the Maidan

won. These experts, however, suggest shifting the at-

tention from Ukraine to unveiling “the Russian pro-

paganda” (this expression has become very common

to the rhetoric since the winter of 2013-2014), as if

the propaganda or the lack of thereof could help to
draw conclusions on the situation in Ukraine as it is.

21. T. Snyder: A fascist hero in democratic Kiev // The New York Re-


feb/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev/

22. For instance, Platform Ukraine: The War for Truth – A Lect-

ure by Professor Timothy Snyder. URL: http://www.youtube.com/

watch?v=K8WKuSvTfco
Extremists in the Supreme Rada

October 26, 2014 saw snap elections to the Supreme Rada of Ukraine. The final tally showed that the election did not bring about a monopoly of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc, the new “party of power,” in the Parliament forecast by most opinion polls. That was largely due to an unexpectedly high result by the People’s Front (over 22% of votes), unimpressive performance by the pro-president bloc (the 2nd place) and failure of the nationalist Svoboda party.

A militarist image of the electoral campaign, member’s uncompromising rhetoric and a plethora of famous figures on the party list ensured the success of the People’s Front. Besides the country leaders Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the then Chairman of the Parliament Oleksandr Turchynov, there were other recognizable people on the list. The most prominent of them included former head of the Anti-Corruption Bureau Tatyana Chernovol, Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov, former Maidan commander Andriy Parubiy, commander of the Dnipro battalion Yuriy Bereza, commander of the Mirotvorec Andriy Teteruk and commander of the Kiev-1 Evgeny Deydey, military analyst Dmytro Tymchuk and advisor to the Minister of Internal Affairs Anton Gerashchenko.

The idea that the vote count was falsified resulting in the advantage of the People’s Front has become

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widespread in the Russian media. The Svoboda Party also talked about ballot rigging, thus explaining its own failure, and even organized protests at the CEC of Ukraine²⁴.

The need to compete with the Radical Party, People’s Front, the Right Sector and other nationalist forces after the Maidan and respective ideology had won was the true reason for the failure of Oleh Tyahnybok’s party. The Svoboda Party also lost voters’ trust in its own home territory in the west of Ukraine: it gained few votes by party lists and some famous Svoboda members failed to get into the Rada by single-mandate constituencies. Thus, Ex-Governor of Lviv Oblast Iryna Sekh lost in constituency № 119 and former president of Ternopil Oblast Council, former Supreme Rada deputy Alexey Kaida failed in constituency № 163. The election results in single-mandate constituency № 116 symbolized changes in the allegiances of the region residents, with odious but popular until recently Iryna Farion suffering a painful defeat and gaining only 16.4 % of votes. Her rivals Self Reliance Party Iryna Podolyak and Radical Party Valery Veremchuk gained 41% and 17.9 % respectively.

Success of the Self Reliance Union led by Lviv mayor Andriy Sadovyi was a major surprise of the election. Intentionally excluding former Supreme Rada deputies from the party list, the coalition of the Self Reliance and Volia called after the former party was able to raise its media attractiveness by involving a number of Donbass battalion fighters led by its commander Semmyon Semenchenko. Ihor Kolomoisky and his media

resources actively supported the Party as well. In addition, the Self Reliance largely made up of Maidan activists consolidated support of the middle class.

Having been elected to the Supreme Rada, the Self Reliance and its leaders found themselves involved in a big political scandal – an organization called the Ukrainian Galician party headed by 38-year-old Maidan commander Andriy Zhupnik was formed in Lviv. The organization was set up to lobby Ukraine’s decentralization as well as political and economic interests of three Galician regions – Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil Oblasts. Previously, in the fall of 2014, the Galician Assembly decided to initiate an integration of the three western regions of Ukraine into Europe. Andriy Sadovyi, Lviv mayor and Self Reliance leader, attended all the events. This is a glaring example of double standards on the part of the new regime, with the Donetsk federalists becoming “terrorists” to launch an “anti-terrorist operation” against, but Galician separatists called supporters of European integration and advocates of the Western civilizational choice of the country.

Citizens of Ukraine failed to see competition of ideologies both in the electoral race and the elected Supreme Rada, unlike previous electoral campaigns. Political forces mostly united by their ideology came to be the main losers. Communists did not make to the Parliament. Likewise, compared with the previous Rada, the number of institutionalized nationalists went down from 38 deputies of the Svoboda party to the winners in single-member constituencies – 6 fellow party

members of Oleh Tyahnybok, Dmitro Yarosh, Borislav Bereza and Volodymyr Parasyuk from the Right Sector and leader of the Social-National Assembly (SNA) and commander of the Azov battalion Andriy Biletsky. The failure of the Communist Party and other left-wing forces had to do with changes of the electorate after Crimea had joined Russia and part of the Donbass territory had broken away. Therefore, nationalists had to compete with other parties embracing their ideologies.

Nationalism has decidedly become the mainstream of Ukraine’s politics, and the Opposition Bloc turned out the only force that made it to the Supreme Rada to be far away from it. The high result achieved by the alliance of former members of the Party of Regions and other opponents of the new Kiev regime policies was another relative surprise of the election. Sociologist Evgeny Kopatko, head of Research and Branding group commented on the divergence between the election outcome and opinion polls in the following way: “We could not make an accurate estimate for the Opposition Bloc, for it was difficult to conduct opinion polls in Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts. But we realized that these regions have their latent electorate.” The victory of the Opposition Bloc amid aggressive counter-propaganda by the mainstream media and violence against in five eastern regions – Dnipropetrovsk, Do-


27. (Russian) BBC: Три главных сюрприза выборов в Верховную Раду.

URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/international/2014/10/141027_ukraine_rada_elections_surprises
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netsk, Zaporizhia, Lugansk and Kharkiv – is further proof that political unity in Ukraine after Yanukovych was toppled has not been achieved.

The Batkivshchyna led by Yulia Tymoshenko and the Radical Party of her former teammate Oleh Lyashko also got into the Supreme Rada. The Radical Party faction in the Parliament includes commander of the Aidar battalion Serhiy Melnychuk. His former subordinate Nadezhda Savchenko (detained in a pretrial detention facility in Russia in relation with the killing of Russian VGTRK journalists Igor Kornelyuk and Anton Voloshin) who used to be number one on the Batkivshchyna party list for populist purposes also became a Rada deputy. Plus, Yulia Tymoshenko’s party included Savchenko in the Ukrainian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE). Thus, Nadezhda Savchenko has become a tool to run an international anti-Russian agitation campaign that prevents from finding those guilty of the death of the Russian citizens near Lugansk.

Among the losers of the 2014 election one can also find the Civil Position led by former Minister of Defence of Ukraine Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Serhiy Tihipko’s Strong Ukraine, Petro Symonenko’s Communist Party and Zastup that failed to overcome the 5% threshold although opinion polls suggested they were likely to get into the Parliament. With Crimea and part of Donbass leaving Ukraine, the Communists lost part of the electorate and became next to “unsolicited” with their ideology. Serhiy Tihipko’s party could not compete with the Opposition Bloc because the countryside did not support the political force that had promised to pursue their interests and preferred the better “marketed” parties. The Civil Position suffered the most painful defeat whose lack of support due to a failed electoral cam-
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The militarization of the Rada that is now full of parties that mostly use anti-Russian slogans and have difficulty cooperating with each other due to personal ambitions and divergent economic interests negatively affected Ukraine as a country. That has mostly to do with Parliament’s performance, its ability to make constructive decision and cooperate with the government in internal policy, as well as the settlement of the Donbass conflict and relations with Russia.

**Petro Poroshenko Bloc**

The Solidarity Party led by Petro Poroshenko was founded in 2001. The party used to be a part of the Viktor Yushchenko’s Our Ukraine electoral bloc. On August 27, 2014, former Minister of Internal Affairs Yuriy Lutsenko was elected president of the party and the party itself was renamed into Petro Poroshenko Bloc. The Bloc included Vitaly Klitschko’s UDAR, according to “the memorandum of unification” signed between Klitschko and Poroshenko as far back as March 29, 2014.

The snap parliamentary election put the party in second place, but its faction turned out to be the largest one in the Rada because a number of deputies from single-member constituencies had joined it. As a result, the faction totaled 131 people. The party formed the European Ukraine coalition with the People’s
Front, Self-Reliance, Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party and Batkivshchyna28.

Commander of Ukraine’s 204th Sevastopol Tactical Aviation Brigade Colonel Yuliy Mamchur is among the top five members of the party. Before the Crimea referendum and its reunification with Russia, his name was often mentioned in the Ukrainian media. Mamchur’s military unit arranged a number of protests29 to show their refusal to obey Crimea self-defense forces and to become part of the Russian Army after the referendum. Mamchur became a key symbol of the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine. That is why, with the trend for the military to take an active part in electoral campaigns, he is a natural figure to be on the pro-presidential bloc list.

Mamchur was among those who called for a military operation in Crimea (the anti-terrorist operation, ATO) amid a surge of pro-Russian sentiments there. In his own words, “The ATO should have been stated the moment the Parliament of Crimea was taken over by armed men30.” Moreover, he views all the military who stayed in Russian Crimea as traitors. Here is Mamchur’s citation in this regard: “Everyone who stayed [in Crimea] are traitors... This is outright treason.”

Becoming a deputy, Yuliy Mamchur voted for recognizing Russia as an aggressor-nation, for putting an end to Ukraine’s military non-aligned status, stripping Russian journalists of their accreditation and for end-


29. (Russian) Украинская правда: Юлий Мамчур – герой из Бельбека. URL: http://life.pravda.com.ua/person/2014/03/7/156058

30. (Russian) Юлий Мамчур: АТО надо было начинать с Крыма. URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/ukraine_in_russian/2014/09/140929_ru_s_yuliy_mamchur
ing any military cooperation with Russia. In his interviews and speeches, Mamchur did not rule out a return of Crimean peninsula to Ukraine by force\textsuperscript{31}. He initiated an interfaction parliamentary group that works on “getting Crimea back.” He defined the first step of the deputy group as “fighting for the brains of Crimean Ukrainians” and called for restoring the broadcasting of Ukrainian TV and radio channels.

Leaders of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People Mustafa Dzhemilev and Refat Chubarov who are also on the list of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc are meant to demonstrate that the “Crimean question” that Poroshenko has promised to solve to Ukraine’s benefit on many occasions during his electoral campaign and after having won the election is still relevant and remains his priority.

Mustafa Abduldzhemil Dzhemilev is a leader of the Crimean Tatar national movement. He was arrested several times for his anti-Soviet activity and spent about 15 years in prison and exile. Dzhemilev has used these facts competing for the Supreme Rada as a member of different parties (Our Ukraine bloc, the Batkivshchyna and now Petro Poroshenko Bloc) and has been a deputy in the Rada of the III, IV, V, VI and VII convocations. During the spring 2014 Crimean crisis, Dzhemilev denounced Crimea’s entering Russia. On March 11, he said\textsuperscript{32} that Russia risked facing yet another bloody Chechen conflict in case “Crimea was annexed.” On March 14, meeting with representatives

\textsuperscript{31} (Russian) Обозреватель: Мамчур не исключает силового возвращения Крыма. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/politics/14876-mamchur-ne-isklyuchaet-silovogo-vozvrascheniya-kryima.htm

\textsuperscript{32} (Russian) ЛІГА.Новости: Российские войска в Крыму рискуют спровоцировать джихад. URL: http://news.liga.net/foreign/politics/998947-rossiyskie_voyska_v_krymu_riskuyut_sprovotsirovat_dzhikhad_ft.htm
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of The European External Action Service and NATO leaders in the NATO headquarters, Dzhemilev called for\textsuperscript{33} bringing UN peacekeeping forces to Crimea and called on European diplomats and NATO representatives to ignore the referendum.

On August 20, Petro Poroshenko appointed him the Commissioner of the President on the Affairs of Crimean Tatars. His tasks included an active participation in sessions of international institutions devoted to the Crimean crisis. Dzhemilev is openly anti-Russian and calls Russia’s regime in Crimea an occupation.

Billboards with Crimean Tatars’ leader Mustafa Dzhemilev appeared in the Czech Republic in the autumn of 2014 criticizing the country’s President Miloš Zeman for his pro-Russian position in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Dzhemilev’s words on the billboards read: “I was imprisoned for 3 years after publicly opposing the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. And today, the Czech president is asking me to accept the Russian annexation of Crimea\textsuperscript{34}.”

Mustafa Dzhemilev is one of the most sharp-tongued and eloquent commentators on Crimea and Russian-Ukrainian relations. Giving his assessments, Dzhemilev tends to apply the literary device of hyperbole exaggerating either the number of deaths during the Soviet deportation of Crimean Tatars or the number of people voting against Crimea entering Russia or the number of Russians who died in Donbass. This way, Dzhemilev

\textsuperscript{33} (Russian) ЛІГА.Новости: Джемилев попросил НАТО и ООН ввести миротворческие войска в Крым.URL: http://news.liga.net/news/politics/1001593-dzhemilev_poprosil_nato_i_oon_vvesti_mirotvorcheskie_voyska_v_krym.htm

\textsuperscript{34} (Russian) УНИАН: В Праге установили билборды с Джемилевым, упрекающим президента Чехии. URL: http://www.unian.net/politics/1006314-v-prage-ustanovili-billbordyi-s-djemilevyim-uprekayuschim-prezidenta-chehii.html
receives wide coverage in both Ukraine and the US and European media. Dzhemilev even suggested imposing a blockade on Crimea – shutting off food and energy. He even justified this move by saying that many Crimeans, “Ukrainian patriots,” allegedly wished to suffer from starvation for the sake of the peninsula returning to Ukraine. Dzhemilev stated\textsuperscript{35}: “Why does food keep coming? Why hasn’t energy been shut off? Ukraine must do something... We need to suffer for some year or year and a half and then finally return to the previous status.”

Of all the statements Dzhemilev has made, his calls for extremist activity seem to be the most dangerous, with the Crimean Tatar youth being the target audience. Dzhemilev called on Crimean Tatars to “settle” on the borders with the Kherson Oblast and be ready to join Crimean Tatar battalions to “invade Crimea.” To form military groups to carry out subversive operations on the territory of Crimea, Dzhemilev demanded 23-24 million dollars. In his own words: “Since we are few, one warrior is to “be worth” around 10-15 Russian soldiers\textsuperscript{36}.”

Dzhemilev relentlessly works on forming a hostile image of Russia, Russian citizens and the military making them an enemy of Crimean Tatars. When addressing international institutions, his task is to bring to the fore the Crimean question, along with the war in Donbass, as an excuse for toughening the sanctions against Russia. “The Minsk Protocols make no mention of Crimea. We say and will keep saying that the sanc-

\textsuperscript{35} (Russian) Украина.ру: Джемилев заявил о возвращении Крыма в Украину через год. URL: http://ukraina.ru/news/20150518/1013104720.html

\textsuperscript{36} (Russian) Русская весна: В Херсонской области формируются батальон асекров для штурма Крыма. URL: http://rusvesna.su/news/1431958035
tions must be not only be kept, but also toughened,” he stated.

In May 2015, Kiev saw a presentation of a monitoring report “on life in occupied Crimea” prepared by Public Initiative Euromaidan SOS and Human Rights Information Center. The document focuses on criminal prosecution of Crimean Tatars – the statistics on the number of searches, detentions and arrests, interrogations, etc. Such reports lay the foundation for speeches on the Crimean question by Ukrainian politicians and representatives in European and international institutions, like OSCE, creating a negative background and image of Russia and post-referendum Crimea in the international human rights arena.

Dzhemilev’s position, however, is not the only opinion that the European media take into account when covering the Crimean-Tatars issue.

For instance, in the article that has become widely known in the West, the Czech journalist Mirko Raduševič says that the situation with the Crimean Tatars has always been complicated and today’s Crimean Tatar youth does not aspire to the native tongue and traditions. He regards the status quo in more neutral terms pointing out that, despite the tensions, both sides – the Russians and Tatars seem to be making attempts to shun conflicts and tight corners.

The Czech journalist points to the peninsula’s ban on radical Islamist organization Hizb ut-Tahrir recognized as extremist and terrorist in Russia. Citing Dzhemilev,

37. (Russian) Громадське радіо: Санкції за аннексію Крима слідують усилит. URL: http://hromadskeradio.org/2015/05/14/sanktsii-za-anneksiyu-kryima-sleduet-usilit-mustafa-dzhemilev

38. (Russian) Електронні Вісті: В Києві презентували доклад «Крим: хроники окупації». URL: http://elvisti.com/node/162719

he also highlights that some members of Hizb ut-Tahrir who emigrated from Crimea “seek to free Crimea and fight as volunteers in the east of Ukraine.” The journalist says that the green flag of jihad flies over volunteer Ukrainian divisions, which has been pointed out by American reporter and documentary filmmaker Marcin Mamon.

The Czech journalist also included Ivan Selentsov (better known as Abu Yusuf), a Slav professing Islam, on the list of “suspicious” figures. Abu Yusuf is called the founder of jihadist division with an undercover name of Crimea. He is believed to have said: “I came to Kiev to establish a Muslim stronghold here. I met Isa Akaev, a Crimean Tatar, and we found a common language, which brought about the Dnipro-1 [volunteer battalion]. We all set off to fight near Dnipropetrovsk and completed training with instructors from Israel and Georgia.”

The Russian authorities will be faced with an unprecedented challenge. They will have to assimilate into the Russian space the Crimean Tatar youth that has been brought up over the last twenty years amid both Ukrainization and radical Islamization. Both of these processes are targeted against Russia. Hizb ut-Tahrir and other Salafi sects banned in Russia, but fully legal in Ukraine used to work actively and openly in Crimea. What is more, the secret services of Turkey, with nearly 5 million Crimean Tatars on its territory, have always been active on the peninsula.

Kiev intentionally “fed” Russophobia among Tatars so that they would provide a pillar of support to the Kiev regime in pro-Russian Crimea. Ankara, Arab monarchies and the West encouraged that through non-governmental organization for geopolitical rea-

40. (Russian) Виктор Ядуха: Крымский вопрос. URL: http://rusplit.ru/society/kryimskiy-vopros-17082.html
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sons. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, said: “Turkey does not recognize illegal annexation of Crimea and will continue to do so in the future. Turkey’s authorities will keep monitoring human rights of Crimean Tatars in Crimea and register all violations.”

The Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People that has declared its main task to reconstruct a Tatar state on the peninsula has its own reasons to support anti-Russian sentiments and, at the elections, it was part of the electoral bloc with Ukrainian nationalists from the Svoboda Party. Therefore, it was only natural that the “Crimean hundred” of Tatars fought at the Euromaidan in 2013–2014, with a part of them still fighting in Donbass. It also makes sense that following expressly anti-Russian protests, Mejlis leaders Mustafa Dzhemilev and Refat Chubarov were banned from entering Crimea. Moreover, Russian law enforcement could not ignore statements by Dzhemilev and Chubarov, another representative of Crimean Tatars and deputy from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc. A criminal case was launched against Chubarov in Crimea “for instigating actions aimed at violating territorial integrity of the Russian Federation.” Chubarov has been the President of the Worldwide Congress of Crimean Tatars since 2009. He became Chairman of the Mejlis in November 2013 replacing Dzhemilev.

Deputy Prime Minister of the Crimean government Ruslan Balbek denied Refat Chubarov the right to represent Crimean Tatars in the international arena.


42. (Russian) Национальный акцент: Вице-премьер Крыма отказал Чубарову в праве представлять крымских татар. URL: http://nazaccent.ru/content/16226-vice-premer-kryma-otkazal-chubarovu-v-prave.html
He believes that Russian law enforcement’s reaction to the head of Mejlis Refat Chubarov was more than adequate: “All his rhetoric is awash with provocations and is aimed at sparking an information war against Russia.” According to Balbek, Chubarov and politicians of his kind have been benefiting from the woes of the Crimean Tatar people and living on the allowance of foreign missionaries for a long time. Balbek thinks that Chubarov is a US agent of influence and works to the detriment of Crimea.

**Yuriy Lutsenko** plays a big role in the pro-presidential “regime party.” He had been gaining increasing support during the Euromaidan events. According to Lutsenko, the night of January 10, 2014, he was battered by officers of Berkut special police force\(^43\) during riots at the Kyiv-Svyatoshin District Court and hospitalized with a concussion. On August 27, he was elected president of the Solidarity Party\(^44\) being the only candidate.

Lutsenko had been the Minister of Internal Affairs from February 2005 until December 2006 and from December 2007 until January 2010, under Yulia Tymoshenko’s second government. He had a martyr image even before the Euromaidan: on December 26, 2010, Lutsenko was arrested by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office on a charge of large-scale embezzlement. He was found guilty and convicted for four years in prison with confiscation of all his property on February 27, 2012.

**Olga Bogomolets**, Honored Doctor of Ukraine, was among the top three of the electoral list of the Pet-

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43. (Russian) Українська правда: Как «Беркут» избил Луценко. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/01/14/7009533

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Olga Poroshenko Bloc. She became a deputy representing the pro-presidential bloc. However, even the honored doctor had to work hard at the Euromaidan to make it to the top three members of the ruling party. Olga Bogomolets took an active part\(^{45}\) in providing the medical support for the Kiev Maidan\(^ {46}\). She authored the Medical dictionary of the Maidan that she promoted from the stage of the Maidan in early December 2013 and that became “the Bible” for protesters. The book gives some practical advice starting from behavior in cold conditions and ending with instructions on what to do in the event of a gas attack.

**Maria Matios**, novelist and an UDAR Party representative, also became a deputy from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc. She is notorious, among other things, for comparing\(^ {47}\) in one of her works the obelisk on the Unknown Soldier’s Grave in Kiev with “a phallus”. She first entered politics after the 2012 parliamentary election when she became a people’s deputy from the UDAR Party. She has been very nondescript and insignificant in politics. Her brother Anatoly Matios, former head of Lviv Oblast SSU and later Odessa Oblast SSU, was appointed as deputy prosecutor general – head military prosecutor of Ukraine on August 26, 2014. He had been Deputy Head of the Government Accountability Office at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine from 2010 until 2012.

People’s deputy **Andrey Antonishchak** from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc was also a very active participant in the Euromaidan. In 2014, he was appoint-

\(^{45}\) Olga Bohomolet’s speech on the Maidan, 2014.02.21. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TLaWGFrLvYY

\(^{46}\) Olga Bohomolet’s speech on the Maidan, 2014.02.26. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-XxTrck51I

\(^{47}\) (Russian) Обозреватель: Азаров о Матиос: это трагедия для нас с вами. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/politics/86324-azarov-o-matios-etotragediya-dlya-nas-s-vami.htm
ed as the coordinator of the first battalion of National Guard of Ukraine and took part in the military actions in Donbass. He stated he was never going to forgive the death of his fellow Maidan fighters, for instance General Kulchytsky, in the area of the ATO. Serhiy Kulchytsky who died on May 29, 2014 near Slavyansk of Donetsk Oblast was awarded the rank of major-general and a monument was inaugurated in Lviv to honor him as the Hero of Ukraine late May 2015. Acting Commander of the National Guard of Ukraine Lt. General Mykola Balan, Head of Lviv Oblast administration Oleh Sinyutka, Lviv mayor Andriy Sadovyi and people’s deputy, coordinator of Serhiy Kulchytsky battalion of National Guard of Ukraine Andrey Antonishchak were in charge of the inauguration.

People’s deputy from the pro-presidential bloc Igor Artyushenko had been a member of the ultra-nationalist Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union and deputy head of the oblast public relations organization from 2006 to 2009. Since 2012, he has been head of the Ukrainian Affairs organization (Українська Справа) that was one of the main organizers of the Euromaidan in Zaporizhia.

Artyushenko coauthored a bill “On introducing changes into the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure of Ukraine regarding penalties for publicly denying or justifying Russian military aggression against Ukraine in 2014-2015.” The explanatory note specifies that cases of publicly denying or justifying Russian military aggression “may have to do with the centralized Russian propaganda aimed at destabilizing the Ukrainian society.” The bill proposes to introduce penalties for public denials or justifications of Russian military aggression towards Ukraine, as well as production and dissemination of materials that deny or justify such “military aggression.”
“Structurally, this crime is to be placed in the Criminal Code of Ukraine between public denials or justification of the crimes of fascism, propaganda of neo-Nazi ideology, production and dissemination of materials that justify the crimes of fascists and their supporters, on the one hand, and planning, preparing, unleashing and waging an aggressive war, on the other,” said Igor Artyushenko.

Moreover, Artyushenko has been actively working on laws that are to become “central in restoring historical justice in the state of Ukraine and an important step in Ukrainian nation-building of the 21st century48.”

The adopted laws regulated the official status of all “fighters for independence of Ukraine in the 20th century” and condemnation of the Communist and Nazi regime. Having taken charge of the interfactional deputy union called For National Patriotic Education, Artyushenko kept highlighting the importance of such laws for further national patriotic education of the younger generation of Ukrainians.

One of the documents is Law № 2538-1 on the legal status and memory of fighters of independence of Ukraine in the 20th century. The fighters of independence of Ukraine in the 20th century include political and military figures of the UNR (Ukrainian People’s Republic) and ZUNR (West Ukrainian People’s Republic)49, members of Stepan Bandera’s OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), Ukrainian Insurgent Army fighters, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and dissident organi-


49. The Ukrainian People’s Republic and the West Ukrainian People’s Republic were proclaimed on the territory of current Ukraine in 1917 and existed until 1921.
zations. The law defines key national policy directions to restore and preserve national memory of the fight for independence of Ukraine in the 20th century and sets penalties for violating the legislation.

Moreover, Law № 2558 on condemnation of the communist totalitarian regime and ban on the propaganda of its symbols in Ukraine was adopted. The law bans public use of communist symbols. According to the document, local government bodies are to remove within six months monuments and memorial signs devoted to people that were involved with 1932-1933 Holodomor in Ukraine, political repressions, people who held top positions in the Communist party and high-ranking officials of the Soviet Union and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Member of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc and people’s deputy Oleh Stepanovych Barna arranged people to go the east of the country back at the time of the Orange Revolution to support Viktor Yushchenko. In 2013, he became an active participant in the Euro-maidan in Kiev. He was shot in the head during clashes on February 18, 2014 in the Mariinsky Park in Kiev and later he volunteered to take part in the anti-terrorist operation in the 128th Mountain Infantry Brigade (under the pseudonym ‘Uncle Oleh’). As a parliamentarian, he is best remembered for insulting Russia’s President Vladimir Putin from the Supreme Rada rostrum on January 14, 2015.

Dmytro Holubov, a.k.a. Script, leader of the Internet Party of Ukraine, used to be a famous computer hacker uncovered by his colleagues and accused of theft. The current deputy of the Supreme Rada become a millionaire at the age of 16 – within just three months: Holubov opened an Internet store that allegedly sold expensive goods and his friend and accomplice nicknamed ‘Boa’ went to local banks and promoted luxury
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goods from their inexistent store. The money that gullible businessmen transferred was sent the United Arab Emirates. ‘Boa’ went there on vacation and withdrew cash.

Holubov was later accused of organizing a criminal group that had been producing fake MasterCard and Visa bank cards. The group consisted of about 700 activists. The UK’s police believe that the group had stolen nearly 11.5 million dollars in banks of different countries since 2003. The group operated in Ukraine from 2001 to 2006. When Holubov was finally caught, he was facing four charges under the Criminal Code of Ukraine and 12 years’ imprisonment. However, on December 22, 2005, during preliminary proceedings at the Solomensky District Court in Kiev, the judge made a decision to release Holubov on bail. Holubov is said to be related to Alexey Goncharenko, an Odessa politician and Member of Parliament representing the Petro Poroshenko Bloc50, who, some sources say, was the one who recommended Holubov’s candidacy to the party leadership. Holubov is in charge of Internet technologies in the party and coordinated hacker groups that work closely with the Security Service of Ukraine.

A people’s deputy of the Supreme Rada of the 8th convocation Alexey Goncharenko was elected to the Odessa City Council in 2006 being a member of the Party of Regions back then. In November 2010, he was elected to the position of deputy head of the Odessa Oblast Council. In February 2014, following the Kiev Maidan events, Goncharenko left the Party of Regions and quit his position of first deputy president of the Odessa Oblast Council. On August 14, 2014, Goncharenko was elected president of the Odessa Oblast Council. He refused to have any rewards or

50. (Russian) Depo.ua: Новые лица Верховной Рады: Дмитрий Голубов. URL: http://www.depo.ua/rus/politics/golubov-10122014201100
bonuses and also promised to transfer his entire salary to help the Ukrainian Army in the zone of the anti-terrorist operation.

In March 2014, Goncharenko addressed the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg wearing a T-shirt that read “Putin = Hitler”\(^{51}\). This popular Ukrainian politician is famous for such shenanigans.

On March 1, 2015, Goncharenko was briefly detained at the Nemtsov mourning march in the center of Moscow. Goncharenko could have become a defendant in a criminal case launched in Russia in connection with the fire in the Trade Unions House in Odessa on May 2, 2014 when dozens of people died after street clashes\(^{52}\). Criminal proceedings following the tragedy in Odessa were initiated in October 2014 against members of the Right Sector, Maidan Self-Defense, Ukrainian football fans and officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Security Services of Ukraine for offences under Articles 30, 105 and 117 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (an attempted murder and tortures).

A former member of the nationalist Svoboda Party, Andriy Denisenko took an active part in taking over of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration in February 2014. After that, law enforcement put him on the wanted list. Since February 2014, he has been head of an oblast organization within the Right Sector. He be-

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51. (Russian) Postimees: Украинский делегат на заседание Совета Европы по Крыму пришел в футболке с надписью «Putin = Hitler».

came a parliamentarian from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc, but had to leave the party as early as April 7, 2015 because of a criminal scandal. Denisenko is suspected of aiding and abetting an organized criminal group kidnapping people, smuggling in the zone of the ATO and possibly implicated in the murder of a SSU officer in Volnovakha, as head of the SSU Valentin Nalyvaichenko stated on March 23, 2015. Denisenko later admitted that the SSU officer in Volnovakha was shot dead by his assistant Gordeev.

A Member of Parliament from Petro Poroshenko’s party Serhiy Leshchenko is famed for investigative reporting, including in cooperation with Mustafa Nayyem. He did an internship within John Smith Fellowship in Great Britain in 2012. He did another internship in Stanford University within Draper Hills Summer Fellowship in 2013. He has been a people’s deputy of the 8th Supreme Rada since November 2014. Leshchenko is one of many representatives of the media community to have become parliamentarians in 2014. The trend shows the importance of professional coordinators of information wars among Ukraine’s political elite. Many of them studied abroad and served as PR agents of the Kiev Euromaidan and ATO in Donbass.

In his materials, Leshchenko exposed, among other things, “golden toilets” in President Viktor Yanukovych’s residence in Mezhyhirya. Following the Euromaidan, Leshchenko wrote a book called “Mezhyhirya Syndrome. Diagnosis of Viktor Yanukovych’s Regime”


54. (Russian) Е. Просвирнин: Почему Российская Федерация является врагом Соединенных Штатов Америки? URL: http://sputnikipogrom.com/politics/33098/rf-vs-usa
that was published in September 2014. His materials invariably reverberate and are often targeted against a politician or a political force. That creates a public opinion that is beneficial to certain political figures.

In 2013, the International Renaissance Foundation founded by American business magnate and investor George Soros gave Leshchenko a grant in the amount of 48 221 hryvnias. He signed one of his articles for The Washington Post as the National Endowment for Democracy’s Reagan-Fascell Fellow and deputy editor-in-chief of Ukrainska Pravda. The US National Endowment for Democracy, NED\textsuperscript{55}, annually gives over 1 000 grants to support projects of non-governmental organizations abroad.

A journalist \textbf{Mustafa Nayyem} has become deputy head of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc faction and a member of the Committee of the Verkhovna Rada on issues of European integration, which underlines a high status of media representatives in the new convocation of the Rada. He was number 20 on the electoral list of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc.

Nayyem is an active user of Facebook and Twitter\textsuperscript{56}. He had topped the popularity rating among Ukrainian Internet users for a long time until March 2014 when Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov got ahead. On November 21, 2013, it was Nayyem who made a post in social networks with the call for taking to the Madain\textsuperscript{57}that became popular immediately, which was the start of the Euromaidan. The post got 1600 likes, 1225 comments and nearly 900 reposts.

\textsuperscript{55} National Endowment for Democracy. URL: http://www.ned.org/

\textsuperscript{56} Mustafa Nayyem’s Facebook page. URL: https://www.facebook.com/Mustafanayyem, Nayyem’s Twitter – https://twitter.com/mefimus

Mustafa Nayyem is a cofounder of Hromadske.TV (Public TV) that officially funded through grants from the US Embassy in Ukraine. The Internet channel is the official media of the Euromaidan.

MP Bohdan Matkiwsky was a Euromaidan activist in Kiev with the position of deputy hundred commander and later became a participant in the ATO as commander of the National Guard of Ukraine (the 2nd company of the 2nd platoon of the 1st battalion).

His political activity is aimed, among other things, at undermining the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate). Such an attitude is due to an incident at a special meeting when President Petro Poroshenko was naming participants in the ATO to honor with the title of a Hero of Ukraine, and when all the audience stood up to applaud, the delegation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church remained seated. People’s deputies from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc, including Bohdan Matkiwsky regarded such a behavior as “provoking a religious schism in Ukraine.”

An interfactional deputy group called *Maidan Self-Defense* was formed in the Supreme Rada of Ukraine. Andriy Parubiy, one of the founding fathers of the Social-National Party of Ukraine (the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union since 2004) took charge of it. The group’s key tasks included reforming the national security system, establishing a legal framework to fight corruption, promoting Ukraine’s integration into the EU and NATO and helping participants in the war in the east of the country. The interfactional group was made up of 16 deputies, including 13 deputies of the People’s Front faction: Andriy Parubiy, Tatyana Chernovol, Andriy Levus, Mykola Velichkovych, Serhiy Vysotsky,

58. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: В Раде появилась Самооборона Майдана. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3455187-v-rade-poia-vylas-samooborona-maidana
Mykhailo Bondar, Yuri Tymoshenko, Ihor Lapin, Volodymy Solyar, Elena Masorina, Evgeny Deydey, Oleh Medunitsya and Mykhailo Havryliuk, as well as three members of the Petro Poroshenko Bloc: Bohdan Matkiwsky, Andrey Antonishchak and Igor Artyushenko. Oleh Petrenko is another representative of militants in the Supreme Rada of Ukraine from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc. He represents the Azov volunteer battalion (it has now turned into the Azov special police regiment of the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev Oblast). The Azov battalion was originally formed by the Right Sector militants and the nationalist Social-National Assembly of Ukraine (S.N.A.) and is one of the most promoted divisions participating in the ATO.

The Azov Regiment carries out an active propaganda to involve and recruit Russian and Byelorussian citizens and has a separate Internet division. S.N.A.’s ideology written by one of the Assembly’s leaders and currently Member of Parliament Andriy Biletsky is the ideology of the Azov Regiment. Different neo-Nazi groups agree that no other currently existing nationalist organization of this scale has a manifesto so equivalent to “genuine National Socialism”59. Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian radicals regard Biletsky as a public leader of National-Socialists of the entire Commonwealth of Independent States as well as Ukraine. During 2014, the Internet division of the Azov Regiment was aimed at creating a positive image of Ukrainian nationalists among Russian radicals and giving Russian nationalists an anti-government direction60.

60. Ibid.
**Extremists in the Supreme Rada**

**Batkivshchyna (Fatherland) All-Ukrainian Union**

The political party led by former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko has been in the Rada since 2002. In October 2011, Tymoshenko was convicted to seven years in prison for abuse of power. After Yanukovych had been toppled and the 2004 Constitution had been reinstated, a ruling coalition including the Batkivshchyna, UDAR and Svoboda was formed. Thus, a co-alital government headed by Arseniy Yatsenyuk was formed. On February 21, 2014, the new majority in the Rada decriminalized a number of articles of the Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, including the article under which Tymoshenko was convicted. On February 22, 2014, the Rada passed a decision to release Tymoshenko immediately.

After being released, she quickly got involved in the political competition and exploited the Crimean and Donbass problems in her electoral campaign. Thus, Tymoshenko initiated an emergency response team to work out solutions to national security threats. Furthermore, on April 15, 2014, Tymoshenko announced the National Resistance Movement aimed at uniting the effort of volunteer defenders of the country: mostly, military experts, former secret service officers, and people with combat experience. In May 2014, two battalions were formed based on the Resistance Movement: the 34th Batkivshchyna battalion and the 42nd Resistance Movement battalion.

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61. (Russian) Вести: Яценюк стал премьером Украины. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1328825&tid=105474

62. (Russian) РИА Новости: Юлия Тимошенко освобождена из тюрьмы. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140222/996424939.html

63. (Russian) Интерфакс: Тимошенко объявила о создании «движения сопротивления». URL: http://www.interfax.ru/world/371813
On August 30, 2014, Batkivshchyna attempted to initiate a referendum on Ukraine’s joining NATO\textsuperscript{64}.

On August 26, 20 people left the political council of the Batkivshchyna, including O. Turchynov, A. Yatsenyuk, A. Avakov and A. Parubiy. According to Avakov, it happened because they failed to agree with the party on a merger with some other political forces or to make Prime Minister A. Yatsenyuk number one on the party list\textsuperscript{65}.

The party gained 5.68\% (894 837 votes) in the 2014 parliamentary election and overcame the 5\% threshold.

To attract more voter support, Nadezhda Savchenko\textsuperscript{66} was put number one on the electoral list of the Batkivshchyna. Russia’s law enforcement filed a lawsuit against the pilot who became an adjuster in the volunteer Aidar battalion on the charge of being an accomplice in the death of two Russian journalists Igor Kornelyuk and Anton Voloshin\textsuperscript{67}. She was detained in Russia while on trial. Savchenko has become very popular in Ukraine due to a large-scale media campaign in her support. As a result, heroism and selflessness in the “war with Russia” exploited in the official propaganda in relation with the Savchenko case helped Yulia Tymoshenko’s party. From the point of view of electoral technologies, just like in the previous years, the Batkivshchyna campaign was based on the image

\textsuperscript{64} (Russian) ФАКТы.ICTV: Тимошенко инициирует референдум о вступлении Украины в НАТО 26 октября. URL: http://fakty.ictv.ua/ru/index/read-news/id/1525472

\textsuperscript{65} (Russian) LB.ua: Аваков озвучил расхождения с «Батькивщиной». URL: http://lb.ua/news/2014/08/27/277342_avakov_ozvuchil_rashozhdeniya.html


\textsuperscript{67} (Russian) СКР: вина украинской военнослужащей Надежды Савченко подтверждается. URL: http://itar-tass.com/politika/1338087
of the leader of the party list who is persecuted by anti-Ukrainian forces, with Tymoshenko’s character who was released from prison replaced with Nadezhda Savchenko detained and on trial in Russia.

Tymoshenko and the regime have been using the Savchenko case to pressurize Russia. On July 10, 2014, Ukraine’s Ministry of Justice appealed to the Council of Europe asking it to recognize Ukrainian GI Savchenko a hostage of Russia and demand her release. On July 15, the European Court of Human Rights initiated proceedings regarding the Savchenko case that was given a priority status.

The Batkivshchyna keeps exploiting the military theme. The party helped to form the Batkivshchyna battalion that included volunteers from the Resistance Movement set up by Yulia Tymoshenko following the events in Crimea and Donbass.

The Batkivshchyna was the author of the law “On ensuring rights and liberties of citizens and the legal regime in temporarily occupied territories” passed amid the Crimean crisis on April 15, 2014 with amendments. The law recognized Crimea as a “temporarily occupied territory.” The author of the bill, a leader on the Batkivshchyna party list Serhiy Sobolev also designed the law adopted on April 8, 2014 that increases terms of imprisonment for a threat to the territorial


70. (Russian) УНИАН: ВР приняла закон об обеспечении прав и свобод граждан в окупированном Крыму. URL: http://www.unian.net/politics/908068-vr-prinyaala-zakon-ob-obespechenii-prav-i-svobod-grajdan-v-okkupirovannom-kryimu.html
integrity of Ukraine\textsuperscript{71}. The law has also significantly increased terms of imprisonment for obstructing the military force of Ukraine, for instance, blocking transport communications and takeover of transport enterprises.

The Batkivshchyna faction in the Supreme Rada has a very active international agenda. For example, in May 2015, the party initiated an interfactional group called World Ukrainian Heritage led by Ivan Krulko, MP from the Batkivshchyna Party. The group was set up to unleash the potential of Ukrainian diaspora to pursue the country’s national interests. The founders of the group stress that Russian works with the Russian diaspora in the world more actively, while the Ukrainian diaspora used to be united with the Russian one and did not enjoy a necessary autonomy. The World Ukrainian Heritage interfactional group is to develop and promote a long-term strategy of cooperation with the diaspora and to help establish a separate independent government body to work with Ukrainians abroad. What is more, the group is to pursue the rights of Ukrainian citizens abroad.

It has been previously pointed out, protecting Nadezhda Savchenko is an important direction of the party’s international activity. Within this realm, the party addressed various European and world organizations (the UN, NATO, OSCE) and holds bilateral meetings seeking anti-Russian statements by Western politicians and officials (Ivan Krulko is one of the members of the party in charge of this work). The Batkivshchyna strives for Ukraine and other countries to impose sanctions on Russian citizens involved in the case against

\textsuperscript{71} (Russian) Новости Донбassa: Рада усилила ответственность за посягательство на территориальную целостность и госизмену. URL: http://novosti.dn.ua/details/222141
Nadezhda Savchenko. In 2015, the Supreme Rada adopted “Draft decree on imposing personal sanctions on persons responsible for illegal detention in the Russian Federation of people’s deputy of Ukraine, member of the Permanent delegation in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Nadezhda Savchenko” № 2571. On April 28, 2015, when visiting the United States, people’s deputy from the Batkivshchyna party Elena Kondratyuk brought the “Savchenko list” to the US Department of State.

People’s deputy from the Batkivshchyna party **Ihor Viktorovych Lutsenko** began his career as a journalist – he used to be a business editor for *Korrespondent* magazine and a reporter for the *Ukrainska Pravda* Internet portal. During the Euromaidan, he became a deputy commandant of the protesters’ camp in Kiev. Since September 2014, he has been a warrior of the Azov punitive battalion.

The Batkivshchyna supported the Supreme Rada’s resolution to suspend the protection of human rights⁷². Speaking from the parliamentary rostrum during discussions of the documents, deputy president of the faction Serhiy Sobolev announced that in the event of an armed aggression, Ukraine is to temporarily withdraw from some of the obligations stipulated in the Convention for Human Rights to protect its sovereignty. In essence, the law has suspended Ukraine’s obligation to protect human rights in Donbass and created a different legal framework in the territory of Lugansk region and Donbass.

⁷² (Russian) ANNA-News: Украина принимает закон о невозможности соблюдения прав человека в зоне АТО. URL: http://anna-news.info/node/34247
People’s Front

The People’s Front created by the Prime Minister and Speaker of the Rada of the previous convocation who both the coalition with Tymoshenko has become a key hardliner towards Donbass and continuing the military operations.

Yatsenyuk and Turchynov’s party and connections are more militarized than that of any other political force in Ukraine. The military council of the People’s Front has the most radical public figure in the country – Andriy Biletsky, head of the Social National Assembly, commander of the Azov special patrol police regiment who broke with the Right Sector.

Moreover, the People’s Front includes famous law enforcement representatives promoted by the media, such as commander of the Dnipro-1 special patrol police regiment Yuriy Bereza, commander of Artymovsk special patrol police battalion Konstantin Mateychenko, commander of Chernihiv special patrol police battalion Roman Pytskiv, commander of Myrotvorets special patrol police battalion Andriy Teteruk, commander of Kyiv-1 special patrol police battalion Yevhen Deydey, commander of the Zoloti Vorota special patrol police battalion Mykola Shvalya as well as deputy chief of the SSU Andrei Levus (who was also a Maidan Self-Defense commander); deputy commander of Serhiy Kulchytksky battalion of National Guard of Ukraine Mykhailo Bondar who became famous as a Maidan participant Cossack Mykhailo Gavrilyuk; commander of a company in the Aidar battalion Ihor Gladiv, commander of special troops in the Military Force of Ukraine Colonel Valentin Pikulin and Mykola Semeniak, a famous Soviet army veteran who fought in Afghanistan. The party list also included a military ex-
Extremists in the Supreme Rada

pert Dmytro Tymchuk who coordinates the Information Resistance Group and comments on the conflicts in Crimea and Donbass.

Besides the party leaders Yatsenyuk and Turchynov and battalion commanders, the top candidates on the party list included Andriy Parubiy and Serhiy Pashynskiy who played the main organizational role on the Maidan, the Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov and his advisor Anton Gerashchenko.

According to some data\textsuperscript{73, 74}, Yatsenyuk and Turchynov’s structure has been financed by former Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Governor and one of the most influential oligarchs of Ukraine Ihor Kolomoisky. The People’s Front was a new political brand before the snap Rada election, so its leaders were faced with the task of promoting the party in the Ukrainian population as soon as possible. Kolomoisky’s media empire significantly helped the new political force, with the oligarch’s channels showing Yatsenyuk in prime time and inviting taciturn Turchynov to the TV studio.

The People’s Front in the Supreme Rada has come to pursue the hardline scenario of escalating the military confrontation, resolving the breakaway Donbass problem militarily and aggravating the conflict with Russia.

Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov is a prominent public representative of the People’s Front. He previously was a people’s deputy of Ukraine (2012-2014), president of the Kharkiv Oblast State Administration (2005-2010) and deputy of the Kharkiv Oblast Council. On January 26, 2012, Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office initiated a criminal case against

\textsuperscript{73} (Russian) Главком: Партия власти Яценюка, Турчинова и... Коломойского. URL: http://glavcom.ua/articles/22722.html

\textsuperscript{74} (Russian) The Insider: Олигархи на выборах: «Корзина» Игоря Коломойского. URL: http://www.theinsider.ua/politics/5432283d9e7d3/
Arsen Avakov under Article 365 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine on the charge of flagrant abuse of power and official misconduct with dire consequences, namely an illegal change of designated purpose and privatization of 55 hectares of government lands worth over 5.5 million hryvnias. Avakov had been living in exile in Italy to avoid criminal prosecution in Ukraine until December 2012.

During the Euromaidan, Avakov was in charge of the protesters’ camp infrastructure: barricades, tent town and food. On February 22, 2014, the Supreme Rada dismissed Acting Interior Minister Vitaly Zakharchenko and appointed Arsen Avakov. Right after being appointed as the Acting Interior Minister, Avakov stated that representatives of the Right Sector and Maidan Self-Defense would form part of the leadership of Ukraine’s Ministry of Internal Affairs. On February 27, Avakov’s appointment was confirmed. On March 13, he submitted a notice of resignation as a people’s deputy to a relevant committee.

In the night of March 24, 2014, Oleksandr Muzychko, a leader of the Right Sector, was killed resisting arrest in Rivne oblast. The organization accused Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov and promised to take revenge on him. Avakov replied: “If some bandits are threatening a minister, I am accepting this challenge and I am ready to accept any challenge.” In the night of March 27, 2014, the Right Sector activists stormed the Supreme Rada demanding that Avakov be dismissed.

75. (Russian) Российская газета: В МВД Украины рассказали, как был убит Александр Музычко. URL: http://www.rg.ru/2014/03/25/ubit-site-anons.html
76. (Russian) Интерфакс: Глава МВД Украины заявил о готовности принять вызов "Правого сектора". URL: http://www.interfax.ru/world/367150
While talking to his followers on Facebook, Avakov pointed out that it was “necessary to establish a ministry of propaganda and do not hesitate to do it.” On August 19, he signed a decree on joint actions of the Interior Ministry and the National Council for TV and Radio Broadcasting to enforce the law on temporary shutdown of Russian channels that propagated war and violence in the country.

On June 21, 2014, the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation initiated a criminal case against Arsen Avakov and Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration Ihor Kolomoisky on charges of organizing murders, applying prohibited means and methods of waging war, obstructing professional activities of journalists and kidnapping people during the military confrontation in the east of Ukraine.

Commander of the Dnipro-1 Special Regiment Yuriy Bereza set up a protesters’ tent town in Dnipropetrovsk and was its commandant as far back as the 2004 Orange Revolution. He also headed Dnipropetrovsk oblast organization of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. During the Euromaidan, he took an active part in protests at the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration. After the protests, he first became a commandant and later head of the Staff of National protection of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Then, he initiated a “regiment of national protection” in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and later became its commander.

In April 2014, Bereza formed the Dnipro-1 battalion – a volunteer division of the special patrol police

78. (Russian) Столетие: Как Украина в двух Березах заблудилась. URL: http://www.stoletie.ru/vzglyad/kak_ukraina_v_dvuh_berezah_zabludilas_202.htm
regiment based on the “regiment of national protection” of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. In September, a regiment was formed based on the Dnipro-1 battalion. Yuriy Bereza is a member of the Military Council of the People’s Front.

On December 6, 2014, the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation initiated a criminal case against Ukrainian parliamentarians Yuriy Bereza, Andrei Levus and Ihor Mosiychuk under Article 205.2 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (public calls for terrorist activity or public justification of terrorism). The proceedings were initiated following their statements that, according to Russian law enforcement, justify militants’ attack on the city of Grozny that killed 14 and injured 36 police officers. For instance, Yuriy Bereza said that “Kiev allies began a fight against Russia in the eastern borders of Ukraine” and that “our brothers in the eastern borders are breaking free from Russia’s control. It is normal. These are Ukraine’s allies.”

Yuriy Bereza indulged in quite a few prevocational statements one of which, for example, is devoted to a war for the territory of Russia: “I see tasks for at least a decade. First, to mop up the East, then to free Crimea. Kuban is also occupied, but there are many Ukrainians there. I think that the Dnipro battalion will become obsolete when we share a border with Georgia.”

**Mykhailo Bondar** had been a leader of the 10th Sokalska hundred of the Maidan Self-Defense since

80. (Russian) Юрий Береза: Если первый российский солдат официально перейдет границу моего государства, мы на Новый год будем в Кремле. Это не шутка» URL: http://helpua.info/novini-2/novini-front/yuriy-bereza-esli-pervyi-rossiyskiy-s
December 2013. The hundred defended the Trade Union House where the headquarters of the Maidan Self Defense and of the National Resistance were located. With the 3rd hundred, the 10th hundred maintained control over the 3rd barricade on Mikhailovskaya Street in Kiev and patrolled the barricade on Grushevskogo Street. After the Euromaidan won, Bondar volunteered for the National Guard of Ukraine and became a commander of a division in the 1st Kulchytsky battalion of National Guard of Ukraine. He took part in military actions in the east of the country, particularly in battles near Debaltseve.

Having been elected a people’s deputy, a Euromaidan activist, Cossack of the 4th Maidan Self-Defense hundred Mikhail Gavrilyuk has become one of the most prominent parliamentarians. However, he owes it to a scandal. During fierce clashes between Euromaidan activists and Berkut Special Force officers, Gavrilyuk was arrested, but later released. Afterwards, Gavrilyuk said at a press-conference that Berkut officers tortured him: “Berkut fighters threw me on the ground and battered me for a long time. Then they started to take my clothes off. When I was naked, they kicked my head as if it was a soccer ball.”

During military actions in the east of Ukraine, Gavrilyuk was responsible for shipping humanitarian aid to Donetsk Oblast. He later announced that the Cossack volunteer battalion of the National Guard of Ukraine was formed and joined the Zoloti Vorota special patrol police battalion.


As a people’s deputy, he is best remembered for a scandalous initiative to legalize prostitution in Ukraine “in order to secure the population of the country against STDs.” The parliamentarian justified his position in the following way: “I believe that it should be arranged like it is done abroad. Those women of pleasure over there in brothels undergo a medical checkup so that there are no STDs. From the right point of view, it should all be legalized83.”

Advisor to the Minister of the Interior, coordinator of the 7th Maidan hundred, commander of the Kiev-1 battalion Evgeny Deydey also became a people’s deputy84. In 2011, criminal proceedings were initiated against him on charges of armed assault committed by a group of people. The matter was hushed up thanks to connections of his father’s, former deputy of the Reni City Council from Our Ukraine party. Working on the Maidan, he attracted Arsen Avakov’s attention who turned Deydey into his advisor and candidate for a deputy position.

In May 2015, people’s deputy Deydey established the Union of anti-terrorist operation members. The organization was set up to lobby interests of participants in the anti-terrorist operation in Donbass on the national level85.

Ihor Lapin (a.k.a. Zola), commander of the second company of the Aidar battalion who also became a peo-

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83. (Russian) Lenta.ru: На Украине предложили легализовать проституцию. URL: http://lenta.ru/news/2015/05/28/gavriluk/


people’s deputy, had been on the Maidan since December 2013, was an active participant in the revolutionary events of the winter of 2013-2014, became member of the social union for maintaining public order called Volhynia Self-Defense86. When the 24th Aidar Territorial Defense battalion was being created, Ihor Lapin was appointed as commander of the 2nd Zapad company. He has been in the east of Ukraine since June 2014. He has been member of the People’s Front Military Council since August 14. Yuriy Bereza, Dmytro Tymchuk, Andriy Parubi, Tatyana Chernovol and Aidar’s rank and file took part in Lapin’s electoral campaign.

Andriy Levus was an active participant in the Euromaidan as well – he coordinated a Maidan Self-Defense division and was a Daidan deputy commandant for propaganda87. On February 26, 2014, by Ukraine’s new interim president Olexander Turchynov’s decree, he was appointed as deputy head of the SSU. He was in charge of human resources and assisting participants in the ATO punitive battalions in the east of Ukraine. On November 24, 2014, according to presidential order № 891/2014, he was dismissed due to being elected to the Supreme Rada. Levus is president of a subcommittee for national security of Supreme Rada’s Committee on national security and defense.

In March 2015, Levus put forward an initiative to prohibit residents of an aggressor nation (the Supreme Rada recognized Russia as one) to own natural monopolies of the country.


Euromaidan commandant, head of the Maidan Self-Defense from November 2013 to February 2014 Andriy Parubiy is famous for his activities long before the “revolution of dignity.” In 1991, along with a nationalist Oleh Tyahnybok, he was one of the founders of the Social-National Party of Ukraine renamed the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union in 2004. He was also a participant in the Orange Revolution – back in November-December 2004, he was a commandant of the Ukrainian House in Kiev and was awarded “Prominent participant in the Orange Revolution” commemorative token. In 2005, he became head of the People’s Union – Ukrainians Party reorganized into the Ukrainian House civil union. In December 2011, Parubiy took part in the protest on Bolotnaya Square in Moscow. He became a people’s deputy of the Supreme Rada of the 7th convocation from the Batkivshchyna Party on December 12, 2012.

After President Viktor Yanukovych and leaders of the opposition signed the Agreement on the Settlement of Crisis in Ukraine on February 21, that night,
Self-Defense divisions led by Parubiy took over the government quarter in Kiev – buildings of the Supreme Rada, Presidential Administration, the Government and Ministry of the Interior, which violated the agreement that had just been signed.

Former head of the SSU, Major-General Oleksandr Yakymenko said in an interview with the Russian state channel on March 12, 2014 that snipers who were killing protesters and law enforcement officers during the events in Kiev in February 2014 were situated in the Philharmonic Building that was controlled by Andriy Parubiy. Yakymenko classified Parubiy as one of those representatives of Ukraine authorities who directly interact with the US intelligence. Former Interior Minister Vitaly Zakharchenko in exile in the Russian Federation after the regime change expressed a similar idea on April 4, 2014 – the shooting at both Maidan fighters and police officers, in his opinion, began from the building controlled by Maidan commandant Andriy Parubiy89.

On February 27, 2014, Parubiy was appointed as the Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine. He also initiated the National Guard of Ukraine that included divisions of the Maidan Self-Defense and the Right Sector.

In March 2014, Parubiy put forward an initiative to introduce visas for Russian citizens and later he proposed to stamp passport on leaving the country using the USSR experience. He explained: “The citizens of Ukraine that work in Russia will never be our allies anyway; therefore, we don’t care about their interests90.”

89. (Russian) Первый канал: Бывший глава МВД Украины Виталий Захарченко дал эксклюзивное интервью Первому каналу. URL: http://www.1tv.ru/news/crime/255797
On March 1, 2014, Parubiy instructed the SSU and the Prosecutor General’s Office to carry out an investigation if activities of Russian TV channels in Ukraine complied with the legal framework and if there were any instances of inciting ethnic hatred, calling for war or separatism. On March 25, 2014, the Kiev District Administrative Court ruled to suspend the broadcasting of four Russian channels in Ukraine – Channel 1, NTV-World, RTR-Planeta and Russia-2491.

Ukraine’s Secretary of Ukraine’s National Security and Defense Council Andrey Parabiy submitted his resignation due to diverging opinions with President Petro Poroshenko on information policies. On December 4, 2014, 313 people’s deputies voted him into First Deputy President of the Supreme Rada.

People’s deputy of Ukraine Andriy Teteruk was appointed as commander of the Myrotvorets special patrol police battalion of Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev Oblast on May 23, 2014. The battalion also included the military with combat experience and officers of the Interior Ministry. On July 11, 2014, the Myrotvorets battalion was sent to the ATO zone. When exchanging field experience with the leadership of the Donbass battalion, Teteruk drew attention to main tactical mistakes made by volunteers taking part in the anti-terrorist operations in Donbass: use of mobile in combat zones, chaotic shooting or improper handling of firearms.

In August 2014, along with other commanders of volunteer divisions (commander of the Azov Regiment Andriy Biletsky, commander of the Dnipro Regiment Yuriy Bereza, commander of the Kiev-1 Battalion Evgeny Deydey, commander of Artyemovsk battalion

91. (Russian) РБК: На Украине прекращено вещание РТР, Первого канала, России 24 и НТВ.
URL: http://top.rbc.ru/society/25/03/2014/913502.shtml
Konstantin Mateychenko and others), Teteruk became a member of the People’s Front Military Council – a special body aimed at drafting proposals for strengthening the country’s defense.

Teteruk welcomed in every way involving foreign mercenaries in punitive divisions and even suggested granting them Ukrainian citizenship for their service.

“The government should assist foreigners in volunteer battalions fighting along with Ukrainians in Donbass against Russian occupants in getting Ukrainian citizenship and continuing their service in the Armed Force of Ukraine,” said Andriy Teteruk, a member of the Committee on National Security and Defense92.

An MP of the Supreme Rada of the 8th convocation from the People’s Front, colonel in the Ukrainian Army reserve Dmitry Tymchuk became famous thanks to a very detailed coverage of the Crimean crisis, protests and the ensuing military conflict in the east of Ukraine. From 1997 to 2000, he had been working in the headquarters of the National Guard of Ukraine. From 2000 to 2012, he had been working in different divisions of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

Since March 2014, Tymchuk has been coordinating the Information Resistance group that is tasked with “obtaining, processing (validating) and spreading the latest information regarding Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,” and aimed at “juxtaposing facts with lies of the Russian propaganda and creating a true picture of what has been happening in the media space93.”

In April 2015, he co-authored a bill on banning the use of communist symbols and propaganda that

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92. (Russian) Тетерук: Нужно упростить получение украинского гражданства иностранцам, которые защищают страну на Востоке. URL: http://censor.net.ua/n333799

was passed by the Supreme Rada (except for Soviet awards with the Soviet flag, hammer and sickle and red star).

Tymchuk started his opposition journalist activities during the Euromaidan and became one of the most popular Internet figures in Ukraine. For instance, the number of his followers on Facebook with the most current news exceeded 190 000 users⁹⁴.

People’s deputy Konstantin Mateychenko was born in Kostiantynivka in Donetsk Oblast. He was head of the Donetsk Oblast organization of the Batkivshchyna Party. On July 8, 2014, he was appointed as head of Artyemovsk punitive battalion. He led the takeover of the city of Artemivsk (of Artyomovsk) after which he gave a press-conference where he stated that all DPR supporters were to be annihilated. The MP called DPR supporters “underhumans”⁹⁵.

“After I was appointed as a commander, my house was burnt to the ground. I had to relocate my family and relatives... I have nothing to lose. But on the other hand, it is easier to fight this way. I am going to finish all these bastards off,” Mateychenko told Ukrainian TV what he thought of residents of Donbass and Lugansk regions defending their independence on June 30, 2014⁹⁶.

On September 10, 2014, a convention of the People’s Front included him, along with commanders of volunteer battalions, in the Military Council of the party.

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⁹⁴. Tymchuk’s page on Facebook. URL: https://www.facebook.com/dmitry.tymchuk?fref=ts
⁹⁵. (Russian) Цикл «Восток»: фильм одиннадцатый «Комбат». URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_CAXt0OjwI
⁹⁶. Ibid.
Radical Party

At the 2014 snap parliamentary election, Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party made it to the Supreme Rada gaining 7.44 % of votes.

On November 4, 2014, the party joined the Petro Poroshenko Bloc, the People’s Front, Self-Reliance and Batkivshchyna in striking a coalition agreement, with Ihor Popov representing the radicals at the negotiations. November 27 saw the European Ukraine coalition formed, with 302 votes of deputies at its disposal. On December 2, a representative of the Radical Party Valery Voschevsky was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister for infrastructure.

Like other political forces of Ukraine, the Radical Party engaged in its activities representatives of the military wing, namely commander of the Aidar 24th territorial defense battalion Serhiy Melnychuk, commander of the Lugansk-1 special patrol police battalion Artyom Vitko and former deputy commander of the Azov battalion Ihor Mosyichuk,. These divisions and Lyashko himself became famous not only for taking part in military actions, but also for a number of incidents showing how aggressive they are towards the local population97, Donbass and Luhansk militia98 and media representatives99.

97. (Russian) Amnesty International требует положить конец бесчинствам Олега Ляшко на востоке Украины. URL: http://amnesty.org.ru/node/3028
99. (Russian) Следственный комитет Российской Федерации: Гражданке Украины Надежде Савченко предъявлено обвинение в пособничестве в убийстве журналистов ВГТРК. URL: http://www.sledcom.ru/actual/407115
Even such liberal internal human rights organizations as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch openly condemned activities of Lyashko’s battalions. Amnesty International regarded the actions of Oleh Lyashko and his armed associates as a flagrant violation of international legal standards and demanded that the authorities of Ukraine put an end to their impunity.

The organization reported on August 6, 2014 that said Oleh Lyashko traveled in the company of muscular armed young men in military fatigues and the ubiquitous camera to record his ‘exploits.’ His website has posted some grim videos in which Oleh Lyashko is shown entering private and public premises, always accompanied by armed men, abducting individuals or forcing them to obey his orders. The organizations believes that given the extraordinary circumstances that Ukraine has been faced with, the fact that the culprits are still enjoying impunity even further undermines the principle of the rule of law.

In Ukraine, such incidents only add to the popularity of violent participants in the ATO. Oleh Lyashko’s personal popularity is based on the PR of his participation in the ATO, criticism of the authorities for corruption and insufficient cruelty towards Donbass and oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky. According to the Ukrainian media, the leader of the Radical Party can so vehemently oppose the two most influential groups in Ukraine due to the financial and media support of the former head of Presidential Administration of Ukraine Serhiy Lyovochkin and oligarch Dmytro Firtash. They have been

100. (Russian) Amnesty International требует положить конец бесчинствам Олега Ляшко на востоке Украины. URL: http://amnesty.org.ru/node/3028
cooperating with Lyashko since at least the 2010 parliamentary election and at the same time maintain connections with the Petro Poroshenko Bloc through long-standing and mutually beneficial relations with its part – the UDAR Party.

The Radical Party’s electoral list was a major intrigue. For Lyashko said in an interview that he was going to raise to power young people – “boys and girls without connections, money or pulling strings who could change the country.” It was hard to believe Lyashko who himself was “Lyovochkin’s project.” That is why it was not surprising that the radicals’ leader would have to deal with and accept candidates who were directly or indirectly connected with Ukrainian oligarchs. Ihor Popov, former First Deputy Head of the National Agency of Ukraine of Government Service was on the party list. Popov was also Deputy Head of the Presidential Secretariat under Yushchenko. Lyashko bills himself as a radical politician in opposition: however, journalist Savik Shuster said that on a number of occasions, Lyashko had been shown in the Shuster Live show at the invitation of the Administration of President Viktor Yanukovych.

Lyashko and his party are the main populists in Ukraine, which is obvious from both the leader’s state-

101. (Russian) Українська правда: Олігархи на виборах: група Лєвочкина-Фірташа дружить з Кличко і ставить на округу. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/09/10/6972416


103. (Ukrainian) Олег Ляшко: Якби ви знали, які мені тепер «бабки» пропонують. URL: http://glavcom.ua/articles/19904.html

104. (Russian) ЛІГА.Новости: Шустер: Ляшко приглашали в студию через офис Януковича. URL: http://news.liga.net/news/politics/952895-shuster_lyashko_priglashali_v_studiyu_cherez_ofis_yanukovicha.htm
ments and the party’s parliamentary activities. For example, on July 11, 2014, Lyashko registered a bill in the Supreme Rada that would deny entry into Ukraine to 518 cultural figures of the Russian Federation who supported the “military aggression” against Ukraine. On March 17, 2014, Lyashko introduced a bill that would recognize participants in “separatist meetings for accession to the Russian Federation” and those who obstruct the military and military equipment as helpers of occupants and traitors. Lyashko proposed to introduce the death penalty for traitors, saboteurs, marauders, murderers, deserters and spies during the “military aggression.” The bill also included severing diplomatic relations with Russia, imposing a visa regime, denouncing bilateral treaties, banning the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Party of Regions, calling on the EU to deny entry to residents of Crimea with Russian passports and other steps.

Commander of the Azov battalion Andriy Biletsky pointed out that Lyashko lobbied for forming their military group set up early May 2014 and illegally arming it from military “depots.” On May 23, participants in Lyashko’s battalion attacked the building of the Torez City Council where supporters of the Donetsk People’s Republic where situated and killed at least two people105.

Lyashko’s criminal record makes him an even more ‘colorful’ person. On June 21, 1993, Lyashko was detained on suspicion of “stealing of State property.” On December 9, 1994, the panel of judges for criminal cases of the Kiev City Court reached at a verdict and found Lyashko who had worked as the editor-in-chief

105. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Ляшко заявляет об освобождении от сепаратистов горисполкома в Торезе. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3367829-liashko-zaiavliaet-ob-osvobozhdenyy-ot-separatystov-horyspolkoma-v-toreze
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of Kommercheskiye Vesti paper guilty of committing crimes under Articles 86-1, 191, 194 Part 3 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine. In 2001, Lyashko was given a two-year suspended sentence for materials in the Svoboda newspaper about Vive Prime-Minister Vasyl Durdynets that the court recognized as libel.

In April 2014, an MP from the Radical Party Artyom Vitko took charge of the Lugansk Oblast headquarters of the Rukh Oporu (Resistance Movement), non-political public movement initiated by Yulia Tymoshenko to defend Ukraine. Afterwards, as directed by head of the ministry Arsen Avakov, the oblast ministry of the interior of Ukraine began to cooperate with the local headquarters, which brought about three volunteer battalions of the Ministry of the Interior: Timur, Stakhanov and Lugansk. In the process, Artyom Vitko was appointed as deputy commander of Lugansk special patrol police battalion. LPR’s military formations defeated these divisions on the battlefield. Then the volunteers from these military groups went to Dnipropetrovsk Oblast where Lugansk-1 battalion was formed within the Ukrainian police force of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Andriy Levko was appointed as commander of the Lugansk-1 battalion. However, in fact that was Artyom Vitko who used to wear a balaclava in public before being elected a people’s deputy.

As of this moment, Artyom Vitko is head of the Subcommittee for social policy of the agro-industrial bloc, development of agricultural lands, science and education of the Supreme Rada Committee for agricultural policy and land matters; deputy member of the permanent delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation; deputy head of the Group for interparliamentary relations with Qatar and member of the Group
for interparliamentary relations with Israel, Iraq, New Zealand and Italy.

However, when it comes to real parliamentary work, Vitko is best remembered for a scandal – in late January 2015, before the beginning of the winter session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, he and another people’s deputy Dmytro Linko assaulted a member of the Russian delegation Communist Party lawmaker Gennady Zyuganov and his deputy Ivan Melnikov, pushed them several times and hurled “symbolic Ukrainian blood” at their face\textsuperscript{106}. The action was meant to support a Ukrainian GI and Supreme Rada deputy Nadezhda Savchenko.

Plus, Vitko is famous for coming drunk to a live TV show on the 112 Ukraine TV channel late December 2014. The video shows the people’s deputy loudly expressing his opinion, ignoring the host and interrupting another guest of the show, gesticulating wildly and fumbling for words\textsuperscript{107}.

**Serhiy Melnychuk** became commander of the Aidar volunteer battalion when it was formed in April 2014. He has been an MP from Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party since November 2014. As early as February 5, 2014, the parliamentary faction of the Radical Party excluded people’s deputy Melnychuk from its ranks for a number of scandals. Oleh Lyashko even said that he would have been executed by firing squad at times of war. In his words, true heroes were defending Ukraine at the expense of their own lives in the east of the country while Melnychuk and the kind were destabilizing the situation in Kiev\textsuperscript{108}.

\textsuperscript{106.} (Russian) Lenta.ru: Напавшие на Зюганова в Страсбурге оказались депутатами Рады. URL: http://lenta.ru/news/2015/01/26/linko

\textsuperscript{107.} (Russian) Newsland: Депутат от партии Ляшко пришел на ТВ в пьяном виде. URL: http://newsland.com/news/detail/id/1477561

\textsuperscript{108.} (Russian) LB.ua: Ляшко о Мельничуке: "Во время войны за такое расстреляли бы". URL: http://lb.ua/news/2015/02/02/294184_lyashko_melnichuke_vo_vremya_voyni.html
Indeed, on January 30, 2015, some Aidar fighters started protests at the building of the Ministry of Defense against reorganizing the battalion. The Ministry of Defense stated that the protests arranged by Aidar fighters were connected with former leaders of the division attempting to avoid responsibility for abuse. In December 2014, the Chief Military Prosecutor Office said it was investigating 27 criminal cases against 13 members of the Aidar battalion.

In January 2015, the battalion got involved in yet another scandal – a drunk Aidar fighter broke windows when trying to break into the Kiev City State Administration. The Aidar also became “famous” for battering a driver on the Kiev-Boryspil highway, helping former head of the Ukrspryt State Enterprise Mykhailo Labutin suspected in multimillion embezzlement to escape.

March 3, 2015 saw a fight in the session hall of the Supreme Rada between deputies from the Radical Party and former member of the faction Melnychuk who joined the People’s Will parliamentary group. The following day, the Supreme Rada made a decision to strip a people’s deputy Melnychuk of the right to take part in five plenary sessions of the parliament for the fight.

On June 3, 2015, the Supreme Rada permitted bringing Serhiy Melnychuk to trial, but did not allow detaining or arresting him. Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office suspects the people’s deputy of organizing an armed group109.

Ihor Mosiychuk is one of the acknowledged leaders of Ukrainian radicals and national-socialists110. After being elected to the Rada, he became first deputy


chair of the Supreme Rada Committee on law enforce-
ment. He was a cofounder of the Azov punitive battal-
ion.

He set up the first “club of Ukrainian nationalist youth” back in 1991 during his service in the Soviet Army in the Far East. As a symbol of his support of the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, he made a tattoo in the form of a trident on the arm. In 1994, he joined the UNA-UNSO. After the collapse of the UNA-
UNSO in 1998, he joined the Social National Party of Ukraine. In 2004, when the party convention turned it into the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union and changed its symbols and manifesto, he left its ranks. In 2010, he took part in creating the Social Nationalist Assembly and he has been a member of the executive committee of the SNA and its press secretary since 2011. When the Azov volunteer battalion was formed with an active participation of the Social Nationalist Assembly, Mosi-
ychuk became deputy commander of the battalion in charge of press relations.

In August 2011, Ihor Mosiychuk and other radicals were arrested on a charge of organizing a terrorist act. He was given six years in prison in January 2014, but he was granted amnesty and released from jail after the victory of the Euromaidan in February 2014.

Ukraine’s public television carried out an investigation into sources of funding of Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party during the electoral campaign. Ihor Mosiychuk was mentioned as a sponsor of the Radical Party. When journalists tried to find out where “a former political prisoners of Yanukovych regime” got funding, Mosi-
ychuk replied that when he was behind bars, his wife

ran an advertising business that brought in “millions of dollars a year in profit”\(^\text{112}\).

Commenting on Mosiychuk’s participation in the Azov regiment’s activities, Oleh Odnorozhenko, deputy commander of the regiment for educational work said that “neither Lyashko, nor Mosiychuk have ever taken part in any real operations; instead, they have only come for publicity purposes and to be videoed against the background of the events.”

Borys Filatov, Deputy Chairman of Dnipropetrovsk Regional State Administration, accused Mosiychuk of spreading information on social networks that resulted in losses among the Azov and Shakhtarsk battalions\(^\text{113}\).

On February 24, 2014, Mosiychuk made a provocative statement that reiterated radicals’ attitude towards pro-Russian Crimea: “Any attempts to disrupt Ukraine’s territorial integrity will be severely punished. If the regime is not capable to do so, then the Right Sector will form a “train of friendship” to Crimea... Either the Ukrainian world becomes nationalism, or we will all become slaves!”\(^\text{114}\)

As of late May 2015, Mosiychuk has spoken in the Supreme Rada over 20 times, lodged three parliamentary questions and registered ten bills of a populist nature.

**Yuriy-Bohdan Romanovych Shukhevych**, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and son of commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

\(^{112}\) (Russian) FacebookReporter: Игорь Мосийчук «несколько ошибся» – террористов искать надо не в армии Новоросии а в списках бывших сослуживцев по «Азову». URL: http://facebookreporter.org/2015/02/26/игорь-мосийчук-несколько-ошибся-те/

\(^{113}\) (Russian) Политнавигатор: Ляшко открыл выставку о связях бойцов АТО. URL: http://www.politnavigator.net/lyashko-otkryl-vystavku-o-svyazakh-bojcov-ato.html

and Hero of Ukraine Roman Shukhevych is another prominent, if nominal figure, of the Radical Party\textsuperscript{115}. Yuriy Shukhevych was conferred the title of the Hero of Ukraine by President Viktor Yushchenko in August 2006. Yuriy Shukhevych resides in Lviv. He has taken an active part in public and social questions of Ukraine.

As of today, Yuriy Shukhevych was the chairperson of the Ukrainian National Assembly political party and head of the Ukrainian National Self Defense (UNA-UNSO). Shukhevych initiated the bill on the “legal status and honoring the memory of fighters for independence of Ukraine in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.” After the Supreme Rada adopted it into law and the President signed it on May 15, 2015, UPA warriors received the status of “fighters for independence of Ukraine.”

\textbf{Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union}

The Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union, a nationalist political party, gained 10.44\% of votes at the 2012 parliamentary election, with another 12 deputies in single-member constituencies. This result enabled the party to form a faction of 37 members and delegate a representative for the position of the Vice-Speaker of the Supreme Rada. The party’s electoral success was a major surprise of the election\textsuperscript{116}.

The party and its activists took a decisive part in the Euromaidan. For instance, Svoboda activists

\textsuperscript{115} (Russian) ЛІГА.Новости: Радикальна партія Олега Ляшка. URL: http://file.liga.net/party/74371-radikalnaya-partiya-olega-lyashko.html

formed several ‘hundreds’ of the Maidan Self-Defense. During the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine, the party initiated the Sych special patrol police battalion to be formed. The battalion went to the ATO zone in August 2014.

After President Yanukovych had been dismissed and the 2004 Constitution had been reinstated, a ruling coalition including the Batkivshchyna, UDAR and Svoboda was formed. On February 27, 2014, a coaltional government, with four Svoboda representatives, headed by Arseniy Yatsenyuk was set up.

The party failed to overcome the 5% threshold in the 2014 election gaining only 4.71% of votes. However, six members of the party got in the Rada through single-mandate constituencies.

Svoboda members and supporters were active participants in mass unrest and fighting on Victory Day, a former public holiday. A law passed by the Supreme Rada according to which the red Victory Banner was to fly along with the national flag of Ukraine on Victory Day provoked negative sentiments among nationalists. Svoboda members tried to disrupt celebrations attacking veterans of the Great Patriotic war and people accompanying them in Lviv, shaking and trying to overthrow buses with veterans, spitting in their faces, throwing stones, bottles and smoke grenades at veterans and the police and demonstratively burning copies of the Victory Banner.


In May 2008, on the air of the *Era FM*, a Svoboda ideologue Iryna Farion relied to a question of a caller from the audience about her attitude towards people of the Orthodox denominations, congregations of the Moscow patriarchate: “The structure calling itself the Moscow patriarchate has nothing to do with Christianity. It is a major threat to free and independent development of Ukraine.”

On October 31, 2012, Farion said in an interview with the *Segodnya* newspaper that it was a mistake for Ukrainians to speak Russian and they should be fined for that: “I believe that Ukrainians make a mistake when they speak Russian and they are to be punished. A fine is a form of punishment... If we do not change this situation, we can be called slaves right away. But we don’t want to be slaves!”

On November 4, 2013, the Svoboda proposed in the Supreme Rada to ban the Communist ideology in Ukraine. The bill involved banning the Communist propaganda and symbols and decommunization of Ukraine. Thus, on December 8, 2013, Svoboda activists toppled the Lenin monument on the Bessarabska Square in Kiev.

In January 2013, the Svoboda called on Ukrainians to boycott reviewed student books of Ukrainian history and refuse to study the Russian language at school because it is a language of occupants.

In March 2013, a member of the national conservative Jobbik Party Béla Kovács deeply resented the Svoboda’s anti-Hungarian march in Berehove in Transcarpathia (also known as Zakarpattia). Participants in the march shouted the following slogans: “Hungarians

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are swine!”,”Hungarians, get out of Transcarpathia!”,”Death to Magyars”. Due to this incident, the organization was expelled from the Alliance of European National Movements.

Iryna Farion responded to the Odessa tragedy on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of May, 2014, by saying: “Well, has your Putin saved you, imbeciles? This is what is going to happen to every separatist! Game’s over. Keep burning, now burning in hell. Bravo, Odessa. The Pearl of the Ukrainian Spirit! The motherland of the nationalists Ivan and Yuri Lipas. Let the demons burn in hell. Football fans are the best insurgents. Bravo!\textsuperscript{120}.” (Such an attitude towards the Odessa tragedy and the first aviation attack on civilian property in Lugansk by the Ukrainian Army a month later brought about a whirlwind of approval on the part of both Ukrainian political nationalists and democratic blogosphere\textsuperscript{121}.)

A number of Western experts consider the party to be neo-Nazi and its former name, the Social-National Party of Ukraine, to have been chosen as an association with the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP). The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism wrote in its annual 1999 report: “The Social-National Party of Ukraine is an extremist, right-wing, nationalist organization, which underlines its identification with the ideology of the German national socialism.”

On December 13, 2012, the European Parliament adopted the following amendment to the resolution of Ukraine regarding the Svoboda Party: “The European Parliament is concerned about the rising nation-


\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
Extremism in Ukrainian politics, society, media, defense and law enforcement

algoistic sentiment in Ukraine, expressed in support for the Svoboda Party, which, as a result, is one of the two new parties to enter the Verkhovna Rada; recalls that racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic views go against the EU’s fundamental values and principles and therefore appeals to pro-democratic parties in the Verkhovna Rada not to associate with, endorse or form coalitions with this party122.

The Svoboda Party is believed to be the force that introduced the greeting of “Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes!” adopted in Stepan Bandera’s Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1941, along with other of “its own characteristic nationalist themes, symbols and slogans” in the general protest movement of the winter of 2013-2014123.

On January 27, 2014, the Supreme Council of Crimea banned the Svoboda Party on the territory of the peninsula. The Presidium said this prohibition was imposed “in accordance with the established procedure.” However, as early as February 7, the Prosecutor General of the autonomous republic demanded that members of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea cancel this decision. On March 11, 2014, during the Crimean crisis, on the eve of the referendum on the status of Crimea, the Supreme Council of Crimea banned the Svoboda and other nationalist groups on the territory of the republic. According to the Supreme Council of Crimea, their activities constitute a threat to life and security of Crimean residents124.

122. (Russian) Собчак против Тягнибока: неудобные вопросы, оставшиеся без ответа. URL: http://sputnikipogrom.com/russia/ua/9178/sobchak-vs-tyagnybok
The following people’s deputies represent the party’s interests in the current convocation of the Supreme Rada: Yuriy Bublyk, born in 1973, single-member constituency №145; Mykhailo Holovko, born in 1983, single-member constituency №164; Andriy Illyenko, born in 1987, single-member constituency №215; Yuriy Levchenko, born in 1984, single-member constituency №223; Oleksandr Marchenko, born in 1965, single-member constituency №90; Oleh Osukhovsky, born in 1978, single-member constituency №152.

**Others: Dmytro Yarosh, Andriy Biletsky, Volodymyr Parasyuk, Boryslav Bereza, Semen Semenchenko**

The leader of the far-right Right Sector **Dmytro Yarosh** elected to the Ukrainian parliament from a single-seat constituency became deputy head of the Committee for the National Security and Defense. Since April 5, 2015, he has been an adviser to the country’s Chief of General Staff. He ran for president in the 25 May 2014 Ukrainian presidential election gaining 127818 votes (0.70%).

In February 1989, he became a member of the People’s Rukh of Ukraine. In 1994, he became a cofounder of the nationalist Stepan Bandera Tryzub and led one of its regional structures125. In 1996, he got into the central committee of the organization; he headed it from 1996 to 1999. During the Euromaidan, he was the first deputy head of the central leadership. He is also the au-

Late November 2013, Yarosh set up the Right Sector based on the Tryzub – informal right-wing extremist group uniting activists of a number of Ukrainian nationalist organizations that took part in protests in Kiev (December 2013 – early 2014). According to Yarosh, this union was aimed at “making the position of the right-wing forces heard” because the beginning of the Euromaidan had to do exclusively with signing the EU association agreement while the radicals sought to “carry out a nationalist revolution and topple this regime that we call the regime of internal occupation.”

The Right Sector won itself a name by taking part in the clashes with internal forces and special divisions of the Internal Ministry defending the Presidential Administration and in the takeover of several administrative buildings in Kiev on December 1, 2013.

The Right Sector constituted the backbone of the Maidan, served as a guard force (both in terms of defense and maintaining order and took part in arranging protests outside of Maidan. However, leaders of the Right Sector kept a low profile for a relatively long time and abstained from politics. It was only late January 2014 when they started to put forward their own demands to the regime. Billing themselves as an independent social and political force, they expressed their desire to serve as a third party in negotiations between the regime and the opposition. On February 14, the Right Sector announced the creation of its political council and demanded that “the democratic parliamentary opposition” – given the need for united opposition forces and the role of the Right Sector in the protests – start consultations with the political council of the Right Sector on participation of its repre-
sentatives in the political process. The goals the Right Sector had set included a full “reset” of the regime, reforming judicial bodies, law enforcement and intelligence services\textsuperscript{126}.

On February 20, Dmytro Yarosh met with President Viktor Yanukovych in person and, in Yarosh’s words, refused to accept the peace offer. On February 21, while leaders of the parliamentary opposition publicly announced details of the Agreement with Yanukovych, the Right Sector representatives said that they were unhappy with the gradual political reforms stipulated in the document and demanded immediate resignation of President Yanukovych. Otherwise, they were willing to take over the President Administration and the Supreme Rada. Dmytro Yarosh, the Right Sector leader, said that the Agreement lacked any clear commitments regarding the President’s resignation, Rada’s dissolution, punishment for law enforcement heads and perpetrators of “criminal orders that killed about a hundred Ukrainian citizens.” He called the Agreement “yet another eye soaping” and refused to comply with it.

On February 22, Dmytro Yarosh demanded banning the Party of Regions and the Communist Party in Ukraine\textsuperscript{127}. On March 16, at the height of the Crimean crisis, Yarosh threatened to carry out subversive attacks at gas and oil pipelines with Russian gas and oil going to the West through the territory of Ukraine. On April 2, Russia’s Federal Service for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecom, Information Technologies and Mass Communications blocked all the websites

\textsuperscript{126}. (Russian) Антикоррупционный портал Украины: Правый сектор выдвинул свои требования к власти. URL: http://job-sbu.org/pravyiy-sektor-vyidvinul-svoi-trebovaniya-k-vlasti-53101.html

\textsuperscript{127}. (Russian) Polit.ru: «Правый сектор» потребовал запрета Партии регионов и компартии на Украине. URL: http://polit.ru/news/2014/02/22/party
and webpages connected with Dmytro Yarosh and the Right Sector128.

Dismantling the criminal and oligarchic models and establishing a socially oriented government with an effective market economy as well as fighting with the Kremlin neocolonialism were proclaimed the main goals of Yarosh’s electoral program as a presidential candidate published after he had been registered by the Central Electoral Commission.

Yarosh called standing up to “Russia’s aggression” his priority as a future President of Ukraine. He meant to do so through raising military expenses significantly, a full mobilization, reinstating Ukraine’s nuclear status, prohibiting anti-Ukrainian media, comprehensive support of the Crimean Tatar people, liquidating any form of separatism and “Russia’s agent network.” His other electoral proposals included permitting the carrying of firearms, introducing elective sheriffs, e-government, reducing the size and number of taxes and lustration of officials. During TV debated, Yarosh called for getting Crimea back through a guerrilla war and “the use of the Crimean Tatar factor” as well as proposed to physically exterminate leaders of the people’s militia in the southeast of Ukraine.

Following the election in which Yarosh was only able to gain 0.7% of votes, the Right Sector officially announced that it would fully support “all measures of the President-elect Petro Poroshenko aimed at uniting Ukraine and maintaining as a country and establishing order in the east129.” At the 2014 snap parlia-

128. (Russian) Lenta.ru: В России заблокированы связанные с «Правым сектором» сайты.
URL: http://lenta.ru/news/2014/04/02/roskomnadzor
129. (Russian) RUpor.info: Правый сектор решил принять правила игры Порошенко.
mentary election, he won in single-member constituency №39 (Vasylkivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast) gaining 30.27% of votes.

On April 12, 2014, Yarosh made a video address calling on all the structures within the Right Sector to mobilize and prepare to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. On April 23, Yarosh announced the creation of the Donbass special battalion in Donetsk Oblast with the agreement of heads of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, the Ministry of the Interior and the SSU. In his words, the special division was to include activists and trained fighters of the Right Sector ready to assist special services in the operation of the Interior Ministry and the SSU in the east.

On August 17, 2014, Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov accused Yarosh of the death of 32 Right Sector activists who “due to the commander’s stupidity, blithely and carelessly entered the checkpoint near Donetsk and were killed or taken hostage” and also proposed to quit “constructing a mythical legend on the blood and woes”. On January 21, 2015, Yarosh was shot during fighting for the Donetsk Airport.

According to Time Magazine’s Simon Shuster who communicated with Dmytro Yarosh during the Euromaidan, the Right Sector ideology borders on fascism. He also called Yarosh’s views “militant nationalism”. The right Sector itself prefers calling its ideology “revolutionary nationalism” based on Stepan Bandera’s ideas. The concept of derussification understood as liquidating the consequences of a deliberate, according to Ukrainian nationalists, policy of forced russification.

130. (Russian) Dialog.ua: Аваков обвинил Яроша в гибели 32 активистов «Правого сектора» в Донецке. URL: http://www.dialog.ua/news/13533_1408266364
of Ukraine is an important element of Yarosh’s ideology.

On March 1, 2015, the media reported that Yarosh called on international terrorist Doku Umarov to support Ukraine in the fight against Russia in social networks: “As the leader of the Right Sector, I call on you to activate your fight. Russia is not as strong as it may seem. You now have a unique chance to win. Take this chance!” The information about this plea provoked a sharp response in Russia. For instance, Ramzan Kadyrov, the President of the Chechen Republic, promised a “one way ticket” to Yarosh, just like Umarov who he had previously pronounced dead. The webpage in social networks with Yarosh’s plea to Umarov was blocked at the request of Russia’s Prosecutor General’s Office.

On March 3, 2014, the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation initiated a criminal case against Yarosh for offenses under Clause 2 Article 205.2 and Clause 2 Article 280 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (public calls for terrorist and extremist activity with the use of the media). On March 5, 2014, he was charged in absentia and Yarosh was put on the international wanted list.

On March 14, 2014, the Main Investigative Directorate for the North Caucasian Federal District of the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation initiated a criminal case against citizens of Ukraine who were members of the Ukrainian National Assembly – Ukrainian People’s Self-Defense and took part in combat operations against the federal forces on the side of Chechen separatists in 1994 – 1995, with one of them being Dmytro Yarosh. There persons are

131. (Russian)Утро.ру: «Правыйсектор» просит помощи у чеченских террористов. URL: http://www.utro.ru/articles/2014/03/01/1179235.shtml
suspected of committing crimes under Clauses 1 and 2 Article 209 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (creating a stable armed group (band) in order to assault citizens, leading such a group (band) and participating in assaults committed by it).

On March 15, 2014, the Prosecutor General’s Office of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea initiated criminal proceedings against Dmytro Yarosh due to materials spread by the Right Sector propagating war and calling for liquidating people and property in Crimea.

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A people’s deputy of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine of the 8th convocation Andriy Biletsky (nickname White chief) leads a number of Ukrainian racist and neo-Nazi organizations, such as the Ukrainian Patriot, Social-National Assembly and Right Sector. He is a mastermind of radical Ukrainian nationalism and, since September 17, 2014, a commander of the Azov Regiment of the National Guard of Ukraine. The regiment is famous for neo-Nazi views of many of its members. Some of its participants are former members of the organizations headed by Biletsky.

Biletsky has been active in the nationalist movement since he was a student.

In 2001, he took part in protests in Kiev within the Ukraine without Kuchma campaign and was detained by the police. In 2002, he took charge of the Kharkiv division of the Stepan Bandera Tryzub (headed by Yarosh). He later cooperated with the Ukrainian Conservative Party. In 2003, he started to work closely with the Kharkiv division of the Social

Nationalist Party of Ukraine (currently All-Ukrainian Svoboda Union) and was against its liberalization and ensuing rebranding.

Afterwards, he established the Ukrainian Patriot organization. He has been its leader from the onset. The organization’s first members included young fighters of Kharkiv divisions of the Social Nationalist Party of Ukraine, UNA-UNSO and Tryzub.

Late August 2011, Kiev and Vasylkiv saw arrest of the heads of local divisions of the Ukrainian Patriot (Serhiy Bevz, Volodymyr Shpara and Aleksey Chernega) and activists of the Social-National Assembly (Ihor Mosiyuchuk and Vitaly Zatelepa). They were accused of planning a terrorist act.

Nevertheless, as recently as the beginning of 2014, these neo-Nazi groups forming the Right Sector and taking part in the Euromaidan were hardly known in Ukraine and abroad. However, in the spring of 2014, Social-National Assembly activists formed the backbone of the Azov volunteer battalion that participated in the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine. Journalists and political scientists noted neo-Nazi symbols the battalion has been using and expressed concerns about their participation in combat operations133.

On March 12, 2014, Andriy Biletsky was appointed as head of the military wing of the Right Sector (East) for four regions: Kharkiv, Donetsk, Poltava and Lugansk Oblasts. In September 2014, Biletsky became a member of the military council of the People’s Front of Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchynov.

An advocacy group of human rights activists and students of radical right-wing movements wrote an open letter to Arseniy Yatsenyuk calling for excluding

133. (Russian) Ладно.ру: Украинские правые радикалы, евроинтеграция и неофашистская угроза. URL: http://ladno.ru/opinion/25016.html
commander of the Azov battalion Andriy Biletsky from the People’s Front list of candidates for the snap parliamentary election because he “did not renounce misanthropic, anti-liberal, anti-European and openly racist ideology of his movement.” According to the group, Biletsky’s participation in activities of the party would legitimize racism and neo-Nazism in the Ukrainian society and would damage the reputation of the party.

Biletsky refused to take part in the election as a representative of the People’s Front, but instead, on September 23, 2014, he submitted documents for registration to run for a people’s deputy as an independent candidate from single-member constituency 217 in Kiev (Obolon). On October 26, Andriy Biletsky won in his district gaining 33.75 % (31 445 votes).

* * *

A Euromaidan activist with radical views Volodymyr Parasyuk, born in 1987, played an important role in ousting President Yanukovych. He is currently the commander of the 4th Company of the Dnipro battalion and people’s deputy of the Supreme Rada of the 8th convocation.

Being a student, Parasyuk underwent a training in camps of Ukrainian nationalists where he was taught hand-to-hand combat and shooting and was a member of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Parasyuk took part in the Euromaidan as a commander of a self-defense division (a hundred commander). He became widely known after his “impromptu” speech at a meeting of politicians in oppo-

134. (Russian) Доклад МИД России: Неонацизм – опасный вызов правам человека, демократии и Верховенству права.

URL: http://mid.ru/bdomp/ns-dgpch.nsf/03c344d01162d351442579510044415b/7aca4b43518e14b843257e31004a2e6d/$FILE/Доклад_МИД РФ_Неонацизм.pdf
sition with Euromaidan participants on February 21, 2014. Taking the floor without organizers’ permission, speaking on behalf of his division, Parasyuk expressed their dislike of, in his opinion, excessively cautious policies of the opposition leaders and publicly vowed to storm the Presidential Administration unless Viktor Yanukovych was ousted by 10 am of the following day. Volodymyr Parasyuk verbatim from the stage: “No Yanukovych will be president for the whole year. He has to go by 10 am tomorrow... I am speaking on behalf of my hundred: if you fail to make a statement by 10 am tomorrow that Yanukovych has to be dismissed, we will storm the government. Hand to God!”135 Participants in the meeting ardently supported Parasyuk. There is an opinion that it was his emotional speech that speeded up Yanukovych’s decision to leave Kiev secretly.

After the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine had begun, Parasyuk joined the Dnipro-1 battalion of the Armed Forces of Ukraine where he was appointed as the commander of the 4th Company of the battalion. During the Battle of Ilovaisk on August 29, 2014, he was shot and taken hostage by the DPR supporters, but was returned to the Ukrainian military on September 1.

Volodymyr Parasyuk won the election to the Supreme Rada of the 8th convocation in single-member constituency № 122 gaining 56.56 % (69 281 votes). As a Member of Parliament, he took part in a fight with several deputies from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc on December 4, 2014. He has advocated for cancelling parliamentary immunity and has also insisted on cancelling judicial and presidential immunity.

When Ukrainian reporters asked Volodymyr Parasyuk to name at least five victims of the Heaven's Hundred Heroes, the MP was only able to recall three last names and failed to remember any name of those who died in the confrontations in late February 2014. However, at the end of February 2014, on the air of *Shuster Live* show on Ukrainian TV, Parasyuk said: “The Maidan has united the country. With its blood, it opened a new page in history united the east and the west. Previously, before the Maidan, the west was brought up with the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, while the east – the Red Army. Now, all children will study the lesson of the Heaven’s Hundred Heroes.”

* * *

A people’s deputy of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine of the 8th convocation Boryslav Bereza had been head of the information section of the Right Sector from February to December 2014.

Bereza was born June 13, 1974 in Kiev, is an ethnically Jewish, he speaks Hebrew. He had been living in Israel from 1991 to 1993. He met Dmytro Yarosh in February 2014 in Kiev during the Euromaidan in which he had been taking part from the very onset.

At the snap parliamentary election in October 2014, he was elected a people’s deputy from single-member constituency № 213 in Kiev gaining 29.44 % votes as an independent candidate. He is a member of the Ukrainian PACE delegation. In December 2014, he announced the creation of the *Ukrop (Dill)* interfractional group that also included Dmytro Yarosh, Borys Filatov, Volodymyr Parasyuk and Andriy Biletsky.

136. (Russian) Ридус: Евромайдановец Парасюк не смог назвать даже 5 фамилий из «Небесной сотни».

URL: http://www.ridus.ru/news/180434
As a people’s deputy, he is known for a number of populist statements.

On November 10, 2014, Bereza made a statement on power supply in the east of Ukraine: “If someone in the government is going to supply electricity for free to Lugandon and Donbabwe for the reason that citizens of Ukraine live there, I would like to remind you that citizens of Ukraine also live in Kiev, Mariupol, Odessa, Poltava, Kharkiv, Lviv, Zbarazh, Zaporizhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Smila and other parts of Ukrainian territory... We are all equal. These are common principles. They are not to be changed just to fulfill somebody’s personal ambitions or meet selfish interests. It is easier to replace those who renounce their principles.”

Many of Bereza’s statements are devoted to the Crimean crisis: “If cars with food go from Ukraine to annexed Crimea, we can officially talk about surrendering national interests. No government in the world will ever help an occupying force to provide for the occupied territories. There has to be a secret deal in place for that to happen... We have been demanding so loudly and so often that Europe and America step up pressure on Russia and introduce further sanctions, but we ourselves have been doing so little in this direction. It is impermissible!”

* * *

The Self Reliance political party was registered on December 29, 2012. The name of the party is the same as the Self-Reliance civil union formed by Andriy Sadovyi in October 2004. It identifies with an ideology

of “Christian morality and common sense.” The shared electoral list of the union of the Self-Reliance and Volia parties included Donbass battalion commander Semen Semenchenko, the most popular commander of volunteer battalions.

**Semen Semenchenko** participated in the first and second Maidan. After the Euromaidan won in Kiev, he returned to Donetsk and set up local self-defense to counteract the “Russian spring.” In April 2014, Semenchenko formed the Donbass battalion to confront armed formations of the Donetsk People’s Republic. On April 20, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine permitted the battalion to “work”. On June 29, 2014, he arrived in Kiev demanding that the ceasefire be stopped and martial law be introduced.

On August 19, 2014, during the battles of Ilovaisk, Semenchenko received shrapnel wounds in a hip and back and was operated on in Dnipropetrovsk. On September 1, 2014, Semenchenko took off his balaclava in the Dnipropetrovsk Administration and the very same day, Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov presented him with the Order of Bohdan Khmelnytsky of the Third Class. On October 2, 2014, Semenchenko announced in an interview with TSN that he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel (podpolkovnik). On September 1, 2014, the Prosecutor General’s Office of the self-proclaimed DPR put Semen Semenchenko on the wanted list.

On January 31, 2015, during an operation to liberate Vityaz battalion near the town of Uglegorsk, Semenchenko suffered a concussion and got into a motor vehicle accident when transferred from the battle-
field. As of February 1, Semenchenko had fractures and a lung wound.

Professional military call Semenchenko’s battalion a commercial project, while participants in the battalion view him as a PR person who does not know much about military arts and blame him for excessive human losses\textsuperscript{139}. Former Donbass fighter and currently Dnipro battalion company commander Volodymyr Shylov accused Semenchenko of heavy losses near Karlivka, Donetsk Oblast: “In Karlivka, he mapped the route within two days. And threw barely armed people into a meat chopper while staying in the back and describing every detail on Facebook... After that, many turned around and left him for the Dnipro or Shakhtarsk\textsuperscript{140}.”

Early September 2014, the UNIAN held a press-conference where 15 Donbass fighters harshly criticized Semenchenko. The participants called Semenchenko a PR person who knew little about military arts and blamed him for excessive human losses. The press-conference was attended by: Viktor Kondratyuk (a.k.a. Pisar), Oleh Shevchenko (a.k.a. Serafim), Volodymyr Babenko (a.k.a. Fagot), Viktor Degtyarev (a.k.a. Sensey), Serhiy Povolsky (a.k.a. Pavel), Artyom Solo-bodyanyuk, Oleksandr Utsenko, Volodymyr Shylov, Oleh Dub.

\textsuperscript{139} (Russian) Обозреватель: Из-за бездарного командования гибнут люди.

\textsuperscript{140} (Russian) Запрещенная пресс-конференция 4 сентября в УНИАН: бойцы Донбасса о комбате.
URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vTQ_9MT6wI
Street Activity of Extremists in Ukraine after the Maidan

The 2014 coup d’état in Ukraine has brought about a significant number of works studying this phenomenon and its effects. Some authors describe ideological roots of the “revolution of dignity”\(^{141}\), while others pay more attention to economic and geopolitical aspects of the crisis in Ukraine\(^{142}\). A number of authors focus on the developments of the revolution and political technologies applied on the Maidan\(^{143\,\,144}\), others monitor violations of human rights during the coup d’état and ensuing military operation by the Kiev regime law enforcement in Donbass\(^{145\,\,146\,\,147\,\,148}\). Moreover, there


\(^{143}\) (Russian) М. Григорьев. Евромайдан. – М.: Кучково поле, 2014. – 464 с.

\(^{144}\) (Ukrainian) С. Кошкіна. Майдан. Нерозказана історія. – Київ: Брайт букс, 2015. – 394 с.


Extremism in Ukrainian politics, society, media, defense and law enforcement

are separate studies of nation-building\textsuperscript{149} and military development\textsuperscript{150} in the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics, as well as the effects of the crisis in Ukraine on Russian politics\textsuperscript{151}.

This chapter describes street activity of Ukrainian radicals, largely Right Sector militia and various regional radical groups collectively known as the Maidan Self-Defense following the regime change in Ukraine. This section of the book focuses on actions that took place during the early presidential and parliamentary electoral campaigns, May 1 and 8 celebrations as well as a series of “trash lustrations” sweeping the country in 2014-2015. The chapter does not study what has happened in the people’s republic of Donbass, including disputed Mariupol – it only has to do with the “peaceful” part of Ukraine that has not been affected by the ATO.

\textbf{2014 Snap Presidential Election}

After the Supreme Rada ousted President Viktor Yanukovych from power on February 22, 2014 (the legitimacy of this decision is dubious\textsuperscript{152}), the snap presi-


\textsuperscript{150} (Russian) М. Поликарпов. Игорь Стрелков. Битва за Донбасс. Разгром карательей. Хроники сражений. – М.: Книжный мир, 2015. – 608 с.

\textsuperscript{151} Extremist movements in Russia and the crisis in Ukraine, expert report (Russian) (Экспертный доклад «Экстремистские движения в России и украинский кризис». Выпуск 1. – М.: ФРИГО «Народная дипломатия», 2015. – 128 с.)

\textsuperscript{152} (Russian) РБК – Украина: Янукович требует в суде ЕС признать его отстранение незаконным. URL: http://www.rbc.ua/rus/news/yanukovich-trebuet-v-sude-es-otmenit-sanktsii-protiv-nego-04082014161700
dential election was scheduled on May 25\(^{153}\). The electoral campaigning took place amid an escalating political conflict in the country that degenerated into a military confrontation in the eastern regions.

The fundamental 1990 Copenhagen Document adopted by all member-states of the OSCE that outlines key commitments on rule of law\(^{154}\). Among other things, the documents contains necessary and sufficient criteria for democratic elections. Clause 5.1 of the document says that governments are to provide their citizens with “free elections that will be held ... under conditions which ensure in practice the free expression of the opinion of the electors in the choice of their representatives.” Clause 7.7 says that governments abiding by rule of law “ensure that law and public policy work to permit political campaigning to be conducted in a fair and free atmosphere in which neither administrative action, violence nor intimidation bars the parties and the candidates from freely presenting their views and qualifications...”

Below are some examples of violations of Ukrainian and international laws during the 2014 presidential electoral campaign.

* * *

On April 1, 2014, Vasiliy Polyusov, a city council member from the Party of Regions, was battered in Zaporizhia. Polyusov said he was attacked by two unknown men whose faces were covered with hoods.

\(^{153}\) (Russian) Вести: Верховная Рада назначила дату досрочных президентских выборов. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1311975&tid=105474

\(^{154}\) OSCE: Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE. URL: http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/14304
Previously, the deputy had been threatened on several occasions\textsuperscript{155}.

April 6 saw clashes between supporters of federalization of Ukraine and Right Sector activists in Kharkiv. Shooting and firecrackers were heard, dozens of people were injured\textsuperscript{156}.

On April 7, about 100 activists of the Maidan Self-Defense, Right Sector and Automaidan, attempted to storm the Supreme Court of Ukraine in Kiev where a Convention of judges of Ukraine was to be held. The extremists stormed the building and demanded that a lustration law be adopted and pushed the delegates of the convention outside. Several radicals attacked former Justice Minister Oleksandr Lavrynovych when he was leaving the Court building, – they made him go through the “corridor of shame,” hit the ex-minister in the head and tried to capture him\textsuperscript{157}.

On April 7, several thousand Right Sector militants armed with bats battered four young men walking along the street wearing Ribbons of St. George on Primorsky Boulevard in the center of Odessa\textsuperscript{158}.

\textsuperscript{155} (Russian) 061.ua: В Запорожье жестоко избитый депутат Польсов опасался нападения. URL: http://www.061.ua/news/506849

\textsuperscript{156} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: В Харькове произошли столкновения между участниками Евромайдана и митинга за федерализацию. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3345144-v-kharkove-proyozhely-stolknovenyia-mezhdu-uchastnykamy-evromaidana-y-mytynya-za-federalyzatsiyu

\textsuperscript{157} (Russian) Главред: Сорванный майдановцами съезд судей в Киеве: "коридор позора" и пострадавший экс-министр Лавринович. URL: http://glavred.info/politika/aktivisty-maydana-pytaliz-zahvatit-eksministra-yusticui-lavrinovicha-i-udarili-ego-po-golove-276283.html

\textsuperscript{158} (Russian) Комсомольская правда в Украине: В Одессе массовая драка: столкнулись сторонники Антимайдана и Правого сектора. URL: http://kp.ua/politics/447304-v-odesse-massovaia-draka-stolknulya-storonnyky-antymaidana-y-pravoho-sektora
During the night of April 7, militants wearing balaclavas and military uniform with the insignia of the Jaguar division of Ukraine’s interior troops and Right Sector neo-Nazis carried out a so-called anti-terrorist operation at the Oblast Administration building in Kharkiv: they dispersed a pro-federalization demonstration for broader autonomy of the southeast of Ukraine using military operational gear. 64 people were detained, with the city center cordoned off\textsuperscript{159}.

During the night of April 7, Maidan supporters attacked a tent-town of activists campaigning at the Oblast Administration building in Mykolaiv for federalization and broader autonomy of the southeast of Ukraine. The assailants used sticks, non-lethal weapons, smoke-puff charge and firecrackers. 15 were injured, with some of them shot and 11 hospitalized\textsuperscript{160}.

On April 9, in Mykolaiv, Right Sector extremists threw eggs at, splashed water on and then assaulted Oleh Tsarev, a Party of Regions Member of Parliament and presidential candidate. Tsarev came to the city to visit injured pro-federalization activists at the hospital. According to Right Sector members, they simply “sensitized him physically” and disrupted his “tour.”\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{159} (Russian) Сегодня.ua: ОГА в Харькове освобождало спецподразделение "Ягуар". URL: http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/kharkov/glava-hoga-harkovskaya-oga-polnostyu-osvobozhdena-i-gotova-krabote-511022.html

\textsuperscript{160} (Russian) Комсомольская правда: В столкновениях в Николаеве пострадали 10 человек. URL: http://www.kp.ru/online/news/1705351/

\textsuperscript{161} (Russian) Комсомольская правда: Активисты «Правого сектора» избили кандидата в президенты Украины Олега Царева. URL: http://www.kp.ru/online/news/1707278/
The night of April 9 saw a fire in the office of the Communist Party in Kiev. The building had been captured by Euromaidan activists since late February. Activists of the youth S-14 neo-Nazi organization, a lustration committee and the so-called Maidan clerical hundred made it their office. During the day on April 9, «Euromaidan activists had to leave the building by court decision. Before leaving, they had broken the furniture inside, taken office appliances and left behind cans of gasoline. Firefighters believe that the building was destroyed by an arson attack because the fire broke out in three areas simultaneously.

April 10 saw clashes between supporters and opponents of the Euromaidan in Odessa during celebrations of the 70th anniversary of liberating the city from German and Romanian occupying forces. Ukrainian nationalists from the Odessa Maidan group tore the Soviet Banner of Victory off the flagstaff and trod over it. Several dozen Euromaidan activists blocked the entrance to the hotel where Oleh Tsarev, a Party of Regions Member of Parliament and presidential candidate, was staying. Extremists armed with bats and rocks chanted: “Tsarev, get out!” Anti-Maidan activists attempted to free the entrance to the hotel, which resulted in a fighting, with 10 people injured.

163. (Russian) Радио Свобода: В офисе Компартии Украины в Киеве произошел пожар. URL: http://www.svoboda.org/content/article/25327821.html
164. (Russian) ZN.ua: В Одессе "евромайдановцы" блокируют гостиницу с Царевым. URL: http://zn.ua/UKRAINE/v-odesse-evromaydanovcy-blokiruyut-gostinicu-s-carevym-142983_.html
On the same day, also in Odessa, another presidential candidate Serhiy Tihipko who was getting ready for a press conference got egged\textsuperscript{165}.

On April 11, 50 Right Sector radicals seized the Oblast Communist Party office in Rivne. The activists broke into the office and demanded that the party activity be shut down and the buildings be given to local communities. The assailants confiscated all documents, literature and party symbols and burnt them in the backyard. The activists threw representatives of the Communist Party out and sealed the premises\textsuperscript{166}.

On April 13, Kharkiv saw clashes between Euromaidan supporters and city residents who supported Ukraine’s federalization. 50 people were injured, including a police officer\textsuperscript{167}.

On April 13, in Zaporizhia, Euromaidan supporters attacked participants in a demonstration against the Kiev regime. People were injured\textsuperscript{168}.

In the evening of April 14, after taking part in presidential debates in the “Freedom of Speech” TV program, presidential candidate Oleh Tsarev was attacked

\textsuperscript{165} (Russian) Сегодня.ua: В Одессе Тигипко забросали яйцами, приготовленными для Царёва. URL: http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/odessa/v-odesse-tigipko-zabrosali-yaycami-prigotovlennymi-dlya-careva-511878.html

\textsuperscript{166} (Russian) Украинская правда: В Ровно "Правый сектор" высыли КПУ и изъял бюсты Сталина. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/04/11/7022101/

\textsuperscript{167} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: В Харькове столкновения, есть раненые. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/3348659-v-kharkove-stolknoveniya-est-ranenye

\textsuperscript{168} (Russian) Накануне: В Запорожье стычки между антимайданом и майданом. URL: http://www.nakanune.ru/news/2014/4/13/22348673/
and beaten by Maidan activists in in the ICTV channel building in Kiev. The politician was attacked by an aggressive mob led by Right Sector extremists. The attackers demanded that the politician should abstain from running for president. After being battered, Tsarev was hospitalized severely injured\textsuperscript{169}. In two weeks, on April 29, Tsarev announced that he was withdrawing his candidacy because taking part in the electoral campaign was fraught with a hazard to life\textsuperscript{170}.

What is more, another Party of Regions people’s deputy and presidential candidate Mikhail Dobkin was attacked at the same building. His car was smashed, its tires punctures. Brilliant green and flour were thrown onto the politicians. Dobkin’s assistance sustained injuries\textsuperscript{171}. The politician had been previously arrested on several occasions and threatened bodily harm for his criticism of the current Kiev regime.

On April 14, Right Sector radicals destroyed the local Communist Party office in Sumy. They destroyed a Lenin portrait, party literature, Ribbons of St. George and battered one of the employees\textsuperscript{172}.

On April 21, Right Sector militants savagely assaulted Aleksey Selivanov, the main hetman of the All-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{169} (Russian) РИА Новости: ООН проверяет сообщения об избиении кандидата в президенты Украины. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140417/1004226648.html
  \item \textsuperscript{170} (Russian) Первый канал: Олег Царев снял свою кандидатуру с выборов президента Украины и призвал к бойкоту выборов. URL: http://www.1tv.ru/news/world/257585
  \item \textsuperscript{171} (Russian) РИА Новости: СМИ: радикалы разбили машину кандидата в президенты Украины Добкина. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140415/1003930034.html
  \item \textsuperscript{172} (Russian) ТСН: В Сумах "Правый сектор" разгромил офис коммунистов, разыскивая сепаратистские листовки. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/v-sumah-pravyy-sektor-razgromil-ofis-kommunistov-razyskivaya-separatistskie-listovki-360723.html
\end{itemize}
Ukrainian True Cossacks movement in Kiev. The victim said he had been attacked because of his public activities aimed at developing closer relations between Ukraine and Russia

On April 27, an aggressive mob of Metallist and Dnipro football club fans armed with bats, firecrackers and rocks attacked a protest of armless Ukraine’s federalization supporters in Kharkiv. As a result, 14 people were hospitalized with wounds of varying severity.

On April 28, Gennady Kernes, the Kharkiv city mayor, was shot in the back when he was jogging in the morning along Belgorodskoye Highway. The bullet passed through injuring a lung, abdomen, liver, hitting the spine and leaving out of an adrenal gland.

In the morning of April 28, armed representatives of local nationalist organizations blocked a plane of Gennady Kernes’s long-time colleague and presidential candidate Mikhail Dobkin on a runway at the airport of Kherson. Dobkin came to the city to meet voters as part of his electoral campaign, but had to leave without getting off the plane.

173. (Russian) НТВ: В Киеве жестоко избили главного атамана «Верного казачества». URL: http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/918536
174. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Харьков: Драка ультрас и активистов с георгиевскими ленточками. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/3355225-kharkov-draka-ultras-y-aktyvystov-s-heorhievskymy-lentochkamy
175. (Russian) Сегодня.ua: Покушение на Кернеса: Все подробности. URL: http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/kharkov/pokushenie-nakernesa-vse-podrobnosti-516369.html
176. (Russian) Вести: В Херсоне блокировали самолет кандидата в президенты Украины Добкина. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1525787
On May 2, the center of Odessa saw clashes between anti-Maidan activists, on the one hand, and Odessa and Kharkiv football club fans as well as Euromaidan supporters, on the other. By night, the riots moved to Kulikovo field where supporters of the new regime who had previously met with Andriy Parubiy, the Secretary of Ukraine’s National Security and Defense Council and head of the Maidan Self-Defense, destroyed the anti-Maidan camp and burnt the Trade Unions Building with regime opponents inside by throwing Molotov cocktails. According the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine, 46 people killed and 214 were injured. Two of those injured later died.

During the night of May 5, unknown men set fire to Supreme Rada lawmaker, head of the Southeast movement Oleh Tsarev’s office in Dnipropetrovsk. Tsarev had already withdrawn his candidacy from the coming snap presidential election.

On May 11, Chief of State Security Administration Colonel General Valerii Heletei said in an interview that seven presidential candidates, including Mikhail Dobkin and Serhiy Tihipko, were threatened life and health. However, in his opinion, “there is no reason for the presidential election due on May 25 not to take place.”


178. (Russian) Комсомольская правда в Украине: В Днепропетровске подожгли приемную Олега Царева. URL: http://kp.ua/politics/451548-v-dnepropetrovskoe-podozhzhli-pryemnuui-oleha-tsareva

On May 14, armed men in masks and black National Guard uniform attempted an assault on an MP and head of the Southeast movement Oleh Tsarev’s house in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. They broke the fence, destroyed everything in the house, shot at the car in the driveway and left. Afterwards, a fire broke out. However, it later turned out that the attackers burned his neighbor’s house by mistake\textsuperscript{180}.

On May 16, Petro Symonenko, the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine announced the withdrawal of his candidacy during debates between candidates on Ukraine’s First National TV because he considered the coming election unfair and illegitimate. After the TV debates, 30 people armed with bats and Molotov cocktails expected Symonenko at the entrance to the TV center. The leader of the Communist Party left the building through the emergency door, but his pursuers soon reached his car, blocked it, broke the windows and threw Molotov cocktails into the car. Automaidan representatives claimed responsibility for the attack\textsuperscript{181}.

On May 20, unknown men burnt lawmaker Oleh Tsarev’s house and car in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. He reported that armed men came at 2 am in two buses and threw Molotov cocktails in the house\textsuperscript{182}.

\textsuperscript{180} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Неизвестные хотели сжечь дом Царёву. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3363157-neyzvestnye-khotely-szhech-dom-tsarevu

\textsuperscript{181} (Russian) ТВЦ: В Киеве напали на лидера Компартии Украины. URL: http://www.tvc.ru/news/show/id/39842

\textsuperscript{182} (Russian) Первый канал: В Днепропетровске вооруженные люди забросали "коктейлями Молотова" дом Олега Царёва. URL: http://www.1tv.ru/news/world/259280
2014 Snap Parliamentary Election

On August 25, 2014, President Petro Poroshenko dissolved the Supreme Rada “given the expectations of an overwhelming majority of Ukrainian citizens” and scheduled the snap parliamentary election on October 26.\(^ {183} \)

The snap parliamentary election took place in an even tenser atmosphere than the presidential election in May that year. The so-called “antiterrorist operation” in Donbass resulted in a series of military mobilizations. A dramatic economic downturn inevitably and naturally brought about a significant surge in crime. Mutual distrust, witch-hunts of the “Russian fifth column” and “sympathizers of separatists” even further split the society following the February 2014 “revolution of dignity.”

The election of the new Ukrainian Supreme Rada took place amid this anti-democratic atmosphere. The new Parliament, as envisioned by Petro Poroshenko, was to become a tower of strength for the President to implement reforms the country needs and broaden the chances of entering the European Union.

* * *

On August 26, the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine Petro Symonenko said at a press conference in the GolosUA information agency that the Security Service of Ukraine was kidnapping and torturing members of the party. Symonenko said the Communist Party would send an official appeal to the OSCE

\(^ {183} \) (Russian) РБК: Порошенко распустил Верховную раду.
mission over the facts of torture towards members of the party\textsuperscript{184}. The head of the party himself had been attacked repeatedly, including during his recent presidential campaign that he had to stop early.

On August 28, unknown nationalists assaulted and battered opposition activists from the Novaya Zhyzn (New Life) union in Pryluky (Chernihiv Oblast). One of them was diagnosed with a concussion and nasal fracture\textsuperscript{185}.

On August 30, Kherson saw an incident that involved activists participating an anti-war demonstration with the slogans of “Stop the War!” and “Stop Raising Prices!” on the Square of Freedom in the center of the city. The activists were attacked and battered by the Maidan Self-Defense\textsuperscript{186}.

On September 14, Kharkiv saw clashes on the Square of Freedom between supporters of Ukraine’s federalization and Ukrainian radical nationalists\textsuperscript{187}.

On September 15, about two dozen young men who claimed to be from the UNA-UNSO broke into the electoral office of Volhynia Oblast Committee of the Com-

\textsuperscript{184} (Russian) Обозреватель: Симоненко утверждает, что СБУ пытает членов Компартии. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/politics/58213-simonenko-utverzhdaet-chto-sbu-pytaet-chlenov-kompartii.htm


\textsuperscript{186} (Russian) ТСН: Херсонцы разогнали митинг местных пророссийских организаций. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/video/video-novini/hersoncy-razognali-miting-mestnyh-prorossiyskih-organizaci.html

\textsuperscript{187} (Russian) Диалог: В Харькове на митинге евромайдановцы забросали яйцами антимайдановцев. URL: http://www.dialog.ua/news/18329_1410718512
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Communist Party of Ukraine. Threatening with Makarov pistols, they attacked first secretary of the Oblast Committee of the party Petro Bushchyk, threw him on the floor and kicked savagely with legs. The leader of Volhynia communists Alexander Kononovych who attempted to help his colleague was hit in the face, with his nose broken. Law enforcement officers who arrived at the scene did not try to stop the crime\(^{188}\). Previously, in March, Kononovych had already been kidnapped and beaten\(^{189}\).

On September 18, about a hundred Kharkiv activists took to the street to protest against a very low minimum wage in the country. At the protest on the Square of Freedom, they demanded peace in Donbass and protested against demolishing Soviet monuments. The protests carried the posters of “Stop Fascism!”, “For Ukraine without Fascism!” “We Want Oligarchs to Live on Minimum Wage!” and “Hand Off Soviet Monuments!” The activists were attacked by a group of football hooligans (the ultras), with several protesters injured\(^{190}\).

On September 17, representatives of the Kharkiv Maidan Self-Defense egged and threw brilliant green onto the people who attended a meeting with an MP and leader of the Strong Ukraine party Serhiy Tihipko. Self-Defense members wearing a camouflage and


\(^{189}\) (Russian) ВОгнеБрода.нет: Неизвестные похитили представителя КПУ на Волыни. URL: http://vognebroda.net/neizvestnye-pohitili-predstavitelya-kpu-na-volyne

\(^{190}\) (Russian) Аргументы и факты – Украина: Видео: Харьковские ультрас разогнали митинг сепаратистов на площади Свободы. URL: http://www.aif.ua/society/social/1341555
sportswear attempted to break into the building where Tihipko was having a meeting with his supporters. However, after the office center security locked the building from the inside, they waited until the meeting was over and threw eggs and brilliant green onto the people leaving the event. The assailants shouted at the participants in the meeting blaming them in “separatism and betraying Ukraine’s interests.” The police did not intervene\textsuperscript{191}.

On September 21, nationalists attacked anti-Maidan activists in Kharkiv. The clashes started after provocations on the part of football fans and activists of the Right Sector and Gromadska Varta organizations. Afterwards, nationalists started to throw brilliant green and rocks into Maidan opponents\textsuperscript{192}.

On September 26, Right Sector militants disrupted a meeting of the Meitopol City Council. The Right Sector demanded that Mayor of Melitopol Sergiy Minko either put the question of his resignation on the agenda or voluntarily leave the position\textsuperscript{193}.

On September 26, at about 2 pm representatives of the Right Sector and other ultra-right-wing groups attacked an agitation tent of the Communist Party

\textsuperscript{191} (Russian) Херсон-Online: Нардеп Одарченко использует Са- мооборону в борьбе с политическими конкурентами. URL: http://khersonline.net/novosti/politika/29170-nardep-odarchenko-ispolzuetsamooboronu-v-borbe-s-politicheskimi-konkurentami.html

\textsuperscript{192} (Russian) ТК Звезда: В Харькове сторонники «Правого сек- тора» напали на «антимайдановцев». URL: http://tvzvezda.ru/news/vstrane_i_mire/content/201409220336-ngds.htm

of Ukraine at the Yuzhny station in Kiev. Nationalists destroyed the tent and took all agitation leaflets\textsuperscript{194}.

On September 27, nearly 1500 people gathered for a “Peace march” in Odessa, but it was disrupted by a significant number of activists of the Right Sector and Maidan Self-Defense\textsuperscript{195}.

On September 27, in Volodar-Volhynia District of Zhytomyr Oblast, nationalist activists, including members of the Aidar volunteer battalion disrupted a meeting between a Supreme Rada lawmaker Vitaly Zhuravsky and his voters. The activists threw rotten eggs at him and drew on his car\textsuperscript{196}.

On September 27, the Right Sector, the police and the SSU dispersed hundreds of people in Zaporizhia who came to a “Peace march” to protest against the war in Donbass. They took the car belonging to the march organizer Igor Sysoenko and threatened to “break his arms and legs.”\textsuperscript{197}

During the night of September 29, Ukrainian nationalists savagely battered protesters on the Square of Freedom in Kharkiv at the demolished Lenin Monument. Three were hospitalized\textsuperscript{198}.

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{195} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: "Правый сектор" сорвал "Марш мира" в Одессе – активист. URL: http://rian.com.ua/society/20140927/357575662.html
\textsuperscript{196} (Russian) ТК Звезда: Боевики «Айдара» забросали тухлыми яйцами депутата Журавского. URL: http://tvzvezda.ru/news/vstrane_i_mire/content/201409281658-tcpj.htm
\textsuperscript{197} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: СБУ и "Правый сектор" разогнали "Марш мира" в Запорожье – активист. URL: http://rian.com.ua/society/20140927/357577145.html
\textsuperscript{198} (Russian) РИА ФАН: В Харькове националисты зверски избили защитника Ленина. URL: http://riafan.ru/100878-v-harkove-natsionalisty-zverski-izbili-zashhitnika-lenina-video/
On September 30, Melitopol in Zaporizhia Oblast saw an attack on an agitation tent of the Communist Party of Ukraine. On September 30, Right Sector activists battered people’s deputy from the Party of Regions Nestor Shufrych. According to witnesses, Shufrych and his colleague from the Opposition Bloc, Odessa resident Mykola Skoryk hardly had exited the car at the Odessa Oblast State Administration, they were attacked by nationalists who started to batter the politicians. Shufrych’s bodyguards started to shoot in the air, took him out of the scuffle and literally threw him in the car and they left. Shufrych was going to hold a press-conference in Odessa. As a result, the MP was hospitalized with a concussion.

On October 1, in Mykolaiv, unknown young men calling themselves “pro-Ukrainian activists” assaulted an agitation team of Serhiy Tihipko’s Strong Ukraine party. The young men first attacked students who had just received agitation literature to hand out. The “pro-Ukrainian activists” expropriated the handout materials (leaflets and newspapers) and burnt them in a garbage bin. Then, they forced of the agitators into a car, battered him and made him show where agitation

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200. (Russian) Первый канал: В Одессе жестоко избит депутат от Партии регионов Нестор Шуфрич.
   URL: http://www.1tv.ru/news/world/268734
201. (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Под зданием одесской ОГА драка: активисты избили Шуфрича.
   URL: http://rian.com.ua/incidents/20140930/357680919.html
tents of the Strong Ukraine were located. Driving him around the city, they expropriated agitation materials from two more agitation team members\textsuperscript{202}.

October 12 saw two attacks on agitation tents of the Opposition Bloc in Mykolaiv. Agitation campaigning at Lenin Avenue and Dekabristov Street as well as at Lenin Avenue and Ryumin Street were attacked. Handout materials were confiscated in both cases\textsuperscript{203}.

In the morning of October 16, two unknown men attacked activists agitating for the Strong Ukraine Party on the Tamozhennaya Square in Odessa, battered them and broke their agitation constructions\textsuperscript{204}. The same day, the party spread a statement that said, among other things, that “law enforcement officers have not reacted properly to attacks, battery and kidnapping of Strong Ukraine activists in Kherson, Sumy, Mykolaiv, Chernivtsi and Izmail, have not investigated or prevented these crimes. Extremists wearing balaclavas attacked supporters of the party in Kherson with the presence and total inactivity of the local police.”\textsuperscript{205}

\textsuperscript{202} (Russian) НикВести: В Николаеве листовки от Тигипко сожгли в баке, а агитаторов прогнали. URL: http://nikvesti.com/news/incidents/59565
\textsuperscript{203} (Russian) Новости-Н: 12 октября в Николаеве было совершено сразу два нападения на агитационные палатки «Оппозиционного блока». URL: http://novosti-n.org/news/read/77919.html
\textsuperscript{205} (Russian) Комментарии.ua: Партия Сергея Тигипко «Сильная Украина» выступает против «грязных» избирательных технологий. URL: http://comments.ua/politics/491951-partiya-sergeya-tigipko-silnaya-ukraina.html
In the morning of October 17, Right Sector activists and members of the Mykolaiv People’s Militia egged Nestor Shufrych, an MP from the Party of Regions, at the Mykolaiv Oblast State Administration. Several dozen activists of the Right Sector and Mykolaiv People’s Militia had gathered at the scene beforehand expecting the lawmaker. Shufrych came to the Oblast State Administration to take part in a demonstration arranged by the Opposition Bloc.

On October 17, Bohdan Titsky, a parliamentary candidate from Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party in constituency №160, destroyed an agitation tent of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Konotop in Sumy Oblast. Spartak Serhienko, the head of the local Radical Party organization, and an unknown man wearing camouflage with Aidar battalion insignia helped him to “remove” the tent. They came to the tent and started to insult members of the agitation group chanting: “Commmies to impale” or “Our guys are dying, but you are still alive!” Afterwards, Titsky and his colleagues rolled the tent over and tore it, tore and scattered agitation papers.

On October 18, Miloslav Ransdorf, a Member of the European Parliament, who had come to monitor the election in Ukraine, reported that he had registered numerous attacks on activists agitating for the Opposition Bloc in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast: “We have regis-

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206. (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Шуфрича забросали яйцами в Николаеве.
URL: http://rian.com.ua/video/20141017/358390037.html
207. (Russian) ТСН: В Конотопе кандидат от Ляшко разгромил палатку коммунистов под возгласы "Комуняку – на гіляку!".
tered 39 instances of threats of violence and physical attacks towards representatives of the Opposition Bloc. Fabrics of agitation tents of the political party have been torn 13 times. There have been 8 instances of agitation materials taken away from the party activists. We have registered 26 instances of agitation tents broken. Side pockets with the Opposition logotypes have been torn away 9 times. Moreover, 5 cases of threatening organizers of agitation demonstrations for the Opposition Bloc with firearms (including a threat with a hand grenade). Attempts to set fire to an agitation demonstration: 4 instances registered...We have registered 200 cases of damaging billboards in the territory of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, with 183 billboards belonging to the Opposition Bloc\textsuperscript{208}.

On October 19, Cherkassy saw an attack on a self-nominated candidate Vladimir Zubik. About 50 young men with bats and in masks broke into a hall in the Palace of Youth during a meeting with voters. They began to destroy everything around and batter people, including candidate’s bodyguards, with some people ending up with broken arms and head injuries. Zubik himself managed to escape to a safe place. According to him, he had been threatened multiple times during the electoral campaign\textsuperscript{209}.

On October 20, Opora activists came to a meeting of parliamentary candidate Viktor Kondratenko with

\textsuperscript{208} (Russian) Мост-Днепр: В Днепропетровской области «Оппозиционный блок» на первом месте по количеству нападений на агитаторов и порчи агитационной продукции, – депутат ЕС. URL: http://most-dnepr.info/news/society/111675.htm

\textsuperscript{209} (Russian) Вести: В Черкассах хулиганы сломали руки охранникам кандидата-самовыдвиженца. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=2058219
residents of Troieshchyna neighborhood in Kiev. They handed out leaflets of Andriy Ilyenko, a candidate from the Svoboda, and cards to discredit Kondratenko. Activists agitating for Ilyenko shouted insulting slogans, disrupted speeches of the candidate and his representatives and deliberately provoked a fight. At the same time, right during the meeting, Ilyenko’s activists demonstratively glued their posters on top of all Kondratenko’s posters.

2014-2015 “Dumpster Lustration”

Lustration of authorities was a key demand of the Kiev and All-Ukrainian Euromaidan whose leaders in February 2014 worked out criteria to select members of “the government of popular trust.”

Although it was only on October 9 when President Petro Poroshenko put forward by the Maidan signed a law on lustration covering about a million of officials and law enforcement officers, the so-called “dumpster lustration” (also people’s lustration) mostly arranged by representatives of the nationalist Right Sector or Maidan Self-Defense activists against officials of the previous regime had begun long before.


212. (Russian) РИА Новости — Украина: Порошенко подписал закон о лustrации. URL: http://rian.com.ua/politics/20141009/358062929.html
Perpetrators of the “dumpster lustration” most of whom can be charged malicious hooliganism have remained unpunished: law enforcement officers, even when nearby, tend not to intervene. On the other hand, a number of police representatives, including Kiev police spokeswoman Yulia Mustash, have promised that criminals proceedings will be initiated against the hooligans\textsuperscript{213}.

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On September 6, 2014, representatives of the Right Sector in Odessa pushed Oleh Rudenko, acting director of the oblast office of the Social Insurance Fund, into a garbage bin. He was accused of taking bribes\textsuperscript{214}.

On September 16, Ukrainian MP Vitaly Zhuravsky went out on a break between sessions of the Supreme Rada and suffered an attack by Maidan activists who threw him into a swill box\textsuperscript{215}.

On September 18, Right Sector activists threw the Chief of Staff of the Ternopol Regional State Administration Vitaly Fedak into a garbage bin. Activists forced the official to write a letter of resignation and dragged him outside to throw him into a garbage bin. The Right Sector accused him of supporting the Party

\textsuperscript{213} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Народная люстрация: каждому кандидату по мусорному баку. URL: http://rian.com.ua/analytics/20140929/357640407.html


of Regions and Ex-President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych\textsuperscript{216}.

On September 19, Maidan activists threw Mykola Koretsky, an MP and a former member of the Party of Regions, into a garbage bin in Kirovohrad after a session Kirovohrad Oblast Council. He was accused of working against the new regime\textsuperscript{217}.

Moreover, on September 19, Oleksandr Panchenko, a former Cossack leader from Zaporizhia, was thrown into a garbage bin by the Maidan Self-Defense. He was accused of supporting President Yanukovych and disrupting activities of the local Euromaidan in January 2014\textsuperscript{218}.

On September 23, Narnia activists who had taken part in the Euromaidan attacked people’s deputy from the Party of Regions Vitaly Grushevsky on a central street of Kiev and threw him into a dumpster. According to the activists, Grushevsky took money from Former President Viktor Yanukovych to remove some people’s deputies the Svoboda parliamentary faction. Grushevsky was a member of the “For the Peace and Stability” deputy group that is said to be related with the Yanukovych regime and to have contacts with the Russian authority\textsuperscript{219}.

\textsuperscript{216} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: В Тернополе чиновника выбросили в мусорный бак. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3420766-v-ternopole-chynovnyka-vybrosoity-v-musornyiy-bak

\textsuperscript{217} (Russian) УРА-Информ: В Кировограде активисты выбросили депутата Корецкого в мусорный бак – ВИДЕО. URL: http://ura-inform.com/ru/politics/2014/09/19/v-kirovograde-aktivisty-vybrosili-deputata-koretskogo-v-musornyj-bak-video

\textsuperscript{218} (Russian) Факты.ua: Запорожские самообороновцы отправили в мусорный бак бывшего казачьего атамана Панченко (видео). URL: http://fakty.ua/188668-zaporozhskie-samooboronovcy-otpravili-v-musornyiy-bak-byvshego-kazachego-atamana-panchenko-video

On September 25, activists caught MP Viktor Pylypyshyn in Kiev when he was going to the CEC to submit document to be registered as a parliamentary candidate and doused him with red paint and threw him into a garbage bin. Pylypyshyn said he had recognized three of the assailants. According to him, they were members of the neo-Bandera Svoboda Party\textsuperscript{220}.

Also on September 25, Maidan activists pushed two MPs into a dumpster in Cherkassy, demanding lustration. They attacked former First Deputy Chairman of the Cherkassy Regional Council Vladimir Vovchenko (the Party of Regions) and another deputy of the Regional Council Alexander Kharlamov (the Communist Party). Automaidan members claimed responsibility for the attack: Serhiy Yakovenko, head of the local branch, explained that people had become tired of waiting for “a legal punishment of corrupt officials.”\textsuperscript{221}

On September 26, activists threw the first Deputy Chairman of the Rivne Regional Council Alexander Danilchuk into a dumpster. They accused him of cooperating with the Party of Regions and demanded that he leave the elected office. When Danilchuk refused, the activists pushed him out of the oblast council, took away his deputy badge and threw him into a dumpster\textsuperscript{222}.

On September 29, Chief of Staff of the Kirovohrad Regional State Administration Vasiliy Smaglyuk was thrown in a trash bin. Activists of the Radical Party and its leader Oleh Lyashko took part in this incident

\textsuperscript{220} (Russian) Гордон.ua: В Киеве Пилипишина выбросили в му-сорный бак. URL: http://gordonua.com/news/politics/V-Kieve-Pilipishlyna-vybrosili-v-musornyy-bak-43047.html
\textsuperscript{221} (Russian) LB.ua: В Черкассах двоих депутатов облсовета засунули в мусорный бак. URL: http://society.lb.ua/accidents/2014/09/25/280558_cherkassah_dvoih_deputatov.html
\textsuperscript{222} (Russian) Вести: На Украине депутата выкинули в мусорный бак. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=2001709
of the “dumpster lustration.” Smaglyuk was hit in the head against the edge of the bin and was forced to pick up the trash.223

Around noon on September 30, activists came to the Dnepropetrovsk regional prosecutor’s office demanding the resignation of Attorney Roman Fedik and his deputies. Activists were not allowed into the building, but later the crowd broke doors and burst into the office ignoring the guards. In the prosecutor’s office, the activists tore the badge saying “Ukrainian Public Prosecution” off Felik’s jacket and hit him in the face several times. After that, they threw office trash on his head. “Dnipropetrovsk lustration committee” head Tamila Ulyanova delivered the prosecutor an ultimatum: write a letter of resignation and leave the office within 24 hours. “Next time, we won’t be able to hold back people’s discontent,” she said.224

On October 1, activists and representatives of Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party pushed the head of the Irpin (Kiev Oblast) territorial electoral commission into a dumpster. They were unhappy with the commission’s decision to deny registration to a party’s candidate. Members of the commission were also accuses of falsifying the results of the 2010 election.225

What is more, on October 1, staff of the Chernivtsi Hospital of War Veterans and activists pushed chief of medicine Manoly Mihaychuk into a garbage bin and brought him to the city administration building.


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There, Mihaychuk was forced to write a letter of resignation “of his own volition” remaining in the garbage bin.\(^{226}\)

On October 3, the chief of medicine at the regional hospital of Terebovlia in Ternopil Oblast and District Council member Yaroslav Styranko were forced into a dumpster.\(^{227}\)

On October 6, 30 people, some holding the Right Sector flags, gathered at the Mykolaiv Court. They rolled a dumpster to the court building and threw into the dumpster the head of the emergency response department in the Mykolaiv Oblast State Administration Petro Kaminsky (the Party of Regions) who was leaving after a court session. He was accused of driving under influence.\(^{228}\)

On October 15, unknown men wearing masks egged former head of the Zaporizhia Oblast Council, president of the Oblast State Property Fund Pavlo Matvienko and pushed him into a dumpster. The incident took place in the administration building during a session of the HR committee. Other members of the committee were also egged, but it was only Matvienko who was subjected to the “people’s lustration.”\(^{229}\)

On November 2, activists carried out “dumpster lustration” of Alexander Brizetsky, head of the land


\(^{227}\) (Russian) Вести: Политика по-киевски: Яценюк чистит ряды, Ляшко тренируется на клоунах. URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=2051229

\(^{228}\) (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: В Николаеве чиновника ОГА "люстрировали" в мусорный бак. URL: http://rian.com.ua/video/20141006/357903006.html

\(^{229}\) (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Экс-главу Запорожского облсовета забросали яйцами и затолкали в мусорный бак. URL: http://rian.com.ua/video/20141015/358321168.html
resources department of the Kryvyi Rih City Council who was said to be related with the family of Oleksandr Vilkul, former Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine\textsuperscript{230}.

On November 18, Irina Komissar, former head of internal politics, media and information in the city of Zaporizhia, was subjected to the "dumpster lustration." She had just stepped out of her car when she was approached by a group of men wearing balaclavas and army camouflage who covered her with oil and feathers. They also insulted and threatened the ex-official. Komissar had left the office in the Zaporizhia City Council half a year before the incident\textsuperscript{231}.

On December 12, students of Ternopil vocational school №4 “dumpstered” the headmaster of the school Pavlo Fedik who returned his position through a court action. When Fedik came to work in the morning, a crowd of students was expecting him. They were chanting “Disgrace!” and demanding that he resign. They forced the head teacher out of the school, threw snowballs at him and pushed him into a dumpster at the school entrance\textsuperscript{232}.

On December 24, representatives of Nash Rodnoy Ternopil organization accused Acting Head of Ternopil architecture and construction inspection Mikhailo Gorishny of money laundering, poured brilliant green onto him and pushed him into a dumpster. The activists demanded that the official write a letter of resignation. Gorishny refused and the activists forced out


\textsuperscript{231} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Масло и перья: как в Запорожье "люстрировали" экс-чиновницу (ненорм. лексика). URL: http://rian.com.ua/video/20141118/359674311.html

\textsuperscript{232} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Студенты училища в Тернополе кинули директора в мусорный бак. URL: http://rian.com.ua/video/20141212/360751119.html
of the office and pushed into a garbage bin and closed the lid chanting “Glory to Ukraine!” and “Disgrace!”

On January 17, 2015, two judges of the Kremenets District Court of Ternopil Oblast were pushed into a dumpster. Activists came to the court and found a judge who, in their opinion, delivered unfair verdicts. The judge and the chair of the court ended up in a dumpster. The activists also set fire to car tires during the action.

On January 21, Right Sector members and football ultras attempted to “dumpster” Viktor Kitanin, a member of the Kharkiv City Council, but failed because law enforcement officers protected the official. The police surrounded him, helped him get into the car and drove him away. The deputy was injured during the incident – a smoke grenade cut his eyebrow.

In the morning of February 19, Sergey Bodnar, a judge of the Odessa Suvorovsky District Court was assaulted. When he came to work, four unknown men in balaclavas and camouflage approached him, twisted his arms and legs and dragged him to a dumpster that they had prepared. Bodnar was thrown into the dumpster and covered with water and flour.

On February 24, students of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv carried out an action they called “the corridor of shame.” When elderly associate professor of physical geography Olga Zagulskaya was

236. (Russian) Закон и бизнес: Люстрация мусорниками продолжается. Пострадал судья из Одессы. URL: http://zib.com.ua/ru/114736-lyustraciya_musornikami_prodolzhaetsya_postradal_sudya_iz_od.html
Street Activity of Extremists in Ukraine after the Maidan

going to a lecture, students in the hallway started to chant “Disgrace!” Before the incident, Ukrainian media had carried out a wide campaign accusing Zagulskaya of “supporting terrorists.” The professor suffered from a nervous breakdown that resulted in a hypertensive emergency and she was hospitalized.²³⁷

On April 9, Ivano-Frankivsk activists of the Right Sector “dumpstered” the head of the regional Department of Justice Vasily Kavatsyuk and drove him around the city. A group of nationalists led by the head of the regional Right Sector organization Vasily Abramov entered the official’s office and tried to “engage” him in a conversation. When Kavatsyuk refused to talk to them, the activists grabbed him and forced him outside to push him a garbage bin. The Right Sector activists threw him the garbage bin and started to drive him around the city. He was accused of having registered an Opposition Bloc organization in the region.²³⁸

On April 23, Right Sector activists “dumpstered” Igor Lesnichy, a member of the Dneprodzerzhinsk City Council and head of the local People’s Front organization. The Right Sector believes that Lesnichy has been closely working with a Ukrainian politician Viktor Medvedchuk who is considered to be pro-Russian and had been communicating with a Donbass leader Oleh Tsarev. “He had better go and have fun in his Lugandon,” said a Right Sector representative.²³⁹

²³⁹ (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: "Правый сектор" бросил в бак депутата днепродзержинского горсовета. URL: http://rian.com.ua/incidents/20150423/366621781.html
2015 May Holidays

Historical revisionism (reinterpretation of historical events) has become a burning issue in the post-Maidan Ukraine dividing the society, instead of uniting it into a single nation based on European democratic principles that were originally declared by the protesters on the Independence Square in Kiev in the winter of 2013-2014. (On the other hand, it is noteworthy that a radical-nationalist reinterpretation of history not limited only to WWII started in Ukraine earlier – at least since the country became independent in 1991.240)

In his address to the nation on Independence Day on August 24, 2014, when talking about warriors who “bravely, selflessly and heroically” fought for Ukraine’s independence Ukraine’s President Petro Poroshenko mentioned Ukrainian Insurgent Army241 notorious for its close collaboration with the German occupation administration and military crimes against civilians of Western Ukraine in the 1940s.

In autumn, Poroshenko moved the official celebrations of Defender of the Fatherland Day from February 23 to October 14 “with the aim of honoring the courage and heroism of the defenders of Ukraine.” Ukrainian nationalists celebrate this day as the day when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed242.


In 2015, Poroshenko declared May 8 to be Remembrance and Reconciliation Day and decided that May 9 would remain Victory Day. Reconciliation was supposed to take place between Ukrainians who fought against each other in the Red Army and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA). Poroshenko gathered veterans of the Red Army and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army at a special meeting in the Supreme Rada on May 8. The President pointed out that “the UIA opened the second front within Ukraine to fight fascist occupants.” (German documents do not have a single mention of clashes or fighting with the UIA, but modern Ukrainian historiography, which the given report does not seek to study, regards the UIA as an army waging a two-front war – against the Red Army and Wehrmacht.)

** On May 1, 2015, the Communist Party of Ukraine was having a festive demonstration that gathered about 500 people mostly of old age in front of the Museum of the Great Patriotic War in Kiev. When the demonstration began, about 30 young men in balaclavas attempted to disrupt the event. They failed, but after the party leader Petro Symonenko addressed the dem-

243. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Порошенко установил 8 мая Днем памяти и примирения. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3494969-poroshenko-ustanovyl-8-maia-dnem-pamiaty-y-prymyreniya

244. (Russian) РИА Новости: СМИ: Порошенко посадил рядом ветеранов Красной армии и бойцов УПА. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20150508/1063448042.html

245. (Russian) BBC: Порошенко: УПА открыла второй фронт борьбы с нацистами. URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/rolling_news_russian/2015/05/150509_ru_n_poroshenko_upa_speech

246. (Ukrainian) ТСН: У Києві на мітингу комуністів затримали молодиків у балаклавах. URL: http://tsn.ua/kyiv/u-kiyevi-na-mitingu-komunistiv-zatrimali-molodikiv-u-balaklavah-424811.html
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...onstration, a Svoboda activist covered him with buttermilk.²⁴⁷

Along with the Communist Party, anarchists held a demonstration on Square of Contracts in Kiev on May 1. The demonstration gathered around 150 people with billboards and banners with social and anti-war slogans. The event was attacked by a group of people calling themselves “autonomous nationalists.”²⁴⁸

On May 1, about a hundred activists of the Avtonomni Opir (Autonomous Resistance) took part in a May 1 march with social and opposition slogans in Lviv. Right Sector representatives and fighters of the Right Sector Ukrainian Volunteer Corps approached them, called them “neo-Bolsheviks” and “Moscow’s fifth column” that “wanted to arrange a good picture for Russian journalists.”²⁴⁹

On May 1, two dozens of people mostly of older age gathered across the Blagoveshchensk Cathedral in Kharkiv and rolled out a banner saying “Peace, Labor, May!” Thirty young men with national flags from the Kharkiv Gromadska Varta²⁵⁰, some wearing camouflage, approached the protesters. They started to sing the national anthem of Ukraine. A series of clashes took place between the two groups of people, with a young man in camouflage snatched and tore the banner with the slogan of “Peace, Labor, May!” The Varta representative said that the organization cooperated with law...

²⁴⁷. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Симоненко облили кефиром на митинге КПУ. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3510354-simonenko-oblyly-kefyrom-na-mytynhe-kpu


²⁴⁹. (Ukrainian) Укрінформ: «Правий сектор» у Львові провів марш проти «необільшовиків». URL: http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/praviy_sektor_u_lvovi_proviv_marsh_proti_neobilshovikiv_2049375

²⁵⁰. (Ukrainian) ВКонтакте: Громадська Варта Харків. URL: https://vk.com/gromadska_varta_kharkov

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enforcement bodies in ensuring security on the city and preventing “anti-Ukraine demonstrations.”

On May 9, Kiev saw an attack on activists of the Ukrainian Choice movement who came to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to pay homage to heroes of the Great Patriotic War. People wearing camouflage assaulted participants in the march and snatched the Banner of Victory, even though there were veterans and children among the protesters.

On May 9, the Gromadska Varta attacked a group of young women with air balloons saying “Peace” and “May” and covered them with buttermilk on the central square of Kharkiv. The girls were accused of carrying out an “anti-Russian campaign.”

On the same day, an activist of Shidniy Korpus Vyacheslav Duda damaged a camera of the local OTB Channel during the ceremony of laying a floral tribute to the Glory Memorial in Kharkiv. At the entrance to the Memorial, the man in camouflage pushed the camera operator saying “What are you recording here?” and snatched the camera. According to Duda, he confused the OTB camera operator with a representative of the opposition Anna-News. (The Shidniy Korpus


252. (Russian) Российская газета: От Киева потребовали расследовать провокации 9 мая. URL: http://www.rg.ru/2015/05/10/provokacii-site.html


254. (Ukrainian) ВКонтакте: Східний Корпус. URL: https://vk.com/vpo_shidniy_korpus

movement was upgraded into a volunteer battalion of the Ministry of the Interior. Interior Minister Arsen Avakov called the movement his “black hundred” as praise words and stated that if needed, it would “pin any separatist’s ears back.”

On May 9, a member of the Lviv Oblast Council from the Svoboda Party Iosif Sytnik snatched away a Ribbon of St. George from a pensioner who came to the Memorial on the Glory Hill Complex to lay a floral tribute, with the applause of his supporters. Previously, nationalists who gathered at the Memorial demanded that the man take off the ribbon, but they refused explaining that he was not violating any laws. Sytnik snatched the ribbon, threw it on the ground and treaded on it with the applause and chanting “Glory to the Nation! Death to Enemies!” Afterwards, supporters of the parliamentarian burned it. (The Svoboda Party has already disrupted a number of other events devoted to Victory Day over the recent years in Lviv.)

256. (Russian) ЛІГА.Новости: Аваков: Моя черная сотня в Харькове «любому сепару уши оторвёт». URL: http://news.liga.net/news/politics/5866653-avakov_moya_chernaya_sotnya_v_kharkove_lyubomu_ushi_otorvet.htm

257. (Russian) Дилетант: Львовский депутат под аплодисменты сорвал с пенсионера георгиевскую ленточку. URL: http://diletant.ru/news/24713857/

Ukrainian Media as a Propaganda Tool

The events related with the coup d’état in Kiev and ensuing civil war in the country are inextricably linked to the mass media influencing public sentiments. With the commercial part of Ukrainian media growing, independent editorial policy is quite a rarity. An overwhelming number of the media depends on either their owners who fund them or permanent clients ordering political advertorials (paid publications).

Thus, for instance, oligarch Viktor Pinchuk is a beneficiary of ICTV Channel, Novy Kanal, STB, M1, Fakty i Kommentarii (Facts and Commentaries) newspaper and Levy Bereg.

The U.A. InterMediaGroup media-holding that officially includes the Inter TV channel, a leading channel in Ukraine, as well as NTN, Inter+ and K1 and niche channels such as EnterMusic, Enter-Film, K2, Mega, Pixel, Zoom and MTV Ukraine belongs to oligarchs Serhiy Lyovochkin and Dmytro Firtash. The group also owns Ukrainsky Novosti (Ukrainian News) agency and privately held Insider website.

Oligarch Renat Akhmetov owns the Ukraine media group (Ukraine, Football 1 and Football 2 TV channels, Kinotochka, NLO-TV, Donbass and Channel 34), Segodnya Multimedia group (Segodnya newspaper and Segodnya.ua portal, RIO newspaper, as well as a number of other papers), numerous regional media that
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are a part of enterprises that Akhmetov bought. Thus, for example, along with the Zaporizhstal Steelworks in Zaporizhia Oblast, Akhmetov gained control over TV 5 Channel and Industrialnoye Zaporozhye newspaper.

Oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky owns 1+1, 2+2 TV channels, PlusPlus, TET TV channels, as well such portals as UNIAN, Glavred, Telekritika, DUSYA and others. Censor website holding leading positions among Ukrainian Internet media belongs to Yuri Butusov and is within Kolomoisky’s orbit. Obozrevatel (Observer), one of the top websites in Ukraine, belongs to Oleksandr Turchynov and Mykhailo Brodsky who are also Kolomoisky’s partners.

5 Kanal (Channel 5) is controlled by President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko.

24 Kanal (Channel 24) and Football 24 belong to Andriy Sadovyi, head of the Self Reliance party and Lviv mayor.

Espreso TV belongs to Ukrainian MP Mykola Knyazhitskiy who is close to Yatsenyuk and Poroshenko.

MediaHub Co-working includes a leading Ukrainian website Ukrainska Pravda, Hromadske.TV Channel, Evropeiska Pravda, Economicheska Pravda, Champion, Narodna Pravda, RabloID, Kiev, Zhyzn and Istoricheska Pravda websites. Alena Pritula, journalists Mustafa Nayyem, Serhiy Leshchenko, Roman Skrypin and Svitlana Zalishchuk and the owners of the co-working. Mustafa Nayyem and Serhiy Leshchenko are also people’s deputies from the Petro Poroshenko Bloc.

Consequently, most Ukrainian media either belong to or are directly related with representatives of the new regime and associated oligarchs. At the same time, Russian media (usually called “Russian propaganda”) seem to hardly play any role in the Ukrainian media and events because broadcast and rebroadcast of all Rus-
sian channels, with the exception of Dozhd TV Channel, are prohibited in the territory of the country\textsuperscript{259}.

\textbf{Manufacturing Hatred}

From the very onset of the Euromaidan, most Ukrainian media had actively covered the events in Kiev with the connotations that were positive for the protesters. That is also true of the media that belong to oligarchs who were related with Yanukovych and had already placed their bets on Eurointegration and latent or obvious confrontation with the President. As early as the beginning in 2014, the Euromaidan and Ukrainian media turned into a site for kindling hatred towards Russia and its citizens as well as towards all public and political activists and movements within Ukraine that may be suspected in any leanings towards or cooperation with Russia. Systemic disinformation has been a major means of rousing hatred: “Russia has sent ball grenades to the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine”\textsuperscript{260}, “The chevron of the Russian Ministry of the Interior was snatched away from an officer during a storm on the Maidan”\textsuperscript{261}, etc.

According to opinion polls, less than half of the population of the country (40\%) supported protesters in Kiev, while a big proportion of citizens of Ukraine either sympathized with neither the regime, nor protesters (32\%), or supported the Yanukovych regime

\textsuperscript{259} (Russian) NEWSru.com: Украинские власти обнародовали список 15 российских телеканалов, запрещенных к показу. URL: http://www.newsru.com/arch/world/09sep2014/tele.html

\textsuperscript{260} (Russian) Телеканал ICTV, программа «Факты», 25.01.14.

\textsuperscript{261} (Russian) Gazeta.UA: На Майдане во время штурма сорвали с офицера шеврон МВД России. URL: http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/kiev-life/_na-majdane-vo-vremya-shturma-sorvali-s-oficera-shevron-mvd-rossii/543001
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(23%)262. However, it was already in January-February 2014 when Ukrainian media started to dehumanize the image of Euromaidan opponents. Thus, protesters against illegal acts of Maidan participants were dubbed “titushky” in the media263. As a result, all ensuing activities of Euromaidan opponents were interpreted solely as acts of unscrupulous criminals-sportsmen hired by the regime. For instance, the label of “titushky” was given to activists of the Antimaidan that emerged as a reaction of citizens resentful of what Maidan protesters had been doing. For example, that was the only interpretation of the events that 1+1 Channel broadcast264.

The media has been forming the image of “titushky” as a source of danger to citizens. News stories portraying Maidan opponents as aggressive beasts and criminals started to fill the media in January 2014: “Titushky keep crushing Kiev”265, “Titushky are attacking people with bats in Kharkiv”266, “Titushky are attacking people in Dnipropetrovsk,”267 etc. The aggression in con-

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264. (Russian) TCH: «Титушки» в Киеве отсиживаются в автобусах за $ 100 в день и ждут команды нападать. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/politika/titushki-v-kieve-otsizhivutsya-v-avtobusah-za-100-v-den-i-zhdut-komandy-napadat-339187.html
265. (Russian) Цензор: «Титушки» продолжают громить Киев. URL: http://censor.net.ua/video_news/267605/titushki_prodoljajut_gromit_kiev_esli_popadayutsya_aktivistam_avtomayidana_vzyvayut_berkut_na_podmogu
266. (Russian) ATH: Майдан в Харькове, «titushki» с битами нападают на людей. URL: http://atn.ua/obshchestvo/maydan-v-harkove-titushki-s-bitami-napadayut-na-lyudey
conflicts was presented in the media as unilateral, coming exclusively from “titushky,” while their victims were called “civilians” or “peaceful pro-European protesters.” Circumstances of the events were hushed up or distorted. Euromaidan supporters attempting to storm oblast administrations were portrayed as “peaceful acts” while their opponents attempting to stop them were presented as “titushkys’ attacks.”

Rousing hatred towards dissidents with the media, attaching to them the labels of “bandits,” de facto depriving them of the right to express a different point of view soon manifested themselves in a series of assassinations, including ones on a mass-scale.

On February 20, 2014, in Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi district of Cherkassy oblast, armed Euromaidan radicals ambushed eight buses in which several hundred anti-Maidan activists were coming back from Kiev to Crimea. A Simferopol resident Yekaterina Solodilova was in one of the buses. She remembers what happened: “Our first bus was attacked with Molotov cocktails. That was how they stopped all the buses. The first bus was burnt. Overall, only two buses remained intact. Afghan veterans and Cossacks were in the first bus. They got off the bus and tried to protect us, but got injured. They failed to fend off the attack, with five people down from the shooting... Then, the attackers started to force people out of buses. They twisted our arms behind our heads, made us kneel and sing the anthem of Ukraine. Those singing quietly were hit in the head with bats. They forced some to take off all


269. (Russian) Группа информации по преступлениям против личности IGCP: Корсунский погром. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vgzPPDZws0
clothes when it was freezing and, later, told them to run on the field naked. If someone was slow, they hit us. They cursed us, insulted and threatened to torture us in different ways. I saw the driver of our bus shot in the head with a shotgun; they sent a bullet to another man’s arm. One man was shot dead with a hunting rifle in front of my eyes.”

Ukrainian media covered what the murderers had done in the opposite way: Antimaidan participants are called exclusively “titushky” and “bandits,” they are also accused of committing the crime: “People captured and burned a bus with “titushka” and a bus with soldiers of internal forces on Odessa-Kiev highway. Bandits have killed one activist.” At the same time, the footage from the news stories demonstrate that it was Euromaidan supporters who were violent and aggressive and set fire to the bus with people inside.

The killings of rank and file of the Party of Regions in the party’s headquarters in Kiev on February 18, 2014 were covered in a similar way. Although numerous video recordings clearly point to a premeditated arson of a building with people inside perpetrated by militants with Molotov cocktails, the media extensively spread a theory of the opposition saying that “the protesters captured the ground floor and are attempting to extinguish the fire.” We have counted over 200 news-

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271. (Russian) Цензор: На трассе Одесса-Киев народ захватил и сжег автобус с «титушками» и автобус с солдатами БВ. URL: http://censor.net.ua/video_news/271631/na_trasse_odessakiev_narod_zahvatili_i_sjeg_avtobus_s_titushkami_i_avtobus_s_soldatami_vv_bandity_ubili

worthy events of this kind that were covered extensively and distorted by Ukrainian media to rouse hatred to dissenters in Ukraine from January to March 2014.

Dehumanizing dozens of millions of Ukrainian citizens who do not share the views of Euromaidan supporters and portraying them as mercenaries, sadists and criminals that started from the very first days of riots in Kiev determined the rupture of the public opinion through the media. It was the information trend set in January-February 2014 that allowed for the May 2 Odessa tragedy and ensuing mass murders of civilians in Donbass.

Assault forces of Euromaidan radical activists in many ways provoked the protests in the southeast of Ukraine following the regime change in Kiev. Armed assault forces of “Euroactivists” mainly consisting of members of extremist nationalist formations were presented by the media as “peaceful activists” and “patriots” who came to eastern regions of the country to explain a peaceful position of the Kiev Maidan while their opponents were still called “titushky” and were accused of aggression.

At the same time, new terms such as “separatists”, “vatniki”, “Colorado beetles” and “Putin tourists” came into common use by the media. According to Ukrainian media, they are to blame for “the unrest,” but not Ukrainian citizens.

Echoing officials of the new regime, the media report “the situation in Donbass is being exacerbated by convicts and Putin “tourists.” The events in Odessa,
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Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia, Lugansk and Kharkiv are covered in a similar way.

On April 12, 2014, the Segodnya website openly wrote: “The extremist acts in the southeastern regions of Ukraine are initiated and controlled by a network of coordinators of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.”

When Ukrainian media admit that citizens of the country do take part in anti-Maidan campaigns, they are portrayed as inferior, bandits or mercenaries: “Local organized criminal groups have instigated all the disturbances in the southeast.”

It is noteworthy that not only supporters of secession of certain territories from Ukraine, but also and mostly opponents of the Maidan and the new regime, as well as advocates of Ukraine’s federalization are declared “separatists.”

During the same period, demonization of dissenters turned into a large-scale propaganda of murders. Thus, for example, the Pressa Ukrainy website wrote on March 29, 2014 (over a month before the May 2

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275. (Russian) Цена́зор: Погра́ничники́ не пусти́ли на терри́торию Украины 3,5 ты́сячи радика́льно настро́енных «пути́нских тури́стов» URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/274917/pogranichniki_ne_pustili_na_teritoriyu_ukrainy_35_tysyachi_radikalno_nastroennyh_putinskih_turistov


278. (Russian) Цена́зор: В Херсоне 3 тысячи людей вышли за Украи́ну, сепаратистов КПУ. URL: http://censor.net.ua/video_news/277241/v_hersone_3_tysyachi_lyudeyi_vyshli_za_ukrainu_separatistov_kpu_tolko_300_video
Odessa tragedy) in the article titled “Odessa is ready to kill separatists”: “Residents of Odessa are willing to take up arms to defend Ukraine’s independence and kill Russian invaders and separatists... I myself am ready to take up arms to defend Ukraine. We, patriots, will ourselves find and shoot all separatists.”

Such sentiments are presented as a reaction to “the atrocities committed by separatists” that Ukrainian media extensively cover in the following way: “Bloody protest in Donetsk: pro-Russian activists slaughtered civilians.”

As soon as March 2014, mass propaganda started to shift focus from hatred towards dissenters to hatred towards populations of entire regions. Thus, on March 1, the Censor website wrote about hatred of southeastern regions of Ukraine towards the rest of the country citing MP Oleksandra Kuzhel: “Deep hatred towards everything Ukrainian, in particular the language, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Sich Riflemen, Galician cultural and literature figures and even to Ukrainian music, reigns among hundreds of thousands of residents of Crimea as well as Lugansk and Donetsk Oblasts. Such views are nothing else, but sheer Ukraine-phobia.”

The abovementioned trends in covering what has been happening in Ukraine and propaganda of hatred are not a mere coincidence of editorial policies. It obviously is an example of a coordinated and planned activity in the media realm. In a monthly analysis in March

279. (Russian) Пресса Украины: В Одессе уже готовы убивать сепаратистов. URL: http://uapress.info/ru/news/show/20022

280. (Russian) Телеканал «1+1» от 14 марта 2014 г.: В Донецке пророссийские активисты пробивали головы и резали участников мирного митинга. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/v-donecke-prorossiyskie-aktivisty-probivali-golovy-i-rezali-uchastnikov-mirnogo-mitinga-354574.html
2014, experts of the Kiev POLITANALIZ center point out in the section called “Censorship in information space”: “Monitoring of Ukraine’s information space demonstrates an uncommon solidarity and uniformity in media coverage. There is hardly any information on separatist sentiments in the southeast or the support of Russia’s activities by Crimean population and no information on the problems of the armed forces of Ukraine and of the Interior Ministry. On the other hand, the media extensively spreads information on “Russian barnstormers” who allegedly represent all the protesters in the southeast of Ukraine against the regime. They also highlight “heroism” of the Ukrainian military putting up resistance in Crimea (although only two video materials are shown), etc. Journalist insights about contradictions and backstage of the regime in Ukraine have almost entirely disappeared.”

Experts of the Kievan counter PR group called Shchedrin, Noynets and TT set forth the substantive part of the propaganda of hatred. It is characteristic that they also authored and created the anti-Russian Petr i Mazepa website that is far from supporting the Anti-maidan. In the review dated May 18, 2014 titled “Why Ukrainian propaganda has not been working in Donetsk and Lugansk,” they wrote: “To begin with, let’s try to understand why the Ukrainian propaganda machine creates and maintains “enemy images” – the image of Ukraine’s foes, Donetsk and Lugansk armed separatists. A dominant message spread by the Kiev regime is DPR’s and LPR’s dysfunctionality. We all know how important it is to be able to notice newsworthy events fast and hype them up. In this regard, the gar-
land of victory is given to Ihor Kolomoisky’s media holding, but other media are also known for acting as a team. The news story about “a fight between separatists and terrorists” is a nicely planted fresh news story. The media said that supporters of the DPR who “were sorting things out, shouting, scuffling and shooting in the air” got into a fight at the square at the City Council in Horlivka. With just a few strokes, they smartly painted an image of confused and incompetent outlaws. This is one of many planted news stories, with this image almost fully formed as of today. Another feature of this image of separatist is acts of atrocity and shooting civilians. In this regard, the recent murder of a priest is noteworthy... Another characteristic of a typical DPR terrorist is hostage-taking. Publications on hostage-taking and detailed reports on hostages are well known to Ukrainian news readers and TV viewers. Most of such stories are quite true... In summary, a typical figure of the DPR: bandit/trickster, illiterate outcast who takes people hostage, kills civilians and sharing power with colleagues who are also bandits and separatists.”

Although this analysis was published only in mid-May 2014, the principles and approaches to rousing hatred set forth in the analysis had been used extensively at least since March, which is proved by the monitoring of Ukrainian media.

It has become common practice in Ukraine to justify the ongoing information campaign of hatred with Crimea joining Russia. However, as the above-mentioned examples vividly demonstrate, propaganda of extremism and hatred had begun long before

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282. (Russian) Щедрин, Нойнце и ТТ: Почему украинская пропаганда не работает в Донецке и Луганске. URL: https://www.facebook.com/werelamb/posts/252551088263580:0
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the Crimean events and soon became one of the causes of such events, rather than their effect.

Misanthropic ideas and extremism were instrumental for Euromaidan organizers in stimulating the “revolution.” Following the coup d’état, “the ideology of hatred” came to be important not only to foreign forces interested in the confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, but also to the Kiev regime itself as a means of self-preservation.

As of March 2014, political scientists assessed the radical propaganda of hatred in the following way: “Enemy image has become a means of saving the new revolutionary regime. Conflicts among revolutionary winners” following “the revolution” resulted in a danger of reaching a boiling point in an instant. Unsolvable contradictions between the new coalition in the Supreme Rada and right-wing radicals, conflicts between local members of regional Maidan branches and appointees from Kiev, the conflict between Tymoshenko and oligarchs, conflicts of interest between oligarch groups, between the Svoboda and the Right Sector, between Tymoshenko-Turchynov and Yatsenyuk-Martynenko groups, etc. These conflicts would have been widely covered by Ukrainian media and would have further destabilized the country. Every more or less significant appointment in Kiev and regions would have been a reason for a smaller or bigger confrontation. One would have been forecast difficulties for the new regime in neutralizing “the factor of the Maidan” that was going to carry out extensive activities to “control the regime” at least until the presidential election. However, developing an image of a “common enemy” gave Tymoshenko, Turchynov and Yatsenyuk a more than convincing argument in internal debates with opponents and rivals for spheres of influence to
insist in the need to “temporarily” remove all conflicts, to accept their rules of game, to stop public criticism of the regime, to stop opposing political appointments, to abstain from planting compromising information and organizing protests and to carry out joint control over information space. All parties and major players of Ukraine’s internal politics had to accept the mutual “non-aggression” pact. The information policy of hatred allowed the new regime to both “retouch” the conflicts inside itself and with surrounding centers of influence and to mobilize the public opinion.”  

According to experts, aggravating social and economic crisis in Ukraine, default trends, growing corruption and the new regime’s failure to fulfill key Euromaidan slogans (fighting corruption, successful European integration, new people in public offices, visa-free regime with the EU, etc.) were bound to lead to “a third Maidan.” Stirring up panic among the population because of the image of “the enemy” and propaganda of hatred towards the enemy, hatred in its extreme forms, was the only way-out for the new regime. Although “retouching” conflicts in the new regime and imposing taboos on its criticism did not last long, channeling internal protests into hatred towards a “common enemy” has become a consistent trend.

Early May 2014 was marked by the beginning of the civil war in Ukraine, with the slaughter of Anti-maidan participants in Odessa being its starting point. The information campaign and preparation de facto took all April.

283. (Russian) Центр «Политанализ», аналитический обзор за март 2014 г. «О некоторых аспектах политической ситуации в Украине»

Radical Ukrainian nationalists attacking participants in an Antimaidan protest in Zaporizhia on April 13, 2014 were portrayed by the media as an example of commendable civic behavior\(^\text{285}\). The media in Ukraine turned a blind eye to the fact that the radicals used guns and rocks. Similarly, the assault on Antimaidan protesters by Ukrainian nationalists in Mykolaiv on April 8 was presented in complementary tones, with Antimaidan activists portrayed as aggressors\(^\text{286}\). Disinformation on “atrocities committed by separatists” in Donbass, particularly in Slavyansk, was used as a factor provoking hatred\(^\text{287}\).

The intensity of emotions manifesting itself in the tragedy in the Odessa Trade Unions House on May 2 was covered by the media in tones justifying the crime: “Yesterday’s conflict between pro-Ukrainian protesters and pro-Russian activists that resulted in a tragedy had been provoked by some armed separatists. With the connivance of the police that failed to take measures to prevent the use of at least automatic firearms, the latter shot at ultras which, in the end, resulted in aggravating the situation.”\(^\text{288}\)

Just like officials, Ukrainian media interpreted the tragedy to have happened because of actions by for-

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\(^{286}\) (Russian) ТСН: В Николаеве сепаратисты вооружились битами, пистолетами и ножами для штурма ОГА. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/foto/v-nikolaevse-separatisty-vooruzhilis-bitami-pistoletami-i-nozhami-dlya-shturma-oga-359404.html

\(^{287}\) (Russian) ОстроВ: Жизнь за флаг страны. Как рашисты пытаются и убивают патриотов. URL: http://www.ostro.org/general/society/articles/443375

\(^{288}\) (Russian) Пресса Украины: Трагедию в Одессе спровоцировали сепаратисты, вооруженные автоматами. URL: http://uapress.info/ru/news/show/23542
eign infiltrators – Colorado beetles, rather than by citizens of Ukraine – “The fire in Odessa killed citizens of Russia and Transnistria,”289 “Foreigners took part in the mass unrest in Odessa, some died. The clashes were paid for by separatists.”290

Thus, the propaganda division of citizens of Ukraine into two categories: “Ukrainian activists”, “patriots” and “conscious citizens”, on the one hand, and “vataniki”, “militants’-for-hire”, “bandits”, “sadists”, “Colorado beetles”, “separatists” and “foreign infiltrators”, on the other, was drawn and sealed with blood.

Thus sealing the division, the authorities of Ukraine and the media cleared the way to justifying any violence, including repressions, torture and shelling, towards “sadist militants,” the notion embracing millions of civilians.

Justification of Genocide of Civilians and War Crimes

During May 2014, Ukrainian media added even brighter colors and a new epithet – “terrorists” – to the previously created image of the enemy. Supporters and residents of self-proclaimed DPR and LPR could be accused of being terrorists under any pretext ranging from a blatant fake (misinformation) to obviously manipulative “author interpretations.” A clear illustra-
tion of this idea is media coverage of events on May 29, 2014 when a group of militiamen accompanied by relatives of Ukrainian conscripts came to a military unit of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on the outskirts of Lugansk. Influenced by the relatives, conscripts laid down arms and left the unit.

Ukrainian media interpreted the event as “terrorists taking relatives hostage.” Without citing any facts or eyewitness testimonies, solely based on the premise that parents of Ukrainian soldiers themselves could not want their children safe from harm from possible military action; therefore, their mothers had been threatened reprisals.

Editor-in-chief of the Petr i Mazepa website Oleksandr Noynets wrote: “The DPR and LPR are terrorist organizations that will hide in residential houses, take civilians hostage and live on arms smuggling and organ trafficking. Over three months, these bastards have degenerated from “the Russian spring” to Kadyrov supporters, cut-out hearts and members of family taken hostage... It is not easy to drive me mad. It is not easy to make me wish death upon my neighbor. I am ready to quietly watch people steal, sell drugs, divide countries into pieces, insult each other and topple governments... But in this case, guys from the DPR and LPR have outdone themselves and got through to my dead heart. They should all be killed as soon as possible. They are pure evil.”

Media coverage of Donbass residents’ “sadism” is mass-scale and obviously aimed at spreading panic and rousing hatred using fakes and blatant disinformation: “It has been established that on May 9 [2014],

291. (Russian) Пётр и Мазепа: Донбасс и ХАМАС. URL: http://petrimazepa.com/ua/hamas.html
292. Oleksandr Noynets’s page on Facebook. URL: https://www.facebook.com/naga.adsumus/posts/703722709665829
terrorists savagely shot dead a husband and a wife driving in cars with firearms. The murdered were self-employed.”293; “In Mariupol, terrorists show outrageous cruelty and atrocities. Thus, they cut off ears and poked eyes out of already dead Serhiy Demidenko from the Dnipropetrovsk territorial defense brigade.”294; “Yesterday, terrorists coordinated by an external aggressor shot dead a 44-year-old Orthodox priest at a checkpoint near the city Druzhkivka in Donetsk Oblast.”295; “On Friday, in the same location, two drunk “extremists” with an assault rifle shot dead a 31-year-old military, a leader of border-control commandant’s office.”296; “Volunteer Vasiliy Kozak had been held hostage by militants for two weeks and sustained horrible tortures. He was tortured with electric current and his ribs were broken. Vasiliy survived miraculously and returned home. The man is now recovering in a Kherson hospital.”297

293. (Russian) Цензор: На Луганщине террористы зверски расстреляли супружескую пару на глазах у их несовершеннолетней дочери. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/284629/na_luganschine_terroristy_zverski_rasstrelyali_suprujeskuyu_paru_na_glazah_u_ih_nesovershennoletneyi

294. (Russian) Цензор: В Мариуполе чеченские наемники уже мертвому замкомандира батальона «Днепр» отрезали уши и выкололи глаза. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/284622/v_mariupole_chechenskie_naemniki_uje_mertvomu_zamkomandira_batalyiona_dnepr_otrezali_ushi_i_vykololi

295. (Russian) Цензор: Прокуратура расследует убийство священника в Константиновке. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/284632/prokuratura_rassleduet_ubiyistvo_svyaschennika_v_konstantinovke_nelyudi_vypustili_v_svyatogo_ottoma_8


297. (Russian) 24 канал: Пленного волонтера сепаратисты пытали током. URL: http://24tv.ua/ru/ukraina/plennogo_volontera_separatisty_pyatali_tokom/n564720
Can one say that such propaganda is simply a part of the civil war and is solely characteristic of opponents of the Kiev regime who took up arms? The format of Ukrainian propaganda fails to differentiate between armed militiamen and civilians and even more so entirely blurs the distinction between a warring party and civilians of the territories, thus leading to a firm conclusion that this is a war against both the armed formations of the DPR and LPR and the population of Donbass in general.

An analysis of most Ukrainian media suggest that they rouse hatred towards all the six million people living in Donbass, as well as millions of people from other regions of the southeast of Ukraine who sympathize with them. They not only rouse hatred, but also call directly for exterminating the civilian population, including children and women who Kiev was allegedly going to “protect” and “liberate”: “Donbass has gained itself a reputation of the separatists’ territory. Let us be honest: over the last decade, the number of decent people over there has significantly shrunk. Intelligent people left due to the lack of comfortable and fair wage and an aggressive, unrefined environment.”

pening in the east of the country.” 299; “Donbass wanted a lot to be heard in Ukraine. Now, it is heard by the entire world that watches the videos and can see true Donbass people celebrating the crash of the [Malaysia Airlines] plane. The world can also see them emptying suitcases, taking jewelry off the dead bodies, checking wallets and picking up scrap metal.” 300; “So the options with separatists are few: either you liquidate them, or you will live in constant fear of a new war. Do you really think that at least some of separatists’ kids will grow up patriots of Ukraine? For a child his father is the best hero in the world, and when he grows up, he will try to take revenge for his father’s death and will hit your child on the sly. Do you know what the worst atrocities and horrors of a civil war are? If we don’t finish a separatist family off, they will finish ours off. If we want this territory to be ours, we need to cleanse it of separatists, including women and children” 301; “It is a gangrene that should be cut out. Of course, there are many questions regarding our people being there. But we do not have any other way out. What is more, all of the most pro-Ukraine citizens have already left Donbass.” 302

Therefore, the propaganda in Ukrainian media interprets the genocide of Donbass residents in two

301. (Ukrainian) Борисполь рынок: Психология громадянської війни. URL: http://www.borinfo.com.ua/boryspil-products-news-2014-12-%E2%84%96%20454-5
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ways: either it justifies it as “Lugandonia residents’ choice”, or it denies the genocide. Such eclecticism is typical of Ukrainian media that successfully combine mutually exclusive theses and interpretations.

International community has many times resented Ukrainian media extensively interpreting atrocities committed by the Armed Forces of Ukraine and punitive battalions as “shelling by terrorists of their own cities and villages.” Such an interpretation of what has been happening in the war zone has become a yardstick of information cynicism and a natural continuation of the respective media coverage of killing civilians in Odessa on May 2, 2014, when Ukrainian media accused the victims of the crime themselves in setting fire to the Trade Unions House.

Since May 2014 onward, these canons of disinformation have been strictly observed by both official spokespeople of Ukrainian defense and law enforcement agencies and journalists of respective media.

Although such disinformation has become notorious, it makes sense to give a few examples of coverage by Ukrainian media of war crimes committed by law enforcement officers: “Armed separatists are shelling residential houses in Slavyansk and are hiding behind locals, the Special Operations Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine reported on Monday, May 5 [2014]”303; “ On May 26, to discredit Ukrainian law enforcement in the anti-terrorist operation, the NONA self-propelled artillery captured by militiamen shelled residential neighborhoods of Slavyansk and Semyonovka, as reported by Ukraine’s anti-terrorist operation spokesperson Vladislav Seleznev on his Facebook

Russophobia and Extremism in the Media

Ukrainian media and official spokespeople for the Kiev regime often focus on allegedly unjustified accusations against today’s Ukraine of discriminating against Russians and Russian-speaking population. According to them, propaganda of fascism and Nazism in Ukraine is a mere fiction of the Russian propaganda that serves the dictatorial and fascist regime.

However, the Ukrainian propaganda dividing people into “patriots” and “vatniki” (including all citizens who are loyal to the Russian culture, history and government) can only be regarded as a manifestation of an extreme form of chauvinism. According to the Ukrainian propaganda, self-identification as a Russian and loyalty to Russia or the Russian civilization as a whole is a reason enough for being considered a “lesser human.” Such an attitude is typical of not only a couple of marginal authors and media. The evidence is obvious – over the period of instability in Ukraine starting

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with the coup d’

d’état and onward, not a single criminal

case has been initiated in Ukraine on charges of propa-
ganda of ethnic and religious hatred and calls for a war
although these are punishable acts under the Crimi-
nal Code of Ukraine. Such encouragement of extrem-
ism, chauvinism and anti-Russian sentiments by
the authorities demonstrates government approval
of the propaganda.

It tends to combine in a single enemy image such
notions as the Russian World, Russian civilization,
Russia and Russians: “The Moscow Orthodox civili-
ization specializes in banditry and inequality”\textsuperscript{306}; “In-
deed, nationalists used to say that Russia is our etern-
al (historic and geopolitical) number-one enemy and
its goal is to conquer or exterminate Ukraine. Every-
one can now see how it works. But why don’t they go
further to realize the truth? Nationalists now say that
until Ukrainization – which should be called de-Russ-
sification – of ourselves, our conscience and language
is completed, until then we won’t defeat our enemy
and will depend on it spiritually. Even odious Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Russia Lavrov openly admits
that Russia is against Ukrainization of Ukraine. De-
Russification of death!”\textsuperscript{307}; “Today’s Russia is not dan-
gerous because of its armored vehicles or Grad rocket
launchers, but because of its unique archaic style, its
aspiration to plunge the surroundings into the past. It
reminds of a Neanderthal with a club who burst into
a modern metropolis and is attacking carefree hip-
sters. Because Russia truly likes to reside in the part.

\textsuperscript{306.} (Russian) Телеканал ICTV, сюжет в рамках проекта
www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ZU4kP1GBn8

\textsuperscript{307.} (Ukrainian) Газета.UA: Українці усвідомили, хто ворог, проте
не діють далі. URL: http://gazeta.ua/articles/sogodennya/_ukrayinci-
usvidomili-hto-vorog-prote-ne-diyut-dali/623453
Because it was cool in the 1940s. Because grandfathers fought and their proud descendants have failed to learn something else over 70 years.”

Titles like “Degenerate. A portrait of a typical Russian” are quite common to Ukrainian media. Anti-Russian sentiments of the national information policy is vividly expressed in the video called “The truth about a Russian occupant.” The video is a response of the Ministry of information policy of Ukraine to a private undertaking video titled “I am a Russian occupant.” When assessing this product, it is important to take into account the fact that the Ukrainian video was created and promoted on the part of “the Information Forces of Ukraine,” an official project of a department within the Cabinet of ministers of Ukraine in charge of the information policy.

The video draws an image of a Russian, obviously insulting and provoking hatred. The narrator speaks on his behalf: “I occupied Siberia and I don’t care about the local population. I am not going to build new roads and new cities there. I don’t care about abandoned Siberian villages. Let Yakuts, Enenks and Buryats drink in dirty huts while I am stealing their mineral resources. When I squeeze out of Siberia everything I need, I will set up a nuclear test base there. But is someone is unhappy about it, recall Chechnya. I will come and kill a hundred thousand civilians just because I am a Rus-

308. (Ukrainian) Українська правда: Сімдесять років самотності. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2015/05/7/7066469
310. (Russian) Інформаційні війська України: Правда про руського оккупанта. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJwH1FdtI3Y
311. I'm a Russian Occupant [Subtitles]. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T65SwzHAbes
sian occupant. And I don’t care... I hated Baltic countries on the quiet because it looked like a foreign country. I occupied Central Asia and established my own order there. I burned auls to the ground; for I am a bloodthirsty punitive murderer. I occupied Ukraine because I am nothing without Kiev. Ukrainians are too independent and I just had to punish them. I starved to death millions of Ukrainians and took away their property. And I hanged or shot dead those especially proud. I eliminated their languages and tied to crush their will. But I failed. So then I decided to wage an open war against Ukraine... And Kiev is not my goal. I want to enter Europe by an armored vehicle because they live too well and they should be punished. I am used to telling everyone that Russians never start wars and never lose. But I myself know and won’t tell anyone how Lithuanians crushed us in the Battle of Orsha, how Swedes defeated in the Battle of Narva, how Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars gave us a hard time in the Battle of Konotop. I will keep quiet about the humiliating Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Russia’s defeat in the First World War. I won’t tell anyone how Hitler and I attacked Poland. And how we later arranged Katyn for the Poles and very recently Smolensk. But you don’t know history, so I will lie to you about the Russian victories. Although on the quiet, I feel bitter and ashamed because I am an aggressive dumb Russian scum. I have nothing to share with the world, besides wars and destruction. It has been like that historically. I am a Russian occupant, so I will come to kill you tomorrow. And when I come by an armored vehicle to you, very soon, your life will be as shitty as it is in Russia. Do you think you can now stop me after all?”

The propaganda of hatred towards the Russian civilization as well as towards Russians in general and all
dissenters closely tied with justification of mass extermination needs to be ideologically substantiated. Without an official ideology, the post-Maidan Ukraine and the media serving as a propaganda bullhorn, nevertheless, look for ideological substantiation of their positions and assessments in the ideological base of the Stepan Bandera Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and collaborationist Ukrainian Insurgent Army whose activities are regarded as an example of “national liberation fight against Moscow.” Integration of neo-Nazi organizations and groups into government bodies and law enforcement and defense is a separate topic in this report.

We are witnessing ubiquitous integration of symbols and basic elements of Ukrainian nationalism as an ideology into the official discourse of the Ukrainian regime and individual government bodies (the legislation banning glorification of the Red Army victories during the Great Patriotic War, criticism of the OUN-UPA and declaring Nazism accessories as Ukraine’s freedom fighters and introduction of official celebration of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army creation, etc.). Most radical adherents of this ideology currently either cooperate with the regime or hold government positions. This is also true of the “social-national” movement.

In Ukraine, the movement is represented by two closely related organizations, namely the Social-National Assembly and its youth wing of the Ukrainian Patriot. The nature of the ideology of these organizations is more than transparent from “White Chief’s Word”, the strategic work by Andriy Biletskiy, the founder of the SNA and people’s deputy of Ukraine: “It is the competition of nations that creates the history of mankind. The history of mankind of created by chiefs who are superhumans made for this very goal
by nature and providence. A chief is not just a leader. A chief cannot be appointed or elected. A chief can only be felt. And when feeling the chief, some get enthusiastic and follow him, while others are afraid and try to stop his advance at all cost... Every inch of this land is filled with blood of our ancestors. They didn’t pay this price for nothing. Only those who build have the right to rule. In Ukraine, only Ukrainians can enjoy this right!... A race is everything for a nation. A race is the foundation for the structure in the form of a national culture that in its turn also stems from a racial nature of the people, rather than a language, religion or economy.”

Oleh Odnorozhenko, the ideologue of the Ukrainian Patriot and SNA, whites in his strategic article called “Social-nationalist movement and its main tasks”: “Curative measures of the Ukrainian National Revolution have been helping to establish in the Ukrainian Power a political, social and economic order based on the principle of nation-rule, which is to ensure comprehensive and maximum development of the Ukrainian Power and its individual representatives, as well we to prepare Ukraine for a further expansion and fight for liberation of the entire White Race from the domination of the global speculative capital.”

The similarity between the SNA and the Azov battalion is an open secret to Ukrainian journalists and the public. A scandal that had to do with the Nazi character of the most popular volunteer battalion broke in the summer of 2014, but had no consequences. At the same time, it is the Azov battalion that hold lead-

312. (Russian) Andriy Biletsky, biography. URL: https://vk.com/wall-67175123_55
ing positions in Ukrainian TV stories and publications in the media promoting “the heroism of patriots in Donbass”: “Sergey Korotkikh [a citizen of Byelorussia known as Malyuta in the radical-nationalist circles] is an indisputable hero for Ukrainians. He has taken part in all major operations of the Azov battalion, fought in the Battle of Ilovaisk, was the first to carry out reconnaissance there and later fended off attacks of separatists in the Battle of Mariupol. Of course, he has earned respect in Ukraine and Ukrainian citizenship.”314; “Children have been told about ATO heroes in the form of a fairy tale. Zvonka Torokhtushko, a writer from Ternopil, wrote “Protector lightning bug-” fairy tale to explain to kids where fallen warriors disappeared. Her son was her inspiration while an Azov battalion fighter served as a prototype of the main character.”315; “Azov regiment fighters carried out tactical training with arms for senior high-school students. We believe that seniors should know how to handle arms to be real men. In the current circumstances, it is important to be ready for being able to have to defend the honor and independence of the Motherland one day.”316; “A video showing a forced march of Azov fighters from Mariupol to the battle position has been posted online. Brave guys went to the positions carrying the blue-yellow flag and to the accompaniment of the Cossack march. On the way to the positions, they chanted nationalist slogans about death to enemies.”317

314. (Russian) Українська правда: Герої – між прошлым і навіть не тільки. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/columns/2015/01/24/7056192
315. (Russian) Главное: Боец батальона «Азов» стал героем сказки. URL: http://glavnoe.ua/news/n226639
316. (Ukrainian) Київська правда: Столичних школярів вчили стріляти з автомату. URL: http://kiev.pravda.com.ua/news/54d4931182786
Thus, Ukrainian media have become a solid ground to promote neo-Nazi organizations, form the cult of “heroes” taking part in their activities and recruit potential supporters and members.

Mainstream Ukrainian media have been unoriginal in their search for a historical justification of the ideology of hatred. Like during Viktor Yushchenko’s presidency, collaborationists from the WWII Ukrainian nationalist formations served as an object of heroization. However, while previously the focus used to be on “whitewashing” the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that, according to an author’s version of Ukrainian and Canadian researchers, allegedly played a controversial role “waging a war both against the Red Army and Wehrmacht divisions,” the situation has changed now. Mainstream Ukrainian media are now starting to heroize and turn into a role model SS divisions themselves. The trend is not new and was previously seen in both the Ukrainian historiography and the media. However, it was after “the revolution of dignity” that it has become so widespread and was formalized in legislation in the spring of 2015 as the Law of Ukraine “On the legal status and memory of fighters of independence of Ukraine in the 20th century.” Here are some examples of publication about old-new revisionist heroes of Ukraine: “April 27 [2014] saw Vyshyvanka Parade in honor of an anniversary of the Galician Waffen SS division.”318; “The 201st security guard battalion whose commander was Shukhevych belonged to service support units of the 3rd Wehrmacht armored army, rather than SS divisions. The unit existed for just a year, 

318. (Russian) Цензор: Кремлевские провокаторы не смогли реализовать во Львове свои планы. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/283005/kremlevskie_provokatory_ne_smogli_realizovat_vo_lvove_svoi_plany_seh
particularly in the territory of Byelorussia from March to December 1942, when there was no mass guerrilla movement here.”319; “May 4, 2015 saw a ceremony in honor of fallen warriors for Ukraine in the 1940-50s at the grave of the Galician division fighters in Podgortys in Brodovksy region. Deputy head of the Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union Oleh Pankevych, a member of the political council of the Svoboda Iryna Sekh, members of the Lviv Oblast Council and Svoboda party representatives Yaroslav Kravchenko, Vladimir Chekhut and Teodor Kukuruza and Head of the Brodovsk District Council Olha Shaydullina, took part in the event.”320

De-emphasis of the massacre of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia by Ukrainian media has played a significant role in the historical revisionism and creation of a heroic history of the national-liberation movement of the country that leaders of Ukraine and participants in volunteer battalions associate themselves with321. During the massacre, militants of the OUN-UPA slaughtered nearly a hundred thousand Polish peasants in Volhynia that back then, was a part of Poland occupied by Nazis. Like in the Odessa scenario, there have been attempts to accuse victims themselves in the tragedy and/or to lower the responsibility of Ukrainian nationalist formations: “According to the historian, the Ukrainian-Polish conflict

319. (Ukrainian) Правительственный курьер: Брехня до героїв не пристає. URL: http://ukurier.gov.ua/uk/articles/brehnya-do-geroyiv-ne-pristaye
in Volhynia in 1942-1943 was nothing but a fight for the borderline – Ukrainians sought to establish borders of the independent Ukraine while the Poles tried to expand the borders of their future revived nation-state. However, the onset of the Second World War made adjustments to the plans of both the Ukrainian and Polish sides.”322; “The only truth here is that UPA fighters did commit genocide against Poles in Volhynia, which is to be condemned undisputedly. However, to be fair, it should be noted that there was a genocide against Ukrainians by Poles. At the same time, at least than 60 thousand Poles from the civilian population as well as about 15 thousand Ukrainians from the civilian population were killed. This ethnic cleansing was a result of a centuries-old confrontation between the OUN and the Polish state, but in this case, the UPA did not work in cooperation with the Germans.”323

Freedom of Speech at Gunpoint

On June 24, 2014, the National Union of Journalists of Ukraine published “recommendations” for journalists regarding media coverage of military actions in Donbass. The document, among other things, said: “Today’s problems in the South and East of Ukraine also stem to a significant degree from the propaganda carried out for years by Russia through its own me-

322. (Russian) GazetaUA: Конфликт между украинцами и поляками на Волыни был борьбой за границу. URL: http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/history/_konflikt-mezhdu-ukraincami-i-polyakami-na-volyni-byloborboj-za-granicu-ivan-patrilyak/625163

323. (Ukrainian) День: Друга світова війна та Україна. URL: http://m.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/ukrayina-incognita/pro-krivi-dzerkala-rosiyskoyi-istoriyi
dia and cinema in our territory with full involvement of Ukrainian authorities... Do not help the enemy to mislead citizens of Ukraine – many of them hesitate when hearing names of battalions if those are Ukrainian or Russian divisions. Instead of such names of battalions as Aidar, Dnipro, Azov, it is better to use such word combinations as “the Ukrainian military”, “a territorial battalion” or “the Ukrainian army.” It is better to say “Kadyrov’s mercenaries” instead of the Vostok battalion.

The recommendations are markedly voluntary. However, the expressions like “follow your own conscious” or “those who love our country” imply possible consequences for “the lack of love” or “wrong conscious,” which is quite obvious for Ukrainian journalists.

Acting CEO of National Television Company Oleksandr Panteleymonov was the first to experience consequences of failing to meet the government information guidelines. Panteleymonov dared to broadcast the Crimea ascension to the Russian Federation ceremony in the Kremlin: “Tuesday night [March 18, 2014] nationalist Svoboda Party MPs beat CEO of National Television Company of Ukraine and Pervy Natsionalny TV channel Oleksandr Panteleymonov and forces him to sign a resignation letter. Interrogation of Oleksandr Panteleymonov went on outside, in the yard of the TV channel.”

Since May 2014, Vesti Mass Media, a Ukrainian media company controlling the Vesti website, Vesti news-


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paper, Vesti radio and Vesti. Reporter magazine, has been a regular object of attacks. The attacks were triggered by journalists of the media group trying to follow an unbiased editorial policy, which caused accusations of “separatism” and “completing Kremlin’s orders.” Both law enforcement bodies and radical right-wing groups started to pressurize journalists: “Investigators of the Financial Investigation Bureau at the Chief Directorate of the Ministry of Inland Revenue in Sumy Oblast have carried out a warranted search in the Kiev office of Vesti Mass Media and seized 2.5 million hryvnia. Information on sources of financing of the company’s illegal activities, including financial help from abroad, is also being looked into.”³²⁶

Moreover, 112 Channel came under pressure because journalists of the channel give a chance to have their say on air to various forces, including both regime representatives and members of Ukrainian nationalist organizations as well as the opposition. Because of that, the channel has been threatened repeatedly followed by attempts to fulfill the threats: “An incendiary bottle was thrown in the building where 112 Ukraine Channel is located, the media office of the channel has reported.”³²⁷

Even TV channels that take part in the propaganda of hatred towards Donbass residents and Russians from time to time come under attack and pressure in case they fail to demonstrate enough eagerness to rouse anti-Russian and anti-Donbass sentiments. Thus, for

³²⁶. (Russian) LB.ua: Миндоходов изъяло 2,5 млн гривен при обыске офиса газеты «Вести» в Киеве. URL: http://society.lb.ua/accidents/2014/05/24/267526_mindohodov_izyalo_25_mln_griven.html

example, ICTV Channel suffered for broadcasting Russian-made TV shows.

Inter TV Channel was on the verge of being banned for daring to broadcast a New Year’s eve concert with the participation of Russian entertainment stars: “The expert commission on film exhibition ruled that Inter’s information policy was contributing the Russian propaganda. The TV channel’s license may be revoked.”\(^\text{328}\)

Journalists of both central and local media come under pressure and attack or are arrested. For instance, on December 10, 2014, in Zaporizhia, officers of the Security Service of Ukraine kidnapped Oleksandr Gaydruk, the editor of the Zerkalo Zaporizhia Internet-based media who expressed a critical opinion on the new regime\(^\text{329}\). On January 10, 2015, unknown men threw incendiary bottles into the windows of the Kharkiv office of Slavyanka newspaper and left a sign saying “preventing lies” on the building\(^\text{330}\).

The above-mentioned examples of pressure of the media are just an insignificant illustration of the full-scale comprehensive crackdowns on media freedom and freedom of speech in Ukraine. As of the moment, the murder of a famous writer and opposition journalist Oles Buzina on April 16, 2015, is the most tragic manifestation of the ongoing witchhunt in Ukraine.

\(^{328}\) (Russian) Цензор: «Интер» в условиях войны работает на врага: телеканал лишат лицензии за российскую пропаганду и Кобзона с Газмановым в новогоднюю ночь. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/318804/inter_v_usloviyah_voyiny_rabotaet_na_vraga_telekanal_lishat_litsenzii_zaRossiyiskuyu_propagandu_i_kobzona

\(^{329}\) (Russian) Политнавигатор: В Запорожье СБУ похитили и избили журналиста. URL: http://www.politnavigator.net/v-zaporozhe-sbu-pokhishhen-i-izbit-zhurnalista.html

\(^{330}\) (Russian) 057: В окна офиса газеты «Славянка» неизвестные бросили бутылки с зажигательными смесями. URL: http://www.057.ua/news/708195
In most cases, journalists and media workers who have also suffered not only fail to condemn arrests and murders of their colleagues, but also often approve of them. Politicians and government officials do not hesitate to give their approval. All in all, propaganda of extremism, intolerance and anti-Russian sentiments has become the main function of most Ukrainian media controlled by ruling oligarchs and Ukrainian special services.
Cooperation between Extremists and Security Services

The Right Sector that is comprised of representatives of the fan community, subcultures, various nationalist organizations (including militarized ones) was a major driving forces of the Maidan and its victory. After the Euromaidan had won, the Right Sector did not only form a volunteer Ukrainian battalion to take part in military actions in the territory of Donbass, but also became actively involved in political and criminal activities. Two representatives of the Right Sector (its leader Dmytro Yarosh and his assistant Boryslav Bereza who left the organization in December 2014) got into the Supreme Rada of the 8th convocation, thus giving a bigger significance to the Right Sector as a political force.

Entering Ukraine’s legal political field has not changed the criminal nature of activities of many Right Sector members. They have been involved in racketing, assault, including on government officials and law enforcement officers, arms smuggling and robbery going unpunished. The organization has played

331. (Russian) Вести: Новые власти позволяют боевикам из "Правого сектора" любые бесчинства.URL: http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1383401
332. (Russian) Ю. Шеляженко // Эхо Москвы: Криминал под брендом правого сектора. URL: http://echo.msk.ru/blog/shelya/1346832-echo
an important role in redistribution of wealth, often times serving as a means of raider attacks the number of which has dramatically increased since “the revolution of dignity” won in Ukraine\(^{335, 336}\). What is more, the Right Sector played an especially outstanding role during the snap presidential and parliamentary elections when members and supporters of the organization served as a tool of political terror and took an active part in assault and attacks on undesirable candidates going completely unpunished for these crimes\(^{337, 338}\).

Despite the obvious problems with law, the Right Sector and personally Yarosh have long-standing close relations with Head of the Security Service of Ukraine Valentin Nalyvaichenko (served as Head of the SSU in 2006-2010, as well as since February 24, 2014), who was suspected in working on the CIA and escaped prosecution only thanks to the victory of the Maidan\(^{339, 340}\).

As far back as 2009, in his introduction to the book by Dmytro Yarosh called “Nation and State,” Valentin Nalyvaichenko calls the Stepan Bandera Tryzub (the or-

\(^{335}\) (Russian) Е. Поддубный // Вести-7: Большой украинский перередел. URL: http://vesti7.ru/news?id=42532

\(^{336}\) (Russian) С. Ильченко // Свободная пресса: Ярош пошёл за хлебушком. URL: http://svpressa.ru/politic/article/117679

\(^{337}\) (Russian) РИА Новости: "Правый сектор" взял ответственность за избиение Царева в Николаеве. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140409/1003225206.html

\(^{338}\) (Russian) Главпост: Исчез член "Правого сектора", избивший Шуфрича в Одессе. URL: http://glavpost.com/post/7oct2014/Crime/2290-sektor.html

\(^{339}\) (Russian) LB.ua: ГПУ завела дело по сотрудничеству Наливайченко с ЦРУ. URL: http://lb.ua/news/2013/09/06/224464 gpu_zavela_deko_sotrudnichestvu.html

ganization that later became the core of the Right Sector and also headed by Yarosh) his partners, a brother organization and one of the most powerful Ukrainian patriotic forces: “The Tryzub for me are important partners and a brother organization. It is an organization for which ideas are guidance on action, rather not a façade or a cover-up of pious words. It is one of the most powerful Ukrainian patriotic forces.

Together, we are fighting against privatization of Pochayiv Lavra, a national historical and spiritual shrine of various denominations. Together, we set up monuments, restore graves of fighters for Ukraine’s freedom, arrange public events and defend national and social rights of Ukrainians.

I am grateful to the Tryzub for cooperation, for its fair share of contribution to our joint actions. We would have failed in many ways but for its activists ready for everything for the sake of the Ukrainian cause.

Dmytro Yarosh, the guide and head of the Tryzub, is an intellectual and organizer at the same time. His job is the cast mold of our time and directions into the future. And even disagreeing with his individual positions, I will point out: today when there are not enough proactive patriots, he leads the Tryzub this way.

I wish Dmytro and the Organization that he is entrusted with leading strength and inspiration, the feeling of the Spirit of Ancestors and I hope for dozens and hundreds of joint projects in the future.”

Joint projects ensued in just a few years. A number of other leaders of the Security Service of Ukraine expressed a positive attitude to the Tryzub. Here is a quote from Yarosh’s address to his fellow members

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341. (Ukrainian) В. Наливайченко. Передмова // Д. Ярош. Нация і революція. URL: http://banderivets.org.ua/peredmova-valentyn-nalyvajchenko.html
of the movements in 2012: “Many of the generals and officers of the SSU understood back then that organizations like “the Tryzub are not anti-government formations, but rather a backbone of Ukraine.”342

Nalyvaichenko appointed the leader of the Stepan Bandera Tryzub Dmytro Yarosh as his assistant-consultant when he was a Supreme Rada deputy from the UDAR Party. In addition, he personally attended military and sport events of the Tryzub where he addressed participants in the organization (for example, in July 2012 at a training camp in the territory of the Uniate Church complex in the Zarvanitsa village of Ternopol oblast).343, 344

After Nalyvaichenko returned to the position of the head of the SSU following the February 2014 coup d’état in Ukraine, it emerged that Ukrainian right-wing radicals participated in operations of Ukrainian security services against Russia. For instance, on April 3, the Federal Security Service of Russia announced it had tracked and detained 25 citizens of Ukraine who were planning subversive and terrorist acts within March 14 to 16, 2014 in seven regions of Russia (Rostov, Volgograd, Tver, Orlov, Belgorod Oblasts, Kalmyk Republic and Tatarstan). There were Right Sector representatives among the subversive agents detained.345

342. (Ukrainian) Д. Ярош: Слово до побратимів: «Минуле, сучасне, майбутнє».
343. (Russian) М. Найем // Украинская правда: За кулисами Правого сектора.
URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/articles/2014/04/1/7020952
344. (Russian) И. Счастливый: Глава СБУ — В.Наливайченко с Д.Ярощем создали "Тризуб" им. С.Бандеры и организовали Майдан?
URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpPvYtYkuXg
345. (Russian) РИА Новости: ФСБ задержала украинских радикалов, прошедших инструктаж СБУ.
URL: http://ria.ru/incidents/20140404/1002454021.html
Later on, the cooperation between Ukrainian radicals and the SSU became even closer. Sources in the intelligence reported that the Right Sector that had been under the wing of Ukrainian special services even before the Maidan started to turn into “all but a structural division of the SSU” after the regime change.\textsuperscript{346} 2015 seems to have brought about a trend of the Ukrainian special services to form special divisions out of nationalist groups as well as radical who came back from the ATO zone to prevent potential anti-government demonstrations and unrest. Such divisions of extremists have already dispersed several protests of those unhappy with the policy of the Kiev authorities.\textsuperscript{347} 348\textsuperscript{.} Opposite processes have begun: the SSU itself started to actively involve and recruit right-wing radicals as staff employees. These trends unfold as part of lustration in Ukraine that was a major demand of the Maidan. The Law on lustration signed by Petro Poroshenko on October 9, 2014 became the legal framework for removing political undesirables from power.\textsuperscript{349} On November 24, the SSU started employee examination. According to Nalyvaichenko, over 2.5 thousand people, with 108 them holding leading positions, had been fired in the SSU even before the law on lustration was adopted.\textsuperscript{350} On April 5, 2015, Nalyvaichenko said that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{346} (Russian) Сегодня: Киев обновляет СБУ. URL: http://www.segodnia.ru/content/136358
  \item \textsuperscript{347} (Russian) А. Браткова: Украинские спецслужбы создают армию из радикалов. URL: http://vesti-ukr.com/kiiev/96547-ukrainskie-specsluzhby-sozdajut-armii-iz-radikalov
  \item \textsuperscript{348} (Russian) Газета.ru: Третий «майдан» оказался недолгим. URL: http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2015/06/08_a_6834421.shtml
  \item \textsuperscript{349} (Ukrainian) Закон Украины "Про очищення влади". URL: http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1682-vii
  \item \textsuperscript{350} (Russian) ЛИГА.Новости: В рамках люстрации уволены более 2,5 тыс чиновников СБУ. URL: http://news.liga.net/news/politics/4098859-v_ramkah_lyustratsii_uvoleny_bolee_2_5_tys_chinovnikov_sbu.htm
\end{itemize}
over 100 middle management employees failed lustration examination commissions and were removed from their positions, with the lustration still going on in the oblast and district subdivisions of the SSU351. Participants in the ATO in Donbass, including those with ardently neo-Nazi views, fill in the lack of employees of the Security Service352.

According to some sources, before the Maidan events in 2013-2014, militants of the would be Right Sector underwent training not only in Ukraine, but also in Poland and Baltic countries coordinated by officers of NATO member-states353 although it is prohibited by the laws of Ukraine and documents regulating its relations with the Alliance. The SSU and foreign intelligence services (mostly of the US) have been connected for a very long time. In 2000, the media released information on regular contacts between the SSU leadership and the CIA and data on permanent consultations between Ukrainian intelligence officers and representatives of the US station in Kiev. According to First Deputy Prosecutor General of Ukraine Renat Kuzmin former Head of the SSU and Oleksandr Yakymenko, Valentin Nalyvaichenko who first took charge of the SSU in 2006 was recruited by the US intelligence services when he was serving as the Consul General in the Ukrainian

351. (Ukrainian) УкрІнформ: В СБУ не пройшли люстрацію більше сотні керівників.
   URL: http://www.ukrinform.ua/ukr/news/v_sbu_ne_proyshli_lyustratsiyu_bлизко_сотні_керівників_2039949

352. (Russian) А. Аваков: Государственную безопасность Украины будут защищате неонацисты – это последствие люстрации.

353. (Russian) НТВ: «Правда о Майдане пробивает дорогу»: на откровения польского депутата отреагировали в Москве.
   URL: http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1396780/
Embassy in the US. Ukrainian sources say that during the February 2014 unrest on the Maidan, American intelligence services occupied an entire floor of the SSU building. Moreover, the Ukrainian law enforcement – with the help of volunteer formations filled with radicals – started a special operation against supporters of self-determination of the southeast of Ukraine right after the visit of CIA director John Brennan to Kiev. In June 2014, some internal communications of SSU employees became available to the public and it emerged that the government structure was being filled in a fast-track regime with English-speaking specialists from abroad who in essence ran Ukraine’s intelligence services. As of the moment, according to some sources, many of the radicals recruited by the SSU undergo initial training in foreign countries. According to Nalyvaichenko, “information and intelligence exchange and even cooperation with our US counterparts are indeed well-organized. We are satisfied with the level of cooperation. It is very intense. It is very professional.”

Volunteer battalions formed around the ideological rationale increase the influence of the SSU and right-wing radicals on the situation in the country and the danger their pose. For instance, the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps is an armed formation that unofficially serves as the Right Sector militarized wing that took an active part in the military action in Donbass.

354. (Russian) РИА Новости: СБУ: "Служба бандеризации Украины".
URL: http://ria.ru/cj_analytics/20141201/1035911905.html
355. (Russian) РИА Новости: Целый этаж здания СБУ занимают американские спецслужбы, заявил Царев.
URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140413/1003749504.html
356. (Russian) РИА Новости: СБУ: "Служба бандеризации Украины".
URL: http://ria.ru/cj_analytics/20141201/1035911905.html
After President Poroshenko publicly demanded late March 2015 that all volunteers join the National Guard or the Armed Forces of Ukraine be April 1, the Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps refused to join the armed forces on the same basis as everyone else. The Right Sector and leader Dmytro Yarosh demanded that the Supreme Rada pass a separate law for them on the volunteer reserve force. According to the draft bill of the Right Sector, the Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps was to function after the fashion of the Estonian Defense League (Kaitseliit), which is paramilitary armed forces that are a part of the Defense Forces of Estonia and financed by the government. As of the moment, the Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps is a whole network of military and reserve battalions, a volunteer movement, a medical service and three training centers. Using this base, the Right Sector proposed to set up a new volunteer military formation. Afterwards, Yarosh stated it was necessary to create an entire new system alternative to the Armed Forces.

Fighters of the Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps that is supposed to form the base for such a system are known to have committed numerous crimes in the territory of the military conflict in Donbass. For instance, according to locals, Right Sector milit-

358. (Russian) Телеканал 112: В Украине нужно создать альтернативную систему Вооруженным силам, – Ярош. URL: http://112.ua/politika/v-ukraine-nuzhno-sozdat-alternativnuysistemu-vooruzhennym-silam-yarosh-235250.html
tants took part in looting in Avdiivka⁴⁶⁰; as reported by Metropolitan Hilarion of Donetsk and Mariupol of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, bullying and pressuring morally and physically nuns of the Svyato-Iversky Women’s Monastery in Peski and looting the monastery itself⁴⁶¹; according to Amnesty International, torturing the military and civilians they detained⁴⁶².

To sum up, Ukraine has developed a network based on Ukrainian intelligence, local right-wing radicals and their paramilitary formations that in essence merged into one entity with broad destructive potential whose activities are targeted at Russia and any groups in opposition to the current Kiev regime. The network is coordinated with foreign intelligence services, mainly of the United States. The union of Ukrainian radical nationalists and the SSU constitutes a direct threat to efforts aimed at making peace in Ukraine. The impunity of extremist groups that are closely tied with Ukrainian intelligence poses an imminent danger to the population of Ukraine that has been systematically subjected to violence for political terror and material enrichment.

⁴⁶⁰. (Russian) Украина.ру: В Авдеевке украинские военные заняты мародёрством.

⁴⁶¹. (Russian) NEWSru.com: Глава Донецкой епархии УПЦ МП просит Порошенко остановить мародерство со стороны украинских военных.
URL: http://www.newsru.com/arch/religa/19dec2014/hilarion.html

⁴⁶². (Russian) Апостроф: Amnesty International уличила "Правый сектор" в пытках.
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Volunteer Battalions of Ukraine

Since Kiev announced the “anti-terrorist operation” in the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Lugansk People’s Republics, the media and expert community of Russia seem to be thoroughly confused about Ukrainian volunteer groups, their structure, interaction with the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the Ministry of the Interior, as well as their participation in military operations. Availability of information on different armed formations is varied, which is reflected in the materials given below.

As of June 2015, Ukraine had four types of volunteer military divisions that largely consist of volunteers:

- Battalions of territorial defense (BTD);
- Special operations battalions;
- Reserve battalions of the National Guard;
- The Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps.

**Battalions of territorial defense** 363. 364 (Ukrainian: батальйони територіальної оборони) are individual battalions that formed within the Armed Forces of Ukraine, are in operational contact with officers of the Minister of Defense of Ukraine and are formed territorially.

BTDs are subordinated to the Ministry of Defense. They are formed in accordance with the current mobi-

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363. (Russian) Ю. Бутусов // ZN.ua: Добровольческие батальоны: структура, страхи, проблемы боевого применения. URL: http://gazeta.zn.ua/internal/dobrovolcheskie-batalony-struktura-strahi-problemy-boevogo-primeneniya-__.html

lization plan. Army recruiting offices form BTDs based on plans approved by the mobilization directorate of the General Staff. The General Staff appoints officers of BTDs and when some government structures recommend local volunteers for officer positions, military commissariats try to take that into account. The Aidar battalion, which is one of the most famous battalions, is the 24th battalion of territorial defense of Lugansk Oblast subordinated to the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, but not the Ministry of the Interior. BTDs are formed for defending strategic objects and communications during wartime. They used to be 426 people strong and equipped with light infantry weapons only. Most of BTD rank and file are not volunteers, but mobilized citizens. However, some BTDs consist only of motivated volunteers, such as the 20th battalion of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, the 11th battalion from Kiev or the 24th Aidar battalion of Lugansk Oblast. Military commanders set a high value on combat qualities of many BTDs. They are formed in every oblast depending on their mobilization potential. Orders were signed for 31 BTDs to be created.

**Reserve battalions of the National Guard.**
Three reserve battalions of the National Guard were formed, with an order signed for the fourth one to be created. All of the battalions of the National Guard are fully made up of volunteers, including officers, as determined by battalion commanders themselves.

Battalions of the National Guard were initially created to maintain order in the zone of the ATO and


366. (Russian) О. Самохин // Комсомольская правда в Украине: Нацгвардия сформирует резервный батальон. URL: http://kp.ua/politics/458222-natshwardyia-sformyruet-rezervnyi-batalon
were equipped with light infantry weapons exclusively. It was during the ATO that their military personnel was equipped with heavy weapons, including even the ZU-23-2 anti-aircraft mounts. However, the battalions do not have authorized armored vehicles or artillery, although the battalions of the National Guard were able to get hold of some armored vehicles and mortars during military operations or with the help of the Ministry of the Interior and volunteers. The staff of the National Guard currently numbers 460 people367.

Volunteer battalions and special operations companies of the Ministry of the Interior are subordinated to departments of internal affairs of different oblasts. For example, the Azov is a police battalion (later a regiment) of the Kiev Oblast Department of Internal Affairs, while the Dnipro is a police battalion of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Department of Internal Affairs368. These structures are set up “for maintaining public order and for police patrol and checkpoint service.” They are only authorized to be equipped with small arms without grenade launchers. They are provided with some military equipment and heavy infantry weapons, but not systematically and rather in an initiative manner. Orders have been signed to form 33 volunteer battalions and special operations police companies. Their staff numbers 30 to 400 people.

Volunteer Ukrainian Corps is one-of-a-kind volunteer armed group that is recognized by the government as an unofficial military unit, but it is not

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368. (Russian) О. Фаличев // StockInFocus: Кто такие каратели и почему они рвутся во власть. URL: http://stockinfocus.ru/2014/11/21/kto-takie-karateli-i-pochemu-oni-rvutsya-vo-vlast/
a part of any government structure\textsuperscript{369}. However, units of the volunteer Ukrainian Corps are under operational control of the ATO command. Such units have no staff structure and their composition is mostly temporary because it consists of only people who cannot join the military force for a long term.

**Purposes of volunteer battalions of the National Guard.** Two volunteer battalions of the National Guard were formed in Donbass “for maintaining public order.” They were made up of only Maidan activists. However, the mobilization resource of those willing to give up everything and go off to war was limited. The level of equipment and supplies of volunteers was very low. But these two battalions and the Omega special unit of the Ministry of the Interior\textsuperscript{370} were the only two units to have been redeployed immediately to Slavyansk area to block the military base of Ukraine’s federalization supporters. It was the first two battalions of the National Guard that completed the first special operations of the ATO while post-Maidan Ukraine was hastily forming military units to be deployed to the front division by division. The Donbass battalion within the National Guard\textsuperscript{371} was formed because the Donetsk Oblast Directorate of Internal Affairs failed to set up its own special police battalion. The Donbass battalion became the main mobilization point for Ukrainian nationalists residing in Donetsk Oblast.

\textsuperscript{369} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Правый сектор. URL: http://korrespondent.net/tag/172302/

\textsuperscript{370} (Russian) Министерство внутренних дел Украины: Элитное подразделение войск правопорядка «Омега» празднует сегодня своё 10-летие. URL: http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/main/ru/publish/article/833636

\textsuperscript{371} (Russian) Русская весна: Карательные батальоны: история создания, состав, вооружение. URL: http://rusvesna.su/news/1408450750
**Purposes of volunteer battalions of the Ministry of the Interior.** In March-May 2014, the collapse of the system of government and acute economic and political crisis brought about local divisions of armed militiamen in Donbass in opposition to the new Kiev regime, which posed a threat to the government’s ability to maintain control over this territory. Most police officers were not willing to follow orders that involved any risk to life. Those who tried to start service in the police, could not go through a very difficult bureaucratic employment procedure fast. At the same time, the situation had to be stabilized immediately and in most regions. Moreover, the personnel of the Ministry of the Interior could not have been easily replaced by civilians while mass dismissal of police officers could only increase the number of “separatists’” supporters. As a rule, volunteers of the Ministry of the Interior wanted to serve in their own location, but serving in the army did not allow them to work as law enforcement officers.

The Dnipropetrovsk Oblast State Administration put forward the initiative for setting up solely volunteer formations of the Ministry of the Interior. Minister of the Interior’s decision to form volunteer units in every directorate of the Ministry was the only possible way to create autonomous divisions to maintain public order that would be controlled by heads of directorates and independent from the opinion of other police officers, divisions that were initially designed to complete certain tasks, including those involving risks to life.

It was the formation of such units that helped to stabilize the situation in most regions of Ukraine, largely

372. (Russian) Gorod.dp.ua: Топ-10 событий 2014 года на Днепропетровщине. URL: http://gorod.dp.ua/news/98933?co=up
by means of terror and repressions towards dissenters and concentrate the fight with federalists in two eastern oblasts of the country. Moreover, cooperation between volunteers and the police was supposed to help improve relations between the Ministry of the Interior and the society.

There are 30 special divisions of the Ministry of the Interior and the Security Service of Ukraine currently operating in Ukraine.

**The National Guard of Ukraine (NGU)** is a division with law enforcement functions that is a part of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. It was re-established through transformation of the Internal Troops of Ukraine by the Law of Ukraine “On the National Guard of Ukraine” on March 12, 2014.\(^{373, 374}\)

The transformation of the Internal Troops of the Ministry of the Interior into the National Guard of Ukraine allowed the government of Ukraine to:

1) Divide commanding continuity in the Internal Troops and the Ministry of the Interior and introduce its own people into top positions;

2) Maintain repressions towards its political opponents under the pretext of “lustration within the Internal Troops and the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine;”

3) destroy archives of criminal and administrative offenses that, if disclosed, will discredit the government;

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373. (Russian) Межрегиональный общественный фонд содействия стратегической безопасности: Наёмнические батальоны и бандформирования Украины. Блок №1.

374. (Russian) РИА Новости: Национальная гвардия Украины.
URL: http://ria.ru/tags/organization_Nacionalnaja_gvardija_Ukrainy/
4) change the “ideological” composition of the former Internal Troops, in essence replace the military regulations and laws of the Internal Troops the Ministry of the Interior with “ideological purity” and “political conscience.”

In views of these transformations, the personnel of the NGU burgeoned with volunteers and Right Sector militants. The National Guard, divisions of the Right Sector, volunteer territorial battalions and other volunteer paramilitary units:

1) were set up in the wake of the coup d’état with violation of Ukraine’s Constitution and laws existing before February 2014;

2) were formed with representatives of different civilian occupations who were not servicemen of the Armed Forces of Ukraine;

3) have a personnel, financing method, structural application and military equipment that are different from the national Armed Forces in terms of quality and variety.

In March 2014, Acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov proposed to revive the National Guard. 262 people’s deputies supported his initiative and voted for the bill “On the National Guard of Ukraine”.

“IT is a military unit with law enforcement functions. It is tasked with defending the constitutional form of government, rights and liberties of citi-

375. (Russian) Межрегиональный общественный фонд содействия стратегической безопасности: Наёмнические батальоны и бандформирования Украины. Блок №1.
376. Ibid.
377. National Guard of Ukraine website. URL: http://ngu.gov.ua/ua
zens of Ukraine as well as fighting with terrorism,” said Stepan Poltorak, the first commander of the National Guard of Ukraine.379

The Internal Troops of the Ministry of the interior of Ukraine formed the basis of reestablishment of the National Guard. Police officers served as trainers at drills of the Guard members, most of whom were Maidan Self-Defense fighters. This fact provoked an upsurge of indignation of the National Guard fighters. Late March, only 274 out of 450 Maidan Self-Defense members who had been trained to serve in the Guard expressed their desire to volunteer on contract basis into the reserve. The rest returned to the Maidan or failed to meet health requirements. Men from 18 to 55 were recruited to serve. Unlike volunteer battalions, fighters of the National Guard are paid for their service. The government allotted 100 million hryvnias to pay the National Guard. On April 6, 2014, the first two battalions of the National Guard (500 people in each) were sworn in.

Azov

The Azov Battalion (regiment of the National Guard of Ukraine) is a volunteer military formation that includes a special patrol police company of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. It was created in May 2014 in Mariupol and was later redeployed to Berdiansk in Zaporizhia Oblast. It is currently deployed in Mariupol area. In September 2014, it was de-

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decided to turn the Azov battalion into a regiment\(^{380}\).

As of May 12, 2014, the Azov numbered at least 70 fighters. On May 18, the second group of 45 volunteers aged 20 to 46, including residents of Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Lugansk, Kiev, as well as representative of the west of Ukraine joined the battalion. On June 3, another 40 volunteers aged 20 to 30 were sworn in, with the Azov already numbering 250 people by then. There were residents of different region of Ukraine among the new members, including “ultras”, a group of fans of the Kiev Dinamo football club\(^{381}\). As of June 23, the Azov had grown to 500 people\(^{382}\). As of October 9, 2014, it numbered 800 people\(^{383}\).

According to a former head of the battalion Yaroslav Gonchar, the Azov battalion was initiated on May 4, at a meeting with a member of Mariupol City Council Oleksandr Yaroshenko, an Automaidan activist Yaro-


\(^{381}\) (Russian) InfoResist: Народная армия. Всё о добровольческих батальонах, воюющих на Донбассе. URL: http://inforesist.org/narodnaya-armiya-vse-o-dobrovolcheskih-batalonax-voyuyushhix-na-donbasse-foto/

\(^{382}\) (Russian) TCH: Батальон "Азов" увеличил численность до 500 бойцов. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/batalon-azov-velichil-chislennost-do-500-boycov-373129.html

\(^{383}\) (Russian) ZN.ua: Полк "Азов" перейдет в состав Нацгвардии. URL: http://zn.ua/UKRAINE/polk-azov-pereydet-v-sostav-nacgyvardii-155471_.html
slav Gonchar, an MP Oleh Lyashko, Spokesperson of the Social-National Assembly Ihor Mosiychuk and a modern Ukrainian nationalism ideologue Dmytro Korchynsky. The meeting decided to join the two groups – Automaidan activists and Mosiychuk’s ultranationalists (“little men in black”)\(^{384}\). In terms of personnel, the battalion is based on the neo-Nazi Ukrainian Patriot organization\(^{385,386}\).

The Azov is now made up almost entirely of different radical extremist groups: members of the Social-National Assembly and Ukrainian Patriot, Right Sector, WotanJugend and Misanthropic Division, members of the football fan community (largely the ultras of the Dinamo (Kiev) and Shakhter (Donetsk) football clubs), autonomous Ukrainian nationalists, members of Dmytro Korchynsky’s Bratstvo party, OUN activists, members of the Cossack Brotherhood (Kazatskoye strelkovoye bratstvo), representatives of the Anti-Fascist Action\(^{387}\) and foreign mercenaries. Besides Ukrainians, right-wing radical mercenaries from Sweden, Italy, France, Canada, Slovenia, Croatia, Byelorussia and Russia take part in the formation. According to head of the Radical Party Oleh Lyashko, the battalion is partly, “even up to half”, made up of people with

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\(^{384}\) (Russian) UkrInform: Добровольцы. Надежда Украины и армии. Мысли про «Азов».
URL: http://www.ukrinform.ua/rus/news/dobrovoltsi_nadegda_armii_i_armii_misli_pro_azov_1635465

\(^{385}\) G. Baczynska // Reuters: Ultra-nationalist Ukrainian battalion gears up for more fighting.
URL: http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/25/us-ukraine-crisis-azov-idUSKBN0ML0XJ20150325

\(^{386}\) (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Харьков накануне войны на национальной почве.
URL: http://rian.com.ua/ analytics/20150612/368916311.html

\(^{387}\) (Russian) The Insider: Черные гвардейцы. Как антифа воюет против сепаратистов в Украине.
URL: http://theins.ru/obshestvo/1355
criminal record. About half of the fighters have tattoos with Nazi and Skinhead symbols: Swastikas, SS runic insignia, Third Reich coats-of-arms\textsuperscript{388}.

Anton Gerashchenko, an adviser to the Interior Minister of Ukraine, confirmed the involvement of foreign volunteers in July 2014. For instance, Mikael Skillt, an activist of the right-wing radical Party of the Swedes, took part in storming Mariupol. Another Swede – Seve
erin from Goteborg – is known to be involved. 53-year-old Italian Francesco Fontana, as well as 47-year-old French Gaston Besson serve in the Azov regiment.

According to the latter, he professes left-wing political views, is a former paratrooper and has taken part in many conflicts, including in Croatia and Columbia. Regiment commander Andriy Biletsky confirmed the presence of Georgian volunteers in the Azov. He also said that Georgian instructors who used to “hold top positions” in special task forces and the Georgian Army have been working with the Azov\textsuperscript{389}.

The NTV Channel reported that one of the videos dated June 13, 2014 on the Azov carrying out an operation in Mariupol showed fighters of the regiment speaking in English, with one of them having the insignia of the 1\textsuperscript{st} Aviation Brigade Golden Hawks\textsuperscript{390}.

In October 2014, according to Stepan Sereda, head of the medical unit of the regiment, the Azov was bolstered with foreign instructors who had been trained


\textsuperscript{389} (Russian) LB.ua: Андрей Билецкий: «Половина Азова говорит на русском языке. Но они умирают и убивают за Украину». URL: http://lb.ua/news/2014/12/10/288683_andrey_biletskiy_polovina_azova.html

\textsuperscript{390} (Russian) НТВ: Донбасские ополченцы и украинские силовики считают убитых после боя за Мариуполь. URL: http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1038276
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by the NATO and the Foreign Legion of France. Leadership of the battalion confirmed the information about the foreigners, but they said all foreign fighters had been granted the Ukrainian citizenship to comply with the country’s laws and they were considered employees of the Ministry of the Interior391.

Late 2014, President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko personally granted a passport of Ukraine to Byelorussian Sergey Korotkikh (known as Malyuta), a co-founder of a neo-Nazi group banned in Russia called the National-Socialist Society, and thanked him for good service. Malyuta has been fighting in the Azov since its emergence as an intelligence commander. Moreover, Russian radicals participate in the battalion, including Roman (Zukhel) Zheleznoy and Aleksandr Parinov (Rumyn) from the gang of Nikita Tikhonov’s sentenced to life imprisonment in Russia392. In view of this information, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia demanded that “official authorities of the above-mentioned countries conduct a thorough investigation into the specified facts and condemn the participation of mercenaries in the military actions in the east of Ukraine.”393

The Azov regiment was formed and armed with the financing of oligarch Igor Kolomoisky. On August 2, 2014, Kolomoisky’s deputy Borys Filatov announced that the Privat Group would no longer fund the Azov due to “growing fascist views of the battalion

392. (Russian) Независимая газета: Националистический интернационал. URL: http://www.ng.ru/editorial/2014-10-13/2_red.html

- 180 -
leadership.”394 As a result, Ihor Mosiychuk left the Azov, with the funding resumed afterwards. The regiment was officially armed by the Ministry of the Interior and was also partly financed by the government as a company. In addition, private donations, support from the volunteer movement, charity foundations and aid from businessmen are also sources of financing and technical equipment of the regiment. Charity concerts are regularly arranged in Ukrainian cities with participation of right-wing radical musical bands to raise money for the regiment395.

On June 12, 2015, the House of Representatives of the US adopted an amendment outlawing training and arming of the paramilitary Azov battalion within the US program of supporting the Ukrainian Armed Forces396.

Many fighters of the Azov regiment do not hide their fascist views. Thus, for example, the upper part of the sleeve chevron of the battalion has a picture known as the Wolfsangel, a runic symbol used in the Third Reich, including on the emblem of the 2nd SS armored division Reich. In addition, a version of the Azov emblem is used where the rune is drawn against the background of the esoteric Black Sun used

394. (Russian) UAInside: Благодаря Авакову батальон «Азов» стал полком. URL: http://uainside.info/2014/09/18/azov-stal-polkom
as a symbol of the European right-wing radical movement\textsuperscript{397}. Members of the regiment have openly declared national-socialist, racist and anti-Semitic views. For example, head of the Azov regiment and MP Andriy Biletsky said that the historical mission of the Ukrainian nation is to “lead the crusade of the White race against Untermenschen headed by Semites.”\textsuperscript{398} Fighter of the Azov have been accused many times of looting\textsuperscript{399} and killing civilians\textsuperscript{400}. Moreover, there are members with criminal record\textsuperscript{401} in the Azov, which violates laws of Ukraine.

The Azov battalion took an active part in the battles in Mariupol and near the city. During the night of May 7, 2014, the Azov entered the city and the personnel participated in arresting activists, dissenters and political undesirables of the Kiev regime and afterwards took over the building of the city administration and started to dismantle the barricades in the city center. In the morning of May 9, the battalion opened fire in the city center and stormed the patio and the ground floor of the city police department, but later several militants of the battalion were detained and disarmed

\textsuperscript{397} (Russian) В. Лихачёв // Хадашот: Батальон «Азов» и политические амбиции неонацистов. URL: http://hadashot.kiev.ua/content/batalon-azov-i-politicheskie-ambicii-neonacistov
\textsuperscript{399} (Russian) UAInside: Батальон «Азов» занимается мародерством – бывший руководитель. URL: http://uainside.info/2014/06/12/batalon-azov-zanimaetsya-maroderstvom/
\textsuperscript{400} (Russian) UAInside: Батальон «Азов» проверят на причастность к убийству жителя Мариуполя. URL: http://uainside.info/2014/07/17/batalon-azov/
\textsuperscript{401} (Russian) Антифашист.com: Ляшко рассказал, что «Азов» – это батальон уголовников. URL: http://antifashist.com/item/lyashko-rasskazal-chto-azov-eto-batalon-ugolovnikov.html
by officers of a division of Internal Troops of Ukraine. Some of them were killed. Since August 10, 2014, the Azov had been taking part in the battles of Ilovaisk. On August 25, the Azov left Ilovaisk and was redeployed to Mariupol andNovoazovsk again. In February 2015, the regiment and Internal Troops of Ukraine took part in the battles to the east of Mariupol during which it took control of Pavlopol and Shyrokyne.

Azov militants have been regularly involved in kidnapping people suspected in an opposition opinion, as well as in banditry, robbery and rape. As former deputy commander of the battalion Yaroslav Gonchar admitted himself, he had left the battalion because he rejected the looting and open support of national-socialism in the battalion, for which his former fellows subjected him to torture. Latvian human rights activist Ejnars Graudins who, along with a group of European experts, visited Donbass, said in an interview with the Rossiyanskaya Gazeta newspaper that he had registered numerous facts of looting, mob law towards civilians and rape committed by battalion fighters. In an interview with the Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung newspaper, Tilman Zülch, the general secretary of the German GfbV human rights organization, opposed the use of paramilitary groups, including the Azov battalion, in the mili-

402. (Russian) РИА Новости: ДНР: ополченцы полностью взяли под контроль украинский Иловайск. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140827/1021537574.html
404. (Russian) С. Никитский: Без слов не взглянешь... URL: http://nikitskij.livejournal.com/477781.html
tary operation in Ukraine\textsuperscript{406}. The Telegraph points out that engaging formations like the Azov battalion to take part in the special operation in the east of Ukraine “should send a shiver down Europe’s spine” because “their financing is murky, their training inadequate and their ideology often alarming.”\textsuperscript{407}

The report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the human rights situation in Ukraine dated December 15, 2014, mentions Azov fighters as suspects in a significant number of human rights violations against civilians and violations of international humanitarian law in the east of Ukraine, including looting, arbitrary detention and ill-treatment\textsuperscript{408}. On June 13, 2015, the OSCE accused the Azov regiment of violating the Minsk Protocol. The report of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine points out that a parade organized by the Azov volunteer battalion gathered “some 100 regular Ukrainian Armed Forces personnel and Azov battalion members present. The parade consisted of three trucks pulling artillery pieces (one 100mm 2A29 “Rapira” and two 122mm D30 howitzers), present in violation of Minsk withdrawal lines; one armored personnel vehicle (BTR); one “Spartan” armoured vehicle; and twelve

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{406} (Russian) Немецкая волна: Немецкий правозащитник раскритиковал действия украинской армии. URL: http://www.dw.de/немецкий-правозащитник-раскритиковал-действия-украинской-армии/а-17886181
\item \textsuperscript{407} The Telegraph: Ukraine crisis: the neo-Nazi brigade fighting pro-Russian separatists. URL: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/ukraine/11025137/Ukraine-crisis-the-neo-Nazi-brigade-fighting-pro-Russian-separatists.html
\end{itemize}
pick-ups with the “Azov” insignia. Four vehicles were pulling mortars (2B11 “Sani”, 122mm).”\textsuperscript{409}

On June 17, 2015, Azov commander Andriy Biletsky said that the unit was to be reformed: the regiment was to be transformed into a special task brigade that would number 2.5 thousand people\textsuperscript{410}. Thus, the military formation involved in numerous human rights violations that includes a large number of radical extremists (largely neo-Nazis) is to broaden its military capabilities and potential for violence.

### Aidar

**The Aidar Military Division of Ukraine’s Land Forces** (formerly the 24th Aidar detached assault battalion of Lugansk Oblast). This battalion is one of the most famous and scandalous both in Ukraine and abroad mainly due to accusations of committing war crimes in the territory of Lugansk Oblast when taking part in the ATO\textsuperscript{411}.

409. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 19:30 (Kyiv time), 14 June 2015. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/164491


Many battalion fighters profess radical right-wing and neo-Nazi views and use Nazi symbols.\footnote{12}

The Aidar was formed by Serhiy Melnychuk, a leader of the Maidan Self-Defense, at the beginning of May 2014. Former Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast State Administration and businessman Inhor Kolomoisky (through his Country Defense Foundation)\footnote{16} and head of the Maidan Self-Defense and its commandant Andriy Parubiy\footnote{17} helped to set up and recruit members of the Aidar battalion. Activists of the so called “Afghan hundred” of the Maidan Self-Defense as well as activists of the 18th, 31st, 37th and “Medvedi” hundreds\footnote{18} made up of members and supporters of a number of radical extremist organizations that took part in the violent actions in the cen-

\footnote{12} E. Savchuk // The Guardian: The women fighting on the frontline in Ukraine.

URL: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/05/ukraine-women-fighting-frontline

\footnote{13} (Russian) A. Соколинская // День: «Майдан там, где мы».

URL: http://www.day.kiev.ua/ru/article/obshchestvo/maydan-tam-gde-my

\footnote{14} (Ukrainian) A. Яніцький // LB.ua: Кто воюет в «Айдаре».

URL: http://society.lb.ua/position/2014/10/21/283158_dobrovoltsi_aydara.html

\footnote{15} (Ukrainian) A. Манчук // Ліва: Батальони смерті.

URL: http://liva.com.ua/batalony-smerti.html

\footnote{16} (Russian) A. Лисюк // Обозреватель: Геннадий Корбан: У российских компаний мы должны отнять всё.


\footnote{17} (Ukrainian) Г. Титиш, Д. Ларін // Українська правда: Айдар. З життя батальйону сміливих.

URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/07/21/7032532/

\footnote{18} Ibid.
ter of Kiev served as the backbone of the battalion when it was being formed. Noteworthy is Biliy Molot (White Hammer), a Kiev neo-Nazi group many members of which became Aidar fighters and that is led by a commander Vladislav Goranin (Goran)\textsuperscript{419, 420}. What is more, the battalion included members of radical nationalist organizations, namely the UNA-UNSO\textsuperscript{421, 422}, Ukrainian Patriot\textsuperscript{423}, «Right Sector»\textsuperscript{424, 425} and Svoboda All-Ukrainian Union\textsuperscript{426}. Later, foreigners including Chechen militants and radical Islamists joined the ranks of the Aidar. They first appeared in the batta-

\textsuperscript{419.} (Russian) Антикіор: В Миноборони нас слили боевикам — один из командиров "Айдара" о провале 18 июня в Луганске.
URL: http://antikor.com.ua/articles/8051-v_minoborony_nas_slili_boevikam_-_odin_iz_komandirov_ajdara_o_provale_18_ijunja_v_luganske

\textsuperscript{420.} (Russian) The Insider: «Айдар»: Жизнь на передовой АТО.
URL: http://www.theinsider.ua/politics/53c3142133068/

\textsuperscript{421.} (Ukrainian) Українська Націоналістична Самооборотона (УНСО):
Сьогодні попрощалися з Русланом.
URL: http://old.unso.in.ua/sogodni-poproshhalisyaz-ruslanom/

\textsuperscript{422.} (Ukrainian) Чаривне: 14 днів в «Айдарі»: Син Пандрака розповів подробниці поранення батька.
URL: http://charivne.info/news/14-dniv-v-Aydari-sin-Pandraka-rozpowiv-podrobitsi-poranennya-batka

\textsuperscript{423.} (Russian) РІА Новости — Украина: Батальон "Айдар": добровольцы или бандиты?

\textsuperscript{424.} (Ukrainian) А. Наливайко // Gazeta.ua: Юлька — корінна москвичка, етнічна росіянка. Приїхала на війну, бо це війна проти Путіна.

\textsuperscript{425.} (Russian) РІА Новости: "Правый сектор" укомплектовывает "Айдар" боевиками, заявили в ЛНР.
URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140628/1013964693.html

\textsuperscript{426.} (Ukrainian) Запорізька Свобода: Запорізька "Свобода" висловлює співчуття рідним і близьким свободівця Володимира Зюза, який загинув, захищаючи країну від московських окупантів.
URL: http://www.zaporizhzhya.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/novyny/053048/
ion in June 2014 through Norway\textsuperscript{427}. Moreover, the Aidar has been noticed to have volunteers from Armenia, Byelorussia, Russia and some Western countries\textsuperscript{428}. The information that an international terrorist and British citizen Samantha Lewthwaite, a.k.a. the White Widow, a member of the al Shabaab group based in Somalia and organizer of a terrorist act in Nairobi, had allegedly been fighting for the Aidar and died during the battle of Debaltseve late October – early November 2014 drew the most media attention\textsuperscript{429}.

After being formed, the Aidar fulfilled guarding police functions during the May 25, 2014 presidential elections in Ukraine at electoral constituencies Starobelsky district of Lugansk Oblast, particularly in Novoaidar\textsuperscript{430}. Afterwards, the battalion was sent to take part in the military actions against the armed forces of the LPR within the ATO. During the military operations against the LPR, the Aidar participated in battles for northern and central parts of Lugansk Oblast, particularly near the city of Lugansk and Lugansk airport, Shchastya, Georgiyevka, Lutuhyne and Stanitsa Luganskaya. According to battalion fighter, the total

\textsuperscript{427} (Russian) М. Собеский // Блокнот: Украина стала прибежищем для религиозных фанатиков.

\textsuperscript{428} O. Carroll // Mashable: 24 Hours in 'Happiness': A Battle-Scarred Town in Ukraine.
URL: http://mashable.com/2014/08/19/aidar-forces-in-happiness-ukraine/

\textsuperscript{429} (Russian) А. Топоров // Regnum: В ЛНР была ликвидирована известная международная террористка из Великобритании.

\textsuperscript{430} (Russian) Подробности.ua: Батальон "Айдар" просит помощи: Бойцы жалуются на предательство начальника части.
number of military losses during the battles exceeds the official figures of the Kiev government manifold, with over 500 people from the Aidar killed in military actions as of September 17, 2014431.

When taking part in the ATO, fighters of the Aidar battalion had been accused many times by representatives of international organizations and Ukrainian authorities of committing numerous crimes, including war crimes. Moreover, various media have eyewitness testimonies of locals about crimes committed by the battalion. For instance, they said that Aidar fighter robbed houses in the village of Khryashchevate in Lugansk Oblast432. The fighters themselves said in an interview that they finished wounded adversaries off near Shchastya after the battle was over on June 13–14, 2014: There was no point in taking anyone hostage – there were only very “critical” left. They were finished off.”433 According to the UN Report dated August 25, 2014, the Aidar detained a woman who was an editor at a Lugansk newspaper for “supporting terrorists, warmongering and activities in the interests of the Party of Regions.” Moreover, the same report accuses the Aidar, along with other volunteer battalions, of arbitrary detention and ill-treatment of detainees434. Representatives of the OSCE accused the Aidar of repeated vio-

431. (Russian) Новости Тернополя: Погибших в АТО в разы больше официальных данных. URL: http://lenta.te.ua/society/2014/09/17/20462.html
432. (Russian) РИА Новости: Жительница поселка Хрящеватое: батальон "Айдар" грабил дома. URL: http://ria.ru/ world/20140831/1022167207.html
433. (Russian) The Insider: Как ведет "Айдар": "Бать", "Пуля" и "Доктор Смерть". URL: http://www.theinsider.ua/politics/53cbb05834fb3/
lations of human rights against citizens by battalion fighters (attacks on civilians, arbitrary detention, torture and extortion), arbitrary appointment of military administration in Shchastya, Starobilsk, Novoaidar, Lutuhyne and Severodonetsk.

According to the Amnesty International report published on September 7, 2014, fighters of the battalion are involved in abductions, unlawful detention, ill-treatment, theft, blackmail, extortion of substantial sums of money and possible executions of detainees. The report says that the organization “documented dozens of cases of abuses allegedly committed by members of the Aidar battalion in Novoaidar district,

435. (Russian) TASS: Наблюдатели ОБСЕ подтвердили еще один случай преступной деятельности батальона "Айдар". URL: http://tass.ru/mezdunarodnaya-panorama/1409440
436. (Russian) RIA Новости: ОБСЕ вновь заявила о незаконных действиях батальона "Айдар" в Донбассе. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140822/1021035106.html
437. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 hrs, 10 August 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/122570
438. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 (Kyiv time), 13 August 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/122628
439. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 (Kyiv time), 20 August 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/122908
440. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 (Kyiv time), 21 August 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/122920
441. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 (Kyiv time), 27 August 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/123030
442. OSCE: Latest from OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine based on information received as of 18:00 (Kyiv time), 4 September 2014. URL: http://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/123251
Starobilsk, Severodonetsk, Lysychansk, and Shchastya between late June and late August. Typically, the fighters abducted local men, often businessmen or farmers, whom they accused of collaborating with the separatists and held in makeshift detention facilities before either releasing them or handing them over to the Security Service (SBU). In nearly all cases documented by Amnesty International the victims were subjected to beatings at the moment of capture and/or during interrogations, and either had to pay ransom for their release, or had possessions, including money, cars, telephones, and other valuables seized by the battalion members. Many of the witnesses and victims approached by Amnesty International were reluctant to share details of the incidents, fearing retaliation from Aidar battalion members.”

Looking into circumstances of the mass graves in Komunar and Nyzhnya Krynka, Amnesty International found strong evidence implicating Kyiv-controlled forces who had held the territory in the extrajudicial executions of four civilians. According to the organization, the Aidar battalion and parts of the 25th Paratrooper Brigade may have been among the formations that committed these crimes. “It points to extra-judicial killing of four local residents by either regular Ukrainian armed forces or volunteer battalions operating in the area. These must now be investigated thoroughly,” said John Dalhuisen, Europe and Central Asia Director at Amnesty International.

444. Ibid.
Late December 2014, Amnesty International accused the Aidar battalion of stopping and searching cars that travelled from Starobilsk to Luhansk and vice versa and “stopping food and medicines getting through to the region.” Denis Krivosheev, acting Director of Europe and Central Asia for Amnesty International, mentioned information from an aid worker from Lugansk Oblast about a particular case when medicines for four elderly people in Krasnodon suffering from heart and blood pressure conditions were snatched from a bus at a checkpoint.

A research published in October 2014 lists 32 crimes by Aidar fighters documented by Ukraine’s law enforcement with criminal cases initiated within the period from May to August 2014, without any investigation ever carried out. On March 31, 2015, Head of Lugansk Oblast Hennadiy Moskal filed a request to the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine to take decisive measures to unblock JSC UkrVeresk in the village of Petrovka in Stanichno-Lugansk district that, in his words, had been captured by representatives of the Aidar battalion. According to Moskal, they raised prices of bread produced by the factory and blocked shipping of bread from other regions, which resulted in a deficit of bread, sharp bread price hike and social tensions in Stanichno-Lugansk district and neighboring districts. Early June 2015, Hennadiy Moskal


448. (Russian) Информационная оборона: Преступления Айдара. URL: http://infoborona.org/2014/10/15/prestupleniya-aydara.html

449. (Ukrainian) Г. Москаль: Москаль: «Поведінка «Айдару» на Луганщині дискредитує як Збройні сили України, так і українську владу загалом». URL: http://www.moskal.in.ua/?categoty=news&news_id=1621
sent to Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin and Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov a list of 65 crimes committed by volunteers of the Aidar battalion in the ATO zone. According to the Spokesperson for the Head of Lugansk Oblast, there is a plethora of facts proving abductions, extortion, torture, robbery, unlawful use of weapons, etc. in the zone of the ATO,” and the submitted list comprised only 25 percent of all the offences including the most serious and high-profile ones – abduction of an official with ransom demand, resisting arrest, robbery of an enterprise and the like.450

Aidar fighters are also suspected in committing numerous crimes outside of the combat area. A number of journalist investigations suggest that former battalion commander Serhiy Melnychuk with an active involvement of a participant in the battalion and former head of Ukrvoenstroy company Serhiy Grab formed an organized criminal band that included volunteers of the battalion and engaged in banditry, robbery, raider attacks and theft to the benefit of Grab’s foundation called Nebesnoye sozvezdiye Aidar.451, 452 According to a businessman Serhiy Nogachevsky, “Melnychuk has 300 people in Kiev who are financed by Vladislav Kaskiv. But 400 people are fighting in the front line while Melnychuk claims he has 1500 fighters. This means that 1100 undocumented fighters control “seized” enterprises. They are the ones who “seized” not only my factories, but also enterprises in Rivne

450. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Москаль обнародовал список из 65 преступлений Айдара. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3524646-moskal-obnarodoval-spysok-yz-65-prestuplenyi-aidara
451. (Ukrainian) Г. Титиш, М. Жартовська, С. Бикова // Українська правда. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2015/02/5/7057488/
452. (Russian) Е. Швец // LB.ua: «Айдар». Мельничук. «Чёрные». URL: http://society.lb.ua/war/2015/03/05/297478_aydar_melnichuk_chernie.html
Oblast, and “grabbed” amber as well as “muscled in” on something in Zakarpattia.” When it comes to Vladislav Kaskiv, former Head of the State Agency for Investment and National Projects of Ukraine who is connected with Melnychuk, he may have behind him former head of Presidential Administration of Ukraine Serhiy Lyovochkin.

On January 29, 2015, former commander of the battalion Serhiy Melnychuk said that the Aidar was de jure disbanded on January 26. January 30 saw a protest in Kiev: Melnychuk’s supporters gathered at the Ministry of Defense blocking traffic on Vozduflotsky ave in Kiev. On the same day, the Spokesperson for the Ministry of the Defense said that the organizational changes in the Aidar battalion would not affect the personnel of the unit under any circumstances. On February 2, 2015, about 300 people including men in camouflage with Aidar battalion insignia came to the Ministry of Defense demanding that the battalion should not be disbanded, with participants in the demonstration setting fire to tires they had brought at main entrance.

453. Ibid.
454. Ibid.
456. (Ukrainian) Еспресо TV: Під Міноборони "Айдар" пікетує проти розформування. URL: http://espreso.tv/news/2015/01/30/pid_minoborony_quotaydarquot_piketuye_proty_rozformuvannya_onovlyuyetsya
During the night of May 4, 2015, a volunteer of the Aidar battalion Vita Zaverukha and four accomplices attempted to rob a petrol station in Kiev and shot at law enforcement officers (two were killed and three more injured) trying to detain them. The case of policemen murder captured headlines, with MPs Ihor Mosiychuk and adviser to the Interior Minister of Ukraine Anton Gerashchenko taking charge of monitoring it. According to the information provided by the Ministry of the Interior, the arrested gang was planning to perpetrate a terrorist act in the capital of Ukraine on May 8-9.

According to Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office, a pretrial investigation found that within May-September 2014, former Aidar commander Serhiy Melnychuk organized an armed gang consisting of subordinate battalion fighters and persons not included in the battalion to attack enterprises, institutions, organizations and individuals and to commit other crimes in order to openly and violently take control of other people’s property and took part in the gang and arranged the attacks it committed. The Prosecutor General’s Office accused “Melnychuk’ gang” of assaulting other members of the battalion to establish control over volunteer aid received in Irpin and Zhytomyr in November 2014; of assaulting law enforcement officers in Kiev to prevent them from detaining former head of the Ukr-

459. (Russian) LB.ua: Суд арестовал подельницу подозреваемых в расстреле милиционеров. URL: http://society.lb.ua/war/2015/05/06/304140_sud_arestoval_podelnitsu.html
460. (Russian) А. Геращенко: Хватит лгать! URL: https://www.facebook.com/anton.gerashchenko.7/posts/854495361303979
461. (Ukrainian) МВС України: Завдяки професійним та злагодженим діям працівників МВС, СБУ та інших правоохоронних органів було попереджено вчинення терористичного акту в місті Києві під час травневих свят. URL: http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/main/uk/publish/article/1471440

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spyrt State Enterprise Mykhailo Labutin in December 2014; of arranging an unauthorized demonstration at building of the Ministry of Defense in February 2015; of abducting Aidar officer I. Radchenko in February 2015462. The Supreme Rada supported the submission of the Prosecutor General’s Office and approved bringing MP Serhiy Melnychuk to trial463. Kyiv’s Pechersky District Court imposed a pre-trial restraint on the former commander in the form of a bail set at 300,000 hryvnias as well as banned him from travelling outside of the capital464.

The Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps (DUK-PS)

The Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps465, 466 (Ukrainian: Добровольчий український корпус) is a volunteer paramilitary formation created in July 2014 on the initiative of the Right Sector (it is often called the Right Sector Volunteer Ukrainian Corps (DUK-PS)) to participate in the military actions in the east of Ukraine. It consists of Right Sector activists, supporters of the organization and foreign citi-

463. (Russian) Корреспондент. net: Рада сняла неприкосновенность с Мельничука. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3522781-rada-sniala-neprykosnovennost-s-melnchuka
zens. Head of the Right Sector Information Center Artem Skoropadsky said early June 2015: “We are going to submit a list of 50+ foreigners to be granted Ukrainian citizenship in the Presidential Administration. They deserved it.” Andriy Stemtitsky was appointed the battalion commander. The Corps was said to have been formed to eliminate “terrorists and separatists and return the governments of Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts and Crimea under full control.” The Corps, along with the Right Sector party, is a part of the Right Sector extremist nationalist military and political movement, but it enrolled fighters in the battalion regardless of party membership.

Late July 2014, after being denied the state registration, the governing body of the Bandera Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists decided to include their Azov-Sych volunteer battalion into the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps. The battalion was officially renamed into the OUN battalion. Mykola Kokhanovsky is the commander of the battalion. 300 volunteers joined its ranks. On the whole, the Volunteer Ukrai-

467. (Russian) Ю. Самсонова // Фокус: Украинский иностранный легион. Почему иностранцы продолжают воевать на стороне Украины. URL: http://focus.ua/country/330844/


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Ukrainian Corps comprises mobilization points, training centers and battalions of two kinds – combat (taking part in military actions) and reserve. There are two training centers, including one in Chernihiv Oblast. According to Oleksandr Sachko, head of the Right Sector in Zakarpattia, the DUK was planning to form over twenty reserve battalions around Ukraine in addition to the two already existing combat battalion and three working training centers of the formation.

Until recently, the DUK PS took part in the military actions in Donetsk Oblast against military formations of the DPR. According to the data announced by Deputy Chairman of the Parliament of the DPR Denis Pushilin on April 18, 2015, the DUK is a force not controlled by Kiev whose actions provoke the conflict and violations of the Minsk agreements: “The provocations take place where the Azov and Right Sector battalions are concentrated. These are Shyrokyne area, the Donetsk airport and Avdiivka. That is leading the situation to a new conflict.” Moreover, the locals have accused DUK fighters in looting and violence against civilians, including representatives of the clergy. Amnesty


471. (Russian) Uzhgorod.in: Первый – Закарпатский. Правый сектор создает батальон Добровольческого Украинского Корпуса в регионе. URL: http://uzhgorod.in/novosti/2014/avgust/pervyj_zakarpatskij_pravyj_sektor_sozaдает_batal_on_dobrovol_cheskogo_ukrainskogo_korpusa_v_regionе


474. (Russian) NEWSru.com: Глава Донецкой епархии УПЦ МП просит Порошенко остановить мародерство со стороны украинских военных. URL: http://www.newsru.com/arch/relygy/19dec2014/hilarion.html
International human rights organization in the report titled *Breaking bodies: Torture and summary killings on Eastern Ukraine* pointed out that it “has particular concerns about Right Sector.” According to the organization, DUK fighters cruelly tortured both the military and civilians they detained at a camp near the village of Velykomyhailivka (Dnipropetrovsk Oblast).

### Pogonia

**The Pogonia paramilitary unit** (Атрад «Пагоня») is a volunteer paramilitary formation taking part in the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine that is made up of citizens of Byelorussia fighting on the side of the Ukrainian regime. This structure is important from the political point of view, rather than military: Byelorussian nationalists, like their Ukrainian counterparts, regard Russia and Russians as the main historical enemies of the Byelorussian people and statehood.

The unit was named “Pogonia” after the ancient Byelorussian coat-of-arms. (1995 saw a referendum initiated by Byelorussia’s President Aleksander Lukashenko)

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476. (Russian) Д. Лавникевич // Газета.ru: Национализм возвращается в Белоруссию. URL: http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2014/11/26_a_6315753.shtml
that resulted in the removal of its status of a national coat-of-arms and the Pogonia has been actively used by the opposition since then).

The formation started to be formed in June 2014 in the territory of Volhynia Oblast. Ihor Guz, a Volhynia politician and former member of the Stepan Bandera Tryzub, was one of the organizers of the unit. He told journalists that the paramilitary unit was formed in a specially designed camp in Volhynia: There is a youth organization in Ukraine called National alliance that has been cooperating with Byelorussian youth organizations, including the Young front (Molodoy front), Youth of the BNF (Molodezh BNF), etc., for over ten years already. Byelorussians who visited our sport and patriotic camps contacted us saying they were willing to defend Ukraine. We talked and agreed on the format that we would have a small paramilitary unit called Pogonia. All interested can come, take part in a training and will be sent to volunteer battalions.” Guz highlighted that it was not on the government’s initiative that the Pogonia unit was formed. “It was initiated by those people in Ukraine who have been communicat ing with Byelorussians for a long time.”

The Pogonia has not taken part in military actions as a separate unit. The unit is said to have been tasked with preparing fighters to participate in the military actions in the east of Ukraine within the ranks of Ukrainian volunteer battalions. That format was chosen for reasons of secrecy so that Byelorussian intelligence services could not identify the Pogonia participants.

477. (Russian) D. Lavnikевич // Gazeta.ru: Белорусы пойдут воевать за Украину. URL: http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2014/07/08_a_6101277.shtml

By July 2014, the first groups of fighters came to the east of Ukraine. Information came in the winter of 2014-2015 that 12 people died in action. A fighter of the Pogonia unit known by the call name of Lesovik said: “Creating the Pogonia unit is a symbolic step. You can even say ideological. Our intention was to show that there are people in Byelorussia, Byelorussians, who are already fighting in Ukraine. Few people know that different divisions now have Byelorussians, that almost every battalion has Byelorussians who are fighting for Ukraine... There Byelorussians who are dying for Ukraine, but the Ukrainian media space still has no information about that.”

“Chechen” Battalions

The Dzhokhar Dudayev battalion (also known as the Chechen Dzhokhar Dudayev battalion or Dzhokhar Dudayev international peacekeeping battalion) (Ukrainian: Міжнародний миротворчий батальйон імені Джохара Дудаєва) and the Sheikh Mansour battalion (also known as the Chechen Sheikh Mansour battalion or Sheikh Mansour international peacekeeping battalion)

479. (Russian) Русская весна: Белорусские оппозиционеры в рядах карательей: отряд «Погоня» несет потери на Донбассе. URL: http://rusvesna.su/news/1407502759

480. (Russian) Росбалт: Белорусы гибнут в боях с ополченцами Донбасса. URL: http://www.rosbalt.ru/ukraina/2014/08/07/1301392.html
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(Ukrainian: Міжнародний миротворчий батальйон імені Шейха Мансура) are paramilitary volunteer formations largely consisting of Chechens who emigrated from Russia after the Chechen conflict. The battalions were formed in October 2014 in Denmark on the initiative of the Free Caucasus public political movement. Isa Munayev taking part in terrorist groups in Chechnya and killed in the Battle of Debaltseve was the first commander of the Dzhokhar Dudayev battalion. He was replaced as the leader of the battalion by Adam Osmayev, a citizen of Russia who was arrested in Odessa in February 2012 and admitted that he had been recruiting militants and planned an attempted assassination of Russia’s President Vladimir Putin. The Sheikh Mansour battalion participated in the Battle of Shyrokyne.

Territorial battalions

Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

The Artyemovsk (Ukrainian: Артемівськ) is a special patrol police battalion – formed in May 2014 in the territory of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast with-

481. (Ukrainian) О. Базак // Гречка: "Вільний Кавказ" створив батальйон добровольців імені Шейха Мансура. URL: http://gre4ka.info/suspilstvo/14085-vilnyi-kavkaz-stvoryv-batalion-dobrovoltsiv-imeni-sheikha-mansura
483. (Russian) RT на русском: В Донбассе убит чеченский боевик Иса Мунаев. URL: http://russian.rt.com/article/72031
in the Oblast Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior. Konstantin Mateychenko was appointed the commander of the battalion in early May. He later became the Head of the Krasny Lyman District State Administration of Donetsk Oblast\textsuperscript{484}. According to Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov, as of June 5, 2014, the battalion was made up of exclusively residents of Donets Oblast\textsuperscript{485}.

The Artyemovsk battalion participated in taking over the cities of Krasny Lyman, Artyemovsk and their outskirts and a number of areas in Horlivka District on by Ukrainian law enforcement.

According to the testimonies of a hostage of the Artyemovsk, by Mateychenko’s order, his subordinates looted, detained and tortured civilians in an office in the Krasny Lyman city council. The witness said in some cases, detainees were killed, with their bodies taken to a lake and buried or thrown into the water there\textsuperscript{486}.

\textsuperscript{484} (Ukrainian) Українська правда: Командир батальйону "Артемівськ": Нехай армією керують командири, які вже знають, що таке війна. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/06/30/7030527/

\textsuperscript{485} (Ukrainian) Факти-ICTV: Красний Лиман знову під прапором України, городяни радіють – Аваков. URL: http://fakty.ictv.ua/ua/index/read-news/id/1517578

\textsuperscript{486} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Пленный боец батальона "Артемовск" был допрошен Безлером. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3392686-plennyi-boets-batalona-artemovsk-byl-doproshen-bezlerom
Dnipro-1 special patrol police battalion of the Ministry of the Interior (Ukrainian: полк ПСМОП «Дніпро») is a special division within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine created on April 14, 2014.

As reported by Yury Bereza, the Chief of Staff of the National Defense of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, the division was formed on the basis of the previously created “regiment of national defense” of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast that was made up of male volunteers aged 18 to 45, with the main selection criteria into the special Dnipro battalion being age, physical fitness, and a “pro-Ukrainian ideology.” Former Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Governor Ihor Kolomoisky took a direct part in forming the battalion. Conscription of volunteers first took place in the building of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration. Former Chairman of the Dnipropetrovsk Congress of Ukrainian nationalists Yury Bereza became the first head of the battalion. According to Deputy Chief of Staff of the battalion Vladimir Bogonis, the battalion is financed with the resources of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration.


through several charity foundations (the Dnipro-1 Foundation, National Defense Foundation, etc.)\(^{489}\). As of June 20, 85% of the 500 people in the ranks of the Dnipro battalion were formed\(^{490}\). A separate hundred called Crimea mostly consisting of Crimean Tatars and Islamists-terrorists was later created within the battalion\(^{491}\) \(^{492}\). On August 12, a foreign fighter of the Dnipro-1 battalion, a citizen of Poland Leonid Smoliński died during a battle at the village of Peski\(^{493}\).

Honorary commander of the regiment Yury Bereza said at a press conference on February 28, 2015 in Dnipropetrovsk that negotiations were under way with Washington on providing arms as well as on retraining of the personnel in the territory of the US\(^{494}\). It was also reported that instructors from Israel\(^{495}\) and Geor-

\(^{489}\). (Ukrainian) iPress.ua: Дніпропетровська міліція формує із добровольців батальйон "Дніпро-1". URL: http://ipress.ua/news/u_dnipropetrovsku_militsiya_formuie_iz_dobrovoltsiv_batalyon_dnipro__1_62478.html


\(^{491}\). (Russian) Цензор.net: Под Иловайск на подмогу батальонам "Донбасс" и "Днепр" прибыла добровольческая сотня "Крым". URL: http://censor.net.ua/photo_news/299154/pod_ilovayisk_na_podmogu_batalonam_donbass_i_dnepr_pribyla_dobrovolcheskaya_sotnya_krym_foto

\(^{492}\). (Russian) Независимая газета: «Воины Джихада» для Украины. URL: http://www.ng.ru/ng_religii/2015-04-01/4_jihad.html

\(^{493}\). (Polish) Kresy: Polacy giną za wolną Ukrainę. URL: http://kresy.wm.pl/216810,Polacy-gina-za-wolna-Ukraine.html


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gia\textsuperscript{496} were taking part in the training of the fighters of the battalion. On September 23, by a decree of Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov, the Dnipro battalion was transformed into a regiment designed to combine the functions of assault battalion and police force.

On May 11, Deputy Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast State Administration Hennadiy Korban said that Krasnoarmeysky District of Donetsk Oblast was a part of the territory under responsibility of the battalion and on May 11, the battalion embarked on patrolling Krasnoarmeysk, Dobropolsky, Velikonovoselovsky and Aleksandrovsky Districts of Donetsk Oblast. On May 11, 2014, Dnipro fighters entered Krasnoarmeysk of Donetsk Oblast driving cars and secure cash-in-transit vehicles of the Privat Bank\textsuperscript{497} and blocked the city council and main police office\textsuperscript{498}. They also captured four polling stations located in schools, but failed to disrupt entirely the referendum on Donbass self-determination due on May 11\textsuperscript{499} – the voting had been finished ahead of schedule, with members of the local electoral commission managing to escape and save the ballots. When attempting to burst their way to the building of the city Council through protesting unarmed locals,


\textsuperscript{497} (Russian) The Insider: Батальон "Днепр" и бронемашины Приvatбанка сорвали "референдум" в Красноармейске. URL: http://www.theinsider.ua/rus/politics/536f8d1bd7566/

\textsuperscript{498} (Russian) Українська правда: На Донбасс пришёл батальон "Днепр": свернул "референдум", взял РГА под охрану. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/05/11/7025009/

fighters of the battalion opened fire\(^500\), with two locals dying\(^501\). Afterwards, the Dnipro battalion took part in military actions against the DPR’s divisions in the territory of Western Donbass and a number of terrorist and subversive operations in the territory of the LPR.

After President Poroshenko announced unilateral ceasefire by the Ukrainian side on June 20, fighters of the Dnipro, Donbass and Aidar battalions and the Council of Maidan hundreds arranged a protest in the center of Kiev on June 29 and sent an address to Poroshenko demanding that the ceasefire be over, martial law be introduced and enough arms be given to volunteer battalions\(^502\). On August 11, Right Sector militants and Dnipro battalion fighters captured the office of the KroK private security company in Dnipropetrovsk\(^503\). Moreover, on the same day, the Dnipro battalion detained Mayor of Alchevsk Mykola Boyko\(^504\). On July 30, 2014, Metropolitan Onufry of Chernovtsy and Bukovina reported that fighters of the Dnipro battalion committed violence towards clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the village of Krasnoarmeyskoye of Novoazovsky District in Donetsk Oblast, threatened Hegumen of the Temple of the Saint Blessed Alexan-

\(^{500}\) (Russian) M. Zelenский // Slon.ru: Захватившие горсовет Красноармейска открыли огонь по толпе. URL: http://slon.ru/fast/world/zakhvativshie-gorsovet-krasnoarmeyska-otkryli-ogon-po-tolpe-1096468.xhtml

\(^{501}\) (Russian) O. Измайлов // Вести-Репортер: Батальон "Днепр" патрулирует все участки Красноармейска. URL: http://vesti-ukr.com/donbass/53407-v-krasnoarmeysk-priehali-boeviki-batalona-dnepr

\(^{502}\) (Russian) C. Семенченко: Обращение к Президенту. URL: https://www.facebook.com/dostali.hvatit/posts/774841675883942

\(^{503}\) (Russian) Корреспондент.net: «Правый сектор» и батальон «Днепр» захватили охранное агентство в Днепропетровске. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3404195-pravyi-sektor-y-batalon-dnepr-zakhvatily-okhrannoe-ahentstvo-v-dnepropetrovsk

\(^{504}\) (Russian) Украинская правда: Поймали "народного мэра" Алчевска. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/08/11/7034551/
der Nevskiy Protopriest Ihor Sergienko and captured, robbed and assaulted Protopriest Yevhen Podgorny. On December 13, Dnipro battalion leadership blocked humanitarian aid going through checkpoints they controlled to the territory of the Donetsk People’s Republic until “rebels freed all hostages.” That step was condemned by Amnesty International human rights organization. Denis Krivosheev, acting Director of Europe and Central Asia for Amnesty International, said in this regard: “Checking the content of humanitarian convoys crossing frontline is one thing. Preventing it is another. Attempting to create unbearable conditions of life is a whole new ballgame. Using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is a war crime.” On January 23, 2015, Hennadiy Moskal appointed as the new Head of Lugansk Oblast said that fighters of the battalion blasted a train shipping coal from the LPR for the thermal power station in the town of Shchastya, which could result in power outages in Lugansk Oblast due to a possible lack of coal. Previously, the battalion spokesperson reported that the “guerilla fighters coordinated by the Dnipro-1 regiment blasted a freight


506. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Украинские батальоны блокируют поставку гуманитарки в зону АТО. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3456129-ukrayinskaye-batalony-blokyruyut-postavku-humanityarky-v-zonu-ato


508. (Ukrainian) Г. Москаль: Підрив так званими партизанами поїзду з вугіллям – це диверсія проти контролюваної Україною території Луганщини. URL: http://moskal.in.ua/?categoty=news&news_id=1400
train that was shipping coal to the Russian Federation and a part of the railway at the Krasnaya Mogila railway station near Sverdlovsk in Lugansk Oblast. On May 15, 2014, an MP from the Party of Regions Mykola Levchenko announced the party’s demand that the Dnipro battalion, along with the National Guard divisions, should be disbanded. On May 23, 2014, Serhiy Taruta, the then Governor of Donetsk Oblast appointed by the Kiev authorities, accused the Dnipro battalion of destabilizing the situation in Donbass. On June 4, 2014, the Prosecutor General’s Office of the Russian Federation received a request to recognize the Dnipro and Donbass battalions as terrorist formations.

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The Shakhtarsk battalion is a special patrol police volunteer battalion created in June 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and disbanded in October 17 for looting.

Commander of the battalion Andriy Filonenko with the help of the leader of the Radical Party Oleh Lyashko was initially involved in forming the Ukraine battalion. However, the people responsible for creating the bat-
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A new battalion called Shakhtarsk was set up with the help of the leadership of the oblast administration. Ruslan Onishchenko, deputy commander for combat training, initiated further recruitment of volunteers into the battalion from Donetsk, Lugansk and other regions of Ukraine. Leadership of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration provided the battalion with a training camp, food and necessary transportation. Head of the Party of Regions organization in Torez Vitaly Kropachev and advisor to the Minister of Internal Affairs Anton Gerashchenko took an active part in the formation of the battalion.

Fighters of the Jesus Christ Hundred from the nationalist Bratstvo (Brotherhood) organization of Dmytro Korchynsky as well as criminals including Ruslan Onishchenko joined the Shakhtarsk battalion.

Before the battalion was disbanded, its fighters participated in military actions against DPR’s divisions near Peski, Maryinka, Krasnohorivka, Ilovaisk, Volno-

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513. (Russian) Обозреватель: Командиры батальона "Шахтерск": 95% милиции нужно уволить. Это враги. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/interview/85209-komandiryi-batalona-shahtersk-95-militsii-nuzhno-uvolit--eto-vragi.htm


vakha and Mariupol and became notorious for a number of crimes and extremist statements.

Deputy commander of the battalion Ruslan Onishchenko (a.k.a. Abalmaz) said in an interview: “We believe it’s better to lose the city of Snizhne than lose our soldiers. It should be worked on with aviation and artillery so that the city will be destroyed and soil will be burnt five meters down.”516 In the same interview, Onishchenko said the following about the civilian population of the DPR: “We gave people a safe corridor to leave once, then the second time – they don’t want to leave. We feel bad for them, but if people don’t want to leave the DPR, it means they are on the terrorists’ side. How can the city be saved if it is entirely plague-infected!?”517

On October 16, Interior Minister Arsen Avakov ordered to disband the Shakhtarsk battalion for frequent looting by its fighters: “I have disbanded the Shakhtarsk battalion that wonderfully fought at Ilovaisk because there have been numerous cases of looting in Volnovakha and other situations.”518 According to Avakov, about 50 out of 700 volunteers of the battalion were involved in looting. Mykola Malomuzh, a Ukrainian Army General, former Head of External Intelligence Service of Ukraine confirmed: “Looting acts have in fact taken place in the Shakhtarsk battalion. We received timely on-the-spot information that such instances had taken place. The SSU is to handle such instances

516. (Russian) Обозреватель: Командиры батальона "Шахтерск": 95% милиции нужно уволить. Это враги. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/interview/85209-komandiryi-batalona-shahtersk-95-militsiiv-nuzhnouvolit--eto-vragi.htm?full=1
517. Ibid.
518. (Russian) РИА Новости: Аваков: батальон "Шахтерск" расформирован из-за мародерства. URL: http://ria.ru/world/20141017/1028702798.html
because they have led to systemic discontent of the local population, to resistance on the part of residents. They have not contributed to building a dialogue with the population. These facts include robbery, abuse, expropriation of electronics, but there are also more serious consequences. That is why such a forced decision has been made."

The battalion disbanded, its personnel was divided into two groups: the Saint Maria unit of the Ministry of the Interior comprised of nationalist volunteers from the Shakhtarsk and Azov belonging to the Bratstvo political party of Dmytro Korchynsky, and a group of officers of the Ministry of the Interior who were sent to reinforce other volunteer battalions of the Ministry of the Interior. They later formed a new volunteer unit called Tornado company.

On November 2, in Kiev, the Security Service of Ukraine detained six members of an especially dangerous subversive group that later turned out to be fighters of the Tornado. The SSU seized an arsenal of weapons that, according to law enforcement officers, the arrested were planning to use to “complete a number of private orders of raider nature.” On November 4, Tornado battalion fighters armed with automatic firearms and grenades entered the office of Zaporizhia

519. (Ukrainian) Еспресо TV: Маломуж: "Шахтарськ" дійсно займався мародерством. URL: http://espreso.tv/news/2014/10/17/malomuzh_quotshakhtarskquot_diysno_zaymavsysya_maroderstvom
520. (Ukrainian) Антон Геращенко: Близько 500 осіб вважаються зниклими безвісті. Знайти живими їх навряд чи вдасться. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/09/30/7039343/
522. (Russian) UainSide: СБУ задержала шесть бойцов батальона «Шахтерск». URL: http://uainside.info/2014/11/03/sbu-zaderzhalshest-bojtsov-batalona-shahtersk/
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Mayor Oleksandr Sin. It was reported that the Mayor and Tornado fighters had a short but very tense conversation after which the fighters had a heated argument with the police and then left the City Council for an undisclosed location\textsuperscript{523}. The leadership of the company explained that they suspected the Zaporizhia Mayor in “aiding and abetting separatists.”\textsuperscript{524}

In March 2015, the military procurator’s office initiated criminal proceedings under Articles 255 (forming a criminal organization), 127 (committing acts of violence related with sexual abuse) and 115 (murder) of the Criminal Code of Ukraine against police officers over creating the Tornado special patrol company of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Lugansk Oblast and committing especially serious offenses\textsuperscript{525}. Ukraine’s Chief Military Prosecutor, Deputy Prosecutor General Anatoly Matios said that the basement of a Lysychansk secondary school was adapted to commit acts of violence: beatings, torture and bodily injury to men. According to Matios, the probe had found evidence that by order and in direct presence of the company’s commander Onishchenko, a detainee was raped and threatened with death, which was recorded with video equipment\textsuperscript{526}. According to the law enforcement

\textsuperscript{523.} (Russian) Pressa Today: Батальон «Торнадо» с оружием во- рвался в кабинет к мэру Запорожья. URL: http://pressa.today/events/batalon-tornado-s-oruzhiem-vorvalis-v-kabinet-k-meru-zaporozhya/

\textsuperscript{524.} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Бойцы батальона Торнадо обвинили мэра Запорожья пособничестве сепаратистам. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3443213-boitsy-batalona-tornado-obvynulymera-zaporozhia-posobnichstve-separatyistam

\textsuperscript{525.} (Russian) УкрИнформ: Бойцов «Торнадо» задержали за пытки и извращенное изнасилование – прокурор. URL: http://www.ukrinform.ua/rus/news/boytsov_tornado_zadergali_za_pitki_i_izvrashchen-noe_iznasilovanie___prokuror_1755929

\textsuperscript{526.} (Russian) А. Разумный // Остров: "Батальон извращенцев?" Матиос в Северодонецке рассказал о преступлениях "Торнадо". URL: http://www.ostro.org/lugansk/society/articles/473105/
findings announced by Matios, “a significant number of Tornado company officers were previously convicted, including repeatedly.” The company itself was disbanded while its commander Ruslan Onishchenko and another seven fighters were arrested.

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The Donbass battalion is a volunteer unit formed in mid April 2014 to participate in the ATO. It was initiated by Head of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky.

The battalion was formed with the help of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast National Defense Staff. According to different sources, the number of the Donbass battalion personnel ranges from 400 to 800 fighters and reaches up to 4.5 thousand reserve volunteers. Sources directly

527. (Russian) Матиос: Бойцы "Торнадо" отказываются сложить оружие, угрожают стрельбой. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2015/06/18/7071684/
528. (Russian) Украина сегодня: Аваков расформировал батальон "Шахтерск" из-за мародерства. URL: http://ua-today.com/news-from-ukraine/2601
529. (Ukrainian) П. Ковальов, В. Ковальова // Радіо Свобода: Роті «Торнадо» офіційно повідомили про ліквідацію. URL: http://www.radiosvoboda.org/media/video/27082985.html
connected with the ATO say that over 800 members of the battalion have died in the military actions in the east. The Donbass has been documented to include foreigners from Byelorussia, Spain, Georgia, the US and other countries. When in mid June 2014, commander of the battalion Semyon Semenchenko addressed Ukraine’s President Petro Poroshenko with a request to grant foreign fighters Ukrainian citizenship, his list had 15 foreigners from Georgia, Byelorussia, Russia and Spain.

The Donbass battalion actively participated in the battles in Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts. It became well-known thanks to the media activities its commander who in the end was elected to the Supreme Rada and thanks to its participation in many important battles during the military conflict between Ukraine on the one hand and the DPR and the LPR on the other.

Fighters of the battalion were frequently accused of committing different crimes. According to Donbass battalion soldier Oleh Dub, the battalion murdered civilians in the village of Mykolaivka. Donetsk Oblast

532. (Russian) Uainside: Какие батальоны действуют в Украине. URL: http://uainside.info/2014/09/01/kakie-batalony/


535. (Russian) RT на русском: «Ты ему ещё водки налей!» – убитый в Донбассе американец, по словам сослуживцев, ненавидел russkikh. URL: http://russian.rt.com/article/46375

536. (Ukrainian) Радіо Свобода: Батальйон «Донбас» просить про громадянство для іноземних добровольців. URL: http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/25427246.html

537. (Russian) Новороссия: Каратель из батальона «Донбасс» о расправе над мирными жителями в Николаевке. URL: http://www.novorosinform.org/news/id/2425
Governor Oleksandr Kikhtenko accused the Donbass of looting on air of the Shuster Live show. Latvian human rights activist Ejnars Graudins said that he had documented numerous facts of looting, mob law towards civilians and rape, including of minors, committed by battalion fighters in the village of Nyzhnya Krynka. Former fighters of the battalion accused Donbass commander Semyon Semenchenko of covering up looting, rape and shooting of minors in Donetsk Oblast. On December 14, Semenchenko announced blocking of humanitarian aid and cargo going to the territory of the DPR “until hostages were released.”

On June 4, 2014, a State Duma deputy Oleg Mikheev sent a letter to Russia’s Prosecutor General with the request to look into the activity of the Donbass battalion (as well as the Dnipro battalion) and recognize them as terrorist formations.

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The 20th territorial defense battalion of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (Ukrainian: 20-й батальйон территоріальної оборони) is a separate unit under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine formed with the help of the Dnipropetrovsk
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Oblast National Defense Staff. On April 30, 2014, a formal decision was made to set up territorial defense battalions in every oblast of Ukraine.

The battalion is financed by the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Administration and with the resources that come from several charity foundations (the Fond Oboroni Kraini and a number of others). In early May, the battalion was almost fully formed and engaged in maintaining public order in Dnipropetrovsk. On May 8, along with the Azov battalion, the Dnipropetrovsk battalion took part in the raid on Mariupol. As of early September, the battalion almost entirely consisted of idea-driven and ideologically motivated personnel542.

* * *

The Krivbass battalion was created in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Wide media coverage was given to Krivbass fighters shooting a civilian and famous Ukrainian volunteer Vyacheslav Gusakovskyy who was involved in rescuing refugees from the ATO zone. However, the leadership of the battalion told the press that a suicide bomber who was going to blast a checkpoint had been shot. The truth was revealed because fighters of the battalion attached several pictures of his automobile to the report about the “suicide bomber” and

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volunteers recognized the familiar car\textsuperscript{543}.

In August 2014, the militia forced the battalion from its positions. A part of the battalion died, some were taken hostage, the rest fled. Commander of the battalion Serhiy Kurshakov was injured and left the ATO zone. He returned to Dnipropetrovsk Oblast after treatment in Israel. Afterwards, the Krivbass battalion officially ceased to exist. The most likely reason why the paramilitary unit was disbanded is fighters’ public statements about the state of affairs on the front line and blatant mistakes of its commander in the ATO zone. 21 fighters died, 10 people went missing in action and 97 volunteers were taken hostage during the military actions\textsuperscript{544}.

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The Sicheslav battalion is one of the least famous battalions of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. The battalion is subordinate to the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. It consists of local volunteers and does not take part in the ATO,

\textsuperscript{543} (Russian) WikiWarriors: Кривбасс (МВД). URL: http://ru.warriors.wikia.com/wiki/Кривбасс_(МВД)

\textsuperscript{544} (Russian) O. Ярмолюк // Пресса Украины: Батальон «Кривбасс» расформирован. URL: http://uapress.info/ru/news/show/71610
but controls only a few checkpoints in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Witnesses say members of the battalion are involved in charging long distance truckers for passing through the checkpoints. At the same time, some Dnipropetrovsk volunteers even raise money to help the battalion.

The Sicheslav battalion is special in that it was based on a Cossack regiment called Novokazatskaya hundred of Zaporizhia troops545.

**Kiev**

**The Kiev-1 battalion**546 is a special patrol police battalion formed in April 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of Interior of Ukraine in Kiev. According to the battalion commander Vitaly Satarenko, forming a special patrol police battalion was regarded as a way of involving socially minded and patriotic citizens in maintaining law and order in the country, including in the east.

The battalion personnel was set at 300 volunteers. Any citizen who has undergone a medical and initial check-up could join the battalion. In addition, already retired law enforcement officers as well as the military and reserve officers could serve in the ranks of the unit and keep receiving the pension.

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545. (Russian) Лица: В Днепропетровские появился казачий спецбатальон «Сичеслав». URL: http://www.litsa.com.ua/show/a/16181

546. (Russian) Antifashist.com: Kiev-1. URL: http://antifashist.com/item/kiev-1.html
As of early June 2014, 150 new members were recruited in the battalion, including women.

It was announced in mid-November that a special assault company called Tin (Shadow) was to be formed within the battalion. In May 2015, fighters of the Tin company claimed responsibility for the death of Aleksey Mozgovoy, the commander of the Prizrak (Ghost) battalion of the LPR Army547.

Following the Odessa tragedy on May 2, 2014, fighters of the battalion arrived in the city. According to Minister of the Interior Avakov, the decision to send the battalion to Odessa was made because its personnel included residents of Odessa who were willing to help the local law enforcement “in the fight against manifestations of separatism.” According to the Ministry of Interior of Ukraine, fighters of the battalion served in both Odessa itself and the Odessa Oblast where “an attempt to possibly take over the oblast administration building was prevented”, among other things548.

In June, the battalion embarked on maintaining public order in the center of Kiev, particularly ensuring security of government buildings, as also took part in the military actions in the ATO zone.

August 7 saw clashes between members of the Kiev-1 battalion and representatives of the Maidan Self-Defense when activists remaining on the Maidan were dispersed549, 550. Some politicians and activists accused

547. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Партизаны отряда "Тени" утверждают, что они убили Мозгового. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3518696-partyzany-otriada-teny-utverzhdaet-chto-ony-ubyly-mozghovogo

548. (Ukrainian) МВС України: Силами бійців була припинена спроба захоплення будівлі Одеської обласної державної адміністрації. URL: http://mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/main/uk/publish/article/1045816

549. (Ukrainian) Українська правда: На Хрещатику запалили шини. URL: http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/08/7/7034157/

550. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: В результате противостояния на Майдане госпитализированы три бойца батальона Киев-1.
the battalion of violence against civilians during arrests\textsuperscript{551}, of “physical lobbying and further promotion of non-transparent financial schemes and illegal businesses of their clients.”\textsuperscript{552} On February 24, the Kiev-1 battalion blocked humanitarian aid going to the civilian population of Donbass suffering from the armed conflict\textsuperscript{553}.

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The Zoloti Vorota battalion of the Ministry of the Interior is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed on May 2, 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev. The battalion included participants in clashes with the police on the Maidan in the winter of 2013-2014 as well as volunteers who took part in the trainings in the Donbass-2 and Crimea battalions (these are other names that the Zoloti Vorota battalion goes by). Mykola Shvalya was the initial commander of unit.\textsuperscript{554}

On July 3, the battalion and other units of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine took part in ensuring security on Hrushevsky Street, Sadovaya Street and the square in front of the Supreme Rada in Kiev.

URL: \url{http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3402727-v-rezultate-protivostoianyi-na-maidane-hospytalyzyrovany-try-boitsa-batalona-kyev-1}  
\textsuperscript{551} (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Бойцы батальона Киев-1 на митинге избили активиста – депутата. URL: \url{http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3405485-boitsy-batalona-kyev-1-na-mytyne-tyzbyly-aktyvista-deputat}  
\textsuperscript{552} (Ukrainian) С. Бондар // LB.ua: Псевдодобровольці на варті відкатів та корупції. URL: \url{http://blogs.lb.ua/sergiy_bondar/286179_psevdodobrovoltsi_varti_vidkativ.html}  
\textsuperscript{553} (Russian) ТК 112: Батальон "Киев-1" заявляет о задержании 8 фур, направлявшихся в сторону Донецка. URL: \url{http://112.ua/obshchestvo/batalon-kyev-1-zayavlyaet-o-zaderzhanii-8-fur-napravlyavshih-sya-v-storonu-donecka-194789.html}  
\textsuperscript{554} (Russian) Antifashist.com: Zoloti Vorota. URL: \url{http://antifashist.com/item/zolotye-vorota.html}
due to Rada’s measuring amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine\textsuperscript{555}. Later on, the battalion was sent to the ATO zone\textsuperscript{556} and was involved in waging the war against the LPR troops.

On April 21, 2015, the so-called Dzhokhar Dudayev international peacekeeping battalion with an undetermined legal status and made up of Islamist militants expressed its interest in joining the Zoloti Vorota special unit\textsuperscript{557}.

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**The Sych battalion** (Ukrainian: Січ) is a special patrol police battalion formed in June 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev and made up of members of the nationalist All-Ukrainian Svoboda Union.

In early June 2014, a Svoboda activist Ihor Stepura announced on his Facebook account the party was going to create its own volunteer battalion\textsuperscript{558}. On June 12, 

\begin{itemize}
\item 555. (Ukrainian) УНИАН: МВС посилило охорону Ради у зв’язку з розглядом змін до Конституції України. URL: http://www.unian.ua/politics/935470-mvs-posililo-ohoronu-radi-u-zvyazku-z-rozglyadom-zmin-do-konstitutsii-ukrajini.html
\item 556. (Ukrainian) Еспресо TV: Батальйон "Золоті ворота" вирушив на підмогу в зону АТО. URL: http://espreso.tv/news/2014/08/09/batalyon_zoloti_vorota_vyrushiv_na_pidmohu_v_zonu_ato
\item 557. (Russian) ТСН: Батальон Джохара Дудаева просить в состав спецподразделения "Золотые ворота". URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/ato/batalon-dzhohara-dudaeva-prositsya-v-sostav-specpodrazdeleniya-zolotye-vorota-421778.html
\item 558. (Russian) Кстати. Новости Днепродзержинска: «Свобода создаёт свой батальон». URL: http://kstati.dp.ua/content/svoboda-sozdaet-svoy-batalon
\end{itemize}
Oleksandr Aronets, a member of the Kiev City Council from the Svoboda Party, announced the battalion formation within the Ministry of the Interior adding that the battalion would largely comprise Svoboda members as well as military specialists who took part in the peacekeeping mission in Iraq. Svoboda members have always formed the majority of the battalion personnel.

As agreed by Minister of the Interior Avakov, it was decided to form the new military unit within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev where the newly recruited members of the battalion had been trained. The attestation over, the battalion was sent to the ATO zone. According to the Spokesperson of the battalion, a part of the unit was deployed near Kurakhove in Donetsk Oblast where it was tasked with defending the dam of the Kurakhovka power station.

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The Kiev-2 battalion is a special patrol police battalion within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. It was created in Kiev in April 2014. Participants in


the Maidan Self-Defense, former members of the Afghan hundred and activists of the ultra-right-wing S-14 movement formed the core of the battalion.

On August 7, 2014, when the battalion participated in dismantling the tent town on the Maidan of Independence where clashes involving its activists took place\textsuperscript{562}. Afterwards, it served in the ATO zone.

Interior Minister Arsen Avakov accused Andriy Medvedko, a former fighter of the Kiev-2 battalion and activist of the nationalist S-14 movement, in being involved in murdering a writer and journalist Oles Buzina\textsuperscript{563}.

\textbf{Lugansk Oblast}

\textbf{Lugansk-1 battalion} is a special patrol police battalion formed in June 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. Artyom Vitko (call name Andriy Levko) is the commander of the battalion who was elected to the Su-

\textsuperscript{562} (Russian) РИА Новости – Украина: Митингующие оттесняют с Майдана батальоны "Киев-1" и "Киев-2". URL: http://rian.com.ua/kiev/20140807/355730993.html

\textsuperscript{563} (Russian) MediaLeaks: Один из подозреваемых в убийстве Бузины служил в батальоне «Киев-2» и был активистом самообороны Майдана. URL: http://medialeaks.ru/news/1806stas_kievbuzina
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The battalion took part in the military actions in Lugansk Oblast. Moreover, its leadership and personnel were involved in a number of scandals and crimes against the civilian population.

On October 10, 2014, fighters of the Lugansk-1, Aidar and Saint Mary battalions threw over a car with manure at the building of the 1+1 Channel belonging to Governor of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Ihor Kolomoisky for its journalists criticizing Oleh Lyashko.

On October 31, 2014, the battalion put Mikhail Porechenkov, a Russian actor who supported the people’s republics of Donbass, on the wanted list “for crimes under Articles 110, 258 and 263 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.”

According to some information, on March 22, 2015, the Lugansk-1 participated in a property conflict between Ihor Kolomoisky and other shareholders over Ukrnafta gas & oil company. According to a Automaidan representative Dmytro Karp, fighters of the battalion blocked entrances into the building of the company.

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564. (Russian) Antifashist.com: Lugansk-1. URL: http://antifashist.com/item/lugansk-1.html
565. (Russian) Rosbalt: Командир батальона "Луганск-1": Украинская армия может освободить Донбасс за 2-3 недели. URL: http://www.rosbalt.ru/ukraina/2015/03/23/1380805.html
while Kolomoisky himself accused a businessman and people’s deputy Yeremeev of attempting to illegally take over the company\(^570\). The commander of the battalion denied having taken part in the events\(^571\).

Lugansk-1 fighters are suspected in being involved in violence against and murder civilians in the territory controlled by the battalion\(^572\).

**Kharkiv Oblast**

The **Kharkiv-1** is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. The Slobozhanshchina and Kharkiv-1 special battalions were created within Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in mid-April 2014 by the order of Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov. They were initiated by Yangolenko brothers who became the commanders of these units. According to the minister, Kharkiv’s police often sabotaged activities aimed

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571. (Russian) ТК 112: Кombat: "Луганск-1" в полном составе на передовой, а не возле "Укрнафты". URL: http://112.ua/obshchestvo/kombat-lugansk-1-v-polnom-sostave-na-peredovoy-a-ne-vozle-ukrnafty-208869.html

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at “fighting separatism” in the oblast, which is why the special battalion was formed within the Ministry of the Interior with ideology-driven pro-Ukrainian personnel573.

The Kharkiv Oblast Prosecutor’s Office initiated criminal proceedings against fighters of the Kharkiv-1 battalion. They were accused of severely beating and robbing resident of the oblast Havrylenko574.

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**The Slobozhanshchyna battalion** is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in June 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Kharkiv Oblast.575

Commander of the Slobozhanshchina battalion police senior lieutenant Andriy Yangolenko said on June 6, 2014: “Thanks to our battalion (including the Kharkiv-1) that were formed in the city of Kharkiv, acts of separatism disappeared from the city entirely.” Yangolenko also claimed that his units participated in detaining “supporters of pro-

573. (Russian) Antifashist.com: Kharkiv-1. URL: http://antifashist.com/item/harkov-1.html

574. (Russian) Обозреватель: Прокуратура обвинила бойцов милицейского батальона "Харьков-1" в варварстве. URL: http://obozrevatel.com/crime/86193-prokuratura-obvinila-bojtsov-militsejskogo-batalon-harkov-1-v-varvarstve.htm

575. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Милиция создает спецбатальоны Харьков и Слобожанщина. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3349772-mylytsiya-sozdaet-spetsbatalony-kharkov-y-slobozhan-schyna
Russian forces” on many occasions576.

In October, thirty police officers-members of the Slobozhanshchyna battalion wrote a collective letter about crimes against civilians and harassment of subordinates when serving in Donbass that were committed with Yangolenko’s knowledge577. The fighters of the battalion specified in the letter that when serving in the ATO zone, the leadership of the battalion abused their positions and seized private property of the locals, humanitarian and volunteer aid provided for the personnel of the battalion and the civilian population with the use of violence against fighters of the battalion and the locals. The lawsuit filed in the Kharkiv Prosecutor’s Office was transferred to the Prosecutor’s Office of Donetsk Oblast. The Slobozhanshchyna battalion kept fulfilling combat tasks. For the time of the investigation, commander of the patrol police regiment of the Kharkiv City Directorate of the Interior Ministry Mykhailo Katana was appointed as acting commander of the battalion.

On November 10, Ukraine’s Minister of the Interior Avakov arrived in Kharkiv to hold a meeting with the leadership of the Kharkiv Oblast Directorate and commanders of special patrol police battalions deployed in the oblast (the Slobozhanshchyna battalion, Kharkiv-1 battalion and Kharkiv-2 company). Concluding the meeting, he reported on his “undivided trust” in Yangolenko578.

576. (Russian) Г. Прылик // MediaPort: Кто и зачем идёт в батальоны «Харьков-1» и «Слобожанщина». URL: http://www.mediaport.ua/kto-i-zachem-idiot-v-batalony-harkov-1-i-slobozhanshchina
578. (Russian) А. Аваков: Документы по реформе МВД. URL: https://www.facebook.com/arsen.avakov.1/posts/729456660477776:0
**Chernihiv Oblast**

The *Chernihiv battalion* is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in April 2014 within the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Chernihiv Oblast. It was one of the first special units of the Ministry of the Interior to be created in Ukraine following the coup d’état\(^579\).

Former members of the 14\(^{th}\) hundred of the Maidan Self-Defense called Free People and headed by hundred commander Roman Pitskiv formed the backbone of the battalion.

Soon after being formed, fighters of the Chernihiv battalion embarked on patrolling the streets of the oblast capital. Afterwards, they were sent to the ATO zone in Lugansk.

On June 17, 2015, Head of the Lugansk Oblast military and civilian administration Hennadiy Moskal asked Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, Chief of the General Staff Viktor Muzhenko and Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council Oleksandr Turchynov to immediately disarm the Tornado and Chernihiv battalions. According to the Spokesperson of the Oblast administration, Moskal also asked to withdraw these battalions outside of Lugansk Oblast and disband them. In his words, “some military units of the Minis-

try of the Interior of Ukraine turned to crime and, to cover up their contemptible conduct, they pretended to be fighters against some “alleged” smuggling. This largely has to do with the Tornado and Chernihiv battalions.”

The following volunteer units are also known to have been created after the coup d’état, with some taking part in the military actions during the military conflict in Donbass:

**Vinnytsia Oblast**

*The Vinnitsa battalion* is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in May 2014 within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Vinnytsia Oblast. Major Ruslan Moroz is the battalion commander. Personnel of the battalion has been serving in the ATO zone since June 24, 2014.

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Volhynia Oblast

The Svityaz special police company (full name: Svityaz special patrol police company УМВД Украины в Волынской области) is a volunteer division formed in June 2014 within the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Volhynia Oblast. Police Major Oleksandr Fatsevych is the commander of the company. On August 14, 2014, fighters of the unit were sent to the ATO zone. The Svityaz took part in the battles of Ilovaisk and Vuhlehirsk.582

Zaporizhia Oblast

The Skif battalion is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in June 2014 within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Zaporizhia Oblast. The battalion personnel included current and former police officers as well as volunteers. A part of fighters of the battalion is known to have served partly in the ATO zone.583

583. (Russian) Факты.ua: Сформированный в Запорожье батальон «Скиф» готовится к отправке в зону АТО. URL: http://fakty.ua/184523-sformirovannyj-v-zaporozhe-batalon-skif-gotovitsya-k-otpravke-v-zonu-ato
Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast

The Ivano-Frankivsk battalion is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in May 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast. Colonel Oleksandr Polishchuk and Colonel Dmytro Gladky are commanders of the battalion.

On July 31, 120 fighters of the battalion took the oath and in early August, they were sent to the ATO zone. The battalion took an active part in military actions⁵⁸⁴.

Kiev Oblast

The Kievan Rus 25th battalion of territorial defense (Ukrainian: 25-й батальйон територіальної оборони «Київська Русь») is a separate battalion formed in Kiev Oblast under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

Ukrainian Army Major, reserve officer Andriy Yanchenko (call name Vysota) was appointed as the commander of the battalion. Roman Semchysyn (call name Kit), a former hundred commander of the Euromaidan, became deputy commander.

of the battalion for personnel relations. As of late July, men aged 22 to 58 and representing all regions of Ukraine served in the battalion, but volunteers from Kiev Oblast constituted the majority of its personnel (in total, about 70% of the personnel were from Kiev and Kiev Oblast). Many of them have previous military experience and a significant proportion are Euromaidan activists.

The battalion arrived in the ATO zone on August 19 and was sent to the front line the following day. Fighters of the unit participated in combat operations during the ATO, largely near Debaltseve where it suffered significant losses\textsuperscript{585, 586}. During the night of January 31, 2015, by order of a battery commander Yevhen Tkachuk, but without the permission of higher command personnel, 55 fighters of the battalion left their positions near Vuhlehirsk and returned via Debaltseve. On February 2, Tkachuk was arrested and brought to Kiev and, the following day, to Kramatorsk where he was charged with cowardice and failure to obey order\textsuperscript{587}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{585} (Russian) Owiki: 25-й батальон территориальной обороны Киевской области. URL: http://owiki.ru/wiki/25-й_батальон_территориальной_обороны_Киевской_области
\item \textsuperscript{586} (Russian) Знаменосец: Флаг батальона «Киевская Русь» 25-й БТрО, 1 рота, ВСУ. URL: http://zname.com.ua/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=762
\item \textsuperscript{587} (Russian) ТСН: Командира батареи "Киевской Руси", выведенного из под Дебальцево 55-х бойцов, арестовали в Краматорске. URL: http://ru.tsn.ua/ato/komandira-batarei-kievskoy-rusi-vyvedshtego-iz-pod-debalcevo-55-h-boycov-arestovali-v-kramatorske-409001.html
\end{itemize}
The Mirotvorec (Ukrainian: Миротворець) is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed on May 9, 2014 by the order of the Ministry of Defense within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Kiev Oblast.

The battalion is made up of professional military and law enforcement officers – veterans of peacekeeping missions with a significant experience of participation in foreign operations. Andriy Teteruk was appointed as the commander of the battalion. The Center of special and physical training of the National Academy of Internal Affairs was determined to be the battalion’s home station.588

The Kievan Rus 11th battalion of territorial defense (Ukrainian: 11-й батальйон територіальної оборони «Київська Русь») is a battalion formed in Kiev Oblast under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine with the help of the Kiev Oblast National Defense Staff. The personnel of the battalion was recruited from members of hundreds of the Maidan Self-Defense589. Besides citizens of Ukraine, at least one foreigner – Kristian Zheregi, an active participant

588. (Russian) Antifashist.com: Mirotvorec. URL: http://antifashist.com/item/mirotvorec.html
in the Euromaidan and a citizen of Moldova – joined the battalion\textsuperscript{590}. The battalion took part in the military operations near Slavyansk (in particular, divisions of the battalion served on Karachun Mountain and at checkpoints leading to the mountain)\textsuperscript{591}. Afterwards, the battalion was sent to Debaltseve\textsuperscript{592}. In November, the Kievan Rus 11\textsuperscript{th} territorial defense battalion was transformed in the Kievan Rus 11\textsuperscript{th} separate mechanized infantry battalion.

\section*{Kirovohrad Oblast}

\textbf{The Kirovograd (Kirovohrad)} is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in May 2014 within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Kirovohrad Oblast “to maintain public order and fight against illegal armed groups and saboteurs.”

\textsuperscript{590}(Russian) Вести. МД: Режиссер из Молдовы записался добровольцем в "Киевскую Русь". URL: http://vesti.md/?mod=news&id=30219


\textsuperscript{592}(Russian) О. Котляренко // Комсомольская правда в Украине: Жены бойцов батальона "Киевская Русь": "Наши мужья под "Градами" в Дебальцево". URL: http://kp.ua/life/470194-zheny-boitsov-11-batalona-nashy-muzhia-pod-hradamy-v-debaltsevo
The battalion was based on the former Institute of Internal Troops. Senior Lieutenant Vyacheslav Shevchenko, a famous athlete, President of the Federation of hand-to-hand combat in Kirovohrad Oblast and Vice-President of the Federation of combat hopak, was appointed the commander of the battalion. When recruiting to the battalion, preference was given to fighters who previously served in the Armed Forces, with ideology being the second criterion\textsuperscript{593} \textsuperscript{594}.

\textit{Lviv Oblast}

\textbf{The Lviv battalion}\textsuperscript{595} is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in April 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Lviv Oblast. Police Senior Lieutenant Igor Volsky was appointed as the commander of the Lviv battalion\textsuperscript{596}; former economic crime investigator Zoreslav Kainsky became

\textsuperscript{593} (Ukrainian) В. Чудинский // Правдоруб Кіровоградщина: Як формується батальйон "Кіровоград"? URL: http://www.pravdorub.kr.ua/news/kirovohrad/yak-formuyetsya-batalyon-kirovograd.html
\textsuperscript{594} (Russian) Delo.ua: В Кировоградской области создан батальон территориальной обороны. URL: http://delo.ua/ukraine/v-kirovogradskoj-oblasti-sozdan-batalyon-territorialnoj-oborony-235630/
\textsuperscript{595} (Russian) WikiWarriors: «Львов». URL: http://ru.warriors.wikia.com/wiki/Львов
\textsuperscript{596} (Russian) Сегодня.ua: Под Дебальцево на фугасе подорвались машины с комбатом "Львова" и начальником львовской облмилиции. URL: http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/donetsk/pod-debalcevo-ranen-nachalnik-lvovskoy-oblmilicii-pogib-komandir-batalona-specnaza-lvov-591508.html
deputy commander of the battalion and commander of a company.

On July 12, 2014, fighters of the Lviv took the oath, with the ceremony attended by the deputy commander. A significant number of the battalion fighters were Euromaidan activists, including former hundred commanders.

On July 24, the battalion set off for the ATO zone where it took part in a number of battles, particularly the Battle of Debaltseve.

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The 3rd territorial defense battalion of Lviv Oblast (Ukrainian: 3-й батальйон територіальної оборони Львівської обласі) is a battalion formed in Lviv Oblast. Later on, it merged with the 24th mechanized brigade of the Ukrainian Ground Forces597. Colonel Roman Kushnir is the battalion commander.

On March 18, 2014, Lviv Oblast began to set up the 3rd territorial defense battalion598.

The battalion was formed with government funds. Thus, on March 21, the Lviv Oblast Council adopted the Program of material and administrative support of the 3rd territorial defense battalion of Lviv Oblast in accordance with which 1 million hryvnias was allotted for the battal-

597. (Russian) Википедия: 3-й батальон территориальной обороны Львовской области. URL: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/3-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D1%8E%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B3_%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BF%D0%BE_обороны_Львовской_области

598. (Russian) Корреспондент.net: Во Львове формируется батальон территориальной обороны. URL: http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3321195-vo-lvove-formyruetsia-batalon-territorialnoi-oborony
ion from the Lviv Oblast budget and another 3.72 million hryvniyas from other legal sources. The money was allowed to be spent on protection and communication means, clothes and other equipment.

On May 8, the Lviv Oblast Administration adopted decree № 149/0/5-14 on organizational work and propaganda campaign to attract volunteers to serve in the battalion. The battalion had been fully formed by May 30. The personnel underwent training in the training center of the International Peacekeeping and Security Center in Yavoriv and Yavoriv polygon.

On July 4, the battalion was sent to the ATO zone. On September 5, over 100 more troops from the battalion were sent to the combat area from Lviv. In November, the 3rd territorial defense battalion of Lviv Oblast was transformed into the 3rd mechanized infantry battalion of the 24th mechanized brigade. On December 5, the battalion was withdrawn from the combat area and returned to the home station in Lviv Oblast.

**Mykolaiv Oblast**

The Mykolaiv battalion\(^{599}\) (a.k.a. Saint Mykola) is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in May 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Mykolaiv Oblast\(^{600}\).

\(^{599}\) (Russian) УНИАН: В Николаеве начали формировать батальон территориальной обороны. URL: http://www.unian.net/politics/915078-v-nikolaevpe-nachali-formirovat-batalon-territorialnoy-oboronyi.html

\(^{600}\) (Russian) WikiWarriors: «Николаев». URL: http://ru.warriors.wikia.com/wiki/Николаев
On July 11, the battalion set off for the ATO zone where it operated largely in the territory of Lugansk Oblast.

**Odessa Oblast**

The Shtorm battalion is a special patrol police volunteer battalion formed in May 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine in Odessa Oblast\(^601\).

On July 20, fifty fighters of the battalion went to the ATO zone\(^602\). They returned to Odessa on August 23.

**Poltava Oblast**

The Poltava special patrol police battalion is a special unit formed in late April 2014 within the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Poltava Oblast\(^603\).

On April 17, the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Poltava Oblast announced the formation of three special military divisions of the patrol

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603. Poltava battalion website. URL: http://www.batalion.poltava.ua/
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police: the Kaskad battalion, Poltava company and Kremenchyg company. On June 8, 134 people enrolled in the Poltava special division and took the oath. Fighters of the battalion included former officers of the Berkut special police force and participants in the peacekeeping operation in Kosovo.

In mid-June, the Kaskad battalion and Poltava company merged into the Poltava battalion with the personnel numbering 300 people. Oleksandr Fedorenko was appointed as the commander of the battalion. The military unit was created with the funds of Poltava Oblast, municipal budget and non-budgetary sources.

On July 18, a task force of the Poltava battalion set off for its first official assignment in the ATO zone. On September 5, in accordance with the order of Minister of the Interior Arsen Avakov, the Poltava special patrol police battalion and the Mirny special patrol police company merged into the Poltavshchyna battalion with the personnel numbering 400 people.

Ilya Kiva, the coordinator of the Mirny special patrol police company and the political leader of the Right Sector regional organization in the east of Ukraine (Poltava, Kharkiv, Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts), as well as the head of the Poltava center of the Right Sector, was appointed as the commander of the new battalion and attained the rank of a Police Major.

Following the transformation, fighters of the Poltavshchyna battalion started to prepare for the assignment in the ATO zone. Commander of the battalion
Kiva said in an interview with Poltava TV that instructors from Israel who had previously prepared the Donbass and Dnipro-1 volunteer battalions were invited to improve military training of the battalion.

On September 8, a group of fighters of the battalion accompanied by members of the public arranged a protest by the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Poltava Oblast where they expressed dissatisfaction with Kiva’s appointment and demanded an explanation why the person with unexpunged convictions and with no previous experience of service in the Armed Forces or law enforcement bodies had been appointed as the acting commander of the battalion.

On September 15, fighters of the battalion sent to the leadership over a hundred reports saying they refused to carry on service in the battalion unless Kiva was removed from the position of commander. On September 29, a task force of the Poltavshchyna battalion was given another assignment in the ATO zone.

On October 22, the Poltavshchyna battalion was disbanded, with the Poltava battalion, Kremenchug company and Mirny company reinstated instead. In November, Yuriy Anuchyn (former machine gunner of the Azov special battalion with the call name of Medved) was appointed the commander of the reinstated Poltava battalion numbering about 275 fighters.

In late February, the battalion was sent to the combat area again.

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**The Kremenchug** is a special patrol police volunteer company formed in May 2014 within the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior in Poltava Oblast.604

On April 14, 2014, Interior Minister of Ukraine Avakov signed a decree on the formation of regional special patrol police units subordinate to the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (MDMI) and the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior (DMI) in oblasts. The DMI in Poltava Oblast started to set up three special patrol police units: the Kaskad battalion, Poltava company and Kremenchug company. In mid-June, the Kaskad battalion and Poltava company merged into the Poltava special patrol police battalion while Kremenchug first created the Kremenchug platoon that later was transformed into the Kremenchug company. The newly formed special police unit was financed with the city construction investment fund.

Oleh Berkel was appointed as the commander of the special company. The company was entirely formed in early June. After the attestation, officers of the battalion were given the rank of police officers and the right to carry service firearms. The company began service in Kremenchug patrolling streets in the center and Mountain neighborhood of the city.

On July 10, the first task group of the battalion set off for the ATO zone. Later on, fighters of the battalion served in different areas of Donbass.

**Rivne Oblast**

The Horyn 2nd territorial defence battalion (Ukrainian: 2-й батальйон територіальної оборони «Горинь») is a battalion formed in Rivne Oblast under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. The recruitment began in mid-May, with men aged 18 to 40, volunteers and mobilization conscripts joining the battalion. It was given the name of Horyn in early July.

The Rivne Oblast Administration helped to meet the needs of the battalion. Moreover, the battalion was financed by non-budgetary sources. When combat training was over, in mid-July 2014 the battalion was sent to the ATO zone and later that month, it was deployed in Donetsk Oblast. Afterwards, the unit participated in the military actions in Donbass.

**Sumy Oblast**

The Sumy 15th battalion of territorial defense (Ukrainian: 15-й батальйон територіальної оборони «Суми») is a battalion

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formed in Sumy Oblast under the operational control of Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense.

The formation of the territorial battalion in Sumy Oblast was announced on April 24, 2014. As soon as April 30, wives and relatives of battalion fighters held a demonstration at the oblast military enlistment office demanding to know when exactly mobilization recruits would return home (it had been previously reported that they would be mobilization for 45 days). In response, head of the enlistment office Yuriy Polous told the women that the mobilized would be allowed to return only following a decree of the Acting President of Ukraine on demobilization. The Sumy Oblast Administration, municipal budgets and non-budgetary sources funded the battalion.

On June 9, the battalion was sent to the ATO zone to serve in Lugansk Oblast, but fighters of the battalion had not been provided with helmets or body armors, which provoked the indignations of recruits’ relatives. Later on, the battalion served in Lugansk Oblast.

**Ternopil Oblast**

**The Ternopil battalion** is a special patrol police volunteer company formed in May 2014 within the Main Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior.
in Ternopil Oblast\textsuperscript{608, 609}. The battalion included volunteers only: Maidan activists, former military, retired law enforcement officers and residents of other oblasts.

In early July 2014, the first task group of the battalion set off for the ATO zone. Later on, fighters of the Ternopil took an active part in the military conflict in the east of Ukraine.

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\textbf{The 6\textsuperscript{th} territorial defense battalion of Ternopil Oblast 6} (also known as the Zbruch battalion) is a battalion formed in Ternopil Oblast under the operational control of Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense with the help of the Ternopil Oblast Administration. Lieutenant Colonel Ihor Larin is the commander of the battalion.

The formation of the battalion began in early May 2014. It was initially thought

\begin{flushright} 608. (Russian) ТК 112: В Тернополе формируют батальон территориальной обороны. URL: http://112.ua/video/v-ternopole-formiruyut-batalon-territorialnoy-oborony-35736.html?type=90106
609. (Russian) WikiWarriors: «Тернополь». URL: http://ru.warriors.wikia.com/wiki/Тернополь \end{flushright}
that only professional contract soldiers would fight in the battalion. As of early June 2014, citizens of Ukraine who had already completed compulsory military service and people with experience of participation in UN peacekeeping operations formed the majority of the battalion personnel. However, some members of the battalion had no previous military experience.

In the autumn of 2014, the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine decided to transform the 6th territorial defense battalion of Ternopil oblast into a mechanized infantry battalion and to transfer fighters of the Ternopil battalion to the 128th mountain infantry brigade (the city of Mukacheve), military unit A1556 and the Western Operational Command of the Armed Forces of Ukraine610.

On June 26, 2014, it was announced that the battalion would not be sent to the ATO zone. On June 26, the battalion was regrouped to Kherson Oblast to serve at checkpoints. On September 26, a local allegedly assaulted a sergeant of the battalion and attempted to take away his gun at a checkpoint in Kalanchatsky District of Kherson Oblast, but was shot and died from blood loss611.

In November when the 6th territorial defense battalion was transformed into the 6th mechanized infantry battalion of the 128th mountain brigade, it was reported to be sent to the ATO zone612. At the same time, the Mil-

610. (Ukrainian) В. Попович // За Збрукем: Батальйон “Збруч” розформують! URL: http://zz.te.ua/bataljon-zbruch-rozformuyut

611. (Russian) Херсон Online: На границе с Крымом стреляли. URL: http://khersonline.net/novosti/proisshestviya/29507-na-granice-s-krymom-ustrelyali.html

612. (Russian) Новости Тернополя: Тернопольский батальон “Збруч” хотят расформировать. URL: http://mfront.org/ternopol-skij-batal-on-zbruch-hotyat-rasformirovat.html
Military Prosecutor’s Office initiated criminal proceedings under Article 402 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine against over 50 fighters of the battalion who refused to go to the zone of the military conflict.

Kherson Oblast

The Kherson battalion was formed in the summer of 2014. The battalion was decided to include 300 fighters. Police Major Oleksandr Gybarev was appointed as the commander of the Kherson special patrol police battalion for the formation period.

As of July 23, 2014, 88 fighters served in the battalion. However, the leadership planned to extend the personnel of the Kherson to 230 people.

On August 19, fifty volunteers of the battalion went to the ATO zone. Commander of the battalion and former Maidan activist Ruslan Storcheus died in the Battle of Ilovaisk on August 25.


615. (Russian) РИА Новости: Силовики заявили о гибели в Донбассе командира батальона МВД "Херсон". URL: http://ria.ru/world/20140826/1021442326.html
Khmelnytskyi Oblast

The Bohdan is a special patrol police volunteer company formed within the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine. Oleh Krakovsky was appointed the commander of the company and later replaced by Oleksandr Zhymennyk.

The Bohdan special company was created on June 12, 2014 in Khmelnytskyi Oblast by the order of Interior Minister Avakov\(^{616}\). The battalion was made up of 101 volunteers aged 18 to 55.

On July 12, three dozen fighters of the Bohdan special company went to the ATO zone to replace law enforcement officers of Khmelnytskyi Oblast who had been at the combat station in Donbass for over a month\(^{617}\). At the same time, Oleksandr Zhymennyk replaced Oleh Krakovsky as the company commander. Another 50 fighters of the company went to the combat zone in mid-August.

It was reported that while serving at a checkpoint in the ATO zone, fighters of the Bohdan special company detained an unspecified “politician from Slavyansk”


and accused him of cooperating the DPR and transferred him to the SSU\textsuperscript{618}.

* * *

**General Kulchytsky battalion** was formed on the basis of the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} reserve battalions of National Guard of Ukraine. The decision was made by Minister of the Interior Avakov on August 8, 2014 following a meeting with members of the Guard. Fighters of the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} battalions, 155 and 170 people respectively, arrived in Novy Petrovtsy where the National Guard headquarters is located. The battalion did not serve in the ATO zone\textsuperscript{619}.

**Volunteer Battalions as “Select Teams” of Extremists**

A representative of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine Major general Oleksandr Rozmaznin said on December 14, 2014 that about 1 thousand foreigners altogether fought on the side of the ATO forces in Donbass by then. He also highlighted that they

\textsuperscript{618} (Ukrainian) МВС України: Працівники хмельницького підрозділу особливого призначення «Богдан» затримали політика із Слов’янська, причетного до діяльності ДНР. URL: http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/khmelnytysk/uk/publish/article/96074

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were all fighting only in volunteer battalions. Among the units fighting in Donbass on the Ukrainian side, there were divisions including not only neo-Nazis and participants in Anti-Fascist Action movement, but also radical Islamists from The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant and Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office said that there were a number of criminal proceedings opened against fighters of different volunteer battalions. Answering the question if the case against fighters of the Aidar battalion and its former commander, currently Supreme Rada deputy Serhiy Melnychuk was an exception, Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin said: “We already have cases against the so-called volunteer battalions, with some of them even more serious than that against Melnychuk.” Amnesty International has repeatedly called on the Ukrainian authorities “to reign in the volunteer battalions,” “undertake prompt, thorough and impartial investigations of all allegations of summary killings, including by Ukrainian military forces and pro-government militia, report publicly on the findings of those investigations, and bring to justice the alleged perpetrators in proceedings that meet international standards of fairness; integrate volunteer battalions and other pro-government militia into clear

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chains of command, control and accountability; ensure that all those involved in military and law-enforcement operations, including members of volunteer battalions, are made fully aware of the provisions of national and international law applicable to their actions and their potential personal and command responsibility for any breaches of these provisions; ensure reparations to victims of unlawful killings, including through disclosure of the truth, and taking steps toward ensuring that such abuses are not repeated” and “ensure that humanitarian aid blocked by volunteer battalions reaches those who desperately need it.”624, 625

In summary, Ukrainian volunteer formations have become “select teams” for a big number of extremist elements of various kinds – neo-Nazis, anti-Fascist Action and Islamist radicals. This fact is a reason for a large number of war crimes in the ATO zone. Moreover, access to power has made these formations particularly dangerous for the civilian population against which they have committed many crimes, including even outside of the conflict territory.


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Conclusion

A coup d’état is not synonymous with a revolution. A coup d’état is a series of sweeping events that usually happen within a day or two (as on February 21-22, 2014 in Ukraine)\(^{626}\). A revolution is a prolonged process of tectonic changes in all spheres of society that takes years and even decades (the Chinese “cultural revolution” of 1966-1976) whose direction may change dramatically and even go into reverse\(^{627}\).

A year and a half after the coup d’état, the Ukrainian revolution goes on. Studying the confrontation in the winter of 2013-2014 in the center of Kiev is a necessary, but an insufficient condition to understand the trends of the revolution. One should take into account the development of changes in the Ukrainian regime and society in dynamic that, besides economic and military aspects, has a very important ideological element\(^{628}\). While before the Euromaidan, only two major players with the opposite position in the Ukrainian political spectrum were ideology-driven, namely the Svo-

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boda Union and the Communist Party of Ukraine, nowadays, all social and political fields of the country are largely ideology-shaped.

This report reflects the impact of racial nationalists and the respective ideology in post-Maidan Ukraine. The report defines radicals not only in terms of their participant in political movements and parties considered extremist (the Right Sector, Svoboda and Social-National Assembly), but also on the bases of their statements and activities. Following the coup d’état, snap parliamentary and presidential elections, radicals integrated into the system of government bodies of the country thus gaining a significant influence mostly on law enforcement and defense (the Ministry of the Interior, Security Service of Ukraine and Armed Forces of Ukraine).

Radical nationalist, anti-Russian sentiments have become the political mainstream supported by Ukraine’s leaders, while the media consistently form a negative image of not only Russia, but also all political and social forces within Ukraine that are suspected in pro-Russian views. Opposition attitudes towards the group of people who came to power after the Maidan often serve to show one’s “involvement” in work “on Russian.” Residents of the self-proclaimed republics of Donbass have been dehumanized and demonized.

Despite the events of the last year and a half, Ukraine remains an important economic and strategic partner

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of Russian and plays an important role in political processes inside the country\textsuperscript{631}. Unbiased data on dramatic changes within the Ukrainian state are required to form a systemic approach of Russian government bodies and non-governmental organization to working with Ukrainian partner. This report based on a large number of factual data focuses on changes unfolding on several levels simultaneously.

\textsuperscript{631} Extremist movements in Russia and the crisis in Ukraine, expert report (Russian) (Экспертный доклад «Экстремистские движения в России и украинский кризис». Выпуск 1. – М.: ФРИГО «Народная дипломатия», 2015. – 128 с.)
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