

YANUKOVYCH'S SEVEN STEPS WHICH
INCREASE KREMLIN HOPES OF
SWALLOWING UKRAINE **PAGE 12**

JAMES SHERR SUMMARIZES
15 YEARS OF THE DISTINCTIVE
NATO-UKRAINE PARTNERSHIP **PAGE 16**

LETTERS FROM ANGELS: VOLUNTEERS
BRING SMILES AND SUPPORT TO
CHILDREN WITH CANCER **PAGE 30**

тиждень

international edition

The Ukrainian Week

№ 13 (36) AUGUST 2012

HOW THE CLIMATE IS CHANGING UKRAINE

The
Economist

Featuring selected content
from The Economist

WWW.UKRAINIANWEEK.COM

FOR FREE DISTRIBUTION



BUSINESS IN KYIV... MADE EASY.

Located in the city centre, InterContinental Kiev offers all guests business centre services, personalised concierge service plus free WiFi in all areas. Additionally you can order a limousine transfer or upgrade to access our Club lounge while our team look after your comfort and safety.

So when work is done, you can relax in the Spa, visit b-hush, our rooftop night spot or help yourself to free beer and soft drinks from your minibar. You take care of business; let us take care of the rest.

Do you live an InterContinental life?



INTERCONTINENTAL
KYIV

For more information or to make
a reservation please contact us at
+38 044 219 1919

In over 170 locations across the globe including KYIV • LONDON • NEW YORK • PARIS

Business Lunch with another approach



Mille Miglia restaurant, Radisson Blu Hotel, Kyiv
22 Yaroslav Val Street, Kyiv 01034, Ukraine
Tel: +38 044 492 2255
radissonblu.com/hotel-kiev



Radisson **BLU**
HOTEL, KYIV

BRIEFING

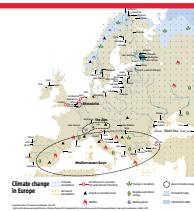
A Petty Traitor, After All: Why Volodymyr Lytvyn signs the notorious language law



4

FOCUS

New Climate Era: Global warming may boost or damage Ukraine's economy. Everything depends on how quickly Ukraine adjusts to the climate change



6

Less Continental: Why should Ukrainians take care of their water supply?

8

POLITICS



Boundary Conditions: The idea of planet-wide environmental boundaries, beyond which humanity would go at its peril, is gaining ground

10



Trotting Towards Putin: The seven steps of Viktor Yanukovich that give hope to the Kremlin to swallow Ukraine. Projections that would be better never coming true

12

SECURITY

Away From the Public Eye: The new law on public procurement will conceal the scale of public funds distribution to pro-government businesses



14

James Sherr summarizing 15 years of a distinctive partnership between NATO and Ukraine



16

Operation Self-Deſtrukt? Authorities are resolutely weakening the state's defense capacity

18

ECONOMICS



A Homeless Generation: The ruling political forces speculate on the housing issue with an eye on the upcoming elections

20

INVESTIGATION



Unwelcome Guests at the Inn: Entities linked to Yanukovich have their eyes on yet another historical monument in Kyiv

24

UNESCO-Ukraine: Protecting Ukrainian historical heritage from Ukrainians authorities?

27

SOCIETY

Vitamin L for Kids: Marek Michalak, Poland's Ombudsman for Children, talks about an upbringing without corporal punishment



28

Letters from Angels: Volunteers bring happiness and support to children with cancer



30

HISTORY

Firsthand Experience of the KGB's "Refinement": Memoirs of dissident Vasyl Lisoviy



34

CULTURE & ARTS



The Khersones Betrayal: In July 1942, the soviet command shamefully retreated from Sevastopol, leaving its defenders to the mercy of fate

38



Graphic Novels: In spite of their rapid development in Ukraine, comic books rarely capture wide public attention. *The Ukrainian Week* finds out why this is the case

42

NAVIGATOR

The Best 8 Roles of Bohdan Stupka



46

Cave People: What about Tepe-Kermen, a lost town in the Crimean mountains, has lured inhabitants for many centuries



48

The Ukrainian Week

The Ukrainian Week № 13 (36) August 2012
Founder: ECEM Media Ukraine LLC **Publisher:** The Ukrainian Week LLC
First published in January 2010
 State registration certificate 16412-4884P of March 13, 2010
 Bohdan Andriytssev, Director, ECEM Media Ukraine LLC
 Serhiy Lytvynenko, Editor-in-Chief, The Ukrainian Week
 Natalia Romanec, Shaun Williams, Editors;
 Anna Korbut, Translator

Mailing address: PO Box 2, Kyiv, 03067
Publisher address: vul. Mashynobudivna 37, Kyiv 03067 Ukraine
E-mail: office@tyzhden.ua, **Tel.:** (044) 351-1300
 www.ukrainianweek.com
Print: The Novy Druk, LLC, 1 Mahnitohorska Str.
Ordering number: 12-5481. Print run: 15,000
 Sent to print on 2 August 2012
Free distribution



19 July

The economic part of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU is initiated in Brussels



20 July

Top EU officials say that the Association Agreement with Ukraine cannot be signed due to the backtracking of democracy in Ukraine



25 July

Oleksandr Yaroshenko, head of the united opposition's office in Donetsk Oblast, reports a surge of repression against opposition forces in his region

A Petty Traitor, After All



Author:
Oles
Oleksiienko,
Oleksandr
Mykhelson

After Volodymyr Lytvyn filed his resignation as Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada (VR), supposedly in protest against the passing of the language law in violation of the procedure, there were only two options for him. One was to completely block any version of the law. In that case, he would enter into an open conflict with the Party of Regions, but the move could bring him a lengthy political career as a prudent politician in the future. The other was to find a convenient move for his image which is extremely important for a candidate running in a Ukrainian-speaking constituency, while subtly playing into the hands of the Party of Regions. On July 30, the VR took a vote of confidence on Mr. Lytvyn and did not accept his resignation, after which, he signed the scandalous language law sponsored by Party of Regions' MPs Kolesnichenko and Kivalov. Thus, Mr. Lytvyn chose the second scenario. It al-

lows him to get through to the next convocation of parliament (apparently, administrative leverage will also help him win in his constituency in Zhytomyr Oblast now). However, this means that Mr. Lytvyn will now turn into a politician who is completely under the control of the government which will drop him at the first opportunity.

Needless to say, Mr. Lytvyn is offering excuses, but his arguments now appear ridiculous. "If you take the Constitution and the parliamentary procedure, the VR Speaker only has responsibilities and no rights," he told journalists on July 31 after the meeting of his People's Party. "If parliament does not approve any recommendations made by the Speaker, he is obliged to immediately sign the law submitted for his signature." A day earlier, when the VR rejected his letter of resignation, the Party of Regions and their allies did indeed reject Mr. Lytvyn's amendments to the lan-

The month
in history

19 July 1971

Vitali Klitschko, Ukrainian boxer and politician, is born



21 July 1882

David Burliuk, Futurist painter and poet of Cossack descent, is born in Ukraine



22 July 1942

The Wehrmacht completes the occupation of Ukraine as the soviet army retreats from Sverdlovsk, Luhansk Oblast



27 July



The Kyiv Prosecutor cancels the order of the tax authorities to open a criminal case against the Director General of TVi, Mykola Kniazhytsky

28 July



Ukrainian football player Andriy Shevchenko ends his sports career and joins Natalia Korolevska's Ukraine-Forward

31 July



Speaker Lytvyn signs the notorious language law and forwards it for Viktor Yanukovich's signature

1 August

The Ukrainian women's quadruple scull team win the country's first-ever gold medal in rowing at the Olympics

guage law. Still, journalists wanted to hear when exactly he was going to sign it, while he continued to tell them tall tales about submitting his proposals for the protection of the Ukrainian language to the president and not signing the law before he gets an answer from Mr. Yanukovich. "I think this will happen in the next few days," he finally squeezed out. Two hours later, parliament's press-service reported that Mr. Lytvyn had signed the law. There was no answer from the president regarding his recommendations. This makes the whole "to sign or not to sign" story look like a well-designed "convenient move by Mr. Lytvyn".

Even if articles 48 and 131 of the VR Procedure demand that he sign the law after parliament has rejected his amendments, the blatant violations of the procedure during the voting for the law, remain. Thus, Mr. Lytvyn has essentially supported the anti-Ukrainian act and given the green light to illegitimate actions, which has become common for the current parliament.

Mr. Lytvyn's potential voters would probably like to know the motives for this move. Sources confirm that the speaker was threatened with the reopening of the Gongadze case and changing his status from witness to the accused. The lawyers surveyed by **The Ukrainian Week** say this is difficult to do under the effective Code of Criminal Procedures, but the prosecutor does not seem to care about following procedure. Neither does the Verkhovna Rada.

The motivation that encouraged the MPs from Mr. Lytvyn's party to vote for the language law was actually revealed on July 30 when the Party of Regions disclosed its party list for the election, and on July 31 when Mr. Lytvyn's People's Party had its meeting. Three MPs from the Lytvyn Block in the VR, including Sharov, Zarubinskiy and Vashchuk, ended up in positions that would take them to parliament on the Party of Region's list. So did oligarch Vasyl Khmelnytskyi. According to some sources, he sponsored Mr. Lytvyn's party in the previous parliamentary election and still has influence on his parliamentary faction. The People's Party meeting revealed that it is not going to run under an election list. Supposedly, it does not have adequate funds. As a result, all delegates agreed to nominate all 69 candidates in single-member constituencies only. However, only about ten of them have a chance to get through to the VR. They are all current MPs who voted for the language law and have sufficient resources, including no doubt, also administrative ones from now on.

Transit to Asia

On July 30, the Verkhovna Rada hastily ratified the CIS Free Trade Zone agreement (CIS FTZ). It can bring some benefits for Ukraine, but at the same time, it creates extra risks on its course towards economic integration with the EU. Among other things, it entails sanctions against a CIS FTZ member-state that enters into new trade deals, which can cause losses to other member-states.

One of the biggest problems for Russia in its trade relations with Ukraine is the re-export of goods from third countries, including Europe, if the Ukraine-EU FTA comes into effect. However, Ukrainian experts say that this issue can be solved through bilateral agreements. Another problem for the Kremlin is the potential increase of Ukrainian exports to Russia, resulting from upgraded production facilities, should the Ukrainian economy adapt to European standards. Moreover, China is also interested in increasing investment into Ukraine if the latter draws closer to European norms. However, this runs counter to Russia's key geo-economic interest of being the regional leader on post-soviet territory, as well as leading and actually gaining the most benefit from the development of cooperation with the EU. The Kremlin actively supports the expansion of its exporters and strategic investors into FSU markets because it is interested in getting access to the significant natural and human resources of CIS countries and earning profits from financial deals. Russia is doing its best to win anything, competing with the EU and China for the region's major markets, primarily that of Ukraine.

Russia's economic and geopolitical interests are closely intertwined. Ukraine's accelerated economic integration with the EU, with NATO as its central element, is extremely inconvenient for the Kremlin, since it could lead to the expansion of cooperation with the EU in the security sphere. After all, the decisive interest of the Russian government, as well as the political and business elite, is to preserve the existing "state-capitalist" economic and political model. Any transformation of its neighbour-states based on European models could increase the domestic political imbalance in Russia.

For more details on the benefits and drawbacks of CIS FTZ see ukrainianweek.com

EXPERT OPINION



Viktor Nebozhenko, political analyst

CIS FTZ ratification is a purely propaganda-oriented move which, along with the passing of the law to grant Russian the status of a regional official language, is aimed at showing the pro-Russian voters that the Party of Regions and its allies are keeping their election promises. However, just like the 2010 Kharkiv deals extending the stationing of the Russian Black Sea fleet in Crimea in exchange for a discount in the gas price, CIS FTZ will not have the expected result. Very soon, we are likely to witness FTZ members impose huge fines on ill-disciplined Ukrainian businesses.

27 July 1834



St. Volodymyr University, now known as the Taras Shevchenko University, one of the best universities in Ukraine, opens in Kyiv

30 July 1863



Pyotr Valuyev issues the Valuyev Circular that forbids most religious and school publications in the Ukrainian language

3 August 1775



Catherine the Great issues a manifest to officially liquidate the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks

5 August 1844

Ilya Repin, the most renowned Russian painter and sculptor of Ukrainian origin, is born in Kharkiv Province

The New Climate Era

Global warming could have both a negative and a positive impact on Ukraine, depending on whether its economy will be able to adapt to climate change in a timely manner

Author:
Oleksandr
Horyn

On the verge of the 20th and 21st centuries, mankind has faced the challenge of global climate change, caused by global warming that kicked off back in the late 19th century. In the past, the Holocene – the geological epoch we have lived in since the last ice age – saw many temperature shifts towards cooling and warming. The reasons causing these changes varied from fluctuations in solar activity and Earth's orbit to volcanic activity and the greenhouse effect. After all, climate is a complex system that can change, even without external factors affecting it, following its own stable internal cycles.

However, in the view of most researchers, current climate changes are caused by the greenhouse effect. In its turn, the greenhouse effect is the result of excessive man-made CO₂ emissions into the atmosphere. In fact, other factors causing global climate change have not gone anywhere: for instance, a higher scale volcanic eruption could trigger yet another cooling period as it often has in the past. Still, the human factor that interferes with natural processes has changed that model significantly. The question remains, as to how much human impact is limited by the framework, referred to as the planetary boundaries by researchers, and how significant the changes will be. Even though the average global temperature has increased by an unprecedented 0.8°C in the last hundred years, although there was also severe cooling in the past, experts suggest that it could grow by another 1.5-2.0°C by 2050, heavily affected by the human impact on the climate.

As it adapts to a permanent temperature rise, the climate system responds to the changes with natural disasters. According to researchers, their number has almost

doubled over the past two decades compared to earlier periods.

In addition to visible disasters, climate adjustment affects various areas of life, from agriculture and economy to demography, the social system and international relations.

The climate in Ukraine largely changes in line with the global pace. At this point, Ukraine is not among the countries most vulnerable to the global dynamics of climate change, reports the UN international group of experts. However, a permanent rise in the average annual temperature may result in dramatic transformations in a vast part of Ukraine's physical and climatic landscape. The Carpathian, Southern and South-Eastern regions of Ukraine will be the most vulnerable. A rise in humidity resulting in flooding is projected for the Carpathian area, while Southern and South-Eastern Ukraine may experience lengthy droughts and desertification of vast territories.

Ukrainian researchers believe that the country's climate has already become less continental and is growing more similar to an oceanic climate in some areas. These transformations have triggered a shift of climate zones that are slowly moving northward and are changing the natural system as they destroy natural ecosystems. The forest-steppe parts of Ukraine are no longer considered to be evenly humidified areas.

All these transformation have been affecting various areas of life in Ukraine for a while now. Their effect is particularly visible in agriculture, which accounts for over 8% of Ukraine's GDP. Despite optimistic expert projections of better grain crops in the case of mild warming, the expected rapid rise of the average annual temperature will have a disastrous impact on Ukrainian agriculture, if it fails to adapt itself to new climate condi-

tions. Agricultural output will decline, while its share in GDP will drop by several percent in the long term. In addition to insect-pests, the amount of which is boosted by the warming, fertile soil can be damaged by erosion and desertification, as a result of the microclimate becoming more arid.

Currently, Ukrainian agriculture is not responding to climate change properly, as it is choosing the easiest way. To minimize the losses caused by natural disasters, many farms are switching to growing technical plants that are less vulnerable to bad weather. As a result, the area under rapeseed crops being grown instead of wheat and vegetables is increasing significantly, particularly in Crimea and the Odesa, Mykolayiv and Kherson Oblasts. In 2008, Ukraine was the top European country for area planted with rapeseed which, along with sunflower, covered 1/5 of the total area under crops. Experts have already categorized rapeseed as an environmental weapon against Ukraine, exhausting the fields and turning *chornozem*, the fertile black soil, into the lands that can no longer be farmed.

As a result of the droughts that have become common in Eastern Ukraine in recent years, the growth of vegetables, especially potatoes, beetroots, cucumbers and cabbage has shrunk, thus affecting the population's food supply. Cabbage, potato, sugar and buckwheat "crises" that have occurred now and then during in past two decades, have been a worrying signal, against the backdrop of the expected increased deterioration in the world food situation. Socio-economic troubles and the vulnerability of the agricultural sector to the world market will make the rural population particularly sensitive to the consequences of climate change.

Global warming will have a heavy impact on the water supply,

primarily drinking water, in the most arid areas. Crimea and some Southern oblasts of Ukraine are already suffering from a shortage of good quality water, and the problem of the increase in the annual temperature will aggravate this. The quality of surface water, especially in shallow rivers, could also worsen, which will lead to the spread of infections.

In social terms, climate change will disproportionately affect people with a low income, having the heaviest impact on socially vulnerable groups with limited access to energy, water and a good quality food supply, as well as other services, including healthcare.

Experts add migration and humanitarian problems to the list of socio-political risks of natural transformations. Researchers anticipate that global warming will make part of currently inhabited territories unsuitable for habitation, and provoke greater migration flows to other places, including Ukraine. Meanwhile, internal migration is also possible, with people from Southern and Eastern Ukraine, suffering from a shortage of water and droughts, moving to central and western oblasts.

This challenge requires a comprehensive response from

the government to make adjustments to climate change nationwide and locally, also prevent the worst case scenarios. In November 2010, the National Security and Defense Council drafted a plan of adjustment to climate change for 2011-2013, but it would require multi-billion investments for implementation, which is not provided for in the state budget. ■



Climate change in Europe

- Increased precipitation
- Decreased precipitation
- Possible rise in sea-levels; city under threat of flooding
- Impact on mountain areas
- Wildfire
- Change in ecosystem
- Negative agricultural change
- Melting glacier
- Area of climate change
- Permafrost today
- Permafrost in 2050

Compiled by the ZOI Environment Network, July 2011

Data from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) adapted for the Second Assessment of Transboundary Rivers, Lakes and Groundwaters. UNECE, 2011

Less Contin

Global warming is making Ukraine's climate more oceanic

Interviewer:
Olena Maksymenko

The apocalyptic projections of some global warming experts are being confirmed by real disasters in Ukraine, such as storms and heavy rains previously unseen. *The Ukrainian Week* asks Svitlana Boichenko, a Senior Researcher at the Serafim Subbotin Geophysics Institute of Ukraine's National Academy of Sciences, how climate change will affect Ukraine.

UW: To what extent is climate change brought about by natural or human factors?

— There has always been a greenhouse effect in the atmosphere caused by gases such as carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, tropospheric ozone and others. But humans reinforce the effects of these natural processes as we use fossil fuels. We know this is having an impact because the planet has never seen such swift warming before. We are talking about lengthy periods when the climate system enters warming or cooling phases. Today, we seem to be entering yet another of these little climatic optimums — a period of warming that can last approximately 200-225 years. Yet, the human factor has exacerbated these natural shifts. Nature has contributed just 1/3 of the outcome, while 2/3 of the effect comes from humans. Human impact catalyzes other mechanisms and facilitates natural processes.

For instance, warming is much more intense in the permafrost-covered area of the Northern Hemisphere (the rise in temperature in high latitude areas is 2-3°C per 100 years) causing these territories to degrade and become swamps. As a result, swamps release methane, a powerful green-

house gas. Moreover, the World Ocean can heavily affect the planet's thermal regime by enhancing or neutralizing the warming. The thing is that a lot of greenhouse gases are dissolved in the ocean and these can be released into the atmosphere as the temperature rises. Aggravated and enhanced by human factors, natural global warming has tilted and catalyzed some natural processes.

UW: How has Ukraine's climate changed over the past few years?

— Global warming drove significant climate change in Ukraine in the 20th century. The planetary temperature rise over the past 100 years was 0.7-0.8°C while Ukraine's temperature rose by approximately 0.6°C. But Ukraine has some regional disparities in the way temperature changes are distributed across its territory. Northern and North-Eastern Ukraine have experienced the highest temperature rise of 1-1.2°C, while the average rise for the South was 0.3-0.4 and up to 0.5°C. Thus, a kind of leveling of the thermal-climatic field occurred. These are yearly figures. As for seasonal changes, Ukraine has undergone visible warming in winters and slower, if any, changes during summer months. Some weather stations have even noted slight cooling. This is due to either the landscape or the specifics of weather processes. In the general statistics, shifts to extreme temperatures, from long hot periods to long cold periods, are notable.

UW: Are the amounts of rainfall different now, too? Can you say that humidity is rising?

— It's an important factor, especially for agriculture and fresh water. The amount of rainfall has increased slightly throughout the territory of Ukraine over the past



Svitlana Boichenko, a Senior Researcher at the Geophysics Institute: "The climate in North-Eastern Ukraine will grow more arid while North-Western parts will have more humidity"

100 years by approximately 5-10%, which is within the random margin of error. Yet, it has changed by region. Northern and northwestern oblasts used to be areas of excessive moisture with swampy parts. Over the past 100 years, the amount of rainfall there has declined by 10-15%. The central part of the country has barely seen any change, while the amount of rainfall has risen by 10-15% in the south and southeast. So, I wouldn't talk of any significant rise in humidity.

UW: How do these changes affect plants?

— They have a positive effect on the whole, but because higher

ental

temperatures mean more evaporation, this increased rainfall may not be visible in the southern part of the country as it quickly evaporates into the atmosphere. Research conducted over the course of several years on the Ukrainian steppes by the National Academy of Sciences' Botanic Institute has shown that moisture loving plants aside from feather grass are expanding in Southern and South-Eastern Ukraine.

Against this backdrop of generally positive developments, extreme precipitation is intensifying, with downpours that are normally typical for mountain areas growing more frequent in arid parts of the country. In fact, other regions also face this trend but it has the most adverse effect in the south and southeast. The Carpathian and Crimean mountain regions are the most vulnerable to such climate change, as well as the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coastlines because of raised sea levels and human impact on these areas. They also suffer secondary salinization as a result of irrigation and ground sagging as a result of groundwater level changes.

UW: What impact can all this have on agriculture?

– With the pace of warming observed in the 20th century, the change mostly has a positive impact. The human factor increases the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, which is one of the elements of photosynthesis that “feeds” plants. Experiments in European and American research centers have shown that the doubled amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere (to 560–600 mn-1) compared to the pre-industrial era of 1750–1850 enhances the yield of most crops grown agriculturally by almost 15–30% and increases the growth of flora biomass in natural

ecosystems. This includes all C3 category plants, including virtually all agricultural varieties, as well as grasses and trees. Moreover, these plants become less vulnerable to temperature and rainfall fluctuations as the amount of CO₂ doubles.

UW: What is projected for the near future? Is a change of Ukraine's climatic zone a realistic scenario?

– Based on scenario assessments, the temperature will rise 1.5–2.5 oC if current developments persist. This will not have an extreme impact on Ukraine. Yet, other scenarios suggest a 3–4 oC temperature rise. If that happens, mathematical models and paleoclimate reconstructions project that Southeastern and Eastern Ukraine may become deserts.

Ukraine has a temperate continental climate. The current warming will bring it closer to an oceanic climate type. Ukraine's climate is not yet oceanic, but it is growing less continental as the amplitude of seasonal changes evens out. Yet, if pessimistic scenarios prevail and the temperature rises more than 3 °C, the impact may be greater. Models show that southern and southeastern regions will become more arid while northern and northwestern regions will become more humid. These growing contrasts within the territory of Ukraine are unfavourable, yet they are now being mitigated by the current pace of warming.

UW: Storms have become more common in Ukraine lately. What causes this?

– There are several reasons for this. First of all, global warming and the planet's unbalanced climatic system may cause perturbation and catalyze a slew of dangerous natural processes. But that is not yet a proven fact.

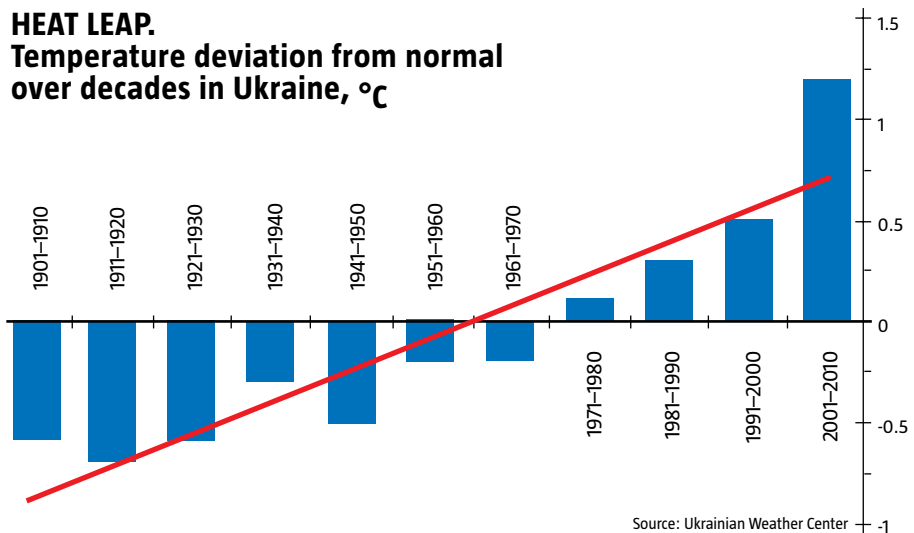
The second scenario is that these storms are accidental. If we look back a thousand years, we see similar disasters mentioned in earlier chronicles.

The third scenario is that we think storms have become more common because they receive constant media coverage now. This is a complex issue and we've tried to make some progress on it and draw up some reliable statistics. We looked at records in historical manuscripts and analyzed the evidence preserved in monasteries where monks carefully noted everything. We've discovered an interesting effect: warming periods, as well as cooling periods, catalyze several unfavourable phenomena. They only fade in the pauses between temperature rises and falls and maybe that's what is happening now.

The environmental impact of the warming has been aggravated by ruinous human activity. However, we could still soften some of nature's damaging processes for ourselves through improvements in agriculture, urban design and the construction of anti-flood dams, among others. ■

Over the past 100 years Ukraine's temperature rose by approximately **0.6°C**. Northern and North-Eastern Ukraine have experienced the highest temperature rise of **1-1.2°C**, while the average rise for the South was **0.3-0.4**

HEAT LEAP. Temperature deviation from normal over decades in Ukraine, °C



Boundary Conditions

The idea of planet-wide environmental boundaries, beyond which humanity would go at its peril, is gaining ground

PULL a spring, let it go, and it will snap back into shape. Pull it further and yet further and it will go on springing back until, quite suddenly, it won't. What was once a spring has become a useless piece of curly wire. And that, in a nutshell, is what many scientists worry may happen to the Earth if its systems are overstretched like those of an abused spring.

One result of this worry, in the autumn of 2009, was the idea of planetary boundaries. In the run-up to that year's climate conference in Copenhagen a group of concerned scientists working under the auspices of the Stockholm Resilience Centre, in Sweden, defined, in a paper in *Nature*, what they thought of as a safe operating space for human development—a set of nine limits beyond which people should not push their planet.

The nine areas of concern were: climate change; ocean acidification; the thinning of the ozone layer; intervention in the nitrogen and phosphate cycles (crucial to plant growth); the conversion of wilderness to farms and cities; extinctions; the build up of chemical pollutants; and the level of particulate pollutants in the atmosphere. For seven of these areas the paper's authors felt confident enough to put numbers on where the boundaries actually lay. For chemicals and particulates, they deferred judgment.

Since then, the idea of planetary boundaries has taken root. It crops up repeatedly in GEO-5, the United Nations Environment Programme's new assessment of the world. The High-Level Panel on Global Sustainability, which reported recently to Ban Ki-moon,

the UN's secretary-general, gave the idea pride of place. And Planet Under Pressure, a big scientific conference held recently in London, made boundaries central to the message it sent to Rio+20, the UN environmental summit that opens in Brazil on June 20th.

DON'T FENCE ME IN

Planetary boundaries provide a useful way of thinking about environmental change, because in many cases they give scope for further change that has not already happened. That has brought the concept friends who are not normally persuaded by environmental thinking, as well as green enemies who will brook no compromise. But the concept has numerous drawbacks. The actual location of the boundaries is, as their proponents acknowledge, somewhat arbitrary. That is partly because of the incomplete state of current knowledge, but it may remain so however much anyone knows. Some boundaries might be transgressed without irreversible harm occurring. Some may have been drawn around the wrong things altogether. And some academic opinion holds that spectacular global change could come about without breaking through any of them.

The latest criticism comes from the Breakthrough Institute, a determinedly heterodox American think-tank that focuses on energy and the environment. Among the points made in a report it published on June 11th, two stand out. The first is that the idea of boundaries does not focus enough on the distinction between things with truly global effects and those that



Human interference in the way the Earth works is now so great that the Holocene is history and a truly separate Anthropocene has dawned

matter primarily at a local or regional level. The second is that the planetary-boundaries group derives most of its limits by looking at conditions during the Holocene—the epoch since the end of the most recent ice age, in which human civilisations have grown up. Both of these criticisms have merit.

For things that clearly do have the springlike quality of shifting irreversibly if pulled (or pushed) too far, like the collapse of ice sheets or the melting of permafrost, a boundary system that seeks to stop you getting too close to the threshold seems as sensible as a safety rail is on a parapet. There is good reason to believe that parts of the climate do behave this way, and thus need railing off. But of the nine boundaries, only three apply to systems where the boundary setters really believe there is a global threshold: the climate; the acidity of the oceans; and the ozone layer. Some of the other six may have local thresholds, but for the most part their global effects are simply the aggregate of the local ones.

Confusing the two might, in the Breakthrough Institute's view, result in poor policy. Concern over a planet-wide nitrogen limit, for example, could lead to people for-



going the benefits that fertilisers offer the poor soils of Africa on account of harm done by their over-application in China.

The institute's other criticism is the implicit assumption that because mankind came of age in the Holocene, therefore Holocene conditions are optimal for the species now. There are indeed reasons to believe some aspects of the Holocene were optimal. It was a time of climatic stability and, in the temperate regions of the Earth, clemency. The Breakthrough criticism agrees that climate stability is a good thing. It points out, though, that there is little evidence things like the behaviour of the nitrogen cycle or the phosphate cycle in the Holocene were particularly well-suited to humans. The fact that people have used industrial chemistry to short-circuit the nitrogen cycle, by making fertilisers out of nitrogen in the air at a rate which greatly exceeds what natural systems can manage, has real environmental effects. Nitrate-rich run-off, for example, can wreck the ecology of lakes. But if these effects could be managed, then it is not clear that the amount of nitrogen being drawn out of the air would, of itself, be a problem.

This is, at bottom, an argument about the nature of the An-

Today's climate is already beyond the point which can guarantee long-term survival for things like the Greenland ice sheet, the demise of which would raise sea levels by seven metres

thropocene—the age of man. Many scientists feel that human interference in the way the Earth works is now so great that the Holocene is history and a truly separate Anthropocene has dawned. The planetary-boundaries idea seeks to constrain the Anthropocene within the norms of the Holocene. The Breakthrough Institute, by contrast, argues for ordering things according to a calculation of the needs of human welfare, rather than just aping what has happened in the past. There is no doubt as to which of the two approaches is more prudent, and prudence always has a constituency. There is plenty of room for debate as to which is more plausible, or practical.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARATION

Another problem for the idea of planetary boundaries is the assumption that they are independent of each other. That seems unlikely, and if they are not then a crisis might arise even if no single boundary were transgressed. On June 7th *Nature*, which likes to get its oar in before big international powwows like the ones in Copenhagen and Rio, published a review of evidence that this may be happening. It suggested that the Earth may be approaching a “tipping point” past which simultaneous changes—to land use, climate and more—driven by an ever larger, ever richer human population, push the system into a very different state from its present one, with climate zones changed permanently, ecosystems functioning differently, and so on.

A sudden shift is plausible. Small ecological systems, such as lakes, often switch states in this way and there is no obvious reason why a large system like the Earth should not do likewise. And according to Anthony Barnosky of the University of California, Berkeley, one of the *Nature* review's main authors, a combination of changes, each itself within the planetary boundaries, could still trigger such a change of state.

That would be a bad thing. Even if the ultimate result were an Earth that is still hospitable to mankind, the transition could be catastrophic. But the existence of plausible bad futures within the boundaries raises the obverse

question: are there good futures outside them? In particular, might it be possible to finesse the most famous boundary of all, the one governing greenhouse warming and climate change?

The planetary-boundaries team, slightly confusingly, defines this boundary in two different ways. One is a limit on carbon dioxide, the main long-lived greenhouse gas, of 350 parts per million (ppm) in the atmosphere. The other is a limit on “radiative forcing”—the increase in energy delivered to the surface of the Earth over time, largely as a consequence of extra greenhouse gases—of 1 watt per square metre above pre-industrial levels. Either way, the climate boundary is one that already lies squarely in humanity's rear-view mirror. This reflects the view of some on the planetary-boundaries team, such as James Hansen of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies, that today's climate is already beyond the point which can guarantee long-term survival for things like the Greenland ice sheet, the demise of which would raise sea levels by seven metres.

If the planetary-boundaries scientists really have got their sums right, the greenhouse-gas situation looks hopeless. From today's position of carbon-dioxide levels pushing 400ppm and going up about 2ppm a year, a carbon-dioxide level of 350ppm can be reached only by going to zero emissions and then spending a long time—centuries, in all likelihood—sucking CO₂ out of the atmosphere and putting it back underground by various means.

FORCE MAJEURE

Greenhouse gases are, however, only a problem because of their effect on radiative forcing. If that could be reined back inside the boundary by other means, then the CO₂ limit would no longer pertain. And that might be possible by spraying reflective particles into the upper atmosphere, to bounce sunlight back into space.

Such a radical scheme would have all sorts of disturbing side effects, with political ones quite possibly outweighing environmental ones. It is by no means clearly the right thing to do. But it might be. And it certainly serves to show that, although the Earth may have boundaries, thinking about how to help it should not. ■

© 2012 The Economist Newspaper Limited. All rights reserved

Trotting Towards Putin

Seven steps Yanukovych has undertaken that increase the Kremlin's hopes of swallowing up Ukraine

Author:
Oles
Oleksiyenko

Illustrations:
Ihor Bezruk

The meeting of Viktor Yanukovych and Vladimir Putin in Yalta proved that Mr. Putin is waiting for his Ukrainian peer to lay the necessary groundwork to transfer Ukraine into the Kremlin's sphere of influence.

While the Ukrainian Presidential Administration claims that it has the situation under control and will manually adjust the country's direction based on a multi-vector policy concept, Moscow's tactics signal that the Kremlin is counting on current trends in the Ukrainian government's domestic and foreign policies, if continued,

to inevitably lead Ukraine to a place where it will no longer be able to withstand Russian pressure. Moscow simply needs to wait until the relevant factors reach a critical point where Kyiv becomes vulnerable. Mr. Yanukovych is definitely moving in that direction. Clearly, his self-serving actions ultimately benefit the Kremlin. His purposeful march toward totalitarianism has already isolated him from the West. Moreover, the imposition of a Eurasian model of business and government relations will push local oligarchs closer to Putin. Yet, there is the impression that someone in

his inner circle keeps offering the president ideas that he is not interested in because they do not improve his electoral score, yet their implementation still works in the Kremlin's favor. These include the language law that is fueling a divide in Ukraine, or the way in which the jailed Yuriy Lutsenko is being treated, which enhances the impression in the West that Mr. Yanukovych has chosen a path similar to Belarus's Lukashenko.

Given these current developments, *The Ukrainian Week* suggests that a scenario in which Ukraine falls under Russian control may become a reality very soon. ■

1 Increased pressure; violation of democratic freedoms and values illustrated by the imprisonment of political opponents; unjustified restriction of civil protests and freedom of assembly; growing pressure on mass media (the latest facts include criminal cases against *lb.ua* and the general director of the TVi television channel). Recent trends suggest that all of these elements will grow more visible as the election draws nearer. This path isolates Ukraine from European society and brings it closer to the authoritarian model of a "sovereign democracy" similar to that of Russia and Belarus. This will make Ukraine's integration into Mr. Putin's new imperialistic project called the Eurasian Union much easier.

2 Political isolation from the EU and the civilized world resulting from the previous step. Yanukovych's ongoing rejection of Europe's demands to pursue democratic values and human rights slowly increases the number of those who support the complete isolation of the current Ukrainian regime and will make their position more justified and convincing. If the government engages in the radical distortion of voting results in October's elections and crushes the massive protests that are likely to occur in that event, Ukraine risks losing its image as "the single greatest democracy of the CIS" altogether, while Yanukovych may waste the few remaining arguments that still make him different from Lukashenko. Undoubtedly, the Kremlin would welcome the Belarus scenario in Ukraine. The signing of the FTA Economic Association Agreement and the liberalized visa regime are merely the EU's attempts at signaling that its doors remain open to Ukraine, but only if the government reforms its policies or is changed altogether. In an interview for the Razumkov Center, Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, and Catherine Ashton, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, confirmed that the Association Agreement cannot come into effect under the current circumstances and "the key to moving forward in our relationship is in Kyiv, not Brussels. Our offer is on the table, as shown by the signing of the Association Agreement. However, the fundamental values needed for political association appear to be absent. It is up to Ukraine to demonstrate its political will by taking clear and concrete steps to reverse the negative trends we have seen since 2010."



3 Sharing the neighbour's culture. The language law sponsored by Party of Regions MPs Kolesnichenko and Kivalov, if enacted, will clear the path for the total Russification of Ukraine, rather than protecting regional languages or supporting a single official language. Party of Regions MP Olena Bondarenko recently demonstrated in Rivne that speaking Ukrainian was burdensome to her, thus confirming that the implementation of the language law is necessary so that Russian speakers do not have to adapt to any other language. The Russian government and Putin himself have openly stated that Russian language and culture serve as key civilizational markers and form the basis for informational and ideological expansion, while playing key roles in the implementation of neo-imperialistic projects in the post-soviet realm.



5 Ukrainian oligarchs coming under direct control of the Kremlin; loss of economic sovereignty. The Eurasian model of government-business relations is being actively imposed in Ukraine. Ukrainian society, unlike that of Russia, radically opposes this system. In these circumstances, Ukrainian oligarchs find it safer to cede to Putin's terms rather than remain under Yanukovych's control, as their mindset is closer to the Russian model. In fact, Ukrainian oligarchs have never identified themselves as inherently Ukrainian. They have always been part of a post-soviet business elite that aims to seize its country's economic resources for its own use without creating any new potential for them. Aside from Khodorkovsky, Russia has Abramovich and Deripaska, who live in luxury in exchange for staying out of politics and accepting their inferiority to Mr. Putin. Under certain circumstances, most Ukrainian oligarchs could view this model as perfectly acceptable. After all, some are already merging with Russian financial and industrial groups (as evidenced by the fact that Serhiy Taruta and Viktor Pinchuk, as well as others, have sold their steelwork assets to Russians). Meanwhile, many analysts view Dmytro Firtash's business group as Gazprom's agent in Ukraine, whose goal is to buy up strategic assets in sectors related to the gas market and later hand them over to the Russian monopolist. The only question seems to be the price the group will be paid for this mission (whether in cash or minority stakes at Gazprom). This is all happening against a backdrop of growing debt owed by Ukrainian companies to entities affiliated with Gazprom (Naftogaz Ukraine recently opened a credit line worth USD 2bn with Russia's Gazprom Bank). Meanwhile, the planned reorganization of Naftogaz could make it easier for the Russian monopolist to gain control over distribution networks in Ukraine and the instruments of consumer pressure. Thus, Kyiv is actually becoming addicted to Russian rubles in addition to Russian gas.



4 Federalization of Ukraine leading to a potential split. The political project called Ukrainian Choice launched by Viktor Medvedchuk, whose daughter is a goddaughter of Vladimir Putin, is blatantly flaunting pro-Russian slogans and gaining ground with zero protest from the Presidential Administration. Anatoliy Mohyliov, the Crimean Premier, is playing along. He initiated the expansion of Crimea's powers of self-government and the upgrade of the region's Constitution to a position of equal status with that of the central government in Kyiv. This separatist initiative did not face significant resistance from the president. The only benefit of federalization may be broader self-governance. That is the role of the federal system in most countries that use it. In Ukraine, however, similar initiatives are proposed for a completely different purpose, serving instead as a tool for preserving inter-regional differences and disparities, enhancing the effect of "broken identity." Its supporters' key motivation is to appeal to the various civil and geopolitical orientations of the regions. This may signal that the proponents of federalization are merely setting the stage for Ukraine's destabilization and the disruption of its territorial unity. Thus, federalization may serve as a bulwark against the arrival of pro-European forces to power, which would threaten an irreversible split from the Russian-Eurasian post-imperial space.

6 Refusal to integrate into the European collective defense system (NATO) and unfeasible declarations of neutrality that serve to deliberately weaken Ukraine's defense capacity. All this leaves Ukraine vulnerable to potential threats to its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Ukrainian military is being commercialized and its needs are being neglected while the Russian military grows more powerful and better funded. This may encourage many Ukrainian military officers to support the idea of coming under Russia's control in order to meet their own professional interests.



7 Progressive de-legitimization of the government culminating in the rigging of October's election results. The discrediting of legitimate democratic parliamentary election methods may provoke the frustrated majority of voters to seek alternative ways of changing the government. Attempts by pro-Russian forces supported by the Kremlin to use instruments of direct democracy (referendum) to manipulate and undermine the state will be especially dangerous in this situation. Such circumstances would exacerbate the threat of Ukraine's destabilization and the external modeling of its future in line with Putin's neo-imperialistic project.

Away From the Public Eye

Amendments to the public procurements law are expected to further conceal the scale of the distribution of public funds to business entities close to the government

Recently, the parliamentary majority used the scandalous language bill to divert public attention from another law that it passed on July 4th. Under the new law, tenders by government-owned enterprises held for non-public funds will be out of the reach of public control.

The parliament voted for the law without any prior discussion and after just a minute-long speech from the Party of the Regions (PR) MP Oleksiy Plotnikov. Draft law No. 9634 On Amendments to Some Laws of Ukraine On Public Procurements, drafted by the Cabinet of Ministers, cancels the procedure whereby the purchase of goods and services by government-owned enterprises through tenders is irreversible, provided that the company pays for it with its own money, rather than public funds.

HOW MUCH IS IT WORTH?

How will this amendment affect the economy? According to Minister of Finance Valeriy Khoroshkovsky,

Author:
Ilona Zayets

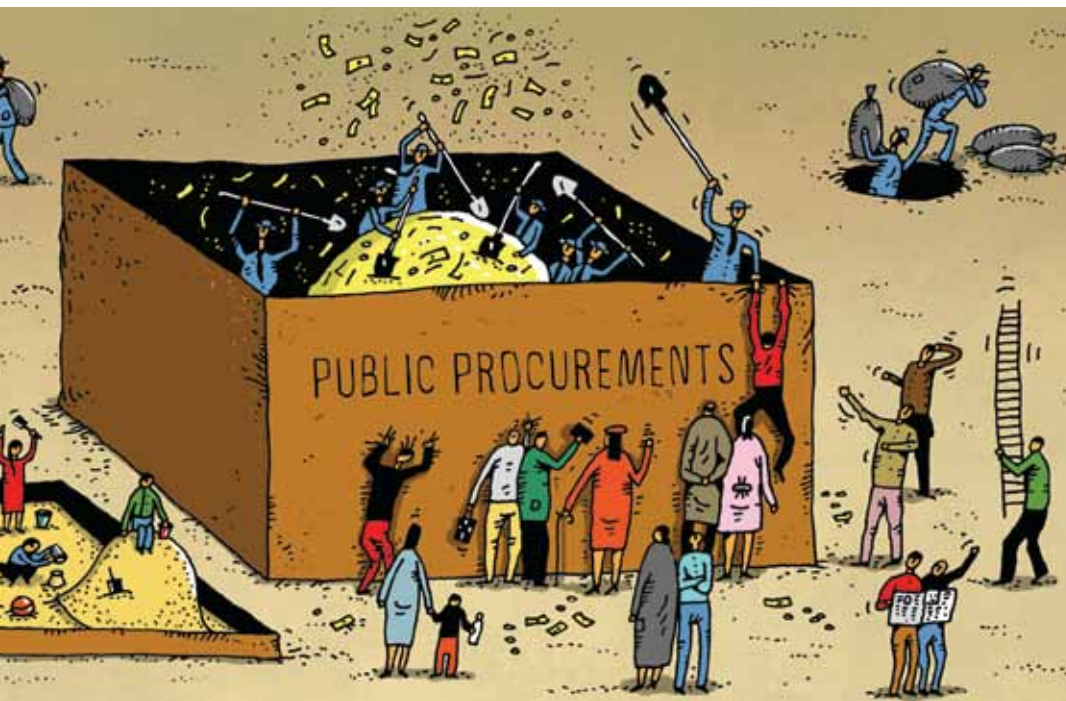
UAH 400bn was spent and 110,128 contracts signed under public procurement procedures in 2011. Public spending in 2011 was UAH 332.8bn including more than 65% spent on salaries to public sector employees, social benefits and government debt. Thus, social expenditures under the general fund of the public budget in 2011 totaled UAH 228.5bn (USD 28.5bn). Less than UAH 100bn (USD 12.5bn) was allocated through tenders. As a result, nearly UAH 300bn (USD 37.5bn) was qualified as “non-budget” funds in public tenders out of all the money that went through tender procedures. From now on, after the president signs the new law, this amount will be allocated in the shade, without public announcements of tenders or any competition at all.

What does this hold for government-owned enterprises acting as commercial entities? It means a total lack of public control over the use of the working capital. In other words, their advertisers will have the chance to save a penny on ad-

vertising blocs or media campaigns because they will now not need to refute criticism or clean up the reputation of their bosses.

Ukraine has recently found that the State Administration of Affairs purchases fruit and vegetables for UAH 600 (USD 75) per kilo. Kharkiv authorities put up benches in the city's metro station that cost the price of a Ukrainian-made car, while nuclear power stations order Lexus cars as “a key to nuclear safety”, let alone equipment which is overpriced by 300-500%, or consulting services and software worth UAH 10-25mn that will never be implemented in any way. Today, Ukrainians can openly see this. In certain cases, they can even submit a request to the Control and Revision Authority or Prosecutor General to find out where the public money goes. Sometimes, they can even get an answer because supplier companies, even if filling the public budget just like average Ukrainian taxpayers, still get their profits from Ukrainians who, as consumers of services from state-owned companies, are supposed to take an interest in how their taxes are spent. Very soon, though, only several hundred authorized people, who will be kept under strict control, will have access to this information.

One other thing about the new law is that it restricts the functions of the Control and Revision Authority (CRA) whose key responsibility is to exercise public financial oversight of the way public money is spent and saved. Firstly, the CRA is no longer authorized to inspect all stages of the public procurement process. Thus, they will not be able to prevent fraud, only state the fact of a violation. Secondly, the Cabinet of Ministers will now be in charge of establishing the procedure for whom, when and how the CRA will inspect. Indeed, there is something about this. For instance, why give new leverages



THE CHRONICLES

Just some of the notorious public procurements that have recently outraged the public due to the still open tender procedure

A PRICEY UPGRADE

Altcom, a development company connected to Vice Premier for Infrastructure Borys Kolesnikov, has become a symbol of public procurement, Party of Regions' style. Since 2008, Altcom has received subcontracts worth a total of UAH 11.68bn (USD 1.46bn) with over half of that amount coming in 2011 alone. In June 2012, it received UAH 471.34mn (USD 58.9mn) to build roads in Poltava Oblast. This means that one kilometer of such a road would cost over UAH 30mn or USD 3.75mn to build. In July, after the tournament was over, news surfaced that the National Agency for Euro 2012 would allocate another UAH 140mn (USD 17.5mn) to Altcom for construction work at the Donetsk airport based on the non-tender procedure used during Euro 2012 preparations.

BOYKO'S PLATFORMS

In March 2011, Chornomornaftogaz bought an offshore oil rig for USD 400mn to drill the Black Sea shelf for fuels. The media have found that this price was USD 150mn higher than the average price of platforms worldwide. Later, another platform was purchased for an identical price. The Latvian company that sold them then liquidated itself in January 2012.

EUROPEAN ROAD SIGNS

Before the Euro championship, Ukrainian cities introduced new plastic LED type signs. Kharkiv metro bought them for UAH 8,500, or slightly over USD 1,000 per piece, while regular non-LED signposts cost UAH 5,000 each. Kyiv bought 120 signposts for tourists for an average of UAH 15,000, or nearly USD 1,800 per piece, while Donetsk bought the same signs for UAH 9,000 or USD 1,125 per board.

TEXTBOOKS FROM A MINISTER'S MOTHER

In March 2012, the Education Ministry bought a series of textbooks for schools which offer education in foreign languages. The print house that published the books turned out to be the only participant in the tender. Ukrainian language textbooks for Moldovan-speaking children cost the taxpayers UAH 496.75 or USD 62 per copy, while Mathematics and Ukrainian Language for Polish-language schools were worth UAH 506 (USD 63) and UAH 647.9 (USD 80) respectively. The authors of every book included Olha Khoroshkovska, the mother of Ukraine's First Vice Premier.

DIAMOND RASPBERRIES

In early June 2012, Grant Service, a state-owned company that services official events of top government authorities, bought fruits, berries and vegetables worth UAH 2.6mn (USD 325,000) for the canteens of the Presidential Administration and the Verkhovna Rada's banquet hall. According to the Public Procurement Newsletter, Ukrainian cherries for top officials cost UAH 63, while imported cherries were worth UAH 204; mangoes cost UAH 408, while blueberries and raspberries were purchased for UAH 576 and 672 respectively. Meanwhile, cherries, blueberries and raspberries cost from UAH 20 to 50 per kilo at most markets and stores in Kyiv, while mangoes sell for no more than UAH 60 per ripe top-rate fruit.

GOING OVER THE EDGE?

In August 2011, a media scandal resulted in the cancellation of a giant obscure procurement as the State Land Agency rejected a deal to buy plastic land markers from TOV Investeco. The deal was worth UAH 4.9bn or USD 612mn with each of the 50mn markers worth an appalling UAH 98.

to the CRA if they can be handled manually? Yet, a notice about an upcoming inspection, or postponing it to a convenient time, may turn out to be pricey. Still, the new restrictions do not eliminate the opportunity to use the CRA as a tool of repression.

Clearly, no law will make the overregulated economy competitive, even if it makes tenders mandatory for any large-scale procurement. Still, transparency gives more opportunities to the interested parties. A prospect to appeal against trade procedures in court is one of them. Currently, no matter what violations occur during the tender process, the new version of the public procurement law will ruin any attempt to establish a competitive market in Ukraine.

What do these innovations mean for state-owned enterprises that order the tenders? In addition to opportunities to conceal tenders from the nosy public, they get another undeniable bonus: cancellation of appeals against the procedure by unsatisfied parties which, if abused by dishonest subcontractors, may drag the process of procuring equipment or badly needed services on for months or even years.

A CONSTRUCTIVE COMPONENT?

Currently overregulated by legislation and internal rules of state-owned companies, the tender procedure has artificially caused a situation where clients have to pay more because suppliers lack the time or incentive to participate in tenders that may drag on for years. As a result, most producers and intermediaries arrange prices between themselves using legal gaps. This results in pseudo-competition in tenders where half a dozen dealers and distributors of one producing plant make a show of competing with each other in open tenders. Their only function is to bump up the price that will leave a kickback for both the client, and the producer. As a result, tenders act as auctions, rather than a real search for a better price.

In the course of a persistent struggle for tender transparency, the process has accreted so many regulations and rules that it often overrides the basic concept of it: it is quality that has to win in the first place, not the price. Also, quality control during tenders should be highly professional. However, a fre-

quent impression now is that the tail has come to wag the dog as the company's tender committee and financial unit instruct technical specialists on what they should do. If the cancellation of tenders removed this ill balance in the operation of production enterprises, it would certainly be for good. At least, this would allow them to save money by getting rid of their own tender committees that often have dozens of employees at one enterprise. And they do not live on their salaries alone.

The potential benefit could definitely count if enterprise managers were appointed to develop the financial and production aspects of the business rather than their own welfare, or them trying to improve their party, or family relations, with those who appoint them. This prospect looks highly unrealistic today, especially through government regulation procedures.

Petro Poroshenko, the Minister of Economic Development and Commerce, insists that most state-owned enterprises (nearly 1,200 according to him) should be privatized. Today, this is a realistic opportunity to encourage their managers to play by market rules rather than family and clique interests. Yet, Mr. Poroshenko has already declared that monopolist enterprises that cannot be privatized should keep their procurement procedures transparent and open. How will this happen if the law omits the point despite having been drafted by the Ministry headed by Poroshenko?

Transparent procurement procedures will not rule out abuse of funds, especially in Ukraine. Otherwise, there would be no notorious Boyko's platform, overpriced souvenirs bought by state monopolists, Euro 2012 preparation budgets swelled to twice, or more, the necessary amount, and multi-million spending on ordered articles and TV reports in the media (see **The Chronicles** for more details). The Prosecutor General had collected many cases concerning abuse of funds even before the law was passed. Yet, uncontrolled spending will further fuel the problem while depriving the public of the opportunity to oversee the violations and exempting the officials involved in the fraud from the need to look back at the bad publicity caused by their misdeeds. ■

UKRAINE-NATO:

Summarizing 15 years of a distinctive partnership

Author:
James Sherr,
*Senior Fellow
of the Royal
Institute of
International
Affairs
(Chatham
House)*

What conclusion should we draw from 15 years of NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership? Shall it be that, like Ukraine, it is not dead yet? Or that its slumber, like Ukraine's, is a prelude to new conditions and new opportunities? Borys Tarasyuk referred to the languor of the NATO-Ukraine relationship, and he was right to do so. Today there is no strategy for Ukraine and no strategy by Ukraine. But how is this languor to be used? That question requires strategic rather than mechanical thought.

The Alliance is at a curious point of its evolution. Eastern enlargement, at least in the near-to-mid term, is not within the bounds of political realism. But this has

been true since the summer of 2008. The new element is that sustained, long-term expeditionary deployments outside the NATO Treaty area are no longer within the bounds of realism either. Alongside this development, there is another: the Eurozone crisis and the introversion it imposes on national and collective decision-making. Those realities frame the question before us: what is NATO's role to be in the future security of Europe? What, for that matter, is the EU's role to be? Ukraine's 1998 State Programme of Cooperation with NATO referred to NATO as 'the most effective structure of collective security in Europe'. Is there such a thing today? Does NATO wish to be that entity today, and does it know how this should be done? Does it have policies to this end or simply programmes, principles and pieties?

Whatever conclusions NATO and the EU draw, they cannot be expected to care more for others than they care for themselves.

Does Ukraine care about itself? Who in Ukraine cares about Ukraine: the leadership of the country, the leaders of the opposition or somebody else? For whom is the national interest a sentient reality and not a cynical term? Even if the answer to these questions once again becomes an impressive one, little will be accomplished without effective national security and defence institutions: institutions which emerged in the early 1990s and in ensuing years (in some cases up to 2006) acquired impressive coherence and competence — but which more recently, under more than one national leadership, have been circumvented, compromised and hollowed out.

Ukrainians decry the "grey zone". But we are forced to admit that those who owe their influence, status and power to the grey zone—which has its own subcultures, sources of wealth and codes

of practice—now exercise a dominant role in the country. And we are obliged to treat their pledges to overcome its pathologies with the utmost scepticism because they can only do this by disempowering themselves.

Ukraine's non-bloc status is a source of contention. But the fact is that between 1991 and 2010 Ukraine was a non-aligned state, and until 2002 it never expressed any other intention. The difference between then and now is that this status was never put in stone. Ukraine's leaders preserved the possibility of NATO membership not just by rhetoric and calculated

INFO



Natalia Nemyliwska,
**Director of the NATO Information
and Documentation Centre
(NIDC) in Ukraine**

Today we, NATO and Ukraine, do not just cooperate: we are partners.

On the one hand, we are partners in the common struggle against many threats and challenges, such as terrorism and piracy on the high seas. Ukraine, for instance,

will be the first partner to join NATO's counterpiracy operation, Ocean Shield, where Ukrainian servicemen will work side-by-side with NATO allies to safeguard the free passage of goods and to make sure merchant communities feel safe at sea. Working together as partners, Ukraine has been able to improve the capabilities of its armed forces. Equally, through working together, NATO and the armed forces of Ukraine have achieved a high level of interoperability and integration, allowing Ukraine to make a contribution to international security using multilateral platforms like NATO, and not only NATO, but the EU and the united nations as well. On the other hand, no less important in our partnership are fundamental values, such as democratic standards and the rule of law enshrined in the NATO-Ukraine Charter on a Distinctive Partnership of 1997. Despite serious concerns expressed by allies at the Chicago summit about the state of democracy and the rule of law in Ukraine, the latter does have at its disposal a powerful instrument to address these areas, namely the Annual National Programme (ANP). The ANP, which is drawn up and implemented by Ukraine, offers the country a comprehensive blueprint for reform and modernization, and helps it reach the highest possible standards in all areas of government and society, including democratic principles and values.

With Ukraine completing three cycles of the ANP and now implementing the fourth, we trust that it will remain committed to the reform process and the underlying values guiding the NATO-Ukraine partnership.



ambiguity, but through a relationship with NATO that was plainly intended to achieve de facto integration short of membership. This was statecraft of an impressive kind. It gave substance to Ukraine's sovereignty, it expanded Ukraine's prerogatives, and it afforded Ukraine real leverage in its relationship with others. Now Ukraine has unilaterally thrown this lever away, and the step could prove as consequential in a negative sense as Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament was in a positive sense.

If Ukraine is to be non-aligned—constitutionally rather than provisionally—then it needs to approach the task with seriousness. As a non-aligned state during the Cold War, Sweden spent more per capita on defence than most NATO allies. The same was true of Switzerland, which like Finland enjoyed formal neutrality on the basis of international treaty commitments. Finland's

system of 'total defence' enables all sectors of government (and a reserve force 20 times the size of the standing army) to be mobilised within 24 hours of an alert. Even the UK (which in nominal terms spends 20 times as much as Ukraine on defence) calculates that in the absence of NATO, sub-



UKRAINE HAS THROWN THE NATO LEVER AWAY. THIS COULD PROVE AS CONSEQUENTIAL IN A NEGATIVE SENSE AS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT WAS IN A POSITIVE SENSE

stantial year-on-year increases in defence budgets would be essential in order to maintain present commitments. If financed and implemented, Ukraine's 30 per cent defence budget increase for 2012 after years of decline will be praiseworthy in itself. But it begs

the question whether current military doctrine and national defence programmes are coherent, realistic and equal to the challenge of non-alignment.

Even more serious questions need to be raised about the effectiveness of core institutions and their standing in the country. In 1999, the NATO-Ukraine Joint Working Group on Defence Reform extended its remit beyond the Armed Forces to other force structures. Are the MVS and SBU (Interior Ministry and special service of Ukraine respectively - *ed.*) more trusted by society today than they were five years ago? What has happened to the corps of experts shed by state institutions over the past several years? What is the status of the military educational system, and what incentives do the more capable junior officers have to stay in their respective services? What role, if any, does civil society play in collaboration with national security structures or in loyal opposition to them?

On becoming Minister of Defence in 2005, Anatoliy Hrytenko undertook stringent reforms to arrest the commercialisation of defence and the absence of proper budgetary management. Is the Ministry of Defence less of a commercial structure now than it was then? Is it more accountable to parliamentary and expert scrutiny? Are its cash flows less opaque?

In 2006, NATO HQ concluded that Ukraine's armed forces were approaching the standard required for submission of a Membership Action Plan. What verdict would be issued today?

'He who wills the end wills the means'. The problems faced inside NATO and Ukraine are radically different from one another in scale and character. But both need to ponder that axiom more than they do. In both domains, politics frustrates this process, and economics conspires against defence mindedness. But in both, a community of experts and strategic thinkers survive, and their queries and insights deserve dissemination, recognition and discussion. If NATO-Ukraine cooperation stimulates that process, it will serve a positive purpose today and facilitate revival when our slumber ends. If it lapses into formalism and bureaucratic routine, it will add nothing to the sum total of security and happiness in Europe. ■

15 YEARS AGO.
Leonid Kuchma and
Javier Solana sign the
NATO-Ukraine Charter in
Madrid on July 9, 1997



PHOTO: REUTERS

OPERATION SELF-DESTRUCT?

Authorities resolutely weaken state defense capacity

Author:
Andriy Skumin

Viktor Yanukovich recently ratified two decisions by the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine dated 8 June 2012 On a New Military Doctrine and On a New National Security Strategy. The doctrine's key drawback is that it can identify threats, but does not provide a mechanism for responding to them.

Much like the previous military doctrine, this new one does not name potential state enemies and is limited to the following criteria for their identification: a potential enemy is deemed to be one whose actions or intentions indicate a threat of military force against Ukraine. It is worth mentioning that according to the criteria of 'war and political risks or provocation' stipulated in Clause 10 of the document, Russia represents a primary threat (See **Portrait of the Enemy** below). After all, the parliament of the Russian Federation voted for official acts containing territorial claims to Ukrainian land, President Medvedev signed laws outlining simplified procedures for Russian military deployment beyond state borders, and Russia maintains large-scale informational and economic (energy, milk, etc.) wars against Ukraine.

IRRESPONSIBLE 'NON-ALIGNED' STATUS

The New Military Doctrine and National Security Strategy are based on the idea of Ukraine's non-aligned status—meaning its refusal of NATO integration. Some are trying to present this as an advantage for Ukraine, claiming that non-aligned status means closed doors for the pro-Russian Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). However, this February, CSTO Secretary General Nikolay Bor-duzha announced the organiza-

tion's readiness for 'more active collaboration' with Ukraine.

The problem is that non-aligned status comes at great cost, requiring additional expenditures. Thus, declaration of non-aligned status for a country with a chronically underfunded military means irresponsibility at the very least, or could even signal intentional sabotage. During the last several years, it has become obvious that the authorities are practically destroying the Armed

count for personnel salary expenditures, utility services, medical treatment, nutrition, and construction of housing for servicemen. As of 2012, Ukraine allocates in total around USD 2bn for general and specific army funds, while only USD 1.82mn is allocated for technical modernization. Meanwhile, one Ukrainian 'Oplot' tank costs UAH 25mn. In contrast, Russia's 2012 defense budget comprises about USD 72bn, while Moscow plans to allocate USD 79.5bn by 2020 for the development of new armament systems alone.

RUINATION FROM WITHIN

It is not only financial factors that are causing national security problems. There are also some very alarming indications of anti-national strategies regarding state policies on military industry, in particular manpower policies. The issue concerns Defense Minister Dmytro Salamatin. He was a Russian citizen until 2005, and proved himself a true warrior in Ukraine during the 2010 battles for Russian in-

MR. SALAMATIN'S RECENT ACTIONS INVITE BLATANT MOCKERY OF UKRAINE'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES AND ARMY

Forces of Ukraine, as the country has undergone an unprecedented process of 'voluntary disarmament'. As of 2012, defense expenditures comprised just UAH 14.171bn, while over UAH 12bn of this sum was spent on consumption and only UAH 2.141bn was set aside for development.

This means that almost 85% of the general army's funds ac-

PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY

The following risks signaling increased threat of military force against Ukraine were listed in the Military Doctrine:

- 1) Territorial claims;
- 2) Claims or efforts to review existing state borders;
- 3) Increase of military troops and arms near Ukraine's borders, establishment of new military bases or development and modernization of current ones;
- 4) Establishment and purchase of new offensive armament systems and military equipment, as well as modernization of current ones, which could disrupt the balance of power;
- 5) Activation of intelligence activities by foreign governments and organizations against Ukraine;
- 6) Informational and psychological efforts aimed at destabilizing the socio-political climate, religious and ethnic relations in Ukraine or its regions densely populated by national minorities;
- 7) Political and economic sanctions against Ukraine;
- 8) Use of military force in the region or with the participation of the region's states;
- 9) Support of separatism;
- 10) Justifying use of military force as a means of international conflict resolution;
- 11) Weakening of legislative restrictions on the use of military force beyond national borders;
- 12) Violation of international agreements and treaties on non-proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction, methods of their delivery, control over armament, arms limitations and reductions, or withdrawal from these treaties (ceased participation);
- 13) Inducing escalation of military conflicts in the region.

SELF-DISARMAMENT

Refuting the need for NATO integration, the new state military command is initiating a sharp reduction of the Ukrainian military

150,000
persons



2010

144,000
persons



2011

139,000
persons



2012

75,000
persons*



2017

Based on the laws 'On the Strength of the Armed Forces of Ukraine' for relevant years.
*Number of servicemen in 2017, according to proposals by Defense Minister Dmytro Salamatin

terests taking place in the Ukrainian parliament. Mr. Salamatin even broke the nose of opposition deputy Volodymyr Karpuk during the vote on the Russia-Ukraine Kharkiv agreements on the Black Sea Fleet. According to *The Ukrainian Week's* sources, Salamatin has repeatedly voiced Ukrainophobic and openly pro-Russian views in private conversations.

Several months ago, some clauses of the draft Concept for the Reformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces were published in

the mass media, signed by the Defense Minister just after he was appointed to the post. The draft concept envisages active disarmament and reduction of the Ukrainian Armed Forces along with the country's non-aligned status. Ukraine is currently cutting the number of its Armed Forces down by 8,000 persons, meanwhile Mr. Salamatin has proposed reducing it by 20,000 persons, so that Ukraine would have 75,000 servicemen, 100 aircraft and 270 tanks by 2017. In comparison, Ukraine's neighbour Romania

has only half the population of Ukraine and maintains Armed Forces comprising 90,000 persons, while also functioning as a NATO member-state.

Mr. Salamatin's recent actions invite blatant mockery of Ukraine's defense capabilities and army. Lately, there have been rumours in the media about a draft law on the reformation of military bases that envisages 78 categories of military base administrative activity, including raising poultry, pigs, sheep, and goats. ■

A Homeless Generation

As the ruling political forces of Ukraine speculate on the housing issue – one of the most painful for millions of Ukrainians – with an eye on the upcoming elections, they only aggravate the problem



Author:
Oleksandr
Kramar

In March 2012, Viktor Yanukovich promised that Ukrainians would be able to take out 10-15-year mortgages with a 2-3% interest rate. Commercial banks now charge an average of 20.5%, with the difference supposedly being compensated by the state. UAH 1 bn has been allocated from the budget under relevant legislation. The programme is already working – on paper, that is. Cabinet of Ministers Regulation Nos. 343 and 465 determined “the procedure for reducing the cost of mortgages to provide affordable housing to citizens who need bet-

ter housing conditions.” Recently, with a relevant PR campaign, officials even reported about the first lucky people who have received these preferential loans. Initially, the plans for resolving the housing problem were ambitious and specific: 30,000 people by the end of 2012, or 2.6% of the 1,138,000 officially registered on the housing list. However, this item was removed from the government regulation in late May. This and many other facts show that “a cheap mortgage from Yanukovich” is yet another empty project, designed to gain support. Another example

is the PR on the programme to compensate the losses of the victims of the Elita Centre construction fraud, on behalf of Kyiv mayoral candidate Oleksandr Popov.

THE SCALE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM

One in seven Ukrainian families have less than 7.5 m² of living area per person, while a mere 50% of families live in more than the “sanitary norm” of 13.65 m². Taking into account the salary level, the average Ukrainian has to work at least 20 years to buy a two-room flat, while Americans need only

2.7, Germans 4.4 and Brazilians 6.3 years. The absence of own housing is the main deterrent to marriage, causes divorce among young people, leads to the decline of the birth rate and adversely affects the overall demographic situation. About half of the surveyed young couple say that the main reason for putting off having children, or even not having any at all, is the absence of adequate housing conditions. Nearly 31% do not have a roof over their heads; 14% rent flats; 10% are crammed into hostels and 11% in communal flats. A mere 33% of young families and 56.3% of all families have separate apartments.

Periodically, youth organisations stage protests, demanding that the constitutional right to housing be realised in practice, reduced mortgage rates, increased budget spending on affordable and social housing, as well as a reduction in corruptive pressure on the construction industry. However, what these protests achieve at best, is the resolution of housing issues for their leaders and the activists of “public movements” associated with them, on the basis of which, the government is able to report that it is “listening to everyone” and in essence, indefinitely postponing any real resolution of the problem.

There are several programmes in Ukraine supporting the construction of affordable housing for young and underprivileged citizens, but they are independent of each other and often not coordinated among themselves. Their efficiency remains surprisingly low – less than one percent of those in need have experienced improvement. In recent times, various state programmes have provided housing for no more than 11,000 of the 1.1 million Ukrainians on the housing list. The majority of Ukrainians no longer believe in the efficiency of official “housing lists”, so the actual number of the “homeless” is at least five times higher. This situation creates unequal conditions, provokes corruption and favoritism and discredits the very idea of a housing policy. For example, according to the Audit Chamber which audited the Fund for the Promotion of the Construction of Housing for Young Families, only 12% of its housing

According to the Audit Chamber which audited the Fund for the Promotion of the Construction of Housing for Young Families, only

12%

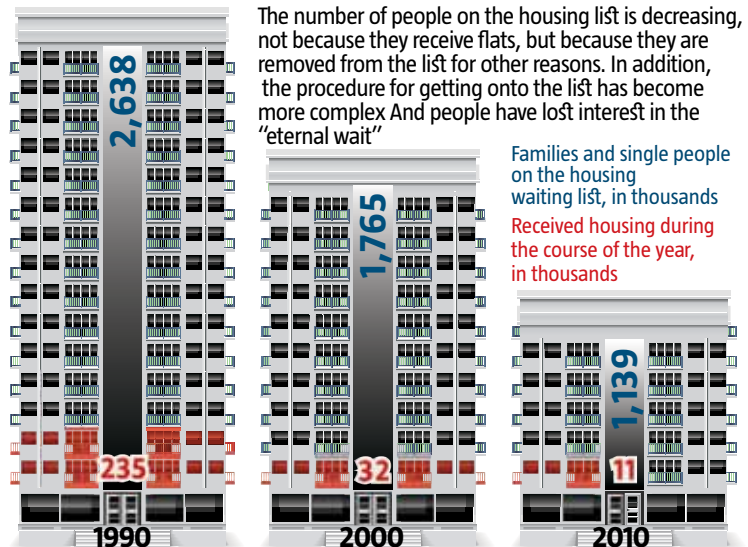
of its housing construction quota was fulfilled

Less than

3%

of young families are granted loans

THE ETERNAL WAITING LIST



Source: State Statistics Committee

construction quota was fulfilled. Loans were secured for less than three percent of young families that participated in the programme. In rural areas, only two (!) families received housing from this agency since the time that it was set up. Another example: in Kyiv, where there are approximately 130,000 people participating in the state affordable housing programme alone, in 2011, Kyivmiskbud, the municipal construction company, built only 355 at which, government aid did not exceed 30% in 1/3 of these cases.

MIRAGES

In essence, Yanukovych's much touted mortgage programme contains, mutually exclusive norms that disqualify the absolute majority of those in need of housing, and subsequently turns the initiative into yet another propaganda fiction.

Within the limits of this initiative, the acceptable maximum cost of one square metre of housing is set at up to UAH 7,000 for Kyiv, up to UAH 5,000 for Kyiv Oblast and UAH 4,000 elsewhere. However, these prices are virtually nonexistent on the real estate market of Kyiv and in the regional centres of Kyiv Oblast. Moreover, the government is not proposing any mechanisms to cut prices, particularly the elimination of the price-inflating corruption component. And this is understandable, because these re-

forms in the construction sector would inevitably cut the flow of money to many officials who thrive on bribes from developers. Instead, the government is asking citizens to simply pay the “extra” cost out of their own pockets.

There are also many other nuances that discourage people from dealing with the state. Should a bank agree to grant a mortgage on preferential terms, the buyer must choose a flat in a building approved by a government commission of the Ministry of Regional Development, Construction and Housing and Communal Services of Ukraine, based on the proposals of local state administrations, then he/she would have to sign two contracts: one to purchase the flat (between the purchaser, the bank and the developer) and the other one to receive government compensation (between the purchaser, the bank and the local state administration). Thus, if the government refuses to make good on its essentially pre-election promise of compensation, it is unlikely that the citizen will be relieved of his/her previously assumed commitments. Meanwhile, the government will not be held responsible, because the compensation of part of the interest rate is transferred to the buyer's personal account by local administration bodies. They, and not the central government, will be held accountable if things go wrong.

At the same time, an amendment to the Cabinet of Ministers' »

Regulation now makes it possible for the buyer to sell the “affordable” flat to anyone (rather than a person who meets the programme’s criteria), thus facilitating corruption.

LOOKING OUT FOR NUMBER ONE

The government does not conceal the fact that housing programmes are aimed at solving not so much the problems of the population, as those faced by construction companies and enterprises in associated sectors. When presenting the initiative, Yanukovych said that it will drum up business for construction companies and building material manufacturers and will stimulate demand for Ukrainian metal products on the domestic market. These words may refer to a coterie of close associates, particularly in view of the currently existing budget distribution system. So nice-sounding declarations may only be a convenient excuse for allocating several hundred millions or even billions from the state budget to banks and developers closely linked to the government. These fears are already proving to be true. According to information obtained by *The Ukrainian Week*, small companies that would like to participate in the programme, cannot find a common language with the officials responsible for granting access to it. Rumours about demands for kickbacks are rife on the market.

That the government’s initiative may be aimed primarily at supporting large construction companies, indirectly linked to the country’s leadership, is also corroborated by an array of mea-

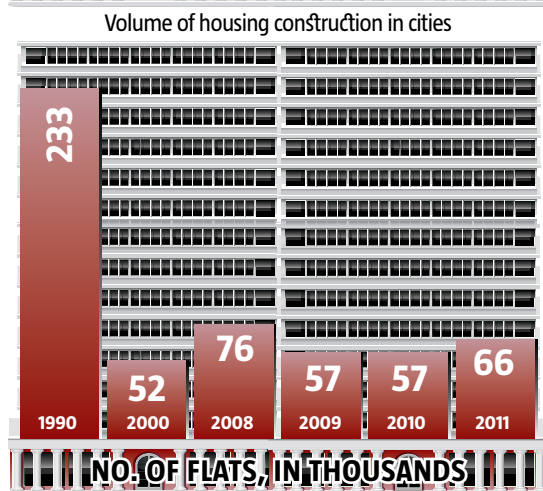
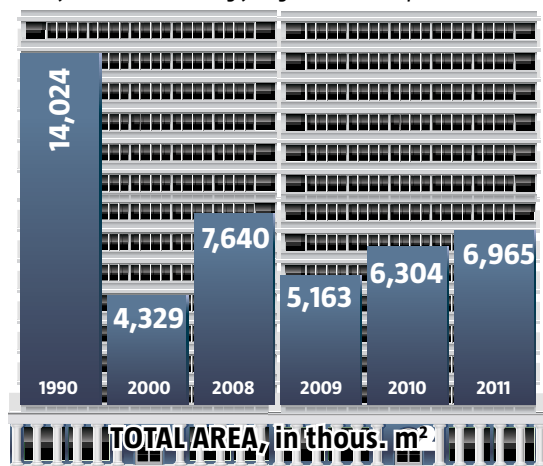
sures taken to cut the cost of building affordable housing. The fact that supply and demand determines the price in a market economy is ignored. Thus, the way in which this problem can be resolved is by a significant increase of supply. Otherwise all efforts to cut the prime cost of construction and mortgage servicing will quickly translate into additional revenue for developers and the officials to whom they have connections. This conclusion is also confirmed by well-informed market participants.

The experience of the 2000-2008 construction boom proves that the Ukrainian market was controlled by several large companies. They appear to have entered into a classic price-fixing agreement. As a result, instead of increasing supply under conditions of progressively increasing demand, they tried to check the construction growth rate in order to drive up prices. Thus, while dollar prices skyrocketed, construction volumes did not even double.

Another problem is the unwillingness of developers to build truly economy-class housing, whereby 40-50 m² are used for a two-room, rather than one-room flat. Simple calculations show that it is more cost-efficient to build large flats. This factor was one of the key deterrents to solving the housing problem, because the number of flats commissioned during the construction boom of 2000-2008 increased by 46% (from 52,000 to 76,000), much more slowly than their total area (by 77%, from 4.3 m² to 7.6 million m²). The average living area increased from 83 m² to 100 m². Paradoxically, it contin-

DEMAND WITHOUT SUPPLY

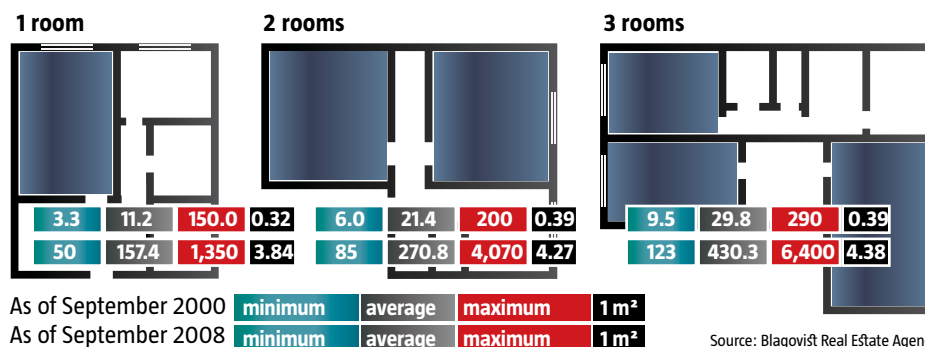
The deficit of affordable housing on the market was aggravated by offers of increasingly larger and hence pricier flats



ued to grow, even during the crisis, exceeding 110 m² in 2010, while the number of flats declined to almost to 2000 levels (57,000). This trend in itself is a powerful factor in the aggravation of the housing problem, because Ukrainians need flats rather than square metres. Moreover, it is obvious that a city flat with an average area of more than 110 m² cannot be affordable by definition. Meanwhile, state programmes often encourage this megalomania, which is at variance with the real capabilities of the state budget and the purchasing power of most citizens – even the middle class, to say nothing of the underprivileged. For example, under these state programmes, a flat for a family with two children should be at least close to 100 m².

ARTIFICIAL DEFICIT

Slow construction growth led to a speculative increase in prices: more than 10-fold in USD and more than 16-fold in UAH (Kyiv, USD thous.)



OVERCOMING POVERTY

Existing approaches to solving the housing problem under mar-

ket economy conditions cannot be efficient, because a shortage of budget funds make it a priori impossible to secure equal access to relevant programmes for all citizens. At the same time, there is no pressure to demonopolise the construction sector and eliminate corruption within it. The sporadic allocation of flats to an indecently small number of people on the list (1-3% of the total), backfires, provoking abuse and stimulating a parasitic attitude within a large part of society. As a result, the housing problem remains unresolved, while social attitudes are deteriorating: a generation of citizens is emerging in Ukraine, who do not and cannot have a roof over their own heads. They have nothing to lose and easily succumb to manipulation and provocation.

In order to diffuse the acuteness of the housing problem in Ukraine, primarily among the most active population aged 40-45, mechanisms must be applied to stimulate construction. But financing from the budget and other sources and improving mortgage programmes should not lead to a galloping increase in prices. The solution requires not so much additional financial injections as organizational efforts to demonopolise the construction sector and overcome corruption.

The highly competitive construction market should be combined with access to it of foreign companies. Companies involved in the implementation of projects to build affordable housing would have to be in constant contact with a relevant government agency in order to ensure a rapid reaction to any blocking attempts by officials acting in the interests of large corporations. At the same time, criminal responsibility for bribery should be increased. It is necessary to create conditions, under which participants of the construction market would not be able to keep pointing to some hidden components of the prime cost. Otherwise state housing programmes and billions of taxpayer funds would only drive up real estate prices, as was the case in 2005-2008.

At the same time, state housing programmes for relatively prosperous citizens should be implemented jointly with developers, who will comply with

clear-cut economy-class standards, particularly regarding area and auxiliary premises. Only projects that meet these criteria should be eligible for state financing. Access to relevant housing programmes must be equal for everyone, regardless of such artificial, thus corruption-provoking and discriminatory, factors as the place of registration, being on one housing list or another, etc. There should only be one constraint – one-time participation in the programme.

However, there are citizens with income levels that are lower than those required by state housing programmes. Instead of giving them flats free of charge, which would require significant budget spending with no return, the best practice of European countries should be adopted – a model that is effective in a market economy for the provision of a category of social housing (flats and hostel rooms), that is rented out at a reduced rate and has a buy-out clause. The system is extremely flexible and has elements of self-sufficiency. For example, social housing is rented out in Great Britain, and the proceeds are immediately invested in new construction. The cycle is then repeated. In France, people who have lived in social flats for a certain period gain the right to purchase them at significantly reduced rates.

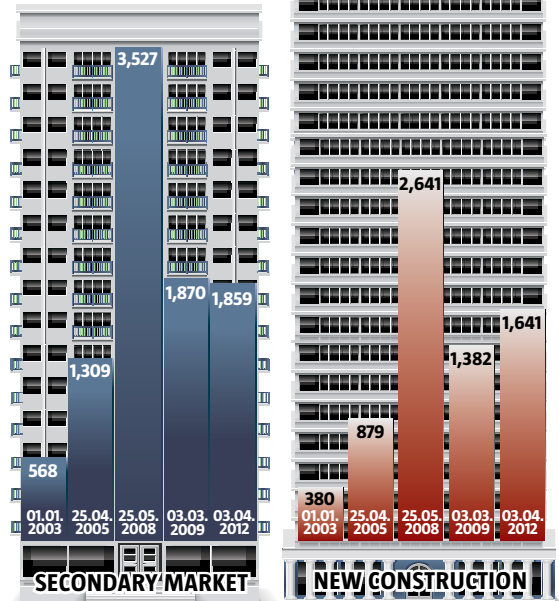
Finally, the policy of the government and the National Bank must ensure that financial risks are minimal and mortgage rates are accessible to most citizens (10-12% at most). If this were the case, budget funds would not be wasted on temporary programmes that cater to elections.

A solution to the housing problem based on European standards of area and housing quality will only be possible if overall increase in income levels driven by long-term economic growth, labour efficiency and changes in the household spending structure. Today the people of Ukraine are in essence, the poorest in Europe and spend most of their income on food. And this requires the elimination of the oligarchic-lumping model of the economy and the establishment of conditions for the realization of the potential of private initiative. ■

AVERAGE HOUSING PRICES

(per 1m², Kyiv, USD)

Source: SV Development



TRULY AFFORDABLE HOUSING

In early 2012, Oleksandr Rotov, First Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Builders Confederation of Ukraine, said that without the "hidden" elements, the prime cost of one square metre of housing in Kyiv in brick buildings that are up to nine storeys high, is USD 500-600 (UAH 4,000-4,800), while selling prices can start at UAH 6,000. In other words, classic affordable housing – a two-room economy-class flat, measuring 40-45 m² – would cost UAH 240,000-270,000 at a price of UAH 6,000/m². If a long-term (25-30 year) loan amounting to UAH 200,000-240,000 was available at an interest rate of 12-13%, monthly, the installments would not exceed UAH 2,500-3,000. This is a lot cheaper than renting a similar apartment in Kyiv (UAH 3,500-4,800 per month), which the potential buyers of affordable housing are now forced to pay anyway.

If implemented, such a project would have a large-scale multiplication effect. Among other things, rent and prices on the secondary real estate market would decline, because universally accessible programmes (for everyone except profiteers) would keep rent for economy-class flats in Kyiv below UAH 2,000, which is almost half the current level. Cumulatively, these measures could bring the price of housing on the secondary market down to USD 800-900/m².

If as little as 3-4% of the total loan is compensated from the budget (with a maximum annual interest rate of 12-13%), the state will pay UAH 7,200-8,000 annually per flat. If one million flats are built at a cost of UAH 6,000/m² under the "affordable housing" programme, the state will spend nearly two percent of its budget (at present - UAH 7.2 billion). At the same time, UAH 30-40 billion of private funds, which are never invested under the conditions that exist at present, will be attracted, and at least UAH 190-230 billion will come from other sources. This will lead to the relevant growth of the construction sector and thus increase deductions to the budget which could turn out to be much higher than all state expenses for the implementation of the housing programme.

Unwelcome Guests

Commercial entities linked to President Yanukovich have their eyes on yet another historical monument in Kyiv



PHOTO: OLEKSANDR ZAKLETSKY

Author:
Bohdan
Butkevych

Recently, the Verkhovna Rada (VR) quietly removed Kyiv's Hostynnyi Dvir from the list of architectural monuments that cannot be privatized. Hostynnyi Dvir, meaning "Hospitable Inn" in English, is a commercial complex in Kyiv's Podil district. The parliament passed the draft law for this change of status despite opposition by the VR's Key Legal Department and public protests. Attempts to block the site's change of ownership in court also failed. This is hardly surprising, as the Hospitable Inn has attracted the attention of people close to President Yanukovich, referred to by his comrades simply as "leader."

BACKGROUND

Hostynnyi Dvir ran into problems when the new government came to power in 2010 as rumours first surfaced that the authorities wanted to turn the building into a commercial center. Yet, the building is no stranger to hard times.

Built in 1809, Hostynnyi Dvir or Hospitable Inn is a monumental commercial complex in the heart of Kyiv's Kontraktova Ploshcha. It was designed in the Neoclassical style by Luigi Rusca, the main architect of St. Petersburg. In 1811, a fire broke out at the Hospitable Inn and the building, unfinished at the time, was reconstructed by architect Andriy Melensky in 1828.

The Hospitable Inn was badly damaged during World War II and remained in disrepair for many years. In the 1980s, it was renovated based on Rusca's first project, the repairs conducted by architect Valentyna Shevchenko. Following its renovation, many organizations moved into the building, including the architecture library, the Podil Theater, the Ukrainian State Research and Design Institute for Renovation, and the Ukrainian Renovation Agency, which was actually in charge of restoring architectural monuments.

The raid on the Hospitable Inn began last year when the Cabinet of Ministers Directive No.

at the Inn

1380 dated August 15, 2011, removed the Hospitable Inn from the list of architectural monuments under state protection.

Later, on April 26, 2012, 68 deputies from the pro-government majority of the Kyiv City Council allowed the Ukrainian Renovation Agency, which is legally renting the Hospitable Inn, to design a draft plan for the reconstruction of the building into a trade and office center with a guest parking lot.

On July 5, 2012, 256 MPs, or "cards" to be exact, passed an amendment to the final provisions of the "Law On the Implementation of Social Initiatives by the President for the Reduction of Mortgage Loan Costs" sponsored by Oleksandr Klymenko, an Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense (NU-NS) MP, that gave a green light to the privatization of the Hospitable Inn.

Currently, it is still on the balance sheet for the President's State Administration.

FAMILY BUSINESS

In 1994, the Podil District Administration founded Ukrainian Restoration, a special research and restoration design and construction enterprise. Later, the company came to comprise Ukrainian Restoration CJSC, the financial company Ukrainian Restoration, and Restorer Ltd. They were involved in renovating many major sites, including the Mariinsky Palace in Kyiv.

On June 10, 2011, ownership of Ukrainian Restoration changed hands. A Cypriot company called Afidreko Holdings, Ltd. registered on June 3 became its new majority shareholder with a 91% stake.

The new owners quickly set to work replacing all company managers. Dmytro Yarych, a lawyer at the Zoranyi Movie Theater Ltd was appointed CEO. Maryna Diachenko, Hennadiy Nezhurbida and Maryna Pelykh, all top managers of the Zoranyi Movie Theater, ended up on Ukrainian Restoration's Supervisory Board. On August 15, 2011, the Cabinet of Ministers issued the abovementioned instruction to remove the Hospitable Inn from the list of protected architectural monuments.

Zoranyi has long been a Kyiv headquarters for the Party of Regions. Last year, an investigation undertaken by **The Ukrainian Week** revealed that the companies that own the movie theater are connected to Mezhyhiria, Mr. Yanukovich's infamous residence, and commercial entities owned by his sons Viktor and Oleksandr.

Notably, Maryna Pelykh's husband is Andriy Kravets, the current Head of the State Department of Affairs. Experts describe him as personally loyal to Viktor Yanukovich and his son Oleksandr. Therefore, the fact that the right to renovate the Hospitable Inn, which is on the State Department of Affairs' balance sheet, was granted to Ukrainian Restoration hardly seems coincidental. In fact, the company was the major subcontractor for the recent renovation of the Andriyivsky Uzviz.

The privatization of the Hospitable Inn was lobbied in the VR by Oleksandr Klymenko, a member of Yuriy Kostenko's Ukrainian People's Party in the NU-NS faction. However, Mr. Klymenko hails from Donetsk, making his loyalties quite clear. During the Orange Revolu- ➤



O'BRIEN'S IRISH PUB



- The best breakfast in the city (8.00-12.00)
- Business lunch (12.00-15.00)
- Traditional Irish dishes (8.00-2.00)
- Live sports broadcasts on two big screens and numerous TVsets
- We take orders for parties & banquets



We accept
all kinds
of credit cards

17a Mykhaylivska str.
Tel. (+38044)279-15-84
www.obriens.kiev.ua



Double Coffee®

brewed properly.



Party Time
15% discount for all alcoholic cocktails
From 21:00 to 07:00

Kyiv, vul. Mykhailivska 6
(+38044) 591 1836

Kyiv, vul. B. Khmelnytskoho 42
(+38044) 591 1835

Kyiv, vul. Konstiantynivska 6
(+38044) 591 1837

Kyiv, Moskovsky Prospect 34 A
Entertainment Center BlockBuster
(+38044) 591 1838



RESISTANCE.
A campaign
to protect the
Hospitable Inn

tion years of 2005-2006, he served as Deputy Head of the Donetsk Oblast State Administration for Industry, Fuel and Energy, Transport and Communication. Yet, he quickly found his way after the Party of Regions returned to power, getting along quite well with the “directing force of Donbas.” Currently, his Leasing Center company is within the Family’s orbit of influence.

DECONSTRUCTION BY RAIDERS

The announced renovation plans include the lighting of the façade, reduction of the outdoor patio, covering the Hospitable Inn with a glass roof to protect it from rain, building a mansard, adding one

INFO

Heavy equipment has recently appeared at Zamkova Hora, the Castle Hill in Podil. Developers began cutting down trees and massive excavation. In addition to the hill being an archeological site and part of the Old Kyiv reserve, cutting down its trees is an extremely dangerous initiative—experts say it has a complex geology and groundwater very close to the surface.

underground floor and demolishing the terraces of the ground floor in order to create commercial space. In fact, this would entail a complete reconstruction of

THE PLANNED "RENOVATION" WILL TURN THE HOSPITABLE INN INTO YET ANOTHER TYPICAL SHOPPING MALL

the site. Plans for the interior include the creation of cafes and shops, turning the building into a typical shopping mall.

Activists who protested against the “renovations” are still trying to win back the Hospitable Inn. On May 26, 2012, they launched a public art campaign called the Hospitable Republic. Located on the patio of the building, it offers various art events on an almost daily basis.

However, the protectors often run into trouble. On the night of June 1, nearly 30 hired thugs led

by Dmytro Yarych, the CEO of Ukrainian Restoration, tried to take over the building. Using old raider tactics, they sealed the gate and placed a truck in front of it to block the entrance. Only the determination and swift action of the protesters made it possible to withstand the raid.

Meanwhile, at the District Administrative Court in Kyiv, activist Vadym Toropov appealed the Cabinet of Minister’s Instruction No. 1380 that started all the troubles in the first place. Based on the appeal, he demanded that the court ruled to stop construction on the territory. Yet, Judge Vitaliy Amelekhin refused to suspend the document referring to the lack of evidence provided by the appealing party. Still, the activists submitted yet another appeal and an expert opinion to be considered on August 22.

Will these efforts stop the onslaught of a powerful financial and industrial machine backed by the country’s leaders? ■

Ukraine – UNESCO: Lost in translation?

A careful analysis of correspondence between Ukrainian government officials and their UNESCO counterparts (especially in cases concerning intrusion into historical architectural landscapes as well as construction projects in buffer zones around UNESCO World Heritage sites, such as the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the Sophia cathedral), leaves an impression that the parties are lost in translation.

How else can one interpret Ukraine's stand? On the one hand, the city allows developers with big names or good connections to disguise themselves as investors and effectively destroy Kyiv landscapes, jeopardizing the Lavra and St. Sophia's. On the other hand, officials appeal to UNESCO proposing the inclusion of new sites which are now part of the National Sanctuary Sophia of Kyiv, in the list of World Heritage sites. European mass media have reported that the UNESCO Committee had been planning to consider adding 33 new sites to their list – including St. Andrew's and St. Cyril's Churches in Kyiv – at its meeting in St. Petersburg on 22 June 2012. However, after the meeting 26 new sites were added to the list, and none of them were Ukrainian.

Meanwhile, the UNESCO press service published yet another appeal to the incumbent Ukrainian government, demanding a ban on development projects in buffer zones around St. Sophia and Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, let alone those in their immediate vicinity. However, there has been hardly any progress: construction is still going on. In my opinion, the problem is not only in the triumph of money over everything including common sense, though finances have clearly been the most important factor when it comes to construction in downtown Kyiv. Sources close to historical sites say that land property here has always been a gold mine for owners, and yet there is another dimension to this problem, a purely psychological one.

Look at the biggest developers: they are all strangers, none are from Kyiv. They are people who came to the capital to do business or to pursue a career in politics. In other words, Kyiv is nothing but a hunting ground for them, a territory for new business. And in business Ukrainian-style everything is allowed, as long as it secures windfall profits. Such an

investor might even have heard of UNESCO – or even seen its headquarters on a visit to Paris – but that is all there is to it. UNESCO? What is it to them, given that they believe themselves to stand above even Ukraine's laws? Besides, these dealers tend to arrive in Kyiv from the east of Ukraine, where natural landscapes are mostly flat steppes, while urban landscapes are composed largely of dumps and waste dominating industrial zones and coal mines. This defines their particular everyday practices and shapes their attitude towards historical culture. Far be it from me to sound offensive, the more so that I have friends in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, but most of them on their first visit to Kyiv are genuinely surprised: "Why on earth is everything here so patriarchal and old-fashioned? What are these old mansions good for? This would make a perfect site for a first-rate building, like in Hong Kong!" And last but not least: the vast majority of today's Ukrainian oligarchs and their men come from the USSR. And that is he source of their ways of making money, as well as their habits, cultural preferences, and everyday lingo. Ukraine as a state, with its language, traditions, culture, and historical heritage is

for them something alien and incomprehensible. And what you do not understand, love, or accept, you try to destroy. Thus the destruction of the monuments of Ukrainian history and culture and the recent language and educational policy, just as a number of less conspicuous steps,

perfectly fit in the scheme for the elimination of Ukraine in which there is no room for the public, the international community, or UNESCO. Surprisingly, the last worries more about Ukraine's problems than Ukrainians themselves do.

Here is one graphic example: the Supervisory Board of the National Sanctuary Sophia of Kyiv announced that most of its members proposed banning public liturgies at St. Andrew's Church, which the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has been holding there since 2009. Moreover, academician Petro Tolochko, a scientist himself and Board President, argued that smoke from candles is destroying the church's unique icons and murals. Perhaps the Supervisory Board has also got a smart solution for avoiding landslides under St. Andrew's? ■

**UNESCO WORRIES
MORE ABOUT UKRAINE'S
PROBLEMS THAN
UKRAINIANS THEMSELVES
DO**



Author:
Bohdana
Kościuk

Vitamin L for Kids

Marek Michalak, Poland's Ombudsman for Children, talks about upbringing without corporal punishment



Interviewer:
Inna
Zavhorodnia

Photo:
Tomasz
Pietrzyk

During Marek Michalak's term as Ombudsman for Children, Polish legislation banned corporal punishment as a means for disciplining children. Mr. Michalak talks to *The Ukrainian Week* about how the attitudes of Polish parents towards their children have changed in recent times.

UW: You have worked with young children for over 20 years now. How have parent-child re-

lations changed in Poland in that time? Does the change affect children's development?

– The last 20 years have been a time of intense transformations in Poland. The overall attitude towards human rights, including the rights of children, has changed. Have children changed? I'd say that it is rather their environment, in other words, the adult world that has changed. The time has come, when ever more often, we see the person in a child,

rather than material for a future citizen. This is a huge leap forward in adult thinking. It clearly changes attitudes and approaches towards upbringing. Children's feelings and rights have to be taken into consideration, and their individuality and dignity have to be respected.

UW: Corporal punishment had long been viewed as a method of disciplining children in the West. This is no longer the case

today. How do parents feel about this in Poland?

– On 1 August 2010, Poland banned smacking or beating of children. As a teacher and a father, not just Ombudsman for Children this ban has my unequivocal support. Every human being has a right to live without being subject to violence. The ban will have a positive effect in the future, when a generation brought up without violence grows up. We cannot hit a child when demanding something from them. Hitting children is the easiest way, but we tend to forget that we lose children's respect when we smack them and they often lose the desire to live. Using such means we raise an individual who lacks faith, who will pass this feeling on to others. Psychologists confirm that those who experienced violence are the most likely to use violence themselves. The law is not enough. We also have to believe that raising children without physical punishment is a possible, good and efficient way. I initiated a survey on this issue a year after parliament passed the ban. It found that the share of people who approved of corporal punishment in Poland had fallen by 9%. Although it is at a level of 69%, it is declining.

UW: In his book titled *Why Our Children Become Tyrants or the Elimination of Childhood*, Michael Winterhoff, a German children's psychiatrist, describes partner relations as the wrong model for parent-children relations, leading to mental disorders and development problems in children. How can parents see the line between respecting their children's needs and desires and a strict, authoritarian upbringing?

– Respect for parents should grow out of love and understanding each others' needs, not parents' strictness. I don't call on parents to give children the right to decide everything in their everyday life. Instead, I ask adults to listen to what children think, want and say. After all, adults are the ones who make decisions, as they are capable of taking responsibility, taking their child's needs taken into account. A sensible upbringing is when parents

give their children an unlimited supply of love, the L vitamin, spend time with them and give them feasible yet reasonable boundaries. I can reassure everyone that raising people in an environment where their rights, dignity and personality are respected is the only way to smooth out problems and disorders. Fueling and aggravating them won't help.

UW: Many parents today feel lost. They don't know how to raise their children correctly. What recommendations can you give them? Should they raise their children intuitively or be guided by specific methods? If so, which should they choose?

– It is necessary to know how to use recommended books on raising children. Not all of them are good. Parents need to be critical and use their common sense. I recommend Janusz Korczak (Polish teacher, doctor and writer – ed.), a wise person, who understands children's needs. What you should keep in mind, though, is that there is no specific formula for raising a kid. Every child is different, each has a unique temperament.

UW: Should parents set clear behavioural rules for children, is it worth involving them in the creation of these rules, in order to give them more freedom?

– We are the ones giving children the very first and the clearest starting point. We should remember that children are cautious observers of our behaviour, both public and private. By allowing children to take part in debates, express their standpoint and co-create reality, we are moving in the direction of raising creative individuals who are interested in the world. But if we coerce them into everything and expect blind obedience, we destroy children's naturalness. In such case, a child can become either very compliant or very aggressive, hurting himself or others. There is nowhere to hide and wait for the problems of upbringing to resolve themselves. The solution should be sought through dialogue, not monologue. We adults like to preach to children, give them instructions and demand their fulfillment. This is

not the essence of a dialogue. We should communicate with them, allow them to express themselves, looking them in the eye, not from above. It's better to talk to a child at their level, sitting down or kneeling.

UW: A hotly debated issue in Ukraine is the interference of authorities in raising children, whose parents are unable to do so adequately. How much power should authorities have in this respect?

– The less the state interferes with people's private lives, the better. That's the best rule. However, the authorities should react in certain situations, such as when children are hurt. The state should always monitor the protec-

A SENSIBLE UPBRINGING IS WHEN PARENTS GIVE THEIR CHILDREN AN UNLIMITED SUPPLY OF LOVE

tion of the rights of every human being, especially the weak and those unable to protect themselves.

UW: What are the common mistakes parents make when raising children today? Are they any different from those of 20 years ago?

– Most mistakes are a result of the lack of time parents and children have for each other. People used to communicate much more. At the very least, they would get together at the dinner table. According to my observations, every home has a TV set today, but not every home has a dining table. It's hard to talk in front of the TV. People don't look each other in the eye. ■

BIO

Marek Michalak was appointed Ombudsman for Children in Poland in 2008. In 2011-2012, he chaired the European Network of Ombudspersons for Children (ENOC). Mr. Michalak was also Chancellor of the International Chapter of the Order of Smile and a member of the Human Development Committee at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The father of two, Mr. Michalak worked as a teacher and therapist with children in problem families and their parents for 21 years. Under his initiative, 2012 was declared the Year of Janusz Korczak and he was also the initiator of the Third Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Mr. Michalak holds numerous Polish and international decorations.

Letters from Angels

Volunteers bring smiles and support to children with cancer

Author:
Bohdan
Butkevych

Photos:
Lia Doštleva

Cancer is a terrible diagnosis faced by hundreds of Ukrainian children every year. Shortly after they find out about their disease, they end up in cancer treatment facilities where they endure long, painful and challenging treatments. Cancer removes children from their normal lives and most friends forget about them; only their stressed out parents and doctors remain. All this happens at a time when each positive or negative emotion can tilt the scales to one side or another.

Letters From Angels is a volunteer initiative launched in Kyiv in 2010. Its activists are people who become friends to children under-

going lengthy treatments in hospitals. They send the young patients supportive letters and small gifts, come to hospitals to play games with them or help them financially, if they can afford it. Apart from helping children, their support aids parents who are often much more stressed out by their child's disease than the child.

Once a week, a personal "angel" sends mail to the young patients. Little kids often get letters from their favourite cartoon characters. They believe in the friendship and see a fairy tale come alive. Older children and parents understand that the letters come from ordinary people. Still, they often find it surprising that a

stranger cares about their problems, is willing to support them and does not disappear for long periods. The volunteers say that most children with cancer are much more courageous and confident than average children their age. And they love to have fun, although their jokes may sound far from funny to an outsider.

The project covers five hospitals, including the National Cancer Institute, Kyiv City Hospital, Chornobyl Center, Kyiv Oblast Hospital and OKhMatDyt, a special children's hospital in Kyiv. At the end of 2011, nearly 170 families had their own "angels." Volunteers meet every Thursday. The project is on the web at likarinfund.org. ■



GIVING HAPPINESS:
Angels send something interesting, such as postcards, stickers or icons, in every letter, especially the first one



EMINE, CRIMEA:
The girl had an osteosarcoma in her right upper arm. Following the surgery, she can hardly move her arm, so she often talks to her "angel" Liya on the phone

SEARCHING FOR A PERSONAL ANGEL: Every hospital involved in the project makes a waiting list of children who need support



MIRACULOUS HEALING:
Liuba from Ternopil Oblast (left) had throat cancer. Despite the fact that this type of cancer kills virtually everyone who has it, the girl was cured, although she is still in supportive therapy. Liuba is wearing a mask because her immune system is very weak following chemotherapy



DRAWING TOGETHER:

A visiting "angel" entertains a young patient of the National Cancer Institute with a catheter. Some "angels" write letters to children and meet with them if the little patients desire

BAGUETTE THE DOG:

Volunteer Olena writes funny stories about her three dogs to a boy who loves canines. The angels' key purpose is to entertain kids and lift their spirits during their battle with the fatal disease

CELEBRITY TIME:

Liuba poses in a wig pretending to be an actress. Most children, especially girls, are extremely upset about the loss of their hair, so they wear hats or headscarves



Kitchen Masterpiece

The year's top student innovation project was created in the kitchen of a Donetsk apartment

Author:
Valeria Burlakova

This year, Microsoft's Imagine Cup, one of the biggest international student technology competitions, celebrated its 10th anniversary. Over 350 students from 75 countries participated in the finals in Sydney, Australia. An international jury selected the Ukrainian team for first prize. Anton Pasternikov, Maksym Osyka, Valeriy Yasakov and Anton Stepanov, all students of the Donetsk branch of the "Step" Computer Academy, took first place in the Software Design competition.

Their team is called QuadSquad, alluding to their team of four. The device they presented at Imagine Cup is called Enable Talk. As the name suggests, the invention allows people with hearing and speech disorders to speak. The four students designed special gloves that turn gestures into speech.

The gloves contain built-in sensors, including an accelerometer, a gyroscope and even a compass. This allows the software to monitor their position in space and sense the bending of fingers, while transmitting this data to a cell phone. Special software designed by the Ukrainian team converts the data into a sound signal that creates the new electronic voice of the owner. The



glove's solar battery keeps it working longer.

"We know how hard it is for people with hearing and speech disabilities because some of our friends have them," the winners said of their motivation. "We thought about how we could help them. That's why we worked on this social project."

It took them nearly six months to create Enable Talk. Their masterpiece was created in the kitchen of a team member's apartment, where they spent long nights constructing elements of the gloves.

UKRAINIANS INVENT A GLOVE THAT TURNS GESTURES INTO SPEECH

Before going to Australia, the four students won the national finals in Kyiv in April 2012. Since then, they have been confident that it would work out. "We all believe in our team, and that this project has every chance to unite innovative technology in micro-electronics and powerful Windows operating systems to make the world better not only for people with hearing and speech disabilities, but for all of us," Anton Stepanov said after their victory in Kyiv.

Still, he remains humble. After his team's international vic-

tory he says that the gloves are just a prototype and are not ready for commercial use. They still need some upgrades before people can actually use them in everyday life. According to their estimates, the cost of the glove would be very affordable – \$75.

They also admit that the competition was tough. "We had no spare time in Australia because we had to prepare well for the presentation of our project," the winners say. "But we couldn't help but notice the inventions of other contestants."

Anton Stepanov's favourite projects come from Japan and Portugal, and ended up in second and third place, respectively. The Japanese team presented an energy-saving project that enables smart control of interior lighting. The team from Portugal, like QuadSquad from Ukraine, also presented a project that made life easier for disabled people. They designed a robot that would help people in wheelchairs move their luggage, controlling the personal carrier with gestures.

The winners believe that Ukraine has many more young and talented inventors. And it's not the lack of funding, time or some illusory obstacles that stand in their way. "Most people just have no idea about these competitions," the winners claim. ■

FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCE OF THE KGB'S "REFINEMENT"



Obituary

"On 20 July, after a long struggle with illness, dissident and one of the founders of the 1960s' Ukrainian samvydav¹ passed away." Such are the short announcements of the death of Vasyl Lisoviy online and in daily newspapers. However, they miss some of the key aspects of his life. Vasyl Lisoviy was one of the most moral participants of the

1960-1980s Resistance Movement and one of the most thorough and deepest Ukrainian philosophers of the late 20th century, when he finally had the freedom to write and say what he thought.

His life was the path of a man who did not simply search for the truth, but strove to live according to it. Born to a family of farmers, he graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv with a degree in History and Philosophy, he subsequently became a Professor and Senior Fellow at the Philosophy Institute. Meanwhile, he actively wrote and distributed self-published literature from the early 1960s on. Then came 1972, when Ukraine saw a wave of arrests to completely eliminate the "nationalistic virus" once and for all. The arrests did not touch Vasyl Lisoviy, while many others switched to the other side or hushed up, finding a compromise with the system. Together with Yevhen Proniuk, Vasyl Lisoviy issued the 6th edition of the self-published *Ukrayinskiy Visnyk* (Ukrainian Newsletter) to publicise information about those arrested and try to challenge the accusations against them of publishing previous issues. Later, he wrote an *Open Letter to the Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine*, in which he gave judiciously and reasonably substantiated arguments as to why the soviet system could not lead countries to progressive development and the inevitability of its degradation and collapse. In the end, after a devastating critique of the lawlessness of all cases against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, Vasyl Lisoviy demanded that the system arrest and judge him as well, because the reprisal against them was "aimed at the living Ukrainian nation and the living Ukrainian culture." The response from the system was immediate: 7 years of labour camps and 3 years of exile.

The Ukrainian Week presents Vasyl Lisoviy's investigative memoirs about the repressive techniques used by the KGB against the activists of the 1960-1980s dissident movement in Ukraine.

The protocol of a case that was part of the political repression campaign in the USSR, or the written testimony of the accused, or any other related documents, say nothing about the condition of the person whose words were written therein. Readers or researchers can only guess at what stood behind his/her unexpected switch to side with the prosecution. A lot has been done so far to research the red terror, executed through its key tools, such as the Cheka, the Extraordinary Commission; the State Political Directorate abbreviated as GPU in Russian; NKVD and MGB, the Ministry of State Security or soviet intelligence agency in the 1940-1950s. But the scale of their crimes against humanity is only now being gradually revealed. In their introduction to *Cheka-GPU-NKVD in Ukraine*, a book published in 1997 in Kyiv, its authors Yuriy Shapoval, Volodymyr Prystaiko and Vadym Zolotariov note the necessity to create "the conceptual, factual and resourceful basis for further research." Even though this need refers to the operation of special service units in Ukraine, most major documents are stored in Moscow, if not destroyed. The fact that the GDR Stasi destroyed their archives proved the system's fear of what might be revealed if these documents are declassified. I don't think that the KGB would pass up the opportunity to clean up their ar-



IN THE KGB TRAP: Ukrainian dissidents celebrate Christmas in Lviv before the 1972 arrests

chives of the most dangerous documents in the early 1990s.

As for the KGB, there is enough evidence to characterise the most important aspects of its activity in the 1960-1970s. In 1959, the Presidium of the Communist Party's Central Committee approved the Provision on the KGB under the USSR Council of Ministers. It said that the KGB "reports directly to and is controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." Its key responsibilities, other than foreign intelligence and the discovery of spies



PHOTO FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE PRISON AT LONTSKOHO STREET, A MUSEUM FOR THE VICTIMS OF OCCUPATIONAL REGIMES

and saboteurs, included the struggle against “the hostile activity of anti-soviet and nationalistic elements in the USSR.” In 1967, a range of special units were merged into the notorious Fifth Directorate, created to eliminate “ideological dissent.” Needless to say, the introduction of these minimum legal restrictions proved to be a positive step – at the very least, an element of legitimacy.

As a result of these changes, physical torture in cells was cancelled, although with some exceptions, so enforcers resorted to

¹ Samvydav translates into English as self-publishing or grassroots publishing, used by dissidents in the former Soviet Union to evade official censorship.

² Alla Horska was a Ukrainian painter and activist from the generation of *shestydesiatnyky* or the 1960s dissidents. She was killed at her father's-in-law apartment in 1970. Officially, the investigation found that her father-in-law murdered her because of personal dislike and then committed suicide. Even though authorities hushed up talk about her death, it caused an uproar both in Ukraine and abroad.

concealing continued tortures. The KGB found it easier to hide its complicity in various forms of physical torture, including violent beatings, in camps, disciplinary cells and prisons, than in detention centers. But in the mid-1960s, its treatment of dissidents during investigation was brutal. It secretly forged politically motivated charges and used provocations. Only some of these forged cases have been disclosed and made public so far (Vadym Smohytel, Mykola Horbal, Vasyl Ovsienko and others). Murders, both abroad and in the USSR,

could still be committed, but only under the guise of special operations. Moreover, not all such measures were taken under written orders. Additional evidence is needed to say accurately how exactly, and for what purpose the KGB applied extreme measures, such as torture and murders, after the mid-1960s. One such case was the brutal murder of Alla Horska² (the likelihood of KGB involvement in it is very high). It may have been an attempt to intimidate the entire dissident movement in Ukraine. But these were excep-

tional measures, executed “on the spot” with no relevant instructions being put on paper.

Thus, the KGB became an entity that wanted to preserve its “façade” of a show legitimacy (and that’s good enough) while hiding all of its dirty laundry in the shadow. It took into account the naïve frankness of various orders and instructions from party bosses and Cheka people of the Stalin era in the operation of the repressive machine that used words, such as “contaminate”, “discredit”, “provoke” and others. The introduction of elements of legitimacy required staff with legal training, therefore the KGB ranks were gradually joined by people, unwilling to take on the position of a “hawk”. This mirrored similar trends in party structures. But in the KGB, as the military branch, the disparity between moderate and radical views was less clear than in the party.

Moscow dictated all important decisions, primarily those related to personnel. One example was the removal of Petro Shelest (First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1963–1972 who was inconvenient because of his Ukraine-oriented position, even despite two waves of dissident arrests during his time as leader of the Ukrainian SSR – ed.). Another was the replacement of Vitaliy Nikitchenko, a “softer” chief of the Ukrainian branch of the KGB, with the tougher Vitaliy Fedorchuk in 1970. Ideologists struggled to spread the idea that the series of tough punishments in Ukraine was the result of locals “going over the edge.” Meanwhile, they consistently removed any party or repressive authority boss who did not prove determined enough, especially in fighting against “nationalists.” In Ukraine, the so-called “overstepping of boundaries” resulted from the fact that any chief or director down to the head of a kolkhoz, who was not tough or violent enough, inevitably not only lost his position, but also faced the risk of being repressed as a saboteur or malingerer. The Kremlin dictated the scale and toughness of verdicts in proceedings against Ukrainian dissidents.



PHOTO FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE PRISON AT LONTSKOHO STREET, A MUSEUM FOR THE VICTIMS OF OCCUPATIONAL REGIMES

COLD ISOLATION: Ukrainian dissidents in exile to the Komi Autonomous Republic

No party or Cheka functionary wanted to leave “traces”. Most “dirty” cases that were beyond the boundaries of formal socialist legitimacy were classified as “operative work”. It is difficult to assess the dark side of the KGB’s operations now, because the documents that were not destroyed are still in classified archives. This is especially true of the KGB’s technical executive department, established in 1959 and made up of a range of special units. What investigations, other than wiretapping and secret murders, were conducted for the purposes of this department? How many people worked on secret programmes at

sive tools against the dissident and Helsinki movements in the 1960–1980s in the testimony and memoirs of dissidents and the research of historians Heorhiy Kasianov, Anatoliy Rusnachenko, Yuriy Shapoval and others. They range from “soft” to the most violent and extreme tools. The categories include preventive and educational measures – the “persuasion” mostly being limited to warnings, threats and the application of some “tools of influence”; involving staff in public discussions on cases at committee meetings or through reprimands made at work; discrediting; measures related to significant areas of life, the stake being a job, education, getting an academic degree or an apartment, the opportunity to publish one’s writings or art and threats against family members, especially children, and friends, etc; preventive arrests; imprisonment under criminal charges, including those resulting from provocations; imprisonment under political charges; sending people to asylums, as well as crippling and murder.

At that point, the communist regime was twisted in convulsions. Neither the social nor the national aspects of the dominating ideology could withstand even the most primitive criticism. The bourgeoisie as a class, i.e. the owners of production facilities, no longer existed. The

THE KGB BECAME AN ENTITY THAT WANTED TO PRESERVE ITS “FAÇADE” OF A SHOW LEGITIMACY WHILE HIDING ALL OF ITS DIRTY LAUNDRY IN THE SHADOW

various research institutions? Even those who cooperated with the KGB on a voluntary or forced basis are reluctant to disclose information they know today because of the secrecy surrounding its executive or operative activity. I think their fear for their personal security is justified.

Today, we have a pretty good description of the KGB’s repres-

idea of the impact of “bourgeois ideology” on the youth brought up in the communist system was not convincing either, as that same youth included some leading figures in the dissident movement, such as Ivan Svitlychniy, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Drach and others. The regime faced its major defeat at the level of “preventive conversations” regardless of who conducted them. The “educational campaign” already beginning in kindergarten and primary school can brainwash people, but as soon as critical thinking awakens, the effect of the brainwashing is ruined. A crisis in ideology signals that its arguments lose their power of persuasion.

Leonid Brezhnev’s coming to power was the nomenclature’s attempt to rescue its dominating position, achieving “stabilization” by reviving more determined repression, aimed at crushing the dissident movement. The verdicts that were much tougher for Ukrainian dissenters compared to those anywhere else in the USSR, were first and foremost caused by the national element: the loss of Ukraine, albeit in the future, would be the most painful blow to Russian imperialism.

When I later looked at dissidents’ different interpretations of KGB activities, I found some inconsistencies. For one thing, they tended to underestimate the KGB’s professionalism in using various practices and tools to fight against the regime’s opponents. On their part, Western special services seemed to be quite naïve about the methods and techniques of the KGB, just as they were about the role of scientific and technical developments at the relevant units of soviet special services. If Bohdan Stashynsky³ had not outfoxed the KGB (by escaping to the West and explaining how he assassinated Stepan Bandera at trial), the scenario whereby the leader of OUN, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, died of a heart attack would probably still be held to be the truth.

This is not to say that the concept of “the KGB knowing everything” which Cheka members tried to spread to intimidate dis-

senters, would be helpful to the dissident movement. But I found it surprising to hear someone sharing stories of their visit to a detention center and assuming confidently that all detention centers were virtually the same for everyone else. Aleksandr Bolonkin⁴ once published an article about his previous imprisonment at a press-cell⁵ in Ulan-Ude. Without this, my experience in the same circumstances would have remained unique. In my opinion, it is inconsistent to assume that the KGB only crossed the boundaries of formal legitimacy behind the walls of a detention center or that it did not resort to illegal actions against people cut off from the world in a detention center.

Everyone who judges another prisoner’s behaviour under conditions of complete isolation, based on his or her own experience, makes the tacit assumption that the KGB complied with general procedures. However, my personal experience does not confirm this far too optimistic assessment of the implementation of legal restrictions by the KGB. I acknowledged a certain evolution in the KGB’s operation since the late 1950s and did not consider all Cheka employees to be fanatical executors of their bosses’ will. Still, I never underestimated the KGB’s array of tools and professionally trained staff.

Compared to the terror of repressive structures that preceded the KGB under different names, a new obvious threat surfaced: physical tortures were replaced by attacks on nerves and mental health. The crisis of official ideology encouraged the idea that psychiatry could help in the situation. It was not a new idea, as witnessed by the history of repression since the coming to power of the Bolsheviks suggests. The idea of qualifying all dissidents as unable to adjust to the social environment offered new opportunities. This strategy was theoretically confirmed by several leading psychiatrists in Moscow (see *Soviet Psychiatry. Misconception and Agenda* by A. Korotenko and N. Alikina for more details). This side of the KGB’s scenarios continues to be classified. Possibly the most de-

monstrative example of the use of psychiatry as a tool against dissenters by the communist special service, was the large-scale “purging” of Kyiv of ideologically unreliable elements before the 1980 Olympics. Some of them, mainly dissidents, were placed in psychiatric hospitals.

I would like to note that qualifying dissenters’ actions as a type of mental disorder was in line with the “sound reason” of those

THE KGB USED PSYCHIATRY TO PURGE KYIV OF "IDEOLOGICALLY UNRELIABLE ELEMENTS" BEFORE THE 1980 OLYMPICS

who failed to understand any ethically motivated activism because it contradicts the primary life interests of its performer. If a person overcomes the fear that signals a danger for it, then is he/she is acting under the influence of hidden or even subconscious incentives, albeit hiding them (even if intuitively) behind ethical arguments. Thus, such person must be guided by a “super-valuable idea” as indicated in the “diagnosis” of Petro Hryhorenko, a soviet general who in the 1960s, stood up for Crimean Tatars and other peoples deported by the Stalin regime, or some sort of subconscious motivation is concealed behind these ethical arguments. People who never risked their comfort, let alone life, for ethical reasons, saw such actions as a manifestation of abnormality.

In the 1960-1980s, the KGB consisted of pragmatic cynics rather than the fanatical followers of Lenin, therefore their “sound reason” was guided by this concept. Meanwhile, ethically motivated moves fueled hidden jealousy, irritation and resentment in some people: this was another source of their tendency, often subconscious, to discredit such activism and libel it, coming up with all sorts of hidden motives that may have guided the activists, such as insults, envy, the pursuit of glory, pride, personal life, etc. In the eyes of a materialist, ethical idealism is seen as something false, hence the consequence of mental disorders. ■

³ Bohdan Stashynsky is the KGB assassin of Ukrainian nationalist leaders Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera

⁴ Aleksandr Bolonkin is a soviet/American scientist in aviation, space, mathematics and computers. The KGB arrested him in 1972 for the distribution of works by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. After 15 years in camps and exile, he was released and sent abroad in 1987. After that, he taught at American universities, worked as a senior fellow at NASA and US Air Force research laboratories

⁵ In Russian prison slang, a press-cell is a means of torture whereby a prisoner is put in a cell with hand-selected criminals who exert psychological or physical pressure to break the person.



The Khersones Betrayal

In July 1942, the soviet command shamefully retreated from Sevastopol, leaving its defenders to the mercy of fate

Author:
Ihor Losev

70 years ago, at the beginning of July 1942, Sevastopol's defence came to its tragic end. The last city defenders found themselves isolated on the rocky cape. They had no chance of escape and found themselves with only two choices; death or captivity, the latter often meaning a pro-

longed version of the first. This tragedy resulted from the rather specific features of proletarian art of war and the professional level of the soviet commanders.

AWKWARD STRATEGY

At the beginning of the German-Soviet war the Crimea's defence potential looked almost perfect;

the reason being that it is a peninsula which is only linked to the mainland by a narrow strip of land. It was securely blocked and the only solution for the enemy would have been sea-borne troops and/or air assaults to stand any chance of success. For the former option sea supremacy was needed, however the Black Sea Fleet con-



PHOTO: AP

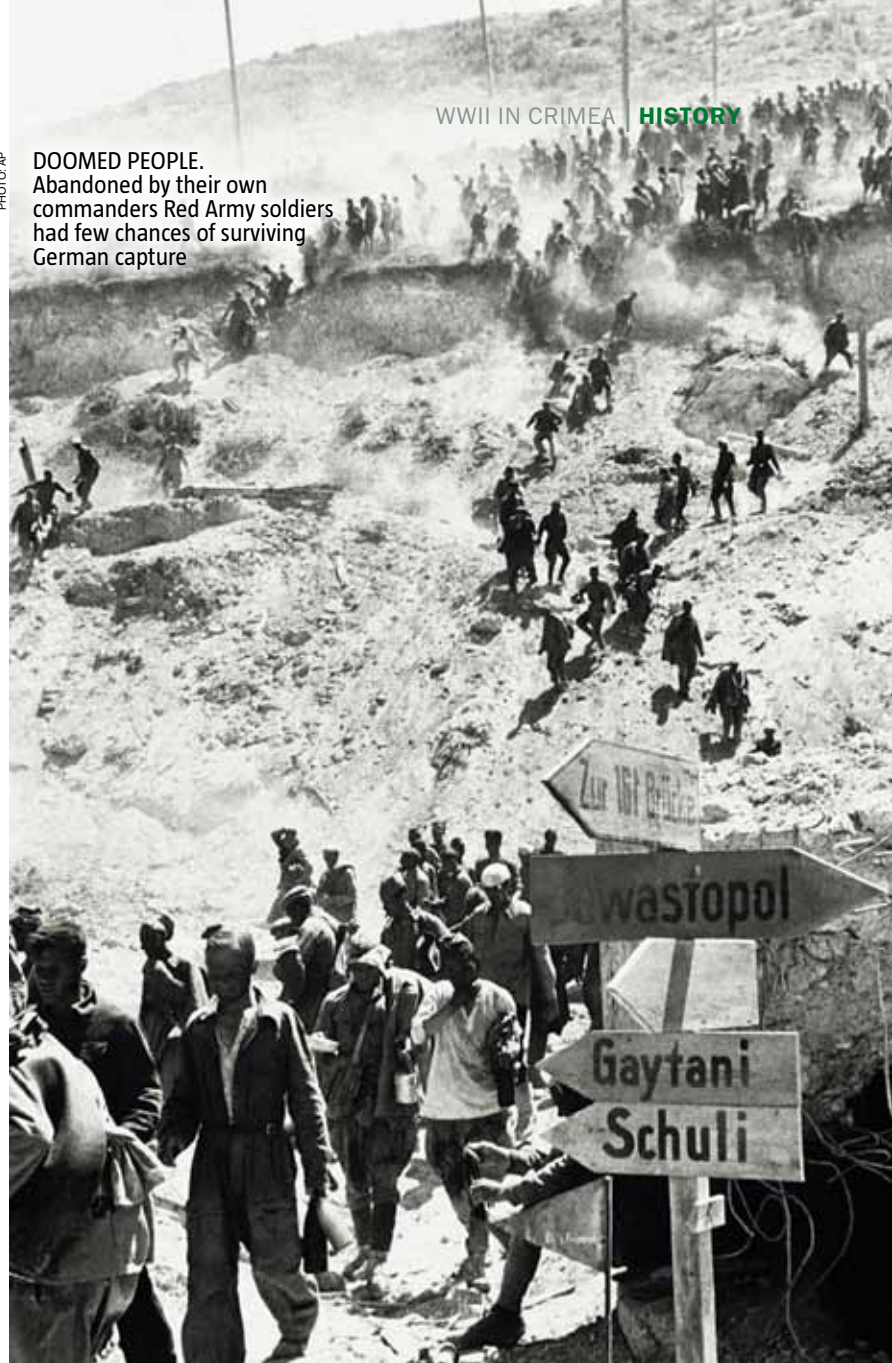
PHOTO: AP

trolled the area and German and Romanian sea troops were much weaker than their soviet opposition. For the latter option it was necessary to conquer the airspace. Besides this, strong Red Army troops were stationed on the peninsula which meant that any German paratroopers entering with no support from outside the Crimea risked total destruction.

In spite of all their advantages, Red Army commanders made the decision to scatter their forces all over the Crimea and provided no secure defence for the peninsula's 'gate', which was the Isthmus of Perekop. Field marshal Erich von Manstein breached the 'gate's' defences and German troops quickly

RUINED CITY.
Sevastopol's
panorama after
the conquer of
the Wehrmacht

Sevastopol's defence
lasted
250 days,
from
30 October 1941
to 4 July 1942



DOOMED PEOPLE.
Abandoned by their own
commanders Red Army soldiers
had few chances of surviving
German capture

rushed deep into the territory. They were finally stopped near Sevastopol. The city managed to hold itself due to its connection with the mainland, meaning defenders were provided with ammunition transported by Black Sea Fleet vessels. But the Germans managed to conquer the surrounding airspace and in the spring of 1942 forced all soviet vessels out to their Caucasian bases. Thus, it became an extraordinary event for any vessel to break through into Sevastopol. But the city could have survived with the necessary support, so it was worth the vessels taking the risk. What is more, Field Marshal Von Manstein, commander of the Sevastopol siege,

acknowledged German soldiers were totally exhausted. Meanwhile his soviet counterparts of the Black Sea command and Sevastopol defence district cared more about their own rescue. On the night of June 30-1 July 1942 two submarines and 14 Douglas PS-84 transport aircrafts took about 500 representatives of the command from Cape Khersones. These were party members, soviet institutions workers, security officers, admirals and generals.

HEROIC ESCAPE

The main point here is that the commanders abandoned their soldiers and rushed to the planned evacuation site, which was their



order from above. This event effectively “decapitated” the defences. On the night of 2 July abandoned servicemen organized democratic elections of new commanders in place of the escapees. It was an unprecedented event for Stalin’s empire, as servicemen replaced their command without any control from the party or any administrative bodies, a true example of military democracy. Later, even in Khrushov’s time, this fact was nearly never spoken about, as it was obviously not “politically correct” for the communists. Such a story was nothing to be proud of, in particular the fact that Black Sea commander admiral Filipp Oktiabrskiy and Maritime army commander General Petrov saved themselves having left at least 80,000 (up to 90,000, by other sources) subordinates to the merit of fate. Meanwhile the defending soldiers and sailors, having understood they had been betrayed, began shooting escapees... Furthermore, the soviet command did not make any real effort to help the last defenders of Sevastopol.

The 500 “Spartans” who escaped from the city to the Caucasus went on without any obstacles serving the country and gaining titles, positions and orders, while those who were left on the Kherones rocks were almost forgotten about for 50 years.

Having entered Sevastopol, Wehrmacht soldiers found neat folders with lists of soviet intelligence agents, secret soldiers and

VESSEL LOSS. No connection and support from the main land had become the decisive factors of the Red Army’s loss of Sevastopol

partisans in the city department of Interior Affairs Committee located in the city centre. The department’s head, state security senior lieutenant Anatoliy Nefiodov, had reasons for not burning these discrediting documents and he essentially facilitated the work of the Nazi intelligence service. Street fights were still being conducted and it was necessary to save super-valuable lives of powerful representatives of the regime, there was a poorly organized retreat of the troops to evacuation sites. The soldiers had to cover those who had the exclusive right to rescue. As Belorussian war historian Vladimir Beshanov said, “When military commanders got on the planes and flew away they sent a goodbye wave to the soldiers left behind and gave them

THERE WAS AN INCREDIBLE GAP BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE RED ARMY

their last orders, “fight to the bitter end” and “make a reversed front attack.” It is hard to imagine Friedrich Paulus leaving his Sixth Army in Stalingrad, while Hitler could not even think about an opportunity to take the field marshal out of the siege. And commander of the 14th tank corps, General Hans-Valentin Hube ever getting the Führer’s order to leave



the dangerous area, was simply incredible. He informed Berlin that he had taken his soldiers to Stalingrad with an order to fight to the last bullet and that he intended to show them how to do it. Stalin always tried to save his generals from possible German capture, fearing another traitor like General Andrei Vlasov. The fear was not unreasonable, as during the war a dozen Red Army generals served together with Mr. Vlasov in the Russian Liberation Army headquarters.

Meanwhile proletarian commanders shamefully left Cape Kherones having abandoned their soldiers and sailors who were simply deemed to be cheap cannon fodder. The generals were trying to save themselves and did not even think about ‘bourgeois’ notions of honour and conscience.

At the time of the 1853-1856 Crimean War General Count Dmitriy Osten-Saken headed the evacuation of Russian troops to the northern part of Sevastopol. He appeared on the pontoon bridge only after he saw the last soldier on it, in spite of the risk of coming under fire from the French and English servicemen. Communist admirals and generals behaved in a totally different way.

REPPRESSED MEMORY

After 1945 those who showed too much interest in the Cape Kherones tragedy would come under the surveillance of security bodies. The victims and survivors, having been to Nazi and often soviet con-



SAVING THEIR TROOPS.
Unlike soviet commanders in Crimea, Britons took care of the evacuation from Dunkirk of 300,000 men of allied forces in June of 1940

centration camps, preferred silence on the subject. They had to live with the guilt complex of the capture of the town, which was the direct result of their commanders' deeds. Meanwhile, those same commanders returned from the Crimea and went on commanding without seeming to be guilt stricken at all.

In accordance with the army's 'working-class and peasant' title, there was an incredible gap between soldiers and sailors and their military commanders. There were absolutely no traces of a war 'brotherhood'. Here is what one of the victims of Cape Khersones tragedy remembers: "The dock and bridge were full of people. Captain 3rd class Ilychev, appointed by Mr. Oktiabrskiy, as head of the evacuation, was stationed on the rock... He and his riflemen shot front troops in order to stop them swimming to the rock and fired short bursts on those trying to swim to the boat". Another recollection: "The evacuation of injured people by air started in the dark..., but, in fact, only the strongest people could get on the planes. I was supposed to get on the third plane, but when trying to board it I got a good kick from one of the servicemen and fainted".

After the Wehrmacht's 1940 destruction of France, The British Navy took around 300,000 British, French and Belgian soldiers from Dunkirk. The best forces of Her Majesty's Navy were brought in to save them. There was simply

no intention of saving only the chosen ones. Crossing the English Channel the soldiers left tens of thousands of their helmets on the French coast; according to ancient war tradition it was some kind of greeting for the Nazis. It meant "we are going to come back!", and they did, in 1944.

But the fighters of Cape Khersones did not get any support from the Black Sea Fleet, in spite of numerous promises. It was terrible; "the coastal side of the sea was full of heads of people swimming to the boats... I watched two sailors pulling a rope with a man and then I saw two or three men catching this rope and then all of them falling into the sea, and that was the case for all the boats... All the coast line right out to the boats was covered with people... And in the morning all visible coast line was covered with a layer, seven-eight bodies high, of thousands of dead people bathed by the waves... Bodies of drowned men in different poses could easily be seen in water."

The soviet military machine was as cruel, ineffective and wasteful as the whole totalitarian regime. It was the idea to conceal the obvious facts that made the soviets create a huge historiography about the so called 'Great Patriotic War', an enormous myth system about "the unconquerable and legendary" Red Army, about "the great victory" and "the liberation mission" of Stalin's Army. It is unfortunate that these myths still live on today, not only in Russia, but also in Ukraine. ■

New Non Fiction from the EU



Kyiv
3, vul. Lysenka
tel: (044) 235-88-54

www.book-ye.com.ua

Graphic Novels

In spite of the rapid development of comic books in Ukraine, the genre rarely captures wide public attention. *The Ukrainian Week* takes an insight into why this is the case

Author:
Olena
Maksymenko

OLD NEW
HEROES.
Oleksiy
Chebykin's
Cossacks cope
with both
samurais and
dragons

The term “comic” has the hint of something comical and therefore light-hearted, which is the reason for its relevant perception as light reading material for teenagers. Skeptics would be surprised if they looked into the past and saw that one of the first drawings stories was made in a Japanese convent in the 12th century. It was the Buddhist monk, Toba (or Kakuyū), who illustrated four humorous stories. Two of them were about animals imitated by people, while the other two ones were about monks violating rules, particularly their participation in cock-fights. The basics of the genre in its modern form, namely movements and gestures, were taken from these first works.

“Comic” is a common term for “funny”, says painter Oleksiy Chebykin, although of course, not all these stories are funny. The European standard classification is that comics are only published in the US. The French use the term “bande dessinée” meaning a “strip of paintings”; the Japanese call them “manga” etc. Each nation has its own product with an individual name and origin. It is only the method of conveying information that is common – all the rest is completely different.” Ukrainian experts of this genre refer to them as “graphic novels”.

A message conveyed professionally in the form of a comic, can play the role of a perfect driving force. “I used to teach in school,” says Vi-

taliy Sichkarchuk, also known as Infernal Bulba. “Comics helped me illustrate certain examples for my students. This genre is unique and undemanding, no special training is required for it. Of course there are highly technical comics, but at the same time, it is possible to draw something really primitive in terms of technique and people will still accept it!”

FROM CAVE TO TEMPLE

In Chebykin's view, comics have their origins in cave paintings. Ancient people tried not only to draw a picture, but also show a story, it was a chain of events describing the animal chase, for instance. “In all likelihood, the first inscriptions trans-



formed into hieroglyphs and ancient fonts, he says, as for the Egyptians, they painted actual comic strips! Or take Chinese inscriptions, the hieroglyph for a "house" really looking like a house, and a hieroglyph for a "man" is made up of a "trunk, arms and legs...". Greece gave us the tradition of painting hagiographies around icons! Looking at local church paintings, it's possible to read almost the whole Bible. They are a combination of a Saint's image and an accompanying text." The tradition of "illustrated novels" (so named by French surrealist Georges Sadoul), dates back to the 16th or 17th centuries, when drawings, largely of a religious nature, were distributed among common people in Barcelona and Valencia. These were hagiography texts in the form of imprints of tiny engravings on coloured paper, called "hallelujahs". In time, they were mass-produced at factories.

The modern form of graphic novels became popular in Europe and the US almost simultaneously, but the more practical Americans were the first to establish a commercial basis for them. The first business comic was made up of stories entitled *Yellow Kid*. "Asian tradition was quick to penetrate Europe and the US," says Anna Isayenko, mangaka (the term used for Asian comic painters), known as Sakura. That is her nickname, and most mangakas have one. "The Japanese school is

DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMICS

Silent comics

Graphic novels do not necessarily contain text, there are "silent comics" with a graphic description of the plot, so that there is no need for words. *Arzak* by Moebius (Jean Giraud) is one of the most famous comics of this type.

Photocomic

Photocomic is a different type of comic, although not all authors and painters of traditional graphic novels recognize it as such. In a comic of this sort, photos serve to convey the plot instead of drawings. Famous actors, toys or the most well-known Internet memes can be characters in these stories. Work on photocomics became a basis for the plot of *The White Sheik*, the first full-length film by Federico Fellini.

called manga, in Korea it's called manhwa, in Taiwan —manhua, etc."

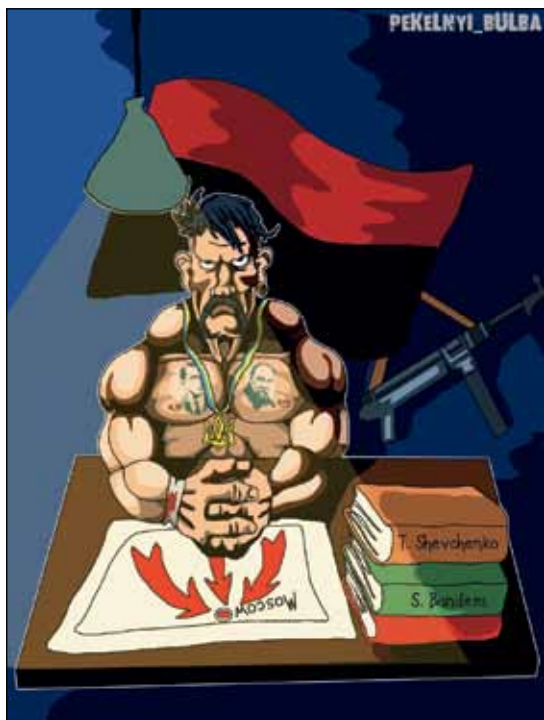
Just like in anything else, the Japanese stick to traditions, when creating comics. Mangas are still painted in ink, they are black and white and the drawings are presented in a back to front order, according to the rules of local orthography. By the way, authors usually insist on the same order in translated editions, saying that it is crucial for the proper perception of the story.

PUNK WARS.
Sviatoslav Paschuk, professional illustrator and director, devotes his free time to comics

UNCOMPROMISING.
Infernal Bulba's heroes never give up

COMING OUT OF THE UNDERGROUND

The art of graphic novel art is developing rapidly in Ukraine, but comics are rarely widely circulated. Currently the painters of comics that *The Ukrainian Week* has spoken to, see only two means of survival. The first is to "go" to Russian publishing houses, because domestic versions of this genre are literally not published in their pure form in Ukraine. The second is to hide in the art underground, which is blossoming on the Internet and in independent duplication. "Many artists work with Russians and I plan to do so as well," says Anna — "it's not about the money, I just want to do what I love. They look for authors, while we have plenty of them, but there's no room for publishing comics." The artist thinks Ukrainian publishers do not want to risk with an experiment of this sort, even though it promises them profit. She is convinced that comics spark interest, but publishers are very cautious about them. »



"Ukrainian language comics are generally more prevalent in underground publishing houses, as unfortunately, official publications prefer Russian-language products, the same applies to the mass media and cinematography," says Chebykin. "In our country it is still common to consider the Russian Federation as a broader market, therefore it is more economically viable to publish everything in Russian, so that it can be sold both at home and abroad."

In view of the obscure status of local graphic novels it is too early to talk about Ukraine's own comic school. But Infernal Bulba believes that this could also be our advantage. "The absence of a school has its benefits, as there are no limits," he stipulates. "Maybe this will influence the development and the establishment of a unique trend in Ukraine." Still, according to Oleksiy Chebykin, a Ukrainian graphic novel school is emerging nevertheless. "Our school really differs from those in France, Russia, Moldova ... It's difficult for me to characterize its distinctive features... The difference is in the graphic material. The Ukrainian graphics school has always been dif-



SVATOSLAV PASHCHUK

ferent and separated from the European school, although that is where its roots lie. The first representatives of this school studied in Germany, namely at the Munich Academy. Many of them gained their knowledge in Russia, from artists who studied in Italy. Lviv has its own particular situation, since its residents had close relations with Poland and Germany until 1920, which is noticeable in its art... Kyivan-Rus provided art with symbiosis, with the Greek school of the Byzantine Empire combined with Scandinavian minimalism and structure. Later we had "realistic baroque" in

ANIMATING THE STORY.
From strokes to shading

which the image was closely linked to decorative interpretation, which is where the naïve artists we know come from. Ukrainian graphic art is close to the Latin American."

BEYOND SUPERMAN

This genre was already known in Ukraine before the latter became acquainted with the term "comic" and examples of graphic novels from Europe. Graphic and illustrator, Heorhiy Malakov, is one of its leading figures. As a child he invented several models of this genre – he lived in Kyiv during the Nazi siege, imagining a hero and drawing stories

THE EURO IN COMICS.
Yas and Ivas by Ihor Bezruk



MANGA, UKRAINIAN-STYLE.
Sakura, a book graphic artist creates a "girly" fantasy



about war... Famous artist Ihor Vyshynskiy, who illustrated many children's books, also created actual comic strips about his friends and fellow-artists. He created images for them, funny situations, painted a fictional country in the center of Europe where people from different nations lived. This work was made up of more than 300 pages. Currently, his wife has the original and his friends have photocopies. An example of a "graphic novel" is the book *Ukraine's Battle*, which tells the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This booklet is actually a successful reprint of material from 1953 in *Philadelphia*, a newspaper published in the diaspora (USA).

"As you know, at present, the book business in Ukraine is not very strong," says Oleksiy Chebykin. "A 50-page graphic novel requires at least six months of work. I can imagine the royalty amount that the artist should receive. Is there a publishing house in Ukraine that is ready to pay him and the author for this period? In addition, the work I am doing now is only the outline. Someone has to colour it in, an editor is also required... All of this is pretty expensive. Painters who are serious about their art, have stopped waiting for terms and orders, they simply draw. This was the path taken by Poland, where the first comics were made on a Xerox and sold almost for free."

The story of *Cossack Maksym, the Wasp* by Ihor Baranko, one of the most prominent artists in this genre, made the long journey from a Belgian publishing house, which published it in French, to Poland, before coming to Ukraine, where it was first published in Russian and only later in Ukrainian, on the demand of fans. "This story is written in a classic noir detective story style," Chebykin says. "Now everyone is waiting to see whether Ihor will continue the adventures of his cossack."

One of the first works by Oleksiy Chebykin entitled *Noviy Borysfen* (New Borysthenes) was a fantasy reinterpretation of Kyivan-Rus history, the principal characters being Prince Volodymyr, epic hero Dobrynya and Princess Olha... "When this story was published, people were obsessed with J.R.R. Tolkien and I was pleased to discover that Tolkienists were interested in "Borysfen," says the artist. "When a young artist says 'I'll draw a story of Chicago,' I ask 'Have you been

there? Do you want a gangster story? Well, we have Troyeshchyna...¹ Do you think Chicago is scarier?" In historical plots there's always Japan and samurais, because "It's cool!" What about our Cossack Sirko, riflemen, epic heroes, Cossacks... The list is never-ending! I have been interested in history since I was a kid. All these Teutons, Knights, King Arthur, the Holy Grail... But in time, I understood that this was only good presentation! I want to make kids not only play the musketeers, but also Cossacks! I want to make Cossacks as interesting as Japanese ninjas! The Asian cinematographer gained success via martial arts! They made a legend out of wu shu, while in fact it is only a fight! I'd like children to know that Cossacks are not limited to men dressed in *sharovary*, the traditional baggy trousers. I want them to know that they are cooler than knights, musketeers or ninjas! It could be a new worldwide brand."

"We have a vast space that needs to be filled, great potential, an incredible number of our own superheroes!" Bulba believes. "Superman, Batman, the Ninja Turtles... Meanwhile we have a lot to play with, we have our own characters!"

Also, artists find inspiration in modern days. For instance, Ihor Bezhuk took Euro 2012 for his comic adventures of Yas and Ivas, the symbol-boys of the tournament from Poland and Ukraine. Enthusiasts do not wait for publishers to knock on their doors. Instead, they work on joint projects, festivals and virtual communities.

"I once received a proposal to design calendars and during the meeting, the client, a very well-known man, stated that he was a fan of my creative work," says Infernal Bulba. "I was both pleased and shocked, since I never thought that such people would read my comics. Maybe this means that there is a shortage of certain kinds of literature; the field of humour is scarce in Ukraine. We only see one style on TV – stand-up jokes. Having a limited choice, people enjoy anything. I can't see any obstacles for the circulation and development of this genre! There is plenty of room for movement and everyone can find their own niche." ■

¹ Troyeshchyna is a giant bedroom district in the left-bank suburbs of Kyiv known for lower real estate prices compared to the rest of the capital, bad public transport infrastructure and notorious criminal situation

COMICS IN THE WORLD

Manga

"Manga" means grotesque or "fanciful drawings", though their genres may be really different, ranging from children's stories or fantasy to horror, erotica, politics or business stories. In Japan manga makes up nearly a quarter of total printed output, all the publishing houses have relevant departments, while the profession of a mangaka is highly respected. In addition to professional mangas, there are also *dōjinshi*, amateur comics, published at the author's expense. Many respected mangakas started their careers with *dōjinshi*. A typical stereotype related to the mangas, are the notorious "large eyes". First of all, not all Japanese comic



characters have really large eyes; secondly, large eyes were copied from American cartoons. Osamu Tezuka was inspired by animated films about Betty Boop, in which the lead character is a girl with large eyes. Later, other mangakas caught on to the trend and large-eyed characters became a mainstream style. However, in addition to this, there are also photorealistic, grotesque and other styles of drawing.

American comic

The first US comic, *The Little Bears* was published in *The San Francisco Examiner* in 1892. The comic strip quickly became a "trademark" of editor, William Randolph and was adopted by his competitor, Joseph Pulitzer. *Hogan's Alley* by Richard F. Outcault was the first mass comic to make the genre a commercial one. The lesser character, a boy dressed in a yellow outfit, was really loved by readers and



the author made him a lead character. Superman, Batman, Spiderman, Captain America and other superheroes appeared (and some of them were even born) in graphic novels. The comic

genre even drew the attention of Stephen King who created a story about the first American vampire.

French BD (bandes dessinées)

It is one of the oldest European traditions of this genre, with its own school and numerous followers throughout the world. It is worth mentioning some cult authors: Jean Giraud, known as Moebius, Alejandro Jodorowsky, Albert Uderzo, Hergé (Olivier Ledroit). The latter two have gone down in history as the authors of humorous and children's comics (they created such characters as Tintin and Astérix), the

others are known for their avant-garde phantasmagoric works with a hint of craziness, lots of adventures, erotica, adventures and gloomy pictures of the future. By the way, French artists



of the genre drew a comic based on the story of Taras Bulba, a legendary Zaporizhian Cossack character in the eponymous historical novella by Gogol.

FILMS

The Best 8 Roles of Bohdan Stupka

Author:
Yaroslav Pidhora-Hviazdovsky



WHITE BIRD WITH BLACK MARK (1970)

One of Bohdan Stupka's first roles, it immediately drew the eyes of the entire former Soviet Union to the young actor. He played a fantastic role as a guerilla fighter in the UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the existence of which the KGB had been hiding for many years. This should have ruined his career, but it made him into a national hero who did not end up behind bars. Some say that the negative side of his character, which he played to perfection on the screen, saved him from jail. The most important thing was that for the first time in history, we saw the first film about UPA with an approximate explanation of where it had come from.



WITH FIRE AND SWORD (1999)

Yet another and probably the best-known of all his controversial films is difficult to imagine without Stupka's character. The audience remembers this slightly melodramatic yet epic film for Stupka's perfect interpretation of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's genius and the comic presentation of Cossacks as drunkards, bawlers and boors. The role of Bohdan Khmelnytsky brought him the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland. The film did well at the box-office, but sparked a storm of protest both in Ukraine and Poland.

Events

22–26 August

KinoLev

Culture and Arts Department, Les Kurbas Lviv Academic Theater, Kinopalats, Bernardyn-Garden (18, vul. Valova; 3, vul. Les Kurbas; 9, vul. Kopernika; 18a, vul. Valova, Lviv)

Lviv invites everyone to the 7th International Independent Film Festival. Movie fans will have 4 days to savour the best of world cinematography, presented in several blocs: Alternative Films; Rock Music in Films; Claude Chabrol Retrospective; Ale kino! and many more. The patron of this year's festival is Serhiy Paradzhanov, so his films, including *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, *Ukrainian Rhapsody* and *Ashik Kerib* will be part of the programme.



1 September, 10 p.m.

Skovorodub

HOME Concept Club (2, Boulevard Perova, Kyiv)

Fall dance season kicks off with the first national dub-step festival, destined to be the No.1 event for fans of electronic music. World dub-step music stars, such as Xilent, Rednek, xKORE, Millions Like U and Document One will come from all over the world to perform at the festival. Ukrainian performers will include Tapolsky, VovKING, Lime Kid and Perfecta. According to organizers, Ukraine can really be considered as a base-country, where dub-step is the symbol of a new generation.



6–9 September

Live In Blue Bay 2012

Blue Bay resort (120, vul. Lenina, Koktebel)

Over 120 Ukrainian and international musicians will play on stage during the three-day jazz festival. The audience will see Kejaleo, a flamenco-fusion-jazz band from Spain; Fil Straughan & Continent from London; The Clients, a Swiss jazz band; Spaghetti Swing from Italy and Ukrainian salsa band Dislocados. Every concert will end with a jam session where musicians will not simply improvise, but also create their own impromptu jazz.

A PRAYER FOR HETMAN MAZEPA (2001)

Despite Mazepa's grand figure in history and the accurate depiction of historical details, the film did not succeed in becoming the integral, comprehensible, popular and wished-for grand piece. Director Yuriy Illenko overdid the film with excessive farce, sarcasm and irony, but failed to fit all his ideas into a relevant directorial form. Even Stupka was unable to save it – surprisingly, his character lacks originality.



OUR BOYS (2004)

One of the best war films and one of Bohdan Stupka's best roles, for which he won a prize at the Moscow Film Festival. The village elder he plays inspired an original image he later used in other films. It shows how the camera "loves" Stupka as it mystically or metaphysically merges with him into an integral image. The fact that the actor appears unshaven and with a mean spark in his eyes does not ruin the picture.



THE RABBIT OVER THE VOID (2005)

Phantasmagoria was not a typical genre for Stupka, although he later acted in a phantasmagoric film by Kira Muratova, and did a great job of passing the test. In his character of Leonid Brezhnev escaping in a hot air balloon, Stupka combined all the well-known clichés and added a bit of historical reality. Despite being original and of good quality, the film failed at the box-office. Rumour has it that he did not take any money for the role, because he simply wanted to play around and have some fun, which he did.



HEART IN HAND (2008)

The role of an oligarch was a double pleasure for Stupka. The role was offered to the actor by Krzysztof Zanussi, a well-known Polish director, allowing Stupka to play something that was new for him after numerous roles depicting party members, military officers and other subordinates. Stupka became that oligarch – he played his part with irony, humor and joy.



CHANTRAPAS (2010)

Otar Ioseliani gave Stupka a supporting role in his film. He plays a game within a game as he finds himself in the skin of someone who decided the fate of actors and directors, including his own, in soviet times. Stupka has never had the opportunity to play God, but he hinted at the similarity of the roles of ministers and God in the film and his character.



HOME (2011)

His character, albeit not a central one, brings forth the main idea of the film about families where parents raise their children with beatings, shouting and orders. As a result, the families mutated into nests of evil, with the children becoming criminals or crooks, the only hope of stopping or changing anything, being death. *Home* is the last completed feature film of Bohdan Stupka.



10–23 September

Republic

**Old town
(Kamianets-Podilsky,
Khmelnyska Oblast)**

The festival is comprised of several sections; art, music, books, art-house films and an eco-campaign. The artistic section will span nearly two weeks. Artists from Ukraine, Spain, Poland, Russia and Belarus will paint the facades of buildings. Gigs and concerts with Ukrainian and foreign bands will last for three days, featuring Skriabin, Liapis Trubetskoi, Tabula Rasa, White Coffin, Ot Vinta, Orchestre Che and many others. A 3-day eco-campaign will involve cleaning of the Smotrych River canyon.



12 September, 7 p.m.

I Will Survive

**Stereo Plaza
(17, vul. Kikvidze, Kyiv)**

Ukrainian rock-band Druha Rika will join its efforts with other musicians to play a charity gig, the purpose of which is to collect funds to purchase necessary medical equipment for cancer treatment facilities. The concert will star some top-rate Ukrainian rock-bands, from Okean Elzy and Boombox to Krykhitka, S.K.A.I., Bahroma, O. Torvald and others. "We don't ask people to run around the town with posters... Just come to the concert, enjoy some good old rock-n-roll and save a life," says Valeriy Kharchyshyn, the leader of Druha Rika.

12–16 September

Publishers' Forum in Lviv

**The Palace of Arts, Potocki
Palace (15-17, vul.Kopernika,
Lviv)**

The 19th Publishers' Forum, one of the greatest book events of the year, will once again take place in Lviv. This year's Forum is expecting nearly 800 participants from Ukraine, Russia, Poland and Israel. They will present their newest books, hold workshops, discussions and autograph sessions. Special guests will include Vida Ognjenović, a famous Serbian writer; Adam Zagajewski, a Lviv-born Polish poet; Martin Pollack, an Austrian journalist and translator; and Polish essayist Henryk Grynberg.



CAVEMEN

For two thousand years Tepe Kermen, the lost city in mountainous Crimea, has been attracting people willing to live there

Author:

**Oleg
Apostolov**

Photographer:

Oleg Stukalov



The area still conceals a lot of secrets, while local medieval sites are among the least studied ones in Ukraine.

GUARDING THE BYZANTINE BORDER

The ancient settlement Tepe Kermen has been lying on top of the 530-metre-high lost mountain rising over the Kacha River Valley for about ten million years. The 1 ha plateau contains around 250 cave formations. Here is what historian Johann Erich Tunmann wrote after a visit to the Crimea in 1777: "Tepe Kermen, meaning a castle on the peak, is a high, large mountain

which looks like a sugar head, on top of which one can still see the remnants of a very ancient fortress. The whole rock is covered with numerous grottos and caves, placed in a special order, almost like an ancient necropolis..."

Tepe Kermen stands for 'hill fortress' or 'peak fortress' in Crimean Tartar. The construction probably dates back to the 6th century, when Emperor Justinian I decided to strengthen the northern border of the Byzantine Empire. However, there is another version which says Tepe Kermen was founded by migrant monks from northern regions of the Empire.

It was around the 10th century that Tepe Kermen turned into a 'classical' medieval urban centre, with its settlements surrounded by strong defensive walls and filled with surface-mounted stone constructions. At the final stage of the city's history the majority of the cave spaces were used for household activities, in particular as cattle sheds, food and military storehouses and even as tanks for water storage. The decline of the settlement is dated near the end of the 13th, or the beginning of the 14th centuries. According to some versions, in spite of the advantageous strategic location of the city, Tepe was taken by storm and »





practically wiped off the face of the earth by the Tartar Golden Horde troops of Isa Nogai.

ONCE SEEN, NEVER FORGOTTEN

“Going to Tepeshka?” a woman asked us, seeing three confused tourists with enormous back packs. “It’s just that guests are quite rare here, even in the holiday season... You should turn to the left after passing the village, and then you’ll be five kilometres from the site,” she added and disappeared behind her garden gate. Nearby we saw a mule tied to the fence, which looked really exotic to us tourists from the capital.

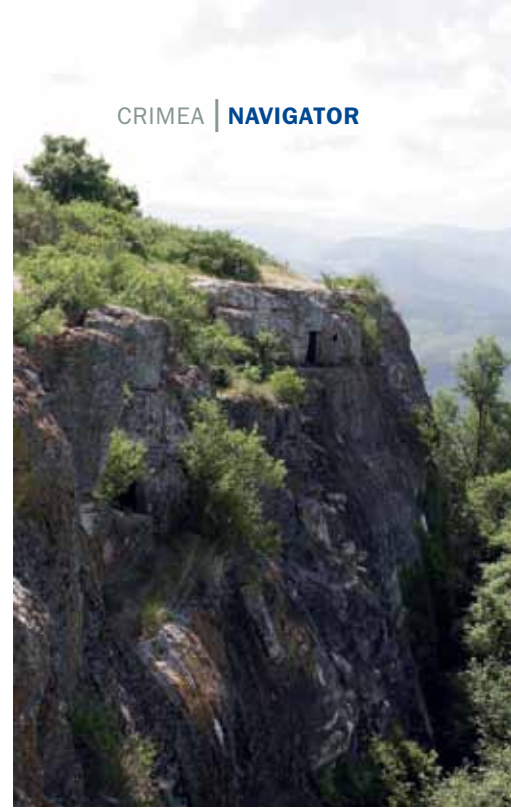
Finally we found three paths and after a little wandering through an oak forest we saw a wide lawn overgrown by weeds. There was a fantastic view of a plateau which looked severe and unapproachable. “So, here’s Tepe! The landscapes are really cool here,” all of us said.

We had to climb quite an arduous hill, but we were then rewarded with the most incredible landscape of the Crimean Mountains and a beautiful orange sunset which gave a slight inner glow to the snowy peaks.

Having chosen a wide cave we pitched our tent, started a fire and turned on our flashlights to look around. We found the following line of pencil inscriptions: 1912, 1940, 1961, 1970.

Later it became clear these were the years of large-scale archaeological excavations. It is worth mentioning that the research into the caves was almost limited to these excavations, which resulted in questions mostly, rather than in answers, for the researchers of Crimean antiquity. It is also interesting that neither the cave city, nor the whole locality within a 4-kilometre radius, present the visitor with any water source. If there was one, it dried up a long time ago. According to one Tepe Kermen researcher, it might have been the very reason for the end of the almost half a thousand year history of the city fortress.

In spite of the distinct lack of water on the plateau and a definite shortage of natural fuel for fire, Tepe Kermen has been the home for many months now for one contemporary girl we met there. “You must know everything here!” – “Of course, I do, I’ve been living on Tepe for almost a year,” the confident young girl, looking somewhat marginal, told us. She came to our cave to get acquainted with and inform the new ‘guests’ of local peculiarities. “You definitely have to visit the cave temple, the ‘aborigine’ went on, as far as I know, it was carved in the 5th or 7th century and is well preserved,” she said disappearing as unexpectedly as she had come.



We tried hard to find the unremarkable, half-covered entrance to the recommended cave temple and it was such a true reverence of discoveries when we did, that we felt ourselves practically jumping for joy inside. We expected to see a 'classical' small cave of the mountainous Crimea with some remnants of an altar and a couple of religious 'attributes' perhaps, but we were surprised to see a spacious light area with several niches on the floor and on the wall, numerous carved crosses and, what is more, a uniquely preserved baptismal place and columns. 'The church

with baptistry', this is how this site is called in numerous Tepe Kermen guides, is dated from the 11th or the 12th centuries, according to researchers. It is worth mentioning a cave temple of this sort is a unique site, not only for the Crimean peninsula or Ukraine, but for the whole of Eastern Europe! The temple is unique due to its interior, which can only be seen in some cave temples of Cappadocia, Anatolia (on the territory of modern Turkey) and Syria. Besides this, archaeologists have found numerous half-effaced Greek, Armenian and even ancient Jewish inscrip-

tions on the walls of the church. Nowadays there is no ancient graffiti here, but you can easily see carved inscriptions saying 'Kharkiv', '1910' with no protection plate or signs nearby...

Besides this cult site, there are several cave temples on the plateau. The so called 'church with sacristy' dating from the 12th and the 13th centuries was the best preserved of all. In general it is now known that Tepe Kermen sacral sites were not abandoned, even after the decline of the city, they were widely used by the Greek population of the nearest valleys and some hermit monks, which was proven by researchers' accidental discovery of monk Mykolay's epitaph dated in the 16th century.

Though ancient sites and the 'un-researched area' of Tepe Kermen are not the reason for its popularity among tourists, it really is a rather incredible landscape opening from the plateau peak. Everyone, who has had an opportunity to see a sunset or sunrise here, will never forget it. "How do you like the scenery?" a smiling tourist travelling by himself asked us. "It is marvellous, isn't it? I've been coming here regularly for 20 years and you're going to come back here too, you'll see. You will surely come back... So, would you like some cognac?" We could not help but accept the proposition, having no desire to say no. ■



B O O K S T O R E



ALL BOOKS FROM UKRAINE ONLINE

O N L I N E B O O K S H O P

WWW.BOOK-YE.COM.UA/SHOP