



newsletter

PROGRAMME PARLEMENTAIRE CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM

CANADA-UKRAINE PROGRAMME PARLEMENTAIRE

ПАРЛАМЕНТАРНА ПРОГРАМА КАНАДА-УКРАЇНА

Established in 1990, CUPP was Canada's First Program of Assistance to Ukraine

AUTUMN 2010 Issue 1



**20th
year of
CUPP**

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- ✓ **LANGUAGE of FREEDOM**
- ✓ **GOGOL HAUNTS UKRAINE**
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L to R, back row: two graduate students from Kyrgyzstan, Oleksandr Pankiv, C'08 (*Boston College*); Maksym Klyuchar, C'06 (*University of Texas*); Roman Tashlitskyy, C'02 & '03 (*Ostroh University*); Evhenia Viatchaninova, C'09 & '10 (*University of Kyiv*); Inna Volkova, C'05 (*Michigan State University*); Iryna Krasnoshtan, C'09 & '10 (*Kyiv Polytechnic University*); Serhiy Opanasenko, C'08 (*Rochester Institute of Technology*); Lyubomyr Regush, C'07 (*Old Dominion University*); Andriy Khomenko, C'96 (*University of Kyiv*), Atlanta; Roman Didenko, C'96 (*V. Dahl Eastern Ukraine University of Luhansk*), Washington; Andriy Oleniuk, C'06 & '07 (*Georgetown University*); Inna Viriasova, C'05 (*University of Western Ontario*); Oleksandr Pertsovskiy, C'07 (*Brandeis University*); Vyacheslav Tomenko, C'04 (*University of Southern Maine*).
L to R, front row: Andriy Semotiuk, Los Angeles; Ihor Bardyn, CUPP Director; Professor Henry Hale, *Director of Institute for European and Eurasian Studies George Washington University*; Olha Kroytor, C'07 & '08 (*George Washington University*); Tetiana Orlova, C'05 (*Brandeis University*).

History of CUPP

On July 16th, 1990, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty which declared that Parliament recognized the need to build the Ukrainian state based on the Rule of Law. On August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Declaration of Independence, which the citizens of Ukraine endorsed in the referendum of December 1, 1991. Also in 1991, Canadians celebrated the Centennial of Ukrainian group immigration to Canada. To mark the Centennial, organizations planned programs and projects to celebrate this milestone in Canada's history.

The Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation of Toronto decided to mark the Centennial by establishing the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program for university students from Ukraine. The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program gives Ukrainian

students an opportunity to work and study in the Canadian Parliament, and gain experience from which generations of Canadian, American and West European students have benefited. On the basis of academic excellence, knowledge of the English or French and Ukrainian languages, and on interest in the parliamentary system of government, university students from Ukraine can apply for a CUPP scholarship. It is hoped that CUPP will contribute to the education of future leaders of Ukraine.

In 2009, during the 19th year of CUPP's operation, 25 students arrived from Ukraine to complete a two-month internship with Members of Parliament, Ministers and Senators (please see Issue 1 of the Newsletter for complete list of CUPP Interns). In the course of the Program, the Interns meet with political and social opinion-leaders of Canada.

CUPP at 20

CUPP founder Ihor Bardyn, outlines the program's history



The 1990s, the decade in which the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) was founded, began with important milestones in Canadian and Ukrainian history.

Governor-General Ray Hnatyshyn, patron of CUPP

In January 1990, Ray Hnatyshyn the first Governor-General of Ukrainian ancestry was appointed by Queen Elizabeth II to serve as her representative in Canada. Although largely a ceremonial office, the Governor-General plays important roles in the formation of Canada's governments and is an important symbol as official Head of State.

Declaration of Sovereignty

In Ukraine on Monday, July 16, 1990, the Parliament of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the constituent republics of the USSR, adopted the Declaration on State Sovereignty by a vote of 355 for and 4 against. The Ukrainian Parliament recognized the need to build the Ukrainian state based on the Rule of Law.

Ivan Pliushch, Speaker of Ukraine's Parliament

At the invitation of the Ukrainian-Canadian Professional & Business Federation (UCPBF), Ivan Pliushch attended the Federation's National Convention in Halifax, Nova Scotia. During his weeklong stay in Toronto, we met every evening to discuss events in the deteriorating USSR and in Ukraine in particular. As well Pliushch met with the editorial board of the *Globe & Mail* newspaper, which resulted in an in-depth article about Ukraine. At the convention Pliushch reiterated that changes were underway in Ukraine: Ukraine was emerging from Soviet domination and independence was coming.

Stepan Khmara, Amnesty's Prisoner of Conscience

On November 21, 1990, Member

of the Ukrainian Parliament Stepan Khmara was arrested for exceeding his authority in carrying out a citizen's arrest of KGB Colonel Ihor Hryhoriev. On November 14, 1991 the Ukrainian Parliament voted to strip Khmara of his parliamentarian's immunity from arrest. It was a vote that was flawed as there was not a quorum in Parliament when the vote was taken, nor was the matter about Khmara's immunity on Parliament's daily agenda, as required by law. (Unfortunately such disregard for the Constitution continues to this day. For example, when on April 27, 2010, the Ukrainian Parliament voted to ratify the Black Sea Accords extending the lease of the Russian Naval Base in Sevastopol there were not a quorum as required by the Constitution. The Law that was passed is not valid.)

At the invitation of Amnesty International in London, UK, I was asked to travel to Kyiv and conduct an investigation and prepare a report to Amnesty International on the treatment of Stepan Khmara by Ukrainian authorities. The report would determine whether Amnesty would adopt Khmara as its Prisoner of Conscience. After submitting my report, Amnesty did adopt him as its Prisoner of Conscience, for the second time. Khmara was considered a Prisoner of Conscience first in the 1980s for speaking out for Ukraine's independence and for so doing was imprisoned for eight years.

Amnesty's decision meant that it would send official observers to Khmara's trial and would champion his freedom throughout the world wherever Amnesty chapters existed.

Canadian Consulate-General in Kyiv

Nestor Gayowsky was appointed Canada's Consul-General in Kyiv and thus began an official diplomatic relationship between Canada and Ukraine. In an interview, Gayowsky said, "I am looking forward to seeing the nature of

the renaissance in Ukraine. I have a good knowledge of Ukraine's history, both contemporary and past... I am looking forward to my stay with immense anticipation."

Ukraine's first independent step

In February 1991, at the session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Ukraine's delegation distanced itself completely from the Russian delegation and official policy of the USSR. During the discussion on the Soviet Union's brutal crackdown in the Baltic Republics, Ukraine's spokesman Volodymyr Vasylenko, spoke out against the brutality of the Soviet Union and stated that it should develop into a new commonwealth that respects freedom of choice and rejects the use of brutal force against peaceful civilians. The significance of the Geneva session, attended by 43 countries, was that the session was convened to discuss the right of people to self-determination. Vasylenko read into the minutes Ukraine's adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty. He concluded his presentation by stating that history proves that people determined to achieve freedom will inevitably do so, citing the example of Namibia. This was the first occasion where one of the two Soviet Republics (Belarus and Ukraine) spoke up at an international forum to take issue with official Soviet policy.

First anniversary of Sovereignty

The *Ukrainian Weekly* newspaper's, Chrystyna Lapychak reported from Kyiv that Ukrainian citizens marked the first anniversary of the Declaration of Sovereignty on July 16, 1991 with official and impromptu rallies, concerts and other festivities.

Stepan Khmara arrested

The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on July 18, 1991 issued an order to arrest Stepan Khmara to stand trial on July 22. Once again, I was asked by Amnesty International to travel to Kyiv to observe Khmara's trial. I arrived in Kyiv on July 21 to news from Khmara's daughter Solomia that Khmara and his supporters, who had sought refuge in the Hotel Ukraina, had been brutally attacked by the militia. A number of Khmara's supporters were seriously injured and hospitalized.

The trial of Khmara and several other co-defendants clearly depicted Soviet-style justice, which follows the predetermined dictate of the people who are in power. In 1991, the decision of the Court was predetermined and the assailant KGB Colonel Hryhoriev dominated the proceedings. It is important to note that when on August 26, 1991 Stepan Khmara was ordered freed from prison, he refused to leave and had to be carried out of prison on his supporters' shoulders, protesting that he did not wish to leave prison until his accusers were imprisoned in his place for their real crimes.

Following the dictates of those in power was, and continues to be, the understanding of the Rule of Law in Ukraine, as was also aptly demonstrated by the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in 2010 when, at the dictate of the government of President Yanukovich, it reversed its decision on an important issue of party membership and ability to switch parties.

Declaration of Independence

On August 24, 1991 the Parliament of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine. Though nominally Communist dominated, Parliament proclaimed Ukraine an independent democratic state.

As the next 20 years demonstrate, the state was only nominally democratic and lacks many of the attributes of democratic governance. In 1991 Parliament nationalized all property of the former USSR and decreed that all Communist Party property was to

be transferred to Parliament's jurisdiction. In looking at the ultimate disposition of that property and the enrichment of the oligarchs at the expense of the state, it is understandable why so many hard- and soft-line former Communists became quick converts to Democrats and sought re-election to Parliament. This enabled them to be close to state assets and to pocket many of them for personal gain.

Referendum on Independence

On December 1, 1991, just over 90 percent of Ukraine's citizens voted to confirm the Declaration of Independence. Poland became the first country to recognize Ukraine's independence; Canada became the second on December 2, 1991.

Ukrainian-Canadian Centennial

It is against the backdrop of these events that Canadians celebrated the centennial of Ukrainian group settlement in Canada. To mark the occasion, in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, with the assistance of the Federal Government, established the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Commission (UCCC). The Commission was given the mandate, with a budget of 1.5 million dollars, to promote the centennial celebrations with projects of significant and lasting value. I was appointed Vice-President of this national Commission.

Centennial Celebrations

The celebrations organized by the UCCC began on August 29, 1991 in Edmonton, Alberta, with two days of events and concerts. At the official opening ceremonies, Governor-General Ray Hnatyshyn and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney paid tribute to the leaders of the migration Ivan Pylypiw and Vasyl Eleniak.

All speakers at the opening ceremonies praised Ukraine and its citizens for their historic act and the Prime Minister stated: "Today, Ukraine and the other republics of what was once an empire, can chart their own course to democracy and to freedom. Canada believes that the pace of change in Ukraine will be established by the Ukrainian people themselves. And Canada pledges to respect the

free and democratically expressed wishes of the Ukrainian people."

Canada Post issued a series of commemorative stamps by William Kurelek, a Canadian painter of Ukrainian descent. An Ontario winery produced a centennial wine "Edna Star," named for the first permanent Ukrainian settlement in Alberta. A series of conferences and symposiums was held at the University of Toronto. The symposiums focused on the Ukrainian community's growth over the past 100 years, assessed its relations with the ancestral homeland and pondered Ukraine's future development. The centennial celebrations officially ended in Winnipeg in 1992.

Choices, Changes and Challenges

The UCCC stimulated and encouraged numerous centennial projects, including the publication of books and the staging of plays, concerts, sporting events, children's competitions and family reunions. Among the projects proposed were the establishment of a university based on a Canadian model or a satellite of a Canadian university, the creation of a children's hospital with the possible support of Canadian or international charitable group with experience in the field, and the creation of exchange programs for university and high school students between Canada and Ukraine.

Of these three proposed major projects, only the student exchange for university students was realized. Although the UCC Centennial Commission approved the idea, it did not support the initiative with any funding.

Convinced that a parliamentary internship exchange would benefit both countries, I embarked on fundraising for the program from the Ukrainian community and get approval for an internship program from the House of Commons and the Ukrainian Parliament. This was, after all, an opportunity of a lifetime to assist the ancestral homeland and build bridges between Canada and Ukraine in order to share democratic traditions of governance and transparency in government, which were so lacking in the former Soviet Union.

The Idea of a parliamentary Program

The idea for such a student-exchange program began to take shape during my meetings with Ukrainian Members of Parliament who were members of the Communist Party, with members of Rukh (People's Movement of Ukraine), Chief Judicial Officials of Ukraine and Kyiv and while witnessing a Soviet trial and observing the operation of the Rule of Law and its understanding by lawyers and prosecutors as well as university professors of history, law and political science. It was obvious that all of these individuals had been trained under one system and understood democratic governance, the Rule of Law and the independence of the judiciary more or less in the same way.

Some, such as those who were Rukh members, began to question the practices, but even they did not understand or know how Western democracy and civil society work. In the system they knew, decisions came down from above and were executed without much discussion. A good example of how little Ukrainian legislators have advanced in their understanding of democratic governance was demonstrated this past April 27 when Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn opened the session of Parliament without a quorum and proceeded to vote on adopting the Black Sea Accords (extension of the lease with Russia for another 24 years for the Sevastopol Base) without any debate or discussion. Voting for President Yanukhovich's deal with Russia were members of the Party of Regions, who at the time of the vote were in Strasbourg, France working to be elected Judges to the European Court of Human Rights. To his dismay, the star candidate of the Party of Regions was not elected.

In other words, democracy, democratic governance, the Rule of Law, parliamentary decorum, election procedures were not going to be learned from the teachers and professors who were themselves educated under the Soviet communist system, in which dictates came from Moscow.

The St. Petersburg-born American novelist Ayn Rand wrote: "ideas were the only thing that truly mattered, both in a person's life and in the course of history." Ideas are important to historical memory as they can be learned and borrowed by succeeding generations. But in 1990, generating the idea of an Internship for students was not enough. It had to be established and implemented; and so began the 20-year course of the internship program in the Canadian Parliament.

Centennial Parliamentary Internship Program

When I began negotiations with the Speakers of both the Canadian and Ukrainian Parliaments, the intention was to mark the centennial celebrations in a meaningful way, by holding a student exchange in our respective parliaments. I did not immediately foresee that there was a need for a longer-term program, to open the window of opportunity to a larger cohort of students. At its founding the program was called the Centennial Program. But that soon changed.

Approval

Approval for the parliamentary internship program in both Parliaments came relatively easy. I had befriended the Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament Ivan Pliushch during his visit to Toronto and Halifax in 1990 and during my trips on behalf of Amnesty International to Kyiv and persuaded him that an internship would benefit both of our countries. While I did not personally know the Canadian Speaker John Fraser, through my work as Chairman of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress's Redress Committee, I befriended a number of Ministers of the government and with their support Received permission from the Speaker to allow Ukrainian students security access to Parliament, as interns.

Canadian and American Programs

In 1990, there were two other internship programs for university students. The program for Canadian students, mainly from the University of Ottawa and Carleton University and the Canada-USA Program for students from American universities. The

American program was started by Michigan Governor George Romney, whose son Mitch sought the nomination of the Republican Party in the US election of 2000.

Arrival

The CUPP Program, originally called the Centennial Parliamentary Internship Program began in 1991 with the arrival of three university students from Kyiv & Lviv.

Funding for the program has been provided substantially by 22 Canadian families. The first and most significant donation was from the Mazurenko Family of Toronto. Vasyl Mazurenko had been my client and a devoted Ukrainian patriot. Though I did not yet have the complete blueprint for the CUPP Program, Vasyl understood and believed that what I outlined to him would be an important building block once Ukraine emerged from under Russian domination. Before his death in 1990, he designated a quarter of a million dollars for the project.

This generous gift was placed into an endowment fund with Toronto's Ukrainian Credit Unions and together with five additional substantial donations formed a one-million-dollar permanent fund from which the interest would be used to fund the CUPP Program.

No definite term was envisaged for the duration of the program. But the need to educate a new generation was identified. The first three Ukrainian students came from universities in Kyiv and Lviv. Their Members of Parliament were Alan Redway, Progressive Conservative from Toronto; Jesse Flis, Liberal from Toronto; and Dr. Chris Axworthy, New Democratic Party from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Everything was a 'first' for the three interns. Canada, Canadians, the Diaspora, Parliament and the cities of Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto all made an impact on them. At the conclusion of the session, the Canadian MPs unanimously pronounced it a success.

Great effort was made to attract three Canadian students for a return exchange internship in the Ukrainian Parliament. But no Canadian student was prepared to miss or lose a se-

mester of their academic year and so the second leg of the exchange was postponed. Finally in 2010, the first Canadian student has applied and has been accepted for the CUPP Program. But he will carry out his internship in Canada's Parliament. No student, as yet, has been prepared to do an internship in the Ukrainian Parliament.

In the succeeding years, the Canadian half of the internship program grew rapidly. In some years there was a Spring and Fall Program to correspond with the Spring and Fall sitting of Parliament. In the late 1990s, the number of applicants from Ukraine reached over 7,000 per year. We could accept a maximum of only 52 students per year.

In 1994, the interns began to publish their own Newsletter, which in the last seven years has turned out a publication of between 60 to 90 pages, filled with experiences, comparisons and critiques.

The Newsletters are distributed in Parliament and among Canadians who are interested in the CUPP Program.

Value of an International Internship

The last time Parliament's Committee on Foreign Aid met to determine which countries would remain on the list for Canada's foreign aid, over half of the members of that committee in their opening statements declared that they were members of the CUPP Club as they had hosted a Ukrainian Intern in their office, and that they understood the needs of Ukraine. Following the vote, only one European country remained on the list eligible for aid and technical support – Ukraine. Many MPs invite their student interns to their constituency offices to observe the operation of the office and give the students an opportunity to observe how the first-past-the-post electoral system works and how each MP responds directly to the concerns of the citizens.

The Ukrainian interns make their presence felt during their time on Parliament Hill by holding meetings, attending Committee Hearings, party functions, the Prime Minister's garden party, working at the annual Tulip Festival

as volunteers, at the Ottawa Food Bank and many other functions.

CUPP's annual reception at the Ukrainian Embassy is attended by Canadian MPs and Senators, giving them an opportunity that they would not otherwise have to meet embassy staff.

The Ukrainian students, by their active participation in legislative matters, such as the recently announced proposal for a Free Trade Agreement between Canada and Ukraine, demonstrate their level of maturity and understanding of good communication. They act immediately to support any pro-Ukraine initiative with their own research and enthusiasm. The Ukrainian-Canadian community could not ask for better lobbyists than these bright university students who, while in Parliament, interact with MPs, executive assistants, leaders of Parties and the Prime Minister's Office.

After 20 years in Parliament, the need to continue the CUPP Program is unequivocal. Resources must be found to continue CUPP for another 20 years. Regretfully, the lessons of eight centuries of development of Anglo-American governance cannot be learned in two decades. In December 2009, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the outgoing External Relations Commissioner of the EU said: "societal changes take generations." To make changes,

citizens who seek elected office need to know and learn first-hand – not from a manual or a one-week seminar – democratic governance as practised in the West. They need to be able to understand the importance of and to defend democratic institutions such as freedom of speech, of the press, of religion and of ownership. They need to defend an impartial police force and independent judiciary and court system. They must learn the lessons of over eight centuries of evolution in legal culture and political culture as my colleague Bohdan Vitvitsky wrote. But they do not need to repeat the mistakes nor take as long.

The last 20 years of Ukraine's history have demonstrated that democracy takes time. Through the education of a new generation of Ukrainians, Ukraine will produce leaders who can assume the stewardship of government and govern with the best interests of the people and the country. CUPP has sent back to Ukraine a small group of apostles of Canadian democracy. But they need more converts and supporters. Canada can provide these cadres through programs such as CUPP. In this area, Canada can play an important and deciding historical role through the continuation of the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program.



Andriy Oleniuk, Chair; Bohdan Vitvitsky, New York, Speaker.

"And Here We Are..."

OIha SOROKIVSKA

Lviv Polytechnic National University (Lviv Polytechnic)

2010 Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship

Intern to Bonnie Crombie, M.P., Ontario



Each day brings new opportunities and the choice to recognize and seize them. We strive for achievements as there is no limit on success. In Ukraine there are many talented young people who strive to improve life in their homeland and contribute to its future. This year 28 students representing 15 Ukrainian cities and 1 student from Toronto have been given the privilege to exploit one such unique opportunity. These students were selected to participate in the 2010 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program, an internship program that provides an opportunity to work inside a government and possible career prospects for young and talented individuals. What is even more important, the Program builds confidence in Ukraine's future while teaching students that it is up to us to create the new vision and model and way of thinking, free of the failed Soviet legacy.

In order to participate in the Program, the students had to undergo a challenging selection procedure and only a few of the initial hundreds of applicants, will get a chance to experience and appreciate its opportunities. The selection procedure comprises of 2 major stages. The first stage included an online application and preparation of various assignments on several socio-political issues. Following the initial stage, there followed a Final Selection Meeting in Kyiv, where the applicants were examined on their knowledge of English or French and Ukrainian, and were interviewed by the representatives of the CUPP Selection Committee. The Chair of Ukrainian Studies

Foundation of Toronto is the organization under whose auspices the CUPP Program is now in its twentieth year of operation. Finally, during the final stage a decision was made and the successful applicants were identified. But the assignments continued and the successful applicants had to complete additional projects and assignments. In addition to basic selection criteria, e.g., academic excellence and proficiency in Ukrainian, English or French, successful applicants were also expected to demonstrate leadership and volunteer achievements, research skills and to display national consciousness and understanding of the key geopolitical issues.

I am confident that each successful candidate after receiving the notification of "Welcome to CUPP 2010" was over the moon. That's because CUPP is a lifetime opportunity to explore a western democracy and do an internship in the Canadian Parliament. Many CUPP Alumni consider the Program to be a turning point in their lives and I am sure that 2010 CUPP will fundamentally challenge much of our preconceived notions about western society..

CUPP's 20th jubilee program will provide students with many opportunities to develop both professionally and personally. This year the interns are expected to accomplish a lot during their stay in Ottawa. Among other things, interns will working in the offices of Canadian MPs and Senators, and participate in the Ottawa 'MOD-ERL UKRAINE' Conference. This will be the second in a series of three conferences to develop a sustainable

Model of Ukraine. The Conference will deal with the State/Governance, electoral system, integration into the Euro-Atlantic Community and relations with the EU, the USA and Russia. Also, if organized, one of the more novel events will be a soccer match between the teams of 2010 interns and their old 'rivals' Members of the Canadian Parliament – 'The Commons'.

In order to achieve the aforementioned goals, students who represent almost every Ukrainian region were selected for the internship this year. Our group of Ukrainian student ambassadors will include students from Lviv in the west, to Kharkiv in the east, from Yalta in the south, to Kyiv in the north.

Also, for the first time in years there is a Canadian intern of Ukrainian origin taking part in the internship program – Daniel Bazylewych – who has recently obtained his Bachelor degree in Public Policy from York University, Toronto. Despite the fact that he has not visited Ukraine, nor speaks fluent Ukrainian, Daniel is involved in the Ukrainian community of Toronto: «*Two years after I began learning the Ukrainian language, I had already made a few friends and decided that I wanted to play a fundamental role in creating an environment that would allow Ukrainians to get together. I ran for Vice-Presidency at the Ukrainian Student's Club of York University and won*». By and large, Daniel owes his commitment to Ukrainian issues to his late grandparents William and Antonina

Bazylewych: *«They did plant a seed in me that I believe is beginning to grow and bear fruits that will be beneficial for the Ukrainian community»*. They themselves helped their compatriots in Canada and as well to the young generation of Independent Ukraine, having made a generous contribution to CUPP. As Daniel says, his grandparents did so recognizing potential in their ancestral country, knowing that investing in youth is an investment in the future, which will undoubtedly lead to a more prosperous Ukrainian state and preservation of its culture.

Each year the most prominent CUPP interns are asked to become CUPP coordinators in the upcoming year. This year the Program is coordinated by three CUPP Alumni: Oleksandr Pankiv, Evhenia Viatchaninova and Iryna Krasnoshtan. Oleksandr is an LL.M. student at Boston University School of Law, he specializes in international business practice and regulation of the securities markets. In addition to this, Oleksandr interns with the community organization in Boston, MA while helping the community to avoid foreclosure and preserve their households throughout the period of global financial crises. Evhenia is a senior journalism student at University of Kyiv who has some unique academic and professional experience, including a study abroad program in Mass Communication and Journalism at Fairfield University, USA, freelance position for Radio Liberty, Inc. and management of a few grant projects, the most notable of which lies in creation of the audio books for the blind. In 2010 Evhenia, along with Iryna Krasnoshtan, was awarded a Hryhoriy Skovoroda Scholarship, funded by Katedra Foundation, to attend the first of the three 'Model Ukraine' conferences held in Washington, D.C. in February 2010. Iryna graduated with her Master degree in Linguistics from Kyiv Polytechnic University. She was intern with the French Cultural Center

in Kyiv (Institut Francais d'Ukraine) and worked for the French Embassy in Ukraine having gained challenging multicultural experience. Iryna has been also involved with the activities of the University Students' Council while being a student. She speaks French and English fluently and enjoys folk dances.

Also, I would like to provide you with some interesting facts with respect to other 2010 CUPP interns.

Mykhaylo Palahitskyi is currently studying at the University of Vienna. In 2006 he entered the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Department of History. A year ago, he transferred to the Austrian institution, where, in addition to Alpine and East-European history, he focuses on International Development. This was Mykhailo's motivation to transfer to Austria: *«Studying abroad is not only about studying a subject, but it is also a unique opportunity to learn foreign languages, to acquired cultural competence and global thinking...Since Austria is a bridge between Western and Eastern Europe and has a long historical tradition to my native Halychyna region, it makes this country attractive for studying»*.

Another intern Bohdan Bolonnyi is pursuing his LL.M at Queen Mary University in London revealed that this was his third time of applying for CUPP. The last two seemed to be successful, but education abroad was of a bigger priority to the student at the time: *«I always wanted to obtain my masters in law degree from one of the Western universities and soon my dream came true. Through tough competition I was offered a place at one of the top ten law schools in the UK, as one of out of eight Ukrainians who were offered a Chevening scholarship in 2009»*. Bohdan and other intern Illia Symonenko are active members of the European Youth Parliament-Ukraine. In addition, Bohdan is a member of the Debate Academy.

Each intern is all-rounder and

is gifted in some way. For example, Solomia Borshosh plays bandura, Nadia Fedoriv and Lilia Ibadova do embroidery. Bohdan Kushpler likes Christian teachings and music composing. Other male interns, such as Andrii Kril, Vladyslav Vlasov and Ivan Matveichenko play the guitar, while Illia Filatov picked harmonica for music trainings. Stanislava Tsarkova, Svitlana Samoilina and Iryna Krutenko enjoy dancing. Ayshe Memetova practices yoga and origami.

It is obvious, that this program will provide each individual with the positive impressions and challenging 'food for thought'. As CUPP Director Mr. Bardyn believes, its main objective is to educate a new Ukrainian elite: *«There is a strong chance that every graduate of the CUPP Program will contribute significantly to the successful democratic development of Ukraine and its society. The first Ukrainians brought seeds of wheat to Saskatchewan more than 100 years ago. The reciprocal gift of Canada will be to witness the blossoming of the Canadian seeds of good government taking root and seeing democratic changes which were planted in the minds of the Interns in Canada, germinate in Ukraine»*.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, here we are: students of today and potential leaders of tomorrow – looking forward to our Fall internship in the year of CUPP's 20th jubilee!



L to R: Andriy Oleniuk, Chair, Andriy Semotiuk, Los Angeles, speaker.

CUPP Interns



Daniel BAZYLEWYCH

Born in: Toronto, Ontario, Canada

York University was established in 1959.

Specialized Honours in Public Policy and Administration, final year.

Motto of University: "Tentanda Via," "The way must be tried," "Ouvrir des voies nouvelles," "Подолати цей шлях."

Foreign languages: I speak English, Ukrainian at a beginner level, and am currently learning French through Pimsleur's "Teach Yourself French" program.

2010 **Anne Mazurenko Scholarship** recipient.

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Canada:

One of my favourite places to be around in Toronto is near the **CN Tower**, which became open to the public in 1976. It is the largest free-standing building in the western world standing at a height of 553.3 meters. An attractive feature of the CN Tower in the summer is that it is close to: Lakeshore's biking paths, tennis courts, skating arenas, and in the vicinity of the Art Gallery of Ontario in the heart of downtown.

Last book read: The Economic Hitman by John Perkins.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Pavlyshyn, Marko. "Thaws, Literature and the Nationalities Discussion in Ukraine: The Prose of Valerii Shevchuk." Glasnost in Context: Recurrences in Central and East European Literatures and Cultures. Ed. Marko Pavlyshyn. New York: Berg, 1990. P 59.

"As the degradation of the natural environment is a tragedy for humankind...so too is the disappearance of any product of the human spirit, not to mention a culture or a language".

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (I cannot find the source but I believe it is from one of his speeches).

"When we look at modern man we have to face the fact that modern man suffers from a kind of poverty of the spirit, which stands in glaring contrast to his scientific and technological abundance, we've learned to fly the air like birds, we've learned to swim the seas like fish, and yet we haven't learned to walk the earth as brothers and sisters."



Solomiia BOBROVSKA

Born in: Rivne

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv was established in 1661). Faculty of Philosophy

Motto of University: PATRIAE DECORI CIVIBUS

EDUCANDIS – "For the Education of citizens, for the adornment of the Homeland – Для освіти громадян, на славу Батьківщини"

Foreign languages: English, German, Polish, Russian

2010 **Dr. Maria Fischer Slysh Scholarship** recipient

Intern to Hon. Heddy Fry, M.P., British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Small towns sometimes impress by their rich history. Such is the town of Ostroh in Rivne Oblast (province or canton). Ostroh is considered to be the cradle of education and enlightenment in Ukraine. It is here that the first complete edition of the Bible in Old Church Slavonic was printed; it is here that the powerful Ostroh Academy, which had given many famous names to the world, was established in 1576. In 2007, the Ostroh Castle and the Ostroh Academy were listed among Ukraine's new wonders.

Ostroh was the patrimonial estate of the Ostrozky dukes for almost 300 years, first mentioned in the Ipatievsky chronicle in 1100, is rich in medieval monuments. One of the most important is the **Duke's castle**. There is the ancient 15th century Bohoyavlenska Church on the territory of the castle, and the Museum of Regional Ethnography is located in the Vezha Murovana (the Guard Tower).

The castle was built in the 14th c at the site of the Kyivan Rus fortress. The stronghold stands on a small hill and is surrounded by the Horyn river. The Guard Tower was at first a dungeon. It was the first defensive building built of stone on the castle's hill. The Bohoyavlenska Church is the link between the Ancient Rus sacral architecture and Ukrainian architecture of 16th-17th cc. There are no exact data about the time of erection of this church. On the north wall of the building one can see the inscription "1521". Some historians think it is the date of church's reconstruction, other believe it was built in 1521.

Last book read: *The Prince* by N. Machiavelli

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

"Мамо,
перейдїть мені дорогу з повними відрами,
я рушаю на пошуки долі
доля,
з відрами повними сліз,
перейшла дорогу моєму народові"
(Олександр Чекмишев)

Favourite quote by foreign author:

"Democracy is a form of government that substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few." (George Bernard Shaw)



Bohdan BOLONNYI

Born in: Drohobych, L'viv's'ka oblast', Ukraine

Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs was established in 1992. Special Department.

Queen Mary University of London was established in 1785. School of Law

Motto of University:

Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs: 'Знання, Закон, Честь', 'Knowledge, Law, Honor'

Queen Mary University of London: 'Coniunctis Viribus', 'With United Powers', 'Спільними зусиллями'

Foreign languages: English, Polish, German

2010 Humeniuk Family Scholarship recipient

Intern to Maria Minna, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

My birth town Drohobych has one of the priceless architectural treasures of Ukraine. **St. George's Church** is one of the oldest and best preserved timber churches dating back to 15th century. It was built of wood, without single nail. This church was burned during the first and second Tatar invasion in 1499 and 1624 and rebuilt afterwards. It has beautiful iconostasis from 1659-1666 and precious paintings.

Last book read: 'Rich Dad Poor Dad' – Robert Toru Kiyosaki

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Борітеся – поборете, Вам бог помагає! (Тарас Шевченко)

Keep striving-you will succeed, God, helps all! (Taras Shevchenko)

Favourite quote by foreign author:

"We must become the change we want to see." – Mahatma Gandhi



Solomiya BORSHOSH

Born in Lviv, Ukraine. Hometown: Lviv

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv was established in 1661)

Faculty of Economics and Faculty of Law, 5th year student, expect to graduate in 2011

Motto of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv:

Patriae decori civibus educandis / Для освіти громадян, на славу Батьківщини / For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland

Foreign languages: English, German, Polish, Russian

I am a bandura player with the Cheremshyna Ensemble of Lviv.

2010 William Chewchuk Scholarship recipient

Intern to Peter Goldring, M.P., Alberta

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: The

Boim Chapel family (Ukrainian: Каплиця Боїмів) is a small shrine in Lviv, located just outside the Latin Cathedral. It was built between 1609 and 1615, the chapel was originally located in what used to be the city's main cemetery.

Founded by enterprising merchants, Jerzy Boim and his wife Jadwiga Nizniowska, the Boim chapel was finished by their son, Pawel Jerzy Boim. I admire specifically the Statue of Jesus Christ which is on the top the chapel – as if alive the Son of God oversees us.

Last book read: *Perspectives on Strategy from The Boston Consulting Group* (Carl Stern, George Stalk Jr.)

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Хто звивається черв'яком, той не має права скаржитись, що його топчуть (Ольга Кобилянська).

Favourite quote by foreign author: Only the heart sees everything! (Antoine de Saint-Exupery)



Nadiya FEDORIV

Born in: Yalta, Ukraine

Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy of Ukraine in Kharkiv was established in 1804. Faculty of Jurisprudence, graduated in 2009

Motto of the Academy: Vivat Lex! Long Live the Law!

Foreign languages: English, Russian; German (basics)

2010 John Sopinka Scholarship recipient

Intern to Mark Warawa, M.P., British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The memorial complex to the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine was unveiled to the public on November 22nd, 2008 in Kyiv's «Park of Glory». The author of the memorial is Anatolij Hajdamaka. My choice is based on my visit to the memorial and the impact and impressions which I took away from the visit, during the CUPP Final Selection Meeting at the Canadian Embassy in November 2009. The centre of the memorial depicts «The Candle to Memory» – a 32 meter high concrete chapel in the form of a white candle. It is impressive. Even the smallest detail of the design symbolizes aspects of the Holodomor. The facets of the candle are decorated with an ornament of windows that reminds one of Ukrainian embroidery. These carved windows-crosses symbolize the souls of innocent Ukrainians who died during this genocide. At the foot of the candle there are four crosses – protruding like the blades of a windmill.

In general each cross is meant to represent periods of famines, 1921 to 1922, 1932 to 1933, 1946 to 1947. The fourth cross is dedicated to the entire series of sufferings. These crosses are decorated with the golden figures of cranes. They are imprisoned in chains, but one of them managed to break away – a symbol of the Ukrainian nation's rebirth.

Last book read: «Sad Hetsymanskyi» (the Hetsyman Garden) by Ivan Bahrianyi.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: «...Hoping for the consolidation is not worthy until we distinguish a nation and its enemies. ...The price for the freedom is indefiniteness, and responsibility is the price for the right of choice». «We don't like our authority, because it is not ours». by Victor Radionov (born in 1966) Ukrainian public figure, a writer of a political essays.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. ...There is nothing to fear but fear itself."

"There are many ways of going forward, but only one way of standing still... One thing is sure. We have to do something. We have to do the best we know how at the moment. If it doesn't turn out right, we can modify it as we go along", by Franklin D. Roosevelt.



Illia FILATOV

Born in Simferopol

Volodymyr Vernadsky National Tavris University was established in 1918. Faculty of Law

Motto of University: "Nosce te ipsum" "Know oneself"

Foreign languages: English, Russian

2010 Antin Hlynka Scholarship recipient

Intern to Ed Komarnicki, M.P., Saskatchewan

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **The Vorontsov Palace** is a historic palace located in Alupka, Crimea. It was constructed between 1830-1848 according to the design of English architect Edward Blore. Although built mainly in the English style, some eastern elements can be seen in the palace. For instance, the Gothic style chimney stacks are reminiscent of Islamic minarets. An important architectural characteristic of the palace was its relation to the nearby Crimean Mountains, with which it harmonized perfectly.

Last book read: "The Master and Margarita" by Mikhail Bulgakov

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "З усіх утрат, втрата часу найтяжча" (Hryhorii Skovoroda).

"Бережіть собори ваших душ" (Oles Honchar).

Favourite quote by foreign author: "The greatest use of life is to spend it for something that will outlast it" (William James).



Maryna IAROSHEVYCH

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Kyiv Institute for the Humanities was established in 1994.

Motto of University: «Честь, мудрість, гідність», «Honor, wisdom, dignity»

Foreign languages: English, German, French, Spanish

2010 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship recipient

Last book read: "No One Writes to the Colonel" by Gabriel Garcia Marquez

Favourite book: "Humbled and Aggrieved" by Fyodor Dostoevsky

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

...Ти на землі – людина,
І хочеш того чи ні –
Усмішка твоя – єдина,
Мука твоя – єдина,
Очі твої – одні.
– Василь Симоненко

Кожен з нас живе в віках, бо ми, перш за все, – ідеї.

– Микола Куліш

Favourite quote by foreign author:

"Whether you think that you can, or that you can't, you are usually right."

– Henry Ford

"Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted."

– Albert Einstein

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

House with chimeras

This building located in a picturesque part of the city centre is definitely among the most interesting in Kyiv. It was designed and built by architect Vladyslav Horodetskyi in the Modernist style in 1902-1903, for his family. The owner of one of the first cement companies in Kyiv asked Horodetskyi to convince the public that cement is a more reliable and firm material than lime. For promotional purposes of cement products, the owner supplied Horodetskyi with cement for the building for free. The front and the roof of the building are decorated with statues of sea and land monsters, fabulous beasts,

mermaids and other bizarre creatures, perching on the roof and crawling on the walls. These were made by the sculptor Elio Saal according to Horodetskyi's sketches. The entire architectural composition is captivating to the onlooker with its striking perfection, while seeming to invite the viewer into the world of fantasy.

The building sits on the slope of a hill and that is why on one side it has three stories and on the other – six. It is an eclectic mixture of several architectural styles but the general impression it creates is that of a fairy-tale creation in an otherwise pedestrian architectural setting.

The "house with chimeras" is situated right opposite the pompous building of the presidential administration and is used for state receptions.



Liliia IBADOVA

Born in: Kharkiv, Ukraine

Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy of Ukraine was established in 1804.

Faculty of Training of Lawyers for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Motto of the Academy: Vivat Lex! Хай живе закон! Long live the law!

Foreign languages: Russian, English, German, French, Spanish, Polish

2010 John and Myroslava Yaremko Scholarship recipient

Intern to Rick Dykstra, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Monument to Taras Shevchenko in Kharkiv (finished in 1935, authors: M. H. Manizer, I. H. Langbard). The monument is considered to be the best in the world dedicated to the greatest poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko. He was born a serf, but through dedication to studies and intellectual scholarly development became the founder of modern Ukrainian literature, and the leading advocate for national independence and human rights. The monument is crowned by the bronze sculpture of the poet, known as the Kobzar. It is full of dynamics and sense. Sixteen figures representing heroes of

Shevchenko's literary verses and symbolizing the history of the Ukrainian people are mounted on the helical projections interlacing the platform of the monument. Today one cannot imagine Kharkiv without the Shevchenko monument. This monument is inseparable from the city's architectural integrity and treasures..

Last book read: Paulo Coelho "O Alquimista"

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: «Сміливі завжди мають щастя» – Іван Багряний, «Тигролови» ("Brave people always have happiness" by Ivan Bahrianyi, "Tiger Hunters")

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Kindness is a language that a deaf can hear and a blind can see." Mark Twain



Kyrylo KORZH

Born in Zaporizhia

Zaporizhzhia Institute of Economics and Information Technologies was established in 1994. Faculty of Translation

Motto of University: "Tantum possumus, quantum scimus" (Latin). Ми стільки можемо скільки знаємо. We can do as much as we know.

Foreign languages: English, German, Spanish

2010 Dopomoha Ukraini Foundation Scholarship recipient

Intern to Borys Wrzesnewskyj, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Khortytsia is the largest island in the Dnipro River. The island was located on the route from the Varangians to the Greeks and was first mentioned as St. Gregory's Island in the mid-10th century by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his De-administrando imperio. The island has played an important role in the history of Ukraine, especially in the history of Zaporizhian Kozaks, who built one of their fortresses on the island. Khortytsia is located within the city limits of Zaporizhia. It extends from the northwest to the southeast for more than 12 km, with an average width of around 2.5 km. The island has unique flora and fauna, including oak groves, spruce woods, meadows, and steppe.

Last book read: "The Picture of Dorian Gray" by Oscar Wilde

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: «Ящірка не гірше за орла досягає найвищих гірських верховин» (Довженко)

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Ambition is the germ from which all growth of nobleness proceeds". (Oscar Wilde)



Iryna KRASNOSHTAN

Born in Khmelnytskyi, Ukraine

Kyiv Polytechnic University (National Technical University of Ukraine "Kyiv Polytechnic Institute" was established in 1898)

Faculty of Linguistics, graduated with Master's degree in 2010

Foreign languages: English, French, Russian, Spanish

2009 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship recipient

CUPP 2009 Intern to **Pierre Lemieux** MP, Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ontario

2010 John and Julia Stashuk Scholarship recipient
CUPP 2010 Coordinator

Intern to Claude Gravelle, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle which is one of the Seven Wonders of Ukraine. The castle is situated on a peninsula surrounded by the winding Smotrych River valley, forming a natural defense system for the castle. Having a history spanning more than seven centuries, historical accounts date the Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle back to the early 14th century, although recent archaeological evidence dates human existence in the area to around the 12-13th centuries. Located on a strategic transportation route in the historical Podillya region, the castle was a prime spot for foreign invaders, who transformed the castle to fit their needs, thereby adding onto its multicultural architectural diversity. In spite of the many architectural and engineering changes to the castle complex, the Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle is still considered as a single architectural whole. The most recognized landmark of the

city of Kamianets-Podilskyi, the castle is a large tourist attraction.

Last book read: "Nineteen Eighty-Four" by George Orwell

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Щасливий я, що лічив у тобі зорі на перекинутому небі, що й досі, дивлячись униз, не втратив щастя бачити оті зорі навіть у буденних калюжах на життєвих шляхах. Олександр Довженко "Зачарована Десна"

(Je suis heureux d'avoir compté tes étoiles sur le ciel renversé, et en regardant en bas, de ne pas avoir perdu jusqu'ici le bonheur de voir ces étoiles dans les flaques d'eau quotidiennes sur les chemins de la vie.)

Favourite quote by foreign author: Live as if you were to die tomorrow. Learn as if you were to live forever. (Живи так, ніби маєш померти завтра, учись так, ніби маєш жити вічно.) Mahatma Gandhi



Andrii KRIL

Born in: Ivano-Frankivsk

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was established in 1615. Faculty of Law, 3rd year
Motto of University: Tempus fugit, Academia sempiterna (Lat). – Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська академія вічна. – Time passes. Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal.

Foreign languages: English, Russian, Polish, German

2010 Ramon Hnatyshyn Scholarship recipient

Intern to Laurie Hawn, M.P., Alberta

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: parental house; my dad and I spent quite a lot of time building and improving it, and that is a place where I have spent most of my childhood. In my mind, there is no other place in Ukraine or anywhere else more outstanding and significant than it.

Last book read: Thomas L. Friedman, "Lexus and the Olive Tree".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: А все залежить від людських зиниць. В широких – відіб'ється вся епоха. У звужених - збіговисько дрібниць (Ліна Костенко).

Favourite quote by foreign author: Believe those who are seeking the truth. Doubt those who find it (Andri Gide).



Anton KRASUN

Born in Truskavets, Ukraine. Hometown: Lviv, Ukraine.

Lviv Polytechnic (Lviv Polytechnic National University was established in 1844). Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Department of Sociology and Social Work. 4th year student, expected to graduate in 2010.

Motto of Lviv Polytechnic: Litteris et Artibus. – Науками й мистецтвом. Through the Sciences and the Arts

Foreign languages: English, Polish, Russian

2010 Josef and Maria Siecinsky Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **The Lviv National Theatre of Opera and Ballet**, built in 1900 as an opera house in Lviv, by the architect Zenon Gorgolewski.

Last book read: Maurice Halbwachs, "The Social Frameworks of Collective Memory".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "It is never too late to study, but it may be late to learn" by Leonid Sukhorukov.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Ducit amor patriae" (The love of country guides me).



Iryna KRUTENKO

Born in: Cherkasy

Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University at Cherkasy was established in 1921. Institute of Foreign Languages.

Motto of University: NOSCE SAPIENTIAM (Discover

wisdom, Пізнай мудрість).

Foreign languages: studying French, German, Japanese
2010 Yuriy and Oksana Fedyna Scholarship recipient
 Intern to Patrick Brown, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

St. Michael's Cathedral is located in the heart of Cherkasy. It is 72 meters high making it the tallest Orthodox Cathedral in Ukraine. It was built between 1994-2000 in the Byzantine style and consecrated in 2002. It has a capacity of hosting up to 12 thousand parishioners at a time.

Last book read: J. S. Foer "Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

"There is nothing worse than unlimited power in the hands of a limited person." V. Symonenko

"A real journey doesn't need a goal." S. Zhadan

Favourite quote by foreign author:

"Humans are the only animal that blushes, laughs, has religion, wages war, and kisses with lips. So in a way, the more you kiss with lips, the more human you are." J.S. Foer

"Every moment before this one depends on this one." J.S. Foer



Bohdan KUSHPLER

Born in: Lviv

National University of Lviv Polytechnic was established in 1844. Faculty of Economics and Management

Motto of University: Litteris et artibus. – Through the Sciences and Arts. – "Науками й Мистецтвом".

Foreign languages: English, German, Polish, Russian

2010 Emil Telizyn Scholarship recipient

Intern to Stephen Woodworth, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

St. George's Cathedral, Lviv. St. George's Cathedral holds a crucial position in Ukrainian religious and cultural affairs. It is the main sanctuary of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and the Act of Consolidation of the Lviv archeparchy with the Holy See was proclaimed here.

St. George's Cathedral was built between 1744-1760 in baroque-rococo architectural style with elements of classical style. The architect of the Cathedral was B. Meretyn, sculptor – I. Pinsel.

Last book read: Jean-Paul Sartre "The Roads to Freedom", Eckhart Tolle "The Power of Now".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "Bizarre is our folk – strong and sad... had its heroes – and nobody knew them... loved freedom for the whole life – and lived all its life as a slave... Created richness of the song – and does not know it (song) himself" – Volodymyr Vynnychenko. "Russian democracy ends, where Ukrainian question begins..." – Volodymyr Vynnychenko.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "There are two kinds of people: those who say to God, "Thy will be done," and those to whom God says, "All right, then, have it your way." C.S. Lewis



Kateryna LYSENKO

Born in: Sevastopol, Ukraine

Sevastopol National Technical University was established in 1963. Faculty of Economics and Management.

Foreign languages: English, French, Russian, Spanish

2010 Michael Starr Scholarship recipient

Intern to Hon. Dan McTeague, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Chersonesos (Ukrainian: Херсонес) was an ancient Greek colony founded approximately 2500 years ago in the south-western part of Crimea by settlers from Heraclea Pontica. The buildings mix influences of Greek, Roman and Byzantine culture. The defensive wall is hundreds of meters long. Buildings include a Roman amphitheatre and a Greek temple. In 2007 Chersonesos tied for fifth in the Seven Wonders of Ukraine poll. Today Chersonesos' ancient ruins are a popular tourist attraction, protected by the state as an archaeological park.

Last book read: "Arch of Triumph", Erich Maria Remarque

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "Без бажання все важке, навіть найлегше" (Григорій Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Be civil to all; sociable to many; familiar with few; friend to one; enemy to none." (Benjamin Franklin)



Ivan MATVEICHENKO

Born in: Sovetskiy, Ukraine. Hometown: Sevastopol.

Sevastopol National Technical University was established in 1963. Faculty of Economics and Management.

Foreign languages: English, Russian

2010 Malanchuk Family Scholarship recipient

Intern to Sukh Dhaliwal, M.P., British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Monument to the Scuttled Ships is the emblem of Sevastopol, its visiting card. The monument erected in the main bay is devoted to the sailing vessels sunk in the bay in September 1854 and February 1855 during the Crimean War. Such a difficult outcome for the sailors and such an unexpected one for the enemy prevented the more powerful Allied British and French Navy from entering Sevastopol Bay. After that the enemy had to besiege the city for a long time. The monument is 16.66 m in height and is situated on the artificial rock in the water, not far offshore.. The pillar of the Corinthian order rises above the sea. A bronze eagle with extended wings sits on the top of it. The eagle holds a wreath of laurel in its beak.

Last book read: "Asset Allocation" by Roger C. Gibson.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: У всякого своя доля І свій шлях широкий... © Тарас Шевченко.

For each his own destiny and wide pathway – Taras Shevchenko.

Favourite quote by foreign author: Займає 20 років щоб заробити собі репутацію та п'ять хвилин щоб її зруйнувати. Коли починаєш думати про це, робиш речі інакше Уорен Баффет. – It takes 20 years to build a reputation and five minutes to ruin it. If you think about that, you'll do things differently. Warren Buffett



Yurii MEDENTSII

Born in: Uzhorod, Ukraine. Hometown: Uzhorod.

Uzhorod National University was established in 1945. Faculty of International Relations.

Motto of University: «Більше знаємо – більше можемо». «The more we know the more we can».

Foreign languages: English, German, Hungarian (basic), Russian, Slovak.

2010 Josef and Maria Siecinsky Family Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Khotyn fortress**, village of Khotyn, Chernivetska oblast. First constructed from wood in 9th century. Later rebuilt several times obtaining modern look. This was one of the major fortifications of the Prydnistrovia region. A very well preserved fortress.

Last book read: Comparative politics by Charles Hauss.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Є незмінна земля, і усе на ній – зміна невинна. Олег Ольжич.

Favourite quote by foreign author: If you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything. Mark Twain



Aishe MEMETOVA

Born in: Chirchik, Uzbekistan. Hometown: Simferopol, Ukraine.

National University of «Kyiv-Mohyla Academy» was established in 1615. Faculty of Jurisprudence.

Motto of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy: Tempus fugit, Academia sempiterna. – Час плинний, Академія вічна. – Time passes, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal. – Die Zeit geht vorbei, aber die Kiewer-Mogila Akademie ist für ewige Zeiten.

Foreign languages: Chinese, German, Russian
2010 Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Scholarship recipient
 Intern to Hon. Scott Brison, M.P., Nova Scotia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:
 Bakhchisaray Palace (Palace of Crimean Khans) located in the town of Bakhchisaray (Crimean Peninsula, Ukraine; original spelling Bapzasaray) was founded in 1532 as the main patrimonial residence of the Giray dynasty which ruled the Crimean Khanate between 1441-1783. During about 250 years (till 1783) the Bakhchisaray Palace was the center of the political, spiritual and cultural life of the state of the Crimean Tatars. The Bakhchisaray Palace is the major historical monument of the epoch of the Crimean Khanate, the only remaining example of Crimean Tatar palace architecture. Finally, alongside with Alhambra and Top Kapi palaces (Spain and Turkey), it is one of the three unique palaces representing the civilizational circle of the Middle East in Europe.

Last book read: Orhan Pamuk "Museum of Innocence".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Seek to the top, you will get the midst. – Бери вершину і матимеш середину. (Г. Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: Life is far too important a thing ever to talk seriously about. (Oscar Wilde)



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Mykhaylo PALAHITSKYI

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

University of Vienna was established in 1365. Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies / Department of History/ History programme. Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies / Department of African Studies / International Development programme.

National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was established in 1615. Faculty of Humanities, School of

History.

Motto of Kyiv-Mohyla University: "Time passes. Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal."

Foreign languages: English, French, German, Polish, Russian

2010 Christina Bardyn Scholarship recipient

Intern to Gerald Kennedy, M.P., Nova Scotia

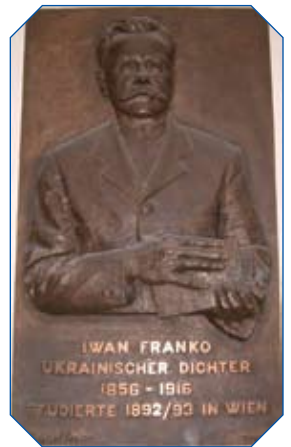
Landmark: **Rynok Square** or Market Square (own picture) is the historical heart of the city of Lviv. The square was planned in the second half of the 14th century and has 44 houses at its perimeter, which represent architectural styles from Renaissance to Modernism. In the four corners, there are fountains from the early 19th century. The sculptures represent mythological figures, such as Neptune, Diana, Amphitrite (on the picture) and Adonis. Today Rynok Square is recognized as a UNESCO world heritage site.

Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko belongs to famous alumni of the University of Vienna, where I am currently studying. A roll of honour at the Department of German language reminds visitors and students of Ivan Franko and his studies in Vienna in 1892/93.

Last book read: Jean-Dominique Bauby «Schmetterling und Taucherglocke» (Le scaphandre et le papillon).

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Не розум від книг, а книги від розуму створилися. (Григорій Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: Müde machen uns nicht die Sachen, die wir tun, sondern die, die wir liegen lassen. (Tiredly make us not the things, which we do, but those, which we leave.) Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach



CUPP 2010 & Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference, Skype Meeting, June 26, Vienna, Mykhaylo Palahitskyi.

**Oleksandr PANKIV**

Born in: Lviv, Ukraine

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko

National University of Lviv) was established in 1661.

Faculty of Law. Boston University was established in 1839. School of Law.

Motto of University: **University of Lviv:** 'Patriae decori civibus educandis'; 'For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland'; 'Для освіти громадян на славу Батьківщини'.

Boston University: 'Learning, Virtue, Piety'; 'Навчання, Достоїнство, Благодетя'.

Foreign languages: English, Polish, German

2008 Volodymyr Hrynyk Scholarship recipient

2010 Anne Mazurenko Sukniarsky Scholarship

recipient. 2010 CUPP coordinator

Intern to James Bezan, M.P., Manitoba

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

My Hometown – the **City of Lviv**, is by itself a true architectural masterpiece of Ukraine and a part of the UNESCO's heritage. One of my favourite places to visit in Lviv is Armenian Cathedral (Virmens'ka tserkva), which is situated in the heart of the Old Town. It was built in 1363-1370 by the members of Armenian community of Lviv. Peacefulness and calmness of this place helps people to leave triviality of living and truly enjoy the charming premises of the Cathedral.

Last book read: **'The Death of Contract'** by Grant Gilmore.

Favourite quotes: "You must be the change you wish to see in the world" Gandhi.

"People often say that motivation doesn't last. Well, neither does bathing – that's why we recommend it daily." Zig Ziglar.



Oleksandr Pankiv receiving LLM Diploma at Boston University, May, 2010.

**Svitlana SAMOILINA**

Born in: Kharkiv, Ukraine. Hometown: Kharkiv.

University of Kharkiv (Vasyl Karazin National University of Kharkiv was established in 1804). Institute of Economics, Department of International Economics.

Motto of University of Kharkiv: Cognoscere, Docere, Erudire. – Пізнання, Навчання, Просвіта. – To Learn, To Educate, To Enlighten.

Foreign languages: English, German, Russian

2010 Volodymyr Hrynyk Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Dniistrovskiy Canyon. The length of Dniistrovskii canyon is 250 km. У розшаруваннях на берегах Дністра містяться скам'янілі залишки стародавньої флори і фауни, яким близько 500 мільйонів років. Along the banks and walls of the canyon there are monuments and evidence of earlier of cultures and peoples who inhabited the valley of the Dniester – churches, monasteries, palaces, ruins of fortresses and castles. On the coastal cliffs and river valleys there are many grottos and caves, some of which were used for worship and shelter for the monks who lived in the monasteries carved into the rock.

Last book read: "The great Gatsby" by F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Людина така, яке її уявлення про щастя. В.Сухомлинський.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "I see my path, but I don't know where it leads. Not knowing where I am going is what inspires me to travel it" – Rosalia de Castro.



L to R: Olha Kroytor, C'07; Evhenia Viatchaninova, C'09; Iryna Krasnoshtan, C'09; Roman Tashliitsky, C'02, during Washington MODEL UKRAINE Conference.



Olya SHUDRAK

Born in Ashkhabad, Turkmenistan. Hometown: Lviv, Ukraine.

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv was established in 1661). Faculty of Foreign Languages, Department of Translation Studies and Comparative Linguistics.

Motto of University: Patriae decori civibus educandis.

Для освіти громадян, на славу Батьківщині. – For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland.

Foreign languages: English, German, Spanish, Russian.

2010 William and Antonina Bazylewych Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **The Bernardine Cathedral**, now the Greek-Catholic Church of St. Andrew is a perfect example of Lviv architecture of late renaissance. Lviv Bernardines came to town around 1460. In 1630, the new cathedral was finished and a defense monastery was built on its northern side. The monastery was of particular strategic importance. Outside its walls, originated the most dreadful Hlyniansky Way which was used by Tatar hordes and Turkish armies to invade the town. The walls of the monastery were the first to come under enemy attacks. The three-storied facade of the St. Andrew's Church fascinates with its embellishment. All in all, there are more than twenty various sculptures. The monastery building complex is supplemented with a tall baroque bell-tower built in 1734 which is an adornment not only to the cathedral, but to the whole city.

Last book read: "The Politics of Europeanization" by Kevin Featherstone.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Без ядра горіх ніщо, так само як і людина без серця. (Г.С. Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: A smile is a powerful weapon; you can even break ice with it. Author Unknown.



Olha SOROKIVSKA

Born in: LVIV, Ukraine. Hometown: LVIV.

Lviv Polytechnic (Lviv Polytechnic National University was established in 1844). Specialist Degree in

Documentation Science and Information Activity.

Motto of Lviv Polytechnic National University: *Litteris et Artibus. – Науками й мистецтвом. – Through the Sciences and the Arts.*

Foreign languages: English, Russian, French (basics), Polish (basics).

2010 Michael Rebryk Scholarship recipient

Intern to Bonnie Crombie, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Sofiyivskyi Park. Sofiyivsky Park is a landscape park almost of 180 hectares, located in Uman, Cherkasy Oblast of central Ukraine. It was founded in 1796 by Count Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki, a Polish noble. The park is named after his Greek wife Sofia (Zofia Potocka) and was built in 1802. The main designer was Ludwik Metzel, who imported many rare plants from all around Europe. The opening ceremony was also honoured by Stanisław Trembecki, who wrote a poem praising the park and its' namesake. It is one of the world famous garden-park art creations. There are many scenic areas in the park including waterfalls, fountains, ponds and a stone garden. It is one of the most famous examples of late 18th or early 19th century European landscape garden design that has been preserved to the present time. The Sofiyivsky Park was named one of the Seven Wonders of Ukraine on August 21, 2007, based on voting by experts and the internet community.

Last book read: "My Sister's Keeper" by Jodi Picoult.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "Бери вершину і матимеш середину". – "Reach high to attain the middle" – Hryhoriy Skovoroda.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so" – William Shakespeare.



Illya SYMONENKO

Born in Kyiv

Kyiv Mohyla University (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was established in 1615). Faculty of Economics.

Motto of University: Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська Академія вічна. – Time passes, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal.

Foreign languages: Russian, English, French

2010 Mazurenko Family Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture is **Zaporizhia DniproGES**, the hydroelectric plant and dam in Zaporizhia. Although it was a product of the Soviet mass industrialization effort, it was also a great achievement of the people and their perseverance. In 1932, when it was constructed, DniproGES was the most powerful hydroelectric plant in Europe and it still remains number one in Ukraine. Moreover it is a symbol of Ukraine's industrial might and the strength of the Ukrainian people's will.

Last book read: A Clockwork Orange – by Anthony Burgess.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: «За Україну з огнем завзяття, вставаймо браття, всі вперед» – стрільці з УСС.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Every man's life ends the same way. It is only the details of how he lived and how he died that distinguish one man from another" – Ernest Hemingway.



Mariya Hud, C'09 (centre) during International Session of the European Youth Parliament.



Valeriia TRUSH

Born in: Kyiv. Hometown: Kyiv.

University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv was established in 1834). Faculty of International Economic Relations, 2nd year student, expect to graduate in 2012.

Motto of University: «Корисність, Честь та Слава»

– «Utility, Honour and Glory» – "Utilitas Honour et Gloria".

Foreign languages: English, French and German

2010 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship recipient

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Holy Dormition Pochayiv Lavra**. Holy Dormition Pochayiv Lavra (Ukrainian: Свято-Успенська Почаївська Лавра); has for centuries been the foremost spiritual and ideological centre of various Orthodox denominations in Western Ukraine. The monastery tops a 60-metre hill in the town of Pochaiv, Ternopil Oblast, 18 km southwest of Kremenets and 50 km north of Ternopil. A first record of the monastery in Pochayiv dates back to 1527, although a local tradition claims that it was established three centuries earlier, during the Mongol invasion, by several runaway monks, either from the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves or from the Holy Mountain. The legend has it that the Theotokos appeared to the monks in the shape of a column of fire, leaving her footprint in the rock she stood upon. This imprint came to be revered by the local population and brethren for the curative, medicinal properties of the water that issued from it. In 1604, the monastic community was joined by Ivan Zalizo, a well-known champion of Eastern Orthodoxy and vocal critic of the Union of Brest. Formerly associated with the printing house of Prince Ostroski, Zalizo established a press in Pochayiv in 1730, which supplied all of Galicia and Volynia with theological literature. The press continued to function until 1924, when it was taken to the Monastery of St. Job of Pochayiv in Jordanville, New York.

Last book read: Norman Davies "Europe East and West"

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Ліна Костенко "Є боротьба за долю України. Все інше – то велике мискоборство."

Favourite quote by foreign author: Thomas Edison "Genius is one percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration".



Stanislava TSARKOVA

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Kyiv Mohyla University (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was established in 1615 by the Metropolitan of Kyiv Petro Mohyla). Faculty of Economics.
Motto of University: "Час плінний, «Києво-Могилянська Академія» вічна". – "Time passes, but "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" remains eternal".

Second Higher Education: Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University was established in 1875 by Emperor Franz Josef and in 1989 named after the famous Ukrainian writer Yuriy Fed'kovych. Faculty of History, Political Sciences and International Relations.

Foreign languages: English, French

2010 Senator Martha Bielish Scholarship recipient
Intern to Maurizio Bevilacqua, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery** – a functioning monastery, located on the west side of the Dnipro River the historic and administrative part of Kyiv. Originally built in the Middle Ages, its exterior was rebuilt in the Ukrainian Baroque style, then rebuilt in the Byzantine style. In 1922 the Monastery was liquidated. Then, in 1934-1936 St. Michael's Golden-Domed cathedral, bell-tower and other monastery buildings were destroyed to vacate space in favor of the new government centre. Its unique frescos and icons were seized by the Soviet Government and transferred to Moscow, only parts remained on display at St. Sophia's Cathedral. In the early 1990's, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Kyiv Patriarchate raised funds to reconstruct the Cathedral, which was officially opened in 1998. Since then, some of the original décor and religious objects have been returned to St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery from Russia.

Last book read: Eric Bern "Games people play (The Psychology of Human Relationships). What Do You Say After You Say Hello? (The Psychology of Human Destiny)".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "Не той дурний, хто не знає (ще такий, котрий усе знає, не народився), але той, хто знати не хоче. Зненавидь глупоту: тоді хоч і дурний, а будеш у числі блаженних" (Григорій

Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Become a better person and be sure to know who you are before meeting someone new and hoping that person knows who you are" (Gabriel Garcia Marquez).



Volodymyr VENHER

Born in Dondiushen, Moldova. Hometown: Borshchivka village, Lanivtsi district, Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine.

Kyiv-Mohyla University (National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was established in 1615). Faculty of Law.

Motto of University: "Час плінний, Києво-Могилянська академія – вічна". – "Time is flowing and Kyiv-Mohyla Academy is eternal".

Foreign languages: English, Bulgarian, French, Russian

2010 Vasyl Kereliuk Scholarship recipient

Intern to Michael Wallace, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Holy Dormition Kyiv Pecherska Lavra (Kyiv Monastery of the Caves) is located in the capital of Ukraine and is one of the World's Orthodox strongholds. It was founded in 1051 by orthodox monks Anthoniy and Feodosiy. Pecherska Lavra embodies beautiful architecture and strong spiritual core of the Ukrainian Nation. It contains not only valuable buildings, wall paintings and sculptural images but also great system of caves, which are the symbol of religious endeavour. Kyiv Pecherska Lavra is a religious pearl of Ukraine, which attracts pilgrims from around the world.

Last book read: Charles Dickens "The Mystery of Edwin Drood".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: "Life goes and we do all without revision, and time does not restrain the gallop..." Lina Kostenko.

Favourite quote by foreign author: "Man, you do not have anything but the soul" Pythagoras.



Evhenia VIATCHANINOVA

Born in Solikamsk, Russian Federation. Hometown: Ternopil, Ukraine.

Graduated from **University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University was established in 1834)** in 2010 with Bachelor's Degree in Journalism.

Motto of University of Kyiv: "Utilitas honour et Gloria". – "Utility, Honour and Glory". – "Корисність, Честь та Слава".

Foreign languages: English, German, Russian, Spanish
CUPP 2009 Intern to **Hon. Jason Kenney** MP, Calgary Southeast, Alberta.

2009 William & Antonina Bazylewych Scholarship recipient

2010 Senator David Tkachuk Scholarship recipient
CUPP 2010 coordinator

Intern to Borys Wrzesnewskyj, M.P., Ontario

Outstanding architecture in Ukraine: **The Livadia Palace**
The Livadia Palace was a summer retreat of the last Russian tsar, Nicholas II, and his family in Livadia, Crimea, built in the mid-XIX century by Italian architect Monighetti, in a neo-Renaissance style. However, in world history this estate is known primarily due to the Yalta Conference in 1945, when the palace hosted a wartime meeting among Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Today the palace houses a museum, but is sometimes used by Ukrainian authorities for international summits.

Last book read: Umberto Eco "The name of the Rose".

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Богдан-Ігор

Антонич: "Тиша – це мова, якою говорить до людини Бог."

Favourite quote by foreign author: Albert Einstein: "Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts."



Vladyslav VLASOV

Born in: Mykolayiv

Petro Mohyla Black Sea University, Mykolayiv was established in 1996. Faculty of Foreign Languages.
Foreign languages: English, German – basic, Russian, Spanish – basic

2010 Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship recipient

Intern to Linda Duncan, M.P., Alberta

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Olvia.**

It is an ancient Greek colony (6th century B.C. – 4th century A.D.) that is situated in Mykolayiv region (village of Parutino) on the shore of the Southern Buh River estuary. This site is rich in history and reminds visitors, of the ancient architecture and trade between Olvia and other Greek cities. It is still of great importance, because Olvia is one of a very few sites which dates back to before the Christian era in Mykolayiv region.

Last book read: "The Kite Runner" by Khaled Hosseini.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: Світ ловив мене, та не впіймав. (Григорій Сковорода).

Favourite quote by foreign author: No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee. (John Donne).



L to R: Taras Hayun; Maria RManyshyn, C'08; Borys Tarasiuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; Vitaliy Lipich, C'07 at the 4th Economic Forum of Young Leaders, Poland, 2009.

Daniel BAZYLEWYCH

Left: CN Tower lake view.

Right: Looking out from CN Tower.

**Solomiia BOBROVSKA**

Left: Duke's Castle, Ostroh.

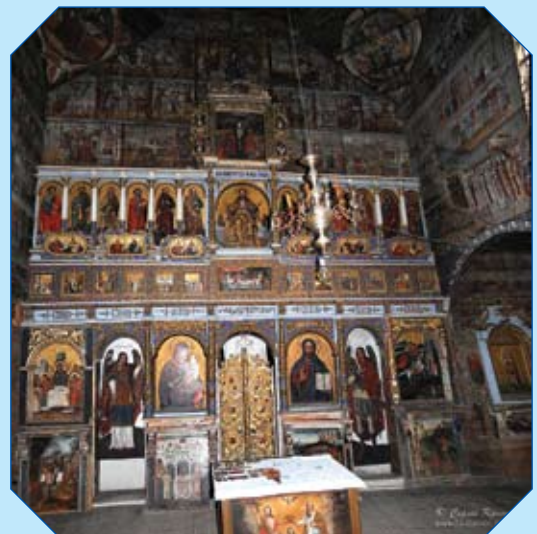
Top: Guard Tower of Duke's Castle, Ostroh.

**Bohdan BOLONNY**

Left: Exterior of St. George's Church, Drohobych.

Right: Interior of St. George's Church, Drohobych.

Photos courtesy of Serhiy Krynytsia.



Solomiya BORSHOSH

Top: The Chapel of Boim family, Lviv.

Right: Statue of Jesus Christ.

**Nadiya FEDORIV**

Top: The Candle to Memory – central part of the memorial complex to the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine.



Middle: One of four crosses that symbolize periods of famines in Ukraine.



Bottom: The crest and the crane, imprisoned in chains.

Illia FILATOV

Left: The Vorontsov Palace.

Right: Central entrance to the palace.



Maryna IAROSHEVYCH

House with chimeras.

Liliia IBADOVATaras
Shevchenko
monument in
Kharkiv.**Kyrylo KORZH**Left: Khortytsia Island
– historical reconstruction.Bottom: Khortytsia
today.**Iryna KRASNOSHTAN**

Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle.

Anton KRASUN

The Lviv National Theatre of Opera and Ballet.

Iryna KRUTENKO

Saint Michael's Cathedral in Cherkasy.



Bohdan KUSHPLER



St. George's Cathedral in Lviv.

Kateryna LYSENKO

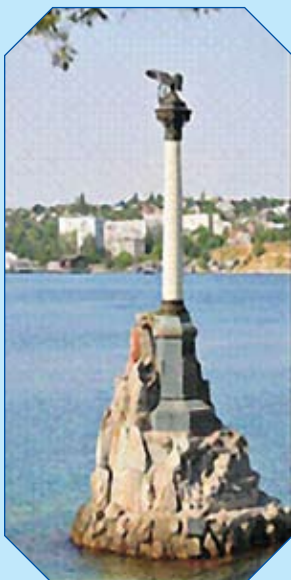


Left: Chersonesos – ruins of columns.



Right: The bell in Chersonesos.

Ivan MATVEICHENKO



The Monument to the Scuttled Ships.

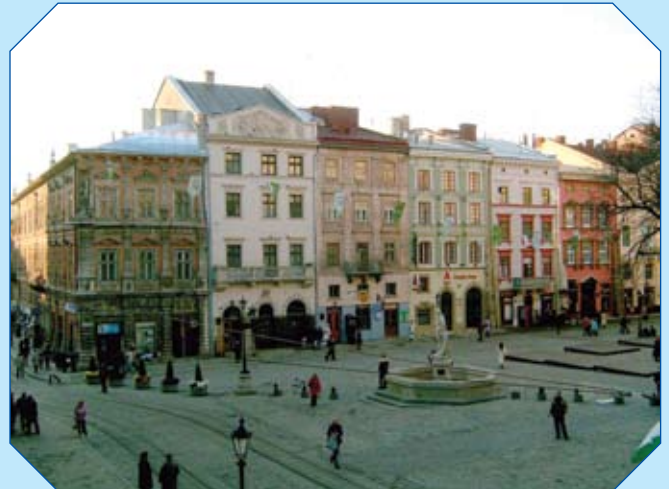
Yurii MEDENTSII



Khotyn fortress in Chernivtsi region.

Aishe MEMETOVA

Bakhysaray Palace in Crimea.

Mykhaylo PALAHITSKYI

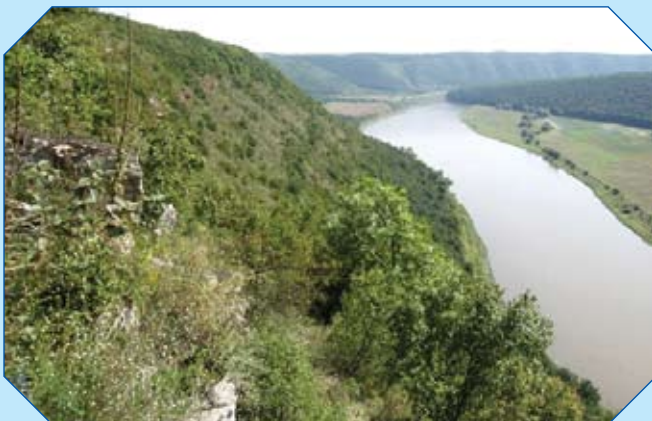
Market Square (Ploshcha Rynok) in Lviv.

Oleksandr PANKIV

Armenian Cathedral in Lviv (inner view).

Olya SHUDRAK

The Bernardine
Cathedral, or the
Greek-Catholic
Church of
St. Andrew, Lviv.

**Svitlana SAMOILINA**

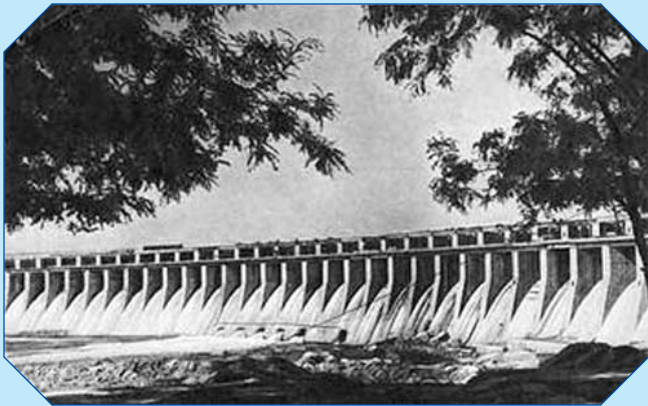
Dniistrovskii Canyon.

Olha SOROKIVSKA

Foun-
tain in
Sofi-
ivskyi
Park.



Illya SYMONENKO



Zaporizhia DniproGES.

Stanislava TSARKOVA



St. Michael's Golden Domed Monastery.

Valeriia TRUSH

Holy
Dormition
Pochayiv
Lavra, Kyiv.

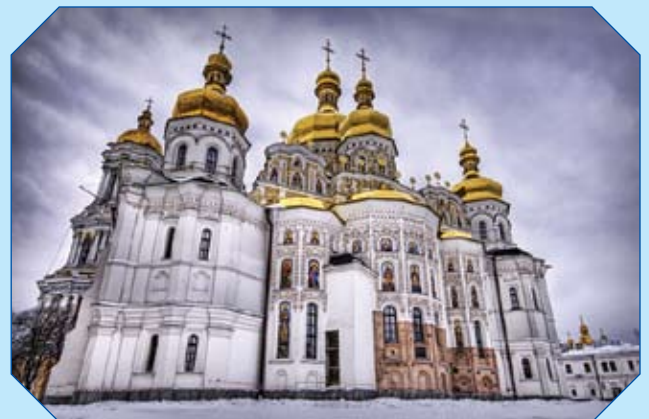


Volodymyr VENHER



Left: Kyiv
Pecherska
Lavra in the
evening.

Right: Inner
yard of the
complex.



Evhenia VIATCHANINOVA

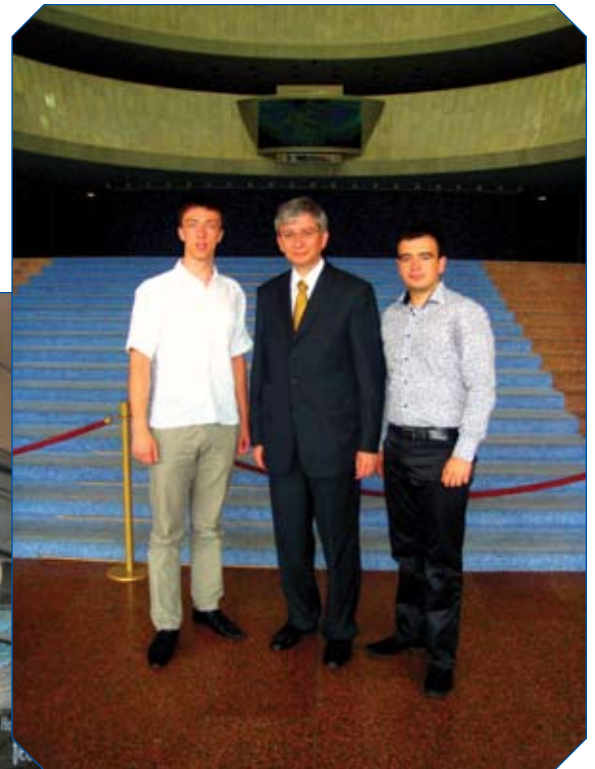
The Livadia Palace, Crimea.

Vladyslav VLASOV

Ruins of Olvia.



L to R: Oleksandr Pankiv; Ihor Bardyn; Lucy Hicks; Dr. Diane Flannery (UCLA); Kirsten Kuhlmann (UCLA); Dr. Olya Halyabar, C'04; Dr. Antin Kushnir, C'03; Dr. Mary Jane Rotheram-Borus (UCLA); Tom Dubinski, UCLA Meeting in Santa Monica at UCLA Family Commons.



L to R: Andriy Zinchuk; Eugen Czoliy (The President of WUC); Yuriy Lubkovich at World Meeting in Kyiv.

The Language of Freedom

UKRAINSKA PRAVDA (Republished with permission of Ukrainska Pravda)

Permalink: <http://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2010/03/24/4886324/>

Wednesday, March 24, 2010, 13:31

The chief editorial staff of the "First National Channel" works hard to make the official language not just the language of broadcast, but the everyday language of communication of the TV Company.

Among recent examples of this activity there was an attempt to improve the situation relating to the statistical reports. The reports come from research companies mainly in Russian, and occasionally in English.

The staff of these companies has told us that almost nobody does statistical reports in Ukrainian and a separate translation requires an extra payment of a large sum of money.

The Editor in Chief of the "First National" Khrystyna Stebelska explains this by indifference, apathetic temperament with an artificially created vacuum.

She clarifies: "Of course, the Russian language is a good, functional and we should not be afraid of the common vocabulary. But a successful Ukrainian exploring the nationwide rating should learn our terminology, not the neighbour's. For the true professional retains everything new rather than brush everything into a "commonly known" basket.

Ukrainian is a vibrant, colourful language; children catch up on what parents did not know. This should happen automatically. Imagine if, marketing sociologists decided to provide us with a rating in Chinese because the software developed by Chinese people was installed on their computers. Then what? Will this not affect the dignity of a specialist whom Ukraine recognized the best in the market? I do not doubt that the trend is not good for those for whom "it is all the same".

In sum, this situation is a clear demonstration of the language situation in the media field in general.

In everyday media work, people easily do without the Ukrainian language and this is just one of the manifestations of a very confusing situation concerning the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine.

Let us try to analyze it.

History

Ukrainian literary language appeared in the works by Shevchenko and Kotliarevskyi as the language of liberation.

It was about cultural liberation first, however the freedom of literature stimulated the national, political and even to some extent class freedom. After all, such processes had been taking place throughout all of Europe at that time.

Using the indigeneous language, literature created a national identity, integrating citizens of countries or territories into a united nation. It clearly and passionately exposed the injustice existing in society.

Especially distinct in the Ukrainian language was the fact that it remained the language of freedom for about two hundred more years..

Claiming for self-identity, language apologists quite naturally became oppositional and even explicitly hostile to the repressive systems in the countries of their residence. For instance, something similar happened to Yiddish during the period of stagnation. This, incidentally, became one of the reasons of friendly relations between Jewish and Ukrainian dissidents.

Woe to the Winners

It seems all restrictions for the development and dissemination of Ukrainian

would have faded away since independence has been obtained.

However, two obstacles arose on the way to a bright future of the language. The first one is the existence of two almost equal parts of our society – Ukrainian-speaking and Russian-speaking. Before the declaration of independence was adopted it could be clearly seen that this situation was a result of Russification¹ policy that had been prevailing in the USSR.

It seems, on abolishing the source of such policy the Russian-speaking population would have easily and quickly started speaking Ukrainian. After all, we are at the nineteenth year of independence and see no fundamental changes that have occurred in the ratio of Ukrainian and Russian parts of the Ukrainian nation.

And there is no way to cope with it. Even Article 10 of the Constitution does not aid substantially.

However, there are hundreds of articles where authors try to explain, what causes this situation starting with the "hand of Moscow" and a "worldwide Masonic conspiracy" by Paul Shtepa up to the "deep civilization-mentality fracture" which lies just on the Dnipro River according to Samuel Huntington.

Pragmatically on the Language

There might be some sense in searching for the causes. However, it is high time for the language problem, as well as for many other political issues, to be transferred into a practical level.

¹ **Russification of Ukraine** – a body of laws, decrees, and other actions undertaken by the Imperial Russian and later Soviet authorities directed at strengthening of the Russian national, political and linguistic hegemony in Ukraine, and eradication of Ukrainian language, culture and the self-determination sentiments.

For a start, we can think over who needs the Ukrainian language in Ukraine? And then mention unforgettable Leonid Kuchma² who might have forgotten his promises on "the second official language" immediately on the second day of his first term.

Why? It's because the language is still forming the nation's self-identity. On having no self-identity our national elite would still be dependant administrators of a province. In addition, no government can rule steadily without a sense of unity that language gives to the nation.

The orange politicians served as a good example for this; they didn't manage to hold the power because they never did overcome the split neither among themselves nor in the society.

But never mind all that elite. What is more important, why does Ukrainian nation need dissemination of Ukrainian language. Indeed it is more comfortable for common people to speak the language they are used to. It is also easier to use it when contacting officials or receiving education. But this lies solely in an individual's scope.

If we speak about the scope of Ukrainian nation or civil society, their prospect in the present reality look quite short-lived without the Ukrainian language. As we don't have neither such a strong historical and cultural tradition as the Swiss do, nor authoritarian rule like in Belarus. It is very naive to expect that there will be no language conflicts in the society without these components. The Cyprus split that neither UN nor EU can solve already for half a century serves as a strong evidence to this.

What is next?

So, from a purely pragmatic point of view Ukraine needs Ukrainian language, and not only its existence, but

also dissemination among all Ukrainian citizens. Another question is how the state should facilitate this process. At this point we face the second obstacle, namely the absence of effective Ukrainization policy in the independent Ukraine. Once again, there is no special need to answer the question "why did it happen so?", unless to mention:

- the "modern" Ukrainization policy was often as repressive as the Russification policy was in the Soviet times.
- methods used by this policy often provoked rejection even among Ukrainian-speaking citizens;
- sometimes state programs supporting Ukrainian literature and language support turned into the money-making programs or similar activity.

All described matters are enough to understand that the policy of Ukrainization requires essentially a new approach, no matter who implements it. Which? Well, perhaps they may be similar to those used in civilized countries. There they have already realized a long time ago that it is much easier to rule when people accept the officials' decisions as though their own. Therefore they don't just conduct some "policy". They devote much to convince the citizens that the policy is right and explain the importance of these or those decisions and positions first of all for the society itself.

Generally, all this is all described by the "Soft Power" conception.

According to this idea one can attain an object easier if deals with mass media using the new informational technologies' achievements and thus win as many as possible adherents round.

What can be done in our case?

For instance, we could focus on improving the image of Ukrainian language, make it more attractive for citizens of the country and promote accessibility of literature and software programs in Ukrainian. Ukrainian should become the language of

freedom again. But this time it should be freedom of access to information, freedom of expression, freedom to acquire new knowledge or search for new meanings.

The Soft Power Means

Is it difficult to conduct this policy?

Yes, it is, as it is necessary to change the trend of the thoughts of people who make decisions and influence the language policy. But if these changes happen, it will become very easy.

As the government has enough resources to apply such "soft power". For instance, the state mass media, let it be "The First National" that can best contribute to improving the image of Ukrainian language, Ukrainian culture and the state of Ukraine. "The First National" has already displayed repeatedly it is able to be such an instrument. Dozens of international awards and all-Ukrainian prizes for documentaries prove the quality of its product. Children's in-house programs show that it is the state TV channel that can produce a product of social utility absent on the commercial channels because of business considerations. For instance, such programs as "Between us" dedicated to national minorities of Ukraine serve as a strong evidence it is the state TV channel that works without any exceptions for all the groups of citizens no matter whether they are the audience for advertisers or not.

This instrument needs a little bit more attention and care from the government to become truly effective at least to give an opportunity to receive the reports in Ukrainian. And in case the government takes care about the state TV channel, it will contribute a lot to ensuring the interests of this state especially in the field of official language propaganda.

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² The second president of independent Ukraine who ruled the country from 1994 to 2004 having been re-elected for the second term in 1999.

Мова свободи

Олег БАРДЯК



Головна редакція "Першого національного" наполегливо працює над тим, щоб державна мова стала не просто мовою ефіру, а й повноцінною робочою мовою телекомпанії.

Серед останніх прикладів цієї діяльності була спроба виправити ситуацію зі статистичними звітами. Вони надходять від компаній-дослідників переважно російською, і зрідка англійською мовами.

Від відповідальних працівників компаній дізнались, що статистичних звітів українською майже ніхто не робить. А за окремий переклад потрібно доплачувати чималі гроші.

Головний редактор "Першого" Христина Стебельська пояснює це байдужістю, млявим темпераментом і штучно створеним вакуумом.

І уточнює: *"Безперечно, мова російська гарна, функціональна, і не треба боятися спільної лексики. Але успішний українець, який досліджує загальнонаціональний рейтинг, має допомогти пізнати терміни – наші, а не сусіда. Бо справжній професіонал засвоює все нове, а не причісує все до "общепонятного".*

Українська мова жива, колоритна, чого не знали батьки – надолужують діти. Це має відбуватись автоматично. Уявімо собі, що соціологи-маркетологи забажали подати нам рейтинг китайською, бо на їхніх комп'ютерах встановлено програми, які розробляли китайці. І що? Хіба це не зачіпає гідність фахівця, якого Україна визнала кращим на ринку? Не сумніваюся, що зараз тенденція не на користь тих, кому "все одно".

Разом з тим, така ситуація є доволі яскравим проявом мовного становища в медійній сфері загалом.

В робочих моментах ЗМІ легко

обходяться взагалі без української мови. І це лише один з проявів дуже заплутаної ситуації, яка склалася з використанням української мови в Україні.

Спробуємо в ній розібратися.

Історичний експурс

Українська літературна мова з'явилася в творах Шевченка та Котляревського – як *мова звільнення*.

Перш за все йшлося про звільнення культурне. Але свобода літератури стала поштовхом до звільнення національного, політичного й навіть певною мірою класового.

Зрештою, подібні процеси тоді відбувалися по всій Європі.

Використовуючи народну мову, література творила національну ідентичність, інтегрувала жителів країн чи територій в єдиний народ, чітко й пафосно викривала наявну в суспільстві несправедливість.

Особливим у випадку з українською стало те, що мовою свободи вона залишалася ще майже дві сотні років.

Претендуючи на свою окремішність, апологети мови цілком природньо ставали опозиційними і навіть відверто ворожими до репресивних систем у країнах їхнього проживання.

Щось подібне відбувалося, наприклад, в період застою з мовою ідиш. І це, до речі, стало однією з причин дружніх стосунків між єврейськими та українськими дисидентами.

Горе переможцям

З моменту здобуття незалежності, здавалося б, всі обмеження для розвитку й поширення української мали зникнути.

Втім, на дорозі в світле мовне майбутнє постало дві перепони.

Перша – існування *двох прак-*

тично рівних складових частин нашого суспільства – україномовної та російськомовної. До прийняття незалежності було чітко видно, що така ситуація – наслідок русифікаторської політики, яка панувала в СРСР.

Здавалося б, після знищення джерела цієї політики російськомовна частина населення мала б легко й швидко українізуватись. Зрештою, на дев'ятнадцятому році незалежності бачимо, що ніяких кардинальних змін у співвідношенні україномовної та російськомовної складових українського народу не відбулось.

І нема на те ніякої ради. Навіть 10 стаття Конституції не особливо допомагає.

Втім, маємо сотні статей, автори яких намагаються пояснити, в чому причини такої ситуації. Від "руки Москви" й "всесвітньої масонської змови" у Павла Штепи, до "глибокого цивілізаційно-ментального розлому", який в Самуеля Хантінгтона пролягає просто по Дніпру.

Прагматично про мову

Якийсь сенс у пошуку причин, можливо, є. Однак мовну проблему, як і багато інших політичних проблем, вже давно варто перевести в *прагматичну площину*.

Для початку можна задуматись над тим, кому потрібна в Україні українська мова?

І згадати незабутнього Леоніда Даниловича, який свої обіцянки щодо "другої державної" – забув, мабуть, одразу на другий день першого терміну.

Чому? Та тому, що *мова й досі*

створює в народі *відчуття окремості*. Без цього відчуття наша національна еліта так і залишилась би підневільними управителями провінції.

А ще мова дає народу *відчуття єдності*, без якого жодна влада не зможе стабільно урядувати.

Це яскраво доводить приклад помаранчевих політиків, які не змогли втриматися при владі тому, що так і не подолали розкол. Ані поміж собою, ані всередині суспільства.

Але Бог із нею, з тою елітою. Важливіше те, **навіщо поширення української мови народу України.**

І справді, звичайним людям зручніше говорити тією мовою, до якої вони звикли. Нею ж легше контактувати з чиновниками, або здобувати освіту.

Але це виключно масштаб окремого індивіда.

Якщо ж говорити про масштаби українського народу та громадянського суспільства, то без української мови їхні перспективи в наших реаліях виглядають доволі ефемерно.

Адже у нас немає ані такої сильної історико-культурної традиції, як у швейцарців, ані такої авторитарної влади, як в Білорусі.

А без цих складових очікувати, що в суспільстві не виникатиме конфліктів на мовному ґрунті, дуже наївно. Кіпрський розкол, який вже півстоліття не можуть розв'язати ані ООН, ані ЄС – яскравий цьому доказ.

Що дали

Отож, з чисто прагматичних поглядів, Україна має потребу в українській мові. І не просто в її існуванні, а в *поширенні серед усіх українських громадян.*

Інше питання – яким чином держава має сприяти цьому процесу.

І отут ми стикаємося з другою перепорою. А саме – *з відсутністю ефективної політики українізації в незалежній Україні.*

Знову ж таки, відповідати на питання "чому так сталося?" нема

особливої потреби. Хіба що відмітити:

– часто політика "сучасної" українізації була такою ж репресивною, як і політика русифікації за часів СРСР;

– методи цієї політики часом провокували відторгнення навіть серед україномовних громадян;

– інколи державні програми підтримки української літератури й мови перетворювались на програми заробляння грошей тощо-абощо.

Описаного цілком досить, аби зрозуміти: політиці українізації, хто б її не проводив, потрібні *кардинально нові підходи.*

Які? Ну, мабуть, подібні до тих, що використовуються в цивілізованих країнах світу. А там вже давно зрозуміли, що набагато легше керувати тоді, коли люди приймають рішення урядовців *ніби свої власні.*

Тому там не просто здійснюють якусь "політику".

Там багато уваги присвячують тому, щоб переконати громадян у її правильності, пояснюють цінність тих чи інших позицій та рішень – насамперед для самого населення.

Загалом це все описується концепцією "м'якої сили" (soft power).

Згідно з нею досягати свого легше, якщо ефективно працювати зі ЗМІ, використовувати нові здобутки інформаційних технологій, і завдяки цьому залучати на свій бік якомога більшу кількість прихильників.

Що можна зробити у нашому випадку?

Наприклад, зосередитись на покращенні іміджу української мови, зробити її привабливою для громадян країни, сприяти доступності україномовних літературних чи програмних продуктів тощо.

Українська мова знову мала б стати *мовою свободи*. Тільки тепер уже йдеться про свободу доступу до інформації, свободу вираження думок, свободу набування нових знань чи пошуку нових сенсів.

Втім, без цілеспрямованої державної політики в цьому напрямі довгострокових системних наслідків не буде.

Засоби для Soft Power

Чи важко здійснювати таку політику?

Важко. Бо потрібна зміна напрямку думок у тих, хто приймає рішення і впливає на мовну політику. Але якщо ці зміни відбудуться, то стане дуже легко.

Адже держава має достатньо ресурсів для застосування такої "м'якої сили".

От хоча б державні ЗМІ, той же "Перший національний", які можуть якнайкраще працювати на покращення іміджу української мови, української культури й держави Україна.

Перший вже неодноразово демонстрував, що здатен бути таким інструментом.

Десятки міжнародних нагород та всеукраїнських премій за документальні фільми – доводять якість власного продукту. Дитячі програми власного виробництва показують, що *саме державна телекомпанія* може виробляти такий суспільно корисний продукт, якого з бізнесових причин нема на комерційних телеканалах.

Наприклад, такі програми, як "Між нами", присвячена національним меншинам України, – яскраво свідчать, що саме державний телеканал працює на всі без винятку групи громадян, незважаючи на те, чи є вони аудиторією для рекламодавців чи ні.

Щоб стати справді ефективним, цьому інструменту треба лише трохи більше уваги та піклування від держави.

Хоча б для того, щоб була змога отримувати звіти українською.

І тоді, якщо держава подбає про державний телеканал, він добре спрацює на забезпечення інтересів цієї держави. Особливо – в сфері пропагування державної мови.

The Challenges Young Ukrainians Face in Present-day Ukraine

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In Ukrainian society there is much expectation put on the young people at the current stage. Youth is widely regarded as the most flexible and open to innovative thinking social layer which is able to easily adopt the achievements of Western political and economic practice with their further introduction in Ukraine. Present-day mobility of young people contributes to the overall increase in the amount of possibilities to visit other countries, analyze the way of life there and transmit this knowledge to their social surrounding after return to Ukraine. Besides, the fact that young people in Ukraine were affected by Soviet ideology and communist brain-washing techniques to a lesser extent than their parents contributes to better understanding of the Western democratic, not Soviet totalitarian, political tradition by the former. Those are the key factors that promote speculation on the issues of youth involvement in the political life as most Ukrainian political parties try to incorporate young people in their electoral lists in order to create the image of a political force that gives way to youth leaders and thinks of the sequence of generations within the party. However, the amount of youth representatives in the authorities of all the levels is meager, just sufficient to support the notion of involving young people in political processes of the country, without actually granting them significant impact on the decision-making process of the re-

spective party or defining state policy at least in some of its domains.

The role young Ukrainians should play in political life of the country is much debated both by the representatives of political elite and by mass-media. However, there is not much attention paid to the current socio-economic situation the Ukrainian youth is affected by, to the challenges it has to face and to the range of prospects it has to choose from. In our research we will try to systematize the results of several sociological surveys and analyze what problems young people in Ukraine face nowadays and what vision of their own future they have.

Year of 2009 was announced to be the Year of Youth in Ukraine in terms of which a set of state actions in youth policy should have been implemented. However, in his speech at the National Council for Youth Development on December 3, 2009 the Minister of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports Yuriy Pavlenko recognized that the effectiveness of the above mentioned actions was much affected by the results of economic crisis, as well as by deterioration of the economic condition of young people, unemployment and spread of drug addiction, alcoholism and smoking [6]. Famous Ukrainian sociologist Horodianenko adds to the list such youth problems as low level of life, significant economic and social dependency on parents, absence of possibilities to improve housing conditions, family problems (high divorce

rate and family conflicts) and loss of ideals and life optimism [1]. In our research we would like to focus on the youth problems of economic nature and the way state tries to address them.

Traditional high youth unemployment rate was worsened by current economic crisis in Ukraine. According to the data of State employment service of Ukraine, in 2009 unemployed youth constituted one third of all unemployed Ukrainians and equaled 355 thousand people [6].

The actions taken by the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports were inefficient. For instance, it has developed the bill "About the amendments to the Labour Code" which was designed to guarantee the first job position for the young people for the period of two years through introducing respective quotas [5]. However, the bill was not approved by the parliament and did not go further than a declaration.

Secondly, the network of 100 youth employment centers was created, which helped to employ 18 thousand young people. 18 thousand employed in comparison with 355 thousand unemployed demonstrates a low (5%) effectiveness of the work of the centers and their inability to meet social demand to full extent.

Thirdly, Yuriy Pavlenko stated that the Ministry also conducted annual youth competition of business projects with 11 thousand people participating

in it. In general, the contest is a positive development as it helps to identify talented young people with a natural flair to entrepreneurship. Having good and economically justified ideas, in most cases young people, though, do not have sufficient financial resources to start their own businesses as the interest rates for bank credits are unbearable for the businesses which were just set up (in 2009 the average interest rates for the loans given to small and medium businesses balanced between 30 and 50% per annum [3]). In 2007 young people defined such issues as lack of initial capital and unavailability of credit, high taxes and complicated economic and political situation in the country as the major obstacles while starting up a new business. 22% believed that red tape was the major problem while others lacked theoretical knowledge or were unable to adapt to market rules (24 and 16% respectively) [7].

However, one should look for the main reasons for high unemployment rate much deeper – in the organization of education itself. Nowadays there is an immense discrepancy between the educational system and the needs of job market. According to the survey of National Institute of Family and Youth, in 2007, even before the start of economic crisis, almost 50% of young people with university or college diplomas did not work in the field of their studies [7]. The major reasons for this were no positions available (42%) and financial dissatisfaction with the jobs offered (40%). Almost every fifth respondent was dissatisfied with the conditions of job in the field while every sixth simply did not like it. 8% of young people did not work in the field of their studies as it did not foresee any career growth [7].

The very same survey demonstrated that 8 out of 10 young people were satisfied with their job while other 2 were not. It also showed that for young people a good job envisages

good wages (97%), interesting activities (90%), opportunity for self-realization (85%) and respectability (82%). Thus for Ukrainian youth not only high wages, but also possibility of career growth, application of the knowledge and skills and obtaining relevant experience are among the most important factors during the job hunt [7].

There is a direct connection between the job position a young professional occupies and his or her ability to solve the housing problems. Without having sufficient salary and taking to account small probability to pay out the mortgage, in most cases young Ukrainians have to rely on their parents in solving the housing issue. However, it is a successful solution of the housing problem that is one of the key factors which will guarantee the establishment of a strong and independent family as a separate cell in the society organism. That is why the Minister of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports mentioned in his last year's report that "restoring the activities of State Fund for Youth Housing is a question of national security, which is not currently addressed" [6]. In case the state does not introduce balanced youth policy in terms of assisting young families in purchasing first real estate, young Ukrainians face two options: either to rent an apartment without owning it or to take unbearable 20-year bank loan with 25% per annum interest rate.

The combination of all the above mentioned factors (unemployment, dissatisfaction with work conditions, impossibility to purchase one's own apartment and satisfy the financial needs of the family etc) contributes to a more profound problem – more and more Ukrainians would like to leave Ukraine and live abroad. According to a recent survey conducted by the National Institute of Family and Youth, almost 30% of Ukrainian students plan to leave Ukraine after the end of their studies because of financial troubles or impossibility to fully realize oneself

in the motherland [4]. In post-independent era Ukraine has already lost several millions of the most economically active citizens who migrated to Portugal, Italy, Spain and Russia in order to earn money and support their families in Ukraine financially. It was a severe blow to Ukraine as a country which caused a drastical increase in the number of incomplete families, deterioration of children's social conduct due to the lack of parental control and the fact that Ukraine got devoid of millions of citizens who could have potentially become an economic spine of the state in case proper conditions for starting small and medium businesses were provided in the country. However, if every third young educated Ukrainian leaves Ukraine, the blow to the country would be of catastrophic scale after which its future as an independent country would be under question. Other 25% Ukrainian students are ready to go abroad in order just to earn money [4]. Thus a total of 55% of Ukrainian students, who have already received their diplomas and on whom significant budget funds have been spent, are ready to leave the country where they were born. Such negative tendencies will not only cause significant economic problems at present due to shrinking of the amount of highly qualified human resources, but it may lead to full-scale demographic disaster in 10 or 20 years as the sequence of generations will be damaged. When people left Ukraine in the mid-90s, they left their children in Ukraine. If present-day youth leaves Ukraine for permanent residence abroad, their children will be born abroad and become citizens of other countries.

However, living abroad does not necessarily guarantee successful career there. According to 2007 survey, 19% of respondents were abroad during the previous 2 or 3 years, 29% of them actually working in a foreign country. Nevertheless, only 11% of

young people worked abroad in the field of their previous studies. Half of them were involved in construction whereas every tenth worked in trade and every fifth – in the agricultural sphere [7]. Thus the practice shows that not always living abroad provides opportunities for professional self-realization and assuring financial well-being of the family.

To sum up, nowadays Ukrainian youth faces one major challenge – to make the best choice possible – either to stay in Ukraine, try to apply their skills while developing one's career here and learn how to survive in the conditions of flourishing bureaucracy, corruption and inadequate youth policy or try their luck abroad, leaving their parents and friends in Ukraine

and starting a new life in a foreign country. Or there is another choice. It is the choice of the country and its political elite as temporary leaders hired for public service by the Ukrainian people. In order to avoid a new wave of the brain-drain and create the prerequisites for stable, sustainable and prospering tomorrow, Ukrainian elite should pay due attention to the needs of young Ukrainians and provide the conditions which will guarantee that the practical skills and knowledge of young Ukrainians will be applied to full extent in the process of building up a strong and independent Ukraine.

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What Are the Most Damaging Legacies of Soviet Totalitarianism in Ukraine?

Can They be Overcome? How?

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In order to truly understand the most damaging legacies of Soviet totalitarianism in Ukraine, one needs to live through that time and feel it in one's heart. Of course, it is quite difficult for young Ukrainian generation and for Ukrainians abroad to feel what they have never seen or felt. Yet, it is not only through books and parents' stories that the legacy of USSR can be understood. To recognize what Soviet Union has done to Ukrainians we only need to look around. The struggling economy, the inefficient social institutions, and the endless monuments of Soviet era are not the worst of what was left. The worst thing in today's Ukrainian society is actually what is

absent. And that is what I want to talk about in my essay.

There is something in the world's history that helps states to exist and prosper. It helped ancient Rome to build its power. It is in the foundation of the United States and Canada's value system and prosperity. It is what helped USSR to win in the World War II. And it is one of the main things missing in Ukraine today. I am talking about an integral component of any state's success – called Unity.

Why did we have it before 1991 and we do not have it now? Is it because Soviet or other ideology is the only thing that can keep us together? Or is it necessary to have a totalitarian

regime in a country to make its people united? I am certain of the opposite. To build a nation's unity is the main goal of any government and it was the mission of the new Ukrainian leadership after the country proclaimed independence in 1991. However, the new Ukrainian government had failed to realize its main task. One of the main reasons for that was that the politicians who came to power in the early years of independence were from the same echelons of Soviet bureaucrats. They did not know what democracy was, they never experienced the life in a free country, and they did not have the skills and the heart to build a new free Ukraine. The problem, there-

fore, was the absence of new young politicians that knew how and could bring the new country together. However, I believe that this problem will be solved in the near future as Ukrainian youth gets good education and values and gradually replaces the old politicians and their outdated views and approaches. Ukraine is a young country and it needs young leaders.

Another issue that is just as damaging to Ukrainian society as the absence of unity, is the absence of a strong national identity, which is absolutely crucial for the future development of the country. No doubt, that a person can get it while living in a certain society or from parents, but it is the government's mission to support this process and help to develop a strong national identity inside every citizen. Back in the Soviet times, the government accomplished this mission brilliantly. Every boy and every girl in USSR considered themselves as Soviet people and all of them had a strong self-identification without exceptions. However, *"A medal glitters, but it also casts a shadow"* [Winston Churchill]. That shadow was the culture of suppression of the national identities among the many ethnic groups within the country, especially Ukrainians.

But what was good for the regime of intolerance and oppression does not fit our young democratic State. We are different now. While Russians show their silent obedient consent, we are struggling for our freedom. When we have a goal – we take steps towards it. Most of Ukrainians felt it especially keenly in 2004. It was so clear to everyone on the Maidan that we are Ukrainians and we can and we will build our future by our own hands. This must be clear to all Ukrainians because the strong *national identity* is that ground on which the tree of unity will grow.

We have to convey to people the idea, that by taking actions to better

their country, they are improving their own lives and the lives of their future generations. Step by step we must remove the legacy of USSR, which turned many people in «state social consumers» who do not want to take initiative in their own hands and instead only rely on the government and what it tells them. If we do not want the system of surveillance in Ukraine, like in Russia, we need to say loudly about our Ukrainian roots and about our Ukrainian minds. We must say it not only to the world, but also to each other. Because every one of us must know that when we choose the path on our own, nobody will choose it for us.

The third thing that is missing in contemporary Ukraine due to the past dictatorial politics of USSR is the language integrity. Since the large Soviet machine began functioning, it was chosen that the only language all over the country would be Russian. This affected several generations of Ukrainians and even today, almost two decades later, the absence of language integrity persists. Ukraine has inherited from USSR a neglectful attitude to Ukrainian language in some of its regions. Since the Orange Revolution, we have made great progress in promoting our native language; however the legacy of the Soviet Union is still holding us back. Sad but true, some of our countrymen oppose Ukrainian as

the official language of Ukraine. Some even believe in future annexation to Russia. Those Ukrainians should understand that by preserving Ukrainian language, which unites us into a single Power, they will not only find their identity, but also become closer to each other in our country.

What can we do to bring Ukrainian language in all hearts of Ukrainians? Well, this issue has been actively addressed since 2004. All we need to do now is to continue what was begun and to remember the implications of the contrary. I do not think that new President of Ukraine will cherish Ukrainian language as much as V. Yushenko did. However, most of Ukrainians understand the importance of Ukrainian language to its statehood and will continue the noble task of promoting it around the country.

For almost a century Ukraine was under pressure, dictatorship and captivity. No doubt, that there is a lot of work ahead of us to wipe out all Soviet heritages that obstruct our way to prosperity and disturb our identity. I do believe that Ukraine has a great future. I do believe that all our efforts will bring us the results that we are working for. And it is our mission to complete this job so that the future generations of our countrymen will live in a democratic and free Ukraine.



**CUPP
Cosmonauts
respond: L to
R: Oleksandr
Pankiv,
C'08; Serhiy
Opanasenko,
C'08; Olya
Kroytor,
C'08.**

The perception of Ukraine and Ukrainians by Russian Youth

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The independence of Ukraine and Russia brought to life a lot of new objective realities, following the legitimization of statehood. The creation of national symbolism which significantly reinforced the meaningfulness of the archetypal concepts was one of the necessary scenarios. The formation of identity and the discourse of uniqueness and difference were secured with the help of such concepts. In this regard the study of the perception of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Russia is a strategic aim for Russian authorities who are motivated to spread their control over symbols and the territory of identity. This study is also relevant for political scientists who are looking for the ways of collating individual and supra-individual experience in the psychological image portraits of Ukrainians. Our survey was conducted on campus of Yelets State University in February, 2010. It is based on questionnaire responses of 76 Russian students who kindly agreed to share their perception of Ukraine and Ukrainians.

It is important to note that most of the students have never been to Ukraine (88% of respondents), which in our view demonstrates low mobility and economic freedom of their families. Only nine respondents have been to Ukraine (12%) and only two of them visit Ukraine regularly (2.6%). As a matter of course, the absence of any direct experience of Ukraine and Ukrainians preconditions all the following ways of perception and responses to the questionnaire.

55% of respondents have friends in Ukraine. Lack of any direct contact with the neighboring country explains why so many students do not have

any friends from Ukraine. On the other hand, the Internet communication opportunities, social networks, and, more traditionally, kinship provide the Russian students with a chance to be in touch with Ukrainians and that is why more than half of the respondents do have friends in Ukraine.

A variety of feedback was received when asking about the positive and negative features of Ukrainians. The negative traits of Ukrainians as perceived by Yelets students are greediness (15.7%), cunning (7.9%), hatred towards Russians (7.9%), impudence (6.6%), nationalism (5.2%), talkativeness (4.4%), hypocrisy (2.6%), harmfulness (2.6%), and indeterminateness (2.6%). Such negative qualities as haughtiness, stinginess, reticence and propensity to steal (the image, created by the Russian authorities during "the gas conflict") occurred once. However, the major group included those students (every third respondent, 35.3%) who could not name any negative feature of Ukrainians.

As for the positive features, the following qualities were named. Among the most popular perceived traits were kindness (11.8%), hospitality (9.2%) (It was the feedback from students, having visited Ukraine.), cordiality (7.9%), a sense of humor (7.9%), sociability (5.2%), joviality (4%). Optimism (2.6%), generosity (2.6%), and openness (2.6%) were also mentioned. Prudence, efficiency, wit, solidarity, boldness, bravery (in the context of the Cossack heroic past), and the drive to promote Russian in Ukraine were named only once. The rest of respondents could not name any positive features, which is characteristic of

people who do not know much about Ukraine.

We decided to ask the students whether they could marry a Ukrainian. In our opinion, the answer to this question implies the attitude of the Russian students and their perception of Ukrainians, touched upon in the previous queries. It could also reveal the prospects of tolerance in their relations with Ukrainians. 59.2% of respondents answered affirmatively. 36.8% said "No" and only 4% could not were unable to answer the question.

The feedback to the question about differences and commonalities between the Russian and Ukrainian mentalities deserves particular attention. A majority of respondents (54%) are sure that there are definite differences. 25% are not sure whether there are any differences and 21% of respondents think that the Ukrainian and Russian mentalities and behaviors are the same. As you can see, every fifth Yelets student, who filled in the questionnaire, considers Russians and Ukrainians to be identical.

This prejudice is reflected in the answers about the Ukrainian cuisine. A lot of the meals, regarded as Ukrainian, were those from the common Soviet past or meals without definite ethnic origin: "okroshka" (6.6%), "pelmeny" (6.6%), and cutlets (2.6%). "Shchi" (!?), "vinegret" (!?), "kvas", "golubtsy", "manty" (!?), "bubliki" (!?) were mentioned as well (7.9% of respondents named them in total). By far the most popular are "salo" (71%)

and borsch (59%). 19.7% of respondents also mentioned "halushky" and "horilka". 9.2% of students identify the Ukrainian cuisine with "varenyky". 4% of respondents remembered Chicken Kiev. Despite so much confusion, there are quite stable and stereotypical perceptions of Ukraine and Ukrainians through the prism of the national cuisine. These associations are certainly linked to the image of ordinary Ukrainians and help the Russians form their own understanding of the Ukrainian identity. Remarkably, all the students had some idea about the Ukrainian cuisine, which speaks about the potency of the Ukrainian cuisine in the provinces of Russia and penetration of the discourse about and of Ukraine even to the ordinary provincial Russian kitchen.

In contrast, much less feedback was obtained when asking the question: "Which representatives of the Ukrainian literature do you know?" Astonishingly, 57.9% named N. Gogol, two students mentioned T. Shevchenko and the same number of respondents named A. Chehov. Brothers Zhemchuzhnikov and M. Sholokhov were mentioned once. 40.8% were not able to name at least one Ukrainian man of letters. The results of the questionnaire lead to a sad conclusion that aesthetic literary education of Yelets students is in deep crisis. It is absolutely clear that the scarcity of responses speaks volumes about the alienation of the Russian students from Ukraine.

35.5% of respondents were unable to name any items of the Ukrainian national clothing or identify any difference between the Russian and Ukrainian national costumes. 17.1% could not identify the specific features of the national clothes, saying that it resembled Russian costumes. 15.7% of students named "sharovary" as Ukrainian clothes. 7.9% of respondents mentioned "sarafan". The Ukrainian national shirt was mentioned by

6.6% of respondents but no particular details or description were provided. 6.6% of Yelets students think that there are no traditional Ukrainian clothes because all Ukrainians wear mass-produced modern clothes. Among traditional garments, belts (4%) and even "papaha" (2.6%) found their place in the Russian perception of the Ukrainian clothes. Boots, "cherevychky", dresses, wreath, and "kokoshnik" were mentioned once.

Students were also asked to name famous Ukrainians. The names of V. Yushchenko (57.9%), Y. Tymoshenko (55%), V. Yanukovych (39.5%), N. Gogol (11.8%), and S. Bandera (11.8%) appeared most frequently. L. Kuchma (6.6%), N. Makhno (4%), A. Shevchenko (4%), T. Bulba (4%), A. Lorak (2.6%), S. Rotaru (2.6%), A. Voronin (2.6%) are much less known to Yelets students. B. Khmelnytsky, A. Tymoshchuk, Klichko brothers, T. Povaliy, A. Danylo and A. Lukashenko (!??) were mentioned once. It is obvious that the current political leaders of Ukraine are most prominent for the Russian students, which means there is a definite communication sphere which shapes their vision of Ukraine. As a matter of fact, the political component is quintessential in the perception of the Ukrainian identity by Yelets students. Ukrainians' achievements in sports, literature and arts in general are made less significant in view of the constant political debates between the Russian and Ukrainian authorities.

Students of Yelets State University are informed about the presidential election 2010 in Ukraine. We asked them to say who they would vote for if they could. The results of our impromptu election are different from the actual results in a very interesting respect. V. Yanukovych received 21% of "votes", Y. Tymoshenko – 13.1%, V. Yushchenko – 2.6% (appears to be a joke on the side of two Yelets students), S. Tigipko – only one "vote".

54% of students would not support any presidential candidate, and six students were unable to answer the question. A majority of students would not support any of the candidates but Ukrainians had to make some choice and when you face a real dilemma you rather decide it some way then try to deny it altogether. In our case, students could escape any choice by declaring their opposition to both major candidates, whose images are largely formed by the PR agencies under the control of the Russian regime. Students perceived the elections as a race only between two candidates. An ordinary Russian TV viewer could only learn about two candidates. V. Yushchenko was considered to be an outsider from the very beginning and that is why there is so little support (if any) of the current President.

The question "Which cities are the cradles of Ukrainian politics?" could shed light on the perception of the Ukrainian political geography. Objectively, it would be interesting to know which geographical centers produce most political forces, defining the modern image of Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of students (81.6%) named Kyiv but such cities as Donetsk (7.9%), Lviv (7.9%), the Crimea (6.6%), Kharkiv (4%) and Odesa (4%) were also in the list. Western Ukraine, Yalta, Alushta, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava and even Minsk (!??) were mentioned once.

Perception of Ukraine and Ukrainian political elites in particular are still being shaped by the discourse of "the gas conflict" which gained international significance. Almost all the Russians have been persuaded by the regime that Ukraine steals gas. We asked the students whether Russia was doing right during the conflict. 72.4% of them supported the actions of the Russian Federation. 4% of respondents thought that Russia's actions had been too "mild", which means that 76.4% of Yelets students

approved the actions of the Russian authorities. 17.1% considered these actions wrong and only 6.5% of respondents were unable to answer the questions. As you can see, "the gas conflict" is often discussed in the context of relations between Russia and Ukraine not only at the level of official institutes of power but also on the periphery, among students in the provinces.

It is necessary to acknowledge that most of the information about Ukraine is obtained by the Russians from the coverage on TV. State controlled TV channels influence great-

ly the perception of Ukraine in the Russian eyes. Because of the risk of changing the controllable society into the hotbed of disagreement and unrest, the regime manipulates the media to its benefit. Political agenda are certainly central in this process. Not to mention the fact that a lot of Yelets students are members of the pro-regime youth organizations ("NASHY", "Voluntary Youth Squad", "Young Guards", "School of youth entrepreneurship," etc.). The loyalty to the ruling regime and its unconditional support cannot be overseen as one of the most important ramifications of this

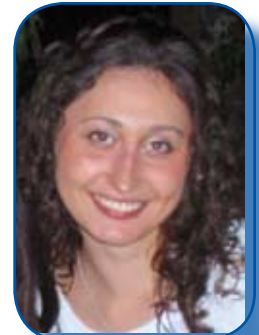
membership and activism. Despite not being strictly representative of the Russian youth perception of Ukraine, the result of our questionnaire supports these claims.

In conclusion, the main and maybe the only sponsor of creating and spreading images and perceptions of Ukraine and Ukrainians for the Russians is the ruling Russian regime. Consequently, any changes in the official diplomatic relations between Russia and Ukraine are reflected in the images portrayed for and afterwards perceived by the Russian youth.

Education and Knowledge will Ensure a Future for an Independent Ukraine

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The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program or CUPP was founded in the early 90's, on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the renewal of Ukraine's independence. Its founder and director was and remains Ihor Bardyn, son of Ukrainian immigrants, lawyer by profession. Along with some friends he established an educational Foundation to support the CUPP Program. CUPP has been maintained for the past 20 years from the interest earned by the Foundation's endowment fund.

Over these years, a lot of energy and effort has been put into the program, to bring university students to Canada for a parliamentary internship, but all these endeavours are worth it, because this program is a starting point or turning point in the lives of every participant of the program. All participants of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program, who sustained the competition and went through the

complete selection process, get the chance to complete an internship in the Canadian Parliament, for the period from two to three months. They live in Ottawa close to the Parliament, on account of the program.

Participation in the program gives the student an opportunity to acquire working experience in the Canadian Parliament, improve knowledge of English or French languages, and get acquainted with Canadian culture. The program promotes the development of international cultural relationships between Ukraine and Canada.

Participants are selected on the ground of academic records, fluency in English or French languages and on the basis of a number of competition tasks. In order to come to the Canada participants go through a real endurance trial and tests of knowledge. The competition lasts six months and consists of two stages. All participants are students of higher educational in-

stitutions all over Ukraine. They must be very versatile and interesting personalities, who command more than one foreign language and leadership qualities.

In November 2009 the Final Selection Meeting took place at the Canadian Embassy in Kyiv. At the outset, all finalists for the CUPP 2010 Program were nervous and the apprehension was noticeable. But CUPP Director Ihor Bardyn defused the tense atmosphere through his inherent calming, easy-going manner. He introduced the rest of his Canadian friends who came to Kyiv to administer final testing and hold interviews with each applicant. Then he made some humorous remarks and we got down to writing final examinations. None of the participants left without presents and souvenirs. We all remained satisfied, though a little bit tired.



CUPP 2010 finalists, Ihor Bardyn CUPP Director, and HE Daniel Caron, Ambassador of Canada to Ukraine at the Final Selection Meeting in the Canadian Embassy in Kyiv, November 2009.

The supporters of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program are aware that youth is the future and that is the reason that Mr. Bardyn created CUPP in order to support future leaders of Ukraine.

Programs such as CUPP encourage independent thinking, expand horizons, provide a unique opportunity to acquire new knowledge, and unforgettable impressions. Many former interns from the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program become famous and successful individuals and continue their studies in prestigious universities of Canada, Britain, the EU and America.

As for me, participation in CUPP competition helped to understand that Ukrainian Diaspora did not forget about Ukraine and nowadays provides an activity in order to change the situation in their ancestral Homeland. The Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada keenly follows today's life of Ukraine and monitors from across the ocean all events which occur in Ukraine's political, cultural and economical life.

Regardless of difficult times, world economic crisis, the Canada-Ukraine

Parliamentary Program continues its existence, although 2011 how sad it may sound, may become the last year of the program. CUPP may be closed because of the lack of funding. The endowment fund which was sufficient in 1991 and which has been carefully managed for 20 years is insufficient to pay for the program. The lowering of interest rates, the rise in transportation, accommodation, food and other items cannot be paid for from the endowment fund. But we all will hope for the best.

Though being unsuccessful, I feel compelled to write an article about the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program and its Director.

My special thanks to Oleksandr Pankiv, Coordinator of the CUPP Program for 2010.

"Education and knowledge will ensure a future for an independent Ukraine" are the words of Ihor Bardyn with which he opened our meeting in November, in Kyiv.



L to R: Andriy Oleniuk; Oleksandr Aleksandrovych (Embassy of Ukraine) Washington; Professor Henry Hale at CUPP Washington MODEL UKRAINE Conference.

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Gogol Haunts the New Ukraine

by Timothy SNYDER

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Viktor Yanukovich, seen five years ago as the vote-stealing villain of the Orange Revolution, was elected president of Ukraine on February 7. The incumbent president, Viktor Yushchenko, the hero of the mass protests demanding fair elections in 2004, had already been eliminated in the first round three weeks earlier. This left Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko to represent those who had won the right to a working democracy. Despite a strenuous campaign for the presidency, she received only 45.5 percent to Yanukovich's 49 percent, with 4.5 percent voting against both candidates.^[1] How to account for this dramatic reversal of heroes and villains, and for the democratic return of a man who himself rejected democracy? Ukrainian politics is full of the courageous and the grotesque, and it is no easy task to tell the difference.

The best guide to the careers of Yanukovich, Yushchenko, and Tymoshenko is Nikolai Gogol, who brought the absurd to Russian literature. In his short story "The Nose," a barber finds the nose of one of his clients in his breakfast roll. The severed nose then takes on a life and an identity of its own. In Ukrainian politics, the disfigured face is that of outgoing President Yushchenko. During the previous presidential election campaign, he survived what could have been a fatal dose of dioxin, and fought the rest of the campaign and then served as president with his face covered with horrible lesions from the poisoning. During his term, European specialists observed the slow purge of the dioxin from his body.^[2]

With time, however, this face of courage became the face of failure. Even as Yushchenko slowly regained his physical strength, his political strength faded. What energy remained he devoted to feuding with his former ally, Tymoshenko. Repeating the mistake of every president before him, he created an institution that duplicated the functions of the government, and then fought with Tymoshenko over questions of who would be responsible for which functions.

Tymoshenko, the "queen of the revolution" five years ago, is best known for the traditional Ukrainian braid in which she wears her long blond hair. She presents herself as the only real man in Ukrainian politics, but also as trustworthy because she is feminine. When Yanukovich refused to debate her, she said (reasonably enough) that she could smell his fear. During the electoral campaign, the braid was to be seen resting on a white tiger in posters; on election day, it was just visible above the hood of the long white fur coat that Tymoshenko wore to vote in her home city of Dnipropetrovsk. She ran for president from a seemingly hopeless position, as the sitting prime minister of a country whose economy had shrunk by 15 percent in the previous year. Even though she lost to Yanukovich, she confirmed her position as Ukraine's most energetic politician.^[3]

Despite running as an incumbent during an economic collapse, she almost won the election. In an American-style electoral-vote system with a bonus for winning regions, she would have won, since she received more

votes than Yanukovich in most parts of the country. In a typical display of tactical bombast, she initially refused to recognize the results and filed a protest in court. Though she has since then withdrawn that judicial challenge, she maintains that Yanukovich rigged the vote. In the end, her protest served to illustrate just how close the election actually was. Since the difference between Yanukovich and Tymoshenko in the second round was 3.5 percent, with 4.5 percent of voters voting against both candidates, more people voted against Yanukovich than for him.

The Gogolian parts of Viktor Yanukovich's body are his hands, which used to steal fur coats and beat people up. As a teenage member of a local gang – he grew up near Yenakiieve, a city in the Donetsk region of southeastern Ukraine – he was imprisoned for theft in 1967 and for assault and battery in 1970. These are hands that are not comfortable with pen and paper. In 2004, while registering for his first run for president, Yanukovich misspelled his place of birth, his home region, the institute of higher learning where he earned his degree, and, unforgettably, his most recent academic distinction: the title of "proffessor."^[4]

Between then and now, the hands were the part of Yanukovich that most visibly changed. Under the tutelage of the American political consultant Paul J. Manafort, Yanukovich has become artful in speaking with his hands. He has never shown himself able to answer questions about matters of policy in the conventional oral fashion, and still cannot. But the hands now

inscribe lovely arcs, form pyramids, and reveal open palms. The gestures hardly ever bear any relationship to what Yanukovych is saying, but they are pleasant to watch. If you put your own hands over your ears, or turn off the sound of the television, you can get the message: this is a modern man, a sophisticated man, someone who knows how to communicate, someone who can be trusted.

In Ukrainian discussions of electoral fraud, "dead souls" is a term of art. In Gogol's novel of that title, the hero travels about the Russian Empire, acquiring ownership rights to deceased serfs.^[5] In the Russian Empire, serfs were counted as "souls," and the protagonist's plan was to acquire the documented rights to so many "dead souls" that he would appear to be wealthy. In Ukrainian elections, deceased people on the electoral rolls who somehow manage to enter a vote are called dead souls. In 2004, Yanukovych's team raised electoral fraud to an entirely new level. Rather than counting on the votes of the dead, they invented more than a million people who never existed. As the returns came in to the Central Electoral Commission by e-mail, Yanukovych's team improved them by adding votes.

Yanukovych has never admitted to any wrongdoing, and maintains to this day that those elections were fair, and that the subsequent round in which he lost to Yushchenko was illegal.^[6] Although Tymoshenko claims that Yanukovych once again stole the presidential election in 2010, this seems unlikely to be true. Since Yushchenko was president and Tymoshenko was prime minister during the elections, Yanukovych was running without access to any nationwide executive authority. This time, unlike in 2004, the exit polls matched the vote counts closely. And unlike back then, Yanukovych knew from preelection polling that he could win without cheating. The International Election Observers Mission has praised "an impressive

display of democratic elections."^[7]

Tymoshenko said after the first round that "Ukraine is a democratic European country, which means that Yanukovych, who supports criminal circles, has no chance."^[8] But that is not how democracy works. Despite his record, Yanukovych can indeed be elected president in free elections. Many of his voters actually saw him as the lesser evil, preferring his soporific rhetoric to the authoritarian tendencies of Tymoshenko, who identifies herself with the Ukrainian nation as such and treats political opponents as enemies to be purged from political life. Of the two of them, it is Tymoshenko rather than Yanukovych who today draws more comparisons to Vladimir Putin.

After declaring victory, Yanukovych called upon Tymoshenko to resign from the office of prime minister. But under the Ukrainian political system he cannot simply dismiss her. A lasting gain of the Orange Revolution, in addition to its confirming the democratic process, was the weakening of the office of the president, who no longer enjoys total executive power.^[9] Today a president can only name a government if parliament accepts it, which means that Yanukovych must assemble a parliamentary majority behind his slate. So while the head of Yanukovych's election staff calls Tymoshenko "totalitarian," the deputy leader of his Party of Regions is aware of the difficulty: "How can you name a new government when you don't have a coalition?"^[10] In order to get rid of Tymoshenko, Yanukovych may have to resort to new parliamentary elections, which his party could lose. These are the first presidential elections under the new constitutional arrangement, and it will take time for the dust to settle. Yanukovych's chances of making a dashing entrance to power are zero.

Yanukovych's ability to repair the Ukrainian economy is similarly limited. He ran on promises to increase government expenditure on pensions and other welfare measures. Ukraine,

highly dependent upon International Monetary Fund loans, recently lost access to a major bailout package because of its failure to meet budgetary targets. Tymoshenko, who as prime minister is responsible for this state of affairs, perhaps had little choice at a time of crushing economic depression than to borrow from abroad and redistribute at home. Yanukovych seems to have few other ideas himself.

Now Yanukovych faces a basic choice. Will he do the easy thing and simply allow economic policy to drift in the directions that his backers prefer? Just as he was five years ago, Yanukovych is closely associated with a few extremely rich men from southeastern Ukraine, all of whom have interests that they would like now to see advanced. The billionaire steel magnate Rinat Akhmetov, Yanukovych's longtime ally and a parliamentary deputy from his Party of Regions, would like to take part in the privatization of Ukraine's electricity sector. Another billionaire, Dmytro Firtash, would like to regain his dominant position in the transportation of natural gas from Russia, which he lost under Yushchenko and Tymoshenko.^[11]

Yuri Lutsenko, the minister of internal affairs, warns of an "illegal privatization of the country" under Yanukovych. On the other hand, the oligarchs are less wealthy and confident than they were before the financial crisis, and may have learned from the Orange Revolution not to flaunt money to show their power. Adrian Karatnycky, a well-informed observer, goes so far as to claim that "the oligarchs around Mr. Yanukovych became economically transparent" – i.e., accepted Western models of accountancy and management – and see their future in "Ukraine's eventual integration into the rich EU market."^[12]

That is possible. The fundamental question here, for any Ukrainian concerned about relations with the EU, is the establishment of the rule of law. Gogol identified the problem in his

comic play *The Government Inspector*: the state is too weak to be predictable, but strong enough to be arbitrary. Yushchenko came to power five years ago with the promise to end corruption in Ukraine, but can claim success only in a few individual cases. According to Transparency International, Ukraine is one of the most corrupt countries in the world, tied for 146th place (out of 180) with countries such as Zimbabwe and Ecuador.

Because the office of the president is not very strong, and because Yanukovich is a client of industrialists, Ukraine is an unlikely candidate for the solution to corruption chosen by Vladimir Putin in Russia: to break the oligarchs – or some of them – by force and then declare a victory for law. Without reducing corruption, this has made Russia an authoritarian state. Russia, as it happens, is also tied for 146th in the Transparency International index. There is only one way to govern Ukraine today: close tax loopholes, tax oligarchs, give a tax break to the middle classes so that small businesses can emerge from underground, and above all ensure that the enforcement of tax laws is fair. It is just thinkable that Yanukovich could appeal to the reason and the long-term interests of the leaders of Ukrainian industry and enlist their support in a campaign for the rule of law. Ukraine is like Europe in its democracy and like Russia in its corruption; more than anything else, it is corruption and the absence of legal predictability that keep it out of the European Union.

Yanukovich's origins, his career in the southeastern Ukrainian region of Donetsk, and his populist endorsement of Russian as a second state language for Ukraine sometimes lead commentators to question his commitment to Ukrainian independence. But the very closeness of his connections to the Ukrainian business oligarchy makes any move toward economic or political union with Russia unlikely. In fact, whatever course Yanukovich

and his oligarchic supporters choose, they will seek to maintain the independence of the Ukrainian state. A Ukrainian oligarch such as Akhmetov has no reason to expose his steel-based economic empire to competition from Russian businessmen or scrutiny from the Russian police.

Yanukovich did not become president of Ukraine in order to cede his authority to the Kremlin over questions such as transit fees for Russian natural gas and basing rights for the Russian Black Sea Fleet at the Ukrainian port of Sevastopol. He is a tough man, and perhaps psychically better equipped than Yushchenko for five years of bruising encounters with the Kremlin. During the campaign Tymoshenko spoke Ukrainian and Yanukovich chiefly Russian, which served to emphasize Tymoshenko's more European orientation. But while Yanukovich stressed the need for improved relations with Russia and for preservation of the Russian language in Ukraine, this says little about his identity or the kind of foreign policy he envisages.

Ukraine is an essentially bilingual country, with monolingual fringes of Ukrainian speakers in the west and Russian speakers in the south and southeast (particularly in the Crimean peninsula, which was added by decree to Soviet Ukraine in 1954). As Yanukovich's supporters will soon learn, his proposal to add Russian to Ukrainian as a second state language would require an unattainable majority in the Ukrainian parliament. Yanukovich himself is likely to speak more and better Ukrainian in the future. As other Russian-speaking politicians (including Tymoshenko, also from the southeast) have found before him, the Ukrainian language is a way to distinguish high office in Ukraine from high office elsewhere, and distinction is something that heads of state like to have. Once he is installed in Kiev, Yanukovich will be surrounded by an educated population that, while it speaks

Russian, regards Ukrainian as the language of politics and high culture.

Ukrainian and Russian culture are permanently entangled. Fyodor Dostoevsky said of Russian literature, "We have all come out of Gogol's 'Overcoat'"; but Gogol himself came from Ukraine. (The Poltava region where Gogol was from – he was born in the village of Velyki Sorochyntsi in 1809 – went for Tymoshenko in the recent election, and five years ago for Yushchenko.) The high culture of the Russian Empire owed much to Ukraine (known then also as South Russia or Little Russia), which for centuries had better educational institutions and a larger educated elite than Russia proper. Gogol was one of thousands of people from Ukraine who supplied the Russian Empire with professionals, bureaucrats, and writers. It was late in the nineteenth century that the direction of influence reversed, and Russian imperial officials began to regard the Ukrainian language as something to be suppressed. Then a Ukrainian national movement sought to distinguish itself from the Russian high culture that previous generations had helped to create.

During the Soviet period, Ukrainian culture was always regarded as distinct, even as Russian became the standard language among educated people in most of the country. The exception was the Ukrainian-speaking far west, which was annexed to the Soviet Union from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania as a result of World War II.

During the Orange Revolution, Vladimir Putin conflated speakers of Russian with Russians; this is a mistake that Moscow will no longer make, even if Western journalists sometimes still do. Putin's support for Yanukovich in 2004 was outspoken and arrogant; this time it was all but indiscernible, so much so that relations between the two men are said to be troubled.^[13] Putin is glad to see Yushchenko go: his victory last time was too clearly Putin's

defeat, and his emphasis on the need to remember the evils of Stalin struck too close to home. Putin and Dmitri Medvedev expressed their willingness to work with either Yanukovych or Tymoshenko.

Yanukovych will almost certainly try to steer a course between Russia and the Western powers, using the one against the other. He rejects NATO membership for Ukraine, which Yushchenko supported. This means little: a very large majority of the Ukrainian population has opposed joining the alliance ever since the United States invaded Iraq.

Yanukovych has also promised to recognize South Ossetia, the Russian puppet state created after the Russian invasion of Georgia in 2008. It seems unlikely that he will do this, since Ukraine, like Georgia, is Russia's neighbor, and it makes little sense to endorse territorial changes created by force. Even Belarus has not done so. Barring such a strong signal, it would be best to understand Yanukovych's emphasis on the Russian language as designed for domestic rather than geopolitical use, and to make sure that he has an option to collaborate with the West should he wish to pursue such a path.

Gogol's grotesque humor was meant to lead the reader, unawares, to the question of social injustice. In "The Overcoat," *Dead Souls*, *The Government Inspector*, and "The Nose," he ridiculed ostentation to reveal the everyday pain created by inequality. It is here, in the poverty visible in southeastern Ukraine, that one can see the source of Yanukovych's popularity. His childhood as an orphan, his working-class origins, and his spotty education make him "one of us" to millions of people in industrial southeastern Ukraine. That he could not fill out a form in proper Ukrainian makes him sympathetic to many people in his home region of Donetsk, who are frustrated by similar experiences on a regular basis. When he mispronounc-

es Ukrainian vowels and misuses Ukrainian phrases, he is doing so in a way that is characteristic of millions of Ukrainians, his people.

Post-Soviet Ukraine, like the Soviet Union, allows for astonishingly rapid social advance. It was quite normal in the USSR for people who could not write to rise to positions of immense power. Nikita Khrushchev, who was also a worker in the Donetsk region, also had great problems with the written language. Now Yanukovych has reached the heights of power, and he has overcome whatever shame he might have felt at the fact and manner of his earlier defeat. Something similar could be said of his longtime ally, the oligarch Rinat Akhmetov.

In Gogol's "The Overcoat," a humble and honest man scrimps and saves to buy a warm fur coat, which is then promptly stolen, leaving him to fall ill and die. Yanukovych once stole coats, and once stole votes. Though now he buys ostrich-leather shoes and wins elections, he knows what poverty and corruption mean. There is a chance, even if a small one, that Yanukovych will use his contacts with business, and the particular advantages of his upbringing, to address the basic problem that keeps Ukrainians in frustration and poverty not only in the southeast but throughout the country: the absence of the rule of law. This is where European and American attention should be focused. What, after all, can the US teach Ukraine about democracy? Sixty-nine percent of the Ukrainian electorate went to the polls in freezing temperatures to choose between very flawed candidates; in 2008, 63 percent of eligible Americans chose to vote.

The United States can seek to support some of the thousands of remarkable individuals – lawyers, educators, journalists, and scientists among them – and small nongovernmental organizations that still struggle to give Ukrainian democracy the content of a civil society under the law. The EU

can make clear that membership is a future possibility for Ukraine, and try to specify improvements in the rule of law that would lead to measurable rewards from the EU along the way – for example, greater access to EU markets and easier travel to EU member states. Should Yanukovych wish to address the deeper problems of the people who elected him, the West should be prepared to support him.

– February 25, 2010

Notes

[1] Timothy Garton Ash and I described the Orange Revolution in *The New York Review*, April 28, 2005. Further footnotes appear in the Web version of this article at www.nybooks.com.

[2] O. Sorg et al. "2, 3, 7, 8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin (TCDD) Poisoning in Victor Yushchenko: Identification and Measurement of TCDD Metabolites," *The Lancet*, Vol. 374, No. 9696 (October 3, 2009).

[3] The political scientist Lucan Way was quick with a similar analysis in "The Ukrainian Election: Tymoshenko's Strong Showing," his February 9, 2010, post on the University of Toronto's Ukraine 2010 Election Watch blog.

[4] The offending document was reproduced in *Ukrains'ka Pravda*, September 21, 2004.

[5] The translation of *Dead Souls* by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky is excellent (Pantheon, 1996; Everyman's Library, 2004).

[6] For a good account of the period, see Serhy Yekelchuk, *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 193–227.

[7] "Yanukovych Apparent Winner in Ukrainian Vote," *The New York Times*, February 8, 2010.

[8] Kanal 5, January 17, 2010.

[9] For analysis of the weaknesses of the previous system, see Paul D'Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (M.E. Sharpe, 2007).

[10] Quotations from Mykola Azarov and Hanna Herman in *Den'* (Kiev), February 12, 2010.

[11] Serhiy Leshchenko, "Viktor Yanukovych zibrav oliharkhichnyi banket," *Ukrains'ka Pravda*, February 12, 2010.

[12] See *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, February 5–12, 2010; and Adrian Karatnycky, "Re-Introducing Viktor Yanukovych," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 7, 2010.

[13] Yanukovych cannot be especially pleased to be called a "demagogue" and an "eternal loser" by Modest Kolerov, once the head of an office designed to improve relations between Russia and its neighbors. See *Russkii Zhurnal*, February.

Привид Гоголя переслідує сучасну Україну



Демократією схожа на Європу, а корупцією – на Росію. Така нинішня Україна – з її живим демократичним процесом, корупцією, швидким просуванням із низів, російською мовою та непростими відносинами з Росією. Багато в чому зрозуміти сучасну Україну, в тому числі останні політичні процеси та перемогу Януковича, можна на основі творів Миколи Гоголя – пише історик Тімоті Снайдер у статті для американського журналу The New York Review of Books.

7 лютого Віктор Янукович, який п'ять років тому під час Помаранчевої революції вважався фальсифікатором-лиходієм, був обраний президентом України. Попередній президент Віктор Ющенко – герой масових протестів 2004 року, коли народ вимагав чесних виборів, – вибув з гри ще після першого туру, за три тижні до цього. Отже, представляти тих, хто виборів тоді право на дієву демократію, лишилося прем'єр-міністру Юлії Тимошенко. Незважаючи на активну виборчу кампанію до президентських виборів, вона отримала тільки 45,5% голосів проти 49% Януковича (4,5% виборців проголосували проти обох кандидатів). Як пояснити цю різку зміну героїв і лиходіїв та демократичне повернення людини, яка особисто переступила через демократію? Українська політика сповнена відваги й гротеску, але відрізнити одне від другого не-

легко.

Найкращий ключ до розуміння кар'єри Януковича, Ющенко і Тимошенко – Микола Гоголь, який привніс у російську літературу абсурд. У його повісті «Ніс» циркульник знаходить ніс одного зі своїх клієнтів у хлібі за сніданком. Розлучений з господарем ніс починає жити власним життям і набуває власну ідентичність. В українській політиці роль деформованого обличчя виконує лице колишнього президента Ющенко. Під час попередньої президентської кампанії він вижив після нібито смертельної дози діоксину, боровся до кінця перегонів і став президентом. Президентом, обличчя якого вкривали страшні шрами від отруєння. За час його каденції під наглядом європейських спеціалістів діоксин поступово виводили з його організму.

Однак із часом обличчя, що символізувало відвагу, перетворилося на обличчя провалу. Ющенко поступово повертав свою фізичну силу, та сила політична блякла. Рештки енергії він спрямовував на ворожнечу з колишньою союзницею Тимошенко. Повторивши помилки всіх попередніх президентів, він створив інституцію, яка дублювала функції уряду, й боровся з Тимошенко за розподіл повноважень.

Тимошенко – «королева революції» п'ятирічної давності, усім відома своєю традиційною українською косою, в яку вона заплітає довге біляве волосся. Вона позиціонує себе єдиним справжнім чоловіком в українській політиці й водночас гідним довіри політиком, оскільки вона жінка. Коли Янукович відмовився взяти участь у дебатах із нею, вона сказала (досить резонно), що відчуває його страх. Під час виборчої кампанії на плакатах її косу можна було

побачити на голові білого тигра; а в день виборів коса виднілася над коміром довгого білого хутряного пальта, в яке вбралася Тимошенко, голосуючи в рідному місті Дніпропетровську. Вона балотувалася у президенти в, здається, безнадійному статусі чинного прем'єр-міністра країни, ВВП якої минулого року скоротився на 15%. Навіть програвши Януковичу, Тимошенко підтвердила репутацію найенергійнішого політика України.

Попри участь у виборах у ролі представника чинної влади в умовах економічного краху, вона майже виграла їх. За американською системою голосування, де передбачені бонуси за перемогу в кожному регіоні, вона б перемогла, адже отримала більше голосів, ніж Янукович, у більшості областей країни. Вдавшись до типового тактичного пафосу, спочатку вона відмовилася визнати результати й звернулася до суду. Хоча згодом Тимошенко й відкликала позов, вона продовжує стверджувати, що Янукович сфальсифікував вибори. Зрештою, її протест проілюстрував, наскільки незначним насправді був розрив між кандидатами. Враховуючи, що відрив Януковича від Тимошенко в другому турі становив 3,5%, а 4,5% виборців проголосували проти обох кандидатів, проти Януковича проголосувало більше людей, ніж за нього.

Гоголівські частини тіла Віктора Януковича – це руки, які колись крали хутрянні шапки й били людей. Підлітком, будучи членом місцевої банди (Янукович провів дитинство в Єнакієвому, місті в Донецькій області на південному сході України), він потрапив до в'язниці в 1967 році за крадіжку, а в 1970-му – за напад на людину та побиття. Це руки, яким дискомфортно, коли доводиться

мати справу з ручкою і папером. У 2004 році, реєструючись кандидатом у президенти, Янукович неправильно написав місце свого народження, назву рідної області, вищого навчального закладу, де здобув учений ступінь, і залишив незабутні спогади про своє нещодавно здобуте академічне звання: «професора».

Але між «тоді» і «тепер» ці руки стали частиною Януковича, яка найбільш помітно змінилася. За допомогою американського політичного консультанта Пола Дж. Манафорта Янукович опанував мистецтво промовляти жестами. Він ніколи не проявляв здатності відповідати на політичні питання звичайним словесним способом і досі не вміє цього робити. Але його руки тепер виводять дивовижні дуги, утворюють піраміди й демонструють відкриті долоні. Жести майже ніколи не мають жодного стосунку до того, що каже Янукович, але на це приємно дивитися. Якщо прикрити руками вуха або відключити звук у телевізорі, то можна отримати наступний меседж: це сучасна, рафінована людина, якій можна довіряти і яка знає, як спілкуватися.

У дискусіях в Україні про фальсифікацію голосів «мертві душі» — це юридичний термін. В однойменному романі Гоголя герой подорожує Російською імперією, скуповуючи права на мертвих кріпаків. У Російській імперії кріпаки рахувалися «подушно». І план головного героя полягав у тому, щоб скупити на папері права на стільки «мертвих душ», щоб можна було видаватися багатієм. На українських виборах «мертвими душами» називають померлих людей у списках виборців, що якимось дивом беруть участь у голосуванні. У 2004 році команда Януковича підняла фальсифікацію виборів на цілком новий рівень. Замість того, щоб підраховувати голоси померлих виборців, вони вигадали

ли більш ніж мільйон людей, які ніколи не існували. І коли результати виборів надходили до Центральної виборчої комісії електронною поштою, команда Януковича підправляла їх, додаючи голоси.

Янукович так і не визнав порушень й донині стверджує, що ті вибори були чесними і що переголосування, яке він програв Ющенку, було незаконним. Хоча Тимошенко стверджує, що Янукович знову підтасував результати президентських виборів у 2010 році, це видається малоімовірним. З огляду на те, що на час виборів Ющенко був президентом, а Тимошенко — прем'єр-міністром, Янукович балотувався, не маючи жодного доступу до адміністративного ресурсу в загальнонаціональному масштабі. Цього разу, на відміну від 2004 року, результати екзит-полів майже повністю відповідали підрахунку голосів. І, на відміну від тих виборів, Янукович, завдяки передвиборчим опитуванням, знав, що може перемогти без фальсифікацій. Місія міжнародних спостерігачів на виборах оцінила голосування як «вражаючий приклад демократичних виборів».

Тимошенко сказала після першого туру, що «Україна — демократична європейська країна, а це означає, що Янукович, який підтримує кримінальні елементи, не має шансів». Але демократія працює зовсім інакше. Навіть із такою біографією Янукович може бути обраний президентом на вільних виборах. Чимало його виборців справді бачили в ньому менше зло, віддаючи перевагу його нудній риториці перед авторитарними схильностями Тимошенко, яка ототожнює себе з українською нацією як такою і поводить з політичними опонентами як з ворогами, яких потрібно усунути з політичного життя. Із них двох саме Тимошенко, а не Янукович, навіює сьогодні більш порівнянь із Владіміром Путіним.

Проголосивши перемогу, Януко-

вич закликав Тимошенко подати у відставку з посади прем'єр-міністра. Але в українській політичній системі він не може просто звільнити її. Потужним здобутком Помаранчевої революції, на додачу до утвердження демократичного процесу, було послаблення інституту президентства. Президент більше не зосереджує в руках усю виконавчу владу. Тепер він може призначити уряд, лише коли парламент ухвалить таке рішення, а це означає, що Янукович має сформувати навколо своєї програми парламентську більшість. Тож у той час, як голова виборчого штабу Януковича називає Тимошенко схильною до «тоталітаризму», заступник глави Партії регіонів усвідомлює проблему: «Як можна призначити новий уряд, коли немає коаліції?» Аби позбутися Тимошенко, Янукович може вдатися до оголошення дострокових парламентських виборів, на яких його партія може програти [стаття написана 25 лютого. — Прим. перекл.]. Це перші президентські вибори після внесення змін до Конституції, і знадобиться час, доки все врегулюється. Шанси Януковича на стрімке здобуття влади — нульові.

Можливості Януковича для відновлення української економіки так само обмежені. Він давав обіцянки збільшити державні видатки на пенсії та інші соціальні виплати. Україна, що істотно залежить від позик Міжнародного валютного фонду, нещодавно втратила доступ до великого пакета допомоги, бо не спромоглася виконати вимоги стосовно жорсткого бюджету. Тимошенко, яка як прем'єр-міністр відповідає за стан економіки, напевне, у період тяжкої економічної депресії і не мала особливого вибору, окрім як брати позики за кордоном та витратити ці кошти на внутрішні потреби. Янукович, схоже, має небагато інших ідей.

Сьогодні Янукович опинився перед важливим вибором. Чи піде він

найлегшим шляхом і просто дозволить економічній політиці зміщуватися в напрямку, який вигідний його спонсорам? Як і п'ять років тому, Янукович тісно пов'язаний із кількома надзвичайно багатими людьми з південного сходу України. Усі вони мають свої інтереси і тепер прагнуть їх реалізації. Мільярдер, сталеливарний магнат Рінат Ахметов, давній соратник Януковича і депутат парламенту від Партії регіонів, хотів би взяти участь у приватизації електроенергетичного сектору України. Ще один мільярдер Дмитро Фірташ хотів би повернути домінуючі позиції в транспортуванні природного газу з Росії, які він втратив за правління Ющенка і Тимошенка.

Міністр внутрішніх справ Юрій Луценко застерігає перед «незаконною приватизацією країни» за президентства Януковича. З іншого боку, олігархи не такі багаті й самовпевнені, як до фінансової кризи. І, напевно, Помаранчева революція навчила їх, що не варто хизуватися грошима, аби продемонструвати свою владу. Добре поінформований спостерігач Адріан Каратницький навіть стверджує, що «олігархи з оточення пана Януковича стали економічно прозорими» — наприклад, перейшли на західні стандарти бухгалтерії та менеджменту — і бачать своє майбутнє в «можливій інтеграції України до багатого ринку ЄС».

Це цілком можливо. Фундаментальне питання тут для будь-якого українця, зацікавленого у розвитку відносин з ЄС, — це утвердження верховенства права. Гоголь визначив цю проблему в комедії «Ревізор»: держава надто слабка, щоб бути передбачуваною, але достатньо сильна, щоб бути деспотичною. Ющенко прийшов до влади п'ять років тому, пообіцявши покласти край корупції в Україні, але успіхом може похвалитися лише в кількох окремих випадках. За даними організації Transparency International,

Україна — одна з найбільш корумпованих країн у світі. Вона посідає 146 місце (зі 180) і перебуває на одному рівні із Зімбабве та Еквадором.

З огляду на те, що влада президента сьогодні не надто сильна, і Янукович до того ж залежить від промисловців, Україна навряд чи має шанси на викорінення корупції методом, до якого вдався Володимир Путін у Росії: зламати олігархів чи хоча б декого з них силою і тоді проголосити перемогу закону. Не зменшивши корупцію, Росія внаслідок цього стала авторитарною державою. Росія, як виявилось, також посідає 146 місце в рейтингу Transparency International. Сьогодні є лише єдиний спосіб вирішення цієї проблеми в Україні: закрити лазівки для ухиляння від сплати податків, обкласти податками олігархів, влаштувати податкові канікули середньому класу, щоб малий бізнес міг вийти з тіні, і найголовніше — забезпечити справедливе застосування податкових законів. Досить реальним видається апелювання Януковича до здорового глузду й довгострокових інтересів лідерів української промисловості, які могли б надати підтримку у кампанії за утвердження верховенства права. Україна схожа на Європу у своїй демократії та на Росію у своїй корупції; більше за будь-що інше саме корупція й правова непередбачуваність не дає їй наблизитися до Європейського Союзу.

Походження Януковича, його кар'єра в Донецькій області (Південно-Східна Україна) та його популістські обіцянки зробити російську другою державною мовою України інколи змушують коментаторів сумніватися в його відданості ідеї української незалежності. Але саме дуже тісні зв'язки Януковича з українською бізнес-олігархією роблять малоімовірними будь-які кроки у бік економічного чи політичного союзу з Росією. Насправді, хоч який

курс оберуть Янукович і його прибічники-олігархи, вони намагатимуться утвердити незалежність української держави. Український олігарх, на кшталт Ахметова, не має інтересу наражати свою сталеливарну економічну імперію на конкуренцію з російськими бізнесменами чи контрроль з боку російської міліції.

Янукович став президентом України не для того, щоб поступитися владою Кремлю в таких питаннях, як тарифи на транзит російського природного газу і базування російського Чорноморського флоту в українському порту Севастополі. Він жорстка людина й, можливо, психологічно краще готовий, аніж Ющенко, до п'яти років травмонебезпечних сутичок із Кремлем. Під час виборчої кампанії Тимошенко розмовляла українською, а Янукович здебільшого російською, що додатково підкреслювало більш європейську орієнтацію Тимошенко. Але хоч Янукович і наголошував на потребі покращити відносини з Росією та захистити російську мову в Україні, це мало що говорить про його ідентичність чи зовнішню політику, яку він планує проводити.

Україна — по суті двомовна країна, з одномовними полюсами — україномовним заходом та російськомовними сходом і півднем сходом (особливо тут виділяється Кримський півострів, приєднаний до Української РСР у 1954 році). Як незабаром усвідомлять прихильники Януковича, для реалізації його пропозиції зробити російську другою державною мовою знадобиться конституційна більшість голосів в українському парламенті, яку набрати нереально. Сам Янукович скоріше за все в майбутньому більше і краще спілкуватиметься українською. Як переконувалися інші російськомовні політики до Януковича (зокрема Тимошенко — також із південного сходу України), українська мова — спосіб вирізнити високу посаду в

Україні від високої посади деінде. А вирізнятися глави держав люблять. Як тільки розпочнеться президентство Януковича, він опиниться в оточенні освіченого населення, яке хоч і спілкується російською, сприймає українську як мову політики та високої культури.

Українська та російська культури назавжди переплетені. Фьодор Достоевський говорив про російську літературу: «Усі ми вийшли з гоголівської шинелі»; а сам Гоголь походженням з України. (Полтавська область, звідки походив Гоголь – він народився в селі Великі Сорочинці у 1809 році, – підтримала на останніх виборах Тимошенко, а п'ять років тому – Ющенко.) Висока культура Російської імперії багато чим зобов'язана Україні (відома в ті часи як Південна Росія чи Малоросія), яка століттями мала кращі освітні заклади й більш освічену еліту, ніж сама Росія. Гоголь був одним із тисяч вихідців з України, які забезпечили Російську імперію професіоналами – чиновниками та письменниками. Лише наприкінці дев'ятнадцятого століття вектор впливу змінився, й представники Російської імперії почали розглядати українську мову як об'єкт гноблення. І саме тоді почалася боротьба українського національно-визвольного руху за відокремлення від російської високої культури, творенню якої допомагали попередні покоління.

У радянські часи українська культура завжди розглядалася окремишньо, навіть незважаючи на те, що російська стала загальноприйнятою мовою серед освічених людей у більшій частині країни. Виняток становив україномовний захід, частини якого Радянський Союз відібрав у Польщі, Чехословаччини та Румунії в результаті Другої світової війни.

Під час Помаранчевої революції Володимир Путін сплутав російськомовних українців із росіянами; цієї помилки Москва вже не робитиме,

хоча західні журналісти все ще деколи роблять. Путінова підтримка Януковича в 2004 році була відкритою і зверхньою; цього разу її зовсім не було помітно, ба більше, кажуть навіть, що стосунки між двома політиками стали проблемними. Путін радіє відходу Ющенка: минулого разу його перемога надто промовисто говорила про поразку Путіна, а наполягання Ющенка пам'ятати про злочини Сталіна надто сильно зачіпали Росію. Путін і Дмитрій Медведєв висловили готовність працювати і з Януковичем, і з Тимошенко.

Янукович майже напевне намагатиметься лавірувати між Росією та Заходом, використовуючи їх одне проти другого. Він відкидає ідею членства України в НАТО, яку відстоював Ющенко. Це не має особливого значення: більшість українського народу виступає проти вступу до альянсу ще відтоді, як Сполучені Штати вторглися в Ірак.

Янукович також пообіцяв визнати незалежність Південної Осетії – російської маріонеткової держави, створеної після війни Росії з Грузією в 2008 році. Такий його крок видається маловірогідним, адже Україна, як і Грузія, сусідка Росії. І нерозумно було б підтримувати територіальні зміни, нав'язані силою. Навіть Білорусь не зробила цього. Якщо такого потужного сигналу не буде, варто сприймати акцент Януковича на російській мові як прийом, розрахований на внутрішнього споживача, а не геополітичний крок; і також варто забезпечити йому можливість співпрацювати з Заходом, якщо він захоче вибрати цей шлях.

Гротескний гумор Гоголя мав на меті змусити читача мимохіть замислитися про соціальну несправедливість. У «Шинелі», «Мертвих душах», «Ревізорі» і «Носі» він висміював показну хвалькуватість, аби відобразити повсякденні негаразди, причиною яких була нерівність. Саме в цьому – очевидній бідності

у Південно-Східній Україні – можна побачити коріння популярності Януковича. Його сирітське дитинство, приналежність до робітничого класу, сумнівна освіта роблять його «одним із нас» для мільйонів людей на промисловому південному сході України. Хай він не може нормальною українською заповнити анкету, але так він стає близьким багатьом людям у рідній Донецькій області, які не раз стикалися з тим самим. Коли він неправильно вимовляє українські голосні й некоректно вживає українські звороти, він робить це так само, як і мільйони українців – його народ.

У пострадянській Україні, як і в Радянському Союзі, склалися сприятливі умови для дивовижно швидкого просування суспільною драбиною. Для СРСР цілком нормальним було, коли малограмотні люди досягали високих владних посад. Микита Хрущов, який також був робітником із Донецької області, мав великі проблеми з письмовою мовою. Тепер Янукович дістався верхівки влади і переборов увесь сором, який міг відчувати у зв'язку з самим фактом і характером його колишньої поразки. Щось подібне можна сказати і про його давнього соратника, олігарха Ріната Ахметова.

У «Шинелі» Гоголя скромний і чесний чоловік збирає копійку до копійки, щоб купити собі теплу зимову шинель, але її майже відразу крадуть і він занеджує та помирає. Янукович колись крав шапки, а якось украв голоси виборців. Хоч зараз він купує взуття зі страусової шкіри та перемагає на виборах, він знає, що таке бідність і корупція. Є шанс, хай і дуже маленький, що Янукович використає свої зв'язки з бізнесменами і певні переваги свого важкого дитинства для вирішення головної проблеми, внаслідок якої життя українців сповнене розчарувань і бідності не лише на південному сході, а й у всій країні: брак

верховенства права. Саме на цьому повинна зосереджуватися увага європейців та американців. Чого, врешті-решт, США можуть навчити Україну в плані демократії? 69% українських виборців, незважаючи на мороз, прийшли на виборчі дільниці, аби обрати між двома кандидатами з підмоченою репутацією; у США в 2008 році на вибори прийшли 63% американців із правом голосу.

Сполучені Штати можуть спробувати підтримати тисячі визначних

особистостей – зокрема юристів, освітян, журналістів і науковців – і дрібні неурядові організації, які все ще намагаються прищепити українській демократії принципи правового громадянського суспільства. ЄС може надіслати сигнал, що членство – реальна можливість для України. А також спробувати конкретизувати покращення у сфері верховенства права, які призведуть до відповідних винагород з боку ЄС – наприклад, ширший доступ до рин-

ків ЄС і спрощення візового режиму з країнами-членами. Якщо Янукович захоче спрямувати зусилля на вирішення глибших проблем народу, який його обрав, Захід повинен бути готовим його підтримати.

Оригінал статті: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/23724>

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Is Europe Losing Ukraine? EU Representatives Failed to Stand Up Against the Recent Decline of Ukrainian Democracy

by **Andreas UMLAND**

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Largely unnoticed in the West, Ukraine's new President, Viktor Yanukovich, has brought to power an illegitimate government, in March 2010. Though being installed via a seemingly orderly parliamentary procedure, the current Ukrainian cabinet headed by Prime-Minister Mykola Azarov has no proper popular mandate. Worse, according to Ukrainian press reports, Yanukovich's actions received first hesitant, and later explicit support from official representatives of Western countries and organizations. How did that come about?

Political Implications of Ukraine's Electoral System

Ukraine has a proportional electoral system with closed lists. Voters do not elect individual candidates, but can only approve of predetermined lists presented to them by various political parties or blocs. The members of the Ukrainian parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, become deputies only



Ukraine President Viktor Yanukovich

in so far as they are included in their bloc's or party's lists – the composition of which is beyond the reach of voters. The electoral success and resulting faction size of parties or blocs in parliament is thus mainly determined by the attractiveness of their ideologies, and charisma of their speakers. Individual party list members play little role in Ukrainian parliamentary elections which are contests between large political camps and their more or less magnetic leaders. This is in contrast to majoritarian or mixed electoral

systems where the local standing of regional – and not only national – political leaders plays a prominent role in determining the makeup of the national legislature.

For better or worse, Ukraine has abandoned first its early post-Soviet majoritarian and later its mixed electoral systems. It now conducts (except for a 3% barrier) purely proportional parliamentary elections in which individual list members, other than the small circle of nationally known party leaders, play little role during the electoral campaigns. Accordingly, Ukraine's Constitution ascribes to parliament's factions, and not to MPs, a decisive role in the formation of a governmental coalition. A government has to be based on the support of registered parliamentary groups, and cannot be voted into office by individual MPs. True, such a rule gives excessive power to faction leaders and belittles the role of the deputy as a peo-

ple's representative. Yet, the factions' exclusive role in government coalition formation is consistent with, and follows from, the electoral system. In so far as voters are not given a chance to express their opinion on individual candidates, the elected deputies have to act first and foremost as faction members. Within proportional electoral systems, it is not them as individuals, but their factions as fixed political collectives recruited from prearranged lists that represent the voters will, in legislature.

In spite of these circumstances, Yanukovych, on March 11, 2010, pushed through a government that is based only partly on party-factional support. The three factions that form the current coalition do, by themselves, not have a majority, in the Verkhovna Rada. Yanukovich's Party of Regions, Ukraine's Communist Party, and Parliamentary Speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn's Bloc comprised after the last 2007 elections only 222 and include now only 219 of parliament's 450 deputies. Yanukovich's Party has found a peculiar solution to this problem by luring away a number of deputies from its Orange competitors – the Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko and pro-Yushchenko alliance "Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense" – in order to form a government coalition. This happened in spite of the fact that these two factions represent exactly those political forces which, during the last parliamentary poll, stood in open opposition to Yanukovich's Party of Regions. When voters decided to cast their votes for the Tymoshenko Bloc and "Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense," in 2007, they were clearly also voting against Yanukovich's Party of Regions. Nevertheless, on March 11, twelve deputies who had become MPs on the tickets of the two Orange blocs signed the coalition agreement that laid the ground for subsequent transfer of almost all executive prerogatives to the Party of Regions. The formerly

Orange deputies did so against the expressive will of their initial factions and in manifest disregard of their voters' mandate.

Proportional Representation and Party Renegades

Party transfers during legislative period, to be sure, are not unusual, in young democracies. They occasionally even happen in consolidated polyarchies, like the Federal Republic of Germany which has also a proportional electoral system (partly personalized though). However, in mature democracies such political transgressions usually concern only isolated MPs who choose to pass from one to another faction, for personal reasons. Therefore, the German Basic Law, for instance, upholds the MP's unrestricted "freedom of the mandate," in spite of the fact that half of the members of the Bundestag are not elected directly, but collectively, on their respective parties' tickets – much like in Ukraine. The idea that a relatively large group of MPs could be purposefully drawn from one to another party in order to effectively cancel election results is so absurd that it has received little attention from constitutional engineers, and political comparativists, of Western states. Should such consequential change in the political allegiance of numerous deputies happen, the violation of the voters' will would be so flagrant to make it appear as a waste of time to seriously consider such a strange, hypothetical case.

In unconsolidated pluralistic states, such things, however, do happen. Moreover, as the pre-history of the Orange Revolution showed, Yanukovich and Co. are no democrats. Their poorly disguised falsification of the first two rounds of the 2004 presidential elections, as well as numerous related actions, indicated the Party of Regions' ambivalent relationship to democratic norms. In principle, it is not necessary that all participants of the political process in a democracy are

proper democrats – if the framework and incentive structures within which they act are set up well. In Ukraine, an important condition that has facilitated much of the progress achieved in democratizing this post-Soviet country during the last years was the influence of pro-democratic foreign actors – whether certain countries such as Poland and Canada, or European organizations like the Council of Europe and EU.

Western Reactions to Ukrainian Developments in 2010

However, the international embeddedness of Ukraine's democracy as a normative frame structuring politics in Kyiv has recently been suffering from ambiguity. A first faux pas was the timing of the European Parliament's recent resolution approving of an EU membership perspective for Ukraine. The resolution as such constituted doubtlessly a step in the right direction, against the background of the EU's earlier policy of indicating much, but promising little, to Ukraine. When the EuroParl resolution endorsing Ukraine's right to apply for full EU membership was adopted, in Strasbourg, on February 25th, 2010, it was immediately and widely hailed in Ukrainian mass media and by Kyiv's experts community. Then Foreign Minister Petro Poroshenko even called, on Ukrainian TV, the date of 25th February 2010 a "historic day" in Ukraine's post-Soviet development.

What, however, is difficult to understand regarding that resolution is that it was adopted not before, but after the Ukrainian presidential elections of January-February 2010. It would have been in the vital interests of both the member states and organs of the EU to send such an important signal to the Ukrainian people and elites in advance of, and not following, the recent standoff between pro-Western Yulia Tymoshenko and pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich. If adopted before

the first round of the elections, say, in November 2009, the EuroParl resolution would have influenced, if not restructured Ukraine's domestic political debate. It might have made the defeat of Yulia Tymoshenko – whose self-styled image is that of Ukraine's most ardent pro-European politician – in the presidential elections narrower or even unlikely. Instead, the European Parliament's resolution adoption after the second round of the presidential elections and victory of Yanukovich can now be interpreted as an endorsement of the election falsifiers of 2004. At least, it appears that Yanukovich seems to have interpreted Europe's new tolerance this way. For instance, on April 2, 2010, he imperpetrantly named Serhiy Kivalov, the former Head of the Central Electoral Commission, i.e. the chief voting falsifier of 2004, as Ukraine's official deputy member of the Council of Europe's Venice Commission for Democracy through Law – thereby setting a fox to keep the geese.

Moreover, the West has apparently played a certain role in legitimizing the dubious government formation of March 2010. Interestingly, Yanukovich seems to have understood the problematic aspects of the planned takeover of the executive branch of government by the Party of Regions with the help of turncoats from opposed parliamentary factions. According to press reports, a day before the approbation of the Azarov government in the Verkhovna Rada on March 11, the new Ukrainian President consulted the Ambassadors of the G8 countries (i.e. including Russia's envoy) about whether their countries would accept a government elected by individual MPs, i.e. including deserters from opposed camps, and not by factions. Allegedly, after some controversial discussion, either the majority or all of the Ambassadors gave Yanukovich green light under the condition that the President would ask the

Constitutional Court to rule on the issue of the constitutionality of the new government. The Ambassadors, reportedly, also insisted that the Party of Regions would cooperate with other political forces. While it seems that Yanukovich is largely ignoring the latter agreement, he indeed submitted a request concerning the legitimacy of the Azarov government to the Constitutional Court, as demanded by the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors' approach to the new President is understandable: They and their governments are, above all, interested in political stability, in Ukraine. And, in Western political systems too, the status of deputies' popular mandate is not well-defined: Are they free to behave as they wish, or bound by party discipline? If the latter: To which exact degree is the MPs' freedom of action circumscribed? In the Western context, such questions would be seen as issues to be decided by a constitutional council or court. Review by the Constitutional Court is thus the obvious way to go.

The Remaining "Proto-" in Ukraine's Proto-Democracy

Ukraine, however, is not yet a consolidated democracy with a deeply ingrained rule of law. It is a state still in the process of formation, and one of the countries that has, world-wide, suffered most from the financial crisis. Judicial review has started to function in post-Soviet Ukraine, as the Constitutional Court's intervention during the Orange Revolution showed. Yet, it is not clear whether the Court's review of the legality of the new Ukrainian government coalition constituted an orderly process that will solve the current conflict between the political camps, as it had done in 2004. Yulia Tymoshenko has already claimed that individual judges of the Court have, allegedly, received as much as \$1 million, for a "positive" decision, i.e. for a ruling that legalizes the current government coalition. On April 8, 2010, a

majority – 11 of the 18 – of the Court's judges did provide Yanukovich with a "positive" decision, i.e. ruled that a government coalition can also be formed with deputies not belonging to the coalescing factions.

That is a strange development in so far as the Constitutional Court did already rule on the issue of whether individual MPs may participate in government coalition building. In its decision of 17 September 2008, the Constitutional Court ruled that "only those people's deputies of Ukraine who are members of the deputies factions that form a coalition can enter the ranks of that coalition. The membership of the people's deputies of Ukraine in these factions underlines the exceptional role of deputies factions in the formation of a coalition of deputies factions" ("до складу коаліції депутатських фракцій можуть увійти лише ті народні депутати України, які є у складі депутатських фракцій, що сформували коаліцію. Саме належність народних депутатів України до цих фракцій відіграє визначальну роль депутатських фракцій в утворенні коаліції депутатських фракцій"). In view of this ruling, the current government appears as not only illegitimate from a democratic point of view, but also as illegal from a juridical standpoint. Yanukovich's recent assurances to the Ukrainian public and Western Ambassadors that he would follow the Constitutional Court's decision always looked empty, in that the Court had already made and published a clearly relevant ruling, in 2008. Yanukovich has been asking the Constitutional Court to either repeat a decision it has already made, or renounce an earlier ruling – both of which would have confused Ukraine's constitutional order. It would have either introduced the practice of repeat confirmations, by the Constitutional Court, of decisions already made. Or it will now put under question all previous rulings by the Constitutional Court which, pre-

sumably, also could be revoked by the Court, after a second hearing.

What now also follows is an unsettling of the party-electoral system of Ukraine. If elections continue to be held in a purely proportional mode, voters will become unsure what their votes actually imply and will eventually lead to. As voters can only approve of closed party lists, they have no opportunity to punish individual deputies who have renounced the mandate they had received during the previous elections, i.e. who have, in fact, betrayed their voters. Worse, voters of those parties or blocs that have suffered most from enticement of their deputies by competing parliamentary factions will ask themselves why they are voting at all. If the deputies whom they delegate to parliament may later be poached by the opposing camp, and switch political sides, it makes little sense to send them to the Verkhovna Rada, in the first place. As the Constitutional Court has, de facto, now renounced its decision of September 2008, Yanukovich's Party of Regions is a sort of "double-winner": it can keep its hold on the executive with the help of deserters from other factions; this, at the same time, undermines the electoral base of its political competitors. Democratic elections' primary function of constituting a transparent link and effective feedback mechanism between the population and government is diminished.

The European Parliament's "Uneuropean" Ukraine Policy

What is most surprising in this story is that, apparently, the European Parliament has been pushing Ukraine, in exactly this direction. Or, at least, it has done so, in the eyes of the Ukrainian public. On March 26, a delegation of the European Parliament headed by Dr. Adrian Severin, a Romanian law professor, met with President Yanukovich, in Kyiv. Severin is the Vice-Chair of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists

and Democrats – the social-democratic and second largest faction of the parliament of the European Union. According to the report from the meeting published by the Press Office of the President of Ukraine, Severin said to Yanukovich: "We are satisfied that you managed to form a coalition which will now move towards solution of topical political and economic problems. We hope that the Constitutional Court will confirm the legality of the formation of that coalition. Certainly, pre-term elections could be also a constitutional solution, but we are more impressed with stability in the state, than with pre-term elections." («Ми задоволені, що вам вдалося створити коаліцію, яка зараз візьметься за вирішення нагальних політичних та економічних питань, і сподіваємося, що Конституційний Суд винесе рішення, яке підтверджує правомірність створення цієї коаліції. Безумовно, дочасні вибори могли б бути також конституційним виходом, але нам більше імponує стабільність у державі, аніж позачергові вибори.») Whether this quote on the website of the Ukrainian President is correct or not – it has been widely reproduced as well as paraphrased in Ukrainian mass media, and never been renounced by the European Parliament. The Ukrainian public now believes that the EU supports the illegitimate and illegal government creation of March 11, 2010. This impression may have even exerted influence on the recent ruling of the Constitutional Court of April 8, 2010.

As with the reaction of the Ambassadors during their meeting with Yanukovich on March 10, one can understand the West's wish to see, after the years of Orange infighting, finally a stable government in Kyiv. However, there is little ground to believe that the EU's seeming support for the current regime will actually lead to stability. Though it would go too far call the Party of Regions anti-democratic, the political instincts of its lead-

ing functionaries are not yet directed by a concern for balance, pluralism and inclusiveness. Rather, the Yanukovich people, like many politicians in the post-Soviet space, still largely think in terms of zero-sum games: they will try to grab as many relevant post and positions as they can believing that the more power they will have the better for them, and the worse for their opponents. For Yanukovich and Co., the idea of "Europe" is certainly a factor, but so far only a constraining, rather than a normative one. Integrating Ukraine into the EU is, to be sure, an important aim of the leaders of the Party of Regions too, but, in most cases, they are more or less deeply impressed by, rather than genuinely attracted to, European democracy.

It looks as if Yanukovich and Co., having received Western approval of their first dealings, have come to believe that "the winner should take it all." Not a single of the seven vice prime-ministers of the new government comes from an official parliamentary coalition partner of the Party of Regions. (The governments 29 prime- and ordinary ministers also do not include a single woman.) Moreover, the governmental coalition seems now also aiming to get hold of the chair positions of the most important parliamentary committees that are assigned by law to the opposition. The behavior of the Party of Regions still largely follows the pattern of its 2004 dealings that caused the Orange Revolution.

Lessons to Be Learned for Europe and Ukraine

Western observers and visitors should understand that, for many Ukrainian politicians, the main political question is still not what is legitimate, but what is doable and whether they can get away with it. When dealing with the Party of Regions, European and other partners of Ukraine should keep in mind that the anti-Orange camp led by Yanukovich never received a majority in national elections.

Yanukovych is the first Ukrainian President elected to office with less than 50% of the votes in the decisive second round of the elections. Nevertheless, Yanukovych has now taken firm control not only of the legislature, but also of the entire executive branch, including government, regional administrations, the Central Bank, security service etc. Ukraine's European partners should make clear that a stable government is certainly of value, but that stability "a la Putin" will be unacceptable should Ukraine want to keep its European perspective.

Ukraine's decision makers, in turn, have to understand that semi-formal observance of democratic rules and merely rhetorical acceptance of political pluralism will be insufficient to keep the country on track to eventual EU membership – an aim to which all relevant political actors seem committed. Oral agreement to

certain actions even by official Western delegations will not be enough to ensure sustainability in Ukraine's move towards Europe, for the next years. Statements, like those reportedly made by Adrian Severin, could eventually even mislead the Ukrainian leadership to believe that everything is OK. Instead, it is possible that the government formation of March 11 will lead to a downgrading of Ukraine in future democracy rankings, like those of Freedom House. Should Ukraine, for instance, be relegated by Freedom House from "free" to "partly free," this could have grave political repercussions for Ukraine. The Western public would again start to see Ukraine as a country "in between" democracy and authoritarianism, and not as a state firmly committed to European values. Ukraine would slide into the category of countries like Moldova, Georgia or Armenia – semi-democracies that the

EU hopes to include some day, but regards today far from ripe to be offered a membership perspective. It is not some selected Ambassadors or EU officials, but the people of Europe – including the Ukrainians themselves – whom the new political leadership of Ukraine will have to convince of its commitment to democracy and the rule of law.

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Європа втрачає Україну?

Представники ЄС не опираються нинішньому занепадові української демократії

Андреас УМЛАНД

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Це залишилося переважно непоміченим на Заході, але новий президент України в березні 2010-го привів до влади нелегітимний уряд. Хоча сформований на позір за правомірною парламентською процедурою, теперішній український кабінет на чолі з прем'єр-міністром Миколою Азаровим не має належного народного мандату. Що гірше – за повідомленнями української преси, дії Януковича здобули спершу обережну, а потім відверту підтримку серед офіційних представників західних країн та організа-

цій. Як так вийшло?

Політичні наслідки української виборчої системи

В Україні пропорційна виборча система з закритими списками. Виборці не голосують за окремих кандидатів; вони схвалюють наперед визначені списки різноманітних партій чи блоків. Члени українського парламенту, Верховної Ради, стають депутатами, лише якщо внесені до списків свого блоку чи партії – складення яких виборці не контролюють. Виборчий резуль-

тат і відповідний розмір фракції в парламенті, таким чином, визначається головно привабливістю ідеологій партій та харизмою їхніх спікерів. Індивідуальні члени партійних списків відіграють невелику роль в українських парламентських виборах, які є змаганням між великими політичними таборами та їхніми більш чи менш принагідними лідерами. У цьому відмінність від мажоритарної чи змішаної виборчих систем, де місцеві позиції регіональних – а не лише національних – політичних лідерів мають важливе значення у

формуванні національного законодавчого органу.

На жаль чи на щастя, Україна відмовилася спочатку від мажоритарної системи в ранній пострадянський період, а потім і від змішаної. Зараз – якщо не рахувати 3-відсоткового бар'єра – вона проводить чисто пропорційні парламентські вибори, де індивідуальні члени списків (за винятком вузького кола відомих у всій країні партійних лідерів) грають незначну роль під час передвиборчих кампаній. Відповідно, Конституція України приписує фракціям, а не членам парламенту вирішальну роль у формуванні правлячої коаліції. Уряд має базуватися на підтримці зареєстрованих парламентських груп, і за нього не можуть голосувати окремі депутати. Це правда, таке правило дає надмірну владу лідерам фракцій та применшує роль депутата як представника народу. Та ексклюзивна роль фракцій у формуванні правлячої коаліції відповідає й впливає з виборчої системи. Якщо вже виборцям не дано шансу висловити свою думку про індивідуальних кандидатів, то обрані депутати повинні діяти насамперед як члени фракцій. У пропорційній системі не вони зокрема, а їхні фракції як фіксовані політичні колективи, набрані з наперед визначених списків, представляють волю народу в законодавчому органі.

У супереч цим обставинам 11 березня 2010 року Янукович провів через парламент уряд із лише частковою фракційною підтримкою. Три фракції, що складають нинішню коаліцію, самі по собі не становлять більшості в Верховній Раді. Януковичева Партія регіонів, Комуністична партія України та «Блок Литвина» (спікера парламенту Володимира Литвина) мали після останніх виборів у 2007-му тільки 222 голоси, а зараз до них належить 219 з усіх 450 депутатів парламенту.

Цій проблемі партія Януковича знайшла особливе рішення, переманивши кількох депутатів від своїх помаранчевих суперників – Блоку Юлії Тимошенко та альянсу, що підтримував Ющенка, «Наша Україна – Народна самооборона» – щоб сформувати правлячу коаліцію. Це сталося незважаючи на те, що дві помаранчеві фракції презентують саме ті політичні сили, які у період парламентських виборів стояли у відкритій опозиції до Партії регіонів Януковича. Коли в 2007-му виборці вирішили віддати голос за блок Тимошенко та «Нашу Україну – Народну самооборону», вони однозначно голосували й проти Януковичевої Партії регіонів. І все-таки 11 березня 12 депутатів, які ввійшли в парламент за квитками цих блоків, підписали коаліційну угоду, що заклала основу під подальшу передачу майже всіх прерогатив виконавчої влади Партії регіонів. Колишні помаранчеві депутати зробили це проти явної волі своїх рідних фракцій і з демонстративною зневагою до мандату своїх виборців.

Пропорційне представництво та партійні ренегати

Партійні переходи під час легістатури парламенту, безперечно, не є чимось незвичним у молодих демократіях. Вони іноді трапляються навіть у консolidованих поліархіях, як-от Федеративна Республіка Німеччина, де так само пропорційна виборча система (хоча й до певної міри персоналізована). Проте у зрілих демократіях такі політичні перетворення зазвичай стосуються лише окремих членів парламенту, які вирішують поміняти фракцію з особистих міркувань. Тому, скажімо, Основний закон Німеччини захищає необмежену «свободу мандату», попри те що половина членів Бундестагу обираються не прямо, а в колективі, за квитками своїх партій

– дуже схоже до української схеми. Ідея про те, що порівняно великий гурт депутатів можна спеціально переманити з однієї партії в іншу, аби успішно скасувати результати виборів, настільки абсурдна, що її майже не брали до уваги конституційні інженери та політичні компаративісти західних держав. Така значна зміна у політичному підданстві багатьох депутатів була б настільки кричущим нехтуванням волею виборців, що це просто марнування часу – всерйоз уявляти такі дивні гіпотетичні випадки.

Унеконсолідованих плюралістичних державах, однак, такі речі бувають. Як показала передісторія Помаранчевої революції, Янукович та компанія не є демократами. Їхні ледь замасковані фальсифікації на перших двох турах президентських виборів у 2004 році та безліч інших подібних дій засвідчили амбівалентне ставлення Партії регіонів до демократичних норм. У принципі не обов'язково, щоб усі учасники політичного процесу в демократії самі були демократами – якщо добре організована система та структура стимулів, за якими вони працюють. Важливою умовою, що сприяла демократизації цієї пострадянської країни в останні роки, був вплив продемократичних іноземних сторін – чи то певних країн, як Польща та Канада, чи то європейських організацій, як Рада Європи та ЄС.

Західна реакція на українські події в 2010 році

Утім, міжнародний вплив на демократії в Україні як нормативна рамка, що структурує політику в Києві, останнім часом страждає від неясності. Першим хибним кроком став час прийняття резолюції Європейського Парламенту, де підтверджується перспектива членства України в ЄС. Резолюція сама по собі, без сумніву, є прогресом, порівняно з дотепе-

рішньою політикою ЄС, який багато вказував Україні, та мало обіцяв. Коли резолюція Європарламенту про право України подаватися на повне членство в ЄС була прийнята у Страсбурзі 25 лютого, її негайно й широко возвеличили в українських мас-медіа та у київській експертній спільноті. Міністр закордонних справ Петро Порошенко в ефірі українського телебачення навіть назвав 25 лютого 2010 року «історичним днем» у пострадянській історії України.

Але важко зрозуміти, чому резолюція була прийнята не до, а після президентських виборів у січні-лютому 2010-го. Це було б у життєво важливих інтересах як держав, так і органів ЄС, якби такий вагомий сигнал українському народові й елітам був надісланий перед, а не після недавнього протистояння між прозахідною Юлією Тимошенко та проросійським Віктором Януковичем. Прийнята до першого туру виборів, нехай в листопаді 2009-го, резолюція Європарламенту істотно вплинула б, якщо не реструктурувала б, на внутрішньополітичні дебати в Україні. Завдяки їй Юлія Тимошенко – яка створила собі образ найпалкішого в Україні проєвропейського політика – могла б набрати на президентських виборах більше голосів і навіть перемогти. А так підписання резолюції після другого туру виборів та перемогу Януковича можна тепер тлумачити як схвалення виборчих фальсифікацій 2004 року. Принаймні схоже, що Янукович саме так і зрозумів толерантність Європи до нього. Наприклад, 2 квітня він недоречно призначив Сергія Ківалова, колишнього голову Центральної виборчої комісії, тобто основного фальсифікатора в 2004 році, офіційним представником України в Європейській комісії за демократію через право («Венеціанській комісії») – фактично призначив

лиса пасти гусей.

Понад те, Захід явно зіграв певну роль у легітимації підозріло сформованого в березні нового уряду. Що цікаво, Янукович, здається, зрозумів проблемні аспекти планованого захоплення виконавчої гілки влади, уряду, з допомогою перевертнів з інших парламентських груп. Згідно з повідомленнями у пресі, напередодні 11 березня, коли в Верховній Раді мав бути утверджений уряд прем'єр-міністра Миколи Азарова, новий український президент радився з послами «великої вісімки» (включно з російським) – чи приймуть їхні країни уряд, за який голосуватимуть індивідуальні депутати, включно з дезертирами з інших партій, а не фракції. І нібито після суперечливих дискусій більшість чи навіть усі посли дали Януковичу зелене світло за умови, що він попросить Конституційний суд проаналізувати такі процедури на предмет відповідності до Основного закону. Посли, кажуть, також наполягли, щоб Партія регіонів співпрацювала з іншими політичними силами. Янукович очевидно ігнорує цю другу домовленість, але він справді подав запит у Конституційний суд щодо легітимності уряду Азарова.

Підхід послів до нового президента зрозумілий: вони та їхні держави передусім зацікавлені у політичній стабільності в Україні. А статус народного мандату депутатів, як і в західних політичних системах, визначений нечітко. Чи мають вони право поводитися як забажають чи прив'язані до партійної дисципліни? Якщо все ж прив'язані, то до якої міри обмежена свобода дій депутата? У західному контексті такі питання розглядала би саме конституційна рада чи суд. Отож звернення до Конституційного суду є очевидним шляхом.

Частка «прото-» не зникає з української протодемократії

Україна, однак, не є консолідованою демократією з глибоко вкоріненим верховенством права. Ця держава досі у процесі формування, причому вона чи не найбільше в світі постраждала від фінансової кризи. Перегляд судових рішень почав функціонувати у пострадянській Україні, і це показало втручання Верховного суду під час Помаранчевої революції. Та неясно, чи перевірка законності нової української правлячої коаліції запустила правильний процес, який вирішить нинішній конфлікт між політичними таборами, як це було в 2004-му. Юлія Тимошенко вже заявила, ніби окремі судді Конституційного суду отримали по 1 мільйону доларів за «позитивне» рішення, тобто за постанову, що легалізує чинну правлячу коаліцію. 8 квітня більшість суддів (11 із 18) таки дали Януковичу «позитивне» рішення, постановивши, що за правлячу коаліцію можуть голосувати позафракційні депутати.

Це дивно, бо той самий Конституційний суд уже розбирався в питанні про те, чи можуть індивідуальні члени парламенту брати участь у формуванні правлячої коаліції. У своєму рішенні від 17 вересня 2008 року він написав, що «до складу коаліції депутатських фракцій можуть увійти лише ті народні депутати України, які є у складі депутатських фракцій, що сформували коаліцію. Саме належність народних депутатів України до цих фракцій відіграє визначальну роль депутатських фракцій в утворенні коаліції депутатських фракцій». Зважаючи на цю попередню постанову, нинішній уряд можна вважати не лише нелегітимним із демократичного погляду, а й узагалі нелегальним юридично. Обіцянки пана Януковича українському народові та західним послам, що він

дотримуватиметься ухвал Конституційного суду, завжди звучали порожньо. Адже вже діяла ота постанова 2008 року! Янукович, виходить, попросив суддів або повторити те рішення, або відмовитися від нього – але й одне, і друге заплутало б конституційний лад в Україні. Так або запровадилася б у Конституційному суді практика підтверджувати вже прийняті рішення, або ж тепер буде поставлено під питання решту його попередніх ухвал, тому що їх теж можна буде скасувати після повторних слухань.

Відтепер також є невирішеною партійно-виборча система України. Якщо вибори й далі проводитимуться за чисто пропорційною моделлю, виборці не матимуть певності в тому, за що насправді віддають свої голоси. Оскільки виборці можуть схвалювати лише закриті партійні списки, у них нема можливості покарати окремих депутатів, які відмовляються від мандату, отриманого на виборах, і які таким чином зраджують своїх прихильників. Що гірше – виборці тих партій чи блоків, які найбільше постраждали від переманювання їхніх депутатів до конкурентних фракцій, запитуватимуть себе, для чого їм узагалі голосувати. Якщо депутатів, яких вони делегують у парламент, можуть потім привласнювати супротивні табори, якщо вони можуть міняти політичні сторони, то нема сенсу посилати їх у Верховну Раду в принципі. Тепер, коли Конституційний суд де-факто відмовився від свого рішення від вересня 2008 року, Януковичева Партія регіонів є таким собі подвійним переможцем: вона може утримувати за собою виконавчу владу з допомогою дезертирів з інших фракцій; і це підживляє виборчу базу її політичних суперників. Розвивається первинна функція демократичних виборів – побудова видимого мосту та механізму ефективного зворотного зв'язку між населенням та владою.

«Несвропейська» політика Європарламенту щодо України

Найдивовижніше у цій історії, що Європарламент, безсумнівно, штовхає Україну саме в цьому напрямку. Або, принаймні, так виглядає в очах української громадськості. 26 березня делегація Європарламенту на чолі з Адріаном Северином, румунським професором права, зустрілася з президентом Януковичем у Києві. Северин є віце-головою групи «Прогресивний альянс соціалістів і демократів» – соціал-демократичної, другої за розміром фракції у парламенті Євросоюзу. Як відомо зі звіту про зустріч, підготовленого у прес-службі президента України, Северин сказав Януковичу: «Ми задоволені, що вам вдалося створити коаліцію, яка зараз візьметься за вирішення нагальних політичних та економічних питань, і сподіваємося, що Конституційний суд винесе рішення, яке підтверджує правомірність створення цієї коаліції. Безумовно, дочасні вибори могли б бути також конституційним виходом, але нам більше імponує стабільність у державі, аніж позачергові вибори». Правильна ця цитата на сайті українського президента чи ні – але її широко відтворювали та перефразовували в українських мас-медіа, і її так і не заперечив Європарламент. Українська громадськість тепер вірить, що ЄС підтримує нелегітимне й нелегальне створення уряду 11 березня 2010 року. Це враження могло навіть вплинути на рішення Конституційного суду 8 квітня 2010 року.

Як і з реакцією послів під час зустрічі з Януковичем 10 березня, можна зрозуміти бажання Заходу, після років помаранчевого борювання, нарешті бачити у Києві стабільний уряд. Однак є небагато причин вірити, що видима підтримка ЄС теперішнього режиму справді приведе до стабільності. Буде за-

надто називати Партію регіонів антидемократичною, проте політичні інстинкти її провідних функціонерів усе ще не спрямовуються зацікавленістю в балансі, плюралізмі та інтеграції. Натомість люди Януковича, як чимало політиків на пострадянському просторі, досі мислять правилами «гри з нульовою сумою»: вони намагатимуться захопити якомога більше посад, бо вважають, що більше влади – краще для них і гірше для опонентів. Для Януковича та компанії ідея «Європи», звісно, є чинником, але поки що тільки як стримуючим, а не нормативним. Інтеграція України до ЄС є, звісно, теж важливою метою лідерів Партії регіонів, але, як правило, європейська демократія їх більш-менш глибоко вражає, а не справді приваблює.

Здається, що Янукович і компанія, заручившись західним схваленням своїх перших оборудок, вирішили, що «переможець забирає все». Жоден із семи віце-прем'єрів нового уряду не належить до якогось з офіційних парламентських коаліційних партнерів Партії регіонів. (Серед 29 членів уряду також немає жодної жінки.) Ба більше, урядова коаліція тепер, напевно, має на меті захопити посади голів найважливіших парламентських комітетів, які за законом мають належати опозиції. Поведінка Партії регіонів переважно наслідує зразок її діянь у 2004 році, що й спричинили Помаранчеву революцію.

Уроки для Європи та України

Західні спостерігачі та візитери повинні розуміти, що для багатьох українських політиків головне політичне питання – не що є легітимним, а що є здійсненим і чи можна це повернути. Маючи справу з Партією регіонів, європейські та інші партнери України повинні мати на увазі, що антипомаранчевий табір на чолі з Януковичем ніколи не отримував більшості на загальнонаціональних

виборах. Янукович є першим президентом України, якого обрало менш ніж 50% електорату в другому турі. І все-таки Янукович тепер захопив міцний контроль не лише у парламенті, але й в усій виконавчій владі, включно з урядом, обласними адміністраціями, НБУ, СБУ тощо. Європейські партнери України мають чітко вказати, що стабільний уряд, звісно, цінний, але така стабільність «а-ля Путін» буде неприйнятною, якщо Україна захоче зберегти свою європейську перспективу.

Українські можновладці у свою чергу повинні розуміти, що напівформального виконання демократичних правил і суто риторичного сприйняття політичного плюралізму буде

недостатньо, щоб утримати Україну на дорозі до майбутнього членства в ЄС – мети, якій віддано, як здається, всі політичні гравці. Усної згоди на певні дії навіть від офіційних західних делегацій не вистачить, аби запевнити сталість руху України до Європи в наступні роки. Заяви на кшталт тих, які, за повідомленнями, зробив Адріан Северин, можуть привести українське керівництво до хибної думки, що все гаразд. Натомість формування уряду 11 березня, можливо, призведе до зниження показників України в майбутніх рейтингах демократії (як от рейтинг Freedom House). Якщо Україна, наприклад, опуститься в рейтингу Freedom House з позначки «вільна» до «частково вільна»,

то це матиме серйозні політичні наслідки для країни. Західна громадськість знову почне вважати її країною «між» демократією та авторитаризмом, а не державою, твердо відданою європейським цінностям. Україна спуститься до категорії таких країн, як Молдова, Грузія чи Вірменія – напівдемократій, що їх ЄС сподівається колись приєднати, але зараз розглядає далекими навіть від того, щоб запропонувати їм перспективу членства. І це не якісь обрані посли чи єврочиновники; це народ Європи (що включає й українців) – саме його нове політичне керівництво України має переконати у своїй відданості демократії та верховенству права.



Мовна політика, чи мова політики

Ірина БЕРЕЖНА

"Apsus linguae" (Не робить помилок щодо мови)

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Авторка народилася у Луганську і все своє життя розмовляла російською, утім в університеті опанувала українську. Перед тим як написати цю статтю, думала: яку мову обрати? Принципово пишу українською, щоб показати повагу до неї. Хоча рідною вважаю російську, бо ж думаю по-російськи.

З таким вибором багато разів на день стикаються мільйони українських громадян і вони мене розуміють.

Російська мова у СРСР була державною мовою, мовою закону, мовою вищої освіти. На російській мові виховувалися декілька поколінь, нею спілкувалися майже 290 мільйонів людей різних національностей.

Тож хіба це наша, або наших батьків провина, що ми були народжені та виховані в російськомовному оточенні? Не можу не пригадати великого Івана Франка: "...в якій мові вродився і виховався, тої без окалічення своєї душі не можеш покинути".

Власне, мовна проблема далеко не лінгвістична. Буде чи ні російська державною в Україні – це питання. І на його вирішення не мають впливати надто емоційні позиції прихильників чи опонентів російської мови та невгамовні пристрасті українських політиків до популістських балачок.

Адже українська культурна спадщина тісно переплетена з російською мовою та створювалась протягом багатьох століть нашими спільними предками. Не можна відокремитись від культурної

спадщини великої держави, складовою частиною якої довгі роки була Україна.

Та спадщина є надбанням і українців, бо творилася спільно.

Історично склалося, що російська мова має сильніші позиції, ніж українська. Остання існувала й була заборонена водночас. І навіть українські письменники добровільно відмовлялися від неї, переходячи на російську, тому що це надавало їм можливість донести свої творіння до ширшої читацької аудиторії.

Скажімо, Тарас Шевченко написав багато своїх творів російською, був підтриманий російським меценатом з Санкт-Петербурга. Утім, це не перешкодило йому бути великим українським класиком. Адже якщо письменник писав російською, від того він не переставав бути українським

ким письменником. Гоголь тому яскравий приклад.

У першій половині XIX століття становлення української культури ще тільки починалося, тому творчість Гоголя могла існувати тільки в рамках "спільноруської" культури. Тому навіть в філології цей різновид культури, визначається як "спільноруська культура на українській основі" і розглядається як надбання одночасно і російської і української культури та літератури.

І на це не можна закривати очі, бо це історія, а її забуття чи перекручування для сучасної "політичної доцільності" – злочин.

Цивілізована двомовність в державі – це, насамперед, НЕ-НАСИЛЬСТВО у мовній сфері. Натомість, це вимагає створення умов для вивчення державної мови, державної підтримки україномовного продукту видавництва або кінокомпаній. Але не придушення податками російськомовного.

Це контроль та сприяння чистій українській мові на державних ТВ-каналах, замість "викручування рук" та ультиматумів комерційним.

Але Україна обрала шлях насильницьких заходів в мовному питанні і спонукає до життя страшного гібрида, ім'я якому – суржик, що згодом просто проковтне саму українську мову.

У зв'язку з цим вельми авторитетно звучать слова професора Гарвардського університету США, етнічного українця Романа Шпорлюка:

"Мільйони людей, які вважають рідною російську мову, 1 грудня 1991 проголосували за незалежність. Виходячи з цього громадяни, для яких українська мова, – рідна, мають перед ними певні політичні і моральні зобов'язання... Якнайлегший спосіб знищити Україну – це почати українізувати неукраїнців. Найбільшу небезпеку для незалеж-

ної України представляють мовні фанатики".

Як на мене, українська має бути мовою державних установ. Проте, дуже важливо заохочувати держслужбовців на сході країни до вивчення української, а на заході – до використання, в разі потреби, російської.

Головне – це повага до будь-якої мови та її носіїв! Держава Україна, а точніше її керманичі, мають зрозуміти, що окрім державних установ, в інших сферах буття впровадженню української слід тільки сприяти, а не нав'язувати наказами та санкціями.

Не розв'яжемо мовної проблеми, поки не змінимо до неї ставлення – ставимось як до об'єкту права, а не за закону.

Боротьба мов – це боротьба КУЛЬТУР цих мов. Так вже склалося в світовій історії: виграє і панує мова могутнішої культури.

Для того щоб забезпечити домінування в країні власної мови, необхідно забезпечити домінування власної культури. Для України рецепт простий: будемо піклуватися про розвиток української культури, поступово прищеплюючи її поколінню, що зростає і отримаємо сильну українську мову.

Цей процес тривалий, і природний. А от впровадження української шляхом указів президента, а тим більше рішеннями міністерств – це насильство і над культурою, і над людьми.

Мова не має бути мішенню для політиків. Щоб зберегти свою мову, потрібно воювати не за мову і не з мовами.

На жаль, президент цього не розуміє, або не хоче зрозуміти. Він демонструє своє шанування українській культурі і це викликає повагу. Але чи можна цінувати свій народ, не поважаючи його право вибору? Заграючи із заходом, не зважувати

на інтереси своїх громадян на сході?

Адже не можна поводитися як "політичний страус" в мовному питанні, ховаючись від об'єктивної реальності.

У всьому світі, з політичної точки зору, існує ТІЛЬКИ два підходи – мономовний і мультимовний. Сучасний світ вже є мультимовним. А Україна?

Для України проблема української мови залишається чисто ідеологічним питанням. Ті, хто віддає перевагу українській мові, найчастіше прагнуть обмежувати російську, ніж реально вирішувати проблему.

Це хибний та небезпечний шлях. Проблема української мови не сприймається, на жаль, в Україні як проблема культурної політики. І те що відбулося, приміром, з обов'язковим українським дублюванням фільмів – лише чергова демонстрація цієї проблеми.

Цікаво, що за повного розвалу української кінематографії, кошти вкладаються в обов'язкове дублювання чужих фільмів українською мовою. Причому переважно тих фільмів, мова яких зрозуміла кожному мешканцеві України без дублювання. І все це заради виключно політичних спекуляцій.

Не можу, як професійний юрист, утриматися та не послатися на правові норми, які поки що існують в державі. 24 грудня 2007 року Конституційний Суд України визнає, що іноземні фільми перед розповсюдженням в Україні в обов'язковому порядку повинні бути дубльовані або озвучені чи субтитровані державною мовою.

Це ж підтверджується й вимогами закону про кінематографію. Не довго думаючи, та намагаючись вислужитися перед президентом, Міністерство культури своїм наказом забороняє пускати в прокат іноземні фільми не дубльовані українською. Не звертаючи уваги на те, що і рішення КС і чинний закон хоча б на-

дають вибір: або титрування, або озвучення, або дубляж.

Що маємо в результаті? Невдоволення російськомовних глядачів, неякісний дубляж українською через брак акторів та студій для дубляжу, різкий спад відвідувачів в кінотеатрах, відсутність в прокаті артхаусних, інтелектуальних фільмів... чергове насильство над людиною, що мешкає в Україні.

Держава не повинна нікого примушувати, держава може і повинна створити умови, за яких стане вигідним і престижним показ фільмів українською.

Зробити це можна кількома шляхами: по-перше, зменшенням податків для дистриб'юторів та власників кінотеатрів, по-друге, покриттям бюджетним коштом витрат на дубляж українською мовою; по-третє створенням додаткових економічних умов для заохочення виробництва українських фільмів.

Перелік таких заходів можна побачити в багатьох, успішних, з точки зору розвитку кіно індустрії європейських країнах: Польщі, Угорщині, Німеччині, Франції тощо.

Питання статусу української мо-

ви в Україні дуже часто є абсолютно незрозумілим для європейських чи американських аналітиків, котрі досліджують ситуацію на пост-радянському просторі.

І ось чому: більше за третину держав Європи мають державні мови, назва яких не співпадає з назвою основної національності. В Азії подібна ситуація в половині держав. Навіть у Африці, лише Ефіопія, Сомалі і Сейшельські острови є винятком із цього правила.

Ірландці з їхніми традиціями національної самосвідомості, вихованими в тривалій боротьбі за незалежність, в переважній більшості говорять англійською. Ірландська мова, якою володіють близько 3% жителів країни, використовується, так би мовити, чисто символічно.

Автор навіть не згадує Бельгію, Швейцарію, Канаду... Такими є наслідки глобалізації! Адже в світі із 6800 мов, які використовуються, лише близько сотні є офіційними мовами суверенних держав.

Виходячи з положень статті 11 Європейської хартії регіональних мов або мов меншин, Україна зобов'язується лояльно

відноситися до незалежних ЗМІ і сприяти регулярному виходу радіо- і телепрограм на регіональних мовах.

Є важлива тріада, кожна із складових якої суттєво впливає на людську свідомість і формування суспільства, – це мова, релігія і земля. І від того, як вирішуються проблеми, пов'язані з ними, залежить майбутнє держави.

Україна йде шляхом політики популізму. Адже мова політики та мовна політика – це різні речі. Усі, без винятку, політичні сили повинні звикнути прислухатися до народу.

Уже давно, пересічні громадяни України демонструють модель адекватної, про-європейської мовної політики. Нормальною ситуацією в Україні вважається вільний перехід з мови на мову десятки і сотні разів на день.

Українець – це людина, що володіє двома слов'янськими мовами. У цьому наша перевага перед Росією, де значна частина росіян говорить тільки на одній мові. Адже навіть з точки зору культурного розвитку, ситуація двомовності є більш привабливою.

А ті, хто зараз насильно вичавлюють російську з українського суспільства, мають усвідомлювати свою відповідальність перед наступним поколінням. Адже вони позбавляють його можливості насолоджуватися українсько-російською культурною спадщиною мовою оригіналу.

Нове покоління не зможе оцінити у всій красі творіння Булгакова, Достоевського, Тургенєва, Єсеніна та багатьох інших класиків, що творили російською.

Добре, що хоч мова живопису – інтернаціональна і творіння художників, таких як Малевич, Репін, Врубель та інших, що народилися в Україні, не будуть потребувати перекладу.

(*"Українська правда"*)

УКРАЇНЬСКА ПРАВДА



First CUPP Picnic at Pushcha Vodytsia. L to R: Zhenia Viatchaninova, C'09; Yaroslav Udoenko, C'07; Iryna Krasnoshtan, C'09; Vasyil Khomiak, C'08; Katia Bondar, C'09; Olia Melykh, C'08; Yaroslav Kovalchuk, C'08.

The Language Policy, or the Language of Politics

Iryna BEREZHNA

"Apsus linguae" (Slip of the tongue)



The author was born in Luhansk¹ and all my life spoke Russian. At university I mastered Ukrainian. Before writing this article I considered which language to choose. On principal I am writing in Ukrainian to show respect for her (Ukrainian), even though as Russian is my native language because I think in Russian.

Millions of Ukrainian citizens are faced with the same choice, daily, so they understand me. In the (former) USSR the Russian language was the state language, the language of the law, and of higher education. Several generations were brought up using Russian; about 290 million people of various nationalities communicated in it..

So, is it ours or our parents' fault that we were born and educated in the Russian-speaking environment? I cannot help but recall the great Ivan Franko² (who wrote): "...the language you were born into and brought up in, you cannot forsake without crippling your soul".

Actually, the language problem is by far from a linguistic one. Whether or not the Russian language shall be the state language in Ukraine is the question. Its ultimate resolution should not be influenced by the overemotional attachments of those who are in favour or against the Russian language, nor the restless passions of Ukrainian politicians who cater to the populist babbling.

The Ukrainian cultural heritage

1 An eastern city bordering on Russia, predominantly Russian speaking.

2 Ivan Franko (1856-1916) is a Ukrainian poet, writer and politician who lived and worked in Western Ukraine (Galicia, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire).

is highly interwoven with the Russian language, as it was created over many centuries by our common ancestors. One cannot separate oneself from the cultural heritage of a grand state of which Ukraine was an integral part for many years.. This heritage belongs to Ukrainians as well because it was created jointly (by our peoples).

Historically, the Russian language has stronger positions than the Ukrainian language. The latter existed and was banned simultaneously. Even Ukrainian writers declined to use it voluntarily, switching into Russian, because this allowed them to present their works to a wider reading audience.

For example, Taras Shevchenko³ wrote many of his works in Russian⁴, and was supported by a Russian patron from Saint-Petersburg. Nonetheless, this did not preclude him from becoming a great Ukrainian classic. Although the writer wrote in Russian, this did not mean that he ceased to be a Ukrainian author. Gogol is a vivid example of this.

In the first half of the 19th century the formation of the Ukrainian culture was only beginning⁵ that is why Gogol's Creativity could exist only within

3 Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) is a prominent Ukrainian poet, writer, painter and public figure.

4 Shevchenko wrote his prose works and the diary in Russian. For writing his poems in Ukrainian he was exiled into Kazakhstan for 15 years, without the right to write or paint.

5 According to the modern Ukrainian historians, the formation of the Ukrainian culture began more than a millennium ago at the time of the Kyiv Rus. However, the beginning of the new Ukrainian literature dates back to 1798, when the first book using vernacular Ukrainian language was published.

the framework of the 'common Rus culture'.⁶ So even in philology this kind of multifaceted culture is defined as 'common-rus culture on a Ukrainian base' and is considered to be the simultaneous achievement both Russian and Ukrainian culture and literature.

There is no way to get away from this fact, since this is history; and its denial or distortion for modern 'political expediency' is a crime.

Civilized bilingualism in a country is first of all No compulsion in the language sphere.. It requires creating conditions for learning the state language and providing state support for the Ukrainian-language publications and movies. But not suppression through taxation of the Russian-language (products)⁷.

This means the control and promotion of the authentic Ukrainian language on state TV channels, instead of 'wrenching one's hands' and setting ultimatums for commercial channels.

But Ukraine has chosen the path of strong-arm methods in the language question and has brought about a horrible hybrid, called 'surzhyk'⁸ that in time will swallow the Ukrainian language.

In this regard, of ethnic Ukrainian

6 Refers to the common Kyiv Rus ancestry.

7 In Ukraine both Ukrainian-language and Russian-language production (books, movies, etc.) are taxed by the state.

8 A kind of pidgin language spoken on the territory of Ukraine that developed on the basis of elements of the Ukrainian language combined with Russian

descent, Harvard Professor Roman Shporliuk's words sound authoritative,

"Millions of Ukrainians who consider Russian as their mother tongue voted in favor of Ukraine's independence on December 1, 1991. Thus, those Ukrainians whose mother tongue is Ukrainian owe them certain political and moral debt.. The easiest way to destroy Ukraine is to begin to 'ukrainize' non-Ukrainians. Language fanatics pose the greatest threat to Ukraine's independence.

To my mind, Ukrainian should be the language of state institutions. What we should do is to encourage civil servants in Eastern Ukraine to learn Ukrainian, and in the Western to use Russian language, if needed.

Of importance is respect for any language and its practitioners! The state of Ukraine, or to be more precise, its leaders must realize that aside from state institutions, in other spheres the introduction of Ukrainian (Language) should only be promoted and not imposed by decrees and sanctions.

We will not solve the language problem, unless we change our attitude towards it – by dealing with it as with the matter of right, and not as a matter of legislation.

The clash between languages is the clash between cultures these languages represent. It has been historically established in world history that the language of the mightier culture wins and prevails.

Thus, only by making our own culture dominant, can we achieve dominance of our own language. For Ukraine the recipe is simple: by nurturing the development of Ukrainian culture incrementally by grafting it unto another generation, which grows and receives a strong Ukrainian language..

This process is lengthy and natural. Implementation of the Ukrainian language by means of presidential decrees, or more so, – by the ministries,

is forceful means against culture and people.

Language should not be a target for politicians. To save one's language, one should fight neither for the language and nor with languages.

Unfortunately, the President does not understand this or is unwilling to understand. He demonstrates his respect for Ukrainian culture and this deserves praise. But can one appreciate his nation and not respect their right to choose? Playing favourites with west (Ukraine) and not considering the interests of his citizens in the East?

In fact, one should not behave like a "political ostrich" on the language issue, and escaping from the objective reality.

From the political perspective, in the whole world there exist only ONLY two approaches – the monolingual and multilingual. The modern world is multilingual. And what about Ukraine?

The language issue for Ukraine remains a purely ideological question.. Those who prefer the Ukrainian language most often seek to limit Russian rather than realistically solve the problem.

It is a false and dangerous road. Unfortunately, the problem of the Ukrainian language is not perceived in Ukraine as a problem of cultural politics. And that which occurred, for example, with the obligatory Ukrainian dubbing of films – is only another demonstration of this problem.

It is interesting to note that while the Ukrainian filmmaking industry is in ruin, funds are being invested in obligatory dubbing of foreign films into Ukrainian. Moreover, the language in most of these films is understood by every resident of Ukraine, without dubbing.. And all of this only to serve political speculations.

As a professional lawyer, I cannot refrain from turning to the legal norms, which exist in the country, yet valid in Ukraine. On December 24th, 2007 the

Constitutional Court of Ukraine recognized that foreign films before distribution throughout the country, must be dubbed, voiced-over or sub-titled in the official language.

This norm is endorsed by the Law on Cinematography. On short notice, The Ministry of Culture, to please the President (former President Yushchenko), banned distribution of motion pictures undubbed into Ukrainian, without taking into account the fact that both the decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine and existing law allows for an option of either subtitling, or voice-over or dubbing.⁹

What do we have in result? We have discontent of the Russian-speaking audience, low-quality dubbing due to the lack of actors and dubbing stu-

⁹ According to the decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine, the execution of which is mandatory for all the branches of power, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism issued the order #1 of January 1st, 2008, signed by Minister V. V. Vovkun, which reads:

ORDER

Kyiv
#1

18 January, 2008

On dubbing or synchronizing or subtitling foreign films in the state language.

To execute Articles 6 and 17 of the Law of Ukraine "On Cinematography", the decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine of December 24th, 2007, "On the official interpretation of the statements of Article 14, Part 2, of the Law of Ukraine "On Cinematography"

I hereby order:

1. *To the state office of Cinematography (G. P. Chmil) to abide by the decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine.*

2. *To the state office of Cinematography (G. P. Chmil) to prohibit to give the certificate allowing the distribution and demonstration of a film, if it is not **dubbed or synchronized or subtitled** in the state language on the film copy of the original film.*

3. *All subjects of cinematography should follow this order, notwithstanding the form of ownership or subordination.*

V. V. Vovkun

The original text is printed at: http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/publish/article?art_id=110052559

dios, a sharp decline in attendance at cinemas, absence of art house, and intellectual films in release... Another abuse of the person who lives in Ukraine.

The state should not force anyone, but rather it should create conditions under which the film screening in Ukrainian will become profitable and prestigious.

This can be done in several ways. First of all, reduce taxes on distributors and cinema owners. Secondly, the state should cover the costs for dubbing into Ukrainian directly from the state budget. Thirdly, it should create additional economic conditions to promote Ukrainian filmmaking.

A list of such measures can be seen in the policies of many European countries which have successfully developed their film industry: Poland, Hungary, Germany, France etc.

The question of the status of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine is very often absolutely incomprehensible to European or American analysts who study the post-Soviet spheres.

Here is the explanation: more than a third of the states in Europe have languages, the names of which do not coincide with the name of the native nationality. The situation is similar in half of the states in Asia. Even in Africa only Ethiopia, Somalia and the Seychelles are an exception from the rule.

The majority of the Irish having rich traditions of national self-identification and being brought up in the long struggle for independence speak English. The Irish language, spoken by approximately 3% of the citizens, is used, so to speak, symbolically.

Not to mention Belgium, Switzerland, Canada... These are the consequences of globalization! After all, from about 6800 languages in the world, only a hundred or so are used as official languages of sovereign states.

According to the article 11 of the Charter for Regional and Minority

Languages, Ukraine is obliged to loyally treat the independent mass media and support regular radio- and TV-programs in the regional languages.

There is an important triad each component of which significantly influences human consciousness and the formation of a society – language, religion and land. And the future of a state depends on how the problems related to these components are solved.

Ukraine is in favour of populist politics. Indeed, the language of politics and language politics are different. All political forces, without exception, should get used to listening to the people.

For some time the average citizens of Ukraine have demonstrated a model of an adequate, pro-European language policy.. It is considered normal in Ukraine when one switches from one language to the other hundreds times a day.

A Ukrainian is a person who speaks two Slavic languages. That is our advantage over Russia, where

the majority of Russians speak only one language. After all, bilingualism is more appealing even from the point of view of cultural development.

And those who now forcefully limit the use of Russian in Ukrainian society must become aware of their responsibility before future generations. They rob our descendants of the ability to enjoy the Ukrainian-Russian cultural legacy in the original language.

The new generation will not be able to appreciate in all its glory works by Bulgakov, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Yesenin and many other men of letters who wrote in Russian.

Fortunately, the language of painting is international and the works of such artists as Malevich, Repin, Vrubel and others, who were born in Ukraine, will not need any translation.

("Ukrainian Truth")

The original text is printed in

"The People's Truth"

[http://narodnapravda.com.ua/politics/](http://narodnapravda.com.ua/politics/4afad6864fbe3/)

[4afad6864fbe3/](http://narodnapravda.com.ua/politics/4afad6864fbe3/)

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ПРАВДА



CUPP 2010 & Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference Skype Meeting June 26;
Kyiv Interns: Aishe Memetova (Kyiv Mohyla University); Stacy Tsarkova (Kyiv Mohyla University); Iryna Krasnoshtan (Kyiv Polytechnic); Volodymyr Venher (Kyiv Mohyla University); Valeria Trush (University of Kyiv); Ilyia Symonenko (Kyiv Mohyla University).



Review of the Iryna Berezhna's article «Мовна політика, чи мова політики»

Illia FILATOV

Volodymyr Vernadsky Tavrida National University, Simferopol
2010 Antin Hlynka Scholarship recipient

*«Ну що б, здавалося, слова...
Слова та голос – більш нічого.
А серце б'ється – ожива,
Як їх почує!.. Знать, од Бога
І голос той, і ті слова
Ідуть меж люди!...».*

Т. Г. Шевченко

The article of Iryna Berezhna certainly deserves attention and forces to a lot of things to think about. However, it causes much more questions. No doubt that author's ideas which were published in the article not only similar to ideas of Party of Regions, but they are entirely the same. It, in its turn, raises a question about their objectivity. Nowadays when we read articles of politicians, we have to learn to distinguish fresh progressive ideas and the propaganda. Unfortunately, there are more and more of the last one.

The great example of political propaganda serves an article of Pani Berezhna «Мовна політика, чи мова політики». Her position was clear after only a few words in the beginning. First she declares that she wrote this article in Ukrainian language in order to show respect to it. Than she tells us that her native language is – Russian. Pani Iryna does not think about forming of the Ukrainian consciousness. She thinks only about saving russian language for russian-speaking people. Is it a patriot position? Is it possible to put yourself apart from Ukraine when you live there?

I was born in Crimea and I have a firsthand experience with the problems of Ukrainian language in Russian-speaking regions. And these problems have explainable historical reasons. However, to live in Ukraine and do not consider the Ukrainian language as native – is unnatural (if you are not a foreigner of course).

Despite the number of Russian-speaking regions, Ukraine still exists as a unitary State with the only language, which is written in a Constitution. And this language is Ukrainian.

This article has an obvious political colour and it indulges the interests of definite circles. The opinion that «Не можна відокремитись від культурної спадщини великої держави, складовою частиною якої довгі роки була Україна» shocked me. The "Velika Derzhava" means the USSR, I guess? And what cultural contribution was made by this totalitarian regime to the development of Ukraine? All that we have in heritage from the "Velika Derzhava" – is the lack of Ukrainian self-consciousness in our society and neglectful attitude to the official language in particular regions of Ukraine. Ukraine is able to solve all its problems by itself. Therefore, we have to get rid of the influence of Russia as soon as possible.

I really liked how the author noted that «Головне – це повага до будь якої мови та її носіїв». This is a crucial idea, which should guide policy in all countries dealing with the language problems. But further Pani Berezhna cites the example of countries with two

or more official languages. In this case the only possible second language she sees is Russian language. And the question immediately arises: what will change in Ukraine after that? Will east and west of our country merge in unity? Will Crimea stop looking at Moscow through Kiev? Will Ukrainian self-consciousness's development starts in Russian-speaking regions? I am afraid not. And if the second official language question arises then I will choose English rather than any other. Despite the fact that I was born in Russian-speaking environment, I realize that English language – is the language of the world. And as for Russian, it will be understood in Ukraine regardless of its status.

I was also surprised by the statement: «Нове покоління не зможе оцінити у всій красі творіння Булгакова, Достоєвського, Тургенєва, Єсеніна та багатьох інших класиків, що творили російською». There have never been any problems in Ukraine with reading Russian classical writers in original. The difference with Ukrainian literature lies in the fact that everyone in Ukraine will understand Pushkin, but not everyone will understand Franko and Shevchenko. And this, I think, is much worse.

Whatever how strong are the Russian roots in Ukraine, Ukrainian roots – are stronger! We are on our own land. For so many years Ukraine was under the pressure of different countries, cultures and interests.

And this time is gone forever.

Comment on the Article by Iryna Berezhna: "Language Policy or the Language Policy"

Lillia IBADOVA

Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy of Ukraine, Kharkiv
2010 John & Mary Yaremko Scholarship recipient



The article is a very controversial one. And I admit that approximately 5 years ago I could agree with it. Yes, the east of Ukraine speaks Russian. But what are the roots of that? From the Final Selection Meeting in Kyiv I have understood one important thing. We surely cannot compare the language situation in Ukraine with the language policies of Switzerland, Belgium or Canada. Their histories are quite different from that of Ukraine. These three countries were formed by different nations with their own languages. They negotiated to adopt one common state. This is the reason of several national languages. But in Ukraine Ukrainian language was considered as non-existent and wrong. It was opposed by the Soviet government and compared with a folk speech. In my childhood I did not understand this language (Ukrainian) which many old people spoke. I believed it was the language of old people. As I found out later, it was the Ukrainian language. So the deliberate policy was almost achieved, and only a lack of time and Independence in 1991 interrupted the process of forcing the Ukrainian language to disappear. Such a policy looks terrible, now.

Today we know why, when and what for that happened. Knowing the reasons, we are therefore responsible for our present behavior and life. We are citizens of Ukraine regardless of our nationality and we must understand that any particular national ambitions must be in harmony with Ukrainian culture, language and traditions. Ukraine takes care of us, gives us education, and protects us abroad.

Does Russia or any other country do the same? Should the Ukrainian language be eradicated or replaced within the boundaries of Ukraine? Of course not! The Russian language is not forbidden in Ukraine. There are no reasons to worry about its existence. It's not forbidden to watch films, read books or whatever do in Russian. I don't see any problems with using it.

But I agree with the author when she underlines the absence of necessity to translate Russian movies. I do not think this is the main position that Ukrainian language must conquer. Especially I do not understand the subtitles in the cartoons. Small children can't even read!

Ukrainian language must be, first of all, in our hearts. We must spread it in love faithfully and reasonably. Israel in 1967 didn't have any national language. But their idea and faith turned

into a great strength that brought back the near extinct Hebrew language back to life. It could be a good example for Ukraine.

In conclusion, I want to say that whatever happens in our life, we must remind people of the 21st century, who respect other human beings, their dignity, rights and fundamental freedoms. The contemporary world tries to solve all its problems by means of dialogue and negotiations. Our country is mainly Christian. If we simply try to love each other, all problems will seem small. Love covers lots of misunderstandings and simplifies the difficulties. Let's try to understand each other. Love to our own Ukrainian language is a logical consequence of our love to Ukraine and its citizens.



CUPP 2010 & Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference Skype Meeting, June 26, Kharkiv participants: Lillia Ibadova (Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy), Artem Sokolskyi, C'09 (Vasyl Karazin National University of Kharkiv).



Comments to the Iryna Berezhna's article

«Мовна політика, чи мова політики»

(The Language Policy or the Language of Politics)

Mykhaylo PALAHITSKYI

University of Vienna, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

2010 Christina Bardyn Scholarship recipient

Ms. Berezhna's position on the language issue in Ukraine is quite understandable to me, but does not correspond with my point of view. The Russian language is important for her and several million other Ukrainians. Iryna Berezhna and the Party of Regions stand for acceptance and the possibility to continue using the Russian language in many spheres of life. They are aware that the status of the Russian language is very controversial and has to be negotiated. Iryna Berezhna appears ready to work on the compromise of the languages question.

Ms. Berezhna's article makes it clear, that nobody in Ukraine wants to speak a language mixed of Ukrainian and Russian words, which is called "surzhyk". It is in the common interest of all Ukrainians to speak the language correctly. Linguists warn governments to avoid granting equal legal status of two very similar languages, as it can have disastrous outcomes for both languages and lead to the use of a "surzhyk" dialect. Except for Belarus there is no other country in the world, where two very similar languages have equal national and official status. The examples of bilingual Canada, Belgium and Switzerland with 4 official languages can not be implemented in Ukraine, as French, German and English do not have such close similarities as Russian and Ukrainian. So, in my opinion it is in the best and common interest of all Ukrainians to have only one official national language, which should be Ukrainian.

I disagree with Ms. Berezhna's argument that Ukrainians exert pressure on the Russian language. In

some regions, the Russian language has a much stronger positions than Ukrainian. In the East it is much easier to get by using Russian than Ukrainian. Many people speaking Ukrainian in the East feel like a minority. Ukrainian is not a threat to the Russian language. On the contrary the Ukrainian language is losing ground in many Ukrainian cities. Few if any initiate conversation in Ukrainian in the East of Ukraine, as Russian prevails and for convenience or through apathy it is easier to live there using Russian.

Ms. Berezhna explains the current language issue in Ukraine, with reference to some past events from history. Her arguments and historical facts demonstrate that in her opinion and conclusions the current Ukrainian culture is based on events from the first part of the 19th century, from a time of the prevailing common culture shared by some Eastern European countries. I have to disagree with that premise, as I think today's language problems in Ukraine are the outcome and legacy of the Soviet era.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Ukrainian language was much-much more in use in Eastern cities than it is today. Today we have to deal with the Soviet legacy and the past russification and sovietisation of the country. That important factor was not mentioned at all in Iryna Berezhna's article.

I can not support Ms. Berezhna's arguments against obligatory translations of foreign movies into Ukrainian. As we all know well a language is a cultural heritage and translation of foreign movies into Ukrainian means also adopting them to our cultural environment. Russian translations of the Hollywood movies are translations and

adoptions for Russia. Translation of foreign movies into Ukrainian is also a good way of popularization of Ukrainian language in Ukraine. Moreover, millions of Ukrainians prefer watching movies in Ukrainian. I think it is a form of discrimination, if a movie in a cinema is not offered in Ukrainian.

In my opinion, in debating the language question, all Ukrainians have to concentrate on the common national interests, which are national unification and consolidation, which are crucially important for Ukraine's future development. The status of the Russian language as the second national language in Ukraine; populist arguments of some politicians against the popularization of the Ukrainian language; and opposition to attempts to create better opportunities for popularization of Ukrainian in the East of Ukraine are not constructive contributions to resolving the language question in Ukraine.



On the roof of the Algonquin Hotel. L to R: Oksana Hoba, C'07 (University of Ottawa); Andriy Oleniuk, C'06 (Georgetown University); Olha Kroytor, C'07 (George Washington University).

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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at the Elliott School of International Affairs

and

The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP), the Chair of Ukrainian Studies
Foundation and Katedra Foundation

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Washington MODEL UKRAINE Conference

**"The Identity, Rights and Responsibilities of a
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and
Elections, Politics, History and Culture in a Renewed
Ukraine"**

The aim of the Conference is to discuss and develop a model for Ukrainian development as envisioned by young people who are eager to contribute to the future of the country. Among them are alumni of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (an internship program in the Canadian House of Commons) who have completed an internship within the period from 1991 to 2009 and earned a graduate degree at a Western university. These alumni will discuss current issues in Ukrainian domestic and foreign policy and possible methods for development in Ukraine, focusing on the identity, rights and responsibilities of an individual in a model Ukraine. The conference will also cover several other timely issues, including the ongoing Presidential election in Ukraine, foreign aid to Ukraine, political alienation in Ukraine and Ukrainian identity.

Friday, February 12 and Saturday, February 13, 2010
Lindner Family Commons, Room 602
1957 E Street, NW

Please RSVP to olya.kroytor@gmail.com by Wednesday, February 10.



«Модель України» – новий майданчик для обговорення «українських» питань?

Iryna KRASNOSHTAN

MA in Linguistics

Kyiv Polytechnic University

2010 John & Julia Stashuk Scholarship

Evhenia VIATCHANINOVA

MA in Journalism

University of Kyiv

2010 Cathy Obal Scholarship



11-12 лютого. Вашингтон Перша конференція з циклу «Модель України» стартувала в Інституті Європейських, Російських та Євразійських Студій при Школі Міжнародних Відносин Еліота в університеті Джорджа Вашингтона у столиці США. Ініційований Фондацією Українознавчих Студій та Фондацією Катедра захід зібрав випускників Канадсько-Української Парламентської Програми (КУПП), які свого часу завдяки гранту від української діаспори отримали змогу пройти стажування у Палаті Громад у місті Оттава. Зараз більшість з них продовжують навчання чи працюють на високооплачуваних посадах у Північній Америці.

Ця конференція стала подією універсальною не лише з огляду тематики, яка охопила питання ідентичності, прав та обов'язків громадянина, не-

щодавні вибори, а також економічно-соціально-культурну ситуацію в українській державі загалом. Її неординарність полягає у тому, що її провели поза межами України, а тому – поза жодними політичними чи агітаційними впливами. Так, учасники заходу змогли критично оцінити ситуацію в Україні і провести жваві і «гарячі» дискусії.

«Модель України» у Вашингтоні була, в першу чергу, спрямована на індивідуума, громадянина сильної України з розвиненими інституціями, яка усім нам імponує. Його чи її національна ідентичність, права та обов'язки у дискурсі побудови громадянського суспільства розглядалися під різними кутами – історичним, політичним, психологічним, культурним і навіть у світлі економічної доцільності. Важливий акцент учасники дискусії поставили

і на обговорення політичних питань, зокрема впливу результатів президентських виборів на геополітичні перспективи України. До дискусії молодих фахівців та студентів долучилися і більш досвідчені колеги, серед яких вчений, юрист, знаний публічний діяч Богдан Вітвицький з Нью-Йорка та юрист, письменник, журналіст Андрій Семотюк із Лос-Анджелеса.

Важливість такого незаангажованого дискурсу оцінив Радник з економічних та культурних питань посольства України у США Олександр Александрович: «Це одна із рідкісних можливостей, коли я бачу разом так багато українців, і це хороший знак. Дуже важливо, що молоді фахівці різних сфер діяльності мають можливість вести дискусію спільно зі своїми американськими колегами.»

Таку думку поділяють і самі учасники конференції. Зокрема, Роман Діденко, випускник КУПП, який нині працює у Світовому Банку вважає: «Хтось продовжує навчання, хтось працює у державних установах, інші – у приватному секторі. Тож думки і погляди, якими діляться учасники, більш розмаїті, ніж ті, що лунають на будь-якій виключно академічній конференції. Саме завдяки цьому, конференція КУПП має потенціал стати впливовим майданчиком для обговорення важливих для сучасної України питань.»

Нагадаємо, «Модель України» – це перша конференція із запланованого циклу, яка надалі включатиме відповідні заходи в Оттаві восени 2010 року та Києві – у 2011 році.

Ірина Красноштан, Євгенія Вятчанінова



At the National Opera Theatre in Kyiv. Arina Kostina, C'09 (Kyiv Mohyla University) and Iryna Krasnoshtan, C'09 (Kyiv Polytechnic University).

CUPP Alumni Gathered to Shape "Model Ukraine"

by Roman TASHLITSKY

Lesia Ukrainka Volyn National University, Rivne
Maria & Joseph Siecinsky Scholarship recipient



In February alumni of the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) gathered for a two-day conference in Washington, DC at the Elliott School of International Affairs of the George Washington University. CUPP offers students from Ukraine an opportunity to serve as interns in the Canadian House of Commons, where they can witness the workings of a real democracy first-hand. The recent conference gave CUPP alumni from different years, who are now pursuing their education or career in North America, a forum to share their ideas on the individual, identity, rights and responsibilities in a "Model Ukraine," the conference's topic.

The discussions were heated due to the fact that the conference was held a few days after the presidential elections in Ukraine, the outcome of which drastically changed the direction of Ukrainian politics. Participants approached the topic from different perspectives and discussed the following themes: Ukrainian identity (Who is a Ukrainian? Is it someone with a Ukrainian passport or it is something akin to the state of mind, regardless of citizenship?); How can we make our native language become a common value, rather than something that divides Ukrainians? (Participants from Eastern and Southern Ukraine suggested that a forced introduction of Ukrainian in all spheres of life had a negative effect, and in order to make Ukrainian acceptable among traditional Russian-speakers, the government could use positive marketing techniques); Official recognition of individuals in Ukrainian history, such as Shukhevych and Bandera? (Shall we ignore those who

disagree with their status as heroes or would it be more reasonable to devote more attention to education on these subjects?); and Is Ukraine a post-colonial state or it should share the responsibility for the tragedies in its history and refuse to see its history from the position of a subaltern?

Another interesting component of the conference was the participation of invited honorary guests. For example, Taras Kuzio, whom many in Ukraine know through his blog in the most influential Ukrainian on-line newspaper *Ukrainska Pravda*, had a presentation on the subject "What Does the Election of Yanukovych Mean for Ukraine?" Though most of the CUPP alumni present were upset by Yanukovych's victory, they didn't automatically have praise for Tymoshenko, his main competitor. That is why Mr. Kuzio, as a supporter of the former Ukrainian PM, had to retort some uncomfortable questions.

Andy Semotiuk, an attorney from LA, gave an impressive lecture entitled "If You Don't Know where You Came from, You Cannot Know where You are Going. What Can Be Learned from Ukrainian History? What Can Be Learned from the Foreign Experience?" His presentation was full of emotional and thought-provoking moments, which will surely be imprinted in the memory of the conference participants. For example, he explained how, while visiting Ukraine during the time of the USSR, his relatives had to take him to an open country field – and even there they felt the need to whisper in his ear – to speak about their relatives who belonged to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Bohdan Vitvitsky, whom most of the CUPPers know at least in absentia because they wrote assignments based on his essay about the Ukrainian language to get into the program, spoke on "Patriotism, Facts, History, Learning from Others, and Who vs. What." He was somewhat critical of the current Ukrainian society, saying Ukrainians sometimes do things that can't be explained from a rational viewpoint. Having worked for two years at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv on an anti-corruption project, he was very convincing. In the course of his presentation, he inserted a short quiz, trying to catch the alumni in their ignorance of some important facts from Ukrainian history. Fortunately, the CUPPers are not just average Ukrainian students, so they were quick to answer. However, Mr. Vitvitsky did suggest reading more books.

The conference was also a good opportunity for those interested in Ukraine to communicate with young Ukrainians: the conference premises were full of such people.

Mr. Ihor Bardyn, the CUPP director, with whom the alumni have developed almost a family bond, concluded the conference. One of the speakers expressed an idea that each democratic society must have three constituents: a strong opposition, free mass media, and a developed civil society. Ukraine seems to have the first two. The third one, the most difficult to achieve and the most important, is still in a nascent state. In his closing remarks, Mr. Bardyn expressed hope that the conference of these current

and future leaders of Ukraine, who influence their respective fields and environment, would be a small but considerable step in building the civil society in Ukraine. Since the Washington Conference was the first in the series of the CUPP conferences, the partici-

pants suggested recommendations for subsequent conferences.

The second conference will take place in Ottawa, Ontario on October 2010 and will focus on the state, its electoral system, its integration into the Euro-Atlantic Community and its

relations with the EU, Russia and the USA. The Third Conference is scheduled to take place in Kyiv in November 2011 and will focus on combining the deliberations of the first two conferences to create a Model.

In the pictures:



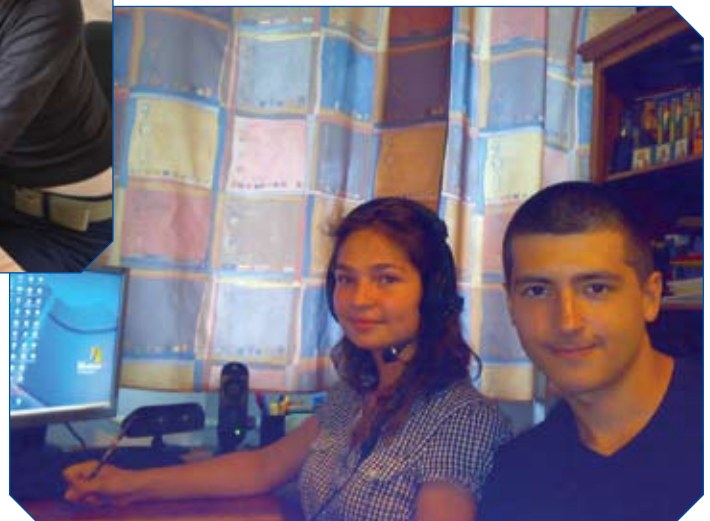
Getting ready for a group picture. In the center below – Professor Henry Hale, Director of the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies.



Taras Kuzio speaks about Ukrainian Presidential election.



Olha Shudrak, CUPP'10; Yaryna Kobel, CUPP'08; Bohdan Kushpler and Solomiia Bobrovska, CUPP'10 at Western Ukrainian Telemedicine Center in Lviv during CUPP Skype Meeting.



Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference Skype Meeting, Simferopol, June 26.

Меценатам / Thank You Donors

Дорогі друзі Канадсько-Української Парламентської Програми,

«Ні про що не турбуватись, ні за чим не турбуватись – значить, не жити, а бути мертвим, адже турбота – рух душі, а життя – се рух», – стверджував відомий український філософ Григорій Сковорода. Ваше рішення підтримати найбільш здібних молодих українців на їхньому шляху до професійного та особистісного розвитку стало виявом особливої турботи. Адже сприяючи КУПП, Ви дбаєте не лише про долі кількадесят індивідів, а передусім – про Україну, її демократичний поступ і гідне майбуття серед Європейської спільноти!

Jean-Baptiste Moliere, a prominent French playwright, claimed: "Every good act is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter is the good that he does in this world to his fellows." Your personal commitment in providing students from Ukraine with a life-time opportunity to complete an internship in Canada's Parliament was incredibly helpful and contributed to the educational goal of the program. Thanks to this good act on Your behalf, two generations of young Ukrainians were able to learn and observe the very best of the Western policy-making practices. We are convinced that this valuable professional and personal experience and education will someday be 'imported and take root' into Ukrainian soil, to ensure our country's bright future!

Since the 18th Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program which took place in the fall of 2008, CUPP has received the following donation:

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VERYHA, Wasyl	\$ 100.00
WITER, Andrew	\$ 100.00
WYNNYCKYJ, Roman & LIALKA, Marika	\$ 100.00



by Ihor BARDYN

Will CUPP survive till 2030?

Ukrainians in the Diaspora have demonstrated capable skills of survival as dynamic societies in their countries of settlement during the 19th & 20th centuries.

They managed to successfully integrate into those societies and establish strong foundations in religious, educational, cultural, business and community-volunteer fields.

The pioneers of the Diaspora were guided by instincts of survival and not necessarily of vision. Ukraine's national anthem reflects this focus on survival and is indicative of the history of the ancestral homeland. Given the bitter and frequent intrusions history has made into the lives of many generations of Ukrainians, it is understandable.

But in 1991 history took an unexpected turn and uncovered a country, a nation and a society which now needed not only instincts of survival but the power of vision and forward thinking.

In 1991 independent Ukraine came out of the state of subservience and domination by Russia and Russification and needed to refocus itself unto the path of a democratic, civil society, western oriented country. In the area of governance it was almost entirely dependent on outside help. Ukraine's teachers from elementary school to university were all Soviet trained. Ukraine's politicians were all Communist regimented. Ukraine's population was to a great degree sovietised, with only the few understanding the precepts of democratic government and civil society.

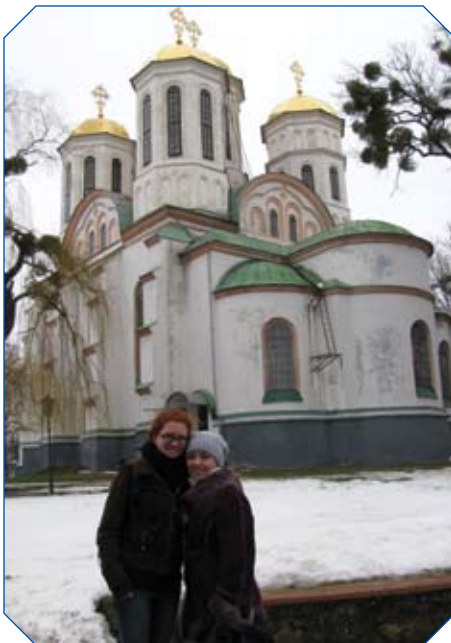
The Ukrainian Diaspora sprang into action with many projects and programs of assistance. Most if not all were focussed on current needs and survival. Most if not all such programs

provided assistance in areas other than the education of a new generation which could steer the country unto the democratic path.

But what was crucially needed was a program to educate the next generation of Ukrainians on democratic governance and give them an opportunity to observe the operation of a normal democratic government and society.

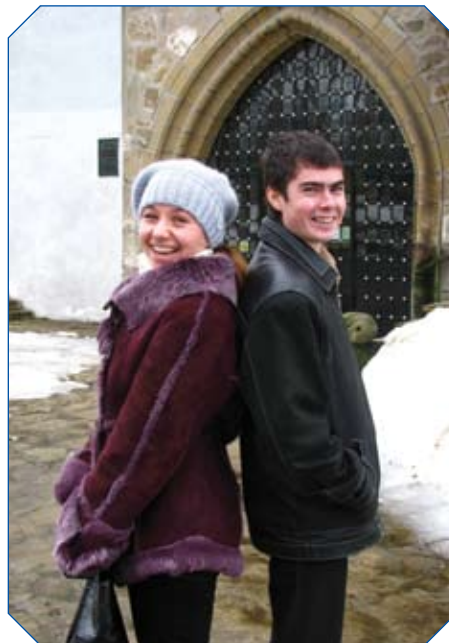
CUPP provided that opportunity. With the backing and vision of Canadian families Mazurenko, Humeniuk, Hlynka, Hrynyk, Malanchuk, Sukniarsky, Wrzesnewskyj, Stashuk, Yaremko, Fedyna, Siecinsky, Obal, Loboda, Kereliuk, Hordienko, Makuch, Bazylewych, Telizyn, Fischer-Slysh, Bardyn an Endowment Fund of almost 1 million dollars was donated for the purposes of awarding scholarships to university students from Ukraine to come to the Canadian Parliament for an Internship and learn and observe the operation of a democratic government. The Endowment Fund produced interest earnings which paid for the complete costs of bringing the students to Ottawa during the first 10 years. In the new century the earnings began to run short of paying for the costs and deficits began to grow. The deficits now make it impossible to continue with the program. Travel, accommodation, food, medical coverage, transportation costs in 2010 are not what they were in 1991 or 2001. And so the CUPP 2011 program will be the last program, unless the Endowment Fund is replenished and doubled from its original amount.

Will CUPP survive until 2030? Only if the Diaspora recognizes the needs of Ukraine, accepts that it has a stake in the development of the ancestral homeland as a democratic western country and replenishes the Endowment Fund for CUPP. Then CUPP will survive and young Ukrainians will continue to develop a vision for their country.



L to R: Iryna Bilonizhka, C'09 (University of Lviv) and Kateryna Kozachok, C'08 (Ostroh University).

In Ostroh, in front of Bohoyavlenska Tserkva, built in the 16th century.



L to R: Winter in Ostroh. Iryna Kozachok, C'09 (Ostroh University) and Yaroslav Kovalchuk, C'08 (Ostroh University)

in front of Murovana Tower, the oldest building in Ostroh, 1386.

EDUCATION ✧ OCBITA

Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program

What Learnings are Interns Taking Back to Ukraine?

Since Ukraine's independence, some of its university students have been interning, a few months each year, with Canada's parliamentarians in Ottawa to experience how Canada governs. NASHA DOROHA's Editor spent a wonderful half-day with 25 interns discussing change, in general, and how Canada changed them. Meet some of these well-spoken, trilingual, even quadrilingual young people who have agreed to share their thoughts with you.

Yaroslav KOVALOHUK

- CUPP '09 Coordinator, University of Ostroh (National University of Ostroh Academy)
- Dopomoha Ukraini Foundation Scholarship
- Intern to Tilly O'NEILL-GORDON, MP, Miramichi, New Brunswick

Одним з найважливіших уроків, які я взяв для себе з участі у КУПП, є усвідомлення того, що навіть одна людина має важелі впливу для того, щоб змінити свою громаду, свою країну, а відтак і світ навколо себе на краще. Потрібно лише правильно вибирати засоби. Коментар, залишений на форумі, офіційне звернення до політика, який представляє твої інтереси в парламенті, стаття у друкованому виданні чи навіть проста розмова з друзями – це все має вплив на оточуючих, адже думка матеріальна і якщо вона вже висловлена, вона продовжує жити своїм життям, змінюючи, навіть якщо у невеликих масштабах, світ навколо. Кажуть, що помах крил метелика в одній частині світу можуть спричинити ураган в іншій. Людина не метелик і її дії, особливо якщо вони добре виважені та мають підтримку з боку однодумців, можуть спровокувати щось набагато більше, ніж просто атмосферне явище. Вони можуть проникнути в серця людей, підняти бурю в їх головах та об'єднати їх під стягом однієї ідеї – ідеї розбудови своєї країни та забезпечення добробуту свого народу.

Iryna BILONIZHKA

- University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv), Faculty of International Relations
- Malanchuk Family Scholarship
- Intern to James BEZAN, MP, Selkirk-Interlake, Manitoba

Найціннішим здобутком життя за кордоном є різниця – культурна, духовна, економічна, політична, психологічна. Перебування всередині цієї різниці спонукає задуматись і переосмислити себе і довколишніх, дає можливість побачити світ через іншу призму. Канада змінила мій світогляд і трансформувала моє відношення до людей і речей – відкритість і щирість і водночас невидима межа, за яку тебе, чужинця, ніколи не впускають, але якою й ніколи не хизуватимуться. Нам, українцям, бракує цієї ненастороженої відкритості і виваженої обмеженості. Ми занадто ширі і відверті, але інколи не знаємо межі. Треба навчитись ставити її – непомітно, невимушено, але впевнено, не ображаючи і викликаючи довіру.

Oleksiy BOHUN

- University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)
- Antin Hlynka Scholarship
- Intern to Dean DEL MASTRO, MP, Peterborough, Ontario

From the enormous experience I gathered here in Canada I would like to take some things with me back to Ukraine and be able to implement them in my

Home Country: democracy, freedom of speech, the transparency of the parliament, dialogue between government and opposition, and the attitude toward subordinates.

Evhenia VIATOHANINOVA

- University of Kyiv (NTSU of Kyiv)
- Antonina and William Bazylewych Scholarship
- Intern to Hon. Jason KENNEY, MP, Calgary Southeast, Alberta

I never imagined that some Canadian MPs do not own cars and get to work on foot. Nor could I ever have fancied that parliamentarians' dachas in the Crimea or Carpathian mountains would 'beat' in luxury the Quebec residence of the Governor General. In Ukraine, our parliamentarians seem to be gods ruling 'mere mortals': in addition to high allowances, they enjoy immunity that encompasses luxurious state-owned cars, as well as security and innumerable residential possessions provided by law.

Members of parliament should serve people and be accountable for every deed they do.

Khrystyna HUDYMA

- Lviv Polytechnic National University
- Humeniuk Family Scholarship
- Intern to Cheryl GALLANT, MP, Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke, Ontario

Among the extremely valuable experiences I obtained during my internship in the House of Commons – the key

political learning I would like to transfer from Canada to Ukraine – is that MPs are elected officials obliged to represent their electors in the best way possible. Otherwise, they will pay a very high price.

Sofiya YEVCHUK

- Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University
- John & Julia Stashuk Scholarship
- Intern to Hon. Maria MINNA, MP, Toronto, Ontario

I think that probably the most dramatic change in my personality that took place after my coming to Canada was the attitude to immigration. Earlier I thought that moving to another country you have to assimilate completely with the locals to become accepted to a new community. Having met many representatives of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Ottawa I have got to know that



Members of CUPP Class 2009 with Oksana Bashuk Hepburn, Editor ND and former executive and Ken Hepburn, former Sr. Assistant Deputy Minister. Both were with the Government of Canada.

It costs about \$5,000 to sponsor an intern. Due to the shortage of funds, CUPP is being substantially cut back next year. And fewer Ukrainian students will be able to benefit from the Canadian experience. All interns receive a Canadian-sponsored scholarship. If you wish to be a sponsor, please contact Ihor Bardyn, CUPP Director. Also, if any of the MPs who have accepted the Ukrainians as interns in their parliament offices are from your riding, please call them, or write, to thank them for this gesture of good Canada-Ukraine relations. For more information visit www.KATEDRA.org

it is possible to live in Canada preserving your originally native religion, customs, traditions and find friends among other Ukrainians here. I am

not planning to leave Ukraine; still, it is very important for me to know that there is a country where a person can move to.



Meeting in Los Angeles at the University of California at Los Angeles. L to R: Ihor Bardyn; Olya Halyabar, C'04; Lucy Hicks; Oleksandr Pankiv, C'08; Antin Kushnir, C'03.



CUPP 2010 & Ottawa MODEL UKRAINE Conference Skype Meeting June 26; Uzhorod. Yurii Medentsii (Uzhorod National University) & Olha Sorokivska (Lviv Polytechnic University).



Andriy Oleniuk (Georgetown University) and Oleksandr Pankiv (Boston University) at Grand Canyon, USA.

CUPP Alumni Pursuing Graduate Studies

Artem SHYRKOSZHUHOV
CUPP 2005

Kyiv International University
2005 Mazurenko Family Scholarship
graduating from Oxford in 2010

Anna YABLONSKA
CUPP 2006, CUPP 2009 Coordinator
Eastern Ukrainian University
2006 Mazurenko Family Scholarship
Currently studying at University of Ottawa. Will be graduating in 2011.

Kateryna BONDAR – CUPP 2008
Kyiv Mohyla University
2008 Edward Schreyer Scholarship
Skovoroda Scholarship- pursuing
studies at Harvard University Law
School

Oksana HOBA – CUPP 2008
Ivan Franko University of Lviv (International Economics)
2008 Yuriy & Oksana Fedyna Scholarship
Currently doing MA in Communication in University of Ottawa. Will be graduating in 2011.

Yaroslav KOVALCHUK
CUPP 2008, CUPP 2009 Coordinator
University of Ostroh
2009 Dopomoha Ukraini Foundation
Scholarship
Erasmus Mundus Scholar, University of Algarve, Portugal, 2010-2012
PhD in Political Linguistics

Oleksiy BOHUN – CUPP 2009
University of Kyiv
2009 Antin Hlynka Scholarship
pursuing studies at University of Konstanz, Germany
Khrystyna HUDYMA – CUPP 2009
Lviv Polytechnic University

2009 Mazurenko Family Scholarship
pursuing studies at University of Saskatchewan

Iryna KRASNOSHTAN
CUPP 2009, CUPP 2010 Coordinator
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2009 Senator Raynell Andreychuk
Scholarship
pursuing studies at College of Europe, Natolin Campus, Poland

Khrystyna SOROKIVSKA
CUPP 2009
University of Lviv
2009 John and Myroslava Yaremko
Scholarship
pursuing studies for Erasmus Mundus
Master in Transnational Trade Law
and Finance, 2010-2012

Valeria SHVEDIUK – CUPP 2009
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2009 Ramon Hnatyshyn Scholarship

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2005 Secretary of
the State Council
for European and
Euro-Atlantic
Integration, in
2006 Deputy
Chairman of the
International
Relations
Committee,
Member of
Parliament from
the Party of
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Romanyshyn
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Chornovil
(Ukrainian
politician,
independent
member of Party
of Regions block in the Verhovna Rada) and Taras Hayun at the Economic Forum in Krynica (Poland 2009).*



pursuing studies at BI Norwegian
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Scholarship
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University of Lviv
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ych Scholarship
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