



NEWSLETTER

CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM
PROGRAMME PARLEMENTAIRE CANADA-UKRAINE
ПАРЛАМЕНТАРНА ПРОГРАМА КАНАДА-УКРАЇНА

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

AUTUMN 2011 Issue 1

CUPP in Third Decade!

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Contact Us
Chair of Ukrainian
Studies Foundation
620 Spadina Avenue
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M5S 2H4
Tel.: (416) 234-9111
Fax: (416) 234-9114
www.KATEDRA.org



Oxford Model Ukraine Conference 2011, New College University of Oxford.

KNEELING Left to Right: Oleksandr Ruzhytskyi (Lviv), Yuriy Lubkovych C'09, Serhiy Burnus (Reading University), Ivan Matveichenko C'10, Oleksandr Pankiv C'08, Petro Marets C'09. **STANDING** Left to Right: Nazar Bobitsky C'94, Olha Nychay C'97, Andy Hunder (London), Roman Tashleetsky C'02, Iryna Timkina C'08, Solomiya Borshosh C'10, Volodymyr Venher C'10, Daniel Bazylewych C'10, Ihor Bardyn, Iryna Krutenko C'10, Aishe Memetova C'10, Olya Sorokivska C'10, Andriy Kril C'10, Stanislava Tsarkova C'10, Anatili Dzeman C'11, Olya Halyabar C'04, Yaroslav Kovalchuk C'08, Anatoliy Mintenko C'11, Zhenia Viatchaninova C'09, Vasyl Lenko C'11, Nazar Kholod, Yuriy Lukanov (Kyiv), Andriy Tustanivskyy (Kyiv), Taras Kuzio (Toronto), Nazar Fedorchuk C'00, Khrystyna Oliarchuk (Kyiv), Oxana Pachlovska (Rome).

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 2011, in the 21st year of CUPP's operation, 35 students will arrive from Ukraine, Germany, Italy, UK and Russia 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 in the Third Decade

By Ihor BARDYN

CUPP founder and director



Welcome to the 2011 Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program Newsletter, Issue # 1. The CUPP Internship program has entered its third decade of operation in the House of Commons.

Each year, since 1991 university students from Canada, Ukraine, the Diasporas of Armenia, Azerbaijani, Georgia, Western Europe and this year for the first time from Russia, have come to Ottawa to experience Canadian democratic governance from inside of Parliament Hill.

As Interns, the students work for Members of Parliament from the Government and Opposition benches in the House and Senate. They regularly meet with the Speakers of the House of Commons and the Senate, Cabinet Ministers, MPs of all parties, key government officials such as the Auditor General, Ethics Commissioner, and journalists of the Commons press corps. The students have access to the diplomatic community of Ottawa through regular meetings with representatives of the Embassies of France, Germany, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

In addition by meetings with Crown Corporations, the Supreme Court of Canada, NGO's, Canadian Banks, IT companies and other Canadian institutions the students are exposed to leaders of government and industry and representatives of Canada's public and private sectors.

For 21 years, each Autumn and in some years in both the Spring and Autumn Sitzings of Parliament, as well as during Federal and Provincial Election campaigns, the

students are given a unique and privileged opportunity to work in Parliament, contributing directly to Canadian public life, sharing with the MPs and others information about Ukraine, discussing Canada-Ukraine relations, studying the Canadian Parliamentary and elections systems and comparing these with their own.

Some of the students complete an additional Internship in Verkhovna Rada (Ukraine's Parliament), the Bundestag (Germany's Parliament), The European Parliament in Strasbourg and are able to make an informed comparison and evaluation of the changes needed to be made to Ukraine's parliamentary and election system to make it more representative and transparent.

The Canadian Internship is a unique learning experience and for many a life changing experience. Their educators and most of their Members of Parliament are Soviet era schooled and trained. These soviet era teachers and politicians are not able to pass on to the new generation precepts of parliamentary democracy, Rule of Law, civil society or democratic and free market principles from personal knowledge or experience. And to learn about these important elements of an open and normal society the students of Ukraine must be exposed and given the opportunity to work in Canada's Parliament.

Over 700 students from Ukraine and the Diasporas have had the opportunity to come to Parliament Hill. They have learned important lessons about western democracy and acquired new life skills. They enriched the knowledge of MPs and all whom they have met, about

Ukraine and the aspirations of the new generation of Ukrainians who are struggling to move out of the Soviet mindset. All Interns have returned to their homes and universities to complete their degrees and have started to make their own contributions to the development of their homeland.

Some of the Canadian trained students have continued their education and development in public life by working in the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, the World Bank in Washington and London, the IMF in Washington, the Bundestag in Berlin, Verkhovna Rada, the European Parliament in Strasbourg, and universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Amsterdam, Harvard, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, McGill, Western Ontario, Boston, George Washington, Chicago, Columbia, Berlin, Maastricht, Warsaw, Vienna, Algarve, Edinburgh, Bocconi, Pennsylvania, London, LSE, Trento, Deusto, Texas, Brandeis, Geneva, Paris, Leuven, Lugano, Dundee and other prominent centres of learning.

Canada has given a new generation of young Ukrainians a springboard and armed them with expertise to return to Ukraine and make changes. This new generation of Canadian trained and western educated individuals can now make Canada proud by sharing their knowledge, energy and initiative with their peers in Ukraine for the benefit of their homeland.

CUPP Interns



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Jaroslava BARBIERI

Born in Cremona, Italy

"Sapienza" University of Rome was established in 1303. Faculty of Philosophy, Arts, Humanities and Oriental Studies; Department of Philosophy

Motto of University: *Il futuro è passato qui.*

– *Майбутнє побувало тут. – The future has passed through here. – L'avvenir est passé par ici.*

Foreign languages: English, Italian, Russian and French.

2011 Anna Mazurenko Scholarship Recipient
Intern to Justin Trudeau, MP for Papineau, Québec

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Italy:

Fontana di Trevi in Rome. It is simply the triumph of Italy's artistic beauty and heritage. Every time I pass by its extraordinary architecture moves me. The marble talks to you and inspires you to respond with your aesthetic sense. And at the corner of this grandeur you find a vase that explicitly does not fit into the general architecture: it was placed there by the architect Salvi so that a curious and troublesome barber who had his shop close by could stop peeping at the fountain and criticizing it. I find it very amusing and fascinating that even behind the genius of Italian artists there were also ordinary men with their everyday bore.

Last book read: "Psychiatric Power" by *Michel Foucault*

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Марную день на пошуки незримої німої суті в сутінках понять.

Шалене слово загнуждавши римою, влітаю в ніч. Слова мене п'янять

Я – алкоголік страченої суті, її Сізіф, алхімік і мурах.

Мої слова, у чоботи не взуті, спливають кров'ю на її тернах.

Вони горять і валяться, як вежі.

А потім їх обмацують сліпці.

І що ж, так наче й не було пожежі

і тільки жменька попелу в руці. (Ліна Костенко)

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Be aware of your limits as well as of your possibilities – Socrates

Favourite music recording: While my guitar gently weeps – The Beatles (author: George Harrison).



Iuliia BONDARENKO

Born in Shkotovo-22, Russian Federation

Hometown: Vinnytsia

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

Faculty of Economics. Department of Economic Theory. Consumer Behaviour.

Motto of University: *Tempus fugit, Academia sempiterna. – Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська академія – вічна. – Time passes. Kyiv-Mohyla Academy is eternal.*

Foreign languages: English, German, Russian.

2011 Dr. Maria Fischer Slysh Scholarship recipient

Intern to Ed Komarnicki, MP for Souris-Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The 1,543 meters long **Paton Bridge**, built in 1953, is the longest of the Dnipro River bridges in Kyiv. It was the first fully welded steel construction of such length in the world to the date of completion and it was the longest bridge in Europe at that time. The bridge was named after Yevhen Paton, the famous civil engineer who developed the technology for the structure. Bustling with automobile traffic each morning and aesthetically pleasing in the evening's city lights, the Paton Bridge is a symbol of unity commemorated on

Sobornist Day (Unity Day, celebrated January 22).

Last book read: "Profession" by Isaac Asimov

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Хай же промінь твоїх думок поміж нами сяє, – огню іскра великого повік не згасає. Леся Українка

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Just living is not enough; one must have sunshine, freedom and a little flower – Hans Christian Andersen

My favourite musical recording: Scorpions –

Maybe I Maybe You.

Last book read: Stefan Zweig "Maria Stuart"

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Єдиний, хто не втомлюється, – час. Ліна Костенко

Нема там добра, де нема правди. Пантелеймон Куліш

Favourite quote by foreign author:

I'm a great believer in luck, and I find the harder I work, the more I have of it – Thomas Jefferson

My favourite musical recording: Okean Elzy "Cradle of the Wind", Mad Heads XL "Nadiya ye".



Oksana DEKHTIAROVA

Born in Luhansk, Ukraine

Hometown: Luhansk

University of Luhansk (Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University was established in 1921). Faculty of Foreign Languages, Department of Translation Studies.

University of Flensburg was established in 1946. International Institute of Management. M.A. in European Studies.

Motto of University of Luhansk: *Постійний успіх, рух уперед, динаміка й розвиток!* - *Constant success, moving forward, dynamics and development!*

Foreign languages: English, Russian, German, Polish – basic, Chinese – basic.

Dr. Roman & Barbara Humeniuk Scholarship Recipient

Intern to Harold Albrecht, MP for Kitchener-Conestoga, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Sviatohirsk Lavra (the Sviatohirsk Cave Monastery) is located on Sviatohirsk or Holy Hill on the right bank of the Siverskiy Donetsk River. The first monks to settle around the area were in the 14th-15th centuries. Originally it was a cave monastery artificially made inside the white lime rock. In 2004 the monastery was officially granted the status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Lavra.



Anatolii DZEMAN

Born in: Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) was established in 1834. Faculty of Economics, Department of Finance and Credit

Motto of University: *Utilitas Honour et Gloria.*

– *Корисність, честь та слава.* – *Utility, Honour and Glory*

Foreign languages: English, Russian, German.

2011 Edward Schreyer Scholarship recipient

Intern to Judy Sgro, MP for York West, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Prince Volodymyr Monument, the grand statue of Volodymyr with the cross in his right hand and Prince's cap in the left hand standing atop a granite pedestal. Prince Volodymyr introduced Christianity to Kyivan Rus in 988. This is the first sculptured monument dedicated to Volodymyr in Kyiv, in 1853. It is situated on the hillside of Volodymyr's Hill and overlooks the Dnipro River.. Volodymyr with his family and close relatives were baptised in December 987 and thereafter all pagan idols were ordered destroyed. During Volodymyr's reign as ruler of Kyivan Rus the first schools and many churches were built. For example, the Church of the Tithes was built during his reign. After the adoption of Christianity as the official religion such powerful states such as the Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, and Germany became more closely allied with Kievan Rus' in

political, cultural, religious, and commercial relations. Volodymyr expanded the borders of Kyivan Rus' and turned it into one of the most powerful states in Eastern Europe.

Last book read: "The Grand Chessboard" by Zbigniew Brzezinski

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Страшно впасти у кайдани,
Умирать в неволі,
А ще гірше – спати, спати
І спати на волі... Тарас Шевченко
Без бажання все важке, навіть найлегше. Григорій Сковорода

Favourite quote by foreign author:

A pessimist sees the difficulty in every opportunity;
an optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty
– Winston Churchill

Anyone who has never made a mistake has never
tried anything new – Albert Einstein

My favourite musical recording:

Queen – The Show Must Go On
Scorpions – Wind of Change
Океан Ельзи – Веселі, брате, часи настали.



Anastasiia FILIPIUK

Born in Chernivtsi, Ukraine

Hometown: Chernivtsi

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

Faculty of training of lawyers for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Motto of University: Vivat Lex! – Long Live the Law! – Хай живе закон!

Foreign languages: English, French, German (basic), Russian

2011 Antin Hlynka Scholarship recipient

Intern to Stephen Woodworth MP for Kitchener Centre, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Residence of Bukovynian Metropolitans in Chernivtsi is a masterpiece of architecture built to the design of Czech architect Josef Hlavka in 1864-1882.

The residence is an outstanding monument in many aspects: urban, architectural, artistic, engineering and technological. The Orthodox Metropolitan's Residence was the biggest orthodox centre in South-Eastern Europe in its time. Its architecture combines historical traditions from the Byzantine Empire, the Roman period of monastic construction, the brick Gothic of Central and North-Eastern Europe as well as displays elements of the Baroque period. The architectural spatial characteristics of the Residence were the reason it was called the 'Miracle of the East'. After the Residence was built Chernivtsi got the metaphorical name 'Jerusalem on the river Prut'. On October 4, 1875 in the former Residence of Bukovynian Metropolitans, Yuriy Fedkovych National University of Chernivtsi was established. On June 27, 2011 the architectural compound of the Residence was included on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

Last book read: "The Reader" by Bernhard Schlink

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Коли в людини є народ, тоді вона уже людина. Ліна Костенко

Він вважав себе щасливим. І цього було цілком достатньо, щоб він ним був. Богдана Пінчевська

Favourite quote by foreign author:

As we grow up, we learn that even the one person that wasn't supposed to ever let you down probably will. You will have your heart broken probably more than once and it's harder every time. You'll fight with your best friend. You'll cry because time is passing too fast, and you'll eventually lose someone you love. So take too many pictures, laugh too much, and love like you've never been hurt because every sixty seconds you spend upset is a minute of happiness you'll never get back. Don't be afraid that your life will end, be afraid that it will never begin! (from the song "Beached" by the British band Orbital)

Favourite musical recording: Карна – Моя мила (Karna – My darling).



Ukrainian Youth Club in Moscow students at Shevchenko Monument in Moscow, near Kyiv'ska Metro Station.



Maryna IAROSHEVYCH

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

Maastricht University was established in 1976.

Master in European Studies.

Motto of University: “Leading in Learning”

Kyiv Institute for the Humanities was established in 1994. Bachelor in International Relations

Foreign languages: English, German, French, Spanish

2011 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship Recipient

Intern to Piere Lemieux, MP for Glengarry – Prescott – Russell, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: Often referred to as “Kyivan Montmartre”,

Andriyivs'kiy Uzviz is a 720 meters long descent connecting Kyiv's Upper Town and the historically commercial Podil neighborhood. Nowadays, recreated in ancient style, Andriyivs'kiy Uzviz is a host to many open-air exhibitions of painting, souvenirs, antiques and products of national craftsmanship. The descent is constructed of laid cobblestones and winds down steeply around the Zamkova Hora hill, ending near the Kontraktova Square. It is marked by a whole range of historic landmarks, beginning with a monument dedicated to Pronya Prokopivna Sirkova and Svirid Petrovich Golokhvastov, characters of the cinema version of Mikhaïlo Staritskiy Play “After Two Hares” and ending with the “One Street Museum” containing more than 6,500 exhibits. Other attractions include the Castle of Richard the Lion Heart, the 18th century baroque Saint Andrew's Church, the famed Russian writer Mikhaïlo Bulgakov's house followed by lamenting sculpture of the Ukrainian most renowned poet Taras Shevchenko.

Last book read: “The Making of Modern Britain” by Andrew Marr

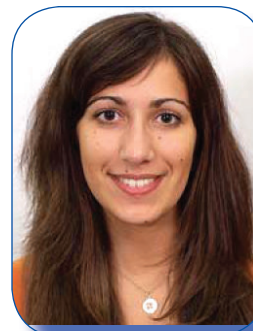
Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Мало нас, та се – дарма;
Міцна віра рушить скали...
Тим загибелі нема,
Кому світять ідеали!
Павло Грабовський

Favourite quote by foreign author:

An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest. Benjamin Franklin

Favourite musical recording: T. Shilova - “Ballade about three brothers”.



Rimma El JOUEIDI

Born in Zaporizhia, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

Kyiv Polytechnic University (National Technical University of Ukraine “Kyiv Polytechnic Institute” was established in 1898) Institute for Applied System Analysis

Foreign languages: English, Russian

2011 John Sopinka Scholarship recipient

Intern to Peggy Nash, MP for Parkdale – High Park, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Golden Gate is a unique architectural fortification, which was constructed between 1017-1024 and served as the main grand entrance to Kyiv. The name Golden Gate reminds us of the famous entrance gate to Constantinople. The ruler of Kyivan-Rus Yaroslav the Wise wanted to demonstrate to the world that his country was as powerful as the Byzantine Empire. With the great tower gate and the Church of the Annunciation the structures delighted contemporaries and terrified enemies who recognized the gates inaccessibility. The Golden Gate witnessed many important historical events and after its restoration is open to the public today.

Last book read: “Doctor Zhivago” by Boris Pasternak

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Так! я буду крізь сльози сміятись,
Серед лиха співати пісні,
Без надії таки сподіватись,
Буду жити! Геть думи сумні!
Леся Українка

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts. Winston Churchill
Being powerful is like being a lady. If you have to tell people you are, you aren't. Margaret Thatcher
The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams. Eleanor Roosevelt

My favourite musical recording: Gloria Gaynor – I will survive.

**Nataliya KALYN**

Born in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine

Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University

(opened on August 26, 1992 on the grounds of Stanislav Pedagogical Institute which was established in 1940)

Department of Tourism.

Motto of University: *Європейський за змістом, національний за духом. – European by content, national by mindset.*

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University

(established on 4 October 1875 by Emperor Franz Josef and in 1989 named after the famous Ukrainian writer Yuriy Fed'kovych)

Department of History, Political Science and International Relations

Motto of the University: *Vivat Academia! – Long live the academy! – Хай живе університет!*

Foreign languages: English, Russian – fluent; German, French, Polish – reading/writing.

2011 John & Myroslava Yaremko Scholarship recipient

Intern to Joyce Bateman, MP for Winnipeg South

Centre, Manitoba**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Together with the city of Lviv, Chernivtsi is today considered to be cultural centers of western Ukraine. The city is also considered to be one of Ukraine's greatest modern cultural and educational centers. Historically, as a cultural and architectural center, Chernivtsi was once dubbed 'Little Vienna', 'Jerusalem on the Prut' and the 'European Alexandria.'

Theater Square in Chernivtsi is a harmonious architectural ensemble with a small public garden in the centre. Silvery fir-trees and colourful flower beds with blooming roses create the perfect atmosphere for relaxation, and in the evening tourists are attracted by the "Avenue of Stars" dedicated to outstanding artists whose careers began in Chernivtsi. The pearl of Theater Square is the Olga Kobylanska Drama Theater, built in 1904-1905 by renowned architects Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer, masterminds of 48 theaters and houses throughout Europe, including the Odesa Opera as well as Ballet Theatres in Vienna, Sofia and other cultural centers of Europe. Equally attractive are the buildings of the Jewish National House (now the Culture Palace) and the Romanian People's House (now the Officers' House). On the opposite side of the square, surrounded by the twin houses is the old Chamber of Commerce (currently it is Bukovyna National Medical University).

Last book read: "Ukrainian madman's notes" by Lina Kostenko**Favourite quotes by Ukrainian author:**

Poetry by Lina Kostenko. For example:

*І якби на те моя воля,
написала б я скрізь курсивами:
– Так багато на світі горя,
люди, будьте взаємно красивими!
І все на світі треба пережити,
бо кожен фініш-це, по сумі, старт.
І наперед не треба ворожити,
І за минулим плакати не варт.*

Favourite quotes by foreign authors:

On ne voit bien qu'avec le cœur. L'essentiel est invisible pour les yeux. (Here is my secret. It is very simple: It is only with the heart that one can see rightly; what is essential is invisible to the eye)

- Antoine de Saint Exupéry

Carpe diem. (Seize the day) – Epicurean motto

My favourite musical recordings:

Diana Krall – A Case of You (live in Paris)

Idiot Pilot – Recurring Dream

Yann Tiersen – Ameli OST.



Olesia KOMPANIETS

Born in Nova Kakhovka, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv was established in 1843). Faculty of International Relations

Motto of University: «Корисність, Честь і Слава» - Utility Honor and Glory – “Utilitas Honor et Gloria”

Foreign languages: English, German, Japanese, Russian

2011 Ramon Hnatyshyn Scholarship recipient
Intern to Shelly Glover, MP for Saint Boniface, Manitoba

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Askania-Nova (Ukrainian – Асканія-Нова). Askania-Nova is a state reserve which was founded in 1874 by landlord Friedrich Falz-Fein in the village Askania-Nova, Kherson region, Ukraine. Friedrich Falz-Fein set the goal of preserving diversity of wildlife. In 1887 he established the Botanical Garden in order to save and study the nature of virgin steppe, acclimatize and explore possible larger number of animals and plants that have national economic importance. Then the zoo and botanical garden were greatly expanded. At present the area of the reserve are protected steppe, acclimatization Zoo and Park.

Biosphere Reserve Askania-Nova is a unique place. There is the only one in Europe area of steppe, which has never been touched by a plow (once dug steppe is never restored). Also one can enjoy the open air museum: there preserved single ancient burial mounds, stone Scythian women, created by ancient sculptors. The reserve covers an area of 11 thousand hectares. Adjacent to the forest, the park with artificial ponds and canals is home to many animals and birds. In Askania-Nova steppe grow more than 400 species of herbs and flowers, dominated by grasses.

Askania-Nova is a beautiful oasis in the middle plains of southern Ukraine, where the soul rests in the beauty and integrity of nature.

Last book read: “Nineteen Eighty-Four” by *George Orwell*, “Diplomacy” by *Henry Kissinger*
Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Борітеся — поборете!

Вам бог помагає!

За вас правда, за вас слава

І воля святая!

Тарас Шевченко «Кавказ», 1845

«Національне відродження є процесом, що має практично необмежені ресурси, бо національне почуття живе в душі кожної людини, навіть тієї, яка, здавалося б, давно померла духовно» – Валентин Мороз «Замість останнього слова», 1970

«National Revival is a process that has virtually unlimited resources, because national feeling is in the soul of every living person, even one that seemingly long dead spiritually» – Valentyn Moroz «For the Last Word», 1970

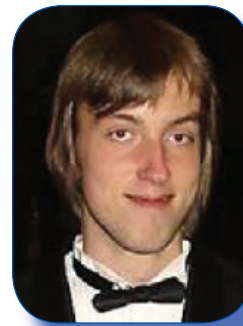
Favourite quote by foreign author:

Whatever you do, or dream you can, begin it.

Boldness has genius and power and magic in it

– Goethe

Favourite musical recording: Joe Hisaishi – The Promise of the World.



Anton KRASUN

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

University of Oxford was established in the 11th century.

Department of Sociology and St. Cross College
 Reading Master of Science in Sociology at St. Cross College. Interested in modelling of voting behaviour, centre-periphery governmental relations, politics of memory, and economic sociology.

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

Graduated with Bachelor of Arts in Sociology. Focus of study – sociology of public relations and sociology of memory.

Motto of University:

University of Oxford: Dominus Illuminatio Mea
– The Lord is my Light

Lviv Polytechnic: Litteris et artibus – Through the

Sciences and Arts – Науками й Мистецтвом

Foreign languages: English, Russian, Polish.

Josef & Maria Siecinsky Scholarship recipient

Intern to Randy Hoback, MP for Prince Albert,

Saskatchewan and to Hon. Mac Harb

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Lviv National Theatre of Opera and Ballet

was built in 1900 as an opera house in Lviv, by the architect Zygmunt Gorgolewski. It disentangles the Viennese style with the elements of Renaissance and Baroque architecture.

Last book read: “How Britain Votes” by Anthony Heath

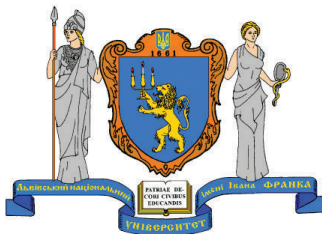
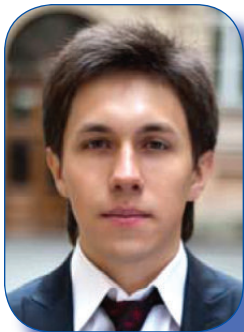
Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

It is never too late to study, but it may be late to learn
 – Leonid Sukhorukov

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Well done is better than well said – Benjamin Franklin
 Know thyself – Socrates

My favourite musical recording: Mozart – Dies Irae

**Vasyl LENKO**

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv) was established in 1661. Faculty of Applied Mathematics and Informatics, Department of Discrete Analysis and Intelligent Systems

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, Russian, German (basics)

Michael Starr Scholarship recipient

Intern to Bev Shipley, MP for Lambton-Kent-

Middlesex, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Pip Ivan observatory. At the top of Pip Ivan Mountain stand the remains of a former Polish astronomic observatory, an unfinished construction from 1936. The Observatory walls are made of limestone blocks to a thickness of 1,5 m on the level of the underground floor and 1m at the ground and first floor levels. It is a two-storied construction on the East perimeter and a five-storied construction on the West perimeter to conform to the natural slope of the land. The two tier sloped roof was covered with copper plates. The telescope was located in the rotunda, which faced south. Building materials were brought from the railway station of the town of Vorokhta through forest paths, with the help of Hutsul horses or by manual labour. Great effort was made to transfer 33 trunks of instruments and supplies with dome elements to the summit of Pip Ivan. The biggest shipment weighed 950 kg. The inauguration of the Observatory took place on July 29, 1938. When World War II started observatory workers evacuated the most valuable instruments and equipment. At the end of 1939 the construction stopped and the remains and equipment were left behind on Pip Ivan and were appropriated by the Soviet government. In May 1942, the metal components of the astrograph were moved to Lviv. To the present they have been kept in the building of the Physics Department of University of Lviv in Kyrlo and Methodij Street. One observatory was left standing but vandals removed everything of value including the dome and the copper plates on the roof. There has been no astronomic activity since. Tourists, who visit this once interesting site, arrive at the remains of a White Elephant. They wish for some basic amenities such as running water were left intact since after a vigorous and long trek up the mountain a refreshing shower would be welcome and a cherished dream. The ruins of the observatory are covered by snow for a long period of the year. That is why it is called a “White Elephant”.

Book read: “The Castle in the Pyrenees” by Jostein Gaarder

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Не потоком шумних, галасливих фраз, а тихою, невтомною працею любіть Україну! Андрей Шептицький

Добрий розум робить легким будь-який спосіб життя. Григорій Сковорода

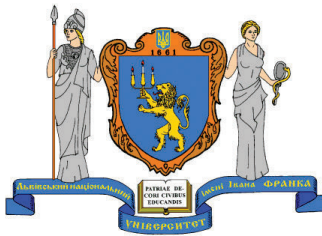
Favourite quote by foreign author:

Be yourself; everyone else is already taken – Oscar

Wilde

To get to the source, you must swim against the current – Stanislaw Lem

My favourite musical recording: Led Zeppelin
– Since I've Been Loving You



Marta LESIV

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

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

Faculty of International Relations, Chair of International Economic Relations

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, Polish, Bulgarian, Russian

2011 Dr. Yuriy & Dr. Oksana Fedyna Scholarship recipient

Intern to Corneliu Chisu, MP for Pickering-Scarborough East, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Korniakt's tower was built in 1572-1578 by the architect P. Barbon on the donations of K. Korniakt, a rich merchant of L'viv, and was named in his honour. On his order a huge bell, 2 m in diameter, was forged; it was called Kyrlyo. The tower was used as a belfry and a guardhouse. The tower is square in its foundation; it stands 65 meters high and has four levels of different heights. From its very beginning this Renaissance building dominated in the silhouette of L'viv and up until now it remains the architectural symbol of the city. Its picture was on the coat of arms of Stavropihiyske Bratstvo ('brotherhood'), a public organization of the Orthodox L'viv citizens and craftsmen, that was established at the Assumption church in the mid 16th century. The main task of the Brotherhood was to develop and promote education, culture and publishing among Ukrainian population.

Last book read: "Shirley" by *Charlotte Brontë*

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

*Найогидніші очі – порожні,
Найгрізніше мовчить гроза,
Найнікчемніші душі вельможні,
Найпідліша – брехлива сльоза. Василь Симоненко*

Страшні слова, коли вони мовчать. Л. Костенко

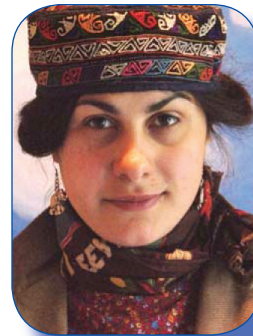
Favourite quote by foreign author:

There is pleasure in the pathless woods, there is rapture in the lonely shore, there is society where none intrudes, by the deep sea, and music in its roar; I love not Man the less, but Nature more – George Byron

Brevity is the soul of wit – William Shakespeare

My favourite musical recording: Autumn in New York, composed by Vernon Duke, performers: Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50zL8TnMBN8>



Vira MAKOVII

Born in: Drachyni, Chernivci region, Ukraine

University of Kyiv (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv). Institute of Journalism

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

Foreign languages: English, Polish, Russian

2011 Emil Telizyn Scholarship recipient

Intern to Isabelle Morin MP for Notre-Dame-DeGrace-Lachine, Quebec

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Taras Shevchenko Memorial overlooking the Dnipro River in Kaniv. Ukraine's National poet and prophet is buried here. A tall mound was erected over his tomb and a grand monument of Shevchenko dominates the memorial site in Kaniv. Thousands of visitors come to Kaniv each year to pay tribute to this most influential author whose writings formed the foundation for modern Ukrainian literature.

Book read: "Game in beads" Hermann Hesse

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

І всі ми вірили, що своїми руками
Розіб'ємо скалу, роздробимо граніт,
Що кров'ю власною і власними кістками
Твердий змуруємо гостинець і за нами
Прийде нове життя, добро нове у світ. Іван Франко

Favourite quote by foreign author:

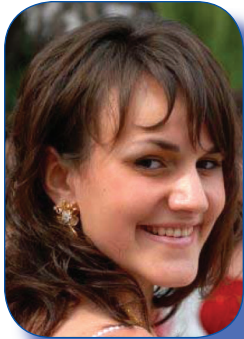
To see a world in a grain of sand,
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour.

William Blake

Favourite musical recording: Frederic Francois

Chopin – April.

<http://www.muzico.ru/index.php?m=music&q=Frederic%20Chopin%20-%20April&x=0&y=0>

**Tetyana MATSYUK**

Born in Rohatyn, Ivano-Frankivsk region
National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was established in 1615. Law School, 4th 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

2011 Malanchuk Family Scholarship recipient
Intern to Wladyslaw Lizon MP for Mississauga East – Cooksville, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Church of Holy Spirit is the historical heart of Rohatyn, my native town. This old wooden church is situated on the picturesque banks of Hnyla Lypa River. It was built in 1598 without using a single nail. In 1650, the church Brotherhood created a beautiful Renaissance and Baroque iconostasis, which is one of the three oldest iconostases in Ukraine. Nastya Lisovska was married at the Church of Holy Spirit in 1520. However, she was stolen from her wedding by Crimean Tatars during one of their frequent raids

into this region and soon became Her Imperial Majesty to The Empress consort Hürrem Sultan of the Ottoman Empire known to Europeans informally as simply **Roxolana**. From August 6, 1983 in the walls of the church there is a museum of wooden architecture and painting 16th-19th centuries, which is a subsidiary of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Art Museum.

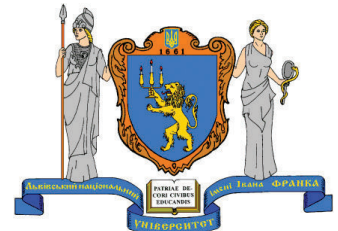
Last book read: “Martin Eden” by Jack London**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:**

...і якби на те моя воля, написала б я скрізь курсивами: – Так багато на світі горя, люди, будьте взаємно красивими! Ліна Костенко

Favourite quote by foreign author:

A pessimist sees the difficulty in every opportunity; an optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty.
Winston Churchill

My favourite musical recording: Океан Ельзи «Дякую»

**Oksana MAYBA**

Born in: Lviv, Ukraine

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv was established in 1661). Faculty of International Relations, Department of International Economic Relations

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, Polish, Russian, Swedish.

2011 William and Antonina Bazylewych Scholarship recipient

Intern to Ted Opitz, MP for Etobicoke Centre, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Fortress of Tustan is located in the village of Urich in the Carpathian Mountain district of Lviv region. Tustan was a unique medieval defensive complex between the 9th-13th centuries. It was built on a

rock formation with a height of over 50 m. Situated at a strategic geographic point it formed part of the unified Carpathian line of defence of the south-western borders of Kyivan Rus and later of Halych-Volynian Principality. The defenders of the fortress successfully resisted the invasions of the Mongol Hordes for many decades. Today Tustan stands as a national historical and cultural preserve. It has great natural and historical value and many tourists visit it each year.

Last book read: «M-Day» by Viktor Suvorov.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

І щось в мені таке велить

Збіліти в гнів до сотого коліна!

І щось в мені таке болять,

Що це і є, напевно, Україна – Ліна Костенко

Тільки той досягає мети, хто іде,

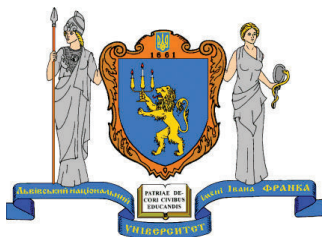
Тільки той, хто горить, не згорає – Олександр Олесь

Favourite quote by foreign author:

To love is to risk not being loved in return. To hope is to risk pain. To try is to risk failure, but risk must be taken because the greatest hazard in life is to risk nothing. – Author Unknown

Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts – Winston Churchill

My favourite musical recording: Paolo Nutini
– Candy.



Anatoliy MINTENKO

Born in Khust, Ukraine. Hometown: Lviv

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

Faculty of Foreign Languages, Department of Translation Studies and Contrastive Linguistics

Motto of University: *Patriae decore civibus educandis.* – *Для освіти громадян, на славу Батьківщині.* – *For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland*

Foreign languages: English, Spanish, Russian.

Scholarship recipient: Christina Bardyn
Intern to Robert Sopuck MP for Dauphin-Swan

River-Marquette, Manitoba

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Pidhirtsi Castle was constructed by Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan on the order of Polish Hetman Stanislaw Koniecpolski on the site of an original fortress. The castle was originally part of the Kingdom of Poland and it was regarded as the most valuable of palace-garden complexes on the eastern borderlands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In its heyday, the castle was richly furnished, with several halls and a library. Next to the entrance was the Guards Room, adjoining the Knights' Chamber which housed Hussar Regiments armour and a variety of battlefront weaponry. The castle housed elaborate suites such as the Crimson Room, the Chinese Room, the Mirror Room, the Yellow Room, Green Room and a Chapel. In some cases these rooms were named for the colour of their trim and décor or for the contents which they housed.

Last book read: “Business stripped bare” by Richard Branson

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Діла добрих оновляться, діла злих загинуть.

Тарас Шевченко

Дух наука, думка, воля – Не уступить п'їтьми поля. *Іван Франко*

Favourite quote by foreign author:

The greatest barrier to success is the fear of failure
– Sven Goran Ericsson

Conviction without experience makes for harshness
– Flannery O'Connor

My favourite musical recording: Slade – Far, far, away.



CUPP Director, Ihor Bardyn
Opening Remarks at the Oxford Model Ukraine Conference. 04.07.2011.

Left: Yaroslav Dzhus Bandura Performance.



Andriy MIRONENKO

Born in Moscow, Russia

Hometown: Moscow

Lomonosov Moscow State University is the oldest university of Russia. It was founded in 1755. Faculty of World Politics (Department of International Security).

University Motto: «*Наука есть ясное познание истины, просвещение разума*» /

«*Science is clear learning of truth and enlightenment of the mind*» / «*Наука є ясне пізнання істини, просвітництво розуму*»

Languages: English, Russian, Spanish, Ukrainian

Mazurenko Family Scholarship Recipient

Intern to Megan Leslie, MP for Halifax

Last book read: "Heavenly Ambitions: America's Quest to Dominate Space" by Joan Johnson-Freese

Outstanding landmark in Ukraine. I'm very fond of Kyiv. As Honore de Balzac wrote, "Petersburg is a young city, Moscow is an ancient city, but Kyiv is an eternal city. It is a Northern Rome". It's hard for me to pick a specific location, as I equally enjoy walking down Khreshchatyk from the European Square through the Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) all the way to Besarabska Square, visiting the ancient walls of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, Andriyivskyy Descent, and taking a ship cruise on the great river Dnipro. Kyiv is a magnificent cultural and historical sanctuary where many ancient monasteries, museums, palaces – the most famous being Mariyinsky Palace and Klovsky Palace – are situated. I particularly enjoy walking or reading a book in one of the parks of Kyiv – Volodymyr's'ka Girka, Taras Shevchenko Park, Nivki Park and others.

Favorite quotes by Ukrainian author:

І на оновленій землі

Врага не буде, супостата,

А буде син, і буде мати,

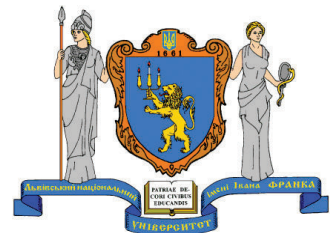
І будуть люди на землі. (Тарас Шевченко)

„Нації вмирають не від інфаркту. Спочатку їм відбирає

мову.” (Ліна Костенко)

Favorite quotes by foreign authors: “The man who would choose security over freedom deserves neither.” (Thomas Jefferson)

“To expect a nation to be ignorant and free is to expect something which never has been, and never can be.” (Thomas Jefferson)



Ustyna MYKYTYUK

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

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

Faculty of Economics, graduated with Master of Science in Economics.

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, Russian, German.

Senator Martha Bielish Scholarship recipient

Intern to Nina Grewal, MP for Fleetwood-Port Kells, British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Korniakt Palace was built on the ruins of Lviv in 1574-1580. It is the work of the architects Petro Barbon and Pavlo Rymlianyan. The palace was built for the Greek merchant Constantine Korniakt (1517-1603), one of the wealthiest citizens of Lviv's history. It is said that in 1686, the Eternal Peace Treaty between Moscow and Rzeczpospolita, confirming the defeat of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648-1657) and his expectations to unite Eastern and Western Ukraine into one state, was signed in Korniakt Palace. Today the palace is the venue for performances by the musicians, artists and actors from many countries. Following tradition, newlyweds like to visit the palace and take their wedding photos in the luxurious halls and beautiful courtyard of Korniakt Palace, a place where history lives...

Last book read: "The White Teeth" by **Zadie Smith**

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Який я декадент? Я син народа,
що вгору йде, хоч був запертий в льох.

Мій поклик: праця, щастя і свобода,

я є мужик, пролог, не епілог. **Іван Франко**

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Leave your beliefs and you can turn the world around
– Henry David Thoreau

My favourite musical recording: S.K.A.I. – Podaryi
svitlo.



Чернівецький національний університет
імені Юрія Федьковича



Lyubomyr NAHIRNY

Born in Kolomyia, Ukraine.

Hometown: Kolomyia.

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University

was established in 1875 by the decree of the
Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph. In 1989
it was named after a renowned writer of Yuriy
Fedkovych. College of Modern European Languages,
Department of Theory and Practice of Translation.

Motto of University: *Vivat Academia! – Хай живе
університет!* – *Long live the university!*

Foreign languages: English, Russian, French

2011 Vasyl Kereliuk Scholarship recipient

**Intern to Robert Goguen MP for Moncton–
Riverview–Dieppe, New Brunswick**

Outstanding landmark or architecture of Ukraine:

If you had a chance to visit Chernivtsi you couldn't
help walking down **Kobylyans'ka Street**. There is
even a joke that but for the national university and
Kobylians'ka street the city of Chernivtsi wouldn't be
that renowned. Walking down that street you feel
like you have been transferred to an aristocratic town
in the late 19th early 20th century. Moreover an iron
made carriage in the street is simply calling you to
sit in and make those times alive. The architecture,
cobblestone road and memorial plaques all
complement one another.

Last book read: "Wild at Heart" by **John Eldredge**.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

*Солодке пізнає пізніше той, хто може
проковтнути неприємне. Григорій Сковорода*

Favourite quote by foreign author:

"Each problem that I solved became a rule which
served afterwards to solve other problems." – Rene
Descartes

My favourite musical recording: Love theme from
the Godfather, Nino Rota – composer, conducted by
Carlo Savina.



Victoria NAZAROVA

Born in Moscow, Russia

Hometown: Moscow

Moscow State Linguistic University was
established in 1804.

Institute of International Relations and Social-Political
Studies. Journalism.

Motto of University: *"Lingua facit pacem" /
"Language makes peace" / "Мова створює мир"*

Foreign languages: English, Ukrainian, Korean,
Czech

2011 Cathy Obal Scholarship Recipient

Intern to Russ Hiebert, MP for South Surrey

– White Rock – Cloverdale, British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

The Kyiv State Puppet Theatre is the oldest puppet
theatre in Ukraine; it was founded on October 27th,
1927 as part of the Kyiv Franko Theatre for Children
(later known as the Young Spectators' Theatre on
Lipki) at the initiative of Ukraine's People's Artist
Aleksandr Solomarsky and Irina Deyeva.

The project of "Kyiv Academic Puppet Theatre"
was developed by the architect Vitaliy Yudin. The
three-storey building in the form of fairy castle with
steeple contains two halls has a capacity for 300
and 110 spectators. On the first floor you can find
the children's café plus, the museum of antique

puppets, where you can even touch marionettes of all ages and countries. Peculiar butterflies, tigers and dragons “inhabited” the second floor of the puppet castle. And the third floor is pure happiness for kids – you can meet the magic heroes of fairy-tales all over the place.

The territory around the theatre is decorated in a fairy style too – amusing flowerbeds, stairs, fountains and sculptures of fairy characters. The effect is strengthened with building-tower of the café nearby and former water tower, where the Museum of Water is situated. This theatre looks like a famous Disney castle and it is one of the most beautiful buildings of modern architecture in Kyiv. Acoustics and equipment of the puppet theatre are among the best ones in Europe.

Puppet Theatre has become immensely popular among Kyiv residents. There are many people around it all the time; even if there are no performances, parents bring their children here to play by the “castle”.

Book read: Lina Kostenko “Zapysky ukrains'koho samashedshoho” (“Notes by the Ukrainian Lunatic”).

Favorite quotes by Ukrainian author:

“Закономірно. Коли починається смерть культури, настає культура смерті.” (Ліна Костенко «Записки українського самашедшого»)

Favorite quotes by foreign author:

“There are only two tragedies in life: one is not getting what one wants, and the other is getting it.” (Oscar Wilde)

“The pessimist sees difficulty in every opportunity. The optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty” (Winston Churchill)

My favourite musical recording: Regina Spektor – The Call.



Iryna PUSHCHYK

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

Karpenko-Karyi National University of

Performing Arts was established in 1904. Executive Department.

Motto of University: “Мистецтво відкрите для кожного”. – “Art is opened for everyone”.

Foreign languages: English, Russian, Spanish, French basic

2011 Senator David Tkachuk Scholarship

Recipient

Intern to Mark Warawa, MP for Langley, British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

National Opera House of Ukraine named after

Taras Shevchenko. In the center of Kyiv, where two large metropolitan highways – Volodymyrska street and Bohdan Khmelnytsky streets are crossed, there is a building of the National Opera of Ukraine, which was poetically named as a temple of muses, an architectural pearl of Kyiv.

In 1897 City Council had accepted the decision to hold the international competition on the project of the Kyiv Opera. More than twenty architects from Ukraine, Russia, Germany, France, and Italy took part in it. On February 25, 1897 the jury announced the results of the competition. It was the project of the Russian architect Viktor Shreter who was recognized as the best. The building of National Opera House of Ukraine is one of the most beautiful Neo-Renaissance constructions in Kyiv. A lot of outstanding singers performed on the stage of Opera House of Ukraine: Batistini, B. Hmyria, F. Shaliapin, A. Solovianenko and many others national and international stars of opera.

Last book read: America’s secret Establishment

“Order Skull and Bones” by **Antony Sutton**, “A Spectacle of Corruption” by **David Liss**

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

У всякого своя доля і свій шлях широкий. Т.Г. Шевченко
В усіх науках і мистецтвах плодом є вірна практика.



HE Leigh Turner answers questions from the CUPP-OMUC attendees. 04.07.2011.

Г.С.Сковорода

Favourite quote by foreign author:

The poorest man is not the one who doesn't have any money, but the one who doesn't have a dream.
Socrates

My favourite musical recording: Chaikovsky
– Pas-de-deux from the Nutcracker.



Artem ROIK

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine

Kyiv Mohyla University (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was established in 1615).
Faculty of Humanities, Department of Philosophy
Motto of University: *Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська Академія вічна. – Time passes, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal.*

Foreign languages: Russian, English, German (basic)

2011 Borys Wrzesnewskyj Scholarship recipient
Intern to Carolyn Bennett, MP for St. Paul, Ontario
Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:
The abandoned city of Pripyat. Almost a year ago I was very lucky to visit the abandoned city of Pripyat. The city was devastated by the accident on the Chornobyl nuclear station and abandoned in 1986. Since then this ghost town stands as a silent reminder of the dangers of science and innovation in general. I think that this town should be made into an international attraction in the future because there is no better way to remind people of the tragedy which occurred at this 24 years ago.

Last Book read: "The Tartar Steppe" by *Dino Buzzati*

Favourite quotes by Ukrainian author:

Хто думає про науку, той любить її, а хто її любить, той ніколи не перестав вчитися, хоча б зовні він і здавався бездіяльним. (Г. Сковорода)

Українську історію без бромчу читати неможливо.
(В.Винниченко)

Favourite quotes by foreign author:

Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past. (George Orwell)

Wherever Law ends, Tyranny begins (John Locke)

My favourite musical recording: Gogol Bordello
– Through the roof and underground.



Amet SEITIBRAIMOV

Born in: Tashkent, Uzbekistan

Hometown: Simferopol, Ukraine

Kyiv School of Economics was established in 1996 by Indiana University Economics faculty members at the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv. Until 2006 KSE had been known as the Economic Education and Research Consortium (EERC) MA Program in Economics. **Motto:** N/A

Foreign Languages: English, Russian, Turkish

2011 Michael Wall Scholarship recipient
Intern to Hon.Lynne Yelich MP for Blackstrap, Saskatchewan

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Genoese fortress. The Genoese Medieval fortress is situated in the city of Sudak, Crimean peninsula, the Black sea South-Eastern coast. A fortress built in 14th century, it is a combination of high towers (originally 18) and crenulated walls. Its architecture is of the best West European traditions of that time and is just amazing. The Fortress stands on a conical mountain, which is an old coral reef. It was one of the most important Genoese trading centers on the Great Silk Road from China. The Genoese fortress is the best preserved fortress on the northern shore of the Black Sea.

Book read: "1984" by *George Orwell*

Favourite quotes by Ukrainian author:

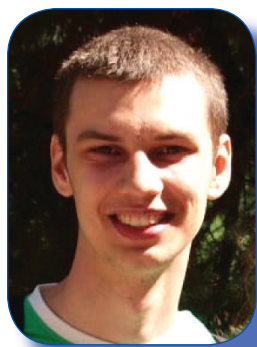
1. "Коли ти твердо йдеш шляхом, яким почав іти, то, на мою думку, ти щасливий" – Григорій Сковорода
2. "І на оновленій землі

Врага не буде, супостата,
А буде син, і буде мати,
І будуть люде на землі"
– "І Архімед, і Галілей" – Тарас Шевченко

Favourite quotes by foreign authors:

1. "Knowing is not enough – we must apply. Willing is not enough – we must do" – Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
2. "Seek knowledge even if it is in China" – Prophet Muhammad

Favourite musical recording: "Time" by Pink Floyd.



Oleg SHEMETOV

Born in Kharkiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kharkiv

University of Kharkiv (Vasyl Karazin National University of Kharkiv) was established in 1804.

Faculty of History, Department of Modern and Contemporary History

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

Foreign languages: English, Russian, Belarusian, Polish, French.

2011 James & Louise Temerty Scholarship recipient

Intern to Nathan Cullen, MP for Skeena – Bulkley Valley, British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Sharivka Estate in Sharivka, a small village in Kharkiv Oblast located about 45 miles west of downtown Kharkiv. It is a beautiful architectural complex founded at the beginning of the 19th century by landowner Olkhovskiy. At the end of the century it was purchased by wealthy sugar manufacturer Leopold Koenig.

Having expanded considerably, the estate reached its final dimensions by the dawn of the 20th century. During the Soviet era a specialized

clinic for consumptive patients was located on the estate. In 2008 it was granted the status of national architectural monument comprising a scenic landscape park, the palace, and many other interesting buildings and orchards.

Last book read: "From Colony to Superpower" by George C. Herring

Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:

Коли людина не встане з колін, то вона не далеко зможе пройти. Іван Драч

Учитесь, читайте, чужого навчайтесь, й свого не цурайтесь. Тарас Шевченко

Favorite quote by foreign author:

Many forms of Government have been tried and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time – Sir Winston Churchill

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country – John F. Kennedy

My favorite musical recording: Johnny Cash – God's Gonna Cut You Down.



Daryna SHEVCHENKO

Born in Cherkasy, Ukraine

National University "Yaroslav the Wise Law Academy of Ukraine" was established in 1804. Faculty of Training of Lawyers for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Motto of University: *Vivat Lex! – Нехай живе закон!* – *Long live the law!*

Foreign languages: English, Spanish, Russian, French

2011 Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Scholarship recipient

Intern to the Hon. Mauril Belanger, MP for Ottawa-

Vanier, Ontario**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

National Dendrological Park "Sofiyivka" of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine located in Uman', Cherkasy Oblast', is one of the most outstanding examples of world landscape garden design of the late 18th and early 19th century.

The Sofiyivskyi Park was founded in 1796 by Polish magnate Count Stanislaw Potocki and named after his beautiful Greek wife Sofia, and was presented to her on her angel's day in May 1802.

The idea of creating a romantic-style park with elements of Greek and Roman mythology belonged to Sofia herself. Wonderful landscape, exotic plants, antique sculptures, lakes, cascades, fountains, stone grottos – all this opens before the eyes of visitors to the park.

Last book read: "Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters" by *Jerome David Salinger*

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

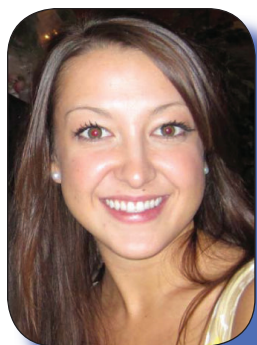
Перед нашою молоддю стоїть блискуче завдання – стати батьками майбутнього своєї нації. Олена Теліга

Хто в себе не вірить, тому ніхто другий не повірить. Володимир Винниченко

Favourite quote by foreign author:

They always say time changes things, but you actually have to change them yourself. Andy Warhol
One must be a God to be able to tell successes from failures without making a mistake. Anton Chekhov

My favourite musical recording: Tosca – Heidi Bruehl.

**Alexandra SHKANDRIJ**

Born in Ottawa, Canada

Hometown: Winnipeg, Canada

University of Toronto, established 1827. University College

Motto of University: *Velut arbor ævo* (Latin) – *As a tree through the ages* (English)

Foreign Languages: Ukrainian, Russian, French

Daria Telizyn Scholarship recipient

Intern to Fin Donnelly, MP for New Westminster–Coquitlam, British Columbia

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Canada:

Union Station was built in 1911 and designed by architects Warren and Wetmore, the same architects responsible for Grand Central Terminal in New York City. Once a grand rail hub, thousands of immigrants, merchants, and travellers passed through this beaux-arts structure in Canada's connecting city. Today VIA Rail operates out of the building and the site continues to draw thousands of visitors due to its central location and proximity to other Winnipeg attractions such as the Forks, Fort Gary, St. Boniface, and the Manitoba Legislature.

Last book read: *Heartbreaks Along the Road* by *Roch Carrier*

Favourite quote by a Canadian author: *Courage, my friends; 'tis not too late to build a better world.*
– Tommy Douglas

Favourite Quote by a foreign author: All great deeds and all great thoughts have a ridiculous beginning. Great works are often born on a street corner or in a restaurant's revolving door. – Albert Camus

Favourite musical recording: *The Foolish Things*
– Billie Holiday.

**Petro SHOPIN**

Born in: Luhansk, Ukraine. Hometown: Luhansk.

University of Luhansk (Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk) was established in 1921.

Institute of Information Technologies.

Motto of University: *...і чужому научайтесь, й свого не цурайтесь...* - *...and to your neighbors' gifts pay heed, yet do not thus neglect your own...*

Foreign languages: English, Russian

Jerry Humeniuk Scholarship recipient

Intern to Richard Dykstra, MP for St. Catharines, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

Institute of Culture and Arts of University of Luhansk used to be the House of Engineering (technical library) until 2000. It was a Stalinist architecture built in the downtown of Luhansk in 1953. There was St. Nicholas' Cathedral in this place until 1935 when the cathedral was blown up and the Square was called Cathedral Square until 1919 when it was renamed as Red Square. In 1950 the Ministry of Coal Industry of the USSR funded the architectural project of P. Fadeichev and I. Dzbanovsky, architects of the Scientific Research Institute in Kharkiv, who designed the building. The House of Engineering was built by the construction workers of Voroshylovhraduhillya. It is an incredible building with distinct style and pathos. A dramatic change came to this place in 2000 when it became the Institute of Culture and Arts of Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk. It used to be a technical library and today students study culture and practice arts here.

Last book read: Graph Theory by Frank Harray

Favourite quotes by Ukrainian authors:

Лиш праця світ таким, як є, створила. Лиш в праці варто і для праці жить. І. Франко;

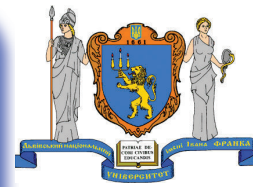
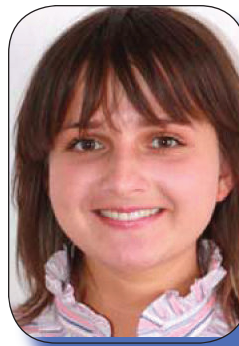
Ті держави здатні стати великими, у яких великі малі люди. О. Довженко

Favourite quotes by English authors:

All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players: they have their exits and their entrances; and one man in his time plays many parts, his acts being seven ages. W. Shakespeare;

Ignorance is the curse of God; knowledge is the wing wherewith we fly to heaven. W. Shakespeare

Favourite musical recording: The Rite of Spring – Igor Stravinsky.



Olya SHUDRAK

Born in Ashkhabad, Turkmenistan

Hometown: Lviv

Humboldt University of Berlin was established in 1810. Centre for British Studies

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

2011 John & Julia Stashuk Scholarship recipient Intern to James Bezan, MP Selkirk – Interlake, Manitoba

Outstanding landmark or architecture in

Ukraine: The Lviv National Theater of Opera and Ballet, built in 1900 by a Polish architect Zygmunt Gorgolewski. He pleasantly surprised the jury by planning to locate the building in the centre of the city, although it was already densely built-up. In order to solve the space problem, the architect proposed to enclose the Poltva River underground, and instead of using a traditional foundation, he was the first person to use a concrete base. Construction continued for three years. Gorgolewski directed construction, earthwork and decorating tasks, employing the leading masters from Lviv and abroad. Eventually it was opened on October 4, 1900.

Book read: "The Prince" by *Niccolo Machiavelli*.

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Без ядра горіх ніщо, так само як людина без серця. Григорій Сковорода

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Where the willingness is great, the difficulties cannot be great – Niccolo Machiavelli.

My favourite musical recording: Andrea Bocelli – Vivo Per Lei.



CUPP awards HE Leigh Turner Certificate of Appreciation. 04.07.2011.

**Kateryna SIMAK**

Born in Dubno, Ukraine

Hometown: Dubno

University of Ostroh (National University of Ostroh Academy) was established in 1576. The College of Romance and Germanic Languages

Motto of University: *Сучасна освіта через досвід поколінь – Contemporary education through the wisdom of the ages.*

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

2011 Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship recipient
Intern to Hon. Wayne Easter, MP for Malpeque, Prince Edward Island

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Dubno Castle** was founded in 1492 by Prince Konstiantyn Ostrozki on a promontory overlooking the Ikva River. During the 1648 Uprising by Zaporozhian Kozaks led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the vicinity of Dubno Castle was the scene of fierce battles with the Polish army led by Crown Prince Mikolaj Potocki. The battles were aptly described by Mykola Hohol in his novel *Taras Bulba* (1835). Today, the *Taras Bulba* rock festival is held annually in July in Dubno to commemorate the spirit of ancient victories.

Last book read: *“Alchemist” by Paulo Coelho*

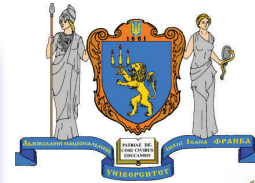
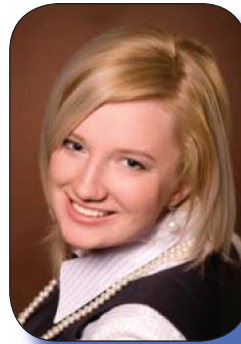
Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Лиш праця світ таким, як є, створила. Лиш в праці варто і для праці жить. Іван Франко.

Favourite quote by foreign author:

People do not lack strength; they lack will. – Victor Hugo

My favourite musical recording: Twarres – Children of the sun.

**Olesia STASIV**

Born in Morshyn, Ukraine. Hometown: Lviv.

University of Lviv (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv) was established in 1661. Faculty of Economics, Department of Economic Theory and Marketing

Motto of University: *Patriae decori civibus educandis. – Для освіти громадян, на славу Батьківщині. – For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland*

Ukrainian Catholic University was established in 6 October 1929, re-established in September 1994. Lviv Business School of the Ukrainian Catholic University.

Motto of University: *Nosce te ipsum – Пізнай самого себе – Know Thyself*

Foreign languages: English, German, Russian.

2011 Volodymyr Hrynyk Scholarship recipient
Intern to Claude Gravelle, MP for Nickel Belt, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:

House of Scientists – an architectural monument of Lviv, located in the central part of the city. The authors of the project were well-known Viennese architects H. Helmer and F. Fellner, the sponsors of the Odesa Opera House. The architects were inspired by examples of palace architecture of the Central European Baroque. Perfectly preserved elements of the interior – grand staircase, moldings, alabaster fireplace, original ceiling is transparent, elegant balcony – all this makes the former casino one of the most beautiful and perfect architectural buildings of the city.

Last book read: *“Upside.7 Strategies for Turning Big Threats into Growth Breakthroughs” by Adrian J. Slywotzky, Karl Weber*

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Наука – це безперервний скептицизм. М.

Грушевський

Нації вмирають не від інфаркту. Спочатку їм відбирає мову. Ліна Костенко.

Favourite quote by foreign author:

It is better to deserve honours and not to have them

than to have them and not to deserve them. – Mark Twain

Єдина справжня розкіш – це розкіш людського спілкування - Antoine de Saint-Exupery

My favourite musical recording: Океан Ельзи – Все буде добре
Edvard Grieg – Peer Gynt, Op. 46, In the Hall of the Mountain King.



Olena SUK

Born in Lubny, Ukraine. Hometown: Lubny.

Vadym Hetman National Economic University of Kyiv was established in 1906. Faculty of Marketing, Department of Marketing Management.

Motto of University: “Здійснення вагомого вкладу у суспільний розвиток через дослідження, генерування нових знань, їх поширення та підготовку конкурентних фахівців і креативних особистостей”. – “Contributing to society development through research, generating and spreading new knowledge, training competitive specialists and creative personalities”.

Foreign languages: English, French, Spanish, Russian.

2011 William Sametz Scholarship recipient
Intern to Mike Wallace, MP for Burlington, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: The **Mharsky Monastery** was founded in 1619 near the city of Lubny, Poltava Oblast, by Metropolitan Isaia Kopynsky and Petro Mohyla's cousin, Rayina Vyshnevetska. The original purpose of its creation was to establish a center of Orthodoxy in the eastern part of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Baroque catholikon (main church) was built in the early 1680s with funds generously provided by Hetman Ivan Samoylovych. A renovation was later undertaken by German architects who designed the seven-domed church and the neoclassical bell tower, completed in 1845. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Monastery Chronicles were created. The manuscripts of these texts are now kept in prominent scholarly libraries in Ukraine. After the

Bolshevik Revolution, the Monastery housed children of “enemies of the people.” From 1937 it served as a penal colony; in 1946 it became a military storehouse; and from 1985 until 1993 it served as a Communist Pioneer (Youth) camp. In 1993 the Monastery was returned to the Church. Today it is again a thriving spiritual centre and deserves the attention of scholars, especially in view of its stately beauty.

Last book read: “Les Jeux Sont Faits” by *Jean-Paul Sartre*

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Світло бачиться тоді, коли світло в очах є. Григорій Сковорода

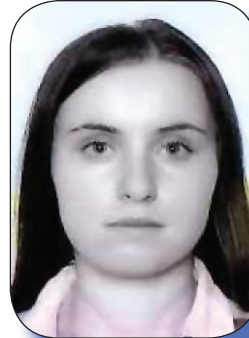
Я знаю грамоту свободи – її підписують мечі! Ліна Костенко

Favourite quote by foreign author:

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

Use your good judgment in all situations. There will be no additional rules. Nordstrom's Employee Handbook

My favourite musical recording: Amaury Vassili – Vivere.



Klavdia TATAR

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University of Russian Federation was established in

1804. Institute of Eastern Studies, department of International Relations.

Motto of university: «Glory to you who has shown us the light».

Foreign languages: English, Russian, Turkish, French (beginner level).

2011 Dr. Roma & Stefan Franko Scholarship recipient

Intern to Brian Masse MP for Windsor, Ontario.

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Pyrohiv Open-Air Museum** is one of my favourite places in Kyiv. Originally a village south of Kyiv Pyrohiv is now a unique open-air museum of

traditional Ukrainian architecture and way of life. It is a must see attraction for tourists and everyone who is willing to learn more about the life of the Ukrainian rural population in the past. This museum was founded in 1969 and it has an area of 370 acres which exhibits around 300 buildings (houses, churches, wind-mills, etc.) from different Ukrainian regions. These original buildings from the Middle Ages until early 20th century were disassembled by parts in different regions of the country, transported to this museum and rebuilt on the spot. There is also a huge collection of folk costumes, furniture, musical instruments, among many other interesting items. Here one can clearly see and understand the living conditions as well as how people went about their day-to-day life was in these old times. There are a lot of musicians and artisans dressed in traditional clothes, playing old instruments and selling recordings of their music as well as hand-made products.

Last book read: *"The Magician of Lublin"* by Isaac Bashevis Zinger.

Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:

Борітеся! Поборете! Вам Бог помагає! За вас правда, за Вас слава і воля святая – Т. Шевченко.
І чужому научайтесь, й свого не цурайтець. – Т. Шевченко.

Російська демократія закінчується там, де починається українське питання – В. Винниченко

Favorite quote by foreign author: A Country which does not comply with the law is doomed to extinction – Aristotle.

Nothing is free...not even the air we breathe. – Lee Kuan Yew.

My favorite musical recording: Okean Elzy – Nebo nad Dniprom.



Stanislava TSARKOVA

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine. Hometown: Kyiv.

Kyiv-Mohyla University (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy") was founded in 1615. Faculty of Economics, Department of Economic

Theory

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

Second higher education: Yuri Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University was established in 1875. Faculty of History, Political Sciences and International Relations, Department of International Information.

Foreign languages: English, Polish, French, Russian.

2011 Katedra Foundation Scholarship recipient Intern to Peter Golding, MP for Edmonton East, Alberta

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine: **Kyiv Pecherska Lavra, also known as the Kiev Monastery of the Caves;** is a historic Orthodox Christian monastery. Since its foundation in 1015, it has been a preeminent centre of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe. While being a cultural attraction, the monastery is currently active. It was designated one of the Seven Wonders of Ukraine. The complexity of Kyiv Pecherska Lavra consists of numerous architectural monuments, ranging from bell towers to cathedrals, to underground cave systems and to strong stone fortification walls. The main attractions of the Lavra include the Great Lavra Bell tower, the notable feature of the Kyiv skyline, and the Dormition Cathedral, destroyed in World War II, and fully reconstructed in recent years. There are also a number of other churches and cathedrals at the territory as well as different structures such as, St. Nicholas Monastery, the Kyiv Theological Academy and Seminary, and the Debosquette Wall. Kyiv Pecherska Lavra is also one of the largest Ukrainian museums in Kyiv. The exposition is the actual ensemble of the Upper (Near Caves) and Lower (Far Caves) Lavra territories. The collection within the churches and caves include articles of precious metal, prints, higher clergy portraits and rare church hierarchy photographs.

Book read: *"Globalization and its discontents"* by Joseph E. Stiglitz

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Поразка – це наука. Ніяка перемога так не вчить. Ліна Костенко

Favourite quote by foreign author:

Be yourself – other roles are occupied already. Oscar Wilde

My favourite musical recording: Queen – The Show Must Go On.

**Oleksandr ULIANOV**

Born in Vinnytsia, Ukraine. Hometown: Vinnytsia.

Ternopil National Economic University was established in 1966. Ukrainian-Dutch Faculty of Economics and Management, Department of International Economics.

Foreign languages: English, German, Russian

2011 Eugene Palenka Scholarship recipient
Intern to Cheryl Gallant, MP for Renfrew – Nipissing – Pembroke, Ontario

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:
The National Pirohov's Estate Museum. In 1866 the prominent surgeon Pirohov built a house, a pharmacy and a small hospital where he rendered medical assistance to inhabitants. In 1947 the Pirohov's Estate Museum was opened there. The museum comprises of a house, a pharmacy and the family vault where lies Pirohov's embalmed body rests until today. A splendid park covers an area of 16 hectares of the estate. There are many trees planted by Pirohov himself. The museum's exposition occupies ten halls of the main building, the Gallery and six rooms of a private pharmacy. There are about 16500 exhibits in the museum. More than 1500 of them are on display. These are manuscripts, photographs, private belongings, surgical instruments, paintings, sculptures, printed works among many other fascinating artefacts. In the library there are 7000 books and magazines, including a large number of Pirohov's works, the majority of which mainly consist of rarities about his scientific life and activity. The literature discusses the history of medicine. The museum enjoys great popularity not only in our country but also abroad. The number of visitors, including foreign visitors, has already exceeded six million.

Last book read: "The Universe in a Nutshell" by **Stephen Hawking**

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:

Людство не може зупинитися. Воно взяло надто великий розгін, рух для нього – це найвищий закон життя. П. Загребельний

Favourite quote by foreign author:

I don't know who my grandfather was; I am much more concerned to know what his grandson will be – A. Lincoln.

My favourite musical recording: Depeche Mode
 – Personal Jesus.

**Oleksandr ZHEKA**

Born in Yablunets, Zhytomyr region, Ukraine

Hometown Kyiv, Ukraine

Kyiv-Mohyla University was established in 1615.
 Faculty of Law.

Motto of University: *Tempus fugit, Academia sempiterna (Lat).* – Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська академія вічна. – Time passes. **Kyiv-Mohyla Academy remains eternal.**

Foreign languages: Russian, English, Polish

Oleksiy Soshenko CUPP '95 Scholarship recipient
Intern to Laurie Hawn, MP for Edmonton Centre, Alberta

Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:
 Pyrohiv – National Cultural Open-Air museum. It is a unique outdoors museum of Ukrainian culture situated on the outskirts of Kyiv. It has many authentic structures such as windmills, village houses, churches, schools, farm buildings dating from the 17th to 19th centuries, brought here from many parts of Ukraine. The uniqueness of the museum is that it is divided into different villages, representing the different regions of Ukraine. It is a great place to spend a day in any season of the year, especially during the warm summer months. If one wants to feel the atmosphere of Ukraine during Taras Shevchenko's era, this is the place to visit.

Last book read: Jostein Gaarder "The Castle in the Pyrenees"

Favourite quote by Ukrainian author: *Хто спить на землі – не боїться упасти. (Іван Драч).*

Favourite quote by foreign author: All truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed. Second, it is violently opposed. Third, it is accepted as being self-evident. (Arthur Schopenhauer)

My favourite musical recording: Herbie Hancock
 – Chameleon.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcjkA5ZAWQo&feature=related>



**Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program
Oxford University Ukrainian Society**



OXFORD MODEL UKRAINE CONFERENCE

"Ukraine's Domestic and Foreign Affairs: Quo Vadis?"

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Yaroslav/Krasun/Kravets/Kulykov/Kuzio/Lukanov/McCarthy/Nunn/Olenyuk/Onuch/
Pachlovska/Pravda/Ryabchuk/Sasse/Sherr/Tashlitsky/Teixeira/Turner/Umland/
Vashadze/Vitvitsky/Whitmore/Wilson/Wolczuk/Yevgenyeva/Zakrevska/Zhuk/
Zhurakovskyi

Swain/Memetova/Lantukh/Dzeman/Mintenko/Larsson/Kril/Zinchuk/Hunder/Shapoval/Krasun/Bolonnyy/
McQuinn/Bazylewych/Pashchenko/Kondratiuk/Evans/Kovalchuk/Viatchaninova/Isakovych/Krasnoshtan/
Krutenko/Petrovska/Timkina/Maryniuk/Chad/Petrovskyi/Matveichenko/Omelianenko/Tertytchnaya/
Kozachuk/Zatsepina/Markhivka/Oliarnyk/Sorokivska/Kozakov/Honcharenko/Repnikova/Ivanyshyn/
Danchenko/Bits/Iaroshevych/Pattie/Kozak/Pankiv/Ruzhytsky/Nagrebetsky/Seminog/Stasiv/Stolyarska/
Hryb/Halyabar/Sorokivska/Nychai/Fedorchuk/Marets/Romanovskiy/Tashlitsky/Burnus/Iaroshenko/
Kovalchuk/Borshosh/Tsarkova/Vasylyuk/Isakovych/Schiivatcheva/Potesil/Lenko/Makovii/Mykhnenko/
Hirnyak/Venher/VanTaack/Barbieri/Lubkovych/Soshenko/You/Ivanyshyn/Stolyarska/Hunder

University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Four Political Dimensions of Ukraine's Future Europeanization

Why Brussels and the EU Member States Need to Keep and Eye on Kyiv

June 28, 2011 by **Andreas UMLAND**

[This article first published in the Harvard International Review, is based on an interview taken by Olena Trehub, a foreign correspondent for the Ukrainian news agency UNIAN, during the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program's 3rd Model Ukraine Conference "Ukraine's Domestic and Foreign Affairs: Quo Vadis?" at the University of Oxford, UK, on 7 April 2011.]
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Dr. Andreas Umland is a DAAD Associate Professor of Political Science at the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy," Ukraine, and General Editor of the trilingual book series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" (www.ibidem-verlag.de/spps.html).

Although the EU plays a crucial role for the future of Europe, the stability and development of Europe in the 21st century do not depend exclusively on the Union's internal affairs. The Union's relationship to its European Eastern neighbors in the next years, above all to Russia and Ukraine, may be even more important than the EU's finances, reform and performance. Should the EU, Russia and Ukraine be able to find a sustainable basis for their daily interactions, gradual rapprochement and eventual integration, Europe will have a secure future. If, however, Europe remains divided into law-based democracies on the one side, and more or less authoritarian countries on the other, Europe's future will stay uncertain. The continent will continue to suffer from diplomatic rows, be haunted by agonizing political confrontation and may even run the risk of armed conflict, in regions such as the Crimean peninsula.

The development of Ukraine plays a pivotal role in the resolution of this issue. It is, among the Eastern Slavic countries, the least regressed towards

authoritarianism. Moreover, it has remained consistently pro-European since achieving independence in 1991 until today. The various Ukrainian leaderships have been remarkably inept in their attempts to reform their country's economic and social system during the last twenty years. Nevertheless, they all have stuck to the aim of attaining full membership of the European Union. Ukraine thus remains a country amenable towards influence from Brussels, and towards gradual Europeanization.

The future of the Ukrainian state will, to a great extent, also decide the future of Europe. As famously stated by Zbigniew Brzezinski in the 1990s, a sustainable Ukrainian independence means the end of Russian imperialism. A stable and Europeanized Ukrainian state would help transform Russia into a proper nation-state and prevent the re-emergence of the Russian empire. It would thus remove a major obstacle for the creation of the Common European Home, once envisaged by Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Union's leadership will thus be wise to focus on Kyiv. The recent involvement of Brussels with Kyiv has deepened – in contrast to many EU member states' still casual treatment of Ukraine. Nevertheless, the daily practice and public rhetoric of Brussels's engagement with Kyiv is often all about "practical" matters. It is focused on down-to-earth issues in the interactions between the peoples and economies of both sides. Therefore, today's debates on the Ukrainian-European rapprochement are predominantly concerned with Brussels's planned agreements with Kyiv on deep and comprehensive free trade as well as on visa-free travel, which are to be concluded this or next year. While these treaties will doubtlessly be rather important, there are additional political aspects to the EU's

engagement with Ukraine. These larger dimensions signal a higher significance for Brussels's cooperation with Kyiv than is sometimes acknowledged in official debates about the purposes and aims of this process. As important as trade and tourism are for the daily life of Europeans, the implications of possible failures and successes in the evolving EU-Ukraine relationship will go far beyond such issues as the free exchange of people and goods across borders.

The current rapprochement between the EU and Ukraine has, at least, four distinctly political aspects that touch upon a variety of domestic and foreign policy issues. They concern the questions of Kyiv's embeddedness in international structures, the direction of Ukraine's domestic reforms, the impulses that a Ukrainian Europeanization might provide for a Russian re-democratization, and the significance of the European idea for the stability of the Ukrainian state. All of these dimensions have implications that transcend the question of Ukraine's national development, and even reach beyond the limits of contemporary East European affairs. Indeed, the answers to each of these questions have far-reaching implications for the fate of European integration and security in the 21st century.

First, Ukraine is so far a relatively isolated country within the international system. While it is a member of such organizations as the UN, Council of Europe, OSCE and WTO, it remains outside the major economic and security blocs of the Earth's northern hemisphere. Against this background, every new step that gets the Ukrainian state closer to the EU seems beneficial. It will lead to an informal "securitization" and gradual de facto – if not yet a de jure – anchoring of Ukraine within the emerging trans-European political system. The current under-

institutionalization of Ukraine's links to the outside world should be constantly diminished – even though that can only happen via relatively small steps, for the time being. What is needed, in the near future for Ukraine, are as many as possible low and medium level agreements with the EU and its member states that would deepen, step by step, Ukraine's embeddedness in all-European structures. In the long run, this process should lead to a full membership of Ukraine in the EU as well as in NATO.

In fact, concerning the latter controversial issue one could speculate that, a NATO membership would not be that important any more by the time Ukraine enters the EU. That is because in the coming years the EU will presumably evolve further into a supranational quasi-federation. Most probably, further European integration will consolidate the notion that the EU is a full-scale defense community that would, even more explicitly than today, provide security guarantees to its member states. In any way, most EU members are NATO members, and the majority of NATO countries are also in the EU.

A second domestic effect of European integration is equally important. Deepening cooperation with Europe could send important signals or even provide critical impulses concerning the course, conduct and speed of future reforms in Ukraine. It is universally acknowledged that Ukraine needs to fundamentally change its political, administrative, economic, social and education system. However, the question of which socio-economic model exactly Ukraine should embrace remains a matter of dispute and source of stagnation. The confusion about what exact model to follow sometimes undermines the design, instigation and implementation of reforms. Various Ukrainian political forces are not only considering the European model, but are also interested in the US, Soviet, Russian, Belarusian, Chinese, Singaporean and other models.

It is difficult to judge which models are the most appropriate for Ukraine. Often, however, the main problem

seems to be not which exact model to choose, but whether or not a model is chosen at all, and implemented afterwards. Ukraine is in dire need of action – passivity is more dangerous than action. A continuing rapprochement between Kyiv and Brussels means that the European model may gradually become the dominant one. This will hopefully reduce time, costs and energy in the process of designing, initiating and completing urgently needed reforms. The European Union has fairly detailed prescriptions of what other countries have to do to further integrate their economies with the European ones. Such concrete prescriptions may be what Ukraine today needs most. We have seen enough political quarreling, heard too many semi-academic discussions, and observed sufficient "multivectoralism." Many years and opportunities have been lost. The time has come to move forward.

If Ukraine does begin to move forward, the effect could be somewhat similar to the one that the EU had on East-Central Europe immediately after the fall of the Iron Curtain. In the early 1990s, a number of prominent political scientists were initially doubtful concerning the chances of a quick and successful transformation of the post-communist countries. Such skepticism emerged against the background of the so-called "simultaneity problem." What this meant was that the post-communist countries were confronted with far more demanding challenges than earlier democratizing nations in Latin America or Southern Europe. Unlike the latter states, the post-communist countries had not only to democratize. They also had to convert themselves from Soviet colonies into independent nation states, and to transit from socialism to capitalism. The simultaneity of these processes, the demands of which often contradicted each other, was a major problem leading prominent commentators to give pessimistic forecasts concerning the prospects of successful post-communist transformations. Surprisingly, most of the post-communist countries were remarkably successful

in their transitions from dictatorship to democracy.

The EU membership prospect and accession process, in a way, compensated for the "simultaneity problem." While these countries faced daunting domestic challenges, they received forceful ideological and practical support from outside. In the Central European and Baltic countries, to be sure, there were also strong internal factors, among them usable pre-communist traditions and a generally pro-Western orientation, which greatly facilitated a successful transition. For the cases of Bulgaria and Romania, however, the pull of the EU may have been a crucial determinant of these countries' finally successful transitions. All of the East-Central European countries were offered early the prospect of membership in the EU. They reformed themselves with more or less strong determination and relatively high speed. Eventually, they became members of the Union. In contrast, those countries that were not offered a membership perspective and did not embark on an accession process, such as Ukraine, are still in the grey zone between modern democracy and post-totalitarian autocracy. In these countries, the "simultaneity problem" has, as predicted by political scientists, corrupted the democratization and liberalization attempts.

Apart from anchoring Ukraine internationally and providing guidance for internal reform, a third dimension of further EU-Ukraine rapprochement has to do not only with the interests of Ukraine but also with some larger aims of the EU. A successful Ukrainian democratization could have repercussions in the former Soviet empire as a whole. A sustainable Europeanization of Ukraine would probably impress the elites and populations of other post-Soviet countries. It could, for instance, induce in Russia and Belarus a rethinking of the political paths that these countries have taken after the break-up of the Soviet Union. As the Belarusians and Russians are culturally close to the Ukrainians, they would take seriously a functioning law-based democracy in Ukraine.

In the medium-term perspective, the EU's support of Ukrainian democracy, civil society and rule of law would thus also have a geopolitical dimension. To use a provocative metaphor, Ukraine could one day become the EU's Trojan Horse with regard to Russia. Western advice concerning the necessity of democratization is often seen by Russians as being irrelevant, if not subversive, to their country in its intention. In contrast, an EU-promoted re-democratization of Ukraine would be an argument more difficult to reject by isolationist Russians. If Ukraine demonstrates that a largely Orthodox Eastern Slavic nation is able to create and sustain a democratic political system, this could also trigger a new Russian democratization. In a best-case scenario, Ukraine could become the EU's instrument to bring Russia back into the European family.

A fourth aspect has recently made the rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU even more important. During the past year the relevance of the European idea for the Ukrainian state has further risen in view of worrying domestic developments. Since the election of Viktor Yanukovich as President, the already high social and cultural polarization of the country has risen further. For instance, a vivid indication of the growing fragmentation of the Ukrainian national community is the rise of Oleh Tiahnybok's nationalist, so-called "Svoboda" (Freedom) party.

To be sure, Tiahnybok's party calls itself an "All-Ukrainian Association" and continuously proclaims its allegiance to Velyka Ukraina (Great Ukraine). However, "Svoboda" is de facto a regional and even a potentially separatist party because of its idiosyncratic historical discourse. It has a strong base in the three Galician regions of L'viv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil, but has far less support elsewhere. "Svoboda" promotes a kind of nationalism that is disliked in much of the rest of Ukraine. Instead of contributing to the formation of a modern Ukrainian political nation, "Svoboda" alienates rather than attracts many Ukrainians.

Moreover, "Svoboda's" membership in the pan-European, extremely right-wing Alliance of European Nationalist Movements illustrates yet another problem. Tiahnybok's party represents a form of nationalism that, while not marginalized in all European countries, is highly stigmatized as an anachronistic and anti-democratic ideology in mainstream European politics. The elimination or at least the containment of exactly this sort of nationalism has been one of the motivations for starting the post-war European integration process.

While "Svoboda" has so far remained a minor actor on national-level politics, the Freedom Party could become a source of instability of the Ukrainian state in the case of an es-

calation of social conflicts in Ukraine. Should there be a new Ukrainian insurrection resembling the Orange Revolution of 2004, "Svoboda" might be able to organizationally capture and ideologically impregnate the Galician part of the protest movement. In view of the unacceptability of the Freedom Party's ideology outside Galicia, this could disconnect Galician civil society from that of the rest of Ukraine. Such a division may transform a new Ukrainian mass civic movement from an anti-regime protest into an anti-state action. A regionally and ideologically fragmented anti-governmental mass movement would not bode well for the integrity of the Ukrainian state. There are other examples of deepening divides within the Ukrainian nation with regard to social, cultural, religious, educational and other issues.

Against this background, the idea of European integration gains further significance. It is a factor that still unites the Ukrainian political, intellectual, economic and social elites as well as large part of the population of Ukraine. There are also important historical events or figures, like the Stalinist regime's genocide of the Ukrainian peasantry known as "Holodomor" (Killing by Hunger) or the universally acclaimed national poet Taras Shevchenko, that unite rather than divide Ukrainians. However, there are not that many unifying concepts concerning the present and future of Ukraine beyond some general wish for affluence, stability and security. Rejoining Europe might be the most important and least controversial concrete idea which has wide acceptance among the elites of Western, Central and Eastern Ukraine, though somewhat less so in the South.

These four dimensions of Ukraine's rapprochement with the EU are, perhaps, the most relevant: (1) anchoring Ukraine internationally, (2) guiding Ukrainian reforms, (3) impressing Russia with Ukraine's Europeanization, and (4) using the European idea to keep Ukraine united. In sum, one can hardly overestimate the political significance of Ukraine's further gradual integration into Europe.



Taras Kuzio, Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation.
Topic: Counter-Revolution Politics, Culture and Rule of Law
in Viktor Yanukhovich's Ukraine. 04.07.2011.

Чотири політичні виміри майбутнього європеїзації України:

чому Брюссель та країни-члени Європейського Союзу мають постійно спостерігати за Україною?

Андреас УМЛАНД

Переклад: Юлія БОНДРЕНКО, Оксана ДЖХТЯРОВА, Ріма Ел ДЖУЕЕДІ, Анастасія ФІЛІП'ЮК

Не дивлячись на те, що ЄС грає значну роль у формуванні майбутнього Європи, в 21 сторіччі її стабільність та розвиток залежать не тільки від внутрішніх справ ЄС, а й від відносин Союзу з Східноєвропейськими сусідами – перш за все з Росією та Україною. Ці відносини можливо є навіть важливішими за фінанси та реформи Європейського Союзу.

Якщо ЄС, Росія та Україна зможуть знайти стійку основу для повсякденних взаємодій, поступового зближення та подальшої інтеграції, Європа матиме безпечне майбутнє. Якщо ж Європа, як і раніше залишатиметься розділеною на правові демократії з одного боку та на більш-менш авторитарні країни з іншого, майбутнє Європи буде невизначеним, весь континент як і раніше страждатиме від дипломатичної напруги, переслідуватиметься політичними протистояннями і можливо навіть ризикує появою збройних конфліктів в таких регіонах, як Кримський півострів.

Розвиток України відіграє ключову роль у вирішенні цього питання. Серед східнослов'янських країн це як мінімум регрес в бік авторитаризму, що з моменту здобуття незалежності в 1991 році залишається проєвропейським. Протягом останніх двадцяти років різні українські лідери були напрочуд невмілі в своїх спробах реформувати економічну та соціальну систему країни. Тим не менш, всі вони ставили за мету повноцінне членство в Європейському Союзі. Україна, таким чином, залишається країною, що знаходиться під впливом Брюсселю і поступової європеїзації.

Майбутнє української держави значною мірою буде визначати майбутнє Європи. У 1990-х років Збігнев Бжезінський вдало констатував, що стійка українська незалеж-

ність означає кінець російського імперіалізму. Стабільна та європеїзована українська держава сприятиме перетворенню Росії в дійсну національну державу і запобігатиме повторному виникненню Російської імперії. Таким чином, це могло б усунути основну перешкоду на шляху до створення Загальноєвропейського Дому, який колись уявляв собі Михайло Горбачов.

Мудрим вчинком керівництва Союзу, таким чином, буде зосередження уваги на Києві. Останнім часом зв'язки Брюсселя з Києвом посилилися на відміну від багатьох країн-членів ЄС, чиє ставлення до України все ж не є досить серйозним. Тим не менш, щоденна практика та публічна риторика взаємодії Брюсселя з Києвом цілком присвячена "практичним" питанням та орієнтується переважно на питаннях взаємодії людей та економік обох сторін. Таким чином, дебати на тему українсько-європейського зближення сьогодні в основному пов'язані із запланованими угодами між Брюсселем та Києвом щодо серйозної та всеохоплюючої зони вільної торгівлі, а також про безвізовий режим; угоди мають бути укладені в 2011 або 2012 році. Без сумніву ці договори будуть дуже важливими, але є й інші політичні аспекти взаємодії ЄС з Україною.

Ці аспекти підкреслюють більш високу значимість співробітництва Брюсселя з Києвом, ніж це визнається в офіційних дебатах про цілі і завдання даного процесу. Оскільки для повсякденного життя європейців важливими є торгівля і туризм, наслідки можливих невдач та успіхів в еволюції відносин між Україною та ЄС будуть виходити далеко за рамки таких питань, як вільний рух людей і товарів через кордони.

Нинішнє відновлення зв'язків між ЄС та Україною має принаймні чотири визначені аспекти, що охоплюють широке коло внутрішніх і зовнішніх справ. Вони здійснюють питання щодо закріплення Києва у міжнародних структурах, напрямку українських внутрішніх реформ, імпульсів, що українська європеїзація може надати для російської редемократизації і значення європейської ідеї для стабільності української держави. Всі ці виміри мають наслідки значно ширші, ніж ті, що стосуються питань українського національного розвитку і навіть ніж ті, що визначають сучасні східно-європейські відносини. Безперечно, відповіді на ці питання мають далекоглядні наслідки для долі європейської інтеграції та безпеки у 21-му столітті.

Перш за все, Україна – відносно ізольована країна у міжнародній системі. Будучи членом таких організацій як ООН, Рада Європи, ОБСЄ і СОТ, вона все ж залишається осторонь головних економічних і військових блоків північної півкулі. Враховуючи дану ситуацію, кожен новий крок, що наближає Україну до ЄС є корисним. Він призведе до неформального "убезпечення" і поступового де-факто – якщо все ще не де-юре – закріплення України у новій транс'європейській політичній системі. Сучасний розвиток українських інституційних зв'язків з рештою світу має постійно поліпшуватися, хоча цей процес відбуватиметься відносно малими кроками. У найближчому майбутньому Україні необхідно укласти якомога більше угод на низькому і середньому рівнях між ЄС та його членами для того, щоб крок за кроком закріпитися в усіх європейських структурах. У довгостроковому періоді це повинно забезпечити повне членство Украї-

ни в ЄС і НАТО.

Зрештою, говорячи про останнє дискусійне положення, можливо припустити, що членство в НАТО не буде таким важливим для України після вступу до ЄС. Це можливо пояснити тим, що за кілька років ЄС мабуть еволюціонує до наддержавної квазі-федерації. Найбільш ймовірно, що подальша європейська інтеграція консолідує переконання щодо того, що ЄС – це повномасштабна оборонна спільнота, яка більш явно ніж сьогодні гарантуватиме безпеку для своїх членів. У будь-якому випадку, більшість членів ЄС є членами НАТО, а більшість членів НАТО – члени ЄС.

Другий внутрішній наслідок європейської інтеграції є також важливим. Зміцнення співпраці з Європою могло б створити важливі сигнали чи навіть надати критичні імпульси щодо напрямку, стилю і швидкості майбутніх реформ в Україні. Загальновизнаним фактом є те, що Україні потрібно фундаментально змінити політичну, адміністративну, економічну, соціальну і освітню системи. Однак питання щодо визначення соціо-економічної моделі України залишається дискусійним і перебуває у стагнації. Непорозуміння стосовно точної моделі розвитку підриває розроблення, стимулювання і втілення реформ. Різні українські політичні сили не тільки враховують європейську модель, але ще також зацікавлені в американській, радянській, російській, білоруській, китайській, сингапурській та інших моделях.

Важко визначити яка з цих моделей найбільше підходить для України. Головною проблемою, однак, є не те, яку модель обрати, а те, чи буде ця модель обраною і зрештою впровадженою. Україні потрібно діяти негайно, адже пасивність є більш небезпечною за активність. Тривале відновлення зв'язків між Києвом і Брюсселем означає, що європейська модель поступово стане переважаючою. Це має скоротити час, витрати та енергію в процесі розробки, ініціації та проведенні необхідних реформ. У Європейського

Союзу є достатньо детальні інструкції для інтеграції економік країн до європейської спільноти. Ці вказівки можуть бути якраз тим, чого Україна найбільше потребує. Ми бачили вдосталь політичних сварок, чули забагато семі-академічних дискусій і спостерігали "багатовекторність" у достатній мірі. Багато років і можливостей було втрачено. Настав час рухатись вперед.

Якщо це станеться, це може мати ефект дещо схожий на той, що мав ЄС на Східну та Центральну Європу відразу після падіння Залізної Зависи. На початку 1990-х багато видатних політологів мали сумніви щодо шансів швидкої та успішної трансформації посткомуністичних країн.

Подібний скептицизм виник на тлі так званої "проблеми одночасності". Це означало, що посткомуністичні країни зіткнулися з більш насущними проблемами, ніж ранні демократизовані країни в Латинській Америці чи Південній Європі. На відміну від цих держав, посткомуністичні країни повинні були не тільки демократизуватися, вони також повинні були перетворитися з радянських колоній на самостійні національні держави і перейти від соціалізму до капіталізму.

Одночасність цих процесів, вимоги яких часто суперечили один одному, була однією з основних проблем, що змушувала провідних коментаторів давати песимістичні прогнози щодо перспектив посткомуністичних трансформацій. Дивно, але більшість посткомуністичних країн була напролюд успішною в їх переході від диктатури до демократії.

У певному сенсі, членство в ЄС та перспективи процесу вступу компенсували "проблему одночасності". Не дивлячись на те, що ці країни стикаються зі складними внутрішніми проблемами, вони отримали сильну ідеологічну та практичну підтримку ззовні. У Центральній Європі та країнах Балтики, були й сильні внутрішні чинники – серед них, придатні для використання до-комуністичні традиції і в цілому прозахідна орієнтація, що значно сприяли успішному переходу. Проте, для Болгарії

та Румунії, протекція ЄС, можливо, була вирішальним чинником успішного переходу цих країн. Всім країнам Центрально-Східної Європи були запропоновані перспективи членства в ЄС. Вони реформували себе з більш-менш твердою рішучістю і відносно високою швидкістю. Зрештою, вони стали членами Союзу. На відміну від тих країн, яким не запропонували перспективу членства і які не почали процес приєднання, наприклад, Україна, все ще знаходяться в сірій зоні між сучасною демократією і посттоталітарним самовладдям. У цих країнах "проблема одночасності", як і передбачали політологи, закорумпувала спроби демократизації та лібералізації.

Крім укріплення України в світі та надання допомоги для внутрішніх реформ, третій вимір відновлення дружніх відносин між Україною та ЄС пов'язаний не тільки з інтересами України, а й з деякими більш значимими цілями ЄС. Успішна українська демократизація може мати у цілому серйозні наслідки на колишню Радянську імперію.

Стала європеїзація України, ймовірно, справить враження на еліти і населення інших пострадянських країнах. Це може, наприклад, викликати у Росії та Білорусії переосмислення політичних шляхів, якими зазначені країни рухаються після розпаду Радянського Союзу. Так як білоруси і росіяни – культурно близькі до українців, вони будуть сприймати функціонуючу правову демократію в Україні серйозно.

У середньостроковій перспективі, підтримка ЄС української демократії, громадянського суспільства і верховенства закону, таким чином, також має геополітичний вимір. Якщо використати провокаційну метафору, Україна колись може стати троянським конем ЄС – стосовно Росії. Західна порада про необхідність демократизації часто розглядається росіянами як недоречна, або навіть руйнівна щодо їх країни у своєму намірі. На відміну, сприяння ЄС до пере-демократизації України було б аргументом від якого важче відмовитися ізоляціоністським

росіянам. Якщо Україна продемонструє, що в значній мірі православна східнослов'янська нація в змозі створити та підтримувати демократичну політичну систему, це також може викликати нову російську демократизацію. У кращому випадку, Україна може стати інструментом ЄС для повернення Росії в європейську сім'ю.

Партія Тягнибока називає себе Всеукраїнським об'єднанням і постійно говорить про свою вірність Великій Україні. Проте своєрідна історія і ідеологія «Свободи» робить її де-факто і потенційно сепаратистською партією. Вона має міцну опору в трьох «галицьких» регіонах (Львівська, Івано-Франківська, Тернопільська області), але не знайшла підтримки в інших областях України. «Свобода» пропагує такий вид націоналізму, який не сприймається в інших регіонах України. Замість того, щоб сприяти об'єднанню українців в сучасну політично свідому націю, «Свобода» їх відштовхує один від одного.

Крім того, проблемним є і членство «Свободи» в пан'європейському крайньому правому Альянсі Європейських Націоналістичних Рухів. Партія Тягнибока тяжіє до такої форми націоналізму, яка хоча і не чужа Європі, але носить клеймо анахронічної і антидемократичної ідеології в європейській політиці. Усунення джерел, або, по меншій мірі, стримування масштабів поширення такої форми націоналізму було однією з причин започаткування післявоєнних інтеграційних процесів в Європі.

«Свобода» поки що не відіграє важливої ролі в українській політиці, проте якщо соціальні конфлікти в державі загострюватимуться, «Свобода», скоріш за все, своєю ідеологією буде сприяти лише поглибленню загальної нестабільності в Українській державі. Якщо вибухне нове повстання, подібне до Помаранчевої Революції, «Свобода» може очолити його і нав'язати свою ідеологію «галицькій» частині руху опору. Це може від'єднати західні регіони від решти України, оскільки, як вже говорилося, там ідеологія

партії «Свобода» не сприймається. Такий розподіл, в свою чергу, може трансформувати новий народний український рух з руху проти режиму в антидержавний рух. Географічно і ідеологічно фрагментований народний рух протесту, безперечно, буде серйозною загрозою цілісності України. І це не єдиний приклад поглиблення суперечностей між різними регіонами України. Стосунки всередині Української нації погіршуються і в соціальній, культурній, релігійній сферах, а також в сфері освіти.

На цьому тлі ідея європейської інтеграції набуває все більшої значимості. Цей фактор досі об'єднує українську політичну, інтелектуальну, економічну і соціальну еліти, в також більшу частину Української нації. Крім цього, українців ще здатні зблизити важливі історичні події або постаті, наприклад, геноцид українського селянства, який знають під назвою «Голодомор», або ж всесвітньо відомий національний поет Тарас Шевченко. Проте, що стосується спільних поглядів на теперішнє і майбутнє України, крім всезагальної надії на достаток, стабільність і безпеку, нас мало що об'єднує. Інтеграція в Європу може стати цим об'єднуючим фактором,

оскільки є, по суті, найменш суперечливим і найбільш дієвим шляхом розвитку, який сприймається однаково позитивно серед еліт Східної, Центральної і Західної України, хоч і трохи гірше на Півдні України.

Найбільш важливими видаються наступні чотири аспекти налагодження дружніх відносин України з Європейським Союзом: (1) утвердження України як рівноправного гравця на міжнародній політичній арені, (2) спрямування українських реформ в правильне русло, (3) європеїзація України всупереч очікуванням Росії і (4) використання ідеї інтеграції в Європу для об'єднання сил всередині держави.

Насамкінець, безперечно, політичну значимість поступової інтеграції України в Європу важко переоцінити.

[ця стаття вперше з'явилася в "Harvard International Review" і ґрунтується на інтерв'ю, проведеному Оленою Тригуб, закордонним кореспондентом української служби новин УНІАН, під час 3-ої конференції Канадсько-української парламентської програми «Модель України»: «Українські внутрішні і зовнішні відносини: Куди ми прямуємо?» в Оксфордському університеті 7-го вересня 2011 року].



Mykola Ryabchuk, National Endowment for Democracy. Topic: The Role of Civil Society in Creating and Maintaining the Rule of Law. 04.07.2011.



Model Ukraine Conference as a Foundation for Constructive Thinking

Iaroslav KOVALCHUK

served as an Intern in the election campaign of Maria Minna and was a Federal Election Observer in 2008. In 2009 he became a CUPP Coordinator and completed an internship in the parliamentary office of Tilly O'Neill Gordon of New Brunswick. He graduated from Ostroh Academy in 2009 with an MA Degree in English Literature. Currently, he is a recipient of an Erasmus Mundus Scholarship and conducts PhD research in political linguistics at the University of Algarve, Portugal. He is a journalist and periodically contributes to the Newspaper DEN in Ukraine and The New Pathway in Toronto, and Svoboda in the USA.

Founded in 1990 by agreement with the Speaker of the House of Commons, to commemorate the Centennial of Ukrainian group migration to Canada, the Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) began with the arrival on Parliament Hill of three university students from Ukraine in 1991. In this way CUPP marked the historic renewal of Ukraine's Independence. Reflecting back 20 years when many citizens of Ukraine considered the proclamation of independence to be a daring enterprise, representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada realized that the drastic changes, in what was then the Soviet Ukraine, were underway. There was a common understanding that, after 70 years of existence within a totalitarian state, it would be extremely difficult to introduce democratic institutions and the rule of law in Ukraine and that this process would need time and competent cadres. As CUPP founder and director Ihor Bardyn put it, "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". That is why since the very beginning the parliamentary internship in the Canadian parliament was created as a unique opportunity for young Ukrainians to get first-hand experience of the democratic system at work and further

transmit this knowledge to their peer networks in Ukraine.

It goes without saying that CUPP belongs to those strategic educational projects the results of which can be fully evident and evaluated only with the passage of time. However, even at this juncture, we can talk about the positive influence the program has been exerting on both Canadian and Ukrainian societies for the last 20 years. There have been established firm connections between Canadian politicians and Ukrainian youth who served the roles of quasi-ambassadors of their country. The parliamentary internship experience has helped young people from Ukraine to successfully advance their careers in state administration, business, academia, international relations and non-governmental sector. At present the CUPP community numbers around 700 alumni with some of them occupying positions in such influential institutions as the IMF, World Bank and European Court for Human Rights, the European Council, International and National NGOs, conducting research in leading universities and working for multi-national corporations. Beginning with only 3 students in 1991, in subsequent years CUPP enabled from 20 to 52 Ukrainian students, annually to complete an internship in the Canadian parliament.

Currently the Program has achieved the level of development when there are a number of alumni who are ea-

ger to contribute to the implementation of positive changes in Ukraine, who share a common vision of how major problems in Ukrainian political and economic life may be solved, but who do not have a platform to vocalize their ideas. With that in mind, in 2009 CUPP director Ihor Bardyn decided to organize a cycle of international conferences titled Model Ukraine Conferences, at which world's leading researchers and experts together with CUPP alumni would be given an opportunity to discuss different views on some of the burning issues in modern Ukraine and find the most appropriate solutions to address these problems. The ultimate goal of the Model Ukraine conferences was to prepare a White paper to the Ukrainian government, in which participants' concerns and recommendations would be clearly expressed.

The first conference took place at the Elliott School of International Affairs, of George Washington University, Washington, DC, on February 12-13th, 2010. Among the speakers were Henry Hale, Director of the Elliott School of International Affairs, Oleksandr Aleksandrovysh, Councilor at the Embassy of Ukraine, Taras Kuzio, Fellow of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, Bohdan Vitvitsky recently the Resident Legal Advisor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Andriy Semotiuk, attorney and former accredited journalist at the United Nations in New York, Andriy Khomenko CUPP

Alumnus and currently corporate advisor in Atlanta, and Ihor Bardyn, CUPP Director. It focused on the issues of Ukrainian identity and civil society development in Ukraine. Participants of the Washington conference actively discussed the importance of national history and language in the formation of Ukrainian citizens and forging the nation's unity in the country. It was the young people who were identified as essential agents of changes, whose active participation in political processes in Ukraine should foster the establishment of democratic values in Ukrainian society and promote the formation of Western style, citizen-state relationship in the country.

The organizers of Model Ukraine conferences have wisely focused on the major problems in Ukraine. When some of the most odious steps by the Ministry of education in Ukraine were not yet taken and changes to the electoral legislation (concerning elections to Verkhovna Rada) seems-operation of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa provided a platform for discussion on these vital matters. Thus, the principal topic of the Second Model Ukraine Conference, which was held at the University of Ottawa on November 12-13th, 2010, was the politics of education and elections in Ukraine. Among the speakers were H.E. Daniel Caron, Canada's Ambassador to Ukraine, H.E. Ihor Ostash Ukraine's Ambassador to Canada, Oleh Protsyk, from the European Centre for Minority Issues at the University of Flensburg, Germany, Phylissa Mitchell from the University of Richmond and lecturer at Kyiv-Mohyla University, Inna Viriasova, CUPP Alumna and PhD Candidate at the University of Western Ontario, Pavlo Shopin CUPP Alumnus and Fulbright Fellow at the University of California Berkeley, Oksana Tyshchenko-Monastyrskya, CUPP Alumna from the Potebnya Institute of Linguistics in Kyiv, and Dominique Arel, Chair holder of

the Ukrainian Chair at the University of Ottawa. One of the speakers at the conference was Deputy Minister of Education of Ukraine was Iryna Zaitseva. The debate following her presentation allowed CUPP Interns and Alumni an unprecedented opportunity to share their critical assessment of her Departments proposals for higher education. The participants of the conference drew public attention to the need for more extensive autonomy of universities in Ukraine, more coherent implementation of the principles of the Bologna process and more transparent procedures regarding the entry exams to universities and the recognition of Western diplomas, which Ukrainian students were earning abroad. In the realm of electoral politics discussants underscored the importance of minimizing the space for law manipulations in the sake of party's interests (as a viable solution, the choice of electoral system may be codified in the Constitution) and introducing the system which would foster the creation of strong ideological parties, at the same time increasing MPs' responsibility towards their electorate (either Mixed Member Proportional System or proportional representation system with preferential lists).

A distinct focus of the Ottawa conference on the problems of parliament's operation and the system of higher education was not random. According to Ihor Bardyn, Parliament and University always were two major pillars on which CUPP focused. The parliamentary internship gave Ukrainian students a possibility to observe the whole system of democratic governance at work. Besides, the role of parliament in most countries could hardly be overestimated. It provides the link between the citizen and his government establishes the fair-play rules in political, economic and public spheres and is a guarantee of non-violation of human rights and freedoms. On the other hand, the system

of higher education is crucial as it prepares competent professionals whose task will be to implement reforms in Ukraine and introduce Western democratic values in our country. Young people with Western ways of thinking, which were not affected with Soviet brainwashing techniques, are that social group on which the hopes of many in Ukraine rest.

The third Model Ukraine conference titled "Ukraine's Domestic and Foreign Affairs: Quo Vadis?" took place at University of Oxford, UK on April 6-8th, 2011 and became an important event in Ukrainian political and academic life, creating and spreading "informational waves" for weeks after the end of the conference. Some people may explain the success of the conference with its venue, since the University of Oxford does not often host academic gatherings on Ukrainian topics. However, a major reason for the conference attracting and reaching into the top headlines of Ukrainian and international publications and media sources was not so much the venue, but the outstanding selection of speakers invited by the conference organizers. The CUPP conference gathered famous diplomats and Government leaders such former Prime-Minister of Canada Kim Campbell, HE Leigh Turner, United Kingdom Ambassador to Ukraine, HE Volodymyr Khandogiy, Ukraine's Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Giorgi Vashadze, Deputy Minister of Justice of Georgia, Borys Tarasyuk, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, leading experts in international relations, political science and economics such as James Sherr, Andrew Wilson, Kataryna Wolczuk, Taras Kuzio, Andreas Umland, Olexiy Haran, Bohdan Vitvitsky, Adrian Karatnycky, Mykola Ryabchuk, Oxana Pachlovskya, and influential journalists Andriy Kulykov, Yuriy Lukanov and Dmytro Kaniewski. Among the conference registrants were two former Canadian Ambassadors and Oxford

lecturers, representatives of Embassies of Poland, Ukraine, Georgia and the USA.

The range of the topics discussed at the conference also impressive. A great deal of attention was devoted to the rule of law in Ukraine which can be achieved only with the help of civil society institutions and through introduction of clear-cut and transparent procedures in the state administration, justice and public spheres. Participants of the conference provided an in-depth analysis of the initiatives which President Yanukovich and his administration had been implementing for more than a year. In that regard it was extremely useful to listen to the presentation of Deputy Minister of Justice of Georgia Giorgi Vashadze who shared a detailed description of the steps his country took to eradicate omnipresent corruption and the results that had been achieved in seven years. Among the other topics discussed were the status of freedom of speech in Ukraine, role of universities in the establishment of civil society

and economic expedience of international loans to balance the state budget.

Nevertheless, due to the specialization of key speakers, the major focus of Oxford conference was international policy of Ukraine, the alliances our country should nurture and the integration it should pursue. The conference was held at a time when in Ukrainian political circles there was a heated discussion whether Ukraine should enter into a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the EU or integrate into a Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The verdict of the conference experts was unanimous. The future of Ukraine is in Europe. The sooner Ukrainian politicians develop a consistent and comprehensive strategy of European integration, the better it will be for Ukraine. The multi-vector diplomacy, which was so popular during President Kuchma's term of office, and still today finds its way into Ukrainian foreign policy, should be abandoned once and for all, if it hinders the

integration of Ukraine into the EU and the promotion of democratic values in the country. The experts also agreed that the regional integration should be conducted in a rational and moderate way. As well they underscored Ukraine's need to become a member of international military alliances such as NATO in order to safeguard its security and defense issues.

The final Model Ukraine conference is to take place in Kyiv in November/December 2011. This conference co-sponsored by the National University of Kyiv-Moyle Academy, is expected to begin to sum up the proceedings of the whole cycle of conferences. A brief summary of ideas and recommendations, developed at the conferences, will be transmitted in the form of a White paper to the Ukrainian government and major mass media in order to promote constructive thinking and the development of a consensus among the citizenry of Ukraine as to the integration into the European Community.

Integrating an Authoritarian Ukraine into Democratic Europe?

Alexander J. MOTYL

(http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/new/blogs/motyl/Integrating_an_Authoritarian_Ukraine_into_Democratic_Europe)

A distinguished group of Ukrainian and Western analysts has recently argued that Europe should make Ukraine's integration into European institutions conditional on the Yanukovich regime's adherence to democratic standards.

Thus, they argue: "The EU should advance free trade and political agreements only if the Yanukovich administration demonstrates its clear commitment to European values." In other words, no democracy in Ukraine, no integration with Europe.

Alas, "no democracy, no Europe" is

the worst possible advice – for Ukraine, for Europe, and, by the way, also for Russia. This is not to say that Europe shouldn't be tough with Ukraine. Nor is it to say that an authoritarian Ukraine should become a member of the European Union. It is to say, however, that strategic goals should guide strategic choices and that even an authoritarian Ukraine should be integrated into European institutions. Let me explain.

What's the best imaginable outcome for Ukraine? I suspect most more or less reasonable people would agree

that it should be democratic, market-oriented, modern, and Western. You can interpret those words any way you like, but it's clear that their polar opposites are authoritarian, oligarchic, backward, and anti-Western.

Remember: Ukraine is not a small country comfortably surrounded by prosperous and peaceful democracies. Ever since NATO and the European Union expanded to its borders, Ukraine's been trapped in a geopolitically untenable no-man's-land between Europe and Russia. Moreover, Ukraine currently stands at a crossroads. If

it signs a free-trade agreement with the EU and moves toward associate membership, its chances of becoming democratic, market-oriented, modern, and Western will grow. If it does not move toward Europe, Ukraine will either remain isolated in that no-man's-land or, far more likely, move toward the Russia-led Customs Union, membership in which guarantees that Ukraine will become authoritarian, oligarchic, backward, and anti-Western.

Why is that?

Whether or not Ukraine becomes democratic and market-oriented – and modern – pretty much depends on Ukraine, its government, and its people. That said, international institutions can and do nudge countries in specific directions. Democratic and market-oriented institutions promote democracy and markets, while authoritarian and oligarchic institutions do not. Institutions have this effect because they compel governments and people to play by their rules, and repeated rule-following, even if rules are frequently violated, tends, over time, to lead to an internalization of rules.

Ask yourself this. What's better for Ukraine? That Ukrainian oligarchs should hobnob with the rich and mighty in Davos or in Minsk? That Regionnaire elites should negotiate with Brussels or with Moscow? Where are they more likely to learn, or be forced to adapt to, democracy and markets?

Here are two more equally rhetorical questions. Is it better for an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine to be in a free-trade zone with democratic and market-oriented Europe or in a customs union with authoritarian and oligarchic Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan? And is it better for Europe for an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine to be in a free-trade zone with democratic and market-oriented Europe or in a custom union with authoritarian and oligarchic Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan?

As I argued above, an authoritarian

and oligarchic Ukraine will be nudged toward democracy and the market by Europe's institutions. Obviously, Ukraine won't become fully democratic and market-oriented overnight. But it will *creep* in that direction, as Ukrainians travel to Europe, as European economic ties with Ukraine are strengthened, as Ukrainian elites are forced to walk and talk like Europeans, as Ukraine slowly enters the European vocabulary and consciousness, and as European values slowly enter the Ukrainian vocabulary and consciousness. In contrast, an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine will only become more authoritarian and more oligarchic as part of any economic and political association led by today's authoritarian and oligarchic Russia. Indeed, such an outcome would condemn Ukraine to economic backwardness for decades to come, as Ukraine would be transformed into Russia's hinterland. And since Russia is the hinterland of the West, that would make Ukraine the hinterland of a hinterland. Some prospect, right? So take your pick – creeping Europeanization or rapid hinterlandization.

The analysts I cited above appear to believe that keeping an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine out of Europe would be good for Europe. But the exact opposite is true. Such a Ukraine would be prone to instability –after all, authoritarian states with weak economies are unstable – and likely become a neo-colonial appendage of a neo-imperial Russia. For a pivotal state the size of Ukraine to be unstable cannot be good for Europe, and for a pivotal state the size of Ukraine to become subservient to Russia cannot possibly be good for European, and more generally Western, hopes of a normal relationship with a "normal" Russia.

One last rhetorical question. Is it better for a *democratic and market-oriented Russia* (a country that does not yet exist) for an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine to be in a free-tra-

de zone with democratic and market-oriented Europe or in a customs union with authoritarian and oligarchic Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan? Naturally, Russian imperialists and authoritarians prefer an ingathering of Soviet lands, but just because they want that doesn't make it right for Russia. If democracy, the market, modernity, and the West are good for Ukraine, then they must also be good for Russia. And there's no way that such a Russia will be more likely to emerge if an authoritarian and oligarchic Ukraine joins up with an authoritarian and oligarchic Russia.

Ukraine's moving toward Europe is good for Ukraine, good for Europe, and good for Russia. It's also good for the Ukrainian opposition: where would you prefer to be a harassed democrat – in Europe or in Russia? And, yes, if Viktor Yanukovich manages to push Ukraine toward Europe, it'll also be good for him. But so be it. The interests of the Ukrainian people must surely trump those of Yanukovich. To insist that today's Ukraine shouldn't join Europe until Yanukovich becomes a democrat is not to cut off one's nose to spite one's face. It's to cut off one's face to spite one's nose.



Anton Krasun, Oxford University.
Topic: Autonomy of Higher Education Institutions in Ukraine.

Інтеграція авторитарної України у демократичну Європу?

Олександр МОТИЛЬ

(http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/new/blogs/motyl/Integrating_an_Authoritarian_Ukraine_into_Democratic_Europe)

Відома група українських та західних аналітиків нещодавно доводила, що Європі слід зробити залежною інтеграцію України в європейські інституції від дотримання демократичних стандартів режимом Януковича.

Таким чином вони стверджують: "ЄС повинен укладати політичні угоди та угоди вільної торгівлі тільки якщо адміністрація Януковича продемонструє свою чітку відданість європейським цінностям". Іншими словами, без демократії в Україні не буде інтеграції з Європою.

На жаль, "немає демократії – немає Європи" є найгіршою з можливих порад для України, для Європи, і, між іншим, також для Росії. Це не означає, що Європа не повинна бути жорсткою з Україною. І це не означає, що авторитарна Україна повинна стати членом Європейського Союзу. Це означає, все-таки, що стратегічні рішення повинні керуватися стратегічними цілями, і що навіть авторитарна Україна повинна бути інтегрованою в європейські інституції. Дозвольте мені пояснити.

Який найкращий результат для України можна уявити? Я підозрюю, що переважна частина більш-менш розсудливих людей погодиться, що вона повинна бути демократичною, ринковою, сучасною і західною. Ви можете трактувати ці слова як завгодно, проте зрозуміло, що їхніми полярними протилежностями є Україна авторитарна, олігархічна, відсталата та антизахідна.

Пам'ятайте: Україна – це не є маленька країна, надійно оточена квітучими і мирними демократіями. Від самого початку, коли НАТО і Європейська Співдружність розширили свої кордони, Україна опини-

лась у геополітично безвихідній ситуації "нічиєї землі" між Європою та Росією. Більш того, в даний момент Україна перебуває на роздоріжжі. Якщо вона підпише з ЄС угоду про ЗВТ (Зона вільної торгівлі) і таким чином зробить крок до асоціативного членства, зростуть її шанси стати демократичною, ринковою, модерною і західною країною. Якщо ж Україна не буде рухатись у напрямку Європи, тоді вона або залишиться ізольованою в тій самій ситуації "нічиєї землі", або, швидше всього, буде йти в напрямку керованого Росією Митного союзу, членство в якому гарантовано перетворить Україну на авторитарну, олігархічну, відсталу й антизахідну.

Чому це так?

Стане чи не стане Україна демократичною і ринковою – а отже, модерною – великою мірою залежить від самої України, її влади та її суспільства. З іншого боку, міжнародні інституції можуть стимулювати – і реально стимулюють – рух країн у певному напрямку. Демократичні та орієнтовані на ринок інституції утверджують демократію і ринкову систему, натомість авторитарні та олігархічні інституції чинять навпаки. Інституції дають такий результат, оскільки вони змушують уряди і суспільства грати за їхніми правилами, а повторення гри за правилами, навіть якщо ці правила часто порушуються, з часом приводить до внутрішнього засвоєння цих правил.

Запитайте в себе: що краще для України? Щоб українські олігархи дружили з багатими і сильними світу цього у Давосі чи в Мінську? Щоб регіональні еліти домовлялися з Брюсселем чи Москвою? Де вони швидше навчатимуться демократії та

ринку – або ж будуть змушені до них адаптуватись?

Ось ще два однаково риторичні запитання. Чи для авторитарної та олігархічної України краще бути у Зоні вільної торгівлі з демократичною і ринковою Європою, чи в Митному союзі з авторитарними та олігархічними Росією, Білоруссю та Казахстаном? І чи для Європи краще, щоб авторитарна та олігархічна Україна була у Зоні вільної торгівлі з демократичною та ринковою Європою, чи у Митному союзі з авторитарними й олігархічними Росією, Білоруссю та Казахстаном?

Як я вже казав раніше, європейські інституції будуть підштовхувати авторитарну та олігархічну Україну до демократії та ринку. Очевидно, що Україна відразу не стане повністю демократичною та ринковою країною. Але вона буде погано рухатись у цьому напрямку, оскільки українці їздять до Європи, зміцнюються економічні зв'язки України з Європою, українська еліта змушена ходити і говорити як європейці, оскільки Україна поволі входить в європейський лексикон та свідомість, а європейські цінності поволі входять в лексикон та свідомість України. На відміну від цього сценарію, авторитарна та олігархічна Україна лише стане ще більш авторитарною та олігархічною, будучи частиною будь-якої економічної чи політичної асоціації, яку очолює теперішня авторитарна та олігархічна Росія. Більше того, за таких умов Україна приречена на десятиліття економічної відсталості, адже їй буде відведена роль російської периферії. А оскільки сама Росія є периферією для Заходу, це зробить Україну периферією периферії. Перспектив-

но, чи не так? Отож, вибирайте – повільна європеїзація чи швидка «периферизація»?

Аналітики, яких я раніше згадував, здається, вважають, що утримування авторитарної та олігархічної України за межами Європи буде добре для Європи. Але це зовсім не так. Така Україна буде схильною до нестабільності – зрештою, авторитарні країни зі слабкою економікою є завжди нестабільними, – і ймовірно стане неоколоніальним додатком до неоімперіалістичної Росії. Для Європи невідомо, коли така ключова і масштабна держава, як Україна, є нестабільною, і швидше всього для європейських, або більше того, західних сподівань на нормальні стосунки з «нормальною» Росією не буде добре, коли така ключова і масштабна держава, як Україна, стане підлеглою Росії.

І останнє риторичне запитання: що краще для демократичної та зорієнтованої на ринок Росії (країни, яка ще поки не існує) – чи щоб авторитарна та олігархічна Україна утворювала Зону вільної торгівлі з демократичною та зорієнтованою на ринок Європою, чи була поєднана Митним союзом з авторитарною і олігархічною Росією, Білоруссю та Казахстаном? Звісно, російські імперіалісти та авторитарні керівники віддають перевагу об'єднанню колишніх радянських територій. Але те, що вони цього хочуть, не означає, що це піде на користь Росії. Якщо демократія, вільний ринок, прогрес і Захід йдуть на користь Україні, вони мають також іти на користь Росії. Але Росія не має жодних шансів стати більш демократичною, якщо авторитарна та олігархічна Україна об'єднається з авторитарною та

олігархічною Росією. Просування України в напрямку Європи йде на користь Україні, Європі та Росії. Це також позитивно позначається на українській опозиції: самі подумайте, де б ви хотіли бути переслідуваним демократом – в Європі чи в Росії? Безсумнівно, якщо Віктор Янукович спроможеться наблизити Україну до Європи, це піде йому на користь також. Але хай вже так буде. Інтереси українського народу однозначно мають переважати над інтересами Януковича. Наполягати на тому, що сьогоднішній Україні не слід приєднуватись до Європи до того часу, поки Янукович не стане демократом, не означає наступати на граблі в бажанні покарати іншого. Це означає наступати на граблі, бажаючи шкоди самому собі.

The noble mission of the elite

Major Archbishop Emeritus Lybomyr HUSAR

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We have faith in youth – they strive to discover themselves, to seek something better, and have an appreciation for what is good and what is bad. But they need guidance and a wise example to follow. They have a desire to learn and need teachers. But who can become such teachers? We need to foster a true national elite, one which understands the needs of the nation and is strongly committed to the welfare of the nation. It is not an easy task to foster a new elite. But in this regard, we are not short of resources – we have the people who are sincerely interested in contributing to the commonweal (common good) of the nation... What is needed is that they get organized as we are in the initial stage of building a civil society – a society which is capable of making wise

decisions.

We have a good tradition of civil society. I remember a relative of mine, who while studying to become an agronomist, was closely tied to life in Ukrainian villages, in the beginning of the XX century and pointed out the strong influence and power of village societies. This was common not only in the Right bank Ukraine, but on the Left bank Ukraine as well which was under the rule of Tsarist Russia. Ukrainian villages had their own highly developed system of self-governance. This fact bears evidence that self-governance is inherent in us.

On the other hand we know that these people were eliminated. And they were eliminated because of the fact they had a strong and positive influence on their society. They were

prosperous and independent, cared about their community and their own dignity. They defended common interests and were highly respected.

Could such evident manifestations of democratic consciousness be tolerated in a totalitarian state? Let's not forget that at the end of the 1920s there were rebellions in the Eastern part of Ukraine. Holodomors (death by starvation) and other means of annihilating the nation were aimed to suppress expressions of freedom. This points to the fact that civil society existed and there is the expectation that it can return and be reborn. Just give it time.

Today, our primary task is to rebuild the elite. Today, in countries without monarchist structured elites, the elites are made up of people who are knowl-

edgible, and more importantly possesses wisdom, who are broad-minded, and have a genuine appreciation for the common good. The nurturing of an elite takes time – it will take several generations for a genuine elite to emerge. One cannot simplistically conclude: that he has earned a Doctorate in such and such university and has thus become a member of the elite. Getting a doctorate at one or another university is not sufficient to make one a member of the elite. It simply makes him an educated person. For the question remains: does this person have solid moral principles, does she have wisdom, and is capable to lead a nation? In this regard, there is a great difference between a politician and a statesman.

The elite – are simply individuals, who are able to recognize problems and expeditiously find solutions. These are individuals who know to look far into the future. For example, we recognize a problem among a certain segment of the population. How should the problem be dealt with, so as to alleviate the problem? Take the example of Hitler. He had an laudable goal, to protect and improve the life of the German people, to make them strong, healthy and powerful. Is it not a noble goal for a statesman? But how did he go about dealing with the solving the problem? He began with the elimination of all psychologically ill – he simply killed them. Then

he decided that it was inconvenient to have disabled people: of what benefit are they when they are disabled who eat and do nothing? They destroyed these people as well. Then he found the Jews, who supposedly fouled his race. He proceeded with the elimination of the Jews. If he had not been stopped, then we would also have been eliminated. In Nazi literature we were left a small role – we were to learn to count to one hundred and not multiply too greatly, we were to serve exclusively as the labouring class in villages. We must look further, significantly further into the future, in order to understand the consequences of our decisions. The route/direction in which Hitler took was not predestined.

An individual who looks into the future, firstly maintains human dignity. Even if one has to become reconciled and suffer some inconveniences. Similarly with the economy – it should be well planned over a period of time. And many other affairs of state require long range vision as these are important and must be developed and maintained. The elite, are individuals, who recognize challenges, understand them and incorporate them into their knowledge bank.

Today we must strive to educate an elite. To seek out able youth who have the wisdom to see the larger picture, and to support them and give them the opportunity to see the world – in order that they learn to compare and

bring back home that which is best. That is what the Japanese learned in the last century. At that time, Japan was somewhat distant, a closed unto itself country which was halted in its development. And the Japanese leadership began to send its students out into the world – so they could experience the best of the world and bring it home. As a result of this policy, in the course of two generations Japan was transformed into a leading country. In other words the Japanese leadership acted wisely and in this way saved the country. And we, I believe, are not short of wise individuals – possibly, they do not hold positions of power, but they can educate others.

We understand that our current leadership is not very effective. Agreed. But remember what government has been in the course of the last ten years, how many such governments have we had? This is all temporary – these people do not last long, if they are unsuitable. Only an elite can withstand time, implement long-term programs and achieve success. But this so called government, is primarily political, committed to its own self-interests, and does not have the chance of long-term existence. Come the next elections and they are gone.

The problem lies only in the question of who will succeed them, some of the same or some who are better? It would be good if it was someone better. For this result it's not necessary to use force, intimidation and fists – it is necessary to have wisdom. What are needed are individuals, and they exist among us even today, who possess an elite mind, have vision, understand their history, can think and are reflective. They should become the teachers who will educate the next generation, which will possess the attribute of social responsibility. Then in two, three, four generations we will reach an effective democracy.

For there is a great difference between politicians and statesmen.



**CUPP-OMUC
participants.**

UKRAINIAN YOUTH OF RUSSIA: A DIASPORA-BUILDING EXPERIENCE

Is there a Ukrainian diaspora in Russia?

Andriy MIRONENKO

Lomonosov Moscow State University

Intern to Megan Leslie, MP

Mazurenko Family Scholarship

*І виріс я на чужині...**Т.Г. Шевченко*

Even though Russia is home to more Ukrainians than any other country in the world except for Ukraine, the level of self-awareness, cooperation, unity, self-organization and speaking native language among Russian Ukrainians might be insufficient to even call Russian Ukrainians a diaspora in the full meaning of the term. Most Ukrainians in Russia do not think about themselves as a diaspora, or even as a separate from Russians ethnicity. There is a wide range of historical, cultural, social, political and economic reasons for that, which will be briefly discussed below, as well as some practical aspects of building a true Ukrainian diaspora in Russia.

The article is based predominantly on the author's personal experience as founding co-president of Moscow Ukrainian Youth Club, as well as some basic concepts of ethnosociology. Thus it is focusing mostly on the phenomenon of Ukrainian youth in Russia – who they are, what brings them to the diaspora, and provides a brief insight into Moscow Ukrainian Youth Club's history.

As stated above, not every ethnic minority can be considered a diaspora. In his fundamental article «Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return» William Safran introduces six key points to differentiate diasporas from other ethnic minority communities. One of them states that "they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location,

history, and achievements". Here the problems start. Do even the Ukrainians in Ukraine share a common view on historical role of Ukraine and Ukrainians in past, present and future, Ukrainian language, preferred political model, and even the existence of Ukrainian nation itself? Alas, no. The level of polarity of Ukrainian society on these issues allows some researchers to call Ukraine "a divided nation". Asking random Ukrainians questions like "What civilization is Ukraine a part of?", "What was the Ukrainians' role in World War 2?", and "What is the origin of Ukrainian nation, language and culture?" one would receive an extremely wide range of polar answers. The question why many Ukrainians in Ukraine choose to be "maloros", "khohol" or even prefer Russian identity, has been addressed many, many times by wiser and more knowledgeable people, than the author of this article, so we will just say that in case of the Ukrainians in Russia the factors contributing to this strange phenomenon in Ukraine – pressure from the Eastern neighbor through mass media, political and economic leverage; popularity or even total dominance of Russian language in many spheres of life; communicating with Russians, who usually regard Ukrainians as a "younger brothers" and Ukraine as a historical part of Russia – quadruple their force. That's why in order to maintain Ukrainian identity a young Ukrainian who moves to Russia will have to possess extraordinary strength of character and firm civil position. A Ukrainian born in Russia, besides that, must be

strongly influenced by some person, book or another source of information to even be aware of the real Ukrainian identity and not to join the blind army of Russian "khohols" without even knowing about the alternative. This has just recently become possible for those whose parents lost strong ties to Ukraine due to wide availability of the Internet. Still, sources of unbiased information on Ukrainian history and national identity are extremely limited in Russian language even on the Internet, and vast majority of Russian Ukrainians don't speak and can't comprehend Ukrainian to any practical degree.

Another point of William Safran states: "they believe that they are not-and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it". Once again, this is not the case with Ukrainians in Russia. As soon as they switch to Russian language, assimilate, call themselves Russians or "khohols" and publicly resent every attribute of Ukrainian identity except for salo, they will be accepted by Russians as *almost* their own – with the occasional "little" jokes about salo and horilka. That's why the vast majority of Ukrainians who come to Russia – and almost every Ukrainian who was born there – chooses this "easy" acculturation strategy called "assimilation". This is the way of adaptation to foreign society that is called assimilation in ethnosociology – and it implies an almost complete trade of native values, traditions, language and way of life – except for insignificant matters like na-

tional cuisine – in favor of those of the host country. Language, culture and religion similarity are also factors contributing to the likeness of choosing this scenario. The mediocre acculturation strategy called "integration" is difficult in the situation under review due to the polar nature of Russian and Ukrainian points of view on the matters listed above. The level of resentment of the ideas of Ukrainian nation and language themselves among Russians make finding a middle ground between two opposing points of view impossible. Thus the only alternative for Ukrainian newcomers to Russia remains the acculturation strategy ethnosociology calls "separation", which implies aggressive defense of native identity and resentment of values of the host country (Russia). This way is hardly advisable and, not surprisingly, very unpopular. In order to choose it one has to be very passionate about his or her Ukrainian identity, and ready to defend it at any price. Besides the fact that such Ukrainian person is not likely to migrate to Russia in the first place, such an approach would constantly generate conflicts with professors, employers, Russian friends and relatives (if present) and push one to change his or her position. Some variation of the most advisable by ethnosociology strategy of integration might be possible for the case under review if one reaches a wise decision never to discuss Ukraine and politics in general with anyone in Russia besides Ukrainian friends, however not for a person with strong civil position. Also as migrants usually come from not very wealthy families separation strategy puts them in an inferior position in society, which makes preserving and defending their national identity an even more formidable task.

A diaspora-building experience

In spite of these severe difficulties, still a certain number of young people of Ukrainian origin in Russia show in-

terest for their native language, culture and identity. Three years ago there was no such thing as a Ukrainian youth diaspora in Moscow. Ukrainian diaspora in Russia in general is in pretty bad shape: it lacks fresh blood; faces strong opposition from Russian government and, to a lesser extent, society; lacks horizontal ties and net structure – in spite it is managed vertically by officials who are financed by Ukrainian government – and not Ukrainian entrepreneurs in Russia. By all means we should mention giant efforts of Ukrainian Culture Center in Moscow (subject to the Embassy of Ukraine), and, until recently, the Ukrainian library in Moscow, which has recently been raided and closed by FSB. The efforts of those two entities are highly appreciated and serve important purposes, but the majority of attendants of their meetings are senior citizens, and not youth, and those meetings are devoted mostly to cultural issues, which are by all means extremely important, but equally important issues of politics and history are often left out. A floor for discussions, important as it is, is not enough to build a diaspora anyway. The Ukrainian library, the administration of which has my personal deep gratitude for having provided our Ukrainian Youth Club a place to conduct our weekly meetings for a long time, was funded by the Government of Moscow, and thus could not allow us even to raise political or controversial historical issues during our meetings. On an even more important note, the opportunities to study Ukrainian language in Russia cannot even start to cope with the demand. The only possibility to study Ukrainian in Moscow besides the philological higher education system is, to the best knowledge of the author, offered by the Ukrainian Culture Center, while in other regions such opportunities are generally unavailable. No educational institution in Russia offers education in Ukrainian. No school in

Moscow offers Ukrainian language as a subject. In this regard Kremlin's long hysteria of blaming Ukraine for allegedly discriminating Russian language looks like a bad joke: 1199 schools in Ukraine (all financed from Ukrainian taxpayers' pocket) are Russian-language; not a single school in Russia is Ukrainian-language while 4.379.000 Russian Ukrainians constitute Russia's third biggest ethnicity. According to some sources, during talks between Ukrainian diaspora representatives with Moscow officials about opening a Ukrainian school in Moscow the latter suggested asking Kyiv to finance it.

What we were trying to achieve by creating Moscow Youth Club (even before it was called that) was a platform for young Ukrainians of Moscow to meet each other, practice native language and discuss relevant matters, promoting self-awareness and knowledge about Ukraine. The first meeting held in honor of Mikola Gogol's 200th birthday was attended by only 4 people – including 2 co-founders – all students of Moscow State University who met on the Internet. Half a year later a regular meeting was attended by about 20-30 people, and total number of members reached hundreds. Statistically speaking, our members come from very different backgrounds. The most significant difference is whether the person speaks Ukrainian. We adopted a simple policy on this matter to be followed during our meetings, which serves efficiently the goal of popularizing the Ukrainian language among youth of Ukrainian heritage in Russia without preventing potential members from joining by imposing too severe requirements: 1. If you speak Ukrainian, no matter fluent or not, you're to speak only Ukrainian during meetings; 2. If you do not speak Ukrainian, you are allowed to use Russian, although it is not encouraged, but you are not allowed to ask Ukrainian-speaking peers to translate their words into Russian; 3. If you

want to take an active part in coordinating the Club's activities, you have to learn Ukrainian. This policy was a great success: I've seen many members who spoke very bad Ukrainian or none at all during their first meeting develop advanced language skills and fluency in a matter of months.

The second significant denomination is based on members' identity. A recent online poll conducted by the author for the sake of this article on the Club's website showed that 73% members consider themselves Ukrainians, while other 18% consider themselves "Russians of Ukrainian origin". In the author's opinion, the poll corresponds with the actual situation, however due to the small number of participants several unusual cases are left out – for example, an ethnic Tatar who takes a very active and contributive role in Club activities, and several Russians, or members of a different non-Ukrainian origin, who are interested in Ukrainian language and culture.

One more important denomination among members of Ukrainian origin is between 1st generation migrants, 2nd generation migrants and those whose families have lived in Russia for several generations. As suggested by ethnosociology, second generation immigrants rarely have much interest for their routes and fatherland and are easily assimilated. This concept was amazingly reiterated by another online poll among Ukrainian Youth Club members, which showed that 46% of participants are 1st generation migrants, 38% belong to the cohort of those whose ancestors moved to Russia three or more generations ago with only 8% 2nd generation immigrants. These results correspond with the author's initial estimate and illustrate an interesting trend. 1st generation migrants usually speak better Ukrainian and are more educated on the issues of Ukrainian history and culture (because they studied those subjects at school). Most of them are

driven to join the Club by the desire to preserve their identity and to socialize with those who share their views and identity, as well as to maintain native language-speaking skills. Those whose parents or other ancestors had come to Russia before their birth generally lack native language skills and knowledge about Ukraine, but they are driven by the desire to get to know more about themselves as Ukrainians, their identity and ancestral homeland. Thus while the needs of 1st generation migrants at Ukrainian Youth Club are predominantly social, the needs of young Ukrainians born in Russia are more psychological, tied with the desire to discover their true identity, and ontological – to get to know more about it.

Besides regular meetings, another crucial part of Moscow Ukrainian Youth Club activities takes place online. Without the Internet no Ukrainian Youth Club activities would be possible in the first place. Social network VKontakte serves as the main platform for recruiting new members. A wide net of groups of Russian Ukrainians from different regions, towns and

universities is currently functioning in VKontakte with the main one, "Ukrainians of Russia", having about 28.000 members. "Ukrainians of Moscow", one of the most active groups with about 700 members, is used as a platform for discussions, planning meetings and recruiting new members by Mosacow Ukrainian Youth Club. Besides that, Ukrainian Youth Club runs an official website umkmoscow.at.ua. A popular website Vecheerka.ru is also affiliated with the Club.

Where do we go from here?

So far Moscow Ukrainian Youth club turns out to be a successful project in reaching its initial goals: to create an opportunity for young Ukrainians of Moscow to meet each other, to socialize, to learn native language and to learn more about Ukraine. Whether it should be transformed in something bigger or different and what its direction of development should be is a question to be answered in the nearest future. Current challenges, new opportunities ahead and plans for the future are a topic for another article.



CUPP rewards session two discussants with Certificate of Appreciation. 04.07.2011.



New Criminal Justice System: High Time For It To Happen

Nazar FEDORCHUK, Lawyer, CUPP 2000

Nazar Fedorchuk completed the CUPP internship in 2000 in the office of Sarmite Bulte. He graduated from the Faculty of Law of the University of Lviv in 2001. In 2004 he earned a Master Of Laws / PhD Degree at the University of Oxford. Since 2007 has worked as a Legal Specialist in the US Department of Justice, OPDAT Program.

In this short paper I will discuss what has been done in the criminal justice area, the importance of it, and what has yet to be achieved.

Ukraine has been on the reform track for almost 20 years now. In 1995 it specifically committed itself to reform its criminal justice system and the prosecution service. Unfortunately, neither of the proposed reforms has been implemented, for a number of reasons. The main reason seems to be the lack of understanding what the procedures should look like and what role should be given to law enforcement agencies, i.e. the police and prosecutor's office, in a democratic, liberal and civil society. Lack of political will is an important factor too, maybe even a key factor.

On June 16, 2011, a generally good pro-European draft Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) was approved at the Presidential Working Group Level. To a great extent this was the text prepared by the previous administration's working group with extensive involvement of foreign experts. The draft CPC has a good chance of being passed by parliament by the end of this year.

What should the new criminal justice system look like? The short answer is that it should resemble in its fundamental ideas, the system of West European countries. Citizens should place their trust in the police and believe that the initiated prosecutions will be fair. They should trust the judiciary and know this last resort, if they turn to it, will be independent and fair. The criminal justice system should protect citizens, their rights and property – not the state, and it should prosecute genuine criminals (including for white

collar crime). Laws should be applied equally, not selectively.

Talking about specific criminal procedures, if they are properly implemented, they can prevent many abuses and set up a generally democratic criminal justice system. The most common abuse that we can observe today, including in most recent public high profile cases – is the over-extensive use of pre-trial detention. Some judges believe this is in fact already a punishment used to break the will of a citizen at the pre-trial investigation phase. Meanwhile, there is no mechanism for implementing a bail (bond) system in Ukraine. For example, the courts do not even have bank accounts suitable for depositing bail money. Other problems include the low level of acquittals (only 0,06% in 2010), ill treatment of those in custody and extensive unchecked prosecutorial powers.

The new Code is mandating the first steps to tackle these issues. For example, the Code eliminates a number of archaic procedures, like returning the case for additional investigation, which is used today instead of acquittals, provides prosecutor with the power to guide investigations, streamlines the process through eliminating complex bureaucratic procedures (like inquiry and operative detective activity) and many formal stages ("opening the case"), eliminates some control of prosecution over defense. It also provides law enforcements with modern tools to fight complex organized crime and corruption. At the same time, there are a number of issues inconsistent with adversarial system that needs serious consideration: the role of judiciary and defense needs to be

further broadened, while "inquisitory" powers shrank.

Will the Code itself present the reform of criminal justice *system*? I think no. Even perfect laws are misused, if the personnel is not qualified enough, or corrupt. Therefore, broad institutional reform needs to follow passage of the CPC: hiring new personnel under new rules *and* training them, providing them with new equipment *and* setting up modern ways of managing government assets, safeguarding their independence *and* securing their accountability. The reform of the *system* means that it should be comprehensive and done in the way that would uphold checks and balances.

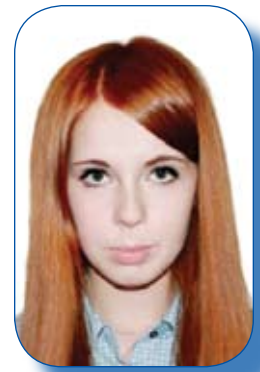
For example, the new Law on Free Legal Aid that passed earlier this year will require: (1) creating offices of free legal aid around the country and (2) allocating funds sufficient to compensate lawyers for their work. This will also mean that (3) the prosecutors should gradually give up some powers, specifically those affiliated with representation of people in courts – as the Council of Europe reminds, this is the function that prosecutors are ill-equipped to fulfill.

This single example shows the amount of effort that should be undertaken to set up a tiny part of criminal justice system – free legal aid. Reforming whole criminal justice system is far more challenging endeavor. But the key to this is no secret to anyone: it is through compliance with Council of Europe standards, use of best international practices and experience of successful countries. Even if this means giving up powers, or traditional practices, or restructuring the government.

Expectations about CUPP 2011

Victoria NAZAROVA

Moscow State Linguistic University
Intern to Russ Hiebert, MP
2011 Cathy Obal Scholarship recipient



When I returned home from Prague where I studied for 3 months at Charles University, unpacked my suitcase and... with just one message from my Ukrainian teacher I learned about the CUPP program. And this is how the idea was born: "Maybe I should not put away my suitcase deep into a wardrobe and apply for this unique Internship program in far-away Canada?"

The CUPP program description stated that an applicant must speak Ukrainian and English or French. My immediate reaction was that I may be able to qualify as I am studying two of the languages at University – English and Ukrainian. Although I am not Ukrainian and I do not have any close relatives in Ukraine, inexplicably, somehow the Ukrainian language and literature became my destiny when I entered Moscow State Linguistic University.

Our University is famous for the wide range of foreign languages which are taught there. And when you enter MSLU you should not be surprised that you can study almost any language from Azeri to Japanese. However, it is now clearer for me, why I am studying Ukrainian. Ukraine is developing as a European country and so is the Ukrainian language. Ukraine may serve as a model for European integration for the rest of the former Soviet Union. That's why today, some Russian universities include Ukrainian in their curricula and MSLU was among the first to do so.

So, here I am, a student from Russia going to Canada to see the country, serve an Internship in Ottawa and hopefully find new friends from

Ukraine, from the Ukrainian Diaspora and from among Canadians of all ancestries.

I imagine these two months being full of impressions and useful knowledge, meeting interesting people and visiting places I have not known about. Along with that I am really looking forward to learning more about Canada as a state and get a view from the inside of how the Canadian Parliament works. And this I imagine is what CUPP is about. I believe it is not an ordinary internship, but a promising experience which I will be fortunate to complete.

Visiting another country and going abroad always changes you in meaningful ways. It may not change your personality, but it adds something intangible: maybe a new way of thinking, new approaches or revolutionary ideas. Every trip is like a breath of fresh air, it keeps you alive, gives you new inspiration to create and pro-

duce. And to make changes. It does not depend on what country you are heading for, or when or what for. This incomparable feeling of diving into an unfamiliar culture different from yours is what everyone should experience to feel alive.

Speaking of culture and language in particular, I would honestly say that this is what interests me primarily. Being a student of the Linguistic University I cannot wait to practice both languages which I study. I wonder how my skills will help me to work and communicate with Canadians and Ukrainian students from all over Ukraine.

I hope that CUPP'11 will be an event in my life I will never forget. Whatever it will be: surprising, challenging, interesting, maybe even exhausting and unpredictable, exciting or just fun!



Olga Zakrevska's Replacement. Topic: International Organizations and Donor Agencies in Ukraine. Should Ukraine borrow money from the IMF and the World Bank? 04.07.2011.



My Expectations About CUPP

Andriy MIRONENKO

Lomonosov Moscow State University
Mazurenko Family Scholarship
Intern to Megan Leslie, MP, Halifax, Nova Scotia

My expectations about CUPP, although they fall into separate categories, are interconnected. Firstly, I am excited about learning from the experience of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. I have been taking part in the activities of Ukrainian diaspora in Russia for several years and have always admired the achievements and successes of Ukrainian diaspora in Canada and other Western countries in politics, economy and culture (for example, numerous Canadian politicians of Ukrainian origin, the success of multiculturalism policy, the influential Ukrainian World Congress and widely developed Ukrainian youth organizations like Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and Plast). Learning from their experience and building ties between the Ukrainian diasporas of Canada

in Russia would augment Ukrainian youth diaspora of Russia in general and Moscow Ukrainian Youth Club (of which I am a co-founder) in particular. By extending my knowledge about the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, I will better my ability to educate young Ukrainians of Moscow about how an active Ukrainian diaspora functions.

Secondly, I regard CUPP as an important step in my education and career. My short-term career plans after CUPP include applying for a couple of internships at leading American think-tanks and then applying for graduate school. I believe that participation in CUPP will provide me first-hand public policy experience, an opportunity to greatly extend my knowledge of Canadian political system, further my understanding of democratic parliamentary process, and political English-speaking skills, thus upping my

chances to successfully realize the career plans listed above.

Thirdly, I am simply excited about visiting Canada. One of the most developed, safe and possessing highest life standards countries in the world, Canada has vast territories and diverse nature. In regard of everyday life in Ottawa, according to the logs of previous CUPP interns, I expect busy, but exciting and educating days.

In regard of my previous education, I am graduating from the Faculty of World Politics of Lomonosov Moscow State University, which is the oldest and one of the most prestigious universities of Russia. I am specializing with the Department of International Security. My thesis was dedicated to U.S. National Security Space Strategy in the beginning of the 21st century, thus my field of interest includes issues of space security, space military strategy, defense policy, space policy and strategic studies. The field of space security issues is severely underdeveloped in Russia. Few space-faring nations besides the USA possess military and civil space capabilities comparable to Russia, yet such a term as "politics of space security" is non-existent in Russia. The pioneer in space technology, funding space programs, militarization of space and space security studies is obviously the USA, thus the vast majority of sources I used for my thesis come from there. Although the famous comprehensive Space Security annual report, one of the cornerstones of my thesis, is published in Canada.

I am looking forward to CUPP and expect it to be an interesting and rewarding experience.



Brigid McCarthy, US National Public Radio. Topic: Constructing a Post-Soviet Identity: A Journalist's Perspective of Ukraine. 04.07.2011.

My Expectations About CUPP

Klavdia TATAR

Kazan Federal University of Russian Federation
Intern to Brian Masse, MP for Windsor, Ontario
2011 Dr. Roma & Stefan Franko Scholarship



July 1 was my happy day for 2 reasons – the official one – I graduated from my university and the second one – I received a long-expected letter from CUPP Director Ihor Bardyn with his heartfelt congratulations and invitation to come to Canada as a CUPP intern. It was an unforgettable day, I swear!

This is going to be my first trip to North America, and without doubt I strongly believe Canada will show me its smiling face, with its positive minded people and democratic government.

I have completed my studies at university this month, but I must say that life in Russia, especially in Kazan, was a special lesson in my life. It is to be recalled that Kazan is the capital of Tatarstan and not Moscow or Saint-Petersburg. It is a multi-ethnic city, where historically Christians and Muslims have lived side by side in peace, it sounds unbelievable but true. It was here, and not in Kyiv or somewhere else, that I got my lifelong "vaccine" against racism and national/religious intolerance. Among my friends were people from different nationalities. Here we used to discuss our religion, lifestyle, and share our cultural backgrounds. Since then, I have enjoyed living in a multicultural environment. Now I would like Canada to show me how its own multicultural society works.

Another thing I wish to see in Canada are our Ukrainian immigrants. In 2009 after my Ukrainian vacation in Kyiv I was lucky enough to find a tiny book written by Anne Figus-Ralko from Winnipeg. This lady described her family story, hard life of first Ukrainian pioneers, with their devotion to Ukrainian roots and religion. But what cut me to the heart was their quiet

love of the Homeland and a strong wish of Ukrainian Canadians to help their compatriots, which took shape in creation of various charities. Later I learned about Ukrainian Canadians much more, about thousands of people who helped Ukraine practically, in small and big ways. One such person sent books to a provincial library, another one built a Shevchenko monument, yet another one bought a car for the village emergency force.

I found Ukrainian Canadians very patriotic, since then I have wished to meet and communicate with them personally. To find friends among local Ukrainians would be really great!

This year I devoted my thesis to Ukrainian Canadians, and I am not going to leave this topic afterwards, because I strongly believe that Ukrainians, wherever they live, have a lot to learn from their Canadian compatriots. Also I hope this trip to Canada would inspire me to continue my scientific work and develop my chosen topic.

Concerning Russia, it was quite interesting to be Ukrainian. Here I realized that we have to prove our identity and difference from Russians in the

eyes of others. I know what it means to be an "ambassador" of your nation, and it matters a good deal! Actually my surrounding, finally, appreciated my wish to be Ukrainian in Russia, and my respect for the national roots and history. An especially positive part of my Russian life was working in the local Ukrainian community. I have learned a lot there, and become more patriotic than when I was when living in Ukraine. "We know not what is good until we have lost it" would describe my feelings to Ukraine pretty well.

I wish to express my deep respect to Ihor Bardyn, because I have never thought I would be able to come Canada and participate in CUPP, and I believe that his hard daily work inspires young Ukrainians, like me, to make our Ukraine better and more prosperous afterwards. Such a contribution will keep this person in the minds of the past CUPP interns for long years ahead. And, I am very much looking forward to meet with this thoughtful man in Canada!



Andriy Kulykov, live anchor, talk-show "Svoboda Slova", ICTV. Topic: Ukrainian Politicians: Changing methods to influence public opinion through mass media.



Giorgi Vashadze, Deputy Minister of Justice, Tbilisi, Georgia. Topic: Georgia's battle against corruption: Lessons for Ukraine. 04.07.2011.



9 July 2011
Berlin, Germany

Bundestag Revisited

Pavlo Shopin served as Intern to Michael Ignatieff in 2006 and as CUPP Coordinator and Intern to Andrew Telegdi in 2008. He graduated from the University of Luhansk in 2008 with a Master of Philosophy Degree in English and Literature and was enrolled in the PhD in General Linguistics Program at the University of Luhansk in 2008. In 2009 he received a Fulbright Scholarship to do a ten-month research at the University of California, Berkeley in the USA. In 2011 he was awarded an International Parliamentary Scholarship of the German Bundestag and served as Intern to Ms. Kirsten Lohmann. In 2011 Pavlo was awarded a Cambridge-Ukraine Scholarship to do a Master of Philosophy in European Literature and Culture at the University of Cambridge. He will begin his Master program studies at Cambridge this September.

Introduction

I have been doing internship in the German Bundestag as a participant of the International Parliamentary Scholarship (IPS) of the German Bundestag since May 1, 2011. The IPS enables politically engaged young college graduates from Central and Eastern Europe as well as from the USA and France to get to know the German parliamentary system through a five-month stay in Berlin (March 1 through July 31). The IPS invites graduates from 27 countries and includes a 15-week internship in the office of members of the German parliament. About 120 interns from 27 countries do internship annually and the Ukrainian youth are among them. During the internship the interns are also officially registered as students at three most prominent Berlin Universities. The Humboldt University of Berlin administers the academic program. If you would like to apply for the IPS Program, all you need is to be a citizen of one of the 27 participant states, speak German, recently graduate or to expect graduation and have an interest in the political life of Germany and your home country.

Background

My Bundestag internship comes after two internships in the Canadian Parliament in 2006 and 2008 and it allows me to see it perhaps at a somewhat different comparative angle. I



am in no way unique in this regard as Marat Oganessian, who was CUPP intern in 2005, also participated in the IPS Program and am currently doing his PhD at the Free University of Berlin. In this article I would like to tell you about my personal experiences, obtained during the IPS Program.

Benefits of the Program

I have benefitted from the IPS Program in several ways. Firstly, I have learned more about the operation and structure of a strong European democracy in one of the most technologically and socially advanced countries of the world. Meeting the representatives of German authorities, I had a unique opportunity to learn about the cornerstones on which the democratic governance in Germany is based. During the Program I have come to better understand the principles of the state and grassroots organizations that allow Germany to stand prominently on the list of well-developed multicultural states.

Secondly, I have gained cultural awareness through daily communications with Germans. Ukrainians have much to learn from German civil society. On the other hand Germans also benefit interaction with the foreign interns, as this exchange greatly improves relations between our countries. It was very informative for me to learn about German culture and everyday life of ordinary citizens in Germany. This experience and information will be useful in my research in the field of cultural linguistics.

The daily communications during the IPS Program gave me a chance to expand and deepen my knowledge of the German language. Proficiency in German allows me to communicate with international organizations such as the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and other international bodies.

I have established contacts with politicians and government workers in Germany. I can expand and develop further cooperation and help facilitate greater relationships between the civic and university authorities in my hometown of Luhansk and my hosts in Berlin.

Intercultural dialogue

In the Bundestag, I have done my best to be a cultural ambassador, so that people learn more about Ukraine. I devoted my efforts to uphold the spirit and aims of the IPS Program and to improve cooperation among the

participants. From my perspective, cross-cultural communication is one of the priorities of this Program. I have never had the opportunity to meet and dialogue with so many representatives from so many different countries. It was a worthwhile experience when I had an opportunity to discover common interests and values with other participants. This international dialogue, being organized by the IPS program for 25 years, can ensure peace in Europe and good relations between Europe and America. Through the IPS program Germany is strongly committed to multi-cultural cooperation and improved international relations. My IPS internship is unforgettable, as I have learned much about other countries and cultures. Having spent five months communicating with other IPS interns from 27 different states, I have to say that Ukrainians have much in common with the participants from France, the USA, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary and other democratic countries that I am absolutely sure that Ukraine can attain Western standards of democracy and finally join the European family of nations.

My internship in MP's office

As an intern in the office of MP Kirsten Lühmann I have learned a lot about the work of MPs in Germany. The val-

ues of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) are very close to me, therefore, the internship was very useful for me in this sense. I could see how Social Democrats defend their values and the diversity within the Social Democratic camp. I attended Party Caucus meetings, meetings of working groups and experts meetings of the SPD. By visiting the committees and plenary sessions I have seen how the German parliament works and how different parties cooperate with each other. It is important for Ukrainians to understand that parties stand for values and not for oligarchs or power brokers, and the internships in the Canadian Parliament and the German Bundestag, allow Ukrainians to see this important difference between our government and the governments of our Western partners.

Multiple tasks in Berlin office

In my MPs office I have had to undertake a wide-ranging number of tasks and projects. Many similar to me work in the Canadian Parliament. My MP receives a variety of letters requesting information, explanation of legislation and assistance. In order to answer these inquiries I had to research the areas of concern and prepare a reply. As well I worked to research and prepare press releases and information bulletins. In addition there are daily office chores, coordination and scheduling of appointments, preparation of meetings and sittings of committees. I responded to invitations to community functions and was responsible for posting all of my MPs activities on her personal website. An important activity is the visits to the Bundestag by citizens from my MPs constituency. In organizing these visits and tours I met many of my MPs voters. These exchanges were mutually beneficial as I got to hear the concerns of average Germans and they got to see their Parliament and its operation.

It is incredible but every year my MP organizes Bundestag tours for about 1000 visitors from her constituency. If we use this number as an average number per MP, it means that about 600 000 visitors come to Bundestag every year. Transparency is a high priority here and Germans can be proud of their state for being so open and democratic. Even the modern parliamentary buildings reflect this preference for transparency. The offices have huge glass walls instead of windows and workers from different offices can see each other. Some people joke that it excludes the possibility of sleeping in the office and I found it also somewhat disturbing at first. But then I understood that this open plan organization of parliament has a very strong symbolic meaning for Germans. Transparency should make it impossible to ever pull Germany away from democracy and freedom and even the architecture serves this purpose.

Among other things, I have attended meetings to represent Frau Lühmann both inside and outside of the Parliament. I have worked a great deal with my MP's assistants in the office and felt like a real member of her parliamentary staff, because I was entrusted to fulfill a variety of assignments. This collaboration in the office meant that I have not only found acquaintances, but have made friends with my MP and her assistants. My MP has spent a lot of time communicating with me. I could talk to her almost every day, which reminded me of my second internship in the Canadian Parliament when I worked with MP Andrew Telegdi who has become my friend and we still keep in touch. In the Transport Committee and in the Committee on Internal Affairs I have learned many new things. Migration policy, integration courses, urban development, right wing extremism, radioactive waste disposal facility in Gorleben, Fukushima and other topics were the focus of our office. Co-



From L to R: MP Bernd Scheelen, Pavlo Shopin, and MP Kirsten Lühmann.

operation and team spirit were most important for me during my internship. During my internship, I helped to organize two conferences. For the SPD parliamentary group I volunteered to help with **SPD Maritime Conference**. **As well I contributed as** a member of the Organizing Committee of the CUPP Oxford Model Ukraine Conference, which took place in April 2011 at Oxford University.

In the constituency offices

My visits to my MPs constituency were very informative and important, as I was able to observe and understand how my MP works with the citizens of her constituency. During the first trip to Uelzen I participated in various expert meetings. I also met the staff in the constituency, and did office work. A lot of events in the constituency were very interesting and impressive. My participation in the demonstration on May 1 in Celle was very exciting. I also learned about citizen initiatives in the constituency and talked to citizens about their issues and concerns.

German Political Foundations

Foundation tours and meetings with political foundations gave me a sound

insight into how the government cooperates with civil society and how democratic values are supported in Germany. Before my internship, I was not aware that there were so many political foundations in Germany and what role they played in society. During the IPS program, I received important information about the political foundations in Germany. Now I can continue to develop contacts with these foundations in Ukraine. We visited Rosa Luxembourg Foundation (The Left), Hans Seidel Foundation (Christian Social Union), Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Social Democratic Party), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Christian Democratic Union) and Friedrich Naumann Foundation (Free Democratic Party). The Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation is the organization with which I would like to continue cooperation in Ukraine. In 2006 I participated in a Simulation Game, focusing on EU integration, which was organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and fellow CUPP Alumnus Marat Oganessian was one of the organizers, as well. Thus, I can say that I have already had some experience in working with German political foundations but now I have acquired important knowledge about further development of such cooperation and have seen the full spectrum of empowering the civil society by the German political foundations.

Lectures at Berlin universities

I appreciate the academic activities at the three Berlin universities and a lot of interns took courses during their internship. The IPS lectures on current topics were also informative and useful for all interns. The seminars at Humboldt University, which I audited, were of the highest quality. They made interesting discussions possible and have evoked a lot of original thoughts. I have learned about European integration and identity, and have deepened my knowledge about the EU and Germany.

Public Work

It is very good that this year the IPS Newsletter was published for the first time in 25 years. I wrote an article for the newsletter about my personal experiences in Berlin and also participated in the photo media contest, because I took many beautiful photos. For me it was a very good opportunity to show my creativity. In addition I have also created an English-language Wikipedia page about the IPS program.

Between Tosca, Anna Karenina and Paul Löbe

My personal experiences during the program have been invaluable. I have made so many new friends and learned to communicate with other participants and MP's assistants. During the Program we participated in many group activities and formed a strong bond as a strong team at the end of the IPS program. In Berlin I also enjoyed modern and traditional culture. I visited numerous museums, theaters, cinemas and operas. Together with other interns I attended performances of Tosca, Rigoletto, Anna Karenina, Cherry Orchard, Salome, We Children from Bahnhof Zoo, Rusalka, Caucasian Chalk Circle, A Streetcar Named Desire, Oedipus at Kolonus, Romeo and Juliet and many other classical and contemporary works of art in Berlin. For me, Berlin is a city of culture. I have developed a better understanding not only of German culture, but also of world culture, in Berlin.

Conclusion

It is impossible in a brief article to describe all the events in which I personally participated during the IPS Program 2011. The visits to Sankelmark Academy, where we learned about the rights of national minorities in Germany, Stettin, Brussels (Hans Seidel Foundation, NATO Headquarters and Waterloo) and other places have been



described in this brief sketch.

As for the influence of IPS Program on me in general, I can say I have benefited greatly as an IPS intern and tried to contribute as much to the Program. During the Program I have observed the democratic structure of German society. I will try to implement the knowledge acquired here, in

my home country. I am happy that I could learn so much about culture and people in Germany, which is also very beneficial for Ukraine. Without doubt this Program provided an opportunity for my future self-development, and opportunities for the development of my professional career and future scientific and social activities.

Finally, I would like to thank MP Kirsten L hmann and her team for support and cooperation.

P.S. If you would like to learn more about the IPS Program, please visit the following website: http://www.bundestag.de/europa_internationales/internat_austausch/ips/index.jsp.

Scholarships at University of Toronto

- Dmytro and Natalia Haluszka Family Scholarship in Ukrainian Studies
- Dr. John Romanko Graduate Fellowship
- Dr. Roman Turko and Yaroslawa Turko Scholarship in Ukrainian Studies
- Edward N. Burstynsky / Ontario Graduate Scholarship in Linguistics
- George Luckyj Prize
- H. Gordon Skilling Fund
- Ivan Bodnarchuk Scholarship in Ukrainian Studies
- Ivan Franko Scholarship in Ukrainian Language and Literature
- Ivan Szak Scholarship in Mathematics
- Ivan Szak Scholarship in Mathematics and Physics
- Petro Jacyk Graduate Scholarship in Ukrainian Studies
- Taras Shevchenko Memorial Scholarship in Ukrainian
- Wolodymyr (Walter) Iwanyk Scholarship in Ukrainian Studies



Dinner

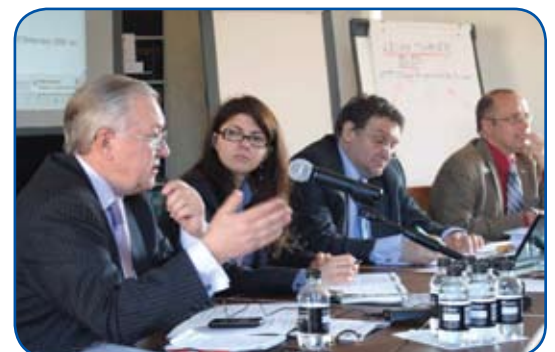


Left top: CUPP Interns.

Left bottom: Oxford University.

Right top: CUPP 2011 Interns.

Right bottom: Borys Tarasyuk, Member of Ukraine's Parliament. Topic: Ukraine's foreign policy priorities.





Life, education and planning a future after studies at the University of Berlin

Olya SHUDRAK

University of Lviv, Humboldt University of Berlin
Intern to James Bezan, MP for Selkirk–Interlake, Manitoba
2011 John & Julia Stashuk Scholarship recipient

If luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity, then I was extremely lucky when I was selected for the Master in British Studies programme at Humboldt University of Berlin, one of the oldest and renowned universities in Europe.

My two-year-programme started with a German intensive course, which, for me was international in scope as the students who were enrolled in the programme, came from almost every European country but also from North America. The course was comprehensive and in addition to daily classes, it also comprised outdoor activities, which were one of the beneficial tools to get us closer to the city, its culture and history.

The introductory month passed very quickly and matriculation day arrived. That day I learned that students in Germany do not have a specific student ID, but instead they receive a so-called semester-ticket which serves the function of a semester ticket for all manner of transportation and is the only official evidence of your student status. Additionally, I was pleasantly impressed with the fact that the facilities and doors of all educational institutions in Berlin are open to any student, which provides an incredible opportunity to broaden your outlook and become familiar with as many subjects as you wish.

At the Centre for British Studies I had the opportunity to embark on a rigid study programme with highly intelligent and motivated students from different parts of Europe and even Canada. Of great value and assistance were the professors of the Centre who

always encouraged our heated discussions, excellent performance and mutual cooperation. Furthermore, the Centre has established good collaboration with a number of top European universities and, annually invites visiting professors to Humboldt University to teach courses on a wide range of subjects. This tradition is simply incomparable and, I believe, should be implemented in every university.

I always wanted to know how European education is similar or different to Ukrainian education, and this was the year when I finally got the answer. Students in Germany study as hard as in Ukraine, but in more advantageous conditions and perspectives. The biggest library in Berlin, Jacob-und-Wilhelm-Grimm-Zentrum, is a shining example of the motivating atmosphere available to students. It is so popular that sometimes it is impossible to find a place to study there, because of the large number of students the library attracts. I spent a great amount of my time there as well, since it is convenient not only for individual studying but for working in groups, which is very common in Germany.

Apart from studies, I became a member of UNICEF Berlin the primary aim of which is to communicate topical issues to pupils of different ages in schools, to educate younger generations and foster good values in them.

The Embassy of Ukraine in Berlin organised on a regular basis a variety of events and I attended them with great pleasure, since it is one of the few places where you could communicate in Ukrainian and meet interesting people.

Furthermore, I attended meetings for PhD-students in order to get ac-

quainted with approaches and methods PhD students are developing and implementing in their researches. The discussions facilitated my understanding of certain phenomena and stimulated me to identify probable areas of post-graduate studies, which I may wish to pursue.

It is satisfying to admit that education in Germany occupies an important role in the country's on-going development process. That is why Germany invests significant resources into its educational system and engages as many highly qualified personnel as are required. As a university student in Germany, you not only have free access to lecturers based on current expertise and theories, but also to a variety of practical trainings and workshops which comprise a complementary part of every university. Universities are the right place to become a well-versed individual and become well prepared for the future in adult life.



Dundee back to Rivne

Oleh KRYKAVSKYY

University

Intern to

2011 Scholarship recipient



I have just returned home from Dundee, Scotland, where I completed a Master in Energy Law and Policy program at the University of Dundee.

I was lucky enough to study with students from 55 different nationalities, from Indonesia to Trinidad and Tobago. So near and yet so far an opportunity is one of the benefits of studies abroad. Ukraine is only 3 hours away by plane to Dundee, less than by bus from Kyiv to Rivne.

I was impressed by how the state functions in the UK – everything from the police to the University works, as it should. It comes from the British mentality and because they live on islands and nowhere to escape or leave readily they had no other options but to maintain an orderly and civil society.

The Scots reminded me and looked like our *hutsuly* – proud of their country, strong-willed and hospitable.

Brits are proud of their Monarchy and don't mind too much what is happening in Brussels or elsewhere.

Ukraine, on the contrary, is in a transitory and migratory mentality and is continually looking around for direction or approval. We continue fail to realize that our future is in our own hands.

To lead and to become a leader you should have a statesman-like mind and vision as well as self-respect. Ukraine's leadership seems shy to lead the way. We still do not have government for the people. We have rule by dictate.

And we seem to be afraid to dream. All great nations started with great dreams and visions I discovered many Africans who never complained about their life. But they strive for improvement in their countries. They taught

me that oil might be a course for unstable countries.

My best friend is from India and I learned to understand why the Far East is so sensitive. I understood why Latin America and India would not be as rich as the USA – because this is not their priority.

When my Turkish friend brought me a cup of coffee on my first day of studies – I felt I am at home.

And I am also happy, that after completing their studies my friends left Dundee with knowledge about Ukraine. My Chinese flat-mate learned 'I love you' in Ukrainian, my Pakistani friend starts every new letter to me with the Ukrainian greeting 'Pryvit' and another friend uses 'Bud'mo' instead

of 'Cheers'.

My Polish and Finnish friends will visit me in Kyiv in two weeks and I feel Dundee will stay forever as a meeting point. Dundee showed me that people, who achieved a lot in their life, become more easy-going and cosmopolitan. These experiences help me to strive to discover everything new, to enjoy my life and to keep things simple.

This long journey from Ottawa, Canada (my first foreign trip) to Dundee, United Kingdom (my most recent trip) taught me to dream. No limits anymore.



**Yaroslav KOVALCHUK**

University of

Intern to

2011 Scholarship recipient

The New Face to Mass Protests

Mass protests, initiated by the youth movement «Geração a rasca» ("Generation in Trouble"), took place in major cities of Portugal on March 12, 2011. According to the rough estimates of Portuguese mass media, around 300 000 people participated in the manifestations, the biggest of which were held in Lisbon (200 000 people) and Porto (50 000 people).

When society gradually, but for a long time accumulates the energy of social dissatisfaction, there may occur events which would otherwise go unnoticed, but having occurred in a particular place and at a particular point of time, they play the role of a trigger that gives a start to something massive and grandiose.

In October 1990 the Revolution on the Granite started with the starvation of 100 Ukrainian students and in several days it grew into a mass protest movement, which rallied dozens of thousands of Ukrainians. An impetus for Tunisian revolution, which in its turn caused social unrest in the whole Arab world, was the act of self-immolation by Tunisian street vender Mohamed Bouazizi, who thus wanted to express his protest against the impossibility of a young person to realize oneself in one's own country. Mass protests, which took place in Portugal this March, in many ways, were provoked with... a song.

In February 2011 Portuguese folk-band "Deolinda" introduced a new composition "What a Fool I am", in which a young person was complaining about a low salary, an impossibility

to financially sustain a family and the need to live in the parents' house, ending it with a refrain that "the world is so silly that in order to be a slave one must study". In a few days the song became extremely popular and it was perceived as nothing but an anthem of the youth, which was ready to protest.

On February 4th, four youth activists created a group «Geração a rasca» in social network Facebook, asking youth to participate in the manifestation on March 12th. In a month the group already had 50 000 members and, according to the Manifest – the program document prepared by the activists – it consisted of unemployed, part-time, fake independent workers, students, trainees who work for years without signing a contract, the workers who can barely make ends meet with a minimal salary of 500 euros, and other categories of citizens, who, according to the European standards, may be regarded as "socially insecure".

The organizers underscored the peaceful character of the protests. Their major demand was to consider the position of youth and to involve young people in the development of common solution how to lead the country out of the crisis situation it is currently in. The youth activists claim that 20-to-30-year-old people are probably the most well educated generation in Portuguese history, but in the economic aspect they are probably in the worst situation in the country. For years young people tried to find a job with little success. Once they find a job, they are ceaselessly afraid of losing it, as long-term contracts are signed only on rare occasions.

They have to live on so-called "green cheques", which allow employers to save money on social payments, do not foresee thirteenth salary and paid vacation. Taking into account all of the above-mentioned conditions, young people claim that it is impossible to realize their potential, to assure future planning of family life or at least existence, independent of parents' support.

Interestingly, the organizers did not want to be associated with any political force, as the majority of the population was disappointed with the performance of political parties represented in parliament. Taking to account the experience of anti-Tax code manifestations in Ukraine, the organizers of which deliberately tried to avoid any party affiliations, and the experience of revolutions in the Arab countries, in which opposition political parties barely existed under authoritarian rule, one common tendency may be detected. Because of the development of social networks and the Internet, civil society enters a new stage of its maturity, when political parties lose their influence as the potential organizers of the protests and local activists receive a new effective platform for coordinating the actions of their fellow citizens.

More analogies with Ukrainian realities appear when you read the slogans of the protesters: "No to nepotism while getting a job!" "We are against fake democracy!", "No to forced emigration – it is our country as well!" and "No to bureaucracy!" In March the Portuguese government announced tax hikes and benefits cuts, which were among the demands of the EU. However, the state spending on civil

servants was planned to remain on a high level, though the representatives of all branches of government (for example, education sphere) were on the verge of mass lay-offs. It would worsen the unemployment rate, which in 2010 reached a record-breaking level of 11.1 per cent, having increased one and a half times, in just two years. At the same time in June 2010 more than 20 per cent of the officially unemployed were young people from 15 to

25. Such negative indices as well as the need to pay off 20 billion euros of the international loans already in 2011 were among the major reasons why, according to the magazine Business Insider, Portugal is in fifth place in the world, regarding the risk of default. By the way, Ukraine is in sixth place in this rating.

The Portuguese consider themselves to be a very patient nation, which can use street protests as an

extreme form of struggle. Nevertheless, though the manifestation organized by "The Generation in Trouble" at first was planned as a youth event, it managed to rally the representatives of different age groups and generations. It allowed some protesters even to draw parallels with the Carnation Revolution on April 25th, 1974, when mass protests led to the overthrow of ultra-right dictatorship in the country.

What You need to know before applying to a Graduate Program in North America

Roman TASHLITSKY served as Intern to Hon. Dr. Rey Pagtakhan in 2002 and as CUPP Coordinator and Intern to Inky Mark in 2003. He graduated from the University of Volyn in 2003 with a Degree in Romance and Germanic Philology and in 2007 received a Fulbright Scholarship to study at San Francisco State University in the USA. He earned a Master's Degree in Comparative Literature in 2009 and taught literature at Ostroh Academy. In 2011 Roman has been awarded a Graduate Fellowship at the University of Toronto. He will begin his PhD research and studies in Toronto in September in the area of Slavic Studies. Roman is married and has a daughter Orycia-Malva.



Many CUPPERS sooner or later make up their mind to pursue their graduate studies in North America. Many of them apply for programs like Fulbright or Muskie, which, after successful selection process, select universities for them. However, others prefer to apply on their own. This option is more challenging and costly, but it provides more choice and flexibility.

Today all necessary information for prospective graduate students is available online, but some common tips can be useful to know before applying for MA and PhD scholarships.

1. Plan early. It's a long process. While filling in an online application can take only about an hour, you'll need many supplementing materials, like letters of reference, TOEFL/GRE scores, statement of purpose, writing sample, etc. to be prepared beforehand. It takes approximately half

a year to prepare a good application. Application deadlines are usually in October-January, so you can start as early as May.

2. Collect money. The cost of applying can be frustrating for most Ukrainian students: 90-120 dollars per application. Add the cost of taking TOEFL/GRE (175/190 dollars), requesting your official score reports (17/23 dollars per copy), sending hard copies of requested materials via international mail, etc. So, be ready that applying to 5-7 universities can cost you about 1,000 dollars.

3. Be technically prepared. For example, many foreign universities don't realize Ukrainian transcripts/diplomas are original and irreplaceable. Usually Ukrainian applicants submit certified and translated copies of transcripts. Make sure it works for the university you apply to before the deadline.

Another problem you may encounter: some universities accept only one type of credit cards for payment (for example, Mastercard and no Visa), so it's important to be aware of it.

Finally, today many universities prefer electronically submitted letters of reference. Make sure your reference person can use the internet (not so obvious for our home professors), otherwise you'll lose some two weeks before the letter reaches the university you apply to via regular mail.

4. Be realistic about your university choice. Usually big and famous schools offer more scholarships, but the competition there is higher as well. So choose, say, two universities of your dream (for example, Harvard, McGill), two less famous universities, and two least challenging ones. This will increase your chances. By the way, experts from UC Berkeley rec-

ommend applying to between 5 and 10 universities: "If you apply to fewer than 5, you seriously limit your options; if you apply to more than 10, you seriously damage your bank account!"

5. Finally, if you're selected and you accept the offer, **start your visa**

application process and look for housing right away. Usually it takes more time to get a study permit and visa for a long-term program than for a short visit. For example, for Canada it takes at least 6 weeks. Regarding housing, many universities offer

their own accommodation on campus. Usually there is a waiting list, and the sooner you get on the list, the more chances you'll have to get the housing before the start of your classes.

Basically, that's it, you can always google for details ;) Good luck!



Tips for applying to Summer Schools

Iuliia BONDARENKO

National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"

Intern to Ed Komarnicki, MP for Souris–Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan

2011 Dr. Maria Fischer Slysh Scholarship recipient

"In the summertime when the weather is high

You can chase right up and touch the sky."

Lyrics of "In the Summertime" by Mungo Jerry

Although Anton Chekhov noted that "People don't notice whether it's winter or summer when they're happy," summer time does open horizons for the dreams that were asleep during the busy studying time. Being tired of the tense rhythm of city life under constant stress, students can apply for a summer school to find inspiration for new projects and to satisfy their thirst for adventure and knowledge.

Summer schools/universities are from one to four week long summer courses designed most commonly to bring together students from multicultural environments and professors from top universities to learn new things, discuss current issues, work at various projects and have fun.

However, it is not necessary to spend a large sum of money to get accepted to a summer school, since there are numerous scholarship opportunities that cover either tuition fee, or accommodation, or travel costs, or

even everything.

Application requirements vary from school to school, but the documents needed for all schools are CV and motivation letter. Taking into account that some schools do not require university grade transcripts or recommendation letters, one should do his/her best to prepare such memorable CVs and motivation letters that would distinguish students from thousands of other applicants.

Despite the fact that it is still widely discussed if a photo is appropriate on

CV, applicants for summer schools should definitely personalize their CVs with photos revealing positive energy through wide smile and sparkling eyes.

As for motivation letter, it is very vital to link the topic of a summer school with educational background and future professional plans. It is also very important to indicate not only how a student could benefit from the program, but also how the program could benefit from the student. Moreover, the ability to work in team is crucial;



*Culture night at Summer University Carinthia, Villach, Austria, July 2011.
From L to R: Iuliia Bondarenko (CUPP 2011), Lidiia Fedchuik, Solomiia Kratsylo (CUPP 2008), Oksana Savchuik, Iryna Lyibyma, Vladyslav Rynskyi, Danylo Kinash, Eleonora Provozin, Yuliya Kolomojets.*

therefore, it would be useful to mention the cases of successful experience of solving problems in a team. In addition to the aforementioned things, a great motivation letter should be creative both in format and content, so as the world needs unique personalities with innovative mindsets.

To find a summer program according to one's needs, one may sign up for news from such websites as

unistudy.org.ua, openstudy.org.ua, eastchance.com, scholarship-positions.com, etc. Some universities can sign up students (not only from their universities) for scholarship opportunities information, for instance, Department for Foreign Cooperation of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy – dfc.ukma.kiev.ua.

So, the recipe for great summer experience is simple, mix 10 g of motivation with 1 kg of dream and 15 kg

of courage. Stir it for five minutes and then add a few pieces of vivid humor and a pinch of salt. Don't forget to take out a ton of your fear. Pour the blend into a "flying pot" of your imagination and bake it at the temperature slightly higher than 36,6 C. Serve the dish cool decorated with creativity. Enjoy your summer dessert!



**DARIA TELIZYN
PIANO SCHOLARSHIP**
MATTHEW POPE *BMUS '13, PIANO PERFORMANCE*

Matthew Pope is studying his life's passion at Western.

The piano performance student says because of the generous Daria Telizyn Piano Scholarship, he has greater confidence in himself to pursue his dreams and has had the opportunity to study under an amazing teacher. He says the \$4,625 scholarship allowed him to relax a little in his first year knowing the financial stress was partially alleviated.

"There is so much to figure out before starting university such as picking courses, finding a place to live, finding where everything is on campus, but the most important thing to figure out is how to pay for it," says Matthew.

He notes the scholarship has been a blessing to him in so many ways and says there are so many young people out there who have big dreams and ambitious goals like him, but without the means of being able to pursue them.

"Young people like me are the leaders of tomorrow and it is important that people recognize this and invest in us, the future," says Matthew.

The Daria Telizyn Piano Scholarship is awarded to a piano student entering the first year of study in a Bachelor of Music degree program with exceptional

academic standing, who through the audition process demonstrates exemplary performance talent and promise. This scholarship is open to international students as well as Canadian citizens and permanent residents. Preference will be given to international students from the Ukraine when selecting among equally qualified candidates. The Chair of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation made this generous pledge in the spirit of its mandate to promote Ukrainian students and Ukrainian studies across Canada. The scholarship was named in honour of Ukrainian Canadian pianist Daria Telizyn. BMus'81, whose unsurpassed concert performances took her to venues throughout North America and Europe. The Western alumna died on March 21, 2005 at the age of 44, following a series of illnesses.

After Matthew graduates with a Bachelor's degree in Music Mathew plans to continue to follow his passion and pursue a Master's degree and ultimately have a career as a performer, as both a pianist and conductor.



ANNA MAZURENKO CHILDREN'S HEALTH PROJECT

CHAIR OF THE UKRAINIAN STUDIES
FOUNDATION IN TORONTO

CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY
PROGRAM ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

MARCH 10, 2011 Lviv, UKRAINE



AIM OF THE PROJECT

“To supply paediatric hospitals in Ukraine with new and modern technical medical equipment, provide for maintenance of equipment, and assist in the organization of workshops for local doctors and hospital staff to instruct to use it”

ANNA MAZURENKO CHILDREN'S HEALTH PROJECT IN UKRAINE, 2011

PROJECT PHOTO DEBRIEFING



ANNA MAZURENKO CHILDREN'S HEALTH PROJECT IN UKRAINE, 2011

PROJECT PHOTO DEBRIEFING



ANNA MAZURENKO CHILDREN'S HEALTH PROJECT IN UKRAINE, 2011

PARTICIPATING UNIVERSITIES, CANADA-UKRAINE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM 2011



University of Oxford,
1096
Anton KRASUN



University of Rome, 1363
Jaroslava BARBIERI

SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



**National University of
Ostroh Academy, 1576**
Kateryna SIMAK



Kyiv Mohyla University,
1618
Yuliya BONDARENKO
Tetyana MATSYUK
Artem ROIK
Stanislava TSARKOVA
Oleksandr ZHEKA



University of Lviv, 1661
Vasyl LENKO
Marta LESIV
Oksana MAYBA
ANATOLII MINTENKO
Ustyna MYKYTYUK



**Lomonosov Moscow
State University, 1755**
Andriy MIRONENKO



University of Kharkiv, 1804
Oleg SHEMETOV



**Yaroslav the Wise Na-
tional Law Academy
of Ukraine, 1804**
Anastasii FILIPIUK
Daryna SHEVCHENKO



**Kazan Federal
University, 1804**
Klavdia TATAR



**Moscow State
Linguistic University,**
1804
Victoria NAZAROVA



**Humboldt University of
Berlin, 1810**
Olya SHUDRAK



University of Kyiv, 1834
Anatoliy DZEMAN
Vira MAKOVII



**Yuriy Fedkovych
National University of
Chernivtsi, 1875**
Natalya KALYN
Lyubomyr NAHIRNIY



**Kyiv Polytechnic
University, 1898**
Rimma EI JOUDEIDI



**Karpenko Karyi Kyiv
National University of
the Arts, 1904**
Iryna PUSHCHYK



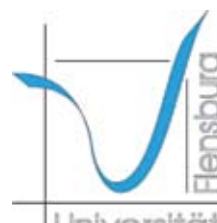
**Vadym Hetman Nation-
al Economic University
of Kyiv, 1906**
Olena SUK



University of Dnipropetrovsk,
1918
Hanna TSELIKOVSKA



**Ukrainian Catholic
University, 1929**
Olesia STASIV



University of Flensburg,
1946
Oksana DEKHTIARIOVA



**Ternopil National Eco-
nomic University, 1966**
Alexander ULIANOV



University of Maastricht, 1976
Maryna IAROSHEVYCH



**Vasyl Stefanyk Precar-
pathian National Univer-
sity, 1992**
Nataliya KALYN



**Kyiv School of Econom-
ics, 1996**
Amet SEITIBRAIMOV



**Petro Mohyla Black
Sea State University,**
1996
Olesia KOMPANIETS