

Minsk – 3

**Proposal
of New Negotiation Options
to Resolve the Conflict in Donbas**

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Proposal of New Negotiation Options to Resolve the Conflict in Donbas

I. «The Normandy Format 4+1»

*The Top-Level Ukrainian-Russian Group
«The Normandy Group» of Ministers for Foreign Affairs*

II. «The Mariupol Format» of the National Dialogue

I. «The Normandy Format 4+1» (I)

Task 1: to speed up decision-making and decision-implementation regarding conflict resolution in Donbas

Task 2: to write a Draft Concept of a New System of Security and Cooperation in Europe «European Consensus 2017» that should be presented on the Munich Security Conference on 17-19 February 2017

I. «The Normandy Format 4+1» (II)

- **Engaging the OSCE Secretary General into the work of the heads of state and government in «the Normandy Format»**
- **Holding meetings in «the Normandy Format» on a regular basis in Minsk**

The Top-Level Ukrainian-Russian Group

The Proposal seeks to establish the Top-Level Ukrainian-Russian Group (on the level of Presidents) within the framework of «the Normandy Format 4+1».

Its key task is to draft and sign the Memorandum on Reducing Military and Political Tensions. Including:

- managing the border regime,
- reducing the risks of military incidents,
- humane solution to the issue of political prisoners.

«The Normandy Group» of Ministers for Foreign Affairs

Key Tasks:

- to provide comprehensive analytical support for «the Normandy Format 4+1» of the heads of state and government
- to draft the Roadmap for Resolving the Conflict in Donbas
- to monitor over the implementation of negotiators' obligations

II. «The Mariupil Format» of the National Dialogue (I)

The National Parliament of Ukraine should initiate the All-Ukrainian National Dialogue by means of:

1. establishing the inter-faction parliamentary deputy group responsible for maintaining the ongoing All-Ukrainian National Dialogue in the City of Mariupil («The Mariupil Format»);
2. engaging the representatives of *ORDLO* (non-government controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions) into the negotiation process;
3. engaging the representatives of local administrations and self-government, business, civil and religious organizations into the negotiation process.

II. «The Mariupil Format» of the National Dialogue (II)

Key Tasks:

- Compromising conflict resolution in Donbas by legal and political means;
- Ensuring social and economic connections between the territories hit by the conflict;
- Restoration of regular social and economic activities in the region;
- Creating the conditions for free movement of citizens;
- Keeping the infrastructure and engineering communications in good condition.

Approaches towards defining the legal status of the territories (I)

We suggest:

1. To stick to three core elements of the administrative-territorial system of Ukraine.
2. To remove the list of names of the administrative-territorial units from the Constitution of Ukraine.
3. The core elements of the administrative-territorial system of Ukraine should include regions (including regions with the autonomous status), districts, and communities.
4. To broaden the opportunities for administrative-territorial reforms in the future.

Approaches towards defining the legal status of the territories(II)

We suggest to edit Chapter IX of the Constitution of Ukraine: THE ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF UKRAINE

The administrative-territorial system of Ukraine is based on the principles of unity and territorial integrity of the state, decentralisation, economic self-sufficiency and sustainable development of administrative-territorial units, taking account of their historical, economic, ecological, geographic, and demographic peculiarities, ethnic and cultural traditions.

The administrative-territorial system of Ukraine consists of:

- 1) regions (including regions with the autonomous status according to the Constitution of Ukraine);
- 2) districts;
- 3) communities.

A community is an administrative-territorial unit, which is established according to the law and includes one or several settlements (village, town, etc), as well as surrounding territories.

The procedures of establishing, abolishing, and changing the borders and names of the administrative-territorial units are defined by the Constitution of Ukraine and the law.

Apart from these constitutional norms, we suggest that the matters of the autonomous status of each region are defined by separate laws of Ukraine.

Political Calendar (I)

Till 01.01.2017 establishing a neutral strip in the conflict zone via removing all types of troops and weapons, providing the multilateral security regime and law enforcement in close cooperation of OSCE.

Till 01.03.2017 de-internationalisation of the conflict; ensuring international control over heavy weapons; preparing for the deployment of the OSCE police mission.

Till 01.04.2017 preparing the referendum on the territories self-proclaimed 'LNR'/'DNR' on the status of the autonomous regions within Ukraine.

Till 01.05.2017 introducing the amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine concerning the status of territorial autonomy in unitary Ukraine.

Political Calendar (II)

Till 01.06.2017 holding elections to new bodies of regional self-government in *ORDLO*

01.07.2017 – 01.09.2017 possible timing for the OSCE Conference for discussing a New System of Security and Cooperation in Europe «European Consensus 2017»

Till 01.10.2017 transition period to negotiate within “The Mariupol Format” the project of the administrative-territorial division of Lugansk and Donetsk regions within unitary Ukraine.

Finalising the constitutional process regarding decentralisation and territorial autonomy in unitary Ukraine.



Center For Social Research "SOFIA"

War and Peace: Public Opinion on the Causes of the Conflict in Donbas and the Perspectives of Conflict Resolution

Survey methodology

- The survey was conducted by the Center for Social Research "Sofia" on 1 - 13 November 2016 in all administrative regions of Ukraine. In Donetsk and Lugansk regions the survey was conducted only on the government-controlled territories. The survey was not conducted in Crimea.
- The sample consisted of 2017 respondents aged 18 years old and older.
- The survey sample represents the adult population of Ukraine by the main socio-demographic characteristics.
- The method of surveying: individual interviews ("face-to-face") at the respondents' place of residence (at home).
- The margin of error does not exceed 2.2%.

WARNING! The text of the presentation may not contain the full wording of the questionnaires and the indicators of responses.

The full wording of the questionnaire and the one-dimensional distribution of responses are presented in the very end.

Understanding of the causes of the conflict

There are different views on the causes of the conflict in Donbas among Ukrainians. The understanding of the conflict as a dispute between Ukraine and Russia is quite common. However, many people perceive the armed confrontation in the East as a struggle for the spheres of influence among different businesses, as well as the artificially inspired cause for enriching the various involved actors.

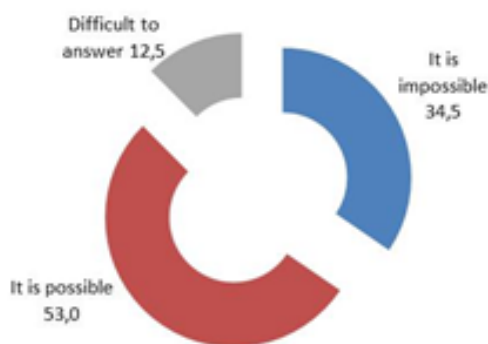
During the survey, respondents were asked to identify what conflict, on their opinion, was the basis for the armed conflict in Donbas. The responses were as follows:

- This is the conflict between Ukraine and Russia (35.1% of respondents);
- This is the conflict between businesses over the redistribution of property, as well as over the division of spheres of influence (27.3%);
- This is the conflict between the US and Russia, involving Ukraine (11.9%);
- This is the conflict between the main part of Ukraine and Donbas, a civil war (4.8%);
- There is no conflict, the war is an opportunity for speculators to take advantage over military procurement, smuggling, gambling (15.2%).

(Difficult to answer / Other - 5.7%).

3

It is possible to immediately end up the war

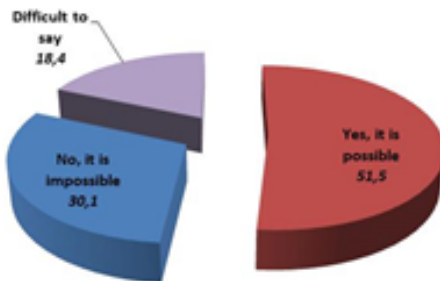


"Do you think it possible to resolve the conflict in Donbas and to establish peace in the short term?", %

- The idea that the conflict in Donbas could be resolved quickly is dominating.
- Among all respondents, 53.0% said that establishing peace in the short term is possible. The main things is the political will and the readiness for a compromise.
- One-third (34.5%) of respondents believe that the conflict couldn't be resolved quickly, because it is too complicated and tangled.

4

It is necessary to compromise for the sake of peace

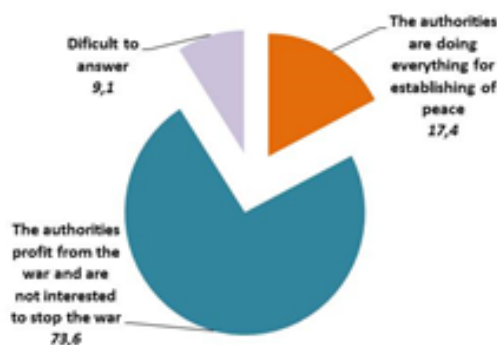


"Do you think that it is possible to make concessions in negotiations in order to end the conflict in Donbas and to normalize relations with Russia?", %

- A half (51.5%) of respondents considers that it possible to make concessions in negotiations in order to end the conflict in Donbas and to normalize relations with Russia.
- 30.1% of respondents oppose concessions.
- (Difficult to answer - 18.4%).
- In all macroregions the proportion of those who imply that concessions during peace negotiations are possible is not less than a half of the respondents.

5

The incumbent authorities are not interested in finishing the war

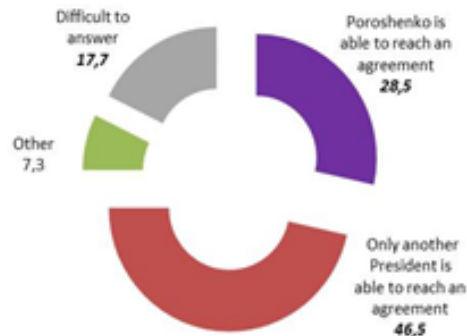


"Some people believe that the incumbent authorities are doing everything possible to accelerate peace in Donbas. Others believe that the authorities profit from the conflict and are not interested in finishing the conflict. What do you think? ", %

- If peace it is possible to accelerate peace quickly, why is the conflict ongoing?
- **The vast majority (73.6%) thinks that incumbent authorities make profit from the conflict and are not interested in finishing the conflict in Donbas.**
- Only 17.4% of respondents believe that the authorities are doing everything possible to bring peace faster.

6

Petro Poroshenko is unable to stop the war



"Do you think that Petro Poroshenko is able to agree on finishing the conflict in Donbas or is only another President able to negotiate this?", %

- Whereas the authorities are perceived as a subject that is selfishly interested in continuing the conflict, public opinion questions the ability of the President to resolve the conflict in Donbas.
- Almost a half (46.5%) of respondents believe that only another President is able to negotiate the end of the conflict.
- There are significantly fewer (28.5%) of those who believe that Petro Poroshenko is able to stop the war.

7

The ways of conflict resolution



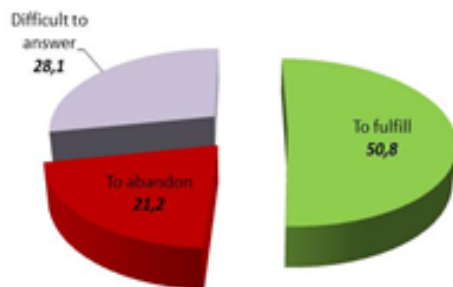
There are different views on the ways of conflict resolution in Donbas. The view that DPR and LPR should obtain a special status and become regions with an autonomous status in within Ukraine is fairly widespread. However, there are a lot of those who support the military way of conflict resolution.

During the survey, respondents were asked to identify which way of conflict resolution in Donbas they support. Respondents replied:

- DPR and LPR obtain a special status with the rights of a broad autonomy and remain parts of Ukraine (27.0%);
- Ukraine conducts military actions (offensive) and establishes full control over the occupied territories, even under the threat of the conflict with Russia (20.7%);
- Ukraine isolates itself from the unrecognized DPR-LPR, enabling them to live independently (15.3%);
- Ukraine officially recognizes the independence of DPR and LPR within existing borders (5.5%);
- A part (14.6%) of respondents indicates that none of these options is acceptable. Difficult to answer - 16.9% of respondents.

8

The Minsk agreements, a difficult path to peace (I)

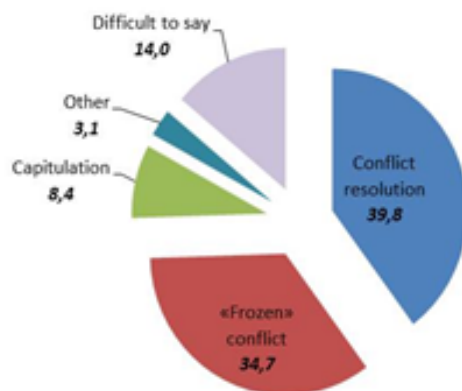


"On your opinion, what is in the interests of Ukraine - to fulfill the Minsk agreements in order to resolve the conflict in Donbas or to abandon them?"; %

- Public opinion is ambiguous regarding the Minsk agreements and their conformity with the interests of Ukraine.
- A half (50.8%) of respondents believe that it is in the interests of Ukraine to fulfill the Minsk agreements
- However, a significant portion (21.2%) of respondents think that Ukraine should abandon these agreements.
- Many (28.1%) respondents do not know what to answer; this indicates the complexity of the issue.
- In all macroregions there are more 'Minsk supporters' than those who chose to abandon the agreements.

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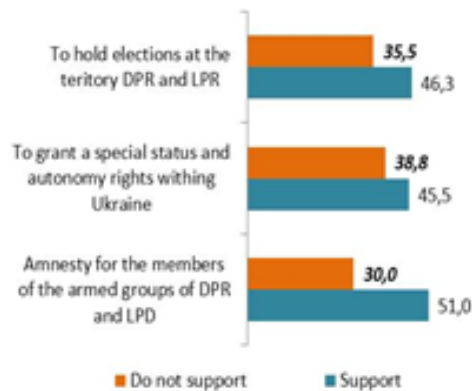
The Minsk agreements, a difficult path to peace (II)



"Do you think that the Minsk agreements lead Ukraine to...?"; %

- There are ambiguous expectations regarding the final consequences of the Minsk agreements.
- A significant part (39.8%) of respondents expect that "the Minsk process" will resolve the conflict in Donbas peacefully.
- Almost the same amount of respondents (34.7%) believe that the Minsk agreements are not solving the problem, but only "freeze" the conflict for a long time.
- Some respondents (8.4%) even considers the Minsk agreements to lead to capitulation of Ukraine 'in the interest of Putin'.

The Minsk agreements, a difficult path to peace (III)



Public attitudes to particular conditions (aspects) of the Minsk agreements, %

- Important conditions (aspects) of the Minsk agreements are perceived mostly negatively.
- The idea of amnesty for the members of the armed forces of DPR-LPR is perceived very negatively. A half (51.0%) of respondents doesn't support amnesty, but 30.0% support this initiative.
- There are more respondents who are favorable to the proposal to hold elections on the territory of DNR and LNR (35.5% of respondents support this option, while 46.3% do not support it).
- The offer to grant DPR-LPR a special status and the rights of autonomy within Ukraine is perceived most positively; in this case we observe the balance of opponents and supporters.