

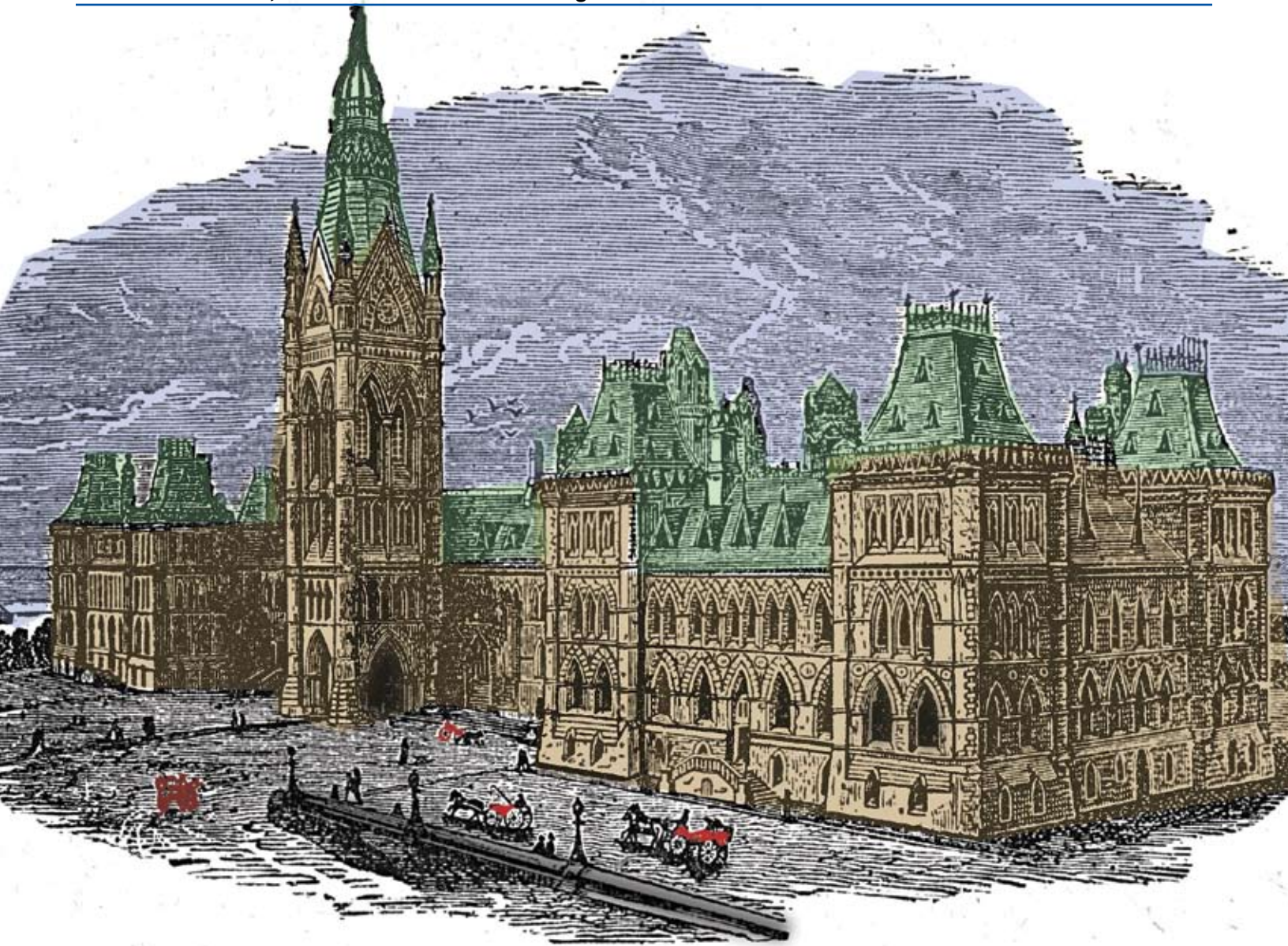


# Newsletter

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

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

AUTUMN 2012



In this issue...

***A Gorillia has joined the elephant in the room***

***Why we don't like Ukraine***

***Dictatorship will not lead to prosperity***

***Ukrainians in Irkutsk***

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On October 24, 2011, the first Ukrainian Day on the HILL took place in the House of Commons. Captioned are CUPP 2011 Interns who performed a concert in the Rotunda of Centre Block for MPs, staff and visitors.

## History of CUPP

On July 16<sup>th</sup>, 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 2012, during the 22nd year of CUPP's operation, 33 students arrived from Belarus, Russia and Ukraine to complete a two-month internship with Members of Parliament, Ministers and Senators (please see Issue 1 of the Newsletter for complete list of CUPP Interns). In the course of the Program, the Interns meet with political and social opinion-leaders of Canada.

The image of the Canadian Parliament (Centre Block of the House of Commons) is a 19th century engraving by an unknown artist. Photo Credit of the engraving to *The Devil's Artisan: A Journal of the Printing Arts*. Colour separation design by *Kristina Hicks* a student at the Ontario College of Art and Design University of Toronto. Cover Design by *Andrei Bezruchonak*, CUPP 2012 Intern from Belarus.

## A "Gorilla" Has Joined the Elephant in the Room!

*"Education and Knowledge will ensure a future for an independent Ukraine"*

by Ihor BARDYN

CUPP Director

Thanks for the great response to my request for the lyrics to **Horila Sosna**.

I must share with you a humorous yet dim-witted & sad piece of information.

I wrote to CUPP 2012 Interns for help with locating the lyrics in both Ukrainian and English to the song **Horila Sosna**.

I was aware that there are variations in the lyrics and although I like every version, the one from the Uzhorod-Karpaty region I find particularly charming.

Somehow, due to my lack of expertise with computers, my request for the lyrics was sent not only to the CUPP 2012 Interns who are coming to Ottawa in September, but also to CUPP Alumni and their friends.

Among the replies, I received the lyrics with the title "**Gorilla Sosna**".

I showed the letter to my office staff, one of who is from Slovenia, who commented, "I didn't know that Ukraine had jungles and gorillas" I laughed, as did the others.

Of course, Ukraine does not have jungles, or gorillas!

Well, maybe not jungles, but apparently it does have "**Gorillas**."

To use a well-worn idiomatic expression, "there is an **elephant in the room**." And it seems there is a **gorilla in the room as well**. But these animals should not be allowed to survive in so many rooms in Ukraine.

Too many of the minds of Ukrainians, even the minds of well educated youth who strive for knowledge and education, still carry a mind-set and the influence of a foreign language that although should be respected like every other language, should not make

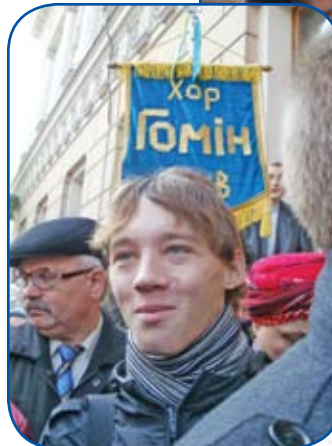
Ukrainians ape their neighbours to the north and thereby distort their own language.

Is this "**Gorilla**" mind-set ever going to end or is Ukrainian youth oblivious to respect for its own language and culture? Oblivious to simple transliteration from Ukrainian to English?



How do you suggest this issue of the pervasive influence of russification be approached? Or is this insignificant, and as some would dismiss as VSE RAVNO!

*Stephan Khmara speaking at Kyiv rally in support of Ukrainian language.*



*Andrijo Zavialov from Irkutsk at Kyiv rally in support of Ukrainian language.*

*Bottom: Kyiv rally in support of Ukrainian language.*



## CUPP Interns



### ABDULTAIROVA Ediie

Born in: Gulistan, Uzbekistan

Hometown: Symferopol, Ukraine

Intern to **Claude Gravelle, MP**, Nickel Belt, Ontario

**2012 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship** recipient

**Hetman Economic University of Kyiv, Crimean Institute at Symferopol** was established in 1992. Faculty of International Economics.

**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:** Crimean Tatar (native), English, Spanish (beginner level), Russian.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** Yeny-Kale (Crimean Tatar: Yefi Qale) is a fortress on the shore of Kerch Strait. Yeny-Kale is situated in the territory of Ukraine within the city of Kerch. It was built by Ottoman Turks in 1699-1706. Yeny-Kale had an important strategic value for the Ottoman Empire, because the fortress is located in the narrowest part of the Kerch Strait and it was armed with powerful cannons. Nowadays, it is one of the sights of the Crimea. The fortress was given the status of a monument of architecture protected by the state.

**Last book read:** «The Age of Turbulence» by Alan Greenspan.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** «Природа прекрасного така, що чим більше на шляху до нього трапляється перешкод, тим більше воно вабить, на зразок того найшляхетнішого і найтвердішого металу, який чим більше треться, тим прекрасніше виблискує» Григорій Сковорода.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** «We must recognize that as the dominant power in the world we have a special responsibility. In addition to protecting our national interests, we must take the leadership in protecting the common interests of humanity» George Soros.

**My favourite musical recording:** Tim Tim – Crimean Tatar music, Claude Debussy – Clair de lune.



### BARKOV Yaroslav

Born in: Zhytomyr, Ukraine

Hometown: Zhytomyr

Intern to **Peter Goldring, MP**, Edmonton East, Alberta

**2012 Ramon Hnatyshyn Scholarship** recipient

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** was established in 1615. Law School.

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

**Foreign languages:** German, English, Russian, Polish (basic).

Head of the Secretariat of the Young Lawyers of Ukraine Council at the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine ([www.krmjua.org](http://www.krmjua.org)), an advisory body of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** depiction from 17<sup>th</sup> century of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. If you get the chance to visit Kyiv you must visit the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Mohylianka). The Academy was founded in 1615 and is named in honour of the Metropolitan of Kyiv Petro Mohyla. It is the first University in Eastern Europe. Academy has many interesting places such as the Church of Blahovishchennja Presviatoi Bohorodytsi, the oldest Church on the Mohylianka campus, the Tetiana and Omelian Antonovych Library, the Petro Mohyla monument, among them.

**Last book read:** Lina Kostenko "Почему у Грузин получилось".

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Олесь Гончар: "Собори душ своїх бережить, друзі... Собори душ!.."; Ліна Костенко: «Єдиний, хто не втомлюється, – час. А ми живі, нам треба поспішати».

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Mahatma Gandhi: "My Life is My Message".

**My favourite musical recording:** Володимир Івасюк: «Червона Рута».

**BEZRUCHONAK Andrei**

Born in Barysaw, Belarus

Hometown: Barysaw, Belarus

**Belarusian State University**, Minsk, Belarus, established in 1921. Faculty of Geography, Department of Socio-Economical Geography of Foreign Countries.

**Motto of University:** "Education over the period of life".

**Foreign languages:** English, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Polish, Russian.

**2012 Emil Telizyn Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Don Davies, MP**, Vancouver Kingsway, British Columbia; **Glenn Thibeault, MP**, Sudbury, Ontario.

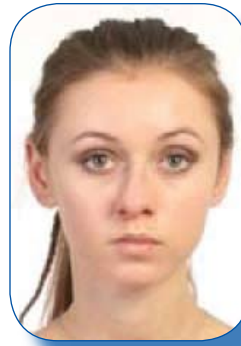
**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** "The Sarcophagus" (or the object "Shelter"), the concrete block that surrounds the Reactor No. 4 of Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, located in "The Zone", or officially "Chernobyl Exclusion Zone" (also famous for such sites as Pripyat "ghost" town (and other abandoned settlements), a car graveyard (trucks, tanks and helicopters used in cleaning up the contamination) and some others). It was erected to reduce the radiation release into the atmosphere. Estimated figures show that 200 tons of radioactive corium, 30 tons of highly contaminated dust and 16 tons of uranium and plutonium are locked within the Sarcophagus. Spooky rumors about its ongoing destruction, the expire of maintenance period (30 years approximately) and impossibility to repair it from inside (due to high radiation levels) make the site one of the most outstanding attractions and monuments to human stupidity and achievements on the pave of self-humiliation efforts.

**Last book read:** "The Geopolitics of Emotion: how Cultures of Fear, Humiliation and Hope are Reshaping the World" by Dominique Monsi.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** "Нації вмирають не від інфаркту. Спочатку їм відбирає мову." – Ліна Василівна Костенко.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Twenty years from now you will be more disappointed by the things that you didn't do than by the ones you did do. So throw off the bowlines. Sail away from the safe harbor. Catch the trade winds in your sails. Explore. Dream. Discover." – Mark Twain. "I think I'm perfectly normal. It's other people that are weird" – Michael O'Leary.

**My favourite musical recording:** Django Reinhardt: Minor Swing.

**BIDOCHKO Lesia**

Born in Lviv, Ukraine

Hometown: Chervonohrad

**Kyiv-Mohyla University** (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy") was established in 1615. Faculty of Social Sciences and Social Technologies. Department of Political Science.

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

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

**Intern to Robert SOPUCK, MP** of Dauphin – Swan River – Marquette.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** On Kontraktova Square, in the center of Podil, one of the oldest parts of Kyiv, there is a bronze stature of Hryhoriy Skovoroda erected in 1977. Skovoroda is a famous Ukrainian philosopher, teacher, poet and composer of the 18th century. Skovoroda turns his head towards the Staroakademichny campus of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the first academic institution of higher education in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Skovoroda himself was a student at the Academy and later dedicated a great part of his life to education in Ukraine and abroad. Day and night, year after year he watches his alma mater as students come here to acquire knowledge and new experience. Its sculptor is Ivan Kavaleridze, who was nearly 90 when he created the monument. The first sketch of the monument depicted Skovoroda barefoot, with the Bible under his arm and a dagger on his chest. Unfortunately, the original sketch, which unmistakably described the thinker's personality and approach to life, was prohibited by the Soviet authorities. Now Skovoroda proudly stands on the pedestal with a bag instead of the Bible and in straw sandals on his feet. The straw sandals are believed to bring good luck and it is said that by touching the sandals, the students assure themselves of a good mark on their exams! Kyiv-Mohyla Academy has a tradition to wash the monument on the day of the Academy, which is celebrated on October 15th. This deed symbolizes the beginning of a rebirth and renewal by washing away all the wrongs, removing everything old and stagnant and starting anew by bringing new ideas and progressive thoughts, just as Skovoroda did. On the 28th of June, the day of the

convocation, alumni put a bonnet on the head of Skovroda. More than two centuries later this enigmatic person, which managed to get away and that the world didn't catch, still stays at the heart of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.

**Last book read:** Jean-Paul Sartre "Nausea".

**Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:** Держава це я, а не те, що вони з нею зробили (Ліна Костенко).

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army (Edward Everett).

**My favorite musical recording:** Pink Floyd "Us and Them".



#### BONDAR Olena

Born in: Boryspil, Kyiv Oblast, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**Intern to Romeo Saganash, MP,** Abiyini–Baie-James–Nunavik–Eeyou, Quebec. **Tyrone BENSKIN, MP,** Jeanne-Le Ber Montreal, Quebec.

**Senator Martha Bielish Scholarship** recipient  
**Kyiv-Mohyla University** (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy") was founded in 1615. Faculty of Economics, Department of Finance, 4<sup>th</sup> year of Bachelor Program.

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

**Foreign languages:** English, French, Russian, Czech.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Kamianets-Podilsky Castle is a former Ruthenian-Lithuanian castle located in the historic city of Kamianets-Podilskyi, Khmelnytskyi Oblast (province), in the historic region of Podolia in western Ukraine. Historical accounts date the Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle to the early 14th century, although recent archaeological evidence has shown human existence in the area from the 12th-13th centuries. Initially the fortress was built to protect the bridge connecting the medieval town with the mainland. Its location on a strategic transport crossroad in Podolia made the castle a prime target for foreign invaders who rebuilt the castle to suit their own needs, adding to its multicultural architectural diversity. In spite of many architectural and engineering changes to the original structure of the castle, the Kamianets-Podilskyi Castle still constitutes a coherent architectural design, being one of

the few medieval constructions in Ukraine that is relatively well preserved. It is the most recognized landmark of the city and it serves as an important regional and national tourist attraction.

**Last book read:** "Ben-Hur" by Lewis Wallace.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Будь іскрою, як мрієш бачити багаття. (Іван Чир, гасло святкування 100-ліття Пласту). Be a spark if you want to see the fire. (Ivan Chyr, motto of 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Plast).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Two things are infinite: the universe and human stupidity; and I'm not sure about the universe. (Albert Einstein).



#### BUCHAK Iuliia

Born in Kozova, Ternopil region, Ukraine

**Intern to Peter Julian, MP,** Burnaby–New Westminster, British Columbia.

**2012 John & Julia STASHUK Scholarship** recipient  
**Ivan Franko National University of Lviv** was established in 1661. Faculty of International Relations.

**Motto of University:** «Patriae Decori Civibus Educandis» – «Освічені люди – окраса батьківщини». – «Educated People are the decoration of their motherland».

**Foreign languages:** English, Bulgarian, German, Polish, Russian.

**Beautiful landmark in Ukraine:** The Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Life. The area around the museum is known as Kaizerwald after a visit by one of the Austrian Emperors. The Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Life parts are representing different Western Ukrainian areas: Boykivschyna, Lemkivschyna, Hutsulschyna, Podillia and Polissia. The museum has examples of residential, public and farming buildings – high altitude houses of shepherds, wind and water mills, a forge, a sawmill, beehives, a school, etc. The museum is also a site for a functioning Greek – Catholic monastery. The Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Life covers an area of 50 ha and is one of the largest in Europe. It was created in 1971. The Museum contains over 20,000 household articles and items of folk art.

**Last book read:** Василь Шкляр «Чорний ворон».

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** ...Та неоднаково мені, / Як Україну злії люде / Присплять, лукаві, і в огні / Її, окрадену, збудять... / Ох, не однаково мені. (Тарас

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

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** No price is too high to pay for the privilege of owning yourself. (Friedrich Nietzsche). If you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything. (Mark Twain).

**Favourite music recording:** Океан Ельзи «Майже весна»; Aerosmith "I don't want to miss a thing".



#### **CHEKER Iaroslav**

Born in Luhansk, Ukraine

Hometown: Kharkiv

**Intern to Brian Masse, MP**, Windsor Ontario

**2012 John & Myroslava Yaremko Scholarship** recipient  
**National University "Yaroslav the Wise Law Academy of Ukraine"** was established in 1804. Institute of Training Lawyers for Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine.

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

**Foreign languages:** English, German, Russian.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** In Chinadiyevo, Zakarpattia region, there is a marvelously preserved hunter's castle of the Shenborns. It appeared on the place of the old hunter's house built in the XVIII century. During numerous renovations this castle altered to a great extent and now can be bravely named one of the most gorgeous castles of Ukraine. In the project of the castle in neorenaissance style the architects put definite symbolic meaning. As matter of fact, the basic principle in architecture of the castle is astronomic year. Here are 365 windows as the quantity of days in a year, 52 rooms – the same as the number of weeks in a year, and 12 exits correspond with months. On the territory of the castle of the Shenborns the artificial lake was created, which initially had a shape of Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The castle is situated in the center of an admirable so-called English park where decorative trees are gathered from a whole plethora of countries. The planning of the park is extremely successful; the trees are situated harmonically so that each group of trees could underline the unique beauty of the next one. Since 1946 on the territory of the castle complex, the health resort "The Carpathians" has been in

operation.

**Last book read:** "Anarchy in the Ukr" by Serhiy Zhadan

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Хіба це мало – незабутня мить? Л. Костенко (Is it little – an unforgettable instant?).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest. Benjamin Franklin.

**Favourite musical recording:** The Posies – Love comes.



#### **CHULITSKA Liliia**

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**Intern to EVE ADAMS, MP**, Mississauga–Brampton South, Ontario.

**2012 Dr.Yuri & Dr.Oksana Fedyna Scholarship** recipient  
**National university of "Kyiv-Mohyla academy"** was established in 1615. Faculty of Social sciences and social technologies. Department of Sociology.

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

**Foreign Languages:** English, Russian, Spanish, and German.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

National Museum of Ukrainian pottery, Opishnya (Poltava region). This museum – is a great place, where every visitor can see deep folk roots of old pottery tradition. Opishnyantsi (the name of people, who lived in the village, where the museum is situated) became famous worldwide for the ceramics, which was ethnically typical for our culture. You can view open-air/outdoor sculptures and a museum, with many different exhibits, made of clay and decorated by Ukrainian artists. On the walls of the four small rooms in the museum there are many beautiful exhibits. And in the foyer of the museum each visitor receives a small gift, a ceramic whistle in the form of a rooster (many years ago such gifts were common in Ukrainian villages, they are especially interesting for children – bright, tasty and utter sounds). There is always an old master potter in the museum, which teaches how to

make jugs from clay and allows visitors to try themselves at pottery making. Visitors can buy pottery items to bring home as gifts. This museum is worth visiting, because there is a creative climate, there you can experience the real spirit of Ukrainian artisans and it is an authentic Ukrainian heritage location, which maintains Ukrainian customs and traditions. (Photos by one of the users of the site fotofact.net).

**Last book read:** "The remains of the day" by Kazuo Ishiguro.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Хто вам сказав, що я слабка, / що я корюся долі? / Хіба тремтить моя рука, / чи пісня й думка кволі? (Леся Українка).

**Favourite quotes by foreign author:** Everything is in our hands, so we cannot drop them down (Coco Chanel). The road leading to a goal does not separate you from the destination; it is essentially a part of it. (Charles de Lint).

**Favourite musical recording:** Andrea Bocelli & Hayley Westenra – Vivo Per Lei.



#### DMYTRASH Olha

Born in: Lviv, Ukraine

Hometown: Lviv

**Lviv Polytechnic National University** was established in 1844. Department of Applied Linguistics.

**Motto of University:** Litteris et Artibus. – Науками й мистецтвом. Through the Sciences and the Art.

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

**2012 Walter & Joan Moroz Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Hon. Judy SGRO, MP** for York West, Ontario.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** My native town Lviv has an enormous number of landmarks and architecture but almost all of them are well-known. That is why I would like to focus my attention on one of them which is not that known, which I am extremely proud of and want more people to know about. I was born in a small town Vynnyky, which is considered to be a part of Lviv. This tiny place has rich history and a part of this history is the monument of Taras Shevchenko. It is the first monument of Ukrainian genius in all the Western part of our country and one of the oldest in the whole country! It was built in 1913 by an architect Oleksandr Lushpynskyj.

Of course during all the occupations it was damaged much more than once. Nevertheless our patriots managed to gather money for its reconstruction and now this monument is an adornment of our town, history and patriotism.

**Last book read:** Василь Шкляр «Залишенець. Чорний ворон».

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Хто зивається черв'яком, той не має права скаржитись, що його топчуть. (Ольга Кобилянська). І все на світі треба пережити, / І кожен фініш – це, по суті, старт, / І наперед не треба ворожити, / І за минулим плакати не варт. (Ліна Костенко). Облиш забобони, обмий совість, а потім одержу, залиш усі свої хиби і підіймайся! (Григорій Сковорода).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Look at a day when you are supremely satisfied at the end. It's not a day when you lounge around doing nothing; it's when you've had everything to do and you've done it. (Margaret Thatcher). Don't go around saying the world owes you a living. The world owes you nothing. It was here first. (Mark Twain).

**Favourite musical recording:** Mozart "Angel's Music", Океан Ельзи «Така як ти», Lara Fabian «Je t'aime», David Cook «Permanent».



#### FURDA Alona

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**Intern to Linda Duncan, MP**, Edmonton–Strathcona, Alberta.

**2012 Dr. Maria Fischer-Slysh Scholarship** recipient  
**University of Kyiv** (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) was established in 1834. Faculty of Law.

**Motto of University:** Utilitas Honour et Gloria. – Корисність, честь та слава. – Utility, Honour and Glory.

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, German.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** University of Kyiv. It is not only a higher educational establishment, that is said to be one of the most important centers of progressive thinking in modern Ukraine, it is also a wonderful architectural monument which still charms the citizens and the guests of the city with its unique beauty. It was founded in 1834 in order to allow Polish students to plunge into the world of knowledge and enlightenment. Nevertheless this university became an

alma mater for prominent Ukrainian scholars and scientists such as M. Kostomarov, M. Drahomanov, O. Palladin; specialist in medicine: M. Sklifosofsky, lawyers K. Nevolin, M. Ivanishev and many others. These people have made a worthy contribution to the development of science and political thinking in Ukraine.

**Last book read:** "Flowers for Algernon" by Daniel Keyes.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Захочеш – і будеш. В людини, зятям, Лежить невідгадана сила. – О. Ольжи.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** If we open a quarrel between past and present, we shall find that we have lost the future. – Winston Churchill. Don't go around saying the world owes you a living. The world owes you nothing. It was here first. – Mark Twain.

**My favourite musical recording:** Queen – "Don't Stop Me Now".



#### **GASKEVYCH Oleksandra**

Born in: Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**Intern to Randy HOBACK, MP,** Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

**2012 Stefan & Roma Franko Scholarship** recipient

**University of Kyiv** (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) was established in 1834. Faculty of Journalism, Department of Journalism. **Murray State University** was established in 1922. Faculty of Journalism, Department of Business.

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

**Foreign languages:** English, Spanish, Russian.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Saint Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv is a sanctuary erected in 11th century. The first library, formed by Yaroslav the Wise, was located here. The Sofia Kyivska wall-paintings of 11th century are of great cultural value nowadays. Also in the cathedral you can find the unique graffiti with the ancient Slavic alphabet, which explains the Cyrillic alphabet's origin. As many as 260 sq. meters of the cathedral are decorated with intarsia and 300 sq. meters are occupied by frescos. Today Saint Sofia Cathedral is one of the city's well-known landmarks and the first Ukrainian patrimony

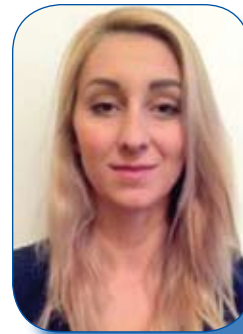
which was inscribed on the World Heritage List.

**Last book read:** Henry Kissinger "Diplomacy".

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Юрій Андрухович, «Дезорієнтація на місцевості»: «Жива людина невичерпна».

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Be realistic, demand the impossible!" slogan of the Situationists.

**My favourite music recording:** Oleh Skrypka – Vesna Guns n roses – Knocking on the Heavens Door.



#### **GRETTSEVA Anastasiia**

Born in Kyiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**University of Kyiv** (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) was established in 1834. Faculty of Psychology. Department of Psychology.

**Moto of University:** Utilitas Honour et Gloria. –

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

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian.

**Intern to Ed KOMARNICKI, MP,** Souris–Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan.

**2012 Edward Schreyer Scholarship** recipient

**Outstanding landmark architecture in Ukraine:** The Skew Caponier, built in 1844, is a part of New Pechersk fortress, and was used as a political prison with a particularly strict regime, but since 1930 it became a museum. Despite the fact it is located in a noisy center of the city, fortress gives you an opportunity to get into the atmosphere of peace and tranquility, due to its vast calm territory and beautiful architectural construction of it. You can also book a tour through the fortress and get into Historical Museum of the Kyiv Fortress.

**Last book read:** Onore de Balzac – La Peau de chagrin / The Magic Skin of Wild Ass's Skin.

**Favourite Quote by Ukranian author:** Без бажання все важче, навіть найлегше. Григорій Сковорода.

**Favourite Quote by foreign author:** The mind is everything. What you think you become. Buddha.

**Favourite musical recording:** Led Zeppelin – Achilles Last Stand.

**GRYSHCHENKO Kateryna**

Born in Kirovohrad, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**Intern to Wayne MARSTON, MP**, Hamilton East–Stoney Creek, Ontario.

**2012 Alexandra&Eugene Sukniarsky Scholarship** recipient.

**National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”** was established in 1615. Faculty of Law.

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

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, Polish, German (basic).

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The Coryphaeus Theater was the first professional theater in Ukraine. It was opened in 1882 in Yelysavethrad (today's – Kirovohrad). Its founder Marko Kropyvnycky who was an actor, a composer, a dramatist, an artist and a teacher, is considered as the father of Ukrainian Theater (And I'm proud to live on the street named after him). The first theatrical company was mainly come from one family of Tobilevychy, where four of six children were performing on the stage. The performances of the theater were mainly self-created by its actors and were showing traditions and culture of then and there Ukraine. Such performances were syncretic, because they joined drama and comedy with choir and dancing. Today a lot of Ukrainian theaters steel keep up the traditions of our Coryphaeus Theater. The building of the first Ukrainian theater has remained in Kirovohrad.

**Last book read:** “An American Tragedy” by Theodore Dreiser.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** “Ні кроку зі шляху, ні думки назад. Ні хвилі даремне на місці.” (Олег Ольжич). “Хто добре запалився, той добре почав, а добре почати – це наполовину завершити.” (Григорій Сковорода).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** “The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it.” (Oscar Wilde).

**Favourite musical recording:** Muse – Resistance.

**ILKO Ihor**

Born in Uzhhorod, Ukraine

**Humber College Institute of Technology & Advanced Learning** was founded in 1967. Business School, International Development Program.

**Motto of University:** More for You (English).

B.A. degree in Public Administration from the **University of Saskatchewan**, Canada.

**Motto of university:** Deo et Patriæ (Latin) – For God and Country (English).

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian.

Intern to Corneliu Chisu, MP, Pickering–Scarborough East, Ontario.

2012 Carpathia Credit Union Scholarship recipient

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Nevytsky Castle, located 12 km north of Uzhhorod, Ukraine was once a mighty citadel of the Hungarian Drugeth family towering over river Uzh. It was founded in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and rebuilt in its present form in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, in 1644 Hungarian prince George II Rákóczi ruined the castle, leaving it much as it stands today. Due to the remoteness and inaccessibility of the castle it was preserved from complete demolition. Today it is a popular tourist destination.

**Last book read:** “For Whom the Bell Tolls” by Ernest Hemingway.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** You must be the change you want to see in the world – Mahatma Ghandi.

**Favourite musical recordings:** Wish You Were Here – Pink Floyd. Riders on the Storm – The Doors.

Ihor was accepted into a two-year Erasmus Mundus Master's Program in Public Policy jointly offered by International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) of Erasmus University Rotterdam (The Netherlands) and Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) (Spain). ISS is an international graduate school of policy-oriented critical social science. It brings together students and teachers from the Global South and the North in a European environment. IBEI is an inter-university institute created as a joint initiative between five public universities in the Barcelona metropolitan area to promote postgraduate training and research in politics and international relations. Ihor will focus his studies on Public Policy in International Development, with emphasis on Political Economy and Development.

**KRYKUN Oksana**

Born in Kyiv, Kyiv region

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** was established in 1615. Faculty of Economics.

**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, French, Polish.

**2012 Kathy Obal Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Scott Brison, MP** for Kings-Hants, Nova Scotia.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Synevyr lake is the biggest lake in the Carpathian Mountains. It is a picturesque part of the "Synevyr National Preserve," founded in 1989. This lake is very big and beautiful. Moreover, its waters are as transparent as diamond. The most popular legend about the creation of Synevyr goes back to a time when all the mountains used to belong to one Count, the father of a blue-eyed beauty known as Syn. One day, the Count went to see how his lumberjacks were working and Syn asked to accompany him. The girl was wandering in the forest when she heard the sound of a reed pipe that Vyr, a shepherd, was playing. She asked the young man to go on playing, and before leaving she promised to come back again. The more frequent their secret meetings, the gloomier became the Count. Eventually, on one occasion when Vyr was expecting his beloved by the forest, the Count's servants rolled a huge boulder at him down the mountainside. When she saw what happened, Syn embraced the stone and wept bitterly. She cried and cried until her tears flooded the edge of the forest. Syn herself disappeared in the blue waters of her tears. In the middle of this lake of tears lies an island that marks the spot where Vyr died. The lake was named «Synevyr» by combining the names of the two lovers, Syn and Vyr. For me this place is very peaceful and inspiring.

**Last book read:** "Kaizen" by Masaaki Imai.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Буває, часом сплуну від краси. / Спинюсь, не тямлю, що воно за диво, – / оці степи, це небо, ці ліси, / усе так гарно, чисто, незрадливо, / усе як є – дорога, явори, / усе моє, все зветься – Україна. / Така краса, висока і нетлінна, / що хоч спинись і з богом говори. («Маруся Чурай», Ліна Костенко).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Be the change that you wish to see in the world." – Mahatma Gandhi.

**Favourite musical recording:** Дякую – Океан Ельзи.

**LETS Iurii**

Born in: Kyiv

Hometown: Kyiv

**University of Kyiv** (Vadym Hetman National Economic University of Kyiv) was established in 1906. Faculty of Finances and Economics. Department of Finance and Credit.

**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, Spanish, Russian.

**2012 James & Louise Temerty Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Hon. Bal Gosal, MP** for Bramalea–Gore–Malton, Ontario; Minister of State (Sport).

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The "House with Chimaeras" (or, Horodetsky House) is an architecturally Modern building located in Kyiv. The name of the House can be attributed to the sculptural decoration of the building's facade and interior, which depicts various species of wildlife as well as fabulous creatures of the imagination: heads of rhinos, giraffes, lions, crocodiles, and antelopes line the walls; concrete trunks of elephants hanging over the sidewalks are used as drainpipes; huge frogs, sea monsters, and Nereids with chains instead of hair can be seen on the roof. The House takes the shape of a cube. It has three floors opening onto Bankova Street, and rises six floors above Ivan Franko Square. The building was built by architect of Polish-Ukrainian origin Vladyslav Horodetsky in 1903. The Italian sculptor Elio Sala decorated the facade and interiors with bizarre sculptures according to Horodetsky's drawings. Legend has it that the sea monsters on the facade pay tribute to the architect's daughter who drowned in the sea. In 1913, Horodetsky sold his estate. Later, ownership of the House

changed hands several times. After the October Revolution, the House with Chimaeras was nationalized by the Worker-Peasant Government, and during Soviet rule the rooms were employed as communal apartments. In 2003-2004 the House with Chimaeras was restored. Now it is used as the Small Residence for the President during high-level meetings.

**Last book read:** «The Godfather» by Mario Puzo.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Не так тії вороги, як добрії люди – / і окрадуть, жалкуючи, / плачучи, осудять, / і попросять тебе в хату, / і будуть вітати, / і питать тебе про тебе, / щоб потім сміятись, / щоб з тебе сміятись, / щоб тебе добити... (Тарас Шевченко).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** You may be disappointed if you fail, but you are doomed if you don't try. (Beverly Sills).

**My favourite musical recording:** Микола Мозговий – Минає день, минає ніч... Tina Turner – Simply the best.



#### MYKYTYUK Ustyna

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.

**2011 Senator Martha Bielish Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Nina Grewal, MP** for Fleetwood-Port Kells. 2012 Coordinator.

**2012 Jerry Humeniuk Scholarship** recipient

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

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

The Main Train Station in Lviv, Ukraine, is one of the most notable pieces of Art Nouveau architecture in former Galicia. It was opened to the public in 1904, and now being more than hundred years old awaits to become a part of one more big event – Euro 2012 Football Championship. The author of a project, young architect Wladyslaw Sad-

lowski, finished his project, which he started in 1888 in less than a year. The construction started in 1899 and lasted until 1904, when the train station was opened to the public. Unfortunately, the Rail Terminal suffered extensive damage during the World War II, including a completely destroyed trainshed. There was an open debate on whether to restore the building or to dismantle the ruins and build anew. Architect G.F. Domashenko managed to bring both parties to agreement, and between 1949 and 1953 the old structure was given a contemporary interior, whilst a full repair on the outside preserved its original view. Nowadays the terminal handles over 1.2 million passengers and moves 16 thousand tons of freight on a monthly basis and during the Championship it will a way more. The Main Train Station has always been the entry point to our beautiful city for hundreds and thousands of tourists and local residents and its halls and platforms have seen smiles and tears, happiness and sadness, excitement and regret. Every time I come there I am looking forward to new beginnings or coming back home and it makes me happy.

**Last book read:** “The Prairie Bridesmaid” by Daria Salamon.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Немає мужності другої, / Як не боятися життя. Павло Тичина.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Life is an opportunity, benefit from it. Life is a beauty, admire it. Life is a dream, realize it. Life is a challenge, meet it. Life is a duty, complete it. Life is a game, play it... Mother Teresa.

**My favourite musical recording:** Олег Собчук та Марта Шпак – Осіння історія.



#### NIKULOVA Oleksandra

Born in Luhansk, Ukraine

Hometown Kyiv, Ukraine

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** was established in 1615. Law School.

**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, German, Spanish, Chinese.

**2012 Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship** recipient  
**Intern to Candice Hoepfner, MP** for Portage-Lisgar,  
 Manitoba.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Uspenskyk Cave Monastery, Bakhchisaray, Ukraine. The history of this monastery dates back to the 8th century A. D. It is believed that the monastery was founded where icon of Mother Mary miraculously appeared. The monastery is carved out of cliff and has a spring of healing water. In a gorge beneath the cliff there used to be an ancient greek village. Later it was called Maryam-dere, which means Mother Mary's gorge. The monastery was one of few monasteries that survived Golden Orda's attacks and became a centre of Crimean Christianity in the 15th century. When Crimea became a part of Russian Empire, the Uspenskyk Monastery was visited by emperor Oleksandr I in 1818. In 1921 the Monastery was officially closed by soviet authorities. It's modern history starts since 1993, when people started to rebuild it and to raise Uspenskyk Monastery from the ruins. A dark silhouette of Mother Mary with a round light areola appeared on the rock above the monastery at the same time. It is now one a functioning monastery and one of tourists' and pilgrims' attractions.

**Last book read:** Feng Menlong "The Sorcerers' Revolt".

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Ти тільки гість в житті моїм, сонце, бажаний гість, – і коли ти відходиш, я хапаюсь за тебе. Ловлю останній промінь на хмарах, продовжую тебе у вогні, в лампі, у фейерверках, збираю з квіток, з сміху дитини, з очей коханої. Коли ж ти гаснеш і тікаєш від мене – творю твою подобу, даю наймення їй "ідеал" і ховаю у серці. І він мені світить. (Михайло Коцюбинський).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Many that live deserve death. And some that die deserve life. Can you give it to them? Then do not be too eager to deal out death in judgement. For even the very wise cannot see all ends. (J.R.R. Tolkien).

**My favourite musical recording:** Скрыбін «Танець Пінгвіна».



**OLIARNYK Khrystyna**

Born in: Zhovty Vody, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine

Hometown: Zhovty Vody

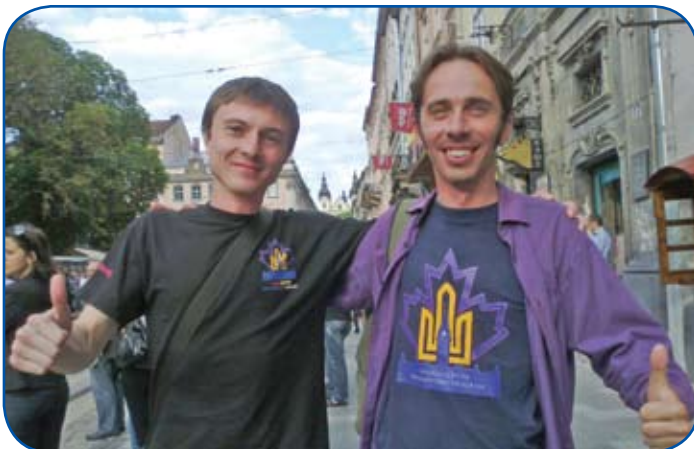
**Intern to Hon. Gerald Keddy, MP**, St. Paul's Toronto Ontario.

**2012 Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Scholarship** recipient  
**Kyiv-Mohyla University** (National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy") was founded 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:** English, Spanish, Russian.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The monastery of Pochaiv in Ternopil Oblast is considered to be a holy place for Ukrainians since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the works of Taras Shevchenko you can find evidence of this, as his poetry illustrates the religious beliefs of Ukrainians. In such poems as "The Blind Woman", "The Captive", "Petrus" a number of his heroes go to Kyiv and Pochaiv to pray. According to legend, the monastery was founded in 1240, when the monks of the Kyivan Cave Monastery settled on Pochaiv Mountain in order to hide from the Tatars. Recorded historical accounts verify this chapter of history. Anna Gojska – was an owner of Pochaiv and founded a cloister there on Nov. 14, 1597, as attested by an historical document. In 1597 Anna Gojska ordered the transfer of a miraculous icon of the Holy Virgin to Pochaiv. The icon healed Anna's brother, who was blind from birth. Today this icon is a sacred object of the monastery. Iov Zalizo who was a Hegumen of the Dubno Monastery of the True Cross played an important role in the establishment of the Pochaiv monastery. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> Iov left Dubno for unknown reasons and settled on Pochaiv Mountain. Iov Zalizo found wealthy Ukrainian landlords among Orthodox noble families, who made donations and helped to build Trinity Church on Pochaiv Mountain, where the Holy Virgin's wonder-icon was placed. Another famous legend about the Pochaiv is the legendary tale about the Virgin Mary and how the Mother of God protected the monastery from an attack by the Turks in July 1675. As a legend recalls, Iov Zalizo, who by this time had died and had been canonized, appeared with the Virgin Mary over Trinity Church. The Holy Virgin diverted the Turkish arrows from the monastery, and the confounded invaders became frightened and left Pochaiv. This legendary event was reflected in the songs "The Evening Star Has Risen" and



*Anatoliy Mintenko and Nazar Kuzma met on street.*

"Shepherds Grazed the Sheep on the Hill" and other Ukrainian religious songs. Nowadays for millions of Ukrainians Pochaiv has become a "second Jerusalem". The unrelenting aura of holiness of Pochaiv makes it a special place for me.

**Last book read:** Ерик Берн «Игры, в которые играют люди».

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Борітеся – поборите. (Тарас Шевченко).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Success doesn't come to you...you go to it (Unknown).

**My favourite musical recording:** Duran Duran – Who do you need.



#### **ROMANOVSKIY Roman**

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.

**Foreign Languages:** English, German, Russian.

**2012 Christina Bardyn Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Mike Wallace, MP** for Burlington, Ontario.

**Intern to Larry Miller, MP** for Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound, Ontario.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The Khotyn Fortress. The Khotyn fortress is situated on the right bank of Dnister river near Khotyn village in western Ukraine. It was built in 14<sup>th</sup> century and served as a border fortification of western Kievan Rus'. For centuries it was a trade, cultural and economic center and was protecting Ukrainian lands from foreign invaders. Fortress symbolizes strength, indestructibility and prosperity of Ukrainian past. In 2007 this monument was named one of the 7 wonders of Ukraine.

**Last book read:** "Atlas Shrugged" by Ayn Rand.

**Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:** Нація без державності є покалічений людський колективний організм. – В. Винниченко.

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** Some see private enterprise as a predatory target to be shot, others as a cow to be milked, but few are those who see it as a sturdy horse pulling the wagon. – Winston Churchill.

**Favorite recording:** Bob Dylan – The Times They are A-Changing.



#### **PEDENKO Pavlo**

Born in: Cherkasy, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv, Ukraine

**National Technical University of Ukraine "Kyiv Polytechnic Institute"** was established in 1895. Faculty of Machinery.

**Foreign languages:** Russian, English.

**2012 William & Antonina Bazylewych Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Ted Opitz, MP** for Etobicoke Centre, Ontario.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Cape Kazantyp is the nature reserve on the Sea of Azov. It is a unique place in Crimea where wilderness was preserved. Actually, it's not very popular among tourists, so while walking the cape you can be the only person on 391 hectares of protected territory. You can have a picnic with an unforgettable nature around. If one wants to feel forces of nature, to admire the boundless horizons of Ukrainian lands and seas, it is a correct place to spend a few hours during summer vacation.

**Last book read:** Michael Roach «The Diamond Cutter: The Buddha on Managing Your Business and Your Life».

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** «Немає мужності другої, як не боятися життя» (Павло Тичина).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win." (Mahatma Gandhi).

**My favourite musical recording:** Enter Shikari – Destabilise.

**SHABARDIN Oleksandr**

Born in Mykolayiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Mykolayiv

**Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University** was established in 1996 in Mykolaiv. Faculty of ecology and medicine (Department of medical equipment).

**Foreign languages:** Russian, English, Spanish - basic.

**2012 Volodymyr HRYNYK Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Mark Warawa, MP** for Langley, British Columbia.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Maidan Nezalezhnosti is the main square of Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine, located on the Khreschatyk Street. "Maidan" is originally a Persian word which means square. Maidan Nezalezhnosti was completely rebuilt in 2002. The old look of the square with its many fountains was replaced by a new, more modernist look with bronze compositions featuring the statues of legendary founders of Kyiv Kiy, Schek, Horiv and Lybid, folklore hero Cossack Mamay, the city's protector Archangel Michael, Berehynia and glass domes. A mostly underground shopping mall, the Globe, was built under Maidan Nezalezhnosti, part of a huge new underground market complex built under the city center. The biggest protests of the Ukraine without Kuchma campaign and the Orange Revolution took place in this square. Maidan Nezalezhnosti received global media coverage in late 2004 during the Orange Revolution, as hundreds of thousands of protesters gathered in the square and pitched tents for several weeks, enduring the cold and snow.

**Last book read:** "I love America" by Mikhail Zadornov.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** І чужому навчається, / Й свого не цурайтесь. / Хто матір не знає – того Бог карає. / І на Січі мудрий німець / Картопельку садить. (Тарас Шевченко). Ні, я жива, я вічно буду жити / Я в серці маю те, що не вмирає. (Леся Українка). Любів Україну у сні й наяву, вишневу свою Україну, красу її, вічно живу і нову, і мову її солов'їну. (Володимир Сосюра).

**Favourite quotes by foreign author:** "I am not an Athenian nor a Greek, but a citizen of the world". Socrates. "Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life. Don't be trapped by dogma – which is living with the results of other people's thinking. Don't let the noise of other's opinions drown out your own inner voice. And most important, have the courage to follow your heart

and intuition. They somehow already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary." Steve Jobs.

**Favourite musical recordings:** Green Day With The 'American Idiot' Cast – 21 Guns. Flipsyde – When It Was Good. Adele – Someone Like You.

**SHAPOVAL Olena**

Born in: Velyki Budky, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv

**University of Kyiv** (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) was established in 1834. Institute of Journalism.

**Motto of University:** Utilitas Honour et Gloria. –

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

**University of Kyiv** (Vadym Hetman National Economic University of Kyiv) was established in 1906. Faculty of Law.

**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, Russian, Polish.

**2012 Mazurenko Family Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Hon. Carolyn Bennett, MP** for St. Paul's, Ontario.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Princess Yaroslavna Monument is located in Putyvl, Sumy region. Putyvl was founded in 989. This town is just one year younger than Christianity in Kyivan Rus. Today Putyvl is a small and quiet town, but with a long and glorious history. In the XII century there was the centre of Novhorod-Siversk Principality here. And in 1185 Prince Ihor went against polovtsy (nomadic people from Asia) from here. The oldest poem in Kyivan Rus "The Word about Ihor's Campaign" talks about this event. It was an unsuccessful campaign, Prince Ihor was wounded and captured. According to the legend his wife Yaroslavna was walking along the wall of fortress in Putyvl and was looking

out her Prince every day while he'd been away. She was singing and crying. Today this monument embodies her great sorrow and great love. Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko has written the poem "Crying of Yaroslavna" about this faithful wife.

**Last book read:** "Quo Vadis" by Henryk Sienkiewicz.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Захочеш – і будеш. В людині, затаєм, лежить невідгадана сила. (Олег Ольжич). Кожній нації є за що посипати собі голову попелом. Тільки не треба тим попелом запорошувати очі наступних поколінь. (Ліна Костенко).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** You can cut all the flowers, but you cannot keep spring from coming. (Pablo Neruda). I cannot forget, but I can forgive. (Nelson Mandela).

**My favourite musical recording:** Ніна Матвієнко – "Сміються-плачуть солов'ї", Brainstorm "Welcome to my country".



#### SHIUKASHVILI Giorgi

Born in: Tbilisi, Georgia  
Hometown: Tbilisi

**Intern to John WESTON, MP** for West Vancouver–Sunshine Coast–Sea to Sky Country, British Columbia.  
**2012 East West Management Institute Scholarship** recipient

**International Black Sea University** was established in 1995. Faculty of Business Management.

**Motto of University:** "International Education/International Employment".

**Ilia State University** was established in 2006. Faculty of Arts & Sciences, Master Program in Public Administration.

**Motto of University:** "Ligamus" – Latin inscription signifying "We Unite" i.e. the university's aspiration to unite research and education, bring together existing knowledge, creating new understanding and passing it on to students and society.

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, Turkish.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Tbilisi, Georgia:** Tbilisi Sulfuric Baths: In the old part of the city you can visit the well-known Tbilisi sulfuric baths. They are located near the river Kura (Mtkvari) embankment. The emergence of the baths was promoted by the abun-

dance of hot sulfuric springs in the area. All of them were built in different times – approximately in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The oldest of them is the Irakli bath, which was an object of ownership arguments between the imperial family and Georgian princes in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The most beautiful is the Orbeliani bath. From both sides it is decorated with minarets and its lancet facade is lined with blue tiles. Most people call it the Blue bath. The bath interior is very clean and beautiful; the walls are adorned with the mosaic of green and white ceramic tiles. All baths in Tbilisi are named after their former owners. Baths are built in classic oriental style. They are low stocky buildings covered from above by semicircular domes with glass apertures in the centre which served as windows lighting the interiors because the baths themselves are below the ground level. Tbilisi baths were destroyed and restored many times. These baths exist now with small architectural changes made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Today Tbilisi sulfuric baths are very popular not only with tourists but also local residents since they produce great healing effect. The baths consist of separate booths with individual small pool filled with hydro sulfuric water. Just sit in such water and all diseases will be gone. And after the special massage you will feel like you are born again.

**Last book read:** "Nanve. Super" by Erlend Loe.

**Favourite quote by Georgian author:** Tu adamians rwmena aqvs, igi uZlevelia uTuod (konstantine gamsakhurdia). If person has a faith, for sure he's undefeatable. (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia). moZraoba da marto moZraoba aris qveyinis Ronisa da sicocxlis mimcemi. (wm. ilia WavWavaZe). Movement and only the movement gives enormous amount of strength and life. (St. Ilia Chavchavadze).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted". (Albert Einstein). "I find that the harder I work the more luck I seem to have." (Thomas Jefferson).

**My favourite musical recording:** Damien Rice "I Remember". Katie Melua "No fear of heights".



*Roman Tychkivskyy and Volodymyr Sysak at EURO 2012.*

**SHUDRAK Olya**

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 Батьківщини. – For the education of citizens, for the adornment of the homeland.

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

**Intern to James Bezan, MP** for Selkirk-Interlake, Manitoba.

**2011 John and Julia Stashuk Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Hon. Jason Kenney, MP** for Calgary Southeast, Alberta.

**2012 Daria Telizyn Scholarship** recipient

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The Kyiv Pecherska Lavra, also known as the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, is a historic Orthodox Christian monastery which gave its name to one of the city districts where it is located in Kyiv. According to the Primary Chronicle, in the early 11th century, Anthony, an Orthodox monk from Esphigmenon monastery on Mount Athos, originally from Liubech of the Principality of Chernihiv, returned to Rus' and settled in Kiev as a missionary of monastic tradition to Kievan Rus'. He chose a cave at the Berestov Mount that overlooked the Dnieper River and a community of disciples soon grew. Prince Iziaslav I of Kyiv ceded the whole mount to the Antonite monks who founded a monastery built by architects from Constantinople. Since its foundation as the cave monastery in 1015 the Lavra has been a preeminent center of the Eastern Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe. Together with the Saint Sophia Cathedral, it is inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

**Book read:** "The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People" by Stephen R. Covey.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Без ядра горіх ніщо, так само як людина без серця. Григорій Сковорода.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** Where the willing-

ness is great, the difficulties cannot be great – Niccolo Machiavelli.

**My Favourite Musical Recording:** Andrea Bocelli – Vivo Per Lei.

**SHYSHKO Lesia**

Born in: Odesa, Ukraine

Hometown: Odesa, Ukraine

**University of Odesa** was established in 1865. Institute of Social Sciences, International Relations Department.

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, Greek, French – basic.

**Intern to Ryan CLEARY**, St. John's South–Mount Pearl, Newfoundland and Labrador.

**2012 Vasyl KERELIUK Scholarship** recipient

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Odesa Opera Theatre was built in 1887. It is famous for its baroque architecture which does not yield to the best European theatres. Built on the example of Dresden Opera House, it has three floors abundantly decorated with sculptures and columns on the outside. On the top of the Opera House there is a sculpture of muse Melpomene in a chariot. A bit lower there are figures of Orpheus who plays kithara for a centaur and the muse of dance Terpsichore, dancing with a girl. The luxury internal decoration is in rococo style, with beautiful pictures, sculptures and bas-reliefs. Amazing crystal chandelier adds charm to the hall. On the theatre stage performed P. Tchaikovsky, S. Krushelnyska, A. Pavlova. It has an outstanding cultural significance for the city and all of southern Ukraine.

**Last Book Read:** "The French Lieutenant's Woman" by John Fowles.

**Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:** Народ, що не знає своєї історії, є народ сліпців. – Олександр Довженко.

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** Always bear in mind that your own resolution to succeed is more important than any one thing. – Abraham Lincoln.

**My favorite musical recording:** Coldplay – Clocks.

**SMOLYAK Maryna**

Born in: Sevastopol, Ukraine

**National University "Yaroslav the Wise Law Academy of Ukraine"** in Kharkiv was established in 1804. Prosecutor's Training Institute, 2<sup>nd</sup> year.

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

**Foreign languages:** Russian, English.

**2012 John SOPINKA Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Megan LESLIE, MP**, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

The Swallow's Nest (Ukrainian: Ластівчине гніздо) is a beautiful castle on the Crimean peninsula. It is located near Yalta on the very edge of 40-metre high Aurora Rock, hanging over the sea. It was designed by the Russian architect L. Sherwood and completed in 1911 and has become a true symbol of the Crimea. The castle is an excellent example of the Gothic style. A luxurious restaurant is situated in this castle now; you can taste various delicious dishes in the medieval interior and enjoy magnificent sea views from the top of the cliff.

**Last book read:** "Faust" by J. Goethe.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** «Правду життя піднімати до рівня серця, а серце нести високо» – Олександр Довженко.

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Tact is the ability to describe others as they see themselves." A. Lincoln.

**My favourite musical recording:** Sergey Rahmaninov – The Song from a Secret Garden.

**TSELIKOVSKA Ganna**

Born in: Dniprodzerzhynsk

Hometown: Dniprodzerzhynsk

**Intern to Hon. Mark Eyking, MP** for Sydney–Victoria, Nova Scotia.

**Hon. Hedy Fry**, Vancouver Centre, British Columbia.

**2012 Dr. Roman & Barbara HUMENIUK Scholarship** recipient

**University of Vaasa** (Vaasa, Finland) was established in 1966. Faculty of Business Studies.

**University of Dnipropetrovsk** (Dnipropetrovsk National University named after Oles Honchar) was established in 1918. International Economy Faculty.

**Motto of the University:** Docendo Discimus – "Teaching we study ourselves. – Навчаючи, ми навчаємося самі".

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, German, Finnish.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:**

Dniprodzerzhynsk St. Nicholas Roman Catholic Church was built in 1895-1897 in Dniprodzerzhynsk (previously named Kamianske). The church was designed for Polish workers of Dniprovskyi metallurgical plant. Plant's director Ihnatiy lasiukovych initiated the construction of the church. The author of the project was architect Marian Khorman-skyi. On December, 12, 1929 city's authorities closed the church. Instead they opened Polish club in the building. Later the building was used as a gathering station of military office, stables, marxism-leninism university branch, planetarium, sea school, art fund workrooms, warehouse, cooperatives, sport and technical groups. The church was reopened in 1990s. On December, 6. 1997 at the church's hundredth consecration anniversary the St. Nicholas Roman Catholic Church was consecrated for the second time.

**Last book read:** Juoksuhaudantie (Battle Trench Avenue) by Kari Hotakainen.

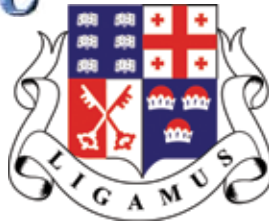
**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Можеш вибирати друзів і дружину, Вибрати не можна тільки Батьківщину (Василь Симоненко).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** It's a funny thing about life; if you refuse to accept anything but the best, you very often get it. (W. Somerset Maugham).

**Favourite musical recording:** Gotan Project – Santa Maria (Del Buen Ayre).



*Roman Tychkivsky and EURO 2012 volunteers.*

**TSITSAGI Ana**

Born in: Tbilisi, Georgia

Hometown: Tbilisi

**Intern to Kennedy STEWART, MP**, Burnaby–Douglas, British Columbia.

**2012 East West Management Institute Scholarship** recipient

**International Black Sea University** was established in 1995. Faculty of Business Management.

**Motto of University:** "International Education/International Employment".

**Ilia State University** was established in 2006. Faculty of Arts & Sciences, Master Program in Public Administration.

**Motto of University:** "Ligamus" – Latin inscription signifying "We Unite" i.e. the university's aspiration to unite research and education, bring together existing knowledge, creating new understanding and passing it on to students and society.

**Foreign languages:** English, Russian, Spanish.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Georgia:**

Vardzia is a cave-palace-monastery with underground halls dug out of the solid rock, built by Georgians in the Caucasus for fabled queen Tamar. In the late 1100s of Georgia was fighting against the onslaught of the Mongol hordes, the most devastating force Europe had ever seen. Queen Tamar ordered the construction of this underground sanctuary in 1185. When completed this underground fortress extended 13 levels and contained 6000 apartments, an amazing throne room and a large church with an external bell tower. It is assumed that the only access to this stronghold was via a hidden tunnel whose entrance was near the banks of Mtkvari River. The outside slope of the mountain was covered with the fertile terraces, suitable for cultivation, for which an intricate system of irrigation was designed. With such defenses, natural and man-made, the place must have been all but impregnable to human forces. Today the place is maintained by a small group of monks. About three hundred apartments and halls remain visitable and in some tunnels the old irrigation pipes still bring drinkable water.

**Last book read:** "The Name of the Rose" by Umberto Eco.

**Favourite quote by Georgian author:** cxovreba is aris rac gaxsovs. danarCeni arsebobaa (Wabua amirejibi) – The life is what you remember, all other means existence (Chabua Amirejibi). vinc Segirdi ar yofila, verasodes gaxdeba ostati (konstantine gamsaxurdia) – The one can

never become master, without being an apprentice (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia).

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** Whenever you feel like criticizing any one, just remember all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you've had. (F. Scott Fitzgerald). The true mystery of the world is the visible, not the invisible. (Oscar Wilde).

**My favorite musical recording:** Foo Fighters "Walking after you". Ben E. King "Stand by me".

**TYCHKIVSKYY Roman**

Born in: Lviv, Ukraine

Hometown: Rohatyn

**Intern to Władysław Lizon, MP**, Mississauga East–Cooksville, Ontario.

**2012 Josef & Maria SIECINSKY Scholarship** recipient  
**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** (NaUK-MA) was established in 1615. Faculty of Economics.

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

**Barcelona Graduate School of Economics** (Barcelona GSE) was founded in July 2006. Economics of Science and Innovation Program.

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

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The National Reserve "Ancient Halych" is a visiting card of Opillya. "Ancient Halych" is a complex of historical and cultural monuments of ancient Halych and Halytch-Volyn state of XII-XIII centuries, most of which are located within the modern village of Krylos and old town of Halych. The Reserve covers the historical part of prince's city and covers about 80 square km. Along with the magnificent ancient Church of St. Panteleimon (XII century) and RizdvoHrystove (XIV-XVI century), there are other monumental structures such as "Halych's grave", mentioned in the Halych-Volyn chronicle, legendary fountain of Princes, foundations of Uspenskyi Cathedral (XII century) with the burial place of Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl and chapel of St. Vasylij (XV century).

**Last book read:** The Singapore Story. Memories of Lee Kuan Yew.

**Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:** «Людська душа і

друг, безсумнівно, ціннішіза все інше.» (Григорій Сковорода).

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** "If one can do it, I can do it. If no one can do it, I must do it." (Japanese folk).

**My favorite musical recordings:** «Try porady» by Oleksandr Ponomariov, "I believe I can fly" by Rober Kelly.



#### **ZAVIALOV Andrei**

Born in: Irkutsk, Russian Federation

Hometown: Irkutsk, Russian Federation

**Intern to Peggy NASH, MP**, Toronto, Ontario.

**2012 Anne MAZURENKO Scholarship** recipient

**Irkutsk State University** was established in 1918. Institute of Social Sciences. 5<sup>th</sup> year student. Expected graduation date: 2013.

**Foreign languages:** English, French, Russian.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture:** The cathedral of Epiphany in Irkutsk was founded in 1693. Originally it was wooden and named the Petropavlovsk church. The building burned down during the first fire in 1716 year. After two years it was decided to rebuild a cathedral, but this time build it with brick. Donations for building were made by townspeople and guests of Irkutsk, who brought money and valuables. A bell tower was completed in 1729. On the night of 23-24 April, 1804, an earthquake happened. As a result: the cross of the cathedral was blown away and the fifth dome damaged. After the October revolution the Cathedral of Epiphany was closed to believers. A bread-baking factory was located in the building. In 1960 it was decided that the Cathedral Epiphany and Spas church must be destroyed. Galina Oranskaya, an architect from Moscow, arrived to sign the orders. But instead of ordering the destruction, she took up the reconstruction of the building. Then the cathedral got the status of republican worth. In 1968 the bread-baking factory was liquidated, and the restoration of the cathedral started. In 1994 Cathedral of Epiphany was transferred to the Irkutsk diocese and soon began to conduct divine services.

**Last book read:** И. С. Кон «80 лет одиночества» (Igor Kon "80 years of loneliness").

**Favorite quotes by Ukrainian authors:** «Нації

вмирають не від інфаркту, спочатку в них відбирають мову.» (Л. Костенко), «Свою Україну любіть, Любіть її... Во время люте, В останню тяжкую минуту, За неї Господа моліть.» (Т. Шевченко).

**Favorite quotes by foreign authors:** "Be or not to be – this is the question." (W. Shakespeare), "Do not pity the dead, Harry. Pity the living, and, above all, those who live without love." (Albus Dumbledore by J. Rowling).

**Favourite musical recordings:** Nick Cave & The Bad Seeds – O, Children!. Armin van Buuren feat. Ana Criado – Suddenly Summer.



#### **ZAVIALOVA Alisa**

Born in Mykolayiv, Ukraine

Hometown: Mykolayiv

**Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University** was established in 1996 in Mykolayiv. Faculty of Foreign Languages (Department of English and German Philology and World's Literature).

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

**2012 Senator David TKACHUK Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to James Bezan, MP**, Selkirk–Interlake, Manitoba.

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** The town of Kremenets, Ternopil region. Bona Hill. Kremenets belongs to the most ancient Ukrainian cities and it is also one of the most beautiful towns of Ukraine. It is situated at the foot of Bona Hill and there is an ancient fortress on the top of it. According to some sources Kremenets fortress was built in about VIII-IX century. The first memory about Kremenets was connected with the battle between Volynian prince Danylo Romanovych and Hungarian king in the spring of year 1227. The first written references about Kremenets can be found in Polish books dated 1064. Kremenets castle became widely-known when Khan Batyi attacked the city with Mongolian hordes, however did not manage to conquer it. These days the Castle Hill is a tourist site of the Kremenets State-Historic Architectural reserve. Thousands of people come here to admire the fortress walls and wonderful panorama of the city.

**Last book read:** "The Unbearable Lightness of Being" by Milan Kundera.

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** В своїй хаті – своя правда, / І сила, і воля. Тарас Шевченко. Мова – втілення думки. Що багатша думка, то багатша мова. Любімо пп, вивчаймо пп, розвиваймо пп! Борімося за красу мови, за правильність мови, за доступність мови, за багатство мови... Максим Рильський. Народ, що не знає своєї історії, є народ сліпців. Олександр Довженко.

**Favourite quotes by foreign author:** I am not an Athenian nor a Greek, but a citizen of the world. Socrates. There are no facts, only interpretations. Friedrich Nietzsche.

**My favourite musical recordings:** Queen – "The Show Must Go On"; Океан Ельзи – "Небо над Дніпром"; Coldplay "Clocks".



#### ZHEKA Oleksandr

Born in: Yablunets, Ukraine

Hometown: Kyiv, Ukraine

**National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** 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.

**2011 Oleksii Soshenko CUPP-1995 Scholarship** recipient

**Intern to Lawrence Toet, MP** for Elmwood–Transcona, Manitoba.

**2012 Caisse populaire Ukrainienne de Montreal Scholarship** recipient

**Outstanding landmark or architecture in Ukraine:** Pip Ivan Observatory – an astronomic and meteorological observatory on the Pip Ivan Mountain, is the highest building in Ukraine, in which people were constantly living and working (2028 m above sea level). Operated between 1938-1941. It is located in Verkhovyna district of Ivano-Frankivsk region. Construction of the observatory began in the summer of 1936 and in July 1938 it was completed. The thickness of the walls of this building is 1.5 meters,

there are 43 rooms and 57 windows. Gable roof was covered with copper sheet. And two floors on the east side and five levels of the building from the west make building grand and unattainable. Before the Second World War Observatory staff evacuated the most valuable equipment to Budapest astronomical observatory, then to Vienna, Krakow and Warsaw. In 1939 Soviets became the new owners of the observatory. Till June 1941 meteorological observations were carried out there. Later, the Germans evacuated metal parts astrografs to Lviv, where they were stored in the physical building of the Lviv University until recently. Later the building was abandoned, and the locals have took away all goods that were representing a value, in particular, copper sheets from a dome and roof of the observatory. Nowadays, Pip Ivan observatory is one the most famous and mysterious attraction in the Carpathian Mountains and that's probably my one of the most interesting places I've visited in Ukraine.

**Last book read:** Paramhansa Yogananda «Autobiography of a Yogi».

**Favourite quote by Ukrainian author:** Хіба може говорити про біле той, котрому невідоме, що таке чорне? (Григорій Сковорода).

**Favourite quote by foreign author:** "Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it." (George Bernard Shaw).

**My favourite musical recording:** Bob Dylan – "Like a Rolling Stone".



#### ZUBRYTSKA Iuliia

Born in: Boryslav, Lviv oblast', Ukraine

Hometown: Drohobych, Lviv oblast', Ukraine

**Intern to Hon. Laurie Hawn, MP** for Edmonton Centre, Alberta.

**2012 Antin Hlynka Scholarship** recipient

**Kyiv Mohyla Academy** (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy) was established in 1615. Kyiv-Mohyla Law School.

**Motto of the University:** Час плинний, Києво-Могилянська академія вічна. – Time passes by. Kyiv-

Mohyla Academy remains eternal.

**The Jagiellonian University** (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) was founded in 1364. Faculty of Law and Administration (Wydział Prawa i Administracji).

**Motto of the University:** Plus Ratio Quam Vis. – Let reason prevail.

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

**Outstanding landmark of architecture in Ukraine:** In 2004 the monument to Stepan Bandera was erected in Drohobych a city of 100,000+ inhabitants. On special occasions flowers are brought to the monument. One such occasion was my graduation from Drohobych Grammar School. Stepan Bandera (1909-1959) was one of the leaders of OUN-UPA, which fought the invading Nazi and Communist armies. The Canadian Judicial Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Justice Jules Deschenes, after hearing independent evidence, concluded that there was no evidence of cooperation between OUN-UPA headed by Bandera and the Nazis headed by Hitler. However Ban-

dera's recognition by the Ukrainian authorities remains controversial. While Bandera's contribution to Ukraine's struggle for independence was firmly recognized by Western Ukraine's regional and municipal governments, the Presidential Decree honoring Bandera was challenged by a District Court in Donetsk. Stepan Bandera's son was a founder of the newspaper "Homin Ukrayiny" ([www.homin.ca](http://www.homin.ca)) which is still published in Toronto.

**Last book read:** "Exodus" by Leon Uris.

**Favorite quote by Ukrainian author:** "І не знецінюйте коштовне, не загубіться у юрбі. Не проміняйте неповторне на сто ерзаців у собі!" (Do not disparage the precious; do not lose yourself in a crowd. Do not exchange what is unique in you for a hundred talons.) (Lina V. Kostenko).

**Favorite quote by foreign author:** "You are responsible, forever, for what you have tamed. You are responsible for your rose." (Antoine de Saint-Exupery).



*Celebration of Ukrainian Independence in Washington, USA. In attendance friends of CUPP as well as Kate Bondar, 2008 currently with World Bank.*

**Ediie ABDULTAIROVA**

Yeni-Kale (Crimean Tatar: Yeñi Qale) – fortress on the shore of Kerch Strait.

**Yaroslav BARKOV**

Depiction from 17th century of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

**Andrei BEZRUCHONAK**

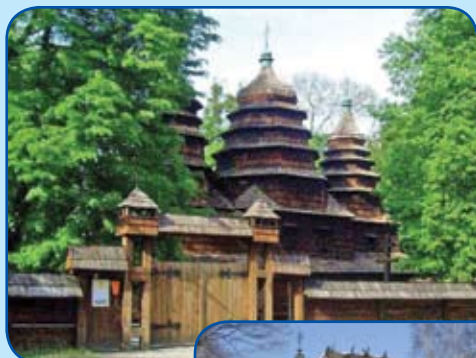
Chernobyl Sarcophagus a Soviet legacy.

**Lesia BIDOCHKO**

Bronze statue of Hryhoriy Skovoroda.

**Olena BONDAR**

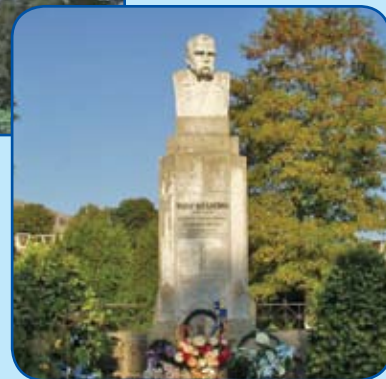
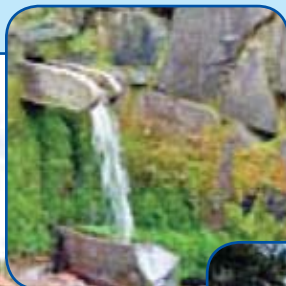
Kamianets-Podilsky Castle.

**Iuliia BUCHAK**

The Museum  
of Folk  
Architecture  
and Rural  
Life.

**Olha DMYTRASH**

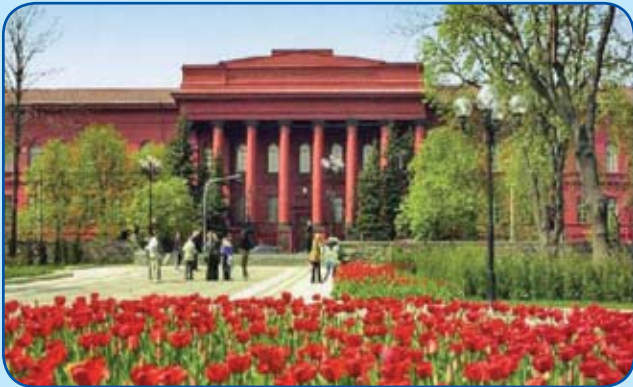
Monument of Taras  
Shevchenko in  
Vynnyky (Lviv).

**Iaroslav CHEKER**

Castle of the Shenborns in Chinadi-  
yevo, Zakarpattia.

**Liliia CHULITSKA**

The National Museum of Ukrainian Pottery in Opishnya, Poltava region.

**Alona FURDA**

University of Kyiv.

**Oleksandra GASKEVYCH**

Saint Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv.

**Anastasiia GRETSEVA**

The Skew Caponier – part of the New Pechersk Fortress, built in 1844.

**Kateryna GRyshCHENKO**

The Coryphaeus Theater.

**Oksana KRYKUN**

Synevyr Lake in Carpathian Mountains.

**Ihor ILKO**

Nevytsky Castle – 12 km north of Uzhhorod.

**Iurii LETS**

The Horodetsky House in Kyiv.

**Ustyna MYKYTYUK**

The Main Train Station in Lviv.

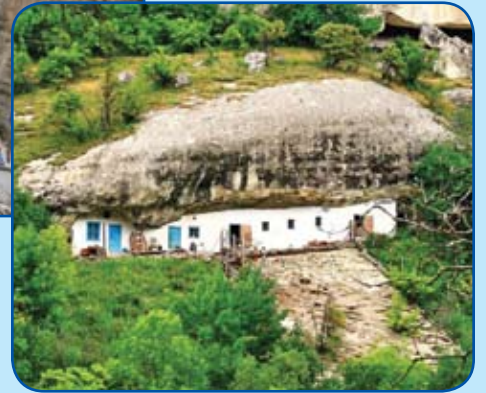
Left: The exterior of the Main Train Station.

Right: The platforms as seen today.



**Oleksandra NIKULOVA**

View on Uspensky Cave Monastery in Bakhchisaray, Ukraine from opposite side of the gorge.

**Khristyna OLIARNYK**

The Monastery of Pochaiv in Ternopil oblast.

**Roman ROMANOVSKIY**

The Khotyn Fortress on the right bank of Dnister River.

**Pavlo PEDENKO**

Kazantyp Highest Point – Mount Kazantyp (107 m).



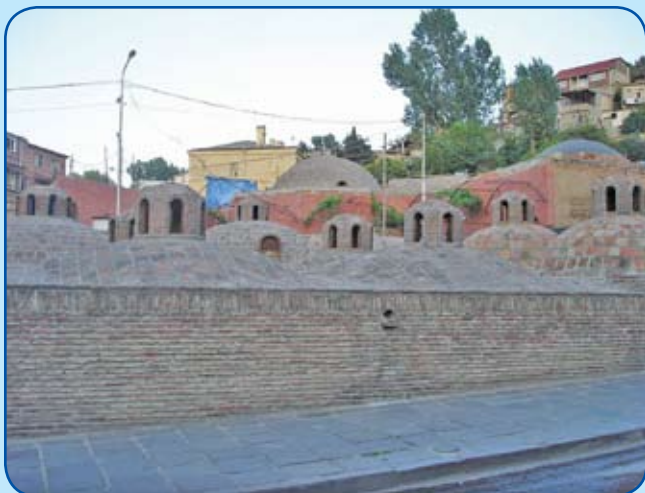
Cape Kazantyp: bird's eye view.

**Oleksandr SHABARDIN**

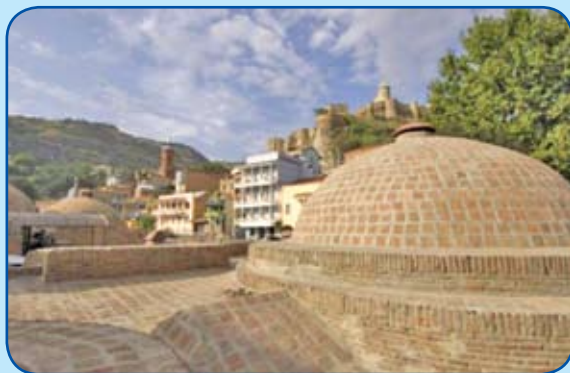
The Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kyiv.

**Olena SHAPOVAL**

Princess Yaroslava  
Monument in Putivi, Sum  
region.

**Giorgi SHIUKASHVILI**

The Kyiv Pechersk Lavra or the Monastery of the  
Caves.



Tbilisi Sulfuric Baths.

**Olya SHUDRAK****Lesia SHYSHKO**

Odesa's Opera Theatre built in 1887.

### Maryna SMOLYAK

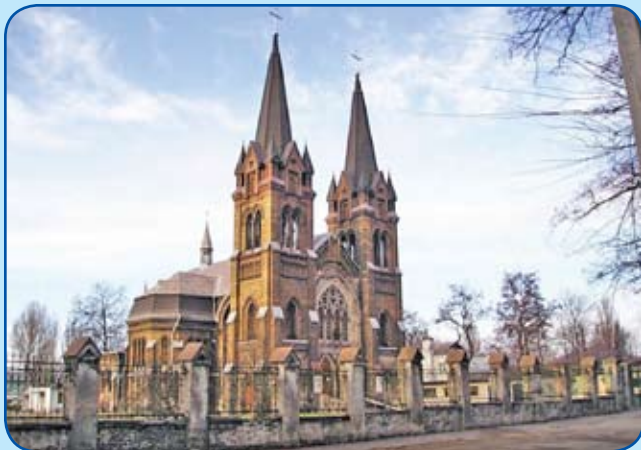
The Swallow's Nest  
Castle on the Crimean  
peninsula.



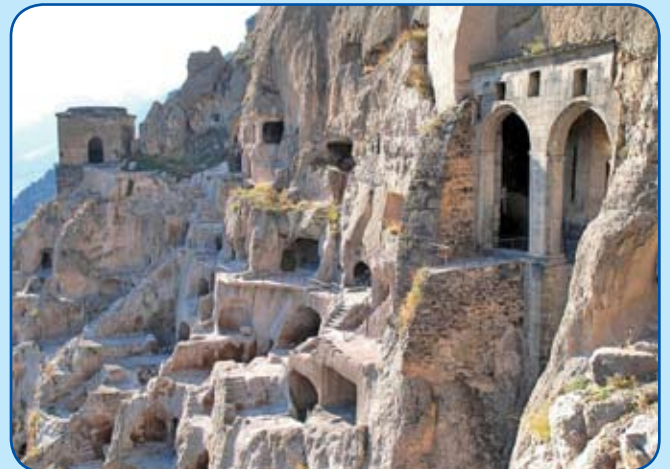
### Ana TSITSAGI



### Ganna TSELIKOVSKA



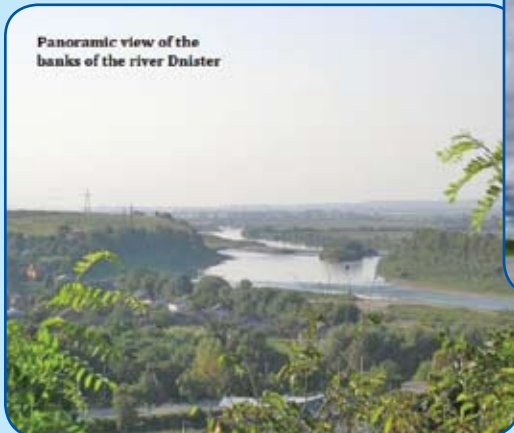
Dniprodzerzhynsk St. Nicolas' Church.



Cave-palace-monastery with underground halls in the solid rock in the Caucasus.

### Roman TYCHKIVSKYY

Panoramic view of the  
banks of the river Dniester



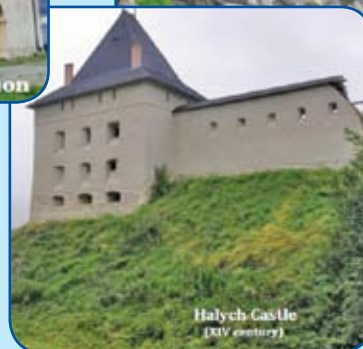
The National Reserve "Ancient Halych" in Opillya.



Church of St. Panteleimon



Model of Ancient Halych



Halych Castle  
(XIV century)

**Andrei ZAVIALOV**



Cathedral of Epiphany in Irkutsk, Russia.

**Alisa ZAVIALOVA**



The ruins of Bona's Castle in Kremenets.

**Oleksandr ZHEKA**



View on the observatory  
on the top of Pip Ivan Mountain (2026 m).



Observatory in winter.

**Iuliia ZUBRYTSKA**



The Monument of Stepan Bandera in Drohobych –  
erected in 2004.

"Не потоком шумних і галасливих фраз,  
а тихою невтомною працею любіть Україну!" (А. Шептицький)

"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 the 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 other."  
(Archbishop Major Lubomyr Husar)

## Why We Don't Like Ukraine

*Missing the empire is not just missing the territory; it's missing the history*

by Andrey ZORIN

Professor of Russian History, Oxford University  
Republished with permission.

### Arguments over the Empire

There is a new New Year's lark in Russia. In the last weeks of the old year, it assails Ukraine over Cape Tuzla, which no one had ever heard of before. We tried to make them observe falsified election results and were sincerely nonplussed at their unwillingness to do so. We nearly quintupled the price of natural gas for

them. And you always have to make up for it in the New Year. The regularity of those attacks and the broad public support they received rule out the possibility that it was all just someone's incompetence or greed. The causes lie deeper.

It seems that the Russian public, right up to its political elite, is beginning to realize that Ukraine's state-

hood is an irreversible reality. This is a painful process and it has certain characteristic complexes associated with it, such as a separation complex and infantile resentment. One of the reasons for this reaction is that the imperial syndrome is rooted in the understanding of history that has reigned supreme in our national consciousness for the last 200 years.

### New Country, Old History

When Peter I turned the state he ruled upside down, he was convinced that he was creating a completely new power. However, his successors, still in the 18th century, felt the need to prop up their legitimacy with their ancient origin and they began to propagate the myth of the single chain of historic succession that connected Kievan Rus with the Moscow kingdom and the St. Petersburg Empire. Karamzin's History of the Russian State gave the Romanov pretensions canonicity. A quarter of a millennium of history, from the fall of Kiev to the Standoff on the Ugra, was written off as Tatar and Lithuanian-Polish occupation. Some modern ideologues try to do approximately the same thing with the Soviet period.

After October 1917, the Bolsheviks themselves tried to begin a "new era" with a clean slate. But soon enough Stalin restored the traditional historical mythology, setting the USSR on the timeline of Russian history – from Kievan Rus to the Land of the Soviets. The founding fathers of the Russian Federation do not even try to portray themselves as founders of a new state. They prefer to play the role of princes, kings, emperors and general secretaries all at the same time. The result is that today Russian citizens are convinced that they are the direct and sole bearers of a thousand-year-old tradition, a powerful shoot surrounded on all sides by dried up branches.

### Rights of Inheritance

There have been many Russian states and each one of them had its own history, and not one of them followed another directly. Great Novgorod, the Golden Horde, the Great Principality of Lithuania (otherwise known as Lithuanian Rus) were all Russian states, and there were many more. Moscow was no more the successor of Kiev than Vilna or Kazan.

It is not quite as bad to speak of the Russian Empire as the successor of the Kingdom of Muscovy. Here there was a dynastic and religious unity. Between the Romanov Empire and the USSR it is impossible to see any connection. A state that changes its capital, symbols, borders, state religion, political system and name becomes another state.

Of course, if some form of the state from the past is close to our heart, we can declare ourselves its successor. At various stages of history, various Russian states traced their genealogy to ancient Rome, Byzantium, classical Greece, Germanic tribes and even, as we recall from Soviet textbooks, Urartu.

There is nothing wrong with that. But it is a good idea to keep in mind that our neighbors have rights of inheritance as well. They love to recall the etymological meaning of "Ukraine" ("on the edge") in Russia today. But the question of who is on the edge and who is in the center of Rus is all and only a matter of where you are looking from. About a year before the Orange Revolution, a Kiev taxi driver, an ardent fan of Yushchenko, told me that he felt that he was more Russian than people who live in the Urals.

### The Burden of Conceit

Unfortunately, these are not abstract considerations. In the consciousness of the modern Russian, Ukraine is increasingly taking the place of Poland as the unfaithful brother, betraying its Slavic origins for the West. We see what that perception has led to in Russian-Polish relations. The past is not primogeniture passing to the single lawful heir. It is a symbolic resource that everyone can use when they need it. It cannot be monopolized, and attempts to do so can be ruinous.

Fortunately for states and peoples, there is another way. Norway was first a province of Denmark, and then of Sweden, and obtained its inde-

pendence only at the beginning of the 20th century. Relations between the three states are simple and calm today, and their geographical, cultural and linguistic ties are underpinned by a multitude of successfully functioning institutions. And this is in spite of the fact that Norway refused to join the EU and Sweden did not join NATO. And the imperial past has not prevented Russia from building adequate relations with Finland.

Looking at the history of national statehood as a chain of direct succession uniting a mythic past with the present, we almost unavoidably exaggerate our own place in it. The Kingdom of Muscovy was enthralled with that conceit, seeing itself as the Third Rome and, maybe to a slightly lesser extent, so was the Russian Empire and, in hyperbolic proportions, the Soviet Union. The price for such ambitions was huge every time.

The entire Article in Russian as of Jan. 25, 2006  
<http://www.kommersant.com/page.asp?idr=527&id=643367>



*Tom Zapletal and Olya Shudrak, chairpersons of Masaryk University's (Brno, Czech Republic), Model United Nations Security Council Meeting.*

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

Please RSVP to [olya.kroytor@gmail.com](mailto:olya.kroytor@gmail.com) by Wednesday, February 10.



## Is Ukraine's Youth Plunging Into Deep Career Individualism?

**Evhenia VIATCHANINOVA**

**CUPP Intern 2009 & CUPP Coordinator 2010**

**2009 Vasyi & Antonina Bazylewych Scholarship recipient**

**2010 Senator Tkachuk Scholarship recipient**

**Intern to Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Hon. Jason Kenney**

**Public Diplomacy Candidate 2013, Syracuse University, USA**

**Fulbright Foreign Student Program**

US election 2009 has become unprecedented not only because of the victory of Barack Obama, the first man of color to be elected President. It has been the first time in years, when college students partook en masse in political campaigning on university and college campuses and Internet social networks, thus contributing to the success of the Democratic nominee. On the day of election, the turnout among people aged 18-29 reached 51%, unseen in the Bush era. This percentage sustained by the increasing number of other underrepresented demographic groups (such as women and people of color) ultimately ensured Obama's presidency.

Unlike U.S., Ukrainian students seem to be politically active as long as they are getting at least somewhat remunerated – researchers claim. Frozen to death, yet enthusiastic about their country's future, today's Maidan activists unleash their frustration with domestic politics, and are often reluctant to even cast their vote.

'Apathy' is a key word, Natalia Rudiak explains, why she would observe the presidential elections on the TV rather than go vote. Staunch Orange revolution supporters in the past, the marketing student of Kyiv Economics University and her family, small drug-store owners from Western Ukraine, strongly disapprove of the authoritarian direction the country is drifting to-

wards. *"My personal belief that something may get better has decreased to a 'zero' point. Our politicians will never cease to tear apart and divide up the bearskin before the bear is shot,"* Rudiak speaks allegories about politicians' zeal to power.

Year of 2009 proclaimed 'the Year of Youth' is nearly gone, and the government did nothing to stir young Ukrainians' interest in politics, arisen at the post-revolution stage. On the contrary, it seems everything possible has been made to keep youth passive and uneducated in a civic sense. In particular, the government removed the obligatory course of political science off curricula of all higher education institutions, implications of which will be disastrous, claims Yuriy Shayhorodskyi, President of Ukrainian Center for Political Management. *"The current level of political culture is very low, which eliminates any ideological content for youth participating in politics. The judgement calls they make are emotional rather than objective. If the young voters do not turn out at the elections, it will, first of all, affect the generation of the so-called 'young politicians' they emotionally lean to, in contrast to Tymoshenko, Yanukovych, and other 'old' politicians they disassociate themselves from."*

Although no research has been conducted to evaluate electoral preferences of Ukrainian youth, *KyivPost* compared the demographic data and electoral preferences in various parts of Ukraine. These data show that uni-

versity students who account for 6% of the population are mainly concentrated in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv regions: all three geographically and ideologically diverse parts of the country. According to the most recent December poll by Kharkiv-based *New Image Marketing Group*, the capital is in favor of Tymoshenko, Yatseniuk and Tyhipko, the latter two specifically aiming for the share of "young" votes with their "pro-change" and "pro-reform" campaigns. Lviv residents and Western Ukraine are going to vote for Tymoshenko and Yatseniuk, while Kharkiv and South-Eastern parts of the country are most supportive of Yanukovych, whose headquarters in Donetsk are especially active at recruiting young people to campaign for the leader of the opposition.

The short-cut election campaign and a long-term flu quarantine stirred creativity in young people, which the Party of the Regions has taken a bigger advantage of, if compared to other political forces. Olha Aivazovska, Head of Civil network OPORA: *"Yanukovych campaign grants more freedom to foster youth creativity offering many local events, such as: motor rallies."*

Even though Tymoshenko managed to recruit nearly all of the Ukrainian celebrities for her "With Ukraine in heart" music movement, unlike Yanukovych, the Prime-minister will not be able to lure many young people's votes. *"This particular form of campaigning is not effective under current*

*circumstances. It would be effective, if people were at least somewhat satisfied with their lives and were expecting their lives to gradually change for better. Today, a lot of people realize that not all of those artists are agitating for Tymoshenko right from the heart,"* says Shayhorodskiy.

If young Ukrainians are less conscientious of how to use their power to

make a change, their Russian peers are totally oblivious of the civil rights granted by the Constitution. *"They have plunged in 'deep career individualism',"* says Irina Khakamada. An ex-politician representing official opposition to Vladimir Putin and now radio anchor and writer, Khakamada admits that young people in Russia do not have any political positioning and are

unlikely to possess one under the Medvedev-Putin tandem rule. In this regard, it is high time young Ukrainians ask themselves: will they enjoy more rights and opportunities to influence the life of their country, if they stay coach potatoes and watch the elections the older generations will make a decision about?

## Implication of the Fact that a Significant Number of Ukraine's Population do not Consider Themselves Ukrainian Either in the National or Civic Sense

**Pavlo SHOPIN**

CUPP 2006, 2008

Walter Tarnopolsky Scholarship recipient, Mazurenko Family Scholarship recipient

MP: Michael Ignatieff, Ontario (Etobicoke–Lakeshore)

MP: Andrew Telegdi, Ontario (Kitchener–Waterloo)

B.A. and M.A. in English from Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk in 2008

Fulbright Visiting Researcher at UC Berkeley in 2009-2010

Internt in the German Bundestag in 2011

M.Phil. in European Literature and Culture at the University of Cambridge



*The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program Washington "Model Ukraine" Conference, which took place at the George Washington University on Feb. 12-14, 2010, was a perfect opportunity for CUPP Alumni to discuss their vision of Ukraine and see if they can arrive at common goals and values which could be shared by every Ukrainian. I am very grateful to Mr. Ihor Bardyn, Director of the Program, and all the organizers of the conference and believe that the meeting there was both rewarding and useful for all the participants. Here I present my address to the participants of the Washington Conference. Sadly, the problems discussed in this paper have been only exacerbated by the current government, and many more chal-*

*lenges have appeared. Now the Ukrainian language is being ridiculed by Prime-Minister, and Minister Tabachnyk's Ukrainophobia is an outrageous disgrace for Ukraine.*

Recently I have been to the Consulate General of Ukraine in San Francisco to cast my vote in the first round of the Presidential Election, and noticed two things. I saw that all the election committee members were wearing traditional Ukrainian shirts and was not surprised at all. But when I left the Consulate, I wondered if Germans would wear their Trachten for the same occasion.

Secondly, people who came to vote were asked to complete a questionnaire compiled at Oxford University and we spent a considerable

amount of time in a small room trying to answer all those numerous queries. One of the older ladies was having trouble with the question about identity, a foreign word to any Ukrainian, as you may probably know. She did not hesitate to ask a young man beside her, "What is "identychnist" [identity]?" "Well, being identical, being similar, I think." "You know, that's what makes you Ukrainian," another helpful Ukrainian prompted. The CUPP Alumni gathered to try to find an answer to a similar question and I hope that we have achieved at least an understanding of the initial (or ultimate?) question and will work towards further interpretation of what it means to be Ukrainian. I would like to believe that our generation of Ukrainians, having

experienced the governance, civil society, education abroad and the reality of life in Ukraine can work towards developing a better if not new Commons and Commonwealth for Ukraine.

In my paper I would like to present some of my deliberations on why many Ukrainians do not have the identity we expect them to have and what it means not to identify with "typical Ukrainians", living in Ukraine.

At the very outset of this short presentation, I would like to state that for me the national and civic senses of being Ukrainian are the same. If you are a citizen of Ukraine, you are Ukrainian. Ukrainian citizenship is what defines me as a Ukrainian in the modern sense. I speak Russian as my native language, celebrate the Victory in Europe Day, denounce heroization of Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych and still feel Ukrainian. It is quite natural. However, the attempts to make me and millions of Ukrainians feel not Ukrainian, feel alienated from the state have not been in vain. Many Ukrainians do not consider themselves Ukrainian because of the economic and social conditions in Ukraine. It is legitimate to posit an important question, "What are the implications of the fact that a lot of Ukrainians do not consider themselves Ukrainian?"

Let me start with a salient example. Having spent several months on my own abroad, I understood a lot about my being Ukrainian and also grew addicted to chess, playing it online with my brother and discussing every move in the Skype. No matter what you think of chess, the game is popular in Europe and all over the world. There are prestigious chess tournaments in the EU, Russia and China. Last year a Ukrainian grandmaster Sergey Karjakin "defected" to Russia. This 19-year-old prodigy holds the record for the youngest grandmaster in history, achieving the title at the age of twelve years and seven months. Now he lives in Moscow and at the

2009 World Chess Cup Sergey was asked how the Ukrainian side let him go and here is what he said, "My colleagues understood my decision. We still have very good relations. As for the chess authorities of the Ukrainian Chess Federation, they were indifferent to my change of citizenship. They did not truly support us in Ukraine: no coaches, no help. That is why I left". What he also said was, "A lot of my relatives are Russians and they live in Russia. I have just come back home and I don't consider it to be a radical change". Some nationalists may say "Good riddance!" but I absolutely disagree with them and this difference of opinion is crucial. If to paraphrase Michael Ignatieff, current leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, "I believe that a Ukrainian is a Ukrainian, is a Ukrainian, is a Ukrainian". Every citizen of Ukraine has equal rights and should be equally important for the state and even more so for the whole society.

We all know about Ukrainians, leaving their country to seek better future. Millions of Ukrainians have left Ukraine since the independence. Why? This is the question I will try to answer in a nutshell. During my second visit to Canada, I learnt from my hosts that they "defected" to Canada because as Ukrainians they did not feel comfortable in Poland. However, I did not see any prejudice towards the Poles on their side. They had Polish friends and never actually mentioned any hardships they faced in Poland. They expressed long-nourished hatred towards Russia but no animosity to Poland. Some of my relatives left Ukraine for Russia and to do so they also had to tell the Russian authorities that they "felt uncomfortable" in Ukraine. They still plan to return to Ukraine some day but right now it makes no sense to them because economically Ukraine is a worse place to live in. These people consider themselves Ukrainian, but they may not come back and be Ukrainians in a civ-

ic sense. For me a Ukrainian is someone who lives in Ukraine because being Ukrainian in a civic sense is what makes a society. Ukrainian nationalists claim that a lot of Ukrainians are not real Ukrainians. These "fake" Ukrainians do not speak Ukrainian and live in the "imaginary" international post-Soviet world. I must admit that I belong to this group of "fake" Ukrainians. Oleksandr Kramarenko calls us "пануючий в нашій країні внаслідок тяжкої хвороби українців інтернаціонал" ("as a result of a grave disease of Ukrainians a ruling internationale") (Kramarenko 2009). He also calls us a minority and he is mistaken. It is the Ukrainian nationalists who are a marginal minority. Nationalists are "Schwarzfahrer" (remember the Oscar winning German short film) on the Ukrainian tram but they manage to make a lot of Ukrainians feel uncomfortable and doubt whether we are Ukrainians.

Looking back at the question which I have to address I can see that a lot of Ukrainians do not consider themselves being Ukrainian in the sense worked out by a nationalistic minority. The idea of a mono-ethnic state seemed to prevail during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko. Consequently, a lot of Ukrainians did not feel "Ukrainian" in the sense the President wanted to promote. As a result, the President lost like no one had lost before him. It was poetic justice. The vast majority of Ukrainians do not consider themselves to be victims of the Soviet Union and they do not have any ill feelings towards Russia. The President failed to understand this.

A lot of Ukrainians are led to believe that being "really" Ukrainian means being xenophobic and nationalistic. These Ukrainians do not welcome the decorations of Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych and feel that Ukraine has become a hostile land to them. There are numerous implications of this state of affairs in

Ukraine but I will mention only several of those.

Firstly, these Ukrainians may leave the country for good. Ukraine has lost millions of people but the reason may appear to be different. The majority of Ukrainians left Ukraine because they could not live a decent life here. It means they saw that they were let down in a civic sense, they were let down as Ukrainians by Ukrainians. Thus, the social-economic issues need to be addressed by the whole society and every individual should be involved. These issues include both living wages and the language you speak, and they constitute social life of an ordinary Ukrainian.

It is clear that Ukrainians who do not consider themselves Ukrainian are in opposition to any government in Ukraine. These Ukrainians play a powerful destructive role in the state politics. Their aim is to express their discontent but the more alienated they are from Ukraine the more counter-productive their political activism is.

These Ukrainians also become disappointed in the social life in Ukraine, which gives way to passivity and indifference in their attitude towards the Ukrainian politics. I believe that passivity and indifference are the worst symptoms of civic alienation in Ukraine.

Finally, being not part of the Ukrainian society leads these Ukrainians to misery and unhappiness. Homeless at home, they refuse to see the light at the end of the tunnel and turn back to the Soviet past. The unhappy consciousness leads to such extremes as protests or apathy.

It could be presumed that citizenship is what unites all Ukrainians. Moreover, the Ukrainian citizenship is evidently a liaison opportunity for most of us due to the immense diversity of cultures, beliefs, attitudes, lifestyles, views etc. It is overt that such an assumption may seem diabolical for those who prefer cultural and political

grounds when defining one's identity. But in my view, the Ukrainian citizenship is to unite a great abundance of various mentalities which constantly interact and form the new concept of a Ukrainian, create the new cultural facets of being Ukrainian. Otherwise, a lot of Ukrainians will not feel at home and what we can see today is that a vocal nationalistic minority manages to impose ideas not accepted by the majority of Ukrainians.

There is no way back to the rustic charm of traditional Ukrainian culture and identity. The Ukrainian "Bourbon Restoration" is not possible. Ukraine is not a mono-ethnic nation and every citizen of Ukraine is Ukrainian in the most authentic sense. Ukrainians are a tolerant, multicultural, multilingual, well-educated society and we cannot go back to the days of serfdom, illiteracy and "enlightened" elites. This does not mean we have to forsake our past.

Ukraine is in the midst of a profound transformation and much reconciliation and understanding of each other's views ought to be done as soon as possible. Ukrainians are plagued by the wild capitalist globalization. The Ukrainian oligarchs decide our future, plundering the country. The Ukrainian identity is not worth much in this society. Ukrainians have become obsequious consumers and the trends are alarming. However, these challenges cannot be met by the obsolete world-view. On the terrains of Ukraine there is to be created a strong nation which can survive the capitalist progress. There are crucial premises, such as the independence, unique ideas and walks of life for the process to commence. We shall perceive that and toil to develop and nurture unifying tendencies rather than provoke protests and confrontation. It is our common responsibility to find ways for mutual understanding when all Ukrainians will feel at home. Hopefully, the current monopolization of the national identity

concept has failed with President Yushchenko's loss and future cultural politics of the state will take into account the view of a majority of Ukrainians. The majority of Ukrainians will decide the future of the state and every minority should be well-integrated into Ukrainian society to feel an integral part of it.

In conclusion, the gruesome fact that a significant number of Ukrainians do not consider themselves Ukrainian either in a national or civic sense is not arbitrary and the implications of it are not mere trifles that can be ignored. It is common sense that neither the language nor the traditional shirt defines the Ukrainian citizenship. Citizens of Ukraine have the right to live in a democratic country where the principles of tolerance and multiculturalism can be acted upon and they should demand recognition as Ukrainians in every conceivable sense.

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**Roman Tychkivskyy CUPP 2012 at EURO 2012 Fan-Zone, Kyiv.**



## Etude About Post-crisis Ukraine: Seven Main Challenges – Opportunities

**Lyubomyr REGUSH**

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Staffordshire University, UK

Ukrainian State University of Finance and International Trade

The aim of this article is to analyse the current transformation processes within Ukrainian socio-political environment and civil society evolution in terms of globalisation and current delays in the economic recovery or risk of new depression impact.

There is no country or even family unaffected by the recent Global economic recession. A lot of economists had been forecasted absolutely modest and relatively manageable impact of it on Ukrainian economy (and especially standards of life) as by its origin it has been financial and stock market crisis (so called 'artificial crisis'). They had explained it by not much involvement of Ukrainian business in to the global financial markets and much lower securitisation (relatively miniature stock market) comparing to the other developed countries. There were arguments on possible repercussion effects, but some views were rather optimistic that this will force domestic sectors growth and innovations, especially in case of Ukrainian post-election liberal approach to reforms.

The real economic performance gave us the evidence to state that Ukraine is in the list of economies which suffered from the crisis the most, when reforms were largely affected by corruption: after the economic downturn caused by transition in 90s (analogical to the post-war output gap), the country ended up in the Great Depression linked to the last years of Orange government and manual economy governing on the

current path.

In this article I present the analysis of the challenges that were brought up by the crisis towards different segments of social life accompanied with the new opportunities Ukraine can explore and exercise as the results of real reformative approach.

### ***Challenge 1: democracy – centralisation – civil society***

One of the noteworthy features of the recent crisis outcome was the high pressure on business to monopolise it under the umbrella of the strongest entrepreneurs/holdings and actually the current government stakeholders. It is seen as the efficient 'natural selection' approach in management by using all the possible legislative tools and barriers to entry/exit business instead of liberalisation and search for the most efficient management model and flexibilities. To obtain those, the political groups manipulate on the social disagreements being the incredibly generous in their promises about reforms, employment etc; voters are mislead with their hope about new social consensus. During these periods there is a huge social necessity of avoiding autocracy on the top of state machine or anarchy at the local level. This is vitally important for the countries on transition or where the political culture of population can be characterised as marginal.

Liberalism and free-market proponents politicians were highly popular on the stage of rapid growth and when the economy was booming (victory of Yushenko in 2004 and his policy ini-

tiatives support by majority of population). Although due to the impact of the global economic downturn, politicians had been able to link the Yushenko's liberalism to the crisis spillovers; the current Yanukovich's reforms approach is actually based on the image of the strong President who has to rule the country to stabilise the situation (public call for increasing efficiency; he is the symbol of power for population) instead of letting market economy to maintain itself by allowing economic agents to run the business freely. This recent governmental centralisation proved that the strong political opposition can't exist under the model (repressions, corruption as well as legislation which is not working are the preventive measures to remain this strong government status). Under these circumstances medium business (the potential source of liberalism approach in the country) is experiencing high pressure. The weak political opposition is not really enough to have the democracy working; the strong opposition can't exist by its definition. Independent media and civil society institutions (including demonstrations, initiatives and feedback to legislations etc) are the real keys to prevent autocracy at the top and anarchy at the local level of government. Only through their activities society can control efficiency of authorities' service preventing from too much discretion and elimination of opposition from political life; protection of human rights; values and interests of minority, call for true anti-corruption measures. The opportunity

here lies in the permanent control of the society for the public institutions, increasing call for government efficiency; local elites to impact the national policy for the efficiency improvement; to demand new governmental solutions, liberal legislation, evaluation of policy and monitoring special niche for civil society.

***Challenge 2: Economic liberalism and openness vs. tendency for control and monopolization***

Ukraine accession to the WTO was really a long process, which lasted about 10 years and was finished just before global economic recession occurrence. Some economists argue that it was really very bad timing for the accession. as the importation of cheap products had a negative impact on employment in Ukraine; and some businesses closed down because of the new wave of competition. A lot of discussion was devoted to the necessity of re-establishing domestic market protection measures, some temporarily instruments were put in place. During this period many small and medium firms went under administration and there were some evidence to conclude about steadily sector's monopolisation by 'national champions' (because of stronger lobby sometimes).

As always devil here is in details: competition boost the efficiency growth and reduction in the price level; but during recession periods we care about employment either. Hence, it makes sense to implement some stimulus packages for small and medium business (governmental guarantees, credit resources, tax allowances), but at the same time do not step away from accepted WTO rules. At this point special attention has to be paid to the role of anti-trust authority, standardisation agency and audit chamber, which for the best practise has to be under the leadership of the opposition representatives to control and influence governmental perfor-

mance. At the same time, crisis conditions entail itself tough preconditions on running business, which affect higher business sustainability and flexibility of entrepreneurs operations. Hence, economy becomes more innovative in its solutions and more competitive goods are supplied to the world markets.

***Challenge 3: Long term loans (IMF, VTB, Gazprom etc), employment and infrastructural investments***

Global economic recession and reductions in the number of actual transactions, negative trade balance for the last several years, increase in the price level of energy resources were in the list of unfavourable economic changes, which Ukrainian economy suffered the most. In order to avoid possible default, Ukraine was in the list of first countries, which claimed to IMF for a long term tranche as the possible restoration measure. It was really helpful for proceeding with payments in time for supplied energy resources from Russia and this in turn helped to save some working places into some highly energy – intensive goods sectors (stimulus measure).

However, this was done only by 'loaning from the future' and probably was kind of short-sighted policy on funds accommodation. It helped to save some working places into the sectors which are not the most competitive quite likely and highly dependent on energy-recourses (thus, it was stimulus for foreign economies) and it was not oriented towards the inter-structural changes and reemployment into the sectors, which are more labour-intensive or where Ukraine is abundant in factors of production. Under these circumstances, new debt was the only short-time survival kid, but definitely it was not the most efficient way for injections to the economy. The opportunity here is not here so much about ability taking 'loans from the future', but also in creation

new 'working places for tomorrow' (and not just welfare redistribution). Investments into infrastructure improvement and public jobs creation in labour-intensive sectors may be considered as the possible clever solution, which may be really beneficial during the upcoming economic turnaround.

***Challenge 4: Economy of the future and science clusters***

Companies need to run for and implement innovations and other possible technological improvements to be competitive on the world market and keep the leading position on domestic one. The Universities and laboratories are the place for the discoveries to be invented and projected. Business shall link to the academies and research has to become more practical and real life applicable: it is time for switch from theories-based school to the 'millions of case-studies'. These types of clusters are possible only through permanent producer-inventor association and mediation role of the state (changing of educational programs and objectives, main focus on research at the universities). Crisis phase is the good time for high school reform, investment into education and science. Probably this is correct area for deeper integration into world economy and cooperation with the leading schools in developed countries and this is the key for the 'industries of the future'.

This period is also a great chance for financial and stock market development, investment climate improvements by liberalisation. By the time, when new paradigm of financial market is going to be created, Ukrainian companies may adopt the most pioneer financial instruments and hence force up the growth of the other sectors of economy.

***Challenge 5: Eurointegration and multivectoral diplomacy***

The discussion on the EU expan-

sion is not really in place and economic crisis is one of the reasons for it. At the same time there are few different dimensions of the integration and success on each integration layer may bring partners closer to each other on the different level of 'marble cake'. There are plenty of issues where integration processes may move on and there are still not so many clear answers about political will to go further with it. The agreement on free-trade and association with the EU (which is going to be signed soon) can be the real step forward in political and economic cooperation; the bilateral relations on the issues of migration and intra-sectoral cooperation may also develop further after on. Although political association with a West is rather important here.

Closer economic cooperation and institutional collaboration development may be among the factors, which will speed up the economic recovery, broad intercultural dialogue. Acceptance of EU-styled norms and rules can be also a good sign of stability and quality for the other partners, it may also open new windows for mutual cooperation on issues (e.g. environment, energy etc), joint projects. Thus, Ukraine has to position itself as the reliable partner, initiatives maker and

supporter of true liberal reforms within a country.

#### **Challenge 6: Security and defence**

Collective defence agreement on NATO was founded for protection of its members from different kind of threats with the costs reduction for it (including economic security at the era of globalism, conflicting interests, and limited access to the natural resources). Hence, discussion about Ukraine's participation in the military alliance gets new wave of support (naval forces are imperfectly equipped, underfunded, insufficiently competitive). At the same time, there are political costs which country needs to pay of in case of such participation: cooperation with the other countries, contributions to the alliance activity etc. Therefore the opportunity here is in the closer military cooperation and common trainings with both NATO and other neighbours military forces, which can be crucial for the euroatlantic integration in the future and saving good-ties of cooperation with the other partners (which is definitely conflicts avoiding and risk reducing foreign policy).

#### **Challenge 7: Socio-cultural changes of population values**

Crisis and Euro 2012 have really

mind-blowing impact on the social values and ways of public preferences allocation. There was a dramatic departure from the society of consumers (based on easy access for credit funds and loans), to the reconsideration of demand for necessary (and less luxury) goods, demand for public products such as an infrastructure. On the other hand, there was a change in the attitude to work: people start to care about their jobs and there is less room for shirking; a lot of people use their free time for improving their skills and invest in their education (actually, it is the way to raise labour skills and productivity, appreciate good working environment). Workers' savings are the excellent potential source of infrastructural investment in the future and the way for economic recovery. The growing group of very rich people may also be a good source of reinvestments to Ukrainian economy in case of proven liberalism, country with the observed European future, which has reobtained its European identity, belief in its social and economic capability during Euro 2012. The opportunity here lies in the new social compromise, oriented towards transformation to the new knowledge-based economy.

*In conclusion, I need to underline that 7 main challenges-opportunities are crucial for the roadmap of Ukrainian future. The way government and society respond to them will affect the niche Ukraine obtains in the international division of labour, global markets, new world order. Current economic s is the great opportunity for Ukraine to make the necessary reforms, adopt the innovations and set up the background for the prosperous European-oriented future. There is no issue about crisis-management style and personalities in charge; there is a subject of public choice and new social compromise, which can be deliberated as the Ukrainian Dream and everyone's desire to improve.*



**2010 Interns Solomiya Borshosh (Lviv), Stacy Tsarkova (Kyiv), Liliia Ibadova (Kharkiv).**



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## Wither the Bologna Process: The Coming Educational Crisis in Ukraine

**Phylissa D. MITCHELL**

Fulbright Scholar, Ukraine, 2008-10

University of Richmond, Virginia, USA

### PHYLISSA MITCHELL BIO

Phylissa D. Mitchell received a Fulbright grant in law in 2008 to teach at the Institute of Journalism at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. Her grant was renewed for an additional nine months in 2009. Thought based at the Institute, she traveled extensively throughout Ukraine, attending conferences and lecturing in American First Amendment law, international press law and journalism skills in Simferopol, Alushta, Odessa, Sumy, Kharkiv, Lviv and Zaporozhia. She has spent the last year writing a creative nonfiction travelogue/memoir comparative analysis of the American and Ukrainian civil rights movements.

Mitchell is native of the state of Virginia. She graduated from the University of Virginia in Charlottesville with a Bachelor's of Arts in Religious Studies and a minor in Government. She received a J.D. from the Washington & Lee University School of Law in Lexington, Va.

Mitchell has taught journalism at Washington & Lee, West Virginia University in Morgantown, West Va., and the University of Richmond. She has joined the faculty of Missouri State University in Springfield, Missouri teaching broadcast journalism and First Amendment law.

If you have ever seen or been in an automobile accident then you are probably familiar with the injury known as "whiplash." Whiplash, according to the internationally renowned Mayo Clinic, is "a neck injury that can occur... when your head suddenly moves backward and then forward – similar to the motion of someone cracking a whip. These extreme motions push your neck muscles and ligaments beyond their normal range of motion."

Whiplash can sometimes cause a concussion, when the brain bumps around inside the skull and disrupts brain function, according to the United States Centers for Disease Control.

Perhaps you are thinking: how very interesting, but how does this tutorial in neurology relate to education reform in Ukraine?

It does not. But in my academic disciplines, law, and journalism, we teach by analogy. Analogous to that physical sensation of a head being suddenly moved "backward and forward – similar to the motion of someone cracking a whip" is the psychological sensation some students at

Taras Shevchenko University conveyed the two years that I taught at the Institute of Journalism.

In the United States, we would say that students felt "jerked around."

One student wrote, "Seismic changes to a sensitive area like education ought to be slow, careful and incremental. But that's not how our politicians approached it." Another student was in the third year of secondary school when the Bologna process was implemented. That student said, "Grading became very confusing because no one could explain it. All students passed exams whether they had studied during the semester or not. The overall quality of students decreased." Other students reported problems with grades, graduation and the ability to study abroad.

Those students were talking about the Bologna System and it's important to note what they were not complaining about. They were not bemoaning standardized testing. They were not testy about an additional year in secondary school. They were not criticizing the promise of equal access to ed-

ucation. For the most part, students were content with the changes. What they were disgruntled about was the process of changing from the old system to what's now become the old "new" system.

Let's think what about what one of those students said about slow, careful and incremental change. The student meant the human need for stability, of consistency: of knowing with some degree of certainty that when you wake up in the morning your life will not be significantly different than it was the day before... unless you choose to change it.

It's axiomatic that we humans thrive in stable environments. This is why we become educated, find mates, create homes, have children. As parents we do everything in our power to ensure our children's safety. Films, television dramas and mystery novels are rife with tales of adult psychopaths with chaotic, deeply flawed childhoods. The entertainment industry is absolutely right about that. The researcher in child psychology, Naomi Burgess (1998), found that adults who

perceive themselves as psychologically healthy reported that their childhoods were spent in stable families in stable neighborhoods.

That said, it is also true that stability has not been a staple in the history of Ukraine. Like many post-Soviet nations, independence came with a great deal of pain. In 2003 the demographer Brienna Perielli-Harris vastly understated the point when she wrote that in Ukraine, "The transition from a communist to capitalist economic system, along with the associated processes of democratization and changing social environment, has required massive adjustment."

Perielli-Hurt also notes that the educational system badly suffered in the transition. She writes about cuts in funds, low teacher salaries, textbook shortages, no access to western technology; that the curriculum and methods of teaching did not rely on problem-solving but on rote memorization. And she writes that for a short period things began to change. That Ukraine recognized that the demands of a new economy mandated new specializations in law, business and market economics.

And Ukraine and its education system heeded that mandate. University enrollment doubled in a dozen years and 22 percent in the traditional college age demographic. Things were getting better... until the financial crisis of 2008.

I went to Ukraine in August of 2008 as a Fulbright Scholar lecturing in press law and journalism. I stayed until July of 2010 and lectured all over the country. And what I found was exactly... what Perielli-Hurt wrote nearly a decade ago.

Faculty is still poorly paid. Textbooks are still hard to come by. Access to technology is improving, but too often, it's the students who understand the technology, not the faculty who are supposed to teach it. And I also found deep ennui in students. A sense of helplessness. And a bone-

deep cynicism. They often said they did not think they were learning what they ought to be learning. Many did not feel that the educations they were receiving would help them negotiate the world outside of Ukraine.

The problem with those perceptions is that Ukraine is connected to the rest of the world, and unless things have changed dramatically, Ukraine planned to plant seeds to grown deeper roots with the rest of the world.

But those roots cannot flourish if the Ukrainian educational system continues to abruptly snap back and forth as if someone's cracking a whip... on the backs of the students for whom it is ostensibly designed to instruct. "Oh, so the Ukrainian government is trying to keep students dumb so that they can't leave," was one commentator's perception of the social change in Ukraine when I mentioned the Bologna Process had been abandoned.

It seems to me that in order to serve its students, Ukrainian higher education should separate the process of educating from polemics and politics. This might begin with depriving the bulky, top heavy intensely political Ministry of Education of some of its power. The power should be shared with rectors, provosts and directors. And they ought to encourage bottom up leadership – ask faculty what they need, rather than ordering them to do. This might give faculty the time and creative freedom to actually reach and teach...rather than standing on a podium reading a lecture written two or five or, in one particularly egregious case, ten years ago. Permit faculty, rather than the Ministry, to select the textbooks they will use in the classroom. And of course, pay them what they are worth.

In 2007 I applied for a Fulbright grant to teach in Ukraine because of the Orange Revolution. I saw analogies between Ukraine in 2004-05 and my history growing up African-American at the cusp of the Civil Rights Movement. What changed the lives of

many African-Americans in the late 1960s and early 1970s (and I certainly count myself as one of them) was finally getting the right to access a first rate education. That wasn't easy.

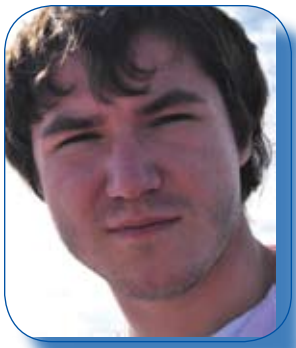
In my childhood in my home state of Virginia and throughout the American South, education was two-tiered. There was one primary through secondary school system for Caucasian students and another school system for African-American students. The systems were decidedly unequal. The Supreme Court of the United States held the dual systems unconstitutional the year I was born. But dismantling and merging those separate and unequal systems took years to achieve. I was 13 years old when it finally happened in my locality.

That was a change too slow and too incremental but here's the thing. We knew it would come. And we knew that our lives would be better.

And that is something students in Ukraine do not know.



**Professor Oxana Pachlovskaya (University of Rome) with daughter Jaroslava at CUPP Oxford Model Ukraine Conference, New College, Oxford University.**



## The Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) Alumni Planned a Series of Conferences to Create a New Model of Governance for Ukraine

**Oleksandr PANKIV**

University of Lviv BA

Boston University School of Law graduate 2010

CUPP 2010 Coordinator

The conferences would bring together academics, diplomats, journalists and politicians as well as CUPP alumni to address areas of culture, economy, education, elections, history, politics and current events in Ukraine. The first Model Ukraine Conference took place at the Elliott School of International Affairs of George Washington University in February, 2010, and dealt with the issues of human rights, history, culture and politics of Ukraine.

The Second Model Ukraine Conference "The Politics of Education and Elections in Ukraine" took place at the University of Ottawa on November 12-13, 2010. Speakers from Germany, Portugal, Ukraine, the USA and Canada met to address the issues of education, elections, Ukrainian language and self identification.

The Conference was opened by Dominique Arel, the holder of the Chair of the Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa. Opening remarks were made by Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada Ihor Ostash and CUPP Director Ihor Bardyn. Ambassador of Canada to Ukraine Daniel Caron delivered the key note address in which he outlined the difficulties in the areas of business and governance in contemporary Ukraine. He also spoke about the future of Canada-Ukraine relations, negotiations of the Canada-Ukraine Free Trade Agreement, the newly announced Youth Mobility Agreement which allows for mobility of travel for youth to Canada, as well as the recent visit of Prime Minister Harper to Ukraine and the

statements of the Prime Minister concerning democracy, human rights, democracy and freedom of speech in Ukraine.

The first session of the Ottawa Conference dealt with education in Ukraine, and the speakers were Deputy Minister of Education of Ukraine Prof. Iryna Zaytseva, Dr. Phylisse D. Mitchell from the University of Richmond, who lectured in Ukraine for two years in 2008-2010 and, Inna Viriasova from the University of Western Ontario. Iryna Zaytseva reviewed the recent resolutions of the government on education issues and announced that the new law which is in the process of being drafted would grant greater autonomy to the Universities in the areas of program planning and appointments. The Deputy Minister also stated that many of the components of the Bologna System would be implemented in Ukraine. Iryna Zaytseva opined that possibly the regions should be provided with the opportunity to set language priorities to be implemented by local governments. The Deputy Minister stated "I want to stress that the state language is under no pressure and the necessity of state language is under no debate in Ukraine."

Phylisse Mitchell was critical of Ukraine's authorities for the changes in the educational system which appeared to be reverting back to the practices of the Soviet Union and the failure to implement the Bologna system standards in Ukraine.

CUPP Alumnus Inna Viriasova of the University of Western Ontario

spoke about the incompatibility or non-acceptance of foreign degrees in Ukraine due to bureaucratic policies and the quality of higher education in Ukraine.

In the second session Roman Tashlitsky of Ostroh Academy opined that Ukrainian higher education needs serious reforms in order to survive. He was critical of the government's priorities which focused on spending money on sports facilities ahead of education.

CUPP Alumnus Pavlo Shopin of the University of Luhansk spoke on whether Ukrainian Universities need autonomy. He reviewed the constituent elements of the concept of autonomy and defined it through dialectical unity with accountability. He concluded by saying that University autonomy is as necessary as democracy in the public sphere for Ukraine.

Ayshe Memetova, a student at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, criticized the admission system at Ukrainian Universities. Memetova proposed to combine in the admission process both aptitude and achievement tests, considering personal achievements and interests of the applicants, their motivation to pursue particular degrees, career goals, etc. She also stressed that Ukrainian education is in deep crisis and there is an urgent need of reformation of the education system as a whole.

Conference participants discussed the issues of language and identity in Ukraine during the third session. Oksana Tyshchenko-Monas-

tyrska of the Potebnya Institute of Linguistics in Kyiv, and delivered an address about the Crimean Tatar Language as an indicator of the existence of an ethno cultural group in Ukraine.

CUPP Alumnus Andriy Olenyuk of Georgetown University Law Centre characterized the Constitutional framework for language policy in Ukraine. Olenyuk stressed that the Ukrainian Constitution provides for one official state language in the country, which is Ukrainian.

Maksym Klyuchar, Muskie Fellow at the University of Texas, advocated the implementation of a plurivocal approach to Ukrainian history. Such methodology would train Ukrainian students to think critically, analyze Ukrainian history and reach their own understanding and interpretation of the historical facts and not the one learned from the school books approved by the government. The discussants of the Conference concluded that such an approach (known in the western academia as Socratic method) where students are taught to think critically and illuminate ideas should be implemented not only with regard to history, but other academic disciplines and areas.

The fourth session of the Conference dealt with the issues of elections and democracy in Ukraine.

Oley Prosy, Senior Research Assistant at European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany put Ukraine's predicament in the context of global problems and came to a conclusion that Ukraine does not need regionalization but rather has every reason to introduce policies towards national integration.

Yaroslavl Kovalchuk, a PH.D. Student at the University of Algarve, analyzed the evolution of the electoral system in Ukraine and concluded that the Ukrainian election system still needs to be reformed to reflect contemporary situation in Ukraine. Yaryna Kobel of the University of Lviv in her

speech addressed the problems of democratic governance in Ukraine in light of European and global principles.

Jeffrey Kuhner, a columnist at The Washington Times, stood up to Russia and Russian leaders' attacks on Ukraine and its independence. He stressed that Ukrainians need to protect their identity and the integrity of their country. He quoted Churchill that 'freedom is never free' and challenged young Ukrainians to choose the western/democratic or pro-Russian/autocratic path of development.

The third Kyiv Model Ukraine Conference is planned for the Fall of 2011. Program Director Ihor Bardyn announced the possibility of holding another Conference in the cycle of Model Ukraine Conferences, possibly in Western. In 2011 CUPP Alumni expect to prepare a MODEL Ukraine proposal based on the conferences and present these to the Government of Ukraine.

*The Canada Ukraine Parliamentary Program was established in 1991 in order to assist the development of democratic governance in post soviet Ukraine. There are only 3 official Internship programs in the Canadian House of Commons. The Canadian Program for students of Canadian Universities, the Canada-USA Program for university students from the USA, and the Canada-Ukraine Program for university students from Ukraine. Students of Ukrainian origin from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are also eligible for the Program. CUPP has for the past 20 years provided Ukraine's students with a lifetime opportunity to work in the office of a Member of Parliament, observe Canadian democratic processes, meet with Diplomats, Cabinet Ministers, Senior Government Officials and ordinary Canadians. Regrettably, due to the lack of funding, the CUPP Program may terminate its existence in 2011.*



*Fan-Zone at EURO 2012, Kyiv.*



## Do Ukrainian Universities Need Autonomy?

**Pavlo SHOPIN**

CUPP 2006, 2008

Walter Tarnopolsky Scholarship recipient, Mazurenko Family Scholarship recipient

MP: Michael Ignatieff, Ontario (Etobicoke–Lakeshore)

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B.A. and M.A. in English from Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk in 2008

Fulbright Visiting Researcher at UC Berkeley in 2009-2010

Intern in the German Bundestag in 2011

M.Phil. in European Literature and Culture at the University of Cambridge

*The following speech on the Ukrainian education system was presented before the CUPP Alumni and participants of the Ottawa Model Ukraine Conference on Nov. 12, 2010.*

The current Ukrainian higher education system is the product of the post-Soviet education politics. As Mr. Frances Cairncross, rector of Oxford University's Exeter College, put it "Ukrainian education is too inward-looking, too corrupt, and too poor to do a good job" (Popova 2010).

The Bologna process is viewed in Ukraine as the necessary set of reforms to upgrade Ukrainian higher education to meet the standards of the European community but this reform concerns only the academic side of education process and certainly does not solve the problems of mismanagement, corruption and lack of funds. The Bologna Process is meant to integrate our education system within the European academic framework which is only a formal correspondence to the existing standards and is not enough for the essential organizational and functional progress of Ukrainian education. One of the major and existential problems Ukrainian universities face today is the conception of University Autonomy and we would like to focus on this problem in our presentation.

Firstly, we strongly believe that University Autonomy (UA) realized in a proper way will improve the management of Ukrainian universities and

will make them accountable to society. The European Commission, the Council of the European Union and a lot of European governments stress upon the need for improved autonomy and accountability. Absence of shared governance or rather only its formal presence at Ukrainian universities is a huge setback to higher education in Ukraine. In the EU higher education institutions "are, traditionally, decentralized institutions where most of the decisions are prepared at the "base"" (Weber 2006). However, Ukrainian universities suffer from centralization of power, rigid hierarchy and authoritarian management. It is difficult to speak of our universities as decentralized institutions. Consequently, there is much more drastic need for autonomy at Ukrainian universities than in the EU. At the same time, it is crucial to understand what kind of autonomy Ukrainian universities need in order to achieve democratic management, high quality education, forefront research and innovative knowledge-based socio-economic development for the community. We do not agree that any kind of autonomy is useful. For instance, Ukraine has too many universities. This problem could be solved by uniting some of those small inward-looking institutions, integrating them within larger universities and thus eliminating these institutions. The process, just described, actually means the loss of autonomy for several hundred autonomous but mean-

ingless small institutions and it will not damage the education system but rather improve its efficiency and accountability.

It is clear that the University Autonomy as a concept is really important for the progress of the Ukrainian education system. Autonomy means freedom and what it means to be free has been a controversial issue for a very long-time. In my talk I will briefly mention some of the major ideas behind the term "autonomy" and will highlight the procedural practical approach, following the latest 2009 research by the European University Association (Esterman and Nokkala 2009). I will try to look at organizational structures and institutional governance, financial issues, staffing and academic matters in Ukraine and other European countries to see if Ukrainian higher education differs in some key respects.

According to the research study done by the European University Association "the terminology used to define elements of institutional autonomy as well as the perspectives from which they are viewed and evaluated vary greatly across Europe" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009: 4). Autonomy means freedom and if we follow the cognitivist tradition, in terms of embodied philosophy "freedom of action is understood metaphorically as freedom of motion... anything that blocks that motion is a constraint on one's freedom" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 305). Ac-

cepting such simplistic minimalist interpretation is dangerous because freedom is not just absence of constraints but rather "the consciousness of necessity" (K. Marx). University Autonomy is not arbitrary and when we look at the global picture of the education system we see that narrow technical definitions can often miss the context and misrepresent or simplify the concept. The EUA research study focuses on the definition of "institutional autonomy" which refers to "the constantly changing relations between the state and higher education institutions and the degree of control exerted by the state, depending on the national context and circumstances" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:6). This definition avoids simplification but it blurs the term completely and it is difficult to understand what autonomy is meant to be. The scholars who were conducting the study of University Autonomy across Europe understood that "the variety of situations... reflects the multiple approaches to the ongoing quest for a balance between autonomy and accountability in response to the demands of society and the changing understanding of public responsibility for higher education" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009: 6). These researchers came to the conclusion that "there is no ideal model of autonomy, but rather a set of basic principles that constitute crucial elements of autonomy, and that, when implemented in the context of a given system, support universities in carrying out ever more complex missions" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:7). We can hardly agree that existence of "the variety of situations" means there is no ideal model of autonomy. Variety does not cancel basic principles and key elements do constitute the model of autonomy and not just some abstract disconnected entities, as positivists would argue. Autonomy as a concept may be understood differently across Europe and associated perceptions and terminol-

ogy may vary quite significantly, but it does not mean that the essence of university autonomy is radically different in every country. If we adopt the cognitivist approach and not the classical analytic tradition in categorization, the concept University Autonomy can be viewed as a radial category or an umbrella term which unites concrete prototypes of its realization. Such categories are "structured radially with respect to a number of its subcategories: there is a central subcategory...; in addition, there are non-central extensions which are not specialized instances of the central subcategory, but rather are variants of it... These variants are not generated from the central model by general rules; instead, they are extended by convention and must be learned on by one... the extensions are by no means random" (Lakoff 1987:91). Unfortunately, the goodness of example has not been defined for University Autonomy yet, mostly because of political correctness issues when variety is more important than graded categorization.

However, we will adopt a dialectical materialistic approach according to which categories do correspond to things in the world and we can define those categories with precision. We believe that University Autonomy is an inextricable principle of democratic education system where universities serve the society and are meant to support the cultural, economic and social basis of the community. University Autonomy is dialectically synonymic to university accountability, responsibility and "consciousness of necessity". Thus, Ukrainian universities can only become autonomous when they work for the good of the public and are not just independent from any external influences. The present plight of things in the Ukrainian higher education calls for much more democratic university organization and management and University Autonomy as an operational concept, relatively well implemented

by the European academic community, can also be useful for the Ukrainian higher education.

Let us now look at some of the key aspects of the University Autonomy in Ukraine and the EU. Organizational Autonomy among many other things includes "the universities' ability to establish their structures and governing bodies, and to define the modalities of its leadership model" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:11). According to the recent findings of the research done by the EUA, in European countries the design of internal academic and administrative structure is mostly under university control, whereas governance structures and leadership are often strongly shaped by national legislative frameworks (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:17). Ukrainian universities appear to be organizationally very close to the European standards but the functioning of the organizational framework maintained in Ukraine leaves a lot to be desired. The most recent example is the way several rectors were fired by Minister Dmytro Tabachnyk and the fact that the position of Rector of Donetsk National University was retained by Volodymyr Shevchenko for 24 years. It only demonstrates the strong hierarchy which exists at Ukrainian Universities and absence of any real functional autonomy within their organizational structure. The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine is literally above every university and can interfere in a lot of the aspects of any university's functioning while rectors, who should be "primus inter pares", in fact exert extreme powers over all the faculty. For instance, Prof. Vitaly Kurylo, President of Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University, personally approves every faculty member to be employed and literally rules the university where I am doing my PhD right now. Rectors at Ukrainian universities are elected by the faculty but these elections are often influenced by the

regional or central state executive bodies. It is true that in European countries "small executive management groups, comprising the rector and other staff from the top management, can have broad competences and are therefore considered to be a powerful body" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:17). But being a powerful body and exerting authoritarian powers "are two big differences", as they say in Odesa.

Speaking about financial autonomy, having a line-item budget, being constantly under-funded and overregulated Ukrainian universities have very little financial freedom which could include such things as accumulating reserves and keeping surplus on state funding, borrowing money on the financial markets, investing in financial products, issuing shares and bonds. And "if there is not a certain freedom to act independently in terms of financial issues," – which is the case in Ukraine, – "then the other dimensions of autonomy may well only exist in theory" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:40).

Staffing autonomy includes salary levels, which are defined by state legislation in Ukraine, and the process of employing faculty members, which has become a sphere of corruption and nepotism for Ukrainian higher education institutions. In our view, the situation in Ukraine is mostly different from the EU with respect to salary levels which are terribly low in our case. University faculty members have rather low salaries and it becomes an incentive for bribery and corruption which afflicts the relations between students and professors at Ukrainian universities.

Finally, academic autonomy embraces universities' ability to determine their own institutional strategy, their academic profile, in particular; their ability to introduce or terminate degree programs, to decide on the structure and content of these degree

programs, as well as on their roles and responsibilities with regard to the quality assurance of programs and degrees, and finally the extent to which they can decide on student admissions (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:32). Here Ukrainian universities do not differ very much from the rest of Europe but still the European integration processes such as the Bologna process have not had such a strong impact on academic autonomy in Ukraine yet. There is considerable state control of the academic and research work at universities. It is impossible to view academic freedom of universities as absence of state control. If there were no state control and no regulations, Ukrainian universities would probably degrade into ever smaller defunct autonomous units without any accountability to society. Still the existing regulations are interpreted differently for every institution and so those rectors who know the right people in the Ministry can carve out nice privileges for their universities not because of their performance but due to corrupt management of the education system in Ukraine.

Having looked at several kinds of University Autonomy we would like to state that these kinds are not clear-cut sides of a concept but rather elements integrated together, interdependent and complementing each other. Staffing autonomy involves financial autonomy and financial autonomy shapes every facet of the concept of University Autonomy.

It is quintessential to keep in mind that Ukrainian universities face many more problems than just University Autonomy but the debate about the nature of University Autonomy is vital for the future of Ukrainian higher education in the framework of European higher education. Autonomy does not mean absence of accountability to the state and society. It does not mean independence from global community and global challenges. Strengthening

the global university system is not just a Ukrainian problem (Umpleby and Burdina 2005). Most unfortunately, Ukraine appears to be reluctant to use the opportunity of European integration in the sphere of education and in this case there is a lot of counterproductive autonomy which manifests itself in such things as not accepting European education qualifications. Integrating into the global community, we do lose external autonomy and agree to combat corruption and privileges shared within a close circle of educators and have to meet international standards. It should be beneficial for the Ukrainian education system but it poses risks as well. Although Ukrainian higher education is inward-looking, poor and corrupt, it is still accessible and we cannot afford to compromise accessibility in favor of quality. Diamonds are only valuable because there are so few of them. If we close enough universities, we can make Ukrainian higher education quite expensive, profitable and elite but its quality will not be improved. There should be an important balance between integration and autonomy in the global context.

Within the state University Autonomy is all about democratic government of the education system. It is not easy to find the right way to make universities accountable to society: "while there is broad acceptance of the concept that autonomy requires accountability as a counterbalance and that there needs to be a framework for universities in which they can operate, debate on the exact nature and extent of accountability is fierce" (Esterman and Nokkala 2009:39). Epistemically, the exploration study by the EUA does not answer the question of what either autonomy or accountability is, despite listing a lot of the relevant features of both concepts. We posit an assumption that these two concepts are dialectically synonymic. Organizational, academic and financial freedom in

higher education is ultimately accountability to society, it is a necessary condition for excellence and progress and it is based on the principles of democratic government.

In conclusion, Ukrainian universities certainly need autonomy to fulfill their social, cultural and academic functions. Higher education institutions in Ukraine already have reasonable organizational and academic freedom but this freedom is only formal and in essence all Ukrainian universities are highly dependent upon the state. The organization of power in Ukraine in general seems to be democratically structured but the functioning of these democratic structures is all wrong, full of hypocrisy and corruption. Institutions which are supposed to provide service for the citizens of Ukraine in fact exert unlimited powers over ordinary people. Likewise, Ukrainian education hierarchy, being structured according to democratic standards, as a matter of course provides accountability of the faculty members to the rector, responsibility of the rector to the Ministry of Education and Science but not vice versa. The power distribution is essentially wrong in the Ukrainian education system and to change this situation we need to change power distribution in the country. When there is no shared governance in Ukraine, and Ukrainian politicians feel they are above ordinary people and their needs, all we can have is a medieval education system or some parody of modern education. Jan Amos Komensky, the father of modern education, said that education should not be for the rich or the elite but for everyone. If Ukraine succeeds in providing accessible quality higher education for everyone, it can meet the global challenge to create a knowledge-based economy. If we fail to recognize the importance of democratic education for everyone, elitism and lumpenization will destroy Ukrainian society, creating a cultural chasm be-

tween the rich and the poor. This axiom concerns not only education but every other sphere of our life. University Autonomy and integration of Ukrainian universities in the global university system can help change the balance of powers and become important steps towards shared governance and democratic education. The battle over Ukrainian education may not be over yet and a lot can be done to improve its quality. Thus, the Ukrainian universities need autonomy just as Ukrainians need democracy and accountability of government institutions to the public.

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Fan-Zone at EURO 2012, Kyiv.



*Yuri Lukanov (Kyiv) and Anton Krasun (Oxford).*



*CUPP Oxford Model Ukraine Conference Work Crew setting up registration desk at New College, Oxford University.*



*Oxford University Ukrainian Society members with Ambassador Leigh Turner (British Ambassador to Ukraine) and Volodymyr Khandogiy (Ukrainian Ambassador to the United Kingdom) during CUPP Oxford Model Ukraine Conference, Oxford University.*



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



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

6-8 April, 2011

**University of Oxford, United Kingdom**



## Quo Vadis, Україно? – намагались відповісти в Оксфорді

**Роман ТАШЛИЦЬКИЙ**  
Оксфорд – Рівне

В Оксфорді відбулася конференція "Модель України". Це вже третя конференція з цієї серії (дві попередні відбулися у Вашингтоні і Оттаві), вона називалася "Внутрішні і зовнішні справи України: Quo Vadis?" Конференція організована Канадсько-Українською Парламентською Програмою за сприяння Українського Товариства Оксфордського Університету.

Один із найстаріших у світі університетів, мабуть, і не пам'ятає, коли ще приймав таку кількість гостей з України, а також зацікавлених Україною з різних країн світу. Адже, окрім українців, у конференції взяли участь більше сотні учасників із США, Канади, Німеччини, Австрії, Італії, Нідерландів, Польщі, Португалії і Великобританії. Це були як звичайні українські студенти, що навчаються або навчалися в різних уні-

верситетах по світу, так і видатні політики, науковці, громадські діячі. Наприклад, виступали экс-міністр закордонних справ Борис Тарасюк, завідувач кафедри українознавства в Римському Університеті "Ла Сапієнза" Оксана Пахльовська чи ведучий ток-шоу "Свобода слова" Андрій Куликов. А також Микола Рябчук, Ендрю Вілсон, Андреас Умланд та багато інших.

Перший день конференції відкрив посол Великобританії в Україні Лі Тернер. Він, зокрема, зазначив, чому Україна є важливою країною: по-перше, це важливий сусід (країна розміром із Францією має протяжний кордон з Росією і чотирма членами ЄС); по-друге, це країна, чия стабільність впливає на стабільність у регіоні; і по-третє, вона може стати прикладом для інших пострадянських країн, якщо справи у неї підуть

добре (Україна може показати, що є альтернатива авторитаризму). Лі Тернер охарактеризував власне бачення ситуації в Україні, починаючи від економіки і закінчуючи свободою слова. Особливу увагу він приділив питанню підписання угоди про поглиблену і всебічну зону вільної торгівлі з ЄС. Пан посол висловив надію, що президент і прем'єр таки дотриматься заявленого раніше курсу на євроінтеграцію, і ця угода буде підписана. На думку Лі Тернера, це буде значним кроком у наближенні України до Європи.

Як завжди, цікавим і метафоричним був виступ Богдана Вітвіцького з американського Департаменту юстиції. Темою його виступу було верховенство права. На початку виступу на прикладі гри в футбол він показав, для чого потрібно верховенство права: у футболі не так важливо, кому належить м'яч чи хто подає, але ситуація міняється кардинально, коли рефері дозволяє одній команді грати з п'ятнадцятьма гравцями, в той час як інша має одинадцять або коли правила не зовсім чіткі. Тоді цю гру вже й футболом не назвеш. Те саме стосується держав і демократії. В Україні поки що, на жаль, відбувається гра не за правилами, а з правилами.

Микола Рябчук у своїй доповіді зазначив, що добре відомо, яким має бути демократичне суспільство, невідомо лише, як саме суспільство привести до такого стану. Зокрема, він навів приклад, як в Україні десять років тому був виданий український переклад класичної книжки з основ демократії Роберта Патне-



*Виступає колишній міністр закордонних справ України Борис Тарасюк.*

ма "Становлення демократії". Нещодавно пан Рябчук помітив, що книга все ще наявна у книгарні. Коли він запитав у видавців, яким був тираж, ті відповіли, що всього тисяча примірників. Тобто при тому, що в Україні тисячі громадських організацій, не кажучи вже про депутатів різних рівнів, ця книга не користується попитом. Інший момент, який відзначив Микола Рябчук, це те, що не слід переоцінювати вплив покарання за корупцію і в той же час недооцінювати гарний взірєць для наслідування. Він привів приклад Києво-Могилянської Академії, в якій студенти і викладачі пишаються тим, що в них нема корупції (при тому, що рівень зарплат досить низький).

Завершальним першого дня став виступ заступника міністра юстиції Грузії Георгія Вашадзе. У своїй блискучій презентації доволі молодий чиновник "розклав на полиці" реформи, які вдалося провести в Грузії за останні роки. Внаслідок цього з найбільш корумпованої країни колишнього СРСР Грузія перетворилася у країну, де рівень корупції впав до 0.5%. У принципі, питання, чому ж Україні не вдалося піти схожим шляхом після Помаранчевої революції в 2004 році, залишилося відкритим...

Другого дня конференції Оксана Пахльовська виступила з доповіддю про культурні аспекти шляху України в Європу, який часто недооцінюється порівняно з політичним. Пані Пахльовська спрогнозувала, що коли демократія зазнає невдачі в Україні, можливі два варіанти розвитку подій: дефолт або остаточне перетворення України у країну третього світу. При цьому вона запропонувала п'ять елементів на шляху недопущення такої ситуації: поширення знання про Європу в Україні і про Україну в Європі, моніторинг західними країнами ситуації в Україні (як би там не було, а влада змушена прислухатися до критики Заходу), рух вздовж англо-саксонської осі,



*Під час конференції.*

що допоможе демократії утвердитися в Україні, і, нарешті, молодь. Цей останній елемент вніс особливе пожвавлення серед присутніх молодих українців, адже, на думку Оксани Пахльовської, саме молодь, яка має можливість отримати західну освіту, може мати надзвичайний вплив у розвитку демократичного суспільства.

Дмитро Каневський з українського бюро "Німецької хвилі" в Бонні надзвичайно цікаво розповів про українську діаспору в Ізраїлі. Зокрема про те, що українці там чомусь намагаються не виділятися із загальної маси "радянських людей", і навіть ті, що приїждять із Західної України, воліють переходити на російську. Всі етнічні спільноти в Ізраїлі мають свої ЗМІ: німці, поляки, угорці, не кажучи вже про росіян, які мають десятки газет, дві радіостанції і цілодобовий телеканал. Українці ж мають лише газету, яка передруковує матеріали з інших російських газет. З поширенням інтернету ситуація трохи покращилася. Та все ж потрібно щось більше. Наприклад, український інформаційно-культурний центр, про утворення якого го-

ворив ще Леонід Кучма під час відвідин Ізраїлю у 2000 році. Понад десять років минуло, але такого центру все ще не існує...

Мартін Нанн, експерт з міжнародної комунікації з Фонду "Спочатку люди", який вже 18 років працює в Україні, завершив останню секцію провокаційною промовою "Уряд з еліти, створений елітою і для еліти". У ній він спробував розвіяти деякі міфи про Україну. По-перше, що Україна – демократична держава. Мартін Нанн вважає, що це не так: 60% усіх депутатів походять з Києва. Більшість купує свої місця у парламенті. Чи можна вважати Україну демократичною державою, коли в ній відсутній будь-який зв'язок між народом і обраними ним представниками? Другий міф: вертикальна система влади забезпечить стабільність. Мартін Нанн не погоджується. Партія регіонів – це консорціум п'яти впливових економічних груп, які мають ризик внутрішнього протистояння. Якщо це протистояння переросте у розкол, вертикаль влади розвалиться на очах. Міф третій: економіка України розвивається. Насправді ж, серед інших проблем, ос-

таннім часом з українського податкового реєстру зникло близько 44% малого та середнього бізнесу, що може мати катастрофічні для країни наслідки. Міф четвертий: Україна розділена на дві частини. Проте проведені фондом "Спочатку люди" дослідження доводять, що це твердження безпідставне. Люди в усіх регіонах України поділяють однакові пріоритети: діти і освіта, охорона здоров'я, економічна стабільність, а проблеми розколу сфабриковані політиками. Що можна зробити? Пан Нанн вважає: щоб демократія запрацювала в українських реаліях, її іде-

али мають спочатку розвинути зсередини, аби народ спершу зрозумів та прийняв ці ідеали як власні.

У завершальному слові ініціатор і головний організатор конференції Ігор Бардин зауважив, що українські студенти, як і решта учасників конференції, не настільки наївні, щоб думати, ніби українська влада враз проникнеться ідеями, сформованими на цій та інших конференціях цієї серії (адже за задумом конференції сформована Модель України має бути передана саме українській владі). Проте головне навіть не це: головне, що коли настане час робити зміни,

саме ці люди, які сьогодні виступають і дискутують, поведуть за собою решту суспільства, і тоді вони самі зможуть застосувати рішення, сформовані на конференціях.

Завершальна конференція має відбутися у грудні 2011 року в Києво-Могилянській Академії. Напевно, саме та конференція буде найцікавішою і найпродуктивнішою, адже вона спиратиметься на здобутки попередніх обговорень і відбуватиметься в епіцентрі обговорюваних подій. Тому з нетерпінням чекаємо зустрічі в Києві.



**Top: Oleksandr Shabardin CUPP 2012 at EURO 2012.**

**Bottom: Liliia Ibadova, Illya Symonenko, Stacy Tsarkova, Artem Golubchak, and Slava Vlasov who left Mykolaiv for Toro, Spain on a volunteer-project.**



**Top: Anatoliy Mintenko with parents at graduation.**

**Bottom: Admiral Krasun at the helm.**





*Inner Courtyard of New College, OXford University.*



*Top: Oxford Conference participants at dinner.*



*Left: Facade of New College, OXford University.*



*Ambassador Volodymyr Khandogiy (London), Olena Seminog (Oxford), Andriy Kulykov (Kyiv).*



*CUPP Oxford Model Ukraine Conference Work Crew setting up (again) registration desk at New College, Oxford University.*

## Ukraine Loses Its Way

Václav HAVEL, Desmond TUTU, and Richard von WEIZSÄCKER

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PRAGUE – Since the election of President Viktor Yanukovich in 2010, Ukraine has experienced a significant and alarming deterioration in its democratic framework. Fundamental tenets of a democratic society, such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press are increasingly coming under pressure. And the prosecution of opposition members, which has now culminated in the arrest and detention of former Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko – during an ongoing trial that most of the West has deemed political – seems to confirm that the rule of law is being brushed aside.

Given Ukraine's strategic importance, the country's fate has become an urgent matter of concern not only for Europe, but for the entire international community. Among the most worrying factors underlying Ukraine's anti-democratic turn are the following:

**Consolidation of power.** After Viktor Yanukovich's election last year, the Constitutional Court rescinded constitutional changes made in 2004 as part of the settlement that brought about a peaceful end to the Orange Revolution. By doing so, a consensus was reversed that aimed to reduce the presidency's powers and move toward a more parliamentary system. Instead, Ukraine's president is now increasingly consolidating his total control over the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary.

**Endemic corruption.** Corruption is widely believed to be endemic in the country's police, secret service, administration, government, and Prosecutor's Office. On Transparency International's *Corruption Perceptions Index 2010*, Ukraine scored 2.4 on a scale from zero (highly corrupt) to 10

(very clean). Efforts to combat corruption are at best half-hearted and are not bringing any apparent results. Corruption cripples the country's institutions and the government's inaction on this problem is also having an economic impact.

**Increased Security Service (SBU) activity.** Evidence of increased SBU activity with political motives was presented in various human rights groups' reports. Individuals, NGOs, and journalists have been either overtly threatened or placed under surveillance. For example, in July 2010, Nico Lange, the head of the Ukrainian office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, was detained at the Kyiv airport after publishing a critical report on the process of Ukrainian regional elections (the incident was subsequently presented as a "misunderstanding"). In September, SBU searched the offices of organizations funded by philanthropist George Soros; in October 2010, the offices of the Vinnitsa Human Rights Group were also searched by police without a court order.

**Harassment of opposition parties and independent media.** The ongoing criminal proceedings against opposition politicians, including Tymoshenko, together with the impact of changes in the electoral law to favor the president and his supporters, are weakening opposition forces.

Harassment of the independent media ranges from administrative obstruction to much worse. The disappearance of Vasyl Klymentyev, the editor-in-chief of *Novyi Styl*, a newspaper which focuses heavily on corruption in the Kharkiv region, has never been fully investigated. Most television channels are in the hands of four groups, most of which have close links

to the ruling Party of Regions. Valery Khoroshkovsky's continued ownership of Inter Media Group, in addition to his roles as head of the country's security service and as a Council Member of the National Bank of Ukraine, is an obvious conflict of interest. Overall, there is clear evidence of a decline in media pluralism since President Yanukovich came to power.

**A weak civil society.** While observers believe that further harassment of NGOs is constrained by the administration's wariness of international reaction, particularly from the EU, the operating environment for civil-society organizations remains extremely difficult, and they have no opportunities for genuine inclusion in policymaking.

Ukraine has reached a crossroads. One signpost points towards democracy; the other towards autocracy. The former path leads to membership in the European Union; the latter would take Ukraine to a darker and more dangerous destination. Millions of Ukraine's citizens favor EU membership, but their enthusiasm is tempered by the absence of a clear EU policy towards Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the administration of President Yanukovich proclaims its willingness to join the EU, but has failed to introduce the changes needed to meet the qualifying criteria. As a result, Ukraine is unlikely to be invited to start membership negotiations anytime soon.

It is in the EU's vital interest to strive for a far more active policy towards Ukraine than it has so far. The current Polish EU presidency should hark back to the origins of Poland's thriving democracy, and recall the essential support that it received from

the West a generation ago. A similar effort is needed for Ukraine today, and that effort should not be set aside for reasons of political expedience, or, for that matter, pursued for reasons of simple economic self-interest. We urge the EU and its member states to insist that the rule of law is respected. At the very least, the EU should demand that Tymoshenko and the other opposition leaders are set free on bail so that they can more vigorously defend themselves in court.

*André Glucksmann is a philosopher and essayist; Václav Havel was President of the Czech Republic; Michael Novak is a Roman Catholic theologian; Yohei Sakakawa is President of the Sakakawa Peace Foundation; Karel Schwarzenberg is Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic; Desmond Tutu is Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate; Richard von Weizsäcker is former President of*

*the Federal Republic of Germany; Grigory Yavlinsky is Chairman of the Russian United Democratic Party Yabloko; H.R.H. El Hassan Bin Talal is Chairman of the West Asia-North Africa Forum; H.H. the Dalai Lama. All signatories are members of the Shared Concern Initiative.*

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## Balcerowicz: Dictatorship will not Lead to Prosperity

**KyivPost**

Polish economist Leszek Balcerowicz is credited with the "shock therapy" that stimulated Poland's fast and successful transition from a socialist to a market economy. – Kostyantyn Chernichkin

In 1989, Poland was on the brink of economic collapse.

Some politicians wanted to slow down the pace of reforms, trying to ward off popular discontent. Leszek Balcerowicz, the respected Polish macroeconomist, decided the solution was to move faster.

"We have to end this false game, in which people pretend to work and the state pretends to pay them," he said back then, when he was serving as deputy prime minister.

In academia and politics alike, Balcerowicz has not tried to candy-coat the truth, or tried to avoid unpopular measures. After three years as Poland's finance minister and six as the central bank head, he was one of

Poland's most divisive political figures, but Poland was one of Europe's most resilient economies.

When Balcerowicz delivered a keynote speech at the investment bank Dragon Capital's annual investment conference on March 22, it was not to talk about the intricacies of monetary policy or overcoming financial crises.

Instead, his lesson focused on the basics: why democracy is essential to market economics and prosperity.

"There was no good example of socialism," Balcerowicz said. "And there are very few good dictatorships."

The professor pointed out that, barring some exceptions like Singapore, countries with a lack of freedom are unable to secure property rights and rule of law. Without this, non-politically connected businesses are unable to develop as there is no merit-based competition. In turn, such crony capitalism is a recipe for stagnation.

The speech echoed the words of

Sweden's Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, who said that as long as opposition leaders remain in jail, ratification of free trade and association agreements with the European Union would not happen. Under the current policies in Ukraine, Balcerowicz said, a free trade area agreement with the EU "will never come."

This chimes in with recent statements by Poland's Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski, who said that pulling Ukraine out of Russia's sphere of influence takes priority over relations with Russia. "Ukraine remains our most important non-Atlantic strategic partner. We are still ready to support it, if it really chooses a European path," Sikorski has said.

In his speech, Balcerowicz stressed the importance of rule of law and property rights, without which a country is doomed to economic stag-



**Jakub PARUSINSKI**  
KyivPost staff writer



**Leszek Balcerowicz**

nation.

Without a clear separation between business and politics, the country falls into so-called crony capitalism, Balcerowicz said. This divides business into a privileged minority and an oppressed majority, "in which an individual can succeed but the economy can't," the chief crime from a macro-economist's eye.

"It's not only unjust. It's also inefficient," he said.

Deputy Prime Ministers Valeriy Khoroshkovsky and Sergiy Tigipko along with newly appointed Economy Minister Petro Poroshenko were supposed to participate in a debate with Balcerowicz.

Khoroshkovsky came four hours later. By then, the Polish professor was on a flight back to Warsaw. Tigipko and Poroshenko didn't show up at all.

They missed hearing Balcerowicz say: "When countries are poor it is often not because of natural disasters and natural reasons, but because of bad regimes and bad macroeconomic policies."

Few are better placed to know. Author of the "Balcerowicz Plan" to reform Poland's ravaged socialist economy after independence, he set up the system that brought the country prosperity and European Union membership.

Known as shock therapy, the plan was based on the simultaneously implementing of major economic re-

forms. It was a tough pill to swallow, with many lost jobs in the public sector. But an escalating debt crisis and hyperinflation, topping 50 percent a month, needed a prompt response.

"You can't put a fire out slowly," Balcerowicz said at the time.

It was also immensely effective. Not only was Poland the first economy to recover from the post-socialist slump, it also has the best growth record and was the only European state to escape the 2009 recession.

Looking back at the reforms five years later, Jeffery Sachs, the Harvard economist who advised many transition governments, found that the most radical reformers had "gone the furthest in restoring stability and laying the foundations for rising living standards." Those who chose gradual reform, like Ukraine, saw only stagnation.

While political obstacles in some countries are greater than others, disparities in development are not due to cultural reasons or specific conditions, Balcerowicz asserted.

The first reason is how far countries went to implement market reforms and ensure the protection of private property rights and rule of law.

The second culprit is the extent to which economies suffered booms and busts. These can be fueled by splurging public money or excessive private credit growth, as was the case in Ukraine during the 2004-2008 boom years.

"The crash in 2009 was prodded by policies. This was not a natural disaster," Balcerowicz said.

In a Kyiv Post interview during the Dragon Capital investment conference, Balcerowicz shared in more detail his views and concerns about Ukraine and its future.

**Kyiv Post:** Your speech was almost like a beginning lesson in market economics and democracy. It seems the country still hasn't made the final shift to a market economy and democracy.

Is the country caught up in crony capitalism?

**Leszek Balcerowicz:** So far Ukraine, according to all the information I have, is more democratic than Russia. The big question is: Is Ukraine under the current leadership going in [Russian President-elect Vladimir] Putin's direction, or in a Central European direction? This is a very big question for Ukraine and also for Europe.

The 'Putin direction' is bad, both from the point of view of quality-of-life and also for the economy. The experience of Central European countries shows that you can combine a shift toward full fledged democracy and market economy without crony capitalism.

When comparing the Central European experience with that of most former-Soviet countries except for the Baltics, one of the differences is that there is capitalism but not crony capitalism. There is a clear separation between politics and business.

We don't have the privileged minority and oppressed majority of businessmen, while in most former Soviet countries, barring the Baltics, there is crony capitalism. There is a lot of experience, including that of Latin America, which shows that crony capitalism is much worse for economic growth.

**KP:** In your speech, you referred to political persecutions taking place in Ukraine. How important is it for Ukraine to solve this issue?

**LB:** It evokes very unpleasant memories – especially in Eastern Europe – of show trials, of the [Josef] Stalin type. This is not to say that there is Stalinism in Ukraine. But the associations are like that, very vivid, and reactions are very strong.

Secondly, it's clearly targeted in the case of [imprisoned ex-Prime Minister Yulia] Tymoshenko and [imprisoned ex-Interior Minister Yuriy] Lutsenko. It's clearly targeted and I don't think one can even call it targeted justice, but rather targeted injustice.

Thirdly, the claim that this is the

decision of the courts is not credible. Nobody believes it. And rightly so. Personally, I don't believe it.

Fourth, if this continues, if this targeted injustice is not reversed, I don't see any chance for the ratification of something that is very important for Ukraine economically speaking: the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the European Union. There is no chance that this will not be stopped in some national parliaments.

One should remember that Ukraine is not the only country which has been offered. Moldova is waiting, and so is Georgia.

**KP:** If Ukraine fails this test, could the door to Ukraine's European future be closed for 5 or say 10 years?

**LB:** I don't see any possibility that, judging by the responses I've read, that without the reversal of these political trials or the continuation of this sort of policy there would be any readiness on behalf of European nations to sign the treaty.

And there would be a great regret, particularly in Poland, because in Poland we are very sympathetic to the positive changes in Ukraine, because of a difficult history, and because we are neighbors and we understand that what happens in Ukraine is of geopolitical importance. An independent, democratic Ukraine is an indispensable part of the new European order, which is much better than the one that existed under the Soviet Union. What is happening in Ukraine is not only important for Ukraine, but much more broadly.

There are a lot of supporters of Ukraine, but they have been deprived of arguments because of what has happened in respect to Tymoshenko and Lutsenko. Deprived of the arguments for closer cooperation of Ukraine with the European Union, even for the most ardent supporters like Poland.

There are many of them in Poland.

And when you read what Carl Bildt said together with Radek Sikorski, that it 'would be a political suicide to propose the ratification of the trade agreement in a national parliament' given what has been happening.

**KP:** If you were the leader or prime minister of Ukraine, what would be the first 5 or 10 steps you would take?

**LB:** For a long time there has been a list of recommendations [of economic reforms] with respect to Ukraine. It is not a lack of advice but a lack of political will behind the policies which produce the situation I described.

I do not want to deny that for the first year and a half there were some reforms: postponing the retirement age, removing some licenses, unbundling the energy sector. But the most important fundamental weaknesses remain.

First, the unequal treatment of business and close links between favored business and power. Second, which is related to the first, limited competition. If you are a privileged businessman, you usually enjoy better protection and your competitors are discriminated against.

Third, a fiscally fragile situation related to a high level of spending to GDP, which induces waste. Why is Ukraine so dependent on Russia? Because it's wasting a lot of energy. Even with low prices this contributes to fiscal fragility.

**KP:** Would you qualify Ukraine as a market economy?

**LB:** Certainly compared to the Soviet system it is hugely more market-based. But it is a distorted market economy because of these political connections, and this inequality produces very uneven levels of protection of private business. You also have this phenomenon of using informal ties to the state apparatus for your benefit as a private businessman – raiding. So it's nothing normal. This is not a nor-

mal market economy.

Good competition means you win on merit not on political connections and informal links to the repression apparatus and tax apparatus.

**KP:** Can wealthy businessmen make good politicians?

**LB:** Why not? Some of them may be better than professors of economics, especially the Marxists and the Keynesians (laughing). So I would not rule it out.

The point is to be an ex-businessman; meaning that you make your money, which is good, if you make it honestly, then you retire from business, and you act in politics. But if you combine the two there is a risk of conflict of interests.

In Poland it is completely unimaginable that you could be active in big business and at the same time head a ministry or government agency. Generally in Western Europe this is unimaginable.

But being an ex-businessman or putting your business on hold, you can be even better because some good businessmen, who were good not because of political connections but because they were clever, persistent, etc., may be better than economists. They are usually more energetic and successful.

**KP:** One of the reasons why this system of crony capitalism persists is a sort of social pact. Ukraine spends a huge amount of money of social spending. How can Ukraine transform its social policy?

**LB:** First of all, social policy is anti-social in Ukraine because it's badly targeted. If you subsidize fuel, who gets more? Rich people because they use more fuel. People who have palaces are much more subsidized as they use more gas compared to people living in small apartments.

Secondly, other types of social spending are very poorly targeted. So it is not true that this large social

spending protects mostly the poor. It benefits the richer people most of all and undermines economic growth.

In order to change you should not be afraid of your own population. If you are very afraid and you postpone change, then you may end up with massive protests. This is the paradox of leaders that are afraid of their own people.

In Egypt they were afraid of removing fuel subsidies under [Hosni] Mubarak. There are huge fuel subsidies in Egypt. But this did not prevent the downfall of Mubarak because of

massive protests by the younger generation, mobilized by Facebook.

**KP:** In Ukraine, many top officials drive the most expensive of cars, like Bentleys, even if their official salaries are very low. What car did you drive when you were in government?

**LB:** When I was at the central bank, we had a seven-year old but very good Audi. Back in 2001 I found it very good so I didn't want to have a newer car. Why should I?

For a time being I had a [Soviet] Lada, but then I switched to a Toyota

Avensis.

But then when I retired from the public sector, and I could earn more money – because in Poland if you work in government you don't earn much – then (three years ago) I bought an Audi A4.

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## Бальцерович: Диктатура не призводить до процвітання

**Якуб ПАРУСІНСЬКІ**  
дописувач Київ Пост

З іменем польського економіста Лешека Бальцеровича пов'язують «шокову терапію», що стимулювала швидкий та успішний перехід Польщі від соціалістичної до ринкової економіки. – Костянтин Чернічкін

У 1989 році Польща була на межі економічного дефолту.

Деякі політики мали намір уповільнити реалізацію реформ, намагаючись не допустити громадського невдоволення. Авторитетний польський макроекономіст Лешек Бальцерович убачав вирішення проблеми у пришвидшенні реформ.

"Необхідно припинити цю нечесну гру, в якій люди вдають, що вони працюють, а держава вдає, що вона оплачує таку роботу", – сказав він, перебуваючи тоді на посаді віце

прем'єр-міністра.

Аналогічна позиція Бальцеровича простежувалася і в викладацькій діяльності, а також в інших політичних питаннях, коли він не підсолюдував гіркої правди, а також не оминав непопулярних заходів. Після трьох років на посаді Міністра фінансів Польщі та шести років на посаді голови центрального банку, він став одним із найбільш винахідливих політичних постатей Польщі, сама ж Польща мала одну із найбільш гнучких економічних систем у тогочасній Європі.

Центральна доповідь щорічної конференції інвестиційного банку "Dragon Capital", виголошена паном Бальцеровичем 22 березня, не стосувалася ані питань фіскальної політики, ні заходів подолання фінансової кризи.

Натомість, його тезис був зосереджений на фундаментальному пи-

танні: демократія як запорука ринкової економіки та процвітання

"Позитивного прикладу соціалізму не існує", сказав пан Бальцерович. "Проте є ціла низка прикладів справжніх диктатур".

Професор наголосив, що окрім певних винятків як-от скажімо Сінгапур, країни, в яких бракує свободи, нездатні забезпечити ані реалізацію майнових прав, ані верховенства права. А без цього ті суб'єкти господарювання, які не займаються політикою, просто неспроможні розвиватися, оскільки вони позбавлені справедливої конкуренції. В свою чергу, такий клановий капіталізм – передумова стагнації.

Зазначена доповідь корелює із сутністю слів Міністра закордонних справ Швеції Карла Більдта, який вважає, що ратифікації договорів про вільну торгівлю та асоціацію України з ЄС не буде доти, доки

опозиційні лідери залишатимуться позбавленими волі. Зважаючи на ситуацію, що склалася сьогодні в Україні, за словами пана Бальцеровича, договір про вільну торгівлю з ЄС "ніколи не буде укладений".

Така позиція узгоджується із твердженнями міністра закордонних справ Польщі Радослава Сікорського, який стверджує, що у відносинах із Росією пріоритетну роль займає діяльність із виокремлення України із зони російського впливу. "Україна – найважливіший позаатлантичний стратегічний партнер. Ми все ще готові підтримувати її, у разі якщо нею буде справді обрано європейський шлях", – зазначив пан Сікорський.

Наголос у промові пана Бальцеровича поставлений на важливості верховенства права та майнових прав, без яких країна приречена на економічну стагнацію.

Без проведеної чіткої межі між бізнесом та політикою, країна потрапляє до так званого "кланового капіталізму", зазначив пан Бальцерович. За таких умов бізнес поділений на привілейовану меншість та пригнічену більшість, "коли індивід, а не вся економіка, має можливості досягти успіху", що є найбільшим промахом із макроекономічної точки зору.

"Це не просто несправедливо. Це також неефективно", зазначив він.

Заступники прем'єр-міністра України Валерій Хорошковський та Сергій Тігіпко разом із новопризначеним міністром економіки Петром Порошенком мали брати участь у дебатах із паном Бальцеровичем.

Пан Хорошковський спізнився на 4 години. На той час польський професор був у літаку дорогою до Варшави. Пан Тігіпко та пан Порошенко взагалі не з'явилися на захід.

Вони так і не почули слова Бальцеровича: "Причина бідності країн не природні катаклізми чи природні

причини, причина в неефективних режимах та поганій макроекономічній політиці. Коли країни бідні – то причини цьому не природні катаклізми та не природні ресурси; дійсною причиною є неефективні режими та погана макроекономічна політика.

Декому це добре відомо. Як автор "Плану Бальцеровича" з реформування соціалістичної економіки Польщі після здобуття незалежності, пан Бальцерович створив систему, яка принесла країні процвітання та сприяла її членству в ЄС.

План, відомий як шокова терапія, полягає в одночасній реалізації найбільших економічних реформ. Було складно: люди були змушені звільнитися із громадського сектору, проте наростаюча боргова криза та гіперінфляція, що наближалася до 50% в місяць, потребувала активної протидії.

"Неможливо повільно загасити вогонь", казав тоді пан Бальцерович.

Обрана тактика видалася надзвичайно ефективною. Польща стала не лише першою країною, котра пододала пост-соціалістичне потрясіння, мала найкращі показники зростання, але й стала єдиною європейською країною, котрій вдалося уникнути рецесії 2009 року.

Аналізуючи ці реформи після впливу п'яти років, гарвардський економіст Джефрі Сахз, який був радником багатьох перехідних урядів, зазначив, що найрадикальніші реформатори "досягли найбільше на шляху до стабільності та зростання стандартів життя". Водночас, ті, хто обрав поступове реформування, як скажімо Україна, спостерігають лише стагнацію.

В той час, як політичні перешкоди в деяких країнах є найбільшими у порівнянні із іншими проблемами, пан Бальцерович переконаний, що відмінності розвитку не залежать від культурних особливостей чи спе-

цифічних умов.

Першою причиною є те, наскільки країни пройшли вперед по шляху імплементації ринкових реформ та забезпечення захисту майнових прав та верховенства права.

Другим показником є обсяг, в якому країни зазнавали економічних злетів та падінь. Коливання такого обсягу можуть пришвидшуватися залежно від впливів державних коштів чи надмірного зростання особистого кредитування, що спостерігалось впродовж 2004-2008 років в Україні.

«Криза 2009 року була зумовлена економічних курсом політикою. Це не була природна катастрофа», сказав Бальцерович.

У інтерв'ю газети "Kyiv Post" під час конференції з питань інвестицій, організованою компанією "Dragon Capital", Бальцерович ґрунтовніше поділився своїми поглядами та стурбованістю про Україну та її перспективи.

**"Kyiv Post" (KP):** Ваша промова була ніби оглядовий урок із ринкової економіки та демократії. Здається, що країна все ще не здійснила переходу до ринкової економіки та демократії. Чи вважаєте Ви, що країна опинилася в умовах кланового (корумпованого) капіталізму?

**Лешек Бальцерович:** Україна, відповідно до наявної в мене інформації, є демократичнішою від Росії. Основне питання: чи піде теперішнє керівництво України [президентом РФ обраний Володимир Путін] напрямком Путіна, чи центральноєвропейським напрямком? Це важливе питання для України та Європи.

"Напрямок до Путіна" є невдалим вибором, і з точки зору якості життя, і з точки зору економіки. Досвід центральноєвропейських країн ілюструє, що можна комбінувати переміщення у напрямі до повного утвердження демократії та ринкової економіки без кланового (корумпованого) капіталізму.

При порівнянні центральноєвро-

пейського досвіду із найбільшими колишніми-радянськими країнами (за винятком Балтійських країн), однією із відмінностей є те, що там є капіталізм, але не клановий (корумпований) капіталізм. Є чіткий розподіл між політикою та бізнесом.

У нас немає привілейованої меншості та пригнобленої більшості бізнесменів, в той час, як в більшості колишніх радянських країн, за винятком Балтійських країн, процвітає клановий (корумпований) капіталізм. Можна скористатися при цьому безцінним досвідом багатьох країн (включно із Латинською Америкою), який ілюструє, що клановий (корумпований) капіталізм є набагато гіршим за економічне зростання.

**КР:** У своїй промові Ви підсумували, що в Україні існують політичні переслідування. Наскільки важливо для України вирішити цю проблему?

**ЛБ:** Це викликає дуже небажані спогади – особливо у Східній Європі – про показні судові процеси сталінського типу. Не можна сказати, що в Україні є сталінізм. Проте асоціативний ряд є саме таким яскравим, а реакції є сильними.

По-друге, зрозуміла вибірковість випадку [ув'язненої экс-Прем'єр-Міністра Юлії] Тимошенко та [ув'язненого экс-Міністра внутрішніх справ Юрія] Луценка. Це зрозуміла вибірковість і я не думаю, що хтось може навіть назвати це вибірковим правосуддям, але швидше вибірковим неправосуддям.

По-третє, існує твердження, що саме рішення судів у вищенаведених справах не викликають довіри. Ніхто у це не вірить. І це правильно. Особисто я в це не вірю.

По-четверте, якщо це вибіркове неправосуддя не скасується, я не бачу жодного шансу для ратифікації чи чогось такого, що є важливим для України, говорячи в економічній площині: повна та зрозуміла Угода про вільну торгівлю із Європейським Со-

юзом. Шанси такі, що вибіркове неправосуддя неодмінно буде зупинено у окремих національних парламентах. Кожен повинен пам'ятати, що Україна є не тільки країною яка подається (до ЄС – перекл.). Молдова чекає, а також і Грузія.

**КР:** Якщо Україна не складе цього іспиту, чи закриються двері до українського європейського майбутнього закритися на 5 чи 10 років?

**ЛБ:** Я не бачу жодної можливості, що держави ЄС підпишуть цю Угоду, якщо не будуть скасовані політичні судові процеси та буде продовжено таку модель політики.

І це стане величезним розчаруванням, особливо у Польщі, оскільки в Польщі ми дуже симпатизуємо позитивним змінам в Україні, через важку історію та зважаючи на факт того, що ми є сусідами і ми розуміємо, що події в Україні є важливими в геополітичному контексті. Незалежна, демократична Україна є невід'ємною частиною нового Європейського порядку, який набагато кращий, ніж той, що існував під час Радянського Союзу. Те, що відбувається в Україні є важливим не тільки і не стільки для України, як у більш широкому сенсі.

Існує багато прихильників, що підтримують Україну, але вони позбавлені аргументів, коли мова йде про Тимошенко та Луценка. Позбавлені аргументів для тіснішої співпраці України із Європейським Союзом, навіть для найревніших, як Польща.

Є багато із цих прихильників у Польщі.

І тоді Ви читаєте, що Карл Більдт сказав із Радеком Сікорським, що "пропонувати ратифікацію торговельної угоди у національних парламентах – це політичний суїцид", зважаючи на те, що трапилося.

**КР:** Якщо б Ви були лідером чи Прем'єр-Міністром України, які б були Ваші 5 чи 10 кроків?

**ЛБ:** Довгий час була низка реко-

ментацій [по відношенню до економічних реформ] стосовно України. Це не брак порад, але брак політичної волі, що повинна стояти за політиками, що викликають описану мною ситуацію.

Я не хочу заперечувати, що перші півтора року будуть окремі реформи: відкладення підвищення пенсійного віку, відміна окремих ліцензій, **роздроблення** енергетичного сектору. Але найбільш важливі основоположні слабкі сторони залишаються.

Насамперед, нерівноправне ставлення до бізнесу і тісні зв'язки між привілейованим бізнесом та владою. По-друге, що пов'язане із першим, це обмежена конкуренція. Якщо Ви привілейований бізнесмен, Ви завжди будете краще захищені, а Ваших конкурентів будуть дискриміновані.

По-третє, нестабільна фіскальна ситуація, пов'язана із високим рівнем витрачання ВВП, що включає розтрачання. Чому Україна така залежна від Росії? Тому що витрачає велику кількість енергії. Навіть із низькими цінами це сприяє нестабільній фінансовій ситуації.

**КР:** Ви вважаєте Україну країною із ринковою економікою?

**ЛБ:** Звичайно, порівняно зі радянською системою вона більш ринкова. Проте це спотворена ринкова економіка через ці політичні зв'язки, а ця нерівність породжує дуже різні рівні захисту приватного бізнесу. Ви також маєте цей феномен використання неформальних зв'язків у державному апараті для своєї вигоди як бізнесмена – рейдерство. Отже, це ненормально. Це не нормальна ринкова економіка. Хороше змагання означає виграш за здібностями, а не за політичними зв'язками та неформальними діями щодо репресій державного та податкового апарату.

**КР:** Чи можуть багаті бізнесмени стати хорошими політиками?

**ЛБ:** Чому ні? Окремі з них можуть бути кращими, ніж професори економіки, особливо марксиста та кейнсіанці (сміється). Я це не оцінюватиму. Питання, щоб бути колишніми бізнесменами, означає, що ви заробляєте свої гроші, що добре, якщо Ви заробляєте їх чесно, потім Ви відходите від бізнесу і заробляєте їх у політиці. Але якщо Ви поєднуєте обидва заняття є ризик конфлікту інтересів. У Польщі повністю не можна уявити, що Ви можете працювати у великому бізнесі та у цей самий час очолювати міністерство чи урядове відомство. Та й взагалі у Західній Європі таке уявити неможливо. Але будучи бізнесменом у минулому чи передавши Ваш бізнес комусь, Ваші шанси стати добрим політиком зростають, оскільки деякі хороші бізнесмени, які були хорошими не через політичні зв'язки, а оскільки вони були розумними, наполегливими тощо, можуть бути кращими за економістів. Вони зазвичай енергійніші та більш успішні.

**КР:** Однією із причин функціонування цієї системи кланового (корумпованого) капіталізму є так званий соціальний договір. Україна витрачає велику кількість коштів на заходи соціального забезпечення. Як Україна може змінити свою соціальну політику?

**ЛБ:** Перш за все, соціальна політика є антисоціальна за сутністю в Україні, оскільки в неї неналежні пріоритети. Якщо Ви субсидуєте паливо, хто отримує більше державної підтримки? Забезпечені люди, оскільки вони використовують більше палива. Власники палаців є більш субсидійованими, оскільки вони використовують більше газу в порівнянні із мешканцями невеликих квартир.

По-друге, та сама проблема пріоритетів стосується інших типів соціальних витрат. Неправда, що великі соціальні витрати захищають здебільшого бідних. Вони надають

переваги насамперед більш забезпеченим людям та сповільнюють економічне зростання.

Для того, щоб робити зміни, Ви не повинні боятися власного населення. Якщо Ви дуже боїтеся і відкладатимете реформи, то Ваша кар'єра може закінчитися масовими протестами. Це є парадоксом лідерів, що бояться свого власного народу.

У Єгипті вони боялися відібрати субсидії на пальне у [Хосні] Мубарака. У Єгипті висока ставка субсидій на пальне. Але це не вберегло падіння Мубарака, завдяки масовим протестам молоді, зорганізованої через Фейсбук.

**КР:** В Україні, багато високопосадовців їздять на найдорожчих авто, як-от "Бентлі", навіть за умов коли їхні офіційні зарплати дуже низькі. Яким було Ваше авто, коли Ви працювали в парламенті?

**ЛБ:** Коли я працював у центральному банку, ми мали семирічну, але дуже добру "Ауді". Тоді у 2001 році, вона здавалася мені дуже доброю, тому мені не хотілося новішого авто. Для чого мені щось інше?

Раніше у мене була [радянська] Лада, проте потім я перейшов на "Тойоту Авеніс".

Але коли я вийшов на пенсію після публічної служби та отримав можливість заробляти більше грошей – оскільки у Польщі якщо ти працюєш в уряді – ти не заробляєш багато – потім (три роки тому) я купив "Ауді".

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*Anatoliy Mintenko sitting at table with Olivier Ballou and father Heorhiy.*



## Orwell's 'Animal Farm' and Ukrainian Refugees

by Brigid McCarthy

April 3, 2012, Post a Comment

<http://www.theworld.org/2012/04/orwell-animal-farm-ukrainians/>

<http://www.facebook.com/crocodilervtour>

George Orwell wrote his 1945 masterpiece, "Animal Farm", to expose what he called "the Soviet myth". Orwell angered many of his friends on the left with his allegorical novel about Stalin and the Russian Revolution.

But "Animal Farm" was an instant classic with an unexpected group of readers – Ukrainian refugees from the Soviet Union. One of them was Vitalij Keis.

When Keis was a kid, he spent six years in a Displaced Persons camp for Ukrainians right after World War II. The camp was on a former military base in West Germany.

One day, his teacher recommended a brand new book by the British writer George Orwell. It was "Animal Farm."

"This was in Ukrainian, not in English," Keis said.

He had picked up translation of Orwell's novel at the camp commissary. Several thousand copies had been printed by hand at another Ukrainian DP camp.

"From what I understand, it was the first translation," he said, in any foreign language. It was 1947. Keis vaguely remembers discussing the book with his mother, who read it too.

"You have to remember, this was

many years ago. I'm 76 now. But definitely this book made a splash."

In fact, Animal Farm was required reading in some DP camps.

### The First Orwell Fans

After the war, there were nearly three million Ukrainian refugees in western Europe. Most, like Keis' family, came from the Soviet Union.

"I would say we were the first Orwell fans," he said, laughing.

Because Orwell's story described what they'd lived through – from the idealism of the Russian Revolution to Stalin's forced collectivization, famine, and mass arrests.

"This was right after World War II, and was very fresh in memory," Keis said. "My family, one fifth of my family was exiled to Siberia, and we never found any trace of them."

Andrea Chalupa is Vitalij Keis' niece. She's also the author of a new e-book, "Orwell and the Refugees: The Untold Story of Animal Farm."

She said a young Ukrainian scholar named Ihor Shevchenko wrote to Orwell in 1946, after reading "Animal Farm" in English. According to Chalupa, he wrote that he'd love to translate the novel.

"The message of your book resonates with me and I translated it out loud to Ukrainian refugees here, and they love it, and we want to make copies and give it out to people."

Orwell was delighted. He refused

any royalties, and even agreed to write a preface for the Ukrainian edition, and it remains the most detailed and personal description of how he came to write the book that made him world famous.

"I am aware that I write for readers about whom I know nothing, but also that they too have probably never had the slightest opportunity to know anything about me," Orwell began.

"He basically said, please let me introduce myself and humbly tell you how I feel about your government and the events that you recognize in Animal Farm," Chalupa said.

Orwell told his Ukrainian readers that he was a Socialist, more out of sympathy for the plight of the working poor than out of any theoretical fondness for a centrally planned economy.

He then explained how in 1936, after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he went to fight with the Communists against the Fascists. He didn't realize there were warring factions among the Communists, and that he had, more or less by accident, joined the Communist militia that wasn't controlled by Moscow.

"And he goes on to tell the story in the preface of being in Spain on the frontlines, of almost being killed, of being with his wife and running for their lives from the Stalinists, and how that opened his eyes for the first time to the horror of Stalin," Chalupa said.

"On my return from Spain I thought of exposing the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages."

Orwell said he wrote "Animal Farm" so that people in Western Europe would see the Soviet regime for what it really was.

"In my opinion, nothing has contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of Socialism as the belief that Russia is a Socialist country and that every act of its rulers must be excused, if not imitated," Orwell wrote in the preface.

"So Orwell was moved to say that's not socialism everybody, stop just blindly supporting it. The Russian Revolution, that spirit is over, it's dead. Stalin's killed it," said Chalupa.

In 1945, Stalin demanded the repatriation of all Soviet citizens in western Europe. Most of the Ukrainian refugees were rounded up from DP camps, and sent back to the Soviet Union, with help from the British and American authorities.

Vitalij Keis's family escaped repatriation. They moved to the United States in 1951, when Keis was a teenager. He later became a professor of comparative literature and writing at Rutgers University.

A couple of years ago, Keis' niece Andrea came over for dinner. Even though she'd been working on a project about Ukrainian and Soviet history, she'd only just learned about the Ukrainian edition of "Animal Farm".

"And over dinner, which was of course borscht and varenyky and

stuffed cabbage," Chalupa said, "I was telling them what I'd been up to, and about Orwell and the refugees and "Animal Farm". And my uncle just looks at me and says, "Oh yeah, I have a copy of that book."

It was his copy of "Animal Farm" from the DP camp. He'd kept it all these years.

He then gave it to his niece as a gift.

Andrea Chalupa keeps it in a glass case at her parents' house. The cover shows large, menacing pig learning against a fence, clutching a whip. Boxer, the story's long-suffering workhorse, is in the background, pulling a heavy wagon up a hill.

## "Ukraine at the Crossroads" 2011 – A Year in Review. "Ukraine at the Crossroads" Conference

**by James SHERR**

Senior Fellow, Royal Institute of International Affairs  
Chatham House, March 8, 2012, Ottawa



[Dorohi Druzhi]

I will have the temerity to open by noting that this is my fourth visit to Ottawa. I feel privileged to be back and delighted to be among so many old acquaintances. I also feel gratified to be introduced by my good friend Robert Amsterdam whom I see often at various diplomatic roundtables at Chatham House.

Given my topic, I suspect that the question foremost on your minds is the following: "What will we be able to expect from Russia-Ukraine relations after Putin's election 'victory'?"

Let us first understand what is not going to change. Unless and until a

revolution in thinking and practice takes place, Russia's governing elites will continue to regard Ukraine's independence as an historical aberration and an anti-Russian geopolitical project. This is my first point.

Ukraine is seen as a part of *Russia's* identity. The notion that "St. Petersburg is the brain, Moscow is the heart and Kyiv is the 'mother' of Russia" is deeply embedded in the psyche of Russians across a broad spectrum of opinion. Those who hold these views regard the charge of neo-imperialism with incomprehension; they regard Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Russians as branches of a single 'peo-

ple'. This sentiment is not confined to the current regime or President-elect Putin, although he (and President Medvedev) feels these things with particular intensity. That intensity is shared by a number of liberals who despise Putin and Putinism. Vernadsky's axiom "democracy in Russia ends where the question of Ukraine begins", is as relevant as it was 100 years ago. It was Alexey Navalny who said recently in Ukraine on public TV that "we are, practically speaking, one and the same *narod*".

With respect to Ukraine, Putin has

been pursuing 'identity politics'. His approach has been multidimensional, focused and intense. This dimension of policy (unlike energy policy or CIS integration) has aroused no reaction or defiance from the current authorities in Ukraine, and it has attracted little notice abroad. Identity politics will not diminish. Had the Orange Revolution produced a transformation of the socio-political order in Ukraine – and a new relationship between Ukraine and the rest of Europe – the reality today would have been very different. The statist-'civilisational' defence of Russia's 'distinctiveness', the rejection of liberal democracy, would appear increasingly false and hollow. Russians would naturally ask, 'if Ukraine can prosper under this "Western" model, then why is it inappropriate for us?' The myth of a 'common identity' – rightly or wrongly conceived – would make 'Ukraine in Europe' a challenge to the legitimacy of the current socio-political order in Russia. For this reason alone, Ukraine's future is a vital Russian interest: certainly under Putin and possibly under his successor.

My second point is that, in the perception of the current Russian authorities, the geopolitical framework has become darker, tougher and more Darwinian. In the 1990s, the authorities in Moscow had a positive view of the European Union because they saw the European project as a counter to the dominance of NATO and the United States. But over the last ten years, they have come, correctly, to appreciate that the EU, before all else, is a mechanism of integration on the basis of a political and socio-economic model strikingly at variance with that which has arisen in Russia and, for that matter, most of the post-Soviet space.

That model is network-driven rather than market-driven; it is not motivated by an ethos of competitiveness but an ethos of monopoly; it is not founded on property rights and judicial

integrity but patron-client relationships, opaque 'understandings' [*ponyatiya*] and privileged relations between business structures and power structures on every level. It is also based on money – lots of money – which is used not only to maintain these patron-client networks internally, but also to expand them abroad, outside the former Soviet Union, so as to undermine the ethos and regulatory structures and mechanisms of the European Union. And therefore, this relationship – between these two very different models of economics – is not simply confined to bilateral relations with Ukraine; it affects all of Europe. As Moscow sees it, the European Union is building not only an economic frontier, but a new 'Iron Curtain' that is moving east. They seek to move it west. And the fact that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are part of EU and NATO is not seen by them, at this point, as much of a deterrent.

Today, the post-Soviet economic system is Ukraine's economic system. The failure of the Orange tandem to understand, to address it – indeed to make it the top priority – preserved Ukraine's greatest vulnerability when the tandem was in power; now, Yanukovich is strengthening the construct. Is he strengthening it to help Russia? No! He is strengthening it to help himself. President Yanukovich would prefer that Ukraine have an Association Agreement with the EU than join the Russian – dominated CIS Customs Union. But he would rather be president of a Ukraine that is joining the Customs Union than not be president of a Ukraine that is joining EU. And this scheme of priorities needs to be understood.

Now, let's look forward. On the morrow of his election victory, Vladimir Putin feels very strong – in the so-called 'near abroad' and at home. And while I hate to say it, the present wave of opposition has crested.

But, at the same time, even Putin

knows that the next presidential term is not going to be like the last one. First, "the teflon has worn off"; the illusions are gone. Second, whilst Russia is not in bad economic shape today, the trends and dynamics are not favorable. Thirdly, the entire economic construct/model will find itself under threat if, as is quite possible in the next five years, the price of oil falls below 80 dollars a barrel and stays there.

So the initial question is: When will these strains become apparent to those who today feel so strong?

The second question is: how the system will react when it is under strain? And this is something to worry about because in response to pressure, Russia's power structures rarely retreat in orderly, linear fashion. They manoeuvre obliquely, launch counter-offensives on other fronts and in zones of weakness, try to change the rules and the game. Putin has been brought up in this world and thrives in it. Soak yourself what the reaction would be in Washington, Brussels, Ottawa, at the end of this year, Dmitry Medvedev having shown himself to be palpably incapable of managing the national economy, is thanked for his services and Alexey Kudrin, a very principled person, is brought in as his successor. He is indeed a principled individual and a consummate professional. He is also a very robust critic of current macro-economic policy. But he has always been a *korporativniy chelovek*, as has his original patron, Anatoliy Chubais. He has not directed his economic critique, let alone anger, against the real sinews of the system: the hidden web of privileges and prerogatives that link money and power in Russia. If Kudrin had *carte blanche* to do as he pleased, it is certain that his reforms would be good, but it is not certain that they would be truly systemic. Yet even if [he returns with limited powers, it is almost inevitable that leading decision-makers in the West

would breathe a sigh of relief and declare that Putin, at long last, is returning to his 'original' reformist path. At that point, what will the people in this room do or say, and who will be listening to them?

These uncertainties should remind us of a basic truth. The 'system' in Russia is bigger than Putin, and it can get rid of him. Today, there are approximately one hundred billionaires in Russia. If you look at the organizational charts of power provided by Russian political scientists, you will see 50 to 100 individuals at the core of the system. At least half of them are people who never feature in Western discussions, and a large part of them are simply unknown beyond a tiny circle of experts. Yet they are 'the system' as much as Putin is. So are hundreds, perhaps thousands, in the second and third echelons, all of whom exercise power in the same way. So are security and intelligence professionals, many of whom are sophisticated enough to know that if the system does not reform itself, it will not survive. And then there is the mentality of the system, which shapes millions. These people and this mentality define the status quo, and we should not underestimate the creativity of those who seek to preserve it. Since Tsarist times, that creativity was not only directed at suppressing opponents, but co-opting, penetrating and dividing them. Where are today's lines of division, and who are today's opposition 'projects'?

What do the changes in Russia mean for Ukraine? We know several things perfectly well. First, the energy issue is not going away. Ukrainians understand better than most that *Gazprom* is not a business, but a power. Profit, geo-economics, geopolitics, security and intelligence are inextricably intertwined in its operations. Yet Russian energy policy has damaged Ukraine less than Ukraine has damaged itself. Each Ukrainian presi-

dent has built upon his predecessor's record of malpractice in an energy sector which could be a source of profit and influence to Ukraine, but which instead has become one of its greatest liabilities. That liability is reputational as well as economic. It has enabled Russia to present a commercially outlandish project, South Stream, as necessary and viable. When we add to this Putin's relentlessness, willingness to brave risk and sheer force of will, it looks increasingly likely that this 'virtual project' will be built.

The fact is that in the energy sphere as in others, Russia's strategic assets are diminishing, not increasing. When it comes to prolonging the life of an outmoded system, Russia has unrivalled expertise. When it comes to abandoning outmoded thinking, it is poorer than most. There are many

factors today that cushion this truth and divert the attention of Russia's leaders from it: not least, the Euro crisis and the debilities of its own neighbours. The premonition that one is strong today but will be weak tomorrow is a dangerous influence on an ambitious power. Yet that is where Russia finds itself at the beginning of what some are calling Putin's fourth term. Predictions are rash for experts. But I will close with one. **In this fourth term, Putin will go for closure with Ukraine.** Who is ready for this possibility? Who is even considering it?

My time is up, ladies and gentlemen, and rather than make recommendations, I think this might be a gracious moment for me to close and turn the floor over to my friend and sometime colleague, Andrey Andreyvich Piontkovski. Thank you very much for your attention.



*James Sherr with CUPP Interns and Alumni  
at CUPP Oxford Conference, April 2011.*

**Andrei ZAVIALOV**

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Intern to Peggy Nash, MP for Toronto, Ontario

2012 Anne Mazurenko Scholarship recipient

## Ukrainians of Irkutsk A Part of Multiethnic Siberian Society

Мы всё те же украинцы,  
Хоть уже сибиряки,  
К дружбе мы давно стремимся,  
Это дело нам с руки.

Главное – всем быть нам вместе,  
Речь родную не забыть,  
Чтоб запеть «чарівні» песни  
И Україну любити!

(Олександр Іванюк)

The Irkutsk region is historically home to various ethnic groups, including Russians, Buryats, Belarusians, Germans, Tatars, and Ukrainians. Over the course of four-and-a-half centuries each ethnic group has come to share this territory with their neighbours. However, few are aware of the reason why Ukrainians first began to migrate to this land.

The first Ukrainians arrived in Cis-Baikal in 1642. In that year the Moscow government exiled 188 kozaks from Sloboda-Ukraine to the Lena River. At the end of 1650 the supporters of hetman Ivan Vyhovsky were exiled to Irkutsk as well. In 1660 the opponents of hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky and in 1670 the hetman of Ukraine, Demian Mnohohrshny and all his relatives faced the same fate. Mnohohrshny was held in an Irkutsk prison, was released in 1688, and later became a monk.

After the Battle of Poltava in 1709 some supporters of hetman Mazepa were also exiled to Irkutsk. Half a century later in 1768, as a result of liquidating the Zaporizhian Host (or, Kozak Hetmanate, an autonomous body in the Ukrainian region during 1654-

1764), part of the Ukrainian kozak starshyna (public administration) was exiled to Cis-Baikal. Prior to this, followers of Maksym Zaliznyak during the Koliyivshchyna (a Ukrainian peasant revolt in Right-Bank Ukraine, against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) were convicted to katorha – penal servitude – in the region. Zaliznyak, however, never served his punishment.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ukrainian decemberists, members of the United Slavs, revolutionary populists, social democrats, participants of peasant revolts, and some public and cultural figures were exiled to Siberia by court order. Many Ukrainians were forced into the Siberian kozak armies.

In Cis-Baikal Ukrainians succeeded in obtaining positions amongst the higher echelons of power. Some Ukrainians even joined the Siberian administration. Nikolay Sulima, governor general of East Siberia, for example, was an ethnic Ukrainian. Ukrainians also participated in the building, development, and management of the region's factories and plants.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ukrainians engaged in the exploration and research of Siberian and Far Eastern lands. Grigory Novitsky, for example, was the author of the first ethnographic monograph in the Russian language, "A Short Description About the Ostyak Ethnic Group".

Ukrainians occupied a special place in the church life of Cis-Baikal. The first ruling bishop of East Siberia – bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk – St.

Innocent (Kulchytsky) descended from the Chernihiv governorate by birth and studied at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. St. Innocent (Nerunovych) and St. Sofrony (Krystalevsky) were also from Ukraine.

A mass exodus of Ukrainian peasants began at the end of the 1860s. It was foremost the result of a shortage of soil in Ukraine. At the time, settlements with characteristic names such as Kyivka, Chernihivka, Poltavka, Volynka, and Besarabka arose. The Tsarist government encouraged the voluntary exploitation of Siberia: low taxes and the possibility to acquire a big piece of land. An 1897 Russian census of the empire showed that 2,177 Ukrainians lived in Irkutsk. When the 1906 Stolypin reform passed in Russia, there came the largest immigration of Ukrainians to the region in the pre-revolution period.

The Russian Revolution ignited the political activity of almost all the population of Siberia, especially in Cis-Baikal. Due to the revolution, considerable possibilities opened for the Ukrainian settlers and military, aided by the formation of cultural organizations and newspapers.

The population of the Irkutsk region did not suffer heavy losses in the civil war-period nor the revolution and famine of 1921-1922; and yet the inflow of immigrants from other parts of the former empire all but ceased. In this period a policy of "nativization" (korenizatsiya) was practiced. Schools where the languages of different USSR ethnic groups were taught began to appear. In Cis-Baikal a few schools that instructed in Ukrainian

were opened. However, by the mid-1930s "nativisation" had become "russification". As a result, most of the ethnocentric schools were closed. In 1926 and 1939 two censuses of the population were officially conducted. According to the 1926 census, 3,959 Ukrainians resided in the Irkutsk region; and by 1939, this number had grown to 47,110 persons.

At the onset of World War II many plants and factories were dismantled in Ukraine, a few of which were rebuilt in the Irkutsk region. The Soviet power had brought many Ukrainians accused of being involved with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from Western Ukraine to Siberia and the internment camps of the Gulag.

In 1950 an intensive migratory exchange with the Irkutsk region began with Ukraine. Enormous numbers of students, laborers, and workers from the Baikal-Amur Mainline and other developmental giants arrived in the Irkutsk region.

Between 1959 and 1989 the Ukrainian presence in Cis-Baikal began to show "wave dynamics" – a cycle of diminishing and increasing figures. According to a 1959 census, 97,184 Ukrainians resided in the Irkutsk region at the time; by 1970 this number fell to 84,356, rose to 90,767 by 1979, and fell again to 97,405 by 1989. The fall in population was initially due to consequences of World War II – plants, factories, and peoples being transferred back to Ukraine alongside a settling economy; the following growth came from the Ukrainian population's mastering of Siberia's resources in 1970-1980s; and the renewed depletion of population by 1989 can be attributed to the disintegration of the USSR. Peoples began to seek out their historical "Motherlands". According to a 2002 census, only 53,631 Ukrainians remained in the Irkutsk region, 10,000 of whom resided in Irkutsk city.

In 1991 Nikolay Sribnyak, a cultur-

al figure of the musical theater, took the first step to organizing a Ukrainian community in Irkutsk. He invited to his informal gatherings those who desired to preserve their Ukrainian culture and language.

The Irkutsk ethnic-center for Ukrainians, "Klekit", was registered in 1992. The preservation and development of the Ukrainian language and culture became the primary goal of the center, assisting the development of international relations in the region.

Klekit was situated in library #13 of Irkutsk. Kyiv donated books from the first library of Ukrainian literature to the center. Exhibitions of folk-art were recorded and holidays celebrated. Members of the center worked closely with the library staff to draft a constitution. The creation of such an organization in the Irkutsk region resulted in the establishment of numerous contacts, both with Ukraine and the Ukrainian diasporas from around the world. Klekit's members even participated in world conventions and competitions. One of Klekit's permanent exhibitions is titled "Голос України" (Voice of Ukraine) and acquaints visitors with books and periodicals donated by institutions in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Melitopol, Sumy, Lviv, and other cities of Ukraine.

In 1995, Klekit's "Slavyane" choir was formed, singing in both Ukrainian and Russian under the direction of Stepan Ilyashenko. In 1996, Nikolay Sribnyak departed for Ukraine, where he became the bishop of Sumy, in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchy. That day, Nikolay Silvestrov has taken Sribnyak's place as chairman of Klekit. Activity at the center has had a great influence on the cultural life of the region in recent years.

In 2000, on the initiative of Vitaly Rogal, a celebrated Russian folk-artist, "Klekit" was renamed "Dnipro". And in 2001, Yerofey Vasiliev, another celebrated Russian artist, became the

head of the Ukrainian cultural center.

In 2007, the Ukrainian cultural center Dnipro celebrated its 15th anniversary with a concert that showcased Ukrainian culture.

In 2008, library #13 was renovated and Dnipro needed to find a new "home". For a short while, the center's property was stored in the chairman's garage. In the same year, a Ukrainian Saturday school opened at the center. At the school students study Ukrainian language, literature and culture, and is attended by students aged 12 to 57. On average, there are seven students per class.

In 2009, students of the Musical College of Irkutsk performed Semen Hulak-Artemovsky's "A Zaporozhian Kozak Beyond The Danube" (Запорожець за Дунаєм) and the singers of Dnipro's Slavyane choir were invited to assist in the teaching of correct Ukrainian pronunciation. Performed before an audience the opera met with great success.

At the beginning of 2011, Yerofey Vasiliev met with the mayor of Irkutsk, Victor Kondrashov, and reported to him about Dnipro's fundamental problem – a lack of space. The mayor assisted the center in procuring an apartment. All the property of Dnipro was transported there by March.

In the beginning of 2012 Natalia Vitt became the head of Dnipro.

Irkutsk Ukrainians annually participate in their city and regional culture – from participating in the celebrations of Ivana Kupala and Trinity, to those of Russia Day and Victory Day. They also celebrate Christmas, Easter, Shevchenko Day, Ukrainian Independence Day, and Ukrainian Language Day, to name a few.

Irkutsk Ukrainians involve themselves in all spheres of society – in politics, culture, health, defense, and science. They also actively participate in the development of the Russian state.

The Ukrainians of Cis-Baikal are

primarily descendants of those migrants who in the past were subjected to oppression and coercive administrative policies. Today, Ukrainians as an ethnic group are in no way different from the other ethnic groups in the region – they earn a living, grow rich, become poor, and raise families like anyone else.

The Ukrainian state was formed in

1917, 263 years after the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Since then, Ukrainians have contributed their diaspora to many countries, especially Russia; they have made a home on Siberian land, preserving Ukraine in their hearts; and they have contributed to the vast and rich multiethnic mosaic of their region. Slava Ukraini!

Як сумно стане і тяжко в душі,

Як здасться, що втратив життєвий  
рушій,  
І буде чужим все, що є навкруги:  
Всі речі навколо – твої вороги.

Лише посміхнися і спробуй  
згадати,  
Що долю не можемо ми обирати.  
Доля від дому, буває, кине,  
Та де ти живеш, там і є Україна!  
(Олександр Дмитрів)



## Russian Youth's Political Concerns

### Two Interviews with Russian Young People

**Ganna TSELIKOVSKA**

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Interview with Alena Lazuk (23), Master's student in Intercultural Studies in Communication and Administration, University of Vaasa, Finland.

**Ganna:** – What is your attitude towards the last parliamentary elections in Russia?

**Alena:** – I cannot say that I have a definite opinion on the last parliamentary elections. On one hand, they seem to be rigged till some point, on the other, the United Russia still has the parliamentary majority. However, it does not have the constitutional majority anymore, so parties have to form coalitions to approve any document. At the same time the final decision is still made by the United Russia because even if all the others form a coalition, they do not have the necessary minimum of votes to pass the law.

So, I cannot say that I am satisfied or dissatisfied the elections results. I do not have a common opinion on the subject.

**G:** – Do you see any hope for changes in the political situation?

**A:** – Frankly speaking, I do not; I believe we are now in the political gridlock. Well, probably, there could have been sort of a revolutionary way out. Although; I personally do not believe it is possible in the current situation in Russia. Fortunately because the outcomes of such revolution can be unpredictable, especially in such big country as Russia. Also, no one is sure for the moment, that the country needs big changes. The truth is there is no clear alternative for what we have now. Probably, this uncertainty comes from lack of information, of links between people and power.

**G:** – How would you assess the actions of Russian opposition? Do you think it has bright personalities able to take power?

**A:** – Basically, I have already replied above. I would not call all those people a real opposition. It has a very big weakness – it is more "against

someone", not "for someone". Or, it can be called "for whatever it will be, but not this one". Moreover, in the current opposition there all the parties except one (the United Russia), and they do not have a leader or coordinator capable of uniting people and changing the way things are.

**G:** – What is your attitude towards Ukraine and the Ukrainians?

**A:** – I have normal attitude towards Ukraine and Ukrainians. I have no special opinion about Ukrainians in general, except for those I know. I guess, the fact that we have been linked for centuries in different ways is a fact, and it is quite stupid not to recognize it. I do not really like the degree of nationalism in Ukraine, though I have never lived in a newly independent country, so I cannot judge here; and again, it refers only to Ukrainians whom I know personally. I cannot say anything about all the others.

What really hurts me is to see how some young Ukrainians treat veterans

and the degree of neofascism in some parts of the country, but it is not only Ukrainian problem, unfortunately.

**G:** – What is the reason that in 2004 the Orange Revolution happened in Ukraine, while in 2011 the revolution in Russia failed?

**A:** – Well, I do not know the reasons for the Ukrainian Orange Revolution at all, not only why it was successful. As for Russia, I would not say there was even something close to the revolution. There was nothing to fail, basically. There is a possibility that it has not been over yet, in March we have presidential elections. Though, I hope it will proceed as quietly as possible in the current situation.

Interview with Elena Albutova (25), Media worker, Multilingual newspaper Borders off ([www.bordersoff.ru](http://www.bordersoff.ru)), Ulyanovsk, Russia.

**Ganna:** – What is your attitude towards the last parliamentary elections in Russia?

**Elena:** – Nowadays it is more and more difficult to distinguish truth and justice. This mainly refers to politics, and the elections are not the exception. It is difficult to talk objectively about the last parliamentary elections in Russia because the media, Internet, word of mouse, movements and activities – many "platforms" were overflowed with misleading information. It turned out the other day that many videos about falsifications were edited and broadcasted from an U.S.-registered server. Unfortunately, media does not destroy stereotypes. On the contrary they promote spread of stereotypes.

I cannot but mention one more point – globalization. Elections always were the national concern. However, nowadays they have international features and geopoliticians are trying to decide issues of the country, which they are not citizens of. I always support fair choice and fair elections.

I would like to say that one cannot stay noninvolved, it is necessary to make a commitment. To my mind, at the Russian political arena we lack a new strong player who would pursue national interests.

**G:** – Do you see any hope for changes in the political situation?

**E:** – I hope that the changes will come. It is the only thing I can say.

**G:** – How would you assess the actions of Russian opposition? Do you think it has bright personalities able to take power?

**E:** – Russian opposition does not walk its talk. People need the result not empty promises. It was this way before. Today there are new figures at the Russian political arena. They come out of hiding, and someone is likely interested in this process.

The most important thing is that the power should be taken not for the sake of itself but for sake of people. So far I do not see such persons

among the opposition. There are some worthy personalities. However, to my mind, they are not a part of the direct opposition.

**G:** – What is your attitude towards Ukraine and the Ukrainians?

**E:** – Ukraine is certainly a beautiful country with rich history, culture, and traditions. It appeals to me. I love the Ukrainian language. Many of my friends and good friends in one way or another connected with Ukraine. In this context I do not want to talk about politics because it destroys the friendship.

**G:** – What is the reason that in 2004 the Orange Revolution Happened in Ukraine, while in 2011 the revolution in Russia failed?

**E:** – I do not think that the 2011 revolution in Russia failed. It was the first step, we can see it from the recent events. It can be rightly said that this is not a civil revolution, but an orange one.



**L to R: Dmytro Kondratiuk (Oxford), British Ambassador to Ukraine, Leigh Turner and Ukrainian Ambassador to the UK, Volodymyr Khandogiy at Oxford Conference.**



## Electoral Systems in Ukraine. Our Experience and our Prospects

**Alona FURDA**

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv  
Intern to Linda Duncan, MP, Edmonton–Strathcona, Alberta  
2012 Dr. Maria Fischer-Slysh Scholarship recipient

What can be interesting, exciting for society and, at the same time, profitable for political scientists and sociologists? Elections. Firstly the institute of elections was used in ancient Greece and Rome, and throughout the Medieval period in order to select rulers and prevent revolts. Nowadays it is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. In contrast with ancient Athens, elections are no longer an oligarchic institution, but a universal tool for people all over the world to influence the future development of their countries, to choose representatives whom they trust to make laws and govern. The recent elections in Russia and the last one in Ukraine showed that elections are also the index of the level of democracy in modern society.

The whole world was observing the elections in our neighboring country. Due to the dramatic events in Russia and our future decision-making process in November; I decided to analyze our parliamentary elections and electoral systems as vital parts of this process.

To start with, during the time of our independence Ukraine has experienced almost all common electoral systems that have ever existed in the theory and practice of constitutionalism. However, we are still looking for the best version, which will help us to realize the interests of majority and to build democratic society.

In order to find out the best acceptable electoral organization for us, we should analyze all pros and cons of

the existing systems in Ukraine.

The electoral system, which was used during the first parliamentary elections, was majoritarian. It is the oldest electoral system, dating back at least to the 12th century, and also the simplest. Consequently, a worldwide survey found that 83 out of 150 countries were found to use this system. We applied majoritarian electoral system with absolute majority, which means that candidate who gets 51% of votes in his constituency occupies the place in the parliament. In my opinion, this system was disastrous for Verkhovna Rada because for most candidates it was quite impossible to get enough votes. So, we didn't receive the full composition of the parliament and it was disable to respond to the difficult situations in the country and to make some important laws. On the other hand, this system allowed voters to get acquainted with all candidates; therefore we knew the politicians we voted for.

After the election campaign in 1994, legislators made an attempt to implement a new electoral system that would reduce the number of independent deputies and ensure the effective work of the parliament. As a result we got mixed system. Half the members of Verkhovna Rada were elected by all voters; this part of elections was based on a proportional representation. The remaining MPs were elected from closed party lists in each region. The appliance of this system contributed to the structuring of parliament provided the fair value of votes and seats. However, the closed list of can-

didates was the significant drawback that led to extensive debates. It was clear that the entrance to Verkhovna Rada was open to unpopular, obscure, and sometimes incompetent politicians.

Dissatisfaction in society and forthcoming elections resulted in active discussions in Parliament. Finally, in 2006 the president agreed with the deputies to apply proportional representation during the next parliamentary elections. Unfortunately the idea of open lists didn't get the support, so voters could only select the party. I hope you will agree with me when I say that close list is like a pig in a poke because in this way political parties determine the positions of candidates in the list without taking into consideration the wishes of voters. In this case we can support the party as a whole but do not encourage some members of it.

It is universally acceptable that there is no perfect electoral system, but we should do our best to create one which would be suitable for Ukraine in this period of development.

All things consider I came to the conclusion that proportional system is nowadays the best variant for parliamentary elections in Ukraine. This system focuses on the inclusion of minority voices that will prevent from losing them. Secondly, we should preserve the existing system with its positive attributes but bring it up-to-date. First of all, our task is to ensure the influence of voters on the election of candidates, and resume a close rela-

tionship between the deputies and the voters. The open list will help us to do it. It will empower voters to influence the ranking of candidates in the list, which will lead to increased responsibility elected deputies for their work. Moreover, it can be the reason of appearance the competition within the party. This means that each candidate

will be able to build his political career with the only help of his hard work and ability to succeed. It will also decrease the number of breaking pre-election promises.

I strongly believe that proportional system with open lists will ensure the effectiveness of elections and provide the formation of acting Verkhovna

Rada. Only this parliament will be able not only to provide professional interaction with a government, but also to find possible ways to pull the country out of crisis. Anyway, this fall we will be able to make our judgments about the renewed mixed system. Let's take a chance and hope for the best!

## The Overbearing Governmental Regulation of the Economy as an Inhibiting Factor on Democratic Development of Ukraine

**Iaroslav CHEKER**

National University "Yaroslav the Wise Law Academy"  
Intern to Brian Masse, MP for Windsor, Ontario  
2012 John & Myroslava Yaremko Scholarship recipient



Have you ever thought of a direct connection between democratic development and free market economy? Usually, when thinking about democracy, the first thoughts that come to mind are fair electoral legislation and its efficient and honest implementation, fair trials and a vibrant civil society. But evidently the idea of free market economy and the inhibiting governmental regulations of the current government are not among the priorities, which are evident in the government's policies. In this article I will try to demonstrate the importance of a free market economy in cultivating a democratic country.

Since the World War II many democratic countries have moved away from the laissez-faire market economy and decided that government in order to boost economic growth and come closer to a fair distribution of goods and capital should exercise some control over the economy. It should be mentioned that some businesses, that mostly were ineffective, supported the idea of government regulated prices

on gas, oil, rental fees, transportation expenses, etc., the distribution of these goods and strong but simultaneously unfair anti-monopoly legislation, in their short-sighted purposes. Of course the situation was different in Ukraine where communist ideas were the state ideology, but, nonetheless, having gained the cherished independence, Ukrainian government did back away from strong governmental regulation of the economy in the fields of price control, oppressive taxation and leaving undisturbed a majority of monopolies in the area of state property.

What is more, that in Ukraine's Constitution the functions of Government are not limited, since throughout the document one can read "and others", "if other is not written down in legislation" and in such a way our Constitution stops being an agreement between the state and civil society but transforms into legislation allowing government officials and the state itself to intervene and make changes as their priorities require.

Many libertarian economists par-

ticularly from Vienna economic school and from the USA, such as Ludwig von Mises (who was born in Lviv), Friedrich von Hayek, Vernon Smith, Murray Rothbard, David Boaz and others have argued that governmental regulation of the economy is harmful to the greatest extent and is the factor which slows down technological breakthrough and advancement as well as efficient competition. But how do these findings affect democracy? The answer is complex.

First of all, our attention should be drawn to the fact that only societies with a strong and large middle class managed to build a true democracy. A free market economy, which gives opportunities for all to earn money according to their abilities, insight and knowledge and without reliance on their connections with government officials or through corruptive dealings, is indisputably an integral part of social relations in societies where people's property rights are protected, without fear of losing that property or business. Only such people will be

able to protest in the streets, vote for their candidate of choice and not the candidate who pays bribes, initiate referendums and organize efficient non-governmental organizations which will serve as 'watch dogs' of government for the good of society.

Secondly, providing that we speak about human rights, we should take into consideration that property rights are primary, equal to the rights on life and health. A person deprived of his property cannot stay humane, he, as a matter of fact, loses his self-esteem and dignity, and that is why a free market and deregulation of the economy in Ukraine will result in more op-

portunities for businesses to create new jobs, increase salaries, ameliorate purifying systems for the sake of ecology, etc.

And the last but not least argument is that private business initiative in Ukraine is far more effective than governmental initiatives, since private entrepreneurs economize on time and money when producing goods by using up-to-date technologies and searching for business partners who are ready to propose lower prices and better quality of goods. On the other hand in governmental initiatives, business practice incentives and stimuli are diminished, since the salary of

government managers does not depend proportionally on their effectiveness, and the government can always give their own ineffective enterprises subsidies from the state budget which is accumulated from collection of taxes from tax paying citizens.

In such a way we can see that ideas of free market economy and freedom of enterprise go hand in hand with democracy because in such a system people can make their own decisions, earn for their living fairly and be independent from state whims.



## The Value of a CUPP Internship in Canada's Parliament (Interview with CUPP Alumni)

### Ediee ABDULTAIROVA

Crimean Economic Institute of Vadym Hetman Kyiv National Economic University  
Intern to Claude Gravelle, MP, Ontario  
2012 Senator Raynell Andreychuk Scholarship recipient

CUPP is a unique program which helps to open your mind and develop your leadership skills. Moreover, while participating in CUPP you are getting a great experience, which will be useful for you and your country!

It was very interesting for me to conduct interviews with several CUPP Alumni and ask those questions about their experiences, meetings, assignments and the value of an internship in a foreign country's Parliament. Here are some of their answers:

**Anna Taranenko** CUPP '02 & '03  
University of Luhansk  
(Taras Shevchenko National Pedagogical University of Luhansk)

Judy Wasylycia-Leis, Winnipeg North Centre, Manitoba  
Michael & Anna Bardyn Scholarship (2002)  
Dennis Mills, Toronto-Danforth, Ontario  
Wasył Loboda Scholarship  
CUPP '03 Ukrainian Coordinator (2003)

*Participation in Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program has, undoubtedly, become an experience of a lifetime for me. It was a great opportunity to develop professionally, learn about Canadian political system, receive a hands-on experience and get exposed to the Western culture and democracy. Besides, I established a network of*

*professional contacts and made great, faithful friends.*

*My favourite CUPP memories are visits to the Embassy of Ukraine and to the Embassy of the United States of America in Canada as well as a visit to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.*

*I consider my CUPP experience immensely invaluable for it enriched me with new knowledge about Canadian political system, gave me a new perspective of Ukrainian cultural and political conditions and truly became a springboard for my further career development.*

**Vyacheslav Tomenko** CUPP 2004

International Christian University,  
Kyiv

Brian Fitzpatrick, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Mazurenko Family Scholarship

*I cannot emphasize the personal impact CUPP had on me. I wouldn't be lying if I said that CUPP program actually changed me and who I am. I became open-minded and accepting, it taught me to welcome cultural differences and broadened my horizons (it happened on many different levels, but, to be honest, Ukraine is a very homogeneous society with the set of believers and values that are embedded in the core of who we are. CUPP shifted my perception of having one set standard of values and attitudes). After participating in CUPP, my mind was set on my career path: I knew I wanted to work in the multi-national dimension of non-profits.*

*Now going to the question about whether or not the program will still be there in 10 or 20 years. As far as I know, there's this financial uncertainty that's been surrounding the program for several years. But...taking into consideration the impact the program had on CUPP-ers, I believe that the program MUST remain functioning. Think about the recent graduates that were able to receive the valuable work experience that made them more employable in the tight Ukrainian job market. Think about the impact that the young professionals were able to make in the economy of Ukraine. And again, I cannot overemphasize the cultural exchange that was oh so important in my personal history.*

**Andriy Yastrebov** CUPP 2004

National Agrarian University, Kyiv

Paul Forseth, New Westminster--Coquitlam, British Columbia

Paul Yuzyk Scholarship

*We had a number of meetings with members of parliament – individual MPs, one senator, and the speaker of the House. We also had meetings with other government institutions –*

*with the Supreme Court and Canada's central bank. Assignments from CUPP were typical – read an article etc. and provide a brief description on the topic. Assignments in the office were mostly administrative tasks (get mail, scan/fax documents etc.) with some research assignments. In terms of personal experience, it was great to meet very interesting people and hear their stories. It was also very helpful to learn how a real democracy should function. Value? I think it helps in terms of making it easier to communicate with senior, influential people.*

**Daryna Shevchenko** CUPP 2011

National University "Yaroslav the

Wise Law Academy of Ukraine"

2011 Walter Surma Tarnopolsky  
Scholarship

Intern to Mauril Belanger, MP for Ottawa-Vanier

So the meetings we had:

Visits to the embassies (Polish, Russian, US, UK, Ukrainian)

Meetings with MPs, the Speaker, Auditor General, Ethics Commissioner

*The value of the programme is immense, no doubts! I will name just few that personally influenced me. Being a law student it was great to finally find out what civil society was and how it worked in reality. This question was tormenting me for a while, this "civil society" has always been so abstract for me... until I went to Canada.*

*Second thing is that now I feel us Ukrainians are Europeans. It's interesting how one needs to go to North America to realise that.. And I lived in Spain for some time, so I can tell you... we have much more in common with the Spanish, Germans or English than with Canadians.*

**Iryna Pushchuk** CUPP 2011

Karpenko-Karyy National University of  
Performing Arts

2011 Senator David Tkachuk Scholarship

Intern to Mark Warawa, MP for Langley, British Columbia

*Hi! I am CUPP 2011. In our CUPP year we had a lot of meetings with politicians, often it were MP's of our students. We also had meetings with Senator Raynell Andreychuk, Ethics Commissioner, representatives from Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada, ambassadors (Russian, Polish, British, American). We also had a meeting with Daniel Caron - a former Canadian ambassador to Ukraine. Many of the meetings were formal, some informal (mainly with Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada). We had an informal meeting in the house of Paul Migus. Every time when we had a meeting with one of the officials we had to write a report about the meeting and every time it was a new intern who wrote about it. We wrote CUPP 2011 Diary and articles, compounded bios. Also assignments on political themes continued to come from Pan Baryn. We also organized and participated in the performances in Ukrainian embassy and other places.*

*It was an interesting, fascinating; full of many events 2 months internship that got acquainted Ukrainian students with real democracy. It showed how to live in the democratic country. Language practice, experience to live in the foreign country and work in Canadian Parliament broadened understanding of Canadian society and its people. Although we - all the CUPP 2011 interns – were together and did internship in one place, but our experience differs, because every one of us has taken something inherent only to him/her.*

*Arriving at a conclusion, we can say that each of CUPP Alumni has received his own certain experience, the new vision of the world and in general his own world-view, but all CUPP Alumni, without an exception, have received that knowledge which will be invaluable in all their undertakings and lifeline!*



## A Century of PLAST

### Olena BONDAR

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Intern to Mr. Romeo Saganash, MP, Abitibi-Baie-James-Nunavik-Eeyou, Quebec; Tyrone Benskin, MP, Jeanne-Le Ber, Montreal, Quebec

2012 Senator Martha Bielish Scholarship recipient

*"Be the spark"*

*That brings light to the world"*

*(Motto of 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of PLAST)*

Stepan Bandera – one of the leaders of Ukrainian liberation movement in Western Ukraine (Galicia) and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Bohdan Hawrylyshyn – an economist, member of the Club of Rome, and an economic advisor to the Ukrainian government. Lubomyr Husar – Major Archbishop Emeritus of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Mykola Kolessa – prominent Ukrainian composer and conductor. Orest Subtelny – Canadian historian (author of *Ukraine: A History* (1988)). Heidemarie Martha Stefanyshyn-Piper – an American naval officer and a former NASA are all leaders.

You may ask yourself what do all these individuals have in common. Yes, they are all of Ukrainian ancestry, and their names can be found in encyclopaedias. As well, they either were or are participants of the "Great Game" called PLAST.

*The goal of PLAST is to contribute to the education of a well-rounded and patriotic Ukrainian youth, on Christian principles. To serve as responsible and valuable citizens and leaders of local, national and world community. To achieve this goal, PLAST promotes the moral, spiritual, social and physical abilities of its members and urges youth to respect their ancestors' traditions and culture. Volunteerism and un-*

*selfish work for society is encouraged.*

This Great Game has lasted for 100 years. It began on April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1912 in Lviv at the Academic gymnasium when 40 students pledged the First PLAST Oath. The word that replaced the word "Scout" was the word "PLAST". The word comes from a name for Kozak-scouts called "Plastuny". Since its establishment PLAST experienced wars, prohibition, underground existence, suppression, revival abroad (in diaspora), and finally rebirth in Ukraine.

Thanks to the Ukrainian diaspora, after the prohibition of PLAST in Ukraine, it was able to survive, develop and revive after so many years of prohibition outside of Ukraine. Moreover, PLAST was one of the ways for Ukrainian emigrants to maintain and save their culture, traditions and language. And it is still a way to hold together and to raise children in small Ukrainian societies on foreign lands.

Sadly, PLAST was resurrected in Ukraine only in 1990. And during last twenty years it has grown rapidly – not only numbers of members but also the quality of the membership. PLAST's activities and projects have increased significantly. If in 1990s the concentration of PLAST activities was the work inside the organization, now it has broadened its concentration to promote changes in society.

In the 100 year history since PLAST's establishment – the have people changed, the circumstances are different, and Ukraine is independent. But the founding principles of PLAST have remained: respect for God and country, family, friends, and

mankind.

Each "plastun" is encouraged to sacrifice part of his time to celebrate this 100-year PLAST anniversary. Through daily activities plastuny are working at becoming leaders and to set an example for others. Everyone is expected to act as the spark that lights the country and the world.

During the past hundred years special educational systems and methods were developed in order to achieve PLAST's goals. A number of books dedicated to these methods of education in PLAST were published. The most basic among them is Oleksandr Tysovsky's manual "Life in PLAST" which serves a guide for all members of PLAST.

PLAST membership is structured along 4 conventional Age groups (known as "Ulad"):

1) Cub Scouts – the youngest age group. It includes children age 6-11. Cub Scouts, are prepared by councilors for mature PLAST activities.

2) Rover Scouts – includes youth ages 11-18. Mature PLAST life begins at this stage 3) Older PLAST members. It is an educative community of Ukrainian youth age 18-30. This Age

3) The Older Scouts (Starshy Plastuny) group consists of PLAST members who were previously Rover Scouts. It also welcomes those who joined the Older Scouts Age group, through active contribution and at least 6 months membership.

4) Senior PLAST members (Seniorat). This Age group unites people who are beyond the ages of Older Scouts and remain and work within PLAST, to help in the education of Cub

Scouts, Rover Scouts and Older Scouts in various spheres of PLAST activities. In this way, the Older Scouts and seniors are given the opportunity to assist in the education the two younger branches of PLAST.

During weekly meetings, gatherings, walking tours and group-travels of Plastuny, a member becomes familiar with PLAST methodology, and programs. Outdoor activities are strongly emphasized and respect for Nature is taught and practised. Sporting activities and participation in the arts are also greatly encouraged.

One of main achievements of plastuny is development of different specializations of "plastuvannya". For example, water specialization, sport training, aviation, hiking, equestrian, winter sports, travelling by bicycle, alpinism etc.

Throughout the year PLAST in Ukraine conducts over 100 educational outdoor camps with various specializations: sporting, marine, aeronautical, arts, skiing, alpinist, archaeological, horse-riding, ecological, etc. At these camps PLAST members master their knowledge and practical skills ob-

tained during the year at weekly studies. Among the biggest events carried out by PLAST on a country-wide level are: intellectual-art competition "Orlykiada", creative festival "Den Plastuna", sporting event "Spartakiada", the country-wide relay and distribution of the "Light of Peace" from Bethlehem during the Christmas season, tourist-visitors contests called "Stezhkamy herojiv" and "Osinniy reydy". On a local level, PLAST councils conduct many social-cultural and educational events.

In addition to Ukraine, PLAST also officially exists in eight countries, namely: Australia, Argentina, Canada, Germany, Poland, Slovakia, the United Kingdom and the United States. PLAST organizations from all nine countries are united into the worldwide Conference of Ukrainian PLAST Organizations (KUPO), headed by PLAST Head (known as "Nachalnyi Plastun").

The tenth decade of PLAST's history and half of my life are strongly interwoven. Now I cannot imagine my life without scouting because it is plastuvannya that gave me one of the best and most useful experiences in my life. Participation in dozens of camps

and activities, leading a group of little girl Cub Scouts, organization of trainings and camps – this has all become a pivotal part of my life. Here I found my best friends, and what matters most is that I found myself and the place where I am able to self-develop. When in the "real" world more and more frequently I face the absence of the basic human values that are the fundamentals in PLAST, e.g. goodness, love, truth, I begin to wish that all people became scouts.

100 years anniversary for plastuny is not only the occasion to celebrate but also to reach new heights such as the installation of the first monument in Ukraine to "Scouts, who did not break their oath" (Ivano-Frankivsk) and an establishment of 100 years of PLAST peak in Antarctica.

So, what will be PLAST in 100 years? I cannot give the precise answer but I believe that it will be new time for everyone – plastuny, Ukraine and Ukrainian nation as a whole. I would like to end with the words of Dr. Oleksandr Tysovsky (a PLAST co-founder): "I would describe scouting very briefly – it is the joy of life".

## CUPP Alumni Updates

### Kateryna BONDAR

CUPP 2008

Hometown: Kyiv

CUPP Scholarship: Governor-General Edward Schreyer Scholarship

My MP: Peggy Nash, NDP, Toronto, Ontario

Undergraduate and graduate degrees in Law from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 2009 and 2010. LL.M. degree from Harvard Law School in 2011.

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: "Make your CUPP experience really unforgettable and invaluable. Be active during the program. Meet people.

*Don't underestimate the experience of living in a truly multicultural environment and at the same time meeting people from high political and academic communities. Be happy with every day of your internship, with the new friends you make, events you can contribute to and new places you visit."*

### Nazar FEDORCHUK

CUPP 2000 (Fall Program)

Hometown: L viv

CUPP Scholarship Dr. Yuriy Fedyna & Dr. Oksana Fedyna

My MP: Maria Bulte Toronto Ontario Law Degree from Ivan Franko National University of Lviv in 2001

Graduate studies at Oxford University in Criminal Justice in 2004. Works as a Staff Attorney for U.S. Department of Justice Project on Reform of Criminal Justice, based in U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: "At first you may feel a bit lost: you are far away from your home, family and friends, in a big city of a foreign country with a group of total strangers. Soon enough you will get to know very well most of your Ukrainian colleagues

*and your hosts. And this is extremely important because some of them will become your best friends. However, at the same time, don't fall into the trap of talking and communicating only with Ukrainians! It is easier to stay in a "comfort zone". But try to talk to ordinary Canadians and learn more about them and their country, and you will find it extremely interesting. Be open minded and what you learn there will stay with you for a very long time. Have a good time!"*

#### **Anton HORSHKOV**

CUPP 2000

Intern to **Dan McTeague**, MP for Pickering-Ajax-Uxbridge, Ontario  
CUPP Scholarship: **John & Mary Yaremko Scholarship**  
**CUPP Scholar 2002 at University of Bonn**, Germany.

Graduate of University of Lviv in 2002 (law) and the Center for European Integration Studies at Bonn University (EU law and economics). Currently working as an advisor for telecom regulation and competition law at **Slovak Telekom**, in Bratislava (Slovakia).

Best CUPP experience: **field campaigning for my MP Dan McTeague in the elections of 2002. All of us who participated in campaigns for our MPs had a unique opportunity to personally experience the level of engagement of ordinary Canadians with representative democracy, and to observe the approach to evaluating policymakers' performance and general level of scrutiny Canadians place on their politicians. Thus whenever there is an opportunity for the CUPP intern to observe live interaction between a politician and the voters, it should never be missed.**



#### **Yaryna KOBEL**

CUPP 2008

Hometown: Lviv

CUPP Scholarship: John and

Mary Yaremko

Scholarship

My MP: Peter

Goldring, Edmon-

ton East, Alberta

Bachelor and Master in Law Degree from the University of Lviv in 2009 and 2010

Visiting Researcher in Tax Law at the University of Alberta in 2010 Alberta Chevening Scholar 2011

LLM in Commercial Law from the University of Edinburgh in 2012

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Try to become an active member of CUPP community. Communicate with other interns and people whom you will be able to meet in Parliament or at one of many events during your stay. They are intelligent and ambitious people. You will be able to learn useful things or get ideas for your future."*



#### **Olya KROYTOR**

CUPP 2007, 2008

Hometown: Yalta

CUPP Scholarship: Walter

Surma Tarnopol-

sky Scholarship;

John & Julia

Stashuk Scholar-

ship

My MPs: Michael Ignatieff, Toronto, Ontario; Borys Wrzesnewskij, Toronto, Ontario

Bachelor and Specialist Degrees in Law from Yaroslav the Wise National Law Academy of Ukraine (currently National University "Yaroslav the Wise Law Academy of Ukraine") in 2007 and 2008

LL.M. Degree in International and Comparative Law from The George

Washington University Law School in 2010

Fulbright Scholar 2009  
Works as a Research Officer at the International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC, USA

Advice to CUPP 2012 interns: ***"Be open to everything you see around you. You never know where you will find your inspiration. Try to participate in as many activities as possible, it is a truly once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Be also willing to share your thoughts and ideas with fellow CUPP interns and other people, during and after the Program. CUPP is a unique experience, be sure to implement it accordingly!"***



#### **Oleh**

**KRYKAVSKYY**

CUPP 2003

CUPP Scholar-

ship: Michael Star

Scholarship

My MP: Hon. Dan

McTeague, Ont-

ario

Specialist and Bachelor in Law from University of Ostroh

Master Degree in Law from Kyiv-Mohyla University

Eastern Europe Studies certificate from Warsaw University

LLM in Energy Law and Policy from the Centre for Energy, Petroleum, Mineral Law and Policy/University of Dundee, Scotland

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Don't think what you will be doing in Ottawa, think what you will do afterwards and make your Canadian experience as the first and important step to your future. For majority of CUP-Pers Canada was a start, not a finish – continue this. And remember – you probably will get no other chance like this. Be active, be part of it, be happy there."*

**Aryna KRYZHANOVSKA  
(Anderson)**

CUPP 2002

Hometown: Odesa

2002 Scholarship: Mazurenko Family Scholarship

My MP: Peter Goldring, Alberta  
Undergraduate Degree from Odesa Economic University, in Finance in 2003

Graduated from Seattle University School of Law and works with Washington State Attorney-Generals Department. Active in Slavic Bar Association of Washington and Seattle Chapter of Washington Women Lawyers. Married to Peter J. Anderson in 2003.

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Use your time wisely. My 3-month internship in the Canadian Parliament just flew by. In retrospect I definitely wish I was more active during the internship, which is a once in a lifetime experience & opportunity. Volunteer with CUPP events, meetings, the newsletter. It is a great experience, which you will treasure, in later years. It will empower you and make you strive to achieve and help Ukraine."*

**Yuri KUSHNIR**

CUPP 1998, 2005

Hometown: Lviv

1998 &amp; 2005

Michael Luchkovych Scholarship recipient

My 1998 MP: Ian McClelland,

Edmonton Southwest, Alberta

My 1998 MPP: Alvin Curling, Scarborough North, Ontario

My 2005 MP: Borys Wrzesnewskyj, Toronto, Ontario

Undergraduate and Master's degrees in Law from Ivan Franko National University of Lviv in 1999.

LLM (Master of laws degree) from the University of Virginia in 2003.

Partner at Kushnir, Yakymyak and Partners law firm (Kyiv).

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Take the most out of this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to intern for a Canadian MP – be ready to ex-*

*plore both the proper way of governance on the Parliament Hill and everyday life of Canadians. Volunteer. Be pro-active. Enjoy the program – it will leave you with a lot of bright memories, as well as good friends. And keep in touch with CUPP alumni upon your return to Ukraine."*

**Tamara NEFEDOVA**

CUPP 2001

Hometown: Odesa

2001 Volodymyr Hrynyk Scholarship Intern to the Hon. Joe Clark, Alberta Undergraduate degree in Economics (2002) and Master's Degree in Banking and Finance (2003) from Odesa State (now National) Economic University

Master's Degree in International Finance (2005) from University of Nice, France

Lecturer in Economics and Management subjects at the University of Nice from 2005. Research and teaching assistant in Finance at the University of Lugano, Switzerland.

PhD in Finance from the Swiss Finance Institute (forthcoming 2012)

Post-doctoral research fellow at New York University's Leonard N. Stern School of Business (from 2013).

Married to Laurent Caillol in 2009.

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Be ready for probably the most significant experience in your life. You might not consider it as such immediately, and you will likely come to realize it a year or so after. But believe me you will feel the butterfly effect of this internship or event for years and years to come. Be open, live and enjoy every day of your internship. Every event and meeting will become more meaningful to you with time. They are thoughtfully organized to show you from the inside how a democratic society functions and gives you the opportunity and worthy standard to keep in mind and emulate in the future when you de-*

*cide to make your contribution to changes in our homeland."*

**Andriy****MAKSYMОВYCH**

CUPP 2004

Intern to David

Kilgour, MP for

Edmonton-

Beaumont

2004 Ethel Rose

and Michael

Makuch Scholar-

ship recipient

Graduated from University of Lviv in 2006 with MA degree in International Economic Analysis and Finance. Also holds a MA Degree in Law and Economics from Erasmus University Rotterdam, Ghent University and University of Bologna.

Worked at Parliament of Ukraine, Invest Ukraine (Ukraine's investment promotion agency) and OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Currently works as an analyst at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London, where he is also a member of President's Task Force on Policy Dialogue.

Member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies, President of the Young Diplomacy Centre in 2004-2006.

In 2006 initiated and organized Race for Children together with Mykola Pekh ('06), Alla Myshalova ('07) and Nataliya Salo ('04). Ran 1,500 km across Ukraine with a friend in 41 days and raised more than 50,000 USD for equipment for maternity hospitals in Lviv. Nominated by Nataliya Salo ('04) and Ivan Skrypka ('04) was selected by the Lloyds TSB, a National Presenting Partner of the Olympic Torch Relay, to be a Torch Bearer during the 2012 Olympic Games in London.

Scholar of the President of Ukraine, US Department of State, European Commission. Student of the Year (2005). In 2006 was recognized by the Government of Ukraine for particular achievements of youth in development of Ukraine.

Advice for CUPP participants: "My MP David Kilgour's Executive Assistant had a saying for each day. One of them was: "The past is the history, the future is the mystery, now is the present, a precious present." Use every minute of that precious present while you're in Canada. CUPP is the most exciting program that I had attended and everyone in our 2004 Program – from doctors to lawyers – returned home with invaluable experience. Find what you're passionate about and get involved. If there is nothing you are passionate about – still get involved; it is in action that you'll define your true interests."



**Mykhaylo PALAHITSKYI**

CUPP 2010  
Intern to **Gerald Keddy**, MP for South Shore - St. Margaret's, Nova Scotia  
2010 Christina Baryn Scholarship recipient

After the CUPP internship in the House of Commons, Mykhaylo earned his BA in History (2011) and International Development (2012) from the **University of Vienna**. Since last March Mykhaylo is pursuing MA in Global Studies that is a bilingual program (German and English) at the University of Vienna. As part of his graduate studies Mykhaylo will spend the coming fall semester at the **Concordia University** in Montreal, researching for his future MA thesis on multiculturalism and learning French language.

Advice to future CUPP Interns: **"attend as many as possible meetings and events on Parliament Hill – it is a chance to learn from people who already achieved a lot. Spend time with your CUPP colleagues – you learn from people who will achieve a lot in the future."**

### Michael SHAPIRO

CUPP 1996

Hometown: Chernivtsi, Ukraine  
Current Residence: London, UK  
1996 Roman Hnatyshyn Scholarship  
CUPP MP – Hon. Jean Augustine, Etobicoke-Lakeshore, Toronto, Ontario

Education: – University of Chernivtsi (Yuriy Fedkovych National University of Chernivtsi); – Amsterdam School of International Relations, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands – MA in International Relations; – European Commission, Brussels, Belgium – Internship with the Financial Services Directorate General

Current Employment: – Bank of America Merrill Lynch, London, UK

Advice to future CUPP Interns: **"CUPP was a great opportunity for me to explore Canada and Western way of life including multiculturalism, freedom of expression and social cohesion. Looking back I can probably say that my CUPP internship almost 15 years ago played a huge role in determining who I am now. I would like to encourage CUPP 2012 interns to take the most out of their experience in Canada. Above all, think what the most important lessons the internship in the Canadian Parliament can give you and how it can help you to get where you want to be in 10 years from now."**



**Pavlo SHOPIN**

CUPP 2006, 2008  
Hometown: Luhansk  
CUPP Scholarship: Walter Tarnopolsky Scholarship, Mazurenko Family

Scholarship  
My MPs: Michael Ignatieff, Ontario

(Etobicoke-Lakeshore), Andrew Telegdi, Ontario, (Kitchener-Waterloo) B.A. and M.A. in English from Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk in 2008.

Fulbright Visiting Researcher at University of California - Berkeley in 2009-2010.

Intern in the German Bundestag in 2011.

M.Phil. in European Literature and Culture at the University of Cambridge in 2012.

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: **"Look around you and understand what culture you are living in. Try to avoid stereotypes in your perception of Canadians. Enjoy your stay in Canada."**

### Roman STASIV

CUPP 2002

Hometown: Morshyn  
CUPP Scholarship: Humeniuk Family Scholarship  
My MP: Randy White, British Columbia (Langley-Abbotsford)  
Undergraduate and Master's degree in Law from Ivan Franko National University of Lviv in 2003  
Graduate degree (Magister Juris) from the University of Oxford in 2005  
Works as Senior Associate at Clifford Chance law firm (Kyiv office)

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: "Do not forget that only a fraction of Ukrainian applicants were given the privilege to do the internship at the Canadian parliament and that only a fraction of countries have the privilege to send their interns to Canadian parliament. You are lucky, folks!."

## Higher Education: East OR West

**Alisa ZAVIALOVA**

Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University  
Intern to James Bezan, MP, Selkirk-Interlake, Manitoba  
2012 Senator David Tkachuk Scholarship recipient



After I graduated from high school, there was only one reasonable next step for me- I wanted to enroll at a University. And when I finally did, I felt on the top of the world. While attending college, I felt enlightened, but as the years passed, I realized that it was only the first step in the long journey called life.

Being a graduate student today, I'm starting to face such problems as job security, career planning a lot of uncertainty. The job market is a lot more competitive then it was in the 1990's, and a college degree at the bachelor's level is no guarantee of a profitable job. Nowadays more and more ambitious and socially conscious Ukrainian students decide to travel abroad and study in some European or North American university. In many cases this leads to the student finding a job and livelihood in the host country and building their lives abroad.

But I personally see a Ukrainian tragedy at this point. Those who apply for studying abroad are bright, extremely intelligent and broad-minded young professionals. Ukraine no doubt needs (and has always needed) such people in order to build a new democratic Civil society, country, nation with a strong economic infrastructure and a sense of occupational loyalty. However, due to the scarcity of jobs and educational advancement, they keep leaving their homeland. And I understand their reasons, because I find myself in the same situation at the moment.

The question then becomes: is there a way out? Does home education give the same opportunities for the future career development and

employment as well as education overseas? What prospects does Ukraine hold for future home-educated youth and western educated youth? And what's the solution for those who don't want to leave Ukraine, but work for the benefit of their country?

**Let's ask the former CUPPers about it! What do they think?**

I had a chance to ask some of the previous CUPP alumni to comment on the quality of Ukrainian higher education and to compare it to the Western one.

**Andriy Khomenko, CUPP' 95** alumni says: *"Що у 95му, що зараз, а тепер напевно ще більше, впевнений що навчатися краще за кордоном. Вищу освіту так точно. Проблема тільки в тому, що мало хто повертається, після того як "відкриваються очі". Але відповідь все одно та сама, вчитися потрібно за кордоном".*

**Lev Kozakov, CUPP'97** alumni: *"Home education is necessary in some areas (law) and useless in others (MBA)".*

**Oksana Myshlovska, CUPP'2000** isn't that optimistic as well: *"The gap between Ukrainian and western universities is huge. In Ukraine, there is not a single educational institution in a global top ranking. Our universities do not teach critical thinking and analytical skills. Funding for research, new curriculum development and publications for the faculty is very limited. My advice to Ukrainian students is to do at least some studies abroad. Almost every foreign university has a scholarship program. Then it is much easier to find a job either in Ukraine or abroad."*

**Michael Shapiro, CUPP'96** who

currently lives and works in London, UK, got his higher education first in Ukraine and then in Netherlands. His answer to my questions was: *"I believe that the quality of the Western education in general is a way better than in Ukraine. This does not however mean that it would automatically give you better opportunities in your career. It is hardly possible to pursue a career abroad having just a Ukrainian degree but to succeed in Ukraine one does not necessarily need to graduate from Harvard or Cambridge. There may be cases whereby obtaining a good basis education in some subjects (like maths, physics, chemistry, Ukrainian literature and language, Slavonic history etc.) may be better and preferential in Ukraine even if one is seeking to go abroad to study, teach or work than say in the Netherlands whereas other subjects such as European law may be better in Europe".*

On the other hand, **Roman Didenko, CUPP'96** believes, that *"the best is a combination of educational experiences from the home country and from abroad"*.

**Yuriy Dzera, CUPP'96** is a bright example of a person who graduated from a Ukrainian university, managed to make a successful career and found his own place under the sun. *"I graduated from Lviv University named after I. Franko, Faculty of International Economic Relations. The biggest advantage of my education was following: studying of foreign languages (English, Polish, Spanish, Arabic); lectures of professors from abroad; possibility to*

*participate at different international programs and organizations (like CUPP, AIGEE etc.); network of contacts with future specialists (students)".* He currently works as UEFA representative in Western Ukraine in the sphere of promotion and sales of Hospitality packages for EURO-2012 tournament and in parallel he is a co-owner of a consulting company "PROconsult" in Lviv.

As you can see, opinions differ and so do the experiences of these people. Some of them graduated from both Ukrainian and European universities, and the others achieved their goals having only a domestic education. When I analyzed the replies of my interviewees, I got upset and confused at the dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian higher education system. In my mind a Ukrainian higher education is

quite good and mentally rewarding. I may be mistaken, because I cannot judge objectively. I may state that I'm mostly satisfied with the way they teach in my university and that I don't feel that I am deficient of knowledge. In making this statement, I realize that the types of teaching and information acquired vary significantly from University to University.

The only problem I can see is that our diplomas and academic degrees are not in most cases eligible neither in Western Europe nor in North America. I believe that it's all about the stereotype that exists in many Western countries about post – Soviet Ukraine. Although this is a biased assumption in which one concludes that success depends on the country where they received their education. I find this assumption to be false. However, it would

be stupid not to admit that Ukrainian educational system is far from being perfect and there are still many aspects to be changed and updated.

I am entirely sure that when our bright students travel abroad, take part in various cultural exchange programs, speak foreign languages or win the scholarships of American, British, German, French or Canadian universities, they can easily break the existing prejudices. I have the only dearest hope that all those bright and brilliant will come back home and work for the benefit of Ukraine.

One's success doesn't totally depend on the country where he got his education. Somebody wise once said that education doesn't grant you with intelligence, it only enlightens the latter. Remember it.



## EURO 2012: Failure or Success?

### Roman ROMANOVSKYY

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Just in a few weeks Ukraine is about to open its doors in front of tourists from all over the world, as Euro 2012 Championship starts. Back in 2007, when Poland and Ukraine won the right to host one of the most popular international sport competitions, almost everyone was talking about the huge benefits, which this event might bring: improvement of national image, erasure of cultural and economic borders, foreign direct investments and huge profits for local businesses. However, after analyzing recent events, it becomes clear, that such optimistic predictions should be taken with a pinch

of salt.

One of the first things which comes to mind regarding the Ukrainian preparation process for Euro 2012 is the amount of money spent on stadiums, airports and other infrastructure projects. At first, it was planned that major part of the costs would be covered by private investments. However, due to politic and economic instability, along with bureaucracy and corruption processes, which are widely spread in Ukraine, not many investors decided to risk with their funds. As a result, Ukrainian government had to finance the tournament without an additional support, increasing its national debt.

According to Ukrainian authorities, government allocated for about 4.4 billion US dollars to finance the tournament, while press and opposition leaders claim that costs were twice the abovementioned sum. The biggest problem is that nobody can guarantee that these costs were spent efficiently, as in the 2010-2012 no tender procedures were conducted during public purchases. Vice Prime Minister Boris Kolesnikov explained that tender procedures were canceled because of tight deadlines and lack of time, however this explanation seems rather doubtful, as such procurement processes created possibilities for various

shadow schemes, money laundering and other frauds. The reconstruction of the main stadium of the tournament, NSC Olimpiyskiy, serves the brightest evidence to that. Surprisingly, it has become one of the most expensive stadiums in Europe – its final reconstruction cost varies around 470 million Euros, despite the fact the cost of the labor force in Ukraine is one of the lowest in Europe. World stadiums, similar to NSC Olimpiyskiy, cost much less: Allianz Arena (Munich) - 340 million Euros, Soccer-City (Johannesburg) – 190 million Euros, Donbass Arena (Donetsk) – 320 million Euros. Clearly, the government spending in Ukraine is not efficient at all, and, probably, these infrastructure projects serve just as the source of illegal private enrichment. We might only guess how much money was wasted down the drain.

The second major problem which might influence the image of Ukraine during the championship is the accommodation costs. Starting from January 2011, Ukrainian hotels were exempt from income tax for the 10 years. This step was made by the Ukrainian government in order to stimulate the development of hotel industry and force hotels to improve the quality of their services, as according to the new tax code, only hotels, which are rated with 3-5 stars may be exempted from taxes. Unfortunately, these tax discounts didn't stop the greed of the Ukrainian hotel owners. It seems that during Euro 2012, which will last 20 days, they want to earn an annual income. In some hotels price for a double room rose by 1335%. According to the Ukrainian Association of Hotels and Restaurants prices for accommodation increased on average by 400-500% times. They also state that normal increase in prices during such kinds of events should not exceed 200%, and that is the world's practice. Representatives of European countries and UEFA had already expressed their

concern on this issue. Clearly, only few fans and tourists are ready to pay such money for overestimated accommodations, and, hence, hotel owners may lose their clients and ruin the reputation of their country. Ordinary football fans from UK and other European countries also argued that they will have to give up their hopes to visit Ukraine, as this visit might be too costly. All in all, Ukrainian hotel owners should redefine their pricing policies, if they want to avoid misunderstanding and empty rooms during football championship.

Tough political situation is one more factor that seems to worry international deputies and opinion formers. Prosecution of opposition leaders, selective justice, and limitation of freedom of speech - all these factors raise deep concern among European political leaders. In March, 2012, a group of European deputies appealed to UEFA president Michel Platini to pay attention to the state of democracy and human rights in Ukraine. Germany's interior minister Hans-Peter Friedrich noted

that many European officials might boycott the Euro 2012 soccer matches taking place in Ukraine because of the country's handling of its jailed former prime minister, Yulia Tymoshenko. Several European opinion formers and official representatives also expressed similar statements.

Taking into account the fact, that it is the first time, when such important international event is taking place in the Eastern Europe, Ukraine holds a huge responsibility in front of the society. It is very important to create a good impression and prove that Ukraine is capable of conducting such responsible events as EURO 2012, as this tournament might be a starting point of new relations between Europe and Ukraine, and it is up to us to make this relations move in the right direction. However, all abovementioned facts worsen Ukrainian image in the eyes of international community and put under question Ukraine's competence and effectiveness. Therefore, benefits of EURO 2012 for Ukraine become rather vague.

## CUPP Alumni Updates

### Alexandre KRAYNYUKOV

CUPP 1997

Hometown: Donetsk

1997 CUPP Scholarship: Humeniuk Family Scholarship

My MPs: Gerry Philips, M.P.P., Scarborough-Agincourt, Legislative Assembly of Ontario

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B.A. in sociology & economics from Kyiv-Mohyla University, Ukraine

M.A. in management of distribution network at University of Dunkerque, France

MBA from INSEAD, France & Singapore

Works as Regional Sales Director at ArcelorMittal Strasbourg, France

Advice to CUPP 2012 Interns: *"Take everything new like a sponge. Be open-minded and live the moment. This is a unique experience that will stay with you and will guide you many years down the road"*.





## Where the Land Ends and the Sea Begins: The Case of Ukrainian Migration to Portugal

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FARO, PORTUGAL – On May 9<sup>th</sup>, while standing in Faro Airport's Ryanair gate, and hearing yet another "one more on-time landing" announcement, one could readily observe the multicultural atmosphere and hear numerous languages. And then those, who arrived from a non-EU country (likely Eastern Europe) can recall the queue at the embassy during the visa application procedure. These travelers can "thank" their own countries' authorities for "simplifying" their citizen's life and then reflect closely on the meaning and reality of Europe for foreigners.

This note is about immigration from Ukraine to Portugal, on the edge of Europe where "the land ends and the sea begins". After some time spent on the Erasmus Mundus program in Portugal I have studied some aspects of the migration processes from the states of the former Soviet Union to the EU. Particularly, as I have had and still have good friends from Ukraine, I used to meet and talk to many of them about their long journey from home to Portugal. Each story, whether sad or happy, is unique, and the whole process is worth revisiting.

Until the 1980s Portugal had been a country of emigration (to the US or Canada for example), and the number of immigrants into Portugal was mainly from the Portuguese-speaking countries (the Cape Verdeans were the first group to arrive in the late 1960's, followed by the Brazilians in 1990s). But in the early 2000s for the first time Ukrainians emerged among the main

immigrant groups into Portugal. That is why the case of the Ukrainian diaspora is special for Portugal, as according to the 2011 Census, the Ukrainians are Portugal's second-largest foreign community behind the Brazilians. According to SEF (Portuguese Immigration and Border Control Office) statistics, approximately 52 000 have legal landed status and the majority are well integrated into the Portuguese society.

The migration from Ukraine to Portugal started after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990-s. But the peak occurred from 2001 to 2004. The surveys conducted by the Center of Social Studies (Viseu University, Portugal) characterized the migration to Portugal as an employment seeking movement. The migrants (many of them with high education) accepted work in low-status or low skilled sectors and in the construction industry or the so-called 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult). There are several pull or attraction factors that help to explain, why thousands of Ukrainians chose Portugal as the land of new opportunities:

1. Economic and social conditions in Ukraine. Industrial crisis that led to an absence of job opportunities combined with rampant corruption. Leading experts to conclude that this was not the typical migration movement but "an evacuation movement" fuelled by deperation and insecurity for the future.

2. The promotion by organizations that benefited by recruitment of Ukrainian hard working labourers, offering

low cost transportation and immigration assistance, to attract Ukrainians to Portugal. The image of Portugal (a faraway country with lower wages than in Germany or the UK, yet several times higher than in their home country) and with affordable legislative base for migrants was also an attraction.

3. EU funds apportioned to Portugal led to an increase in demand for foreign workers in such economic sectors, as construction and tourism. For example, Portugal was host to Euro 2004; Football Competition and construction projects needed a cheap but professional labor force for the above-mentioned 3D jobs.

4. Development of legislative base for immigrants. A substantial part of the migrants entered the country legally and overstayed their visa status in Portugal. To alleviate this situation a solution had to be found. The Portuguese government, acting out of self-interest enacted legislation to facilitate the Ukrainian groups remaining in Portugal. Since 2000s it has become easier to obtain legal status and then to bring family from Ukraine to Portugal.

The pull or attraction factors were availability of jobs, better prospects for the future and family reunion. It is the combination of all these macro and micro level factors that explains the sudden and massive inflow from Ukraine to Portugal that essentially took place during the year 2001. Leonardas Rinkevicius, a professor from Kaunas University of Technology, has described the phenomenon of mass

migration as, "not a normal migration, but a mass evacuation". The result is that after the wave of immigration flows from the Eastern Europe Portugal "had realized that it was the country of immigrants".

An interesting fact is that nowadays the Ukrainians (unlike the other migrant groups) are geographically concentrated not only in such cities as Lisbon, Oporto, Aveiro, Setubal, Braga, Coimbra, and Faro and their metropolitan areas but also in rural areas.

Personally, I have had an opportunity to meet Ukrainians in Faro the largest southern city, located in the province of Algarve. During the teaching internship at a Secondary School I had a chance to observe the results of their integration into the Portuguese society. The approach towards education is probably the best indicator: Ukrainian students due to specifics of Portuguese educational traditions adapt to the curriculum material faster, they earn higher grades and then it is easier for them to enter University (without paying bribes or relying on connections).

One of the interesting consequences of the Ukrainian presence in Portugal was the increase in civil activities in the "host" country – there are four Ukrainian public organizations (The Union of Ukrainian Portugal is considered as the largest one), several newspapers, Saturday Ukrainian School for migrants' kids. According to official claims, that increase had created a base for economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. For example, on June, 23<sup>rd</sup> 2008 Avenida da Ucr nia (Ukraine Avenue) was inaugurated by Viktor Yushchenko in Lisbon, and the event was described as a "sign of respect and gratitude from Portuguese nation to Ukrainians contribution into city and country development".

After settling in Portugal many Ukrainians visit relatives left in Ukraine regularly and help them financially.

Some believe that they will not stay in Portugal forever and sooner or later will return to Ukraine with money and experience to make the country a better place. But the politics of the Ukrainian authorities (for instance, regarding the social protection of labor migrants or support of small-scale business initiatives) raise many questions that remain without answers.

The future of the Portuguese Ukrainians can be compared with the destiny of 4 waves of migrations into Canada. The 3<sup>rd</sup> wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, also believed that someday they would return to Ukraine. But most have remained in Canada and only their children travel to Ukraine in any numbers, but return to

Canada, for the most part. This 3<sup>rd</sup> wave is dying in Canada and the various waves are destined to remain and form as yet an unknown permanent Diaspora in Canada, fighting to survive and avoid assimilation. Is this the fate of the Portuguese Ukrainians, Italian Ukrainians and Greek Ukrainians, Irish Ukrainians, British Ukrainians, and 4<sup>th</sup> Wave American and Canadian Ukrainians? The current Portuguese Ukrainian Diaspora can be considered to be well integrated but far from being assimilated, but who can forecast the situation in 20, 50 or 100 years? And what about the fate of the Russian Ukrainians, who comprise the single largest Ukrainian Diaspora in the world?



**Top: Oxford Conference in St. Anthony's College.**



**Left: Maryna Iaroshevykh (Maastricht University) interviewing Brigid McCarthy (Washington).**



***CUPP 2011 Interns in Rotunda of Centre Block.***

***CUPP 2011 Interns with Parliament buildings in background.***



***CUPP 2011 Interns after Terry Fox Run.***



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