

Ukraine: Presidential Elections 2004 and the Orange Revolution

By Volodymyr Paniotto¹

1. Ukraine before Presidential Elections

The first and the second rounds of presidential elections in Ukraine were held on October 31 and November 21, 2004. The results of the second round were protested by the opposition in connection with massive falsifications. Massive street protests in support of the opposition demands as well as the blockade and picketing of the government buildings (the so-called “Orange Revolution”) with the demands to cancel the results of the elections went off in the country. The Supreme Court annulled the November runoff election and ordered the third round of election (a rerun of the second round) which took place on December 26, 2004.

Both the population and politicians perceived these elections as extremely important. Many people believe that the election results, to be more exact not even the election itself but the “Orange Revolution” tied with elections, may affect the development of Ukraine for the next several centuries. Why these elections are so important?

Ukraine got its independence in 1991 during the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The first president of Ukraine became the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in ideology Leonid Kravchuk who as a result of the presidential election in 1994 was replaced by Leonid Kuchma. Under the constitution of Ukraine the president is elected for five years and may stay in office for two terms. Therefore, President Leonid Kuchma’s second term in office expired in October 2004.

Ten years of Kuchma and his clan staying in power were marked, on the one hand, by implementing the market economic reforms and by the turning point in the economic situation after a number of years of production falling, and on the other, by a high level of corruption, the formation of the oligarch power system, the sale of the most attractive state enterprises to oligarchs as well as by the administration control over the mass media. It was vital for Leonid Kuchma and the oligarchs, who supported him, to transfer the power to such a president who could guarantee them personal safety and capital retaining. Apparently, they had also turned to Russia for support in exchange for keeping its interests in Ukraine.

¹ See Appendix 3

As to the opposition, it considered this situation as a struggle for “the European choice of Ukraine” against corruption and for the development of democracy.

Therefore, all participants of the process and the population considered the 2004 presidential election in Ukraine as fundamental, extremely important for the future and the most important in a history of Ukraine as a young state.

2. Election Campaign

Major presidential candidates

There were registered altogether 26 presidential candidates of which only the two had the real chances (see Table 1 in Appendix 1). As the table shows, the first two candidates received almost 80 percent of the vote, the third and the fourth candidates - the leader of the Socialist Party Alexander Moroz and the Communist leader Pyotr Simonenko - received only about 6 and 5 percent of the vote accordingly, and the rest got less than 2 percent.

Acting Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich, the former Governor of the Donetsk region and a representative of the Donetsk oligarch clan became the united candidate of the administration. The fact that in his youth Viktor Yanukovich served two prison terms for theft and dealing physical injuries was constantly used during the election campaign. This fact was not mentioned in the official biography of Viktor Yanukovich.

Viktor Yushchenko, the former Prime Minister (1999-2001) and the former head of the National Bank of Ukraine was the opposition candidate. It has not been specified in his official biography that his wife is a U.S. citizen.

Images of major presidential candidates strongly differed depending on the region. Mass-media contributed much to this. For example, the real information on the opposition candidate practically did not reach eastern and southern areas. In this part of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko is looked at as a vehement nationalist promoting an idea of compulsory imposing of the Ukrainian language on the Russian-speaking population and as a supporter of closing Russian schools in the region. He is called a demagogue who “is speaking a lot of but incomprehensibly while doing nothing.” Yushchenko is considered as a politician who has fallen under the influence of opposition radicals. Moreover, the people there believe that the United States has financed Yushchenko’s campaign and in case of his coming to power the relations with Russia will essentially worsen. The appearance of the presidential candidate was not in the last place. His face was deformed in the heat of the election campaign.

Victor Yanukovich is respected very much in the East of Ukraine, especially in Donbass which he has revived being the Chairman of Donetsk regional council. He is looked at as a native from Donbass who has made a breath-taking career from a simple worker up to a serious politician. He was also strongly supported by Russia and promised in turn to grant the Russian language the status of the second state language in Ukraine.

During the election campaign Viktor Yanukovich practically did not communicate with people directly. He was positioned as a successfully working prime minister creating a real opportunity of prosperity for Ukraine. His image was also connected with stability in Ukraine in the future.

However, the situation in the central and western parts of Ukraine sharply differs. Here there was a real opportunity to compare the two politicians. Viktor Yushchenko is considered here as a progressive, educated politician-democrat, capable to lead Ukraine to a European level. He spent a lot of time meeting people since he was practically denied the use of mass-media. Years of Yushchenko's premiership were remembered in the central and western parts of Ukraine as successful attempts of restoring economic stability in the country. The people there were also more informed on the reasons of his disfigured face.

Yanukovich is not practically accepted here. His criminal past has strongly affected the people's opinion. He is looked at as a puppet created by Russian political technologists.

The empirical data regarding the people's attitude toward Yushchenko and Yanukovich have been received from researches made by Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS).²

Respondents in our poll answered questions about personal qualities of both Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich as well as personal qualities important for the President of Ukraine.

Viktor Yushchenko's personal qualities were positively estimated by 31.8 percent of the population while Viktor Yanukovich's personal qualities got 24.3 percent. However, negative personal qualities of both politicians were estimated actually by equal parts of the population between 35.8 and 36.5 percent of statistically significant difference.

² V. Khmelko. Ratings of the Most Likely Presidential Candidates: Dynamics, Regional Peculiarities, and Dependence on Respondents' Estimation of Candidates' Personal Qualities. // Ukraine's Political Portrait. 2004. Vol. 29.

Estimations of personal qualities of candidates differed almost as their ratings depending on regions: the further to the West the higher Viktor Yushchenko's estimations while the further to the East the higher Viktor Yanukovych's estimates. Negative estimations for Yanukovych prevailed in all regions, except for the East, where he got most positive estimations. Positive estimations of Yushchenko's personal qualities prevailed in two regions – in the western and central parts of Ukraine. At the same time, Yanukovych did not have such high level of negative estimations in any of the regions as Yushchenko had in the eastern and southern regions (see also map in Appendix 3) .

Electoral Programs of Yushchenko and Yanukovych

Yushchenko's program consisted of 10 basic points known as "10 steps toward the people." Its salient provisions suggested the separation of business from politics, the struggle against corruption in power structures, returning the enterprises and means of production to the people, creating five million of work places, cutting taxes and a growth of the budget, an increase in financing of social programs as well as an accent in foreign policy on integrating into Europe and mutually advantageous relations with Russia.

The salient points in Yanukovych's electoral program were the same, but the struggle against corruption was omitted. Yushchenko's program was more constructive. The goal setting was accompanied by the ways of its implementing planned by the candidate. In Yanukovych's program the greater attention was given to questions of the veterans' rights and respecting working trades as well as to problems of the village.

Comparing the programs of these candidates, it is possible to draw a conclusion that there are no political disagreements in them. The main points that distinguish the candidates and their political vision of the development of Ukraine are a full transparency of politics and the struggle against corruption and permissiveness of the administration promoted by Yushchenko, and the continuation of Leonid Kuchma's policy referred to in Yanukovych's election campaign as his "policy of stability."

However, six weeks prior to the elections Yanukovych put forward three initiatives which were not present in his initial program: a dual citizenship, granting to the Russian language the status of the second state language and refusing to enter the NATO.

Strategy of Candidates' Election Staffs

The strategy of Victor Yanukovych's PR-campaign may be characterized by the three [basic points in presenting](#):

- Victor Yanukovych as liberal and a representative of a "new" Ukraine;
- Viktor Yushchenko as a fascist, an anti-Semite and a U.S. protege;
- The election campaign in Ukraine as fair and transparent i.e. a prior legalizing of Yanukovych's possible election in the eyes of the public.

One of the main election strategies was "blackening" the opposition candidate. Considerable efforts had been put to this. There were distributed leaflets and posters in which the population was intimidated by the division of Ukraine in "three sorts" with the slogan "THEIR Ukraine will look SO." The TV demonstrated fascist sentiments of Yushchenko and his entourage. In particular, fascist meetings allegedly in support of the opposition candidate were shown.

One of the PR-technologies of Viktor Yanukovych's campaign was the use of advertising time set for the so-called "technical candidates" as anti-propaganda. More than half of 26 registered candidates were hardly known politicians and were registered only for using the broadcasting time allocated by the law for anti-advertising Yushchenko.

A good example of it is a pre-election TV clip on candidate Roman Kozak which pro-administration channels showed mainly before or after demonstrating of Yushchenko's materials. The clip contained appeals for radicalizing relations with Russia and expressed support of Yushchenko only if his wife, an American citizen, would accept the Ukrainian citizenship. Thus, there was an impression that Kozak was a Yushchenko's supporter and Yushchenko, a U.S. protege, was against friendly relations with Russia.

The outdoor advertising played an important role in the election campaign. Billboards with Yanukovych's portrait were put all over Ukraine. They carried the slogan: "The Choice 2004. Because the leader either the patriot, or fair, or consistent etc." At once these billboards got the nickname of "big-mordy" (big-muzzles) among the opposing population. It is a play on words. A word "billboards" underwent a number of changes: "bill" became "big" and "boards" at first was changed into "boardy" and then into a Russian word "mordy" which sounds similar.

It appears that this advertising had rather negative than positive effect on the campaign of Yanukovych. Therefore, the second series of billboards did not have a portrait of the candidate. The posters carried the portraits of other known

politicians like the first president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk and ordinary people, supporting Yanukovych. The images of the doctor, the builder, the miner, the teacher, the sportsman and the pensioner were used.

Yanukovych's main "trump card thrown out" before the first round of elections was an increase of pensions. The latter were essentially raised, practically twice as much for some categories of citizens. The raised pension had been paid to pensioners for several weeks before the first round. This at once had led to the growth of Yanukovych's rating.

Yanukovych's team made certain stakes on the military and prisoners in zones and prisons. It was impossible to check up how these categories of the population voted. Staffs' representatives could not get to those places and exit polls were not carried out there. The voting process in those places was most rigid and authoritarian. Under the threat of punishments everyone should vote for the united candidate of the administration. Propaganda on the brink of blackmail was also carried out in some high schools in the East of Ukraine. Their rectors practically forced students to vote for Yanukovych under the threat of sending them down.

One of the culmination moments in the campaign was the arrival of the President of Russia Vladimir Putin. His interview was shown simultaneously by three main channels of Ukraine at their prime time. Putin directly tried to persuade the population of Ukraine to vote for Yanukovych.

Cultural actions had also been thought over. The so-called agitation concerts took place on the main square of the capital with the participation of the Ukrainian and Russian pop stars. In addition, pre-election concert tours of these stars were undertaken across Ukraine. Similar strategy was also used in Yushchenko's campaign but with the only difference - the Russian artists were not present among those campaigning for the leader of "Our Ukraine."

During the election campaign the opposition accused the administration of using all resources of the state for the benefit of Yanukovych, including the pension increase twice as much one month before the elections, the constant use of mass-media, outdoor advertising etc. Due to the lack of access to mass-media the strategy of Yushchenko's election staff substantially differed from the strategy of Yanukovych. The main accent was put on personal contacts with voters and speeches at the meetings in the western and central areas of Ukraine. Yushchenko is a charismatic person, convincing in his statements, accessible and eloquent. He often addressed himself to the audience with such words as "My Friends, "Dear Community" or "My Country."

Yushchenko did not have any outdoor advertising across Ukraine. There was a single clip on TV which contained orange symbols of "Our Ukraine" and clips from Yushchenko's statements. TV debate before the second round of the elections was practically the only opportunity to inform the people of Ukraine about Yushchenko's political program. A film about Yushchenko and his family was also shown several days prior to the second round. However, it was neither shown at the prime-time nor on the national channel.

Right at the beginning of the campaign candidates determined their symbolic colors. Symbols in white and blue were used by the supporters of Yanukovich while orange and red symbols prevailed in the Yushchenko camp. Yushchenko's orange symbols played a very important role in the subsequent events (see a photo of a poster). The all-Ukraine action in support of Victor Yushchenko was declared after the first round of the elections. To everyone who supported the opposition candidate it was offered to wear something orange, including jackets, sweaters, scarves or ribbons. After a while many people with orange ribbons on their sleeves were seen in the streets of Kiev. The car owners decorated their cars with orange ribbons and small flags. In conditions of almost total support of Yanukovich in mass-media the all-Ukraine action with orange symbols had shown the Ukrainian population that Yushchenko really enjoyed the big support and his supporters were not lonely in their choice. After the second round of the elections the apotheosis of the orange action was the Square of Independence, the central square of Kiev. Because of those orange symbols the protest action became known as "The Orange Revolution."

Role of Mass-Media and the Internet

The role of mass-media in presenting a similar image of the opposition candidate appeared to be central. Yushchenko's position was held back. He did not get a broadcasting time for exposing the myths. There were no reports on his statements.

At the beginning of the election campaign the opposition radio station "Continent" was closed and the relaying of Radio "Liberty" through the radio station "Dovira" was stopped. At its disposal the opposition had one TV channel ("The Fifth Channel"), some hours at night on the other channel ("The Era Channel") and the radio station "Era - FM" in a number of large cities of Ukraine. In many areas of Ukraine, especially in the East, these channels periodically were disconnected or did not function at all.

All main TV channels of the country demonstrated various analytical programs, interviews, political talk shows which were compromising the opposition candidate this way or the other. For example, after its news the channel "1+1" had demonstrated for many months a 5-minute ironical program "Prote"

(“However”) entirely about the struggle against the opposition. Two author programs, "Epicenter" of Vyacheslav Pihovshik on TV channel "1+1" and “Details with Dmitry Kiselyov” on TV channel ICTV, became the most popular. Pihovshik had become famous for frankly black PR during the election campaign. His program was based on skillfully garbled and prearranged materials most of which were snatched out from the context and presented to the audience. Vyacheslav Pihovshik even tried to prove that Yushchenko’s poisoning was one of the technological tricks of his staff. Dmitry Kiselyov's program was more democratic. Here the main heroes were visitors professionally controlled by a producer. However, up to the end of the scandalous second round of the elections and the strikes of journalists opinions of only one side were here listened to, namely the representatives of Viktor Yanukovych, the candidate of the administration.

The role of Internet-editions in the election propaganda should be noted separately. Those editions, not having the official status of mass-media, sometimes published the information which the certified editions had no right to promulgate. It should be also noted that the Internet was essential for Yushchenko. Many people were informed about massive propagandist actions through the "web net." Here one may come across jokes, computer games and cartoon films with heroes - politicians as well as the whole comic serials about Yanukovych and his entourage. Jokes aimed mainly at the criminal past of Yanukovych and falsifications of the elections.

Poisoning of Yushchenko

Poisoning of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko was the most dramatic event during the election campaign in Ukraine. The fact, that Yushchenko was poisoned with dioxin, had been confirmed by doctors of Rudolfinerhaus clinic where the presidential candidate underwent treatment. Yushchenko was brought to Vienna’s private Rudolfinerhaus clinic at night on September 9-10, 2004.

In an interview to “The Ukrainian Pravda” on September 20, 2004 Dr. Nikolai Korpan, Yushchenko’s physician, said that Yushchenko was brought to the clinic “in a critical condition with a set of symptoms indicating lesion of various organs and sharp current of illness. It should be noted that his illness began atypically with diffuse sharp headaches which lingered all night long. Later diffuse headache pains caused a painful syndrome in various parts of his body, in particular, in his stomach, thorax, and his face with the subsequent paralysis of his face nerve.”

Doctors and the victim himself believe that the poisoning, presumably, could have taken place on September 5, 2004 during a dinner at the dacha (a suburban villa outside Kiev) of Ihor Smeshko, Chairman of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU). It was the only place where Yushchenko was without his guards.

After Yushchenko's arrival from Vienna, where he underwent treatment, Ukraine saw the other person. It was an aged person with a badly disfigured and paralyzed face. Yushchenko appeared at the session of the Ukrainian parliament and accused the administration of outgoing President Leonid Kuchma of plotting to murder him.

Nowadays many people believe that security services of Ukraine and Russia are involved in an attempt to poison Yushchenko. Vial Mirzayanov, an expert in chemical weapons, surmised that it was not planned to murder Yushchenko, but was meant only to disfigure his face so that he could not address to voters publicly. So far there are no proofs about participating of Yanukovych's staff representatives in poisoning. However, it may well be suggested that the poisoning of presidential candidate Victor Yushchenko was directly connected with the election campaign.

Dynamics of Candidates' Ratings in the Election Campaign³

Ratings of presidential candidates depend on the list of contenders which sociologists show to respondents. Therefore, ratings of potential presidential candidates are rather relative before their registration. At the beginning of 2004 Yushchenko was an undoubted leader. The Communist leader Pyotr Simonenko and Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych competed for the second place in ratings. By the spring Viktor Yanukovych firmly took the second place (see the results of KIIS polls in April 2004 given below), leaving Pyotr Simonenko behind. Alexander Moroz, the leader of Socialist Party of Ukraine, was in the fourth place, followed by Nataliya Vitrenko, the leader of the pro-administration Socialist Progressive Party, created for reducing Alexander Moroz's rating and simulating opposition activity. Other candidates received less than one percent of the vote.

³ The poll results of KIIS (Kiev International Institute of Sociology) were used. At least 2000 respondents participated in each poll. With probability 0,95 the sample's mistake does not exceed 3.3 percent

**Rating of Major Presidential Candidates
April 2004**

Candidate	% in relation to all respondents
Viktor Yushchenko	26,6
Viktor Yanukovych	16,9
Pyotr Simonenko	10,0
Alexander Moroz	7,7
Nataliya Vitrenko	3,4
Against all	10,3
Not voting	9,7
Difficult to say	15,5
Total	100

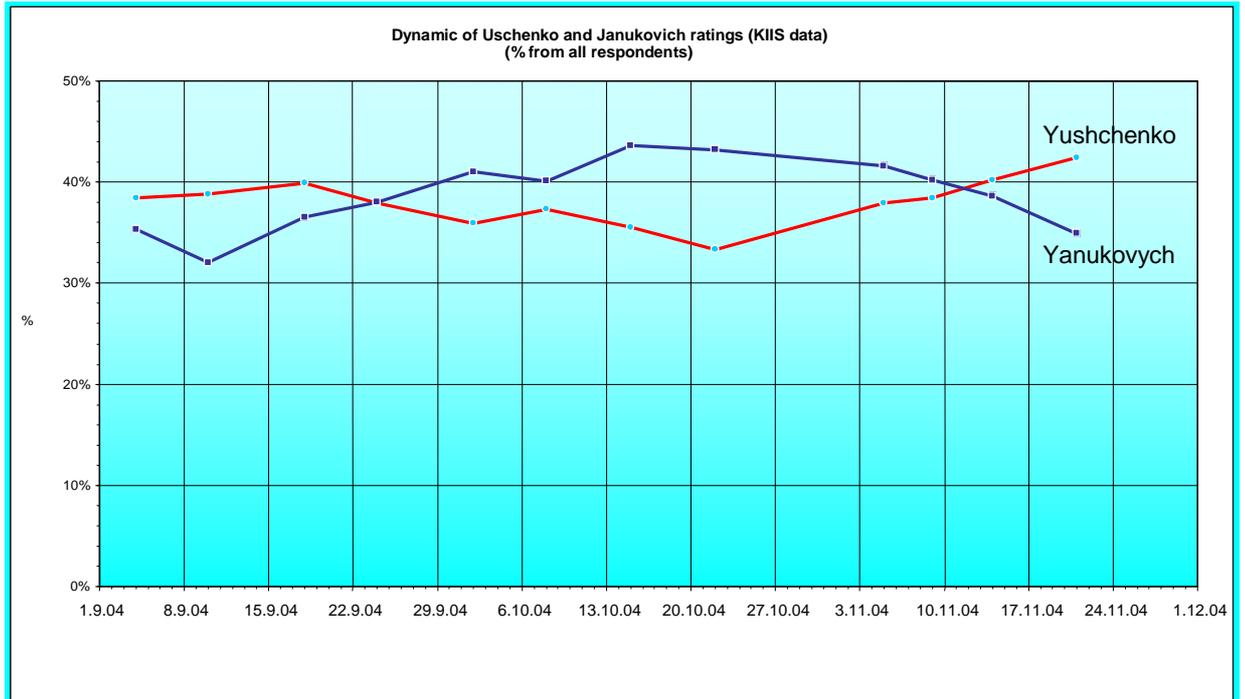
Viktor Yushchenko's rating further remained more or less stable while the rating of Viktor Yanukovych grew slowly but continually and Pyotr Simonenko's rating was falling. The electorates of Yanukovych and Simonenko were essentially intersecting. By September Alexander Moroz slightly overtook Pyotr Simonenko, but Yushchenko and Yanukovych left others far behind so that the first round of the elections was already reduced only to the struggle between them.

Events of last two months before the elections are represented on the chart. The axis of ordinates is used for the distributions of answers to a question for whom the people would have voted if the second round of the presidential elections with Yushchenko and Yanukovych had taken place during the polls.

The rating of Yanukovych stabilized and during the summer 2004 the rating correlation for Yushchenko and Yanukovych essentially did not vary. Yushchenko was ahead of Yanukovych during the entire election campaign up to the middle of September. At the beginning of September, as shown in the diagram, the difference increased due to the fact that those categories of the population which were poorly available for sociologists in the summer (students, teachers and people with higher education and income traveling abroad among whom the rating of Yanukovych was lower) returned from their holidays. At this time Yanukovych's team, probably, lost their nerves and his main trump card – an increase in pensions – was thrown out ahead of time though political scientists thought that the main payments would begin after the first round not before. In addition, Yanukovych put forward his new initiatives which were supported by the population of Ukraine. Thus, according to our polls, 60 percent of the voters agreed to a dual citizenship (against 21 percent), 63 percent supported the state status of the Russian language (against 26 percent), and 43 percent were against joining the NATO (for 19 percent). From

the middle of September as pensions were being paid the rating of Yanukovich began to grow quickly.

Dynamics of Yushchenko and Yanukovich Ratings (KIIS Data)



After a while an increase in pensions led to an increase in prices that could stop the growth and cause a further fall of Yanukovich's rating. The last point on the Yanukovich graph indicates the data of exit polls on November 21.

It is typical that the more to the west a region is located there are more Yushchenko's supporters and the more to the east and to the south the more supporters for Yanukovich. As a result, in western and two central regions of Ukraine Yushchenko had an advantage and in southern and eastern regions Yanukovich was in the lead (see map in Appendix 2).

Role of Russia

The influence of Russia on the presidential elections in Ukraine was not limited to usual outside observation. It was active and at times even aggressive. It is already not a secret to anybody that exactly Russian political technologists participated in the development of election behavioral strategy for Yanukovich.

The so-called “Russian trace” is now suspected in all histories connected with the elections (in election falsifications, poisoning of Yushchenko and in the prevented attempt on his life in the Election Day on December 21⁴). Russia’s activity intensified as the date of elections was approaching. The Russian mass-media were extremely biased in presenting the information on the elections. Even Moscow squares were decorated with billboards carrying Yanukovych’s photo and the slogan “Vote for President Yanukovych.”

Putin's arrival in Ukraine one week prior to the election was also direct propaganda. The President of Russia was directly persuading Ukrainian citizens through three national TV channels to vote for Yanukovych. In addition, Putin congratulated Yanukovych twice on his election as the President of Ukraine in the heat of civil disobedience actions when the final results of the election had not been declared yet.

Russian politicians, in turn, accused EU countries and the United States of intervening in internal policy of Ukraine. Nevertheless, such effective intervention in Ukraine on the part of those countries was not evident. European leaders had come to the aid at the moment of crisis at the request of Ukrainian politicians. While the United States financed various programs in support of democracy in Ukraine, they, however, did not lend direct support to any candidate.

The First and Second Rounds of the Election

Presidential elections in Ukraine passed, as was predicted, with the use of falsifications. However, nobody could imagine the scale of this phenomenon. Never before the Ukrainian authorities resorted to such a wide use of special falsification technologies.

The first round of elections on October 31, 2004 was, perhaps, some kind of running in “the falsification machine.” Falsifications were not so large in scale to move Yanukovych to winners. But the difference between Yushchenko and Yanukovych was reduced up to a minimum. One of hypotheses put forward by political scientists suggested that a small advantage had been specially left to Yushchenko to show objectivity of the elections and to bring about more trust to the results of the second round.

After the fast calculation of 98 percent of the vote the Central Election Commission had not declared the final results of 100 percent calculation of the vote for 15 days.

⁴ A car with explosives was found near Yushchenko’s headquarters

After the first round the coalition of political forces had been created in support of Yushchenko. It consisted of the bloc “Our Ukraine” led by Yushchenko, Julia Timoshenko's bloc, the Party of Industrialists and Businessmen of Ukraine led by Kinakh and the Socialist Party of Ukraine led by Alexander Moroz.

In the second round on November 21, 2004 all mechanisms of election falsifications worked in full force.

Due to the results of exit polls and the parallel calculations of votes which were carried out by candidates’ staffs in the first round, it was possible to calculate rather precisely the percentage of falsifications necessary for the victory of the pro-administration candidate. The so-called “shadow staff” of Yanukovich worked on this problem. Since not much time was left for the preparation they could not manage to carry out everything what was planned.

The following methods were used for election falsifications.

1. *Throwing bulletins in after closing the polling stations.* Additional bulletins and registration coupons had been secretly printed. Representatives of Yushchenko’s staff and observers were neutralized beforehand. They were either bribed or removed from the electoral commissions or simply were not admitted to the polling stations by a group of support. There were even cases of beating. Then the required amount of bulletins for Yanukovich was thrown in a ballot box. As a result, in some areas of Ukraine an unprecedented voter turnout had been achieved in the second round of elections. Donetsk area, Yanukovich’s native land, was especially noted for this. If in first round the turnout was 78 percent and in third round 84 percent, it amounted to almost 97 percent in the second round.

2. *Registration coupons.* People with packs in additionally printed registration coupons were put into buses and special trains and systematically carried across Ukraine. They repeatedly voted at different polling stations. The death of Transport Minister Kirpa who either committed suicide or was killed after the victory of Yushchenko in the third round is connected, according to one of the hypotheses, with his participating in the organization of these transportations.

3. *“Roundabout.”* The first voter receives from falsifiers a bulletin with a mark for Yanucovich together with a registration coupon and goes to a polling station where he also receives a bulletin but a blank one. Then he enters a voting booth and hides the blank bulletin in a pocket or a handbag, but throws the marked bulletin received from the head of a group into a ballot box. After that he comes back to falsifiers, hands the blank bulletin over to them, receives his payment stipulated beforehand (for example, a bottle of vodka), and the bulletin with a tick for Yanukovich is given to the following voter.

4. "*Kerchief*." There also existed other means of falsification, though not so significant. They were mainly used on local scale. For example, the so-called "kerchief" method suggested the use of dead voters lists. A member of the election commission of a polling station, who held the list of dead voters still present on the voting list, put on a piece of clothes stipulated beforehand (for instance, a kerchief) which served as a conventional sign. People instructed in advance came to him and voted instead of the dead souls.

5. *Damage of voting lists*. The deliberate damage of voting lists in regions where the overwhelming majority voted for Yushchenko was also used as a falsification tool. Mistakes were intentionally made in voting lists, for instance in a patronymic or a surname of voters, and when these voters showed up at the polling stations on the voting day they were denied the right to vote. Certainly, Yanukovych's supporters could not be admitted to the ballot box either but the damage of voting lists was used only in those areas where 70-80 percent of the voters voted for Yushchenko. Therefore, it did not really affected Yanukovych's rating.

6. *Voting at home*. Such a democratic way of voting as home voting was also used for falsifications. First, it was found out in advance who was not going to vote, then a ballot box was taken outside a polling station and the necessary number of bulletins for Yanukovych was thrown in. Second, pressure was put on the voter voting at home and the result of his voting was kept secret. For instance, 30 percent of the population in the Nikolaev area voted at home.

7. The so called "*transit server*" became the most scandalous method of falsifications. Its existence was proved later at the Supreme Court. Yanukovych's staff managed to get access codes to the main server of the Central Electoral Commission which received all regional operative information on a course of voting. Ideally, the information should get at once to the Central Electoral Commission. But due to a developed circuit this data got first to a transit server where it was processed for the benefit of Yanukovych and only after that it went to the Central Electoral Commission.

All these operations enabled to forge the results of the election up to 10-15 percent of differences between candidates for the whole of Ukraine.

Role of Exit Polls in Presidential Elections in Ukraine

Under initiative of the Democratic Initiatives Fund four sociological companies, including my company KIIS (Kiev International Institute of Sociology), the Razumkov Center, SOCIS (Center for Social and Political Studies) and the Social Monitoring Center (SMC) made up a consortium for conducting exit polls. This work was financed by eight embassies and four funds. Such exit polls were carried out in Ukraine during the previous elections four times. Their results

differed from the official data by no more than 1.5-2 percent.

A half-year prior to the elections KIIS as well as some other companies started checking whether the people were really giving sincere answers to a question for whom they were going to vote at the elections. KIIS carried out the polls using a split-half method, meaning that half of the respondents were interviewed face-to-face and the other half by a secret ballot method. The latter suggested that respondents should write their answer to the question “*For whom will you vote?*” on a separate sheet of paper and drop it in a cardboard box. The tension, administrative pressure and intimidation of voters were growing as the elections were approaching. Therefore, the difference in answers of those who answered anonymously and those who answered openly was rising. Fifteen days prior to the first round the difference rose to 3-4 percent.

Taking into account these results, KIIS and the Razumkov Center (RC) made a decision to carry out exit polls by a secret ballot method while SOCIS and the Social Monitoring Center (SMC) insisted on conducting exit polls by an interview. As a result, each company used its own method (a usual interview or a secret ballot) in conducting exit polls. A sample for each company consisted of 370 polling stations with 12500 respondents. It amounted to about 1500 polling stations with 50000 respondents. It was supposed that the total data would be representative for each of 26 areas of Ukraine.

As it was predicted, of 26 candidates participating in the first round of the elections only two candidates were eligible for the second round. The data of exit polls made by these companies and the official results of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) are given in the following table:

Company	Viktor Yushchenko (%)	Viktor Yanukovich (%)	Viktor Yushchenko Difference from CEC	Viktor Yanukovich Difference from CEC
KIIS, secret ballot	44,8	38,1	4,9	-1,2
Razumkov Center, secret ballot	45,1	37	5,2	-2,3
Social Monitoring Center, interview	41,1	41,2	1,2	1,9
SOCIS, interview	42	40,1	2,1	0,8
CEC official results	39,9	39,3	0	0

These elections were accompanied by the falsifications on a large scale. That is why the data of the Social Monitoring Center (SMC) and SOCIS, received by interviews, yielded the results which were closer to the official data than results of KIIS and the Razumkov Center received by a secret ballot method which gave more sincere answers and higher response rates (RR). As a result, KIIS RRs

amounted to 79 percent, the Razumkov Center RRs to 77 percent, SOCIS RRs to 74 percent and SMC RRs to 72 percent.

At the same time two exit polls were conducted by the Russian companies, including the Fund of Public Opinion (FPO) and the Institute of Social and Economic Researches together with some universities which predicted the victory for Yanukovych. Later the Fund of Public Opinion revealed that its data were unreliable and its exit poll was a failure.

Before the second round of elections SOCIS and the Social Monitoring Center (SMC) separated from the consortium with a scandal and conducted their exit polls using face-to-face interviews. My company (KIIS) and the Razumkov Center with the organizational support of the Democratic Initiatives Fund continued to carry out the National Exit Poll 2004 by a secret ballot method. Our sample consisted of 750 polling stations with about 28000 respondents and a response rate (RR) of 79 percent. Experts from Russia (A. Andreenkova of CESSI, A. Grazhdankin and E. Duke of the Levada Center) and Poland (Maciej Kochanowicz and Ryszard Pieckowski of PBS) participated as advisers and observers in preparing and conducting our exit poll in the second round of the elections which yielded the following results:

Company	Viktor Yushchenko (%)	Viktor Yanukovych (%)	Difference
KIIS and the Razumkov Center, secret ballot, unweighted data	53,7	43,3	10,4
KIIS the Razumkov Center, secret ballot, weighted data	53,0	44,0	9
Official Results	46,6	49,5	-2,9

According to the results of our exit poll announced right after closing of the polling stations opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko won the election with a lead of 10.4 percent.

On the basis of its exit poll SOCIS said that the winner was Yanukovych though with a small advantage. Later SOCIS was accused by the Democratic Initiatives Fund of forging the data of its exit poll.

There were also reports on many infringements of the voting procedure during and after the election.

Meanwhile, the Central Electoral Commission announced the preliminary

results indicating the victory for Yanukovych with a lead of three percent.

After the Central Electoral Commission had announced the results of 99 percent processed bulletins, Yushchenko and his staff expressed their mistrust to the Central Electoral Committee and called the people to come out to the streets to protest against the election falsifications.

Thus, during these elections sociologists appeared to be involved in the political struggle. Exit polls were used for the control of the election results and subsequently considered by the authorities as an opposition political technology. Therefore, the authorities financed conducting their own alternative exit polls and probably forged their data.

3. “The Orange Revolution” in Ukraine

On November 21 having returned home late at night from the press conference at the Central Electoral Commission, where the final results of the exit poll were announced, I saw an interview with Yushchenko and representatives of “Our Ukraine” in the news of the Fifth Channel. They were in the building of the Central Electoral Commission and looked uneasy and alert. It seemed strange. Even a third of the results had not yet been processed and according to our forecasts Yushchenko was far in the lead. Nevertheless, something obviously occurred because a representative of Yushchenko’s team Julia Timoshenko, the leader of the political block, called all Yushchenko’s supporters who voted for him to come to the Maidan Nezalezhnosti (the Square of Independence) in the morning on November 22 to fight for their choice.

In the morning the main square of Kiev was filled with people and became a colorful show of orange symbols of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko. About 200,000 – 300,000 people came to the meeting.

This was the beginning of the massive manifestation of protest in Ukraine which lasted for 16 days and received the name of “The Orange Revolution.”

All this time tens and hundreds of thousands of people were constantly present on the main square of Kiev in any weather, even in frost, replacing each other, and Kreschatik, the central street of Kiev, was blocked because an encampment was located on it.

Who took part in protest actions? KIIS conducted the polls with 2070 people in all areas of Ukraine as well as in the Crimea from 10 to 17 December 2004. There was a four-step sample, random at each stage. The mistake of the sample with probability 0.95 was no more than 2.2 percent and the design effect no more than 1.5. Respondents answered a question “*Did you participate in the meetings after the presidential election?*”

On the whole 18.4 percent of adult population of Ukraine took part in the meetings, but the activity of inhabitants in western (35.5 percent) and west-central parts (30.1 percent) of the country is essentially higher. More than half (57 percent) of those taking part in the meetings was the population of large cities (more than 100,000). It is also necessary to refute a popular opinion that the revolution was made mainly by the youth and students. According to the research, among those taking part in the meetings the 18-29 year old group made up 27.5 percent, the 30-39 year olds – 23.7 percent and the 40-49 year olds – 26.1 percent. It should be noted that the youth makes up 22.4 percent of the population of Ukraine, middle-aged people – 17.4 percent, and the 40-49 year old people – 19.2 percent. Thus, the most active groups participating in the meetings were representatives of both 30-39 and 40-49 year old groups. Persons with higher education made up 29.3 percent.

4. The "Third" Round of Presidential Elections

Under pressure of the "street" the decision of Parliament (Rada) and Supreme Court was made to conduct the third round of the elections (a revote of the second round) and it had to pass according to the new election law in which necessary changes were made to prevent an opportunity of falsifications.

The new round of election race began for both candidates in a new fashion. There were personnel changes in Yanukovych's team. This, in turn, brought about tactical changes. Yanukovych's staff was unexpectedly headed by Taras Chernovil, the son of the late (possibly killed) leader of the opposition movement Rukh. His transition to Yanukovych's staff before the elections was considered by his many party colleagues as a treachery of the cause for which his father fought. The new head of the staff put forward a rather extraordinary idea to turn the image of Victor Yanukovych from "the united candidate of administration" into "an oppositionist." Since that time his image had the features similar to the features of opposition candidate Victor Yushchenko. Yanukovych criticized the administration, in particular President Kuchma, participated in the meetings, and said that he understood people who had come out to the Square of Independence. However, it was not a support of Yushchenko but a condemnation of the outgoing authorities.

No personnel rotations had taken place in Viktor Yushchenko's team. He positioned himself in the third propaganda round as the new President and gave a lot of attention to the Eastern areas. On one of their campaigning days both candidates appeared in one city, but it had not led to any skirmishes between their supporters.

The situation in mass-media had radically changed. All TV channels, earlier closed for the opposition, radically changed their policy after "the Orange

Revolution” and passed to the balanced presentation of events, inviting representatives of both Yanukovych and Yushchenko. The second TV debate in these elections between Yushchenko and Yanukovych were indicative. The new membership of the Central Election Commission approved a new format of TV debates which included 100 minutes of a live dialogue. Candidates had five minutes on introductory and final words at the beginning and in the end, one minute for a question to the opponent and three minutes for an answer. In the previous debate candidates were not allowed to put questions to each other and used only texts prepared beforehand. Yushchenko had an opportunity to refute the most popular myths about him and tried to convince the audience that he would not pursue the Russian language, would create equal conditions for all religious faiths and national minorities in Ukraine as well as he would not break off relations with Russia. The debate had broken all records in audience popularity.

Yanukovych’s position had thrown many people into confusion. He publicly suggested Yushchenko to come to terms without involving President Leonid Kuchma in this process. The estimation of the debate results by political scientists was practically unequivocal. The victory was gained by Victor Yushchenko. As the chief editor of the magazine "Politychna Dumka" (“Political Thought”) Vladimir Polokhalo noted “it has not come up to a knockout, but a knockdown has undoubtedly been there. This may be explained, first of all, by the fact that Yushchenko already feels himself as the winner and feels that he will be the President of Ukraine ... In what Victor Yanukovych has said it has been felt that he will lose and has no doubts and illusions regarding his loss. It has created a certain psychological outline where Yushchenko has felt himself much more confident and has been perceived not so much as a presidential candidate but the President. This is a psychological aspect of a general impression."

After this debate that was unsuccessful for Yanukovych his team had undertaken some attempts to wreck the third round. However, all these attempts appeared so far unsuccessful. Elections had taken place and according to the results of the Central Election Commission Victor Yushchenko became the President of Ukraine. He outstripped his rival almost by eight percent (52 percent to 44 percent).

The joint exit poll, conducted by our KIIS and the Razumkov Center in the so-called “third round” of the elections, had shown the difference from the official data within 3.6 percent.

Название компании	В.Ющенко, (%)	В.Янукович (%)
Official Results	51,99	44,2
Exit Poll	55,28	40,58
Difference	-3,29	3,62

It is known that exit poll data do not take into account the vote in closed polling stations (in military units, prisons and hospitals), at home and abroad. On the whole this makes up about five percent of the registered voters. More exact account of a possible mistake of the sample and the analysis of possible answers of the specified categories of the population allowed suggesting that either there were no falsification of the results on December 26 at all or they were less than 2.2 percent.

Rerunning of the second round passed under the rigid control of international observers from Europe and the CIS countries. Practically all observers ascertained that the elections passed without massive infringements and were very close to the democratic European standards. Observers from Russia and the CIS countries (Moldova, Belarus and Turkmenistan) perceived these elections negatively. They called the third round of the elections illegitimate because of large scale falsifications. This caused bewilderment among Ukrainian diplomats. Minister for External Relations of Ukraine made a sharp statement, indicating that such attitude on the part of Russia was beyond its status of an observer and was an intervention in the internal affairs of Ukraine.

As was expected before the revote the election results this time did not satisfy Viktor Yanukovich. According to mass-media his staff already began the preparation of judicial complaints prior to the beginning of the third round of the elections. This time falsifications were prepared with the purposes to accuse the opposite side in fraud.

After the announcement of the results by the Central Election Commission a representative of Yanukovich's staff announced the elections illegitimate and submitted 27 complaints to the Central Election Commission. One of them contained the demand to recognize the elections void in all 226 election districts. In addition, four complaints were sent to the Supreme Court of Ukraine. On the last day of 2004 Victor Yanukovich publicly declared about his resignation from the post of Prime Minister of Ukraine.

Appendix 1

Official Results of the Election

Population of Ukraine – 48,457,000

Total number of the registered voters – 37,613,685

Total number of districts - 226

Total number of polling stations – 33,198

Participated in the first round – 28,035,184

Participated in the second round – 30,511,289

Participated in the third round – 29,068,309

Table 1

Results of the First Round of the Election

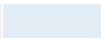
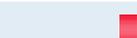
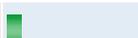
Candidate	% For
1. Yushchenko V.A.	39.87
2. Yanukovych V.F.	39.32
3. Moroz O.O.	5.81
4. Simonenko P.M.	4.97
5. Vitrenko N.M.	1.53
6. Kinakh A.K.	0.93
7. Yakovenko O.M.	0.78
8. Omelchenko O.O.	0.48
9. Chernovetsky A.M.	0.45
10.Korchinsky D.O.	0.17
11.Chornovil A.V.	0.12
12.Grabar M.F.	0.07
13.Brodsky M.Y.	0.05
14.Zbitnev Y.I.	0.05
15.Komisarenko C.V.	0.04
16.Volga V.O.	0.04
17.Boiko B.F.	0.04
18.Rzhavsky O.M.	0.03
19.Rogozhinsky M.V.	0.03
20.Krivobokov V.A.	0.03
21.Bazilyuk O.F.	0.03
22.Dushin I.L.	0.03
23.Kozak P.M.	0.02
24.Nechiporuk V.P.	0.02

Table 2**Results of the Second Round of the Election**

Candidate	% For
Yanukovych V.F.	49.46
Yushchenko V.A.	46.61

Table 3**Results of the Third Round of the Election**

Candidate	% For
Yushchenko V.A.	51.99
Yanukovych V.F.	44.20

%	Chart	Region of Ukraine	Chart	%
51.99%		UKRAINE		44.19%
15.41%		Autonomous Republic of Crimea		81.26%
84.07%		Vinnitsa Region		12.94%
90.71%		Volynsk Region		7.01%
32.00%		Dnipropetrovsk Region		61.14%
4.21%		Donetsk Region		93.54%
66.86%		Zhitomir Region		28.90%
67.45%		Zakarpatskaya Area (Transcarpathia)		27.58%
24.52%		Zaporozhye		70.13%
95.72%		Ivan Franko Region		2.86%
82.70%		Kiev Region		13.77%
63.42%		Kirovograd Region		31.74%
6.21%		Lugask Region		91.24%
93.74%		Lvov Region		4.72%
27.72%		Mikhailovsk Region		67.13%
27.46%		Odessa Region		66.56%



Viktor Yushchenko at the beginning of the campaign



Viktor Yanukovich



Billboards of Yanukovich in the first



...and in the second rounds of the campaign



Kiev. The Square of Independence at daytime...



...and at night



Encampment on Kreschatik



Meal Preparation at Encampment



On Maidan (Square of Independence): Yushchenko, Vitaly Klichko (boxer), Ruslana, singer (winner of Eurovision competition)



Julia Timoshenko negotiating with special forces fighters



Viktor Yushchenko before and after Poisoning



Meeting of Supporters of Yanukovych



Negotiations. Left to Right:
Yushchenko, Kvasnevsky, Kuchma,
Adamkus, Solana



Supreme Court Verdict

Appendix 3

Volodymyr I. Paniotto

Curriculum Vitae

Volodymyr I. Paniotto (born 1947): Ph.D. in Sociology (1987), Institute of Philosophy of the Ukraine Academy of Science, Professor of Kiev Mohyla Academy.

His employment includes:

1992-Present: Kiev Mohyla Academy, Department of Sociology;

1992-Present: Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), General Director;

1987-1991: Head of the Section of Computer Simulation of Social Processes at the Institute of Philosophy (from 1990 - the Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences).

As a visiting professor he lectured at the Department of Sociology of Johns Hopkins University in the fall of 1993 and the spring of 1995.

He also represents the ESOMAR (European Society of Market and Opinion Research) in Ukraine and is currently involved in the Sociological Association of Ukraine and in Editorial Boards of several journals. He published about 140 articles.

Paniotto is the author of 10 books, including:

1. *Sociological Data Analysis*. Kiev Mohyla Academy, 2004, Kiev, 270 p. Co-authors are V.Maksimenko and N.Kharchenko.
2. *The Experience of Social Process Modeling*, edited by V. Paniotto. Naukova Dumka, 1989, Kiev, 200 p.
3. *The Quality of Sociological Data*. Naukova Dumka, 1986, Kiev, 206p.
4. *The Structure of Interpersonal Relations*. Naukova Dumka, 1975, Kiev, 128 p.

All books are issued in Ukrainian or Russian.